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The Mass Murder by Stinnes Capital in Dortmund.

The First Fruits of the Dawes Plan.

By Georg Schwarz (Essen).

A hundred and thirty six Ruhr proletarians have fallen as victims of the increased exploitation, as victims of the Dawes plan.

The speeding-up system prevailing in the Minister Stein Coal Mine, belonging to the Gelsenkirchen Coal Mining Syndicate (Stinnes concern), is responsible for the death of these miners.

This is the conviction which prevails among the working population of the Ruhr. The slogan of the Communist Party: Immediate arrest of the managers of the Minister Stein Coal Mine and of the directors of the Gelsenkirchen Coal mining Company, is taken up as a matter of course.

In fact, the manner in which this catastrophe has been invited cannot be surpassed. Its like is only to be found in the Radbod disaster of 1908 in which 300 miners lost their lives. At that time, just as now, all warnings of the miners were disregarded. In the morning of this recent day of disaster (11th February) an explosion of coal-gas took place in the pit, as a result of which a part of the supporting wall was broken down. But no notice was taken of this. "The whole affair was passed over in silence", declared the survivor. But

only in order that this pit show could further record figures as to output. All for the benefit of the house of Stinnes. The January number of the mining Journal, the "G. B. A. B.", printed the following, specially displayed in thick type:

"Minister Stein", record figures as to output:

On 19th February 1924: 3358 tons

On 9th December 1924: 3370 tons

Bravo the staff!

"Bravo", exclaim these same exploiters when, as result of their speeding-up methods, 130 miners have been sent to their death. Any worker who opposes their methods is ruthlessly thrown on the street.

Three weeks ago a Communist member of the factory council who protested against this brutal method of exploitation was discharged. As a rule the factor councils were prevented by the trickiest means from inspecting the pits. They were compelled to apply to the Mining Arbitration Court, and this "impartial" institution, of course, decided against the miners.

Some days before the disaster the whole of the mining staff protested against this attitude of the exploiters and adopted a

sharp resolution against the curtailment of the rights of the factory councils,

"whose duty it is to protect the life and health of the miners and to see that the regulations of the mining police are carried out".

Thus the mining staff foresaw, that with the insufficient control of gas fumes and the system of speeding-up a disaster would be inevitable. This is also clearly expressed in the motion of comrade Sobottka in the Prussian Diet which stated:

"The prevention of the factory councils from inspecting the pits must result in an increase in the number of accidents".

In spite of this the social democratic Prussian Minister for Trade, Siering, did not instruct the mining authorities to do away with this abuse. Not the least effort was made to prevent the catastrophe. Comrade Sobottka, as a member of the commission for the safety of the mines, had stated that none of the regulations regarding sprinkling and the removing of the coal dust had been carried out. It was this absolute disregard for the safety regulations which rendered possible the enormous extent of the disaster. The gas swept through the mine and annihilated all human life. The miners could see no means of escape, as is testified by a message in chalk left behind by one of the victims, a communist factory councillor, named Karl Ott:

"It is now 11 o'clock. We can find no means of escape. Karl Ott."

In the face of the overwhelming evidence against the mining capitalists, the social democratic "Vorwärts" in its evening edition of 12th February had the brazenness to say:

"... One thing can be said with certainty, that here it is a question of an act of Nature which scorns all human rules and regulations for caution and safety".

The social democrats, in their capacity as lackeys to capital and by their consent to the Dawes Pact, are so much bound up with the heavy capitalist mass murderers of Germany, that they seek to cover up everything.

Therefore, the demand of the communists: arrest of the guilty ones is justified. That they feel guilty is shown by the fact that the "Ruhr Echo", our local Party journal, which has been distributed in the locality where the disaster occurred, has been confiscated by the police for printing this demand. Every hour brings fresh, damning evidence to light.

Many a Ruhr worker has lost his life in these places of exploitation. It has been minted into gold by the capitalists. But these places are also a recruiting area for the army of the class struggle, which will one day sweep away blood-stained capitalism.

POLITICS

The Recent Events in Czechoslovakia.

By A. Neurath (Prague).

I.

The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie has given an object lesson regarding its conception of the "Bourgeois Republic" which is as cruel as it is instructive.

The starving masses, whose working and living conditions have long been growing worse, have protested and demonstrated against the rising prices of all articles of food, against the coalition government of the Czechoslovakian exploiting class, which is only capable of enriching the profiteers but which is perfectly incapable of doing anything in the interest of the starving masses.

Indignation against the exploiters and their government is spreading to ever larger masses. As the Communist Party is the only Party which supports the toiling and hungry masses and which organises the resistance of the exploited, its influence is naturally increasing among the working section of the Czechoslovakian population. The Communist Party, on the eve of the opening of parliament, organised demonstrations against high prices and against the coalition government.

These demonstrations, especially those in the capital, were also participated in by the petty bourgeois section of the population.

The bourgeoisie recognises the great danger; its profits are threatened. It sends its praetorian guard and has the hungry masses demonstrators shot down.

The cowardly brutal attack upon the working class of Prague was carried out in a simple manner. The demonstration in the Altstädterring was attended by about 15,000 workers,

clerks and others. At 8 o'clock in the evening the meeting, which in all had lasted an hour, was at an end. After this the workers marched to the Wenzel Square. As soon as a large portion of the procession had arrived in the Wenzel Square, it was set upon by a great force of police which had been held in readiness for attack in a side turning. The latter used their truncheons against the workers and drove them to seek shelter in the doorways. There was commenced a heavy fire. A dozen workers were shot down. But at this moment the police, but more so their employers, the Czechoslovakian exploiters, met with a remarkable disappointment. The workers held their ground. With the cry: "bourgeois bandits, murderers of workers!" the workers flung themselves upon the police troops and attempted to drive them back. In a moment the place was occupied by hundreds of police, who pressed upon the workers from all sides and again made use of their rifles. In addition to this, a body of 500 gendarmes advanced against the workers. The bourgeoisie has won the battle with its bayonets; but it has finally lost that great section of the working masses, who only two days previously were inclined to show their respect for democracy and the national republic.

The united front of the fascist wing of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, comprising the democrats, socialists and the bourgeois parties of the national minorities, has been set up. They are all united in slandering and abusing the demonstrating workers. Of course, the social democratic press plays the most despicable rôle in this connection. The Czechish social democrats are in the government, and are among those responsible for this bloody attack upon the Prague working class. The Central organ of the German social democracy has the brazenness to assert that the demonstrators threw bricks at the harmless and peaceful police, who chanced to be armed to the teeth, and that in consequence of this attack the murderers of the workers were obliged, in self-defence, to shoot down the workers!

The working class, without distinction of nationality, has since the Prague blood bath perceived that the bourgeoisie, the socialists and the social democrats, all belong to the same camp, and that they must be fought as a bloc of the deadly enemies of the proletariat. More quickly, more successfully and more thoroughly, under the lead of the Communist Party, will there be carried out the rallying and the closing of the ranks of the working and exploited masses of the Czechoslovakia.

II.

On the day following the blood bath, the Communist parliamentary fraction drove from the tribune the Minister Stribny, who was to have read the government's declaration regarding the question of high prices and the shooting down of the workers in Wenzel Square. Thereupon, as is usual in bourgeois-democratic parliaments, half a dozen communist deputies were dragged from the Chamber by a body of police. The National Assembly, of course, carried on its proceedings under the protection of the police.

After this "victory" of the coalition government in the fight against the communist parliamentary opposition, Minister Stribny read out the declaration which had been written for him by his government colleagues. According to his statement, the index of wholesale prices had risen from June to December 1924 by 5.8% and up to January 1925 by 8%. On the other hand, the index of retail prices from June to December had only increased by 1/2%! And this wonderful ministerial declaration leaves it to the imagination of the democratic citizen to admire the nobleness of the retail trader, who was prepared only to raise prices by 1/2%, although they could have been raised by 8%.

Not a word was said as to the way in which the prices of food have increased, not only during the period from June to December, but during the last two years. It is hardly surprising that the coalition government, in issuing a declaration "against high prices", ignores the trifling fact that the wages of the workers in all branches of industry have been reduced by 40 to 60% during the last two years, while at the same time the general conditions of work have considerably worsened, and the output of labour has considerably increased. It is also not surprising that the governmental declaration made no reference to the reduction of the amount of unemployed benefit which is contemplated in the state budget and not a word regarding the dismissal of thousands of state employees.

By means of so-called comparative statistics, the government seeks to demonstrate that the increase of prices is equally great

or even greater in other capitalist countries than in Czechoslovakia, and that this development has assumed its most acute form in Soviet Russia, which in fact is responsible for high prices in Czechoslovakia. From the official statistics and economic reports of the Soviet government it is to be seen that the standard of living of the Russian proletariat since the introduction of the New Economic Policy has steadily improved, while at the same time the economic situation of all capitalist states has undergone a considerable deterioration. And now Herr Stribny comes forward and "proves" to a learned National Assembly, that not only has Soviet Russia caused the high prices in the Czechoslovakia, but that prices there have risen to a more disastrous extent than is the case with us.

The end of the governmental declaration deals with the battle which the police had given to the working class in the streets of Prague. And now the language of the government became almost threatening and challenging. The government fully supports the armed troops who caused the slaughter and announces that in the event of the working class not humbly submitting, fresh and more extensive actions will be undertaken against the proletariat. As was to be seen, the government, the government socialists and all the other counter-revolutionary parties, are vainly attempting to intimidate the working class. They are forbidding all demonstrations organised by the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. But it avails them nothing! Ever larger masses are being drawn into the powerful struggle against the ruling classes of Czechoslovakia. And these masses will march forwards, inspite of the police, the gendarmes and social traitors.

The Degeneration of German Social Democracy

By Karl Radek.

The scandalous revelations regarding the connections of the leaders of German social democracy with speculators of every type, the revelations regarding the orgies carried on by influential leaders of this Party along with war profiteers, the exposures regarding the assistance which has been afforded to the latter by the granting of state credits and orders etc., are facts which can be considered from two aspects: as symptoms of the decay of a workers' Party and as symptoms of the rise of a big petty-bourgeois Party. We see, therefore, that the **Barmat and the other scandals** of German social democracy must be characterised as marking the transition of this Party, which still counts a million members in its ranks, which received eight million votes in the elections, of which six millions at least were working class votes, that is to say, a Party which, according to its composition, is a **worker's Party**, into a Party which not only carries on the policy of restoring capitalism, but is also personally connected with the closest bonds with the capitalist leaders, that is to say, into a Party which in its nature is a bourgeois Party.

The degeneration of German social democracy had begun long before the war, even at the time when the Party every year, on the occasion of the vote upon the state budget, declared: "Not a man and not a penny for this capitalist system". What marked the commencement of this degeneration? It could be traced in the following: the bureaucracy of the Party and of the trade unions, which had risen from the ranks of the working class, lived a very modest life, but it was secure. The storms of capitalism, unemployment and reduction of wages did not affect them. They began to lead another life than that of the masses and to appreciate this life very highly. A considerable portion of the Party bureaucracy of German social democracy soon began to feel the contradiction of this life of theirs to the official policy of the Party, and strove to change this policy, to go over from opposition against capitalist society on principle, to that of bargaining with it, to a policy of compromise, to the winning of democracy and of reforms.

Before the war it seemed even to such penetrating critics of German social democracy as **Rosa Luxemburg**, that all this was merely a transitory phenomenon, the result of a temporary period of economic prosperity which would pass over again with the intensification of class antagonisms. The war has shown that this was not the case. The overwhelming majority of the Party bureaucracy of German social democracy drew the political conclusions from their standard of life, in that they stood for the defence of the fatherland, for the protection of

German capitalism. Already at the time of the war there began the political interlocking of the Party bureaucracy of social democracy with the monarchist state bureaucracy... The **Magdeburg Ebert trial** has shown this in the most striking manner. The leaders of social democracy, in their fight against the revolutionary wing of the Party, applied for help to the state bureaucracy, to the militarists. They not only won the confidence of the Reich Chancellor **Bethmann-Hollweg**, but also of the war Minister **Groener** and of the Commander-in-Chief **Hindenburg**.

The estrangement from the masses, which had already begun before the war, took the form of complete lack of confidence in the revolutionary forces of these masses. It suffices to read the memoirs of Noske in order to see that for him the revolution meant merely a mutiny on the part of the mob, which is incapable of any creative act. This mob must be flattered, it must be pacified, and led back to the path of subjection under capital. They succeeded in doing this. Social democracy shares power as the best pillar of capitalism. This share in the bourgeois power had as a result that 15,000 to 20,000 social democrats entered into the state apparatus of the bourgeois republic, beginning with the post of Reich President and ending with the post of a police director of a provincial town. The protection of capitalism as a result of the view that a socialist revolution would be premature, became in time to mean the safeguarding of their jobs.

But bourgeois democracy, whose finances are daily becoming worse, pays its official very badly. They see around them the debaucheries of the bourgeoisie upon a volcano, debaucheries which are all the more unashamed as the pre-war bourgeoisie has been reinforced by a broad section of speculators, who during the war and in the revolution have become rich without any effort, who fritter away millions as easily as they have acquired them. These speculators prefer to deal with the new officials, the social democrats, rather than with the old, who are more connected with the old bureaucracy. The old bourgeoisie and the old bureaucracy are anti-democratic, they grew up under the rule of the Kaiser and look down with contempt upon the new generation of upstart capitalists and the new bureaucracy. The social democrats are in favour of democracy, which has given them a share in the power; the speculators are likewise in favour of democracy, for it facilitates their penetrating into the ruling class.

The friendship of the leaders of German social democracy with the brothers **Barmat** is not a chance occurrence, it is not the result of moral corruption. We see how in Austria, **Herr Bosel**, one of the most successful speculators, is supporting social democracy; in Germany it is supported by **Sklarz** and **Barmat**. These are only the best known cases among the general hobnobbing of social democracy with the speculators. This seems abnormal and outrageous on the part of a workers' party, but it appears perfectly understandable on the part of a party which is allied with capitalism. Every party of capitalism has its group of capitalists upon which it relies for support; just as every group of capitalists seeks the support of one of the political parties. The old Conservative Party in Germany is connected with **Krupp**, **Hugenberg** etc., the so-called **People's Party** with **Stinnes**, but its leader, **Stresemann**, relies upon a special capitalist group, upon the concern of the **Russian Jew**, **Litvin**, who provides him with money for publishing the newspaper which serves the personal political aims of **Stresemann**. The **Centre Party** has its **Klößner** and **Thyssen**, the catholic coal and iron barons. The **Fascists** obtain money before all from **Vögler**, one of the directors of **Stinnes**, the social democrats, following the general rule, find their **Barmats** and become **Barmatonians**.

Both the social democracy is supported by millions of workers, who, no matter how menshevik inclined they may be, hate the capitalists. Therefore, the complete degeneration of the social democratic leaders is a guarantee that the mass of the workers will abandon social democracy. "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small" says a well-known proverb. The truth of this proverb will sooner or later be confirmed by the fate of German social democracy. It is possible, in a particularly difficult foreign political situation of a country, to explain to the workers for a certain time the necessity of making concessions to the bourgeoisie, but it is impossible to explain away to them the fraternising of the social democratic leaders with the speculating cliques and the corruption of a workers' Party.

Moral scandals have always been the precursors of a political collapse. German social democracy is now threatened with this collapse. But for a funeral, not only is a corpse necessary, but also a grave-digger. And if there is no grave-digger, the corpse decomposes and poisons the air. The Communist Party of Germany has still got to learn to play the rôle of the grave-digger of social democracy, that is to say, that it must learn how to rally around its flag the workers who will flee from the stench of German social democracy.

The Barmat Scandal and the German Republic

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

In November 1924 the Berlin „Rote Fahne“ started a great campaign against the profiteering concern of Barmat, and exposed the relations between these four brothers and the German social democratic leaders. At first the chief culprits, Heilmann and Bauer, attempted to deny their guilt. But the scandal continued to grow, until finally the public prosecutor fetched the whole Barmat fraternity from their princely villa and had them conveyed to the Moabit prison. Since then the Barmat scandal has grown in extent from week to week and is developing into a crisis of the German Republic. The Barmat affair is on a par with the famous Diamond necklace affair in the time of Louis XVI. The complete exposure of the ruling system, the boundless contempt of the working masses for the governing circles — this is one of the results which the Barmat affair has already brought about.

It is worth while to take note of the chief facts. The adventurer Julius Barmat, who originally came from Poland, in 1919 founded in Germany, along with his three brothers, a big concern carrying on all kinds of business. The provision trade, valuta transactions, factory undertakings of all kinds, participation in different joint stock companies — these were the chief fields of activity of the Barmats. In this the Barmat family enjoyed the favour of the highest political personalities of the Republic, especially of the German Social Democratic Party and of the Centre. At present an investigation committee of the Prussian Diet, an investigation committee of the Reichstag, as well as the Public prosecutor, are going into the details of the Barmat scandal. In addition new exposures are daily being made public. In the present article we are only dealing with such facts as have been firmly proved and established.

Barmat received 45 million goldmarks credit from the Prussian state bank by the recommendations of Heilmann, a member of the Prussian Diet and one of the most influential men of the Prussian coalition government, and of the former Reich Chancellor Bauer (both social democrats). In addition to this Barmat defrauded the Reich Postal Administration of 15 million gold marks which had been advanced to him by the Postmaster General Hoefle (Centre). Hoefle has had to resign his ministerial position as well as his seat in the Reichstag. He has also been arrested.

Since April 1919, Barmat has been on friendly terms with Hermann Müller and Wels. In 1924 President Ebert's son was given a position in the Barmat concern. The Reich Minister for Trade, Robert Schmidt (Social democrat), has carried out extensive transactions in foodstuffs with Barmat on behalf of the government. Heilmann himself admitted that he has for years acted as legal adviser to the firm of Barmat. Heilmann further admitted that he had an account with Barmat's Mercur bank, and also that Barmat had paid 30,000 gold marks to the funds of the Social Democratic Party. Barmat contributed 20,000 marks to the S. D. P. for the Reichstag elections of 7th December 1924. In return for this, Barmat received a credit from the German trade union funds amounting to 300,000 marks.

The Police President of Berlin, Richter, a social democrat has for years been a close friend of Barmat. Richter borrowed 5000 marks from the Mercur bank of Barmat. Richter only repaid this debt after the arrest of Barmat! It was only within the last day or so that Severing, the democratic Minister of the Interior for Prussia, considered it necessary to suspend Richter from his office.

The Prussian Minister for Trade, Siering, (Social democrat) confessed that he had endeavoured to place the shares of a rotten Barmat undertaking, the Bremer Private Bank, on the Berlin Exchange.

A letter from the Barmat Concern to the ex-Reich Chancellor, Bauer (Social democrat) has been brought to light, from which it appears that Bauer received from Barmat some thousands of Dutch Florins, in return for which Bauer let him have inside information from government circles. That is to say, Bauer betrayed state secrets in order to enable Barmat to carry on profitable speculations. During his examination before the Prussian investigation committee, Bauer proudly asserted that he had never received any financial benefits from the Barmat concern. Then there suddenly appeared in a Berlin German nationalist paper this unfortunate letter. Bauer had to admit the genuineness of the letter and to resign his seat in the Reichstag. Thus ends a Reich Chancellor of the German Republic.

Herr Severing, at the request of Bauer, facilitated the journey of the Barmat brothers through Germany. The Prussian Investigation Committee dealt with a wonderful letter of recommendation from Bauer to the President of the State Bank. In view of this letter of recommendation the State Bank did not consider it necessary to make further inquiries and placed at the disposal of Barmat the sum of 45 million gold marks. The securities which Barmat gave to the State Bank to cover the credits were monstrous swindles. The securities bore the signatures of three of the Barmat undertakings. One Barmat undertaking guaranteed for the other. The State Bank had to put up with this because it was known that behind the Barmat concern there stood the powerful politicians of the German Social Democratic Party.

In the year 1919, when Barmat was preparing to change his residence from Holland to Germany, Barmat experienced difficulties on account of the German visa, as he had gained an ill-repute in Amsterdam. But he knew where to apply for help. On 15th of May 1919 he telegraphed to Wels:

“Inform the Reich President that the Consul here has not yet been instructed regarding granting me a visum. Intend next week to return to Berlin. Greetings to you and Müller. Barmat.”

This Müller is the Ex-Reich Chancellor Hermann Müller of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Wels immediately forwarded the Barmat telegram on to Ebert. Ebert added a pencil note as follows: “The Foreign Office has recently issued instructions that Barmat's visum should be extended. Desire that Ambassador in the Hague be again instructed.” Ebert's wish was promptly fulfilled. During 1919 Barmat was continually in and out at the bureau of the Reich President. He had the cheek to use the bureau of the Reich President for his private telephone calls.

The social democratic Minister of Trade Wissel, in the year 1919, at a time when Germany was very short of printing paper, sanctioned the export of German paper to Barmat. The paper was ostensibly sent to a pro-German paper which Barmat was to found in Holland.

The social democratic Saxon government in 1921 conducted food transactions with Barmat. In these transactions the State lost money, although it is alleged that Barmat was not responsible for this.

The social democratic member of the Prussian Diet Lüdemann, had likewise endeavoured to smooth the way for Barmat to the Prussian State Bank. A similar attempt was also made by Dr. Gradnauer, the former Saxon Prime Minister and a social democrat.

These facts speak for themselves. The most influential men of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, along with several leaders of the Centre, have systematically promoted the Barmat undertakings. The coalition policy of social democracy has not only been realised on the political and trade union field, but the leaders of this Party have gone over direct to the capitalists. The Barmat revelations are a tremendous blow for the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Millions of workers now realise what they have to expect from the Barmat Party. In addition to this the whole black-red-gold Republic is seriously compromised by the Barmat revelations. The Parties of the Right, who are so full of moral indignation against the Social Democratic Party, are on their part involved in the most shady transactions. It is only necessary to call to mind the 700 million gift to the Ruhr industrialists and the adventures of Sprit Weber, this excellent patron of the German People's Party. This moral breakdown of the ruling parties is strengthening the confidence of the masses in the C. P. of Germany and creating the prerequisites for the proletarian offensive struggle against this rotten state of affairs.

The Hamburg October Insurrection before the Court.

By Richard Schaible.

Hamburg, Feb. 6th 1925.

"The Communist trial in Cologne in itself stigmatizes the impotence of the power of the State in its fight against social development."

With these words Karl Marx in 1875 looked back at the Communist trial which took place in 1852, and by which the Prussian Public Prosecutor hoped to strangle the Communist movement. As regards the Communist trial in Hamburg which is now taking place, no 22 years are needed in order to prove the impotence of the power of the State against the Communist movement, it was evident on the first day of the proceedings.

The public prosecutor Reuter, representative of the power of the State, had to abandon step by step the task which he had ingeniously constructed in the course of eighteen months, employing informers in the same way as was done in 1852. His own witnesses for the prosecution have become a danger, not to the eight accused Communists, but to the power of the State.

Take the informer Selbiger. Piles and piles of documents are filled with his concocted evidence. And the informer's lies strayed into the hands of the social democratic town councillors Leuteritz and Perner, who then thought that they could appear in the Council as accusers of the CP. of Germany. They served the purpose of keeping the Communist deputies in prison illegally for months. They were employed in the Reichstag in order to bring about the annulment of the immunity of Comrade Thälmann and the refusal to release Comrade Urbahns from prison. And to-day the public prosecutor had to declare:

"The accused probably hold the same opinion of Selbiger as does the public prosecutor."

The informer employed by the political police and the public prosecutor's office against the Communists has been unmasked as being such a scoundrel that the representatives of the power of the State is afraid he might seriously compromise the New German Republic. This is why Selbiger was dropped even in the preliminary inquiry, this is why every mention of Selbiger is carefully avoided. This was the first defeat of the public prosecutor's office.

The other rogue of an informer who was to be a witness for the prosecution against the Hamburg Communists is that worthy gentleman Felix Neumann, the star turn of Communist prosecution, the sham accused and chief informer witness in the approaching trial of the so-called "German Tcheka." For months the Press pack, from "Vorwärts" to the "Deutsche Zeitung", howled about the Communist assassination, about the Tcheka and cholera bacilli. In this way they played the accompaniment to the raid on the Russian embassy, on the offices of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag and the Diet. Now, in Urbahns' trial, Neumann was to give evidence of an extensive Communist conspiracy in the autumn of 1923. Evidence was to be brought that the October revolution was not the reply of the workers to the military dictatorship and exploitation, to the Bavarian *coup d'état* and the *coup d'état* of the government against Central Germany, but a Communist "conspiracy", a Nihilist attack. And then, something surprising occurred. The public prosecutor's office dispensed with its witness Felix Neumann, as he was "not to be had".

Now, in order to appreciate this "not to be had", one must know that Neumann is imprisoned on remand, i. e. in the hands of the law.

This was the second retreat of the public prosecutor's office.

The political witnesses for the prosecution against the CP. of Germany have disappeared, the attempt to make of the Urbahns trial a trial for the political despatch of the CP. of Germany, has already completely failed.

There is however a second kind of witness for the prosecution. The public prosecutor marshalled a number of rabid narrow-minded persons and a "highly moral" young lady, who made all kinds of denunciations which, however, were contradicted by the statement on oath of a police official and many other witnesses.

There is however a third group of witnesses for the prosecution which is politically more interesting — the Social Democrats.

The first to appear was John Ehrenteit, chairman of the local Hamburg Committee of the German General Federation of Trade Unions. He is one of the cleverest of all the Social Democratic opportunist politicians. When the waves of revolutionary indignation of the mass of workers run high, no one knows better than he how to bamboozle the workers. In 1923 he played the part of a Left Social Democrat. Like Ebert in Magdeburg, Ehrenteit declares today in Hamburg that he never thought of persuading the workers to fight. He declares that all his pretence at belonging to the Left was only a trick to deceive his opponents, and says: "As a matter of fact there has never existed a Left Wing in the Socialist Party of Germany." It is the old Social Democratic policy of sham friendliness to the workers, in order to be able the better to deliver the proletariat into the hands of capital.

It was, however, only one aspect of Social Democratic policy which Ehrenteit showed up. The other side was shown up by his party comrades Schulz and his associates, the members of the "Vereinigung Republik" (Republican Union). What is this "Vereinigung Republik" (V. R.)? The V. R. was a purely social democratic organisation, that is to say, the Social Democratic shock troops of the counter-revolutionary army.

The part played by the V. R. in the heroic October insurrection of the Hamburg workers was determined from the outset by its being an organisation of the counter-revolution. In October 1923, like other Fascist organisations, it put itself at the disposal of the police for the suppression of the insurrection. But besides this, the Hamburg Social Democrats undertook that dirty business which only blackguards can undertake: they organised a system of informers against the Communists in the October fight.

Thus it came about that in Urbahns' trial the members of the V. R. rolled up as witnesses for the prosecution against the Communists. It is no coincidence that their leader, Herr Adolf Schulz, was even during the war an informer against the revolutionary movement, once a scallywag always a scallywag.

The whole picture was completed when Comrade Rühl proved that at the very time when the SP. of Germany was negotiating with the CP. of Germany with regard to a defensive strike, the Social Democratic police senator Hense issued a strike prohibition for which he had obtained authorisation from General Tchichwitz.

Thus the Urbahns' trial became a trial for the political unmasking of the SP. of Germany.

The impotence of the power of the State was revealed anew by the evidence of Colonel Danner, the illustrious commander of 6000 police and civic guards who, in October 1923, were not able to defeat 300 badly armed workers. He was to have reported on the military suppression of the insurrection.

But the Court, the public prosecutor and the police are afraid of the spirit of October and dare not publicly refer to it.

On the proposal of the public prosecutor's office, which was supported by Colonel Danner, the Court resolved to exclude the public, including the Press, during the whole of Colonel Danner's evidence on account of "danger to the security of the State." This, however, rendered the evidence of the Hamburg commander entirely worthless.

In spite of all precautions however, the spirit of the October insurrection could not be banished from the proceedings of the Urbahns trial.

On the one side the thoroughly rotten case of the public prosecutor. On the other side the upright bearing of the accused.

The prosecution of Urbahns and his comrades has two distinguishing features. The first is: the unity of the Communist Party, which enables it to be the iron cohort of the revolution.

Police and Court have had a year and a half in which to prepare the Urbahns case. An army of informers was raised, the whole apparatus of State put in motion. Police and examining magistrate vied with one another in extorting confessions. And the result is practically nil.

The public prosecutor knows nothing beyond what the accused have themselves admitted.

And Comrade Urbahns openly declares: "Yes, I did belong to the triumvirate which in October led the waterside district of the CP. of Germany. Who the others are, I refuse to say."

The public prosecutor continues to grope his way in the dark. Urbahns alone does not suffice him, for Urbahns, as can be proved, was not in Hamburg during the decisive days, but had gone to the Chemnitz Conference where the treachery of the SP. of Germany became evident even to the blind. But the

public prosecutor wants victims. This is why, supporting himself on informers' lies, he had the Communist members of the municipal council arrested. This is why he took seven Communist functionaries, simple soldiers of the revolution, as the accused Comrade Levy described himself, placed them beside Comrade Urbahns, even heid them up as great leaders, so as to fill the dock for the great Hamburg Communist trial.

The other, the most decisive characteristic of the Urbahns trial is that, judged with sharp and unsparing self-criticism, it teaches the Party the decisive lesson of the revolution: The victory of the proletariat cannot be attained by safe rounabout methods, it can only be the result of a relentless fight — clear as to its aim and its path —, not of an alliance of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class with that part of the bourgeoisie which is represented by the Socialist Party of Germany, but only by a bitter fight against the bourgeoisie, especially its most dangerous section, the SP. of Germany.

The CP. of Germany will always openly stand for this fight. The accused in the Urbahns process are faithful to it. They have learnt its lessons. And if the accused in the Urbahns trial proclaim it and its lessons, a unanimous wave of agreement will sweep through the ranks of the workers. Even though the class-ridden Court condemn Urbahns and his comrades, the spirit of October lives. No public prosecutor can destroy this. It lives and will continue to act until the victory of the German working class is achieved!

THE BALKANS

The Turko-Greek Conflict.

Declaration of the Balkan Communist Federation.

When the other peoples, after having shed their blood five years in the imperialist war, laid down their arms, the Greek bourgeoisie carried on the war further and plunged the masses of the people into the blood bath of Asia Minor in order to fulfill its insane dreams. The Greek people had to pay dearly for this adventure. The people were plunged into misery and the Greek population of Asia Minor especially, had to suffer the most fearful misery. Today over a million refugees are perishing in Greece and expect in vain of the Greek bourgeoisie that it will do something to ameliorate the sufferings of which it is the cause.

The blood which has been shed on the fields of Asia Minor and Thrace has not yet dried, when a fresh conflict between the Greek and the Turkish bourgeoisie is being kindled, which could result in the most serious developments in the relations of the two states, and in the Balkans in general, and could bring about a new war.

Whilst the Turkish government expels the Greek Patriarch from Constantinople, the Greek government declares on its part that Greece is prepared to defend its "national honour" and to reinstate the Greek patriarch in Constantinople even by means of a new war.

No matter how much reason there may be for assuming that these actions on the part of the two governments are, in the main, of a demonstrative character, the fact nevertheless remains that, having regard to present conditions in the Balkans, the danger of a new war is by no means excluded. Besides this there exist forces outside which would be interested in a war between Greece and Turkey if they could be sure of it remaining localised.

In the first place Yugoslavia, which has hitherto adopted a hostile attitude to Greece, suddenly considers it necessary to extend a friendly hand to Greece and to support it in its bellicose attitude towards Turkey. It appears as if Yugoslavia wishes to plunge Greece into a war-adventure, calculating that as a result Greece would find itself in a difficult situation and that Yugoslavia would be able to profit by it in order to seize Salonika, the most important port on the Aegean Sea.

The Bulgaria of Zankov would, for its part, like to induce Greece to enter into a conflict with Turkey, as it cherishes with undisguised malicious joy the thought that, after the people of Greece had been plunged into a war, it could, together with Yugoslavia, stab Greece into the back and seize possession of Thrace and the Aegean coast.

But the great imperialist robbers — Italy, France and England, — are specially interested in sharpening the Turko-Greek conflict.

Italy, although it has already seized several Greek islands, intends to carry out still further robberies; the more so as it is necessary for Italy to achieve successes abroad in order to throw dust into the eyes of the masses who are disappointed with the fascist regime.

England which has always endeavoured to satisfy its interests at the cost of Turkey, now wishes to make use of the Greek people in order to compel Turkey to submit to its own imperialist desires. Chamberlain is encouraging Greece in its "rightful cause" — a fact which is proved by the circular of the Greek Minister of education to the schools, in which it is emphasised that "England stands wholly and entirely behind Greece".

France sees in the sharpening of the present Turko-Greek conflicts a means for strengthening its influence over Turkey as against England and a means in order to hold Greece in check.

Of course, these robbers, both great and small, hide their intentions under the cloak of hypocritical expressions of desire for peace. But in secret they are fanning the Turko-Greek conflict, whilst they openly speak of intermediation. In the last resort, only the great and little robbers will profit from the kindling of the Turko-Greek conflict and its eventual outbreak into a war at the cost of the sacrifices and of the blood of the working masses in Greece and in Turkey.

The Greek bourgeoisie is now endeavouring to take advantage of the stirring up of chauvinist hate among the Greek masses against the Turks, in order to divert the attention of the workers, peasants and the great masses of refugees from Asia Minor from their own demands to the great questions outside of Greece, before all, however, to suppress their advance-guard, the Communist Party, the Labour Confederation, the organisation of ex-service men and the Young Communist League.

The great strikes of the workers which arose out of the unbearable situation of the working class, the desperation of the peasants, who themselves are proceeding to take over the estates of the big monasteries and big landowners in Thessaly, which in spite of all the promises of the government have not up to now been given over to them, the misery of over a million refugees — all this the Greek-bourgeoisie perceives quite clearly. As however it is determined not even partially to satisfy the urgent requirements of the working masses, it is proceeding to its usual manoeuvre in stirring up nationalism, and in the meanwhile is organising fascism and preparing to annihilate with fire and sword every national revolutionary movement of the workers, peasants and refugees. It is also carrying out mass persecutions and arrests of the Communists, the members of the Labour Confederation, the leaders of the ex-service men and of the Thessalonian peasants.

Should the working masses during the present Turko-Greek conflict fall victims to the nationalist incitement in Greece, it will mean that instead of bread they will get fascist bullets; instead of land, fascist daggers, instead of work, fascist acts of violence.

The bourgeoisie in Turkey is on its part stirring up chauvinism and nationalism among the Turkish workers and peasants against the Greek people, in order to avoid carrying out the agrarian reform and satisfying the interests of the working masses in general.

As a result of its policy of estrangement, and eventually of hostility, to the Soviet Union, the Turkish bourgeoisie itself is causing Turkey to become completely enslaved to the great imperialist powers.

At the present time, when the bourgeoisies of Greece and Turkey are involved in a sharp and dangerous dispute with one another, it is the most urgent duty of the working masses in Greece and in Turkey to take up definite measures in defence of peace. They must extend to each other the hand of solidarity in order to take up the fight against their own bourgeoisie, to enforce the satisfaction of their demands, to protect their liberty from the attacks of fascism and to prevent the breaking out of a conflict and the possibilities of fresh bloodshed.

If, however, in spite of everything it should come to an open war between the Greek and Turkish rulers, the working masses must be prepared for the civil war.

Not war, but fraternal understanding between the Greek and Turkish peoples!

Bread, land, farming implements and credits for the refugees!
Solution of the Agrarian question in the interest of the working peasants.

Satisfaction of the vital needs of the working class!
 Dissolution of the fascist organisations!
 Liberation of suppressed nationalities from their yoke!
 Complete Freedom for organisation and struggle of the
 working and peasant masses!

Against imperialism in the Balkans! For the liberty and independence of the Balkan peoples by their brotherly union in the Balkan Federation!

For this the working masses in Greece and Turkey must fight determinedly under the lead of the Communist Parties and the Balkan Communist Federation.

In addition to this the workers of the Balkan countries, and also the proletariat of Italy, France and England must expose the intentions of their governments to kindle the Turko-Greek conflict. The working masses must not forget that the fire kindled at one end of the Balkans can quickly extend to the whole of the Balkans and serve as the commencement of a new imperialist war.

Moscow, February 1925.

For the Presidium of the Balkan Communist Federation:

G. Dimitrov.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Fourth Quarter of 1924.

(Concluded up to 15. January 1925.)

By Eugen Varga.

I.

A Retrospect.

We have always hold the view that capitalist society entered on a period of crisis with the great war. Six years have now passed since the great war. The hope that capitalism would be overthrown, at least in Europe, immediately after the severe convulsions at the end of the war, as a continuation of the Russian revolution, has proved deceptive. Capitalism has survived the post bellum convulsions, and has become consolidated. Bourgeois and social democratic politicians agree in proclaiming that capitalism is entering upon a new and lengthy period of prosperity. We must therefore return to this question.

What is to be understood by the term, a period of crisis? By a period of crisis we understand a general situation in a capitalist state of society in which the productive forces have approximately reached the highest stage of development for this form a society: a stage at which the inner contradictions of capitalism have become so great, the class antagonisms objectively so acute, and the apparatus of power possessed by the ruling classes at the same time so weakened, that the objective possibility is given for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat demand at the same time certain subjective conditions: on the one hand a purposeful, well organised, and determined Communist Party, capable not only of transforming the vague revolutionary fermentation among the preponderant majority of the proletariat into revolutionary action, but of winning over the non-proletarian suppressed classes, above all the working peasantry, as allies in the struggle against the ruling classes, and on the other hand a subjective crisis in the ruling class itself, based upon an objective economic situation. Lenin writes:

„It is only when the lower strata will not live any longer under the old conditions, and the upper strata cannot continue to do so, that revolution can be victorious. In other words: Revolution is impossible without the existence of a crisis embracing the whole country (involving both exploited and exploiters)”

that is; Revolution requires, in the first place: that the majority of the workers (or at least the majority of the class-conscious, thinking and politically active workers) have fully realised the necessity of the revolution, and are ready to die for it; and in the second place that the ruling classes are also passing through a crisis.

The existence of such a period of crisis does not, of course, inevitably imply that an attempt at seizing power can be made at any time or place with a prospect of success. Nor does it imply that the objective and subjective conditions remain equally favour-

able during the whole duration of the period. For this reason I have designated this period by the more comprehensive term of “the period of decline of capitalism”, in order to give a clearer conception of the long duration of the period.

In this sense we may say that we are still in a period of capitalist crisis, but that at the moment the actual possibilities of the struggle for power are less favourable than they were a few years ago. It is true that the objective economic conditions have not undergone any fundamental change; but the ruling classes have almost overcome their subjective crisis, whilst, although the subjective conditions have improved among the proletariat as far as organisation is concerned (development of communist parties), the general revolt against capitalism, as a mass phenomenon, has ebbed.

We have already attempted, in former pamphlets*), to indicate the most important symptoms of the period of capitalist decline among the confusion of facts, tendencies, and counter tendencies characterising the present period. Some of the points adduced in these attempts are now no longer in accordance with present facts, conditions having meanwhile changed — in all probability only temporarily. We must mention the most important of these points. During the course of the past year the falling off of production in the capitalist world appears to have ceased. This cannot be accurately ascertained, owing to lack of statistics of production. In some states an improvement in industrial production is to be recorded. At the moment this is again counterbalanced by the bad crops. But as this last is chiefly attributable to unfavourable weather, and not to immediate economic circumstances, it cannot be taken into consideration in this connection.

It may be assumed that this increased production is accompanied by a renewed accumulation of capital. Of this we may observe direct indications; in America and in the British empire in particular this renewed accumulation is being demonstrated in its money form by fresh emissions of capital, increased investment of savings, etc., whilst the accumulation of wealth in kind is shown by the revival of building activity (buildings, power-works, railways, etc.). On the other hand, it is very uncertain whether in Central and Eastern Europe, the areas most impoverished during the war (these districts I designated on a former occasion with the expression “under-production area”), any actual accumulation is already taking place, or whether the present phenomena are not merely due to the centralisation of capital in the possession of the ruling classes, at the expense of the middle strata. The extremely high rates of interest demanded for loan capital seem to indicate great shortage of capital and general poverty.

Further, the depreciation of currencies has come to a standstill, at least for the present, and with this the accompanying tendency to return to pre-capitalist forms of economics (self-supplying farming undertakings, exchange and barter of goods, etc.). The credit system has also been revived again, both within the states themselves and internationally.

The phenomena attendant on the decline of capitalism have been concealed by the effects of immanent tendencies and of conscious political economic efforts. As early as three years ago we expressly emphasised that the decline of capitalist economics is by no means an unequivocal or straightforward process; that the effects of the decline are not felt equally in every part of the world's economics; that powerful counter-tendencies are at work. We distinguish immanent tendencies and conscious political economic efforts in the following manner:

“Under immanent tendencies I understand actions taken by individual representatives of capitalist economics in the interest of their private enterprises, the sum of the actions being a tendency to overcome the economic crisis. The separate individuals act in their own private interests, the result is a tendency to the restoration of the world's economic balance. It is the old anarchist mechanism of capitalism taking its old effect.

But under conscious efforts I understand action taken by the state or by separate economic groups: The demands of the latter aim consciously at overcoming the crisis.”

The temporary disappearance of the above-named symptoms of capitalist decline has been brought about by the cooperation of these immanent tendencies and conscious efforts. The inflation

*) See. E. Varga. The Crisis in Capitalist World Economics. II. ed 1921; E. Varga. The Period of Decline of Capitalism.

rendered increased production possible, and increased exports from the under-production areas. It drastically cancelled the contradiction between the claims laid by wide circles of the population to a share in future produced values (claims based on war loans, debentures, banked savings, etc., to amounts completely inconsistent in their nominal money value to the actual impoverishment), and the real economic possibilities. It forced many of those who had expected to exist on their nominal incomes (pensions, interest, etc.) to work for their bread. This signified the adaptation of the nominal incomes, based on the old money units, to the conditions of the actual impoverishment. The inflation concentrated the diminished "national wealth" in an increased degree in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, and thus collaborated with the lowered wages of the workers, shrunk to a minimum, to form a foundation for the restabilisation of the currency. This itself is a result of conscious economic policy and has been accomplished almost everywhere with the aid of the capital of the "rich" countries. The stabilisation of currency was accompanied by the disappearance of those symptoms of capitalist decline resultant on the inflation: the tendency to a return to self-supplying agricultural undertakings, exchange in kind, decay of the credit system, etc.

The credits granted by American and English capital (for the purpose of and in connection with the temporary currency stabilisation) to the countries of the "under production area", signify a transference of „superfluous" capital, that is, capital yielding only a very low rate of interest, to these countries, where the rates of interest and profit are higher. Here we have an example of a partially conscious and partially unconscious immanent tendency towards equilibration between the "rich" and the "poor" countries. The attempt at regulating the reparation question by means of the Dawes plan belongs to the same category.

Taking events as a whole, we must state that the counter-tendencies already indicated by us three years ago have been fairly successful in re-establishing capitalist world economics. The social pre-requisite for these developments, it need not be said, has been the fact that in a number of countries the bourgeoisie has been successful in obtaining a temporary victory over the revolutionary proletariat...

The period of decline continues!

Although we here state, what is actually the truth, that the last few years have brought with them an improvement in the position of capitalist society in many respects, on the other hand we can by no means share the social democratic optimistic view that all difficulties have now been overcome, and that international capitalist economics may look forward to a new and permanent advance. On the contrary, we adhere to our opinion that the period of crisis has by no means come to an end; that despite the partial restabilisation of international capitalist economics, they are none the less subject to further fundamental contradictions and disintegrating forces which, should social revolution make no progress in the meantime, are bound to lead straight to a new world war and thus to new and mighty convulsions.

The following symptoms of the period of crisis still continue to exist:

1. The Union of Soviet Republics.

Despite all the efforts made for its overthrow, despite war, boycott, civil war, despite the most furious hate, the world bourgeoisie has not succeeded in annihilating the Union of Soviet States, or in isolating and weakening it by corruption. On the contrary: the Soviet Union, whose mere existence means the fall of capitalism, the beginning of the transition to the new Communist State of society, has expanded territorially during this period (Far East, Mongolia, Bukhara), and has compelled its recognition by an ever-growing number of capitalist States. The consolidation of Soviet economics, the successful combat against want, the steady improvement in the standard of living among the Russian proletariat — all this destroys the force of that catchword with which the social democrats have hitherto defended capitalist slavery before the workers: the assertion that the proletarian dictatorship signifies famine! Thus the existence of the Soviet power gains daily in significance in the eyes of the masses of the proletariat in all capitalist countries: it proves that the capitalist methods of production are merely a transient historical phenomenon, and that it is possible for a state of society to exist without capitalists, under the leadership of the proletariat, and to advance slowly forwards in the face of extremely difficult objective conditions.

2. The Lack of Equilibration in International Economics.

In spite of the progress made in this direction, as described above, there has no fresh balance been established in world economics. Neither the immanent tendencies, nor the many economic conferences, nor the Dawes plan, have contrived to bring this about. The most striking symptom of this lack of renewed balance is the simultaneous existence of a "superfluity of capital and a superfluity of labour", demonstrated by unemployment at a time when mighty production plants are lying idle, a state of affairs improving here and there, at times, but nevertheless forming a chronic feature of the present period.

This lack of equilibration may be designated as disproportionality. It is composed approximately of the following partial phenomena:

a) A super-development of the productive apparatus and production of the United States at a time when the historically given distribution of income at home and the relative poverty of other countries afford no markets for this super-production. Up to now the superfluity has been exchanged for gold in the world's markets. Now that the needs of the United States are satisfied in every direction as far as gold is concerned, the superfluity can again (as during the war) only find accommodation in the form of credits and investments in foreign countries.

b) **The Special Crisis in the Industrial Countries of Western Europe.** In consequence of the industrialisation of all former agrarian countries on the one hand, and of the impoverishment of Central and Eastern Europe on the other, the industry of Western Europe is unable to find markets for its productions. Economic policy is, however, working straight for an aggravation of this situation. Every country is cutting itself off from the others by higher tariffs and other measures. Coolidge's victory means the firm establishment of the American high protective duty system for many years to come. The victory of the conservatives means the revival of tariff reform policy in England. Germany and France are just about to adopt tariff duties involving greatly increased import taxes. All European countries are pursuing the same course. India is introducing duties on iron goods, against England. Australia will not grant a preference duty on English goods unless it can be demonstrated that the goods have been manufactured by British labour to at least the extent of 75%, etc. The tendency towards self-sufficiency (pre-requisite for independence in the manufacture of war materials), and consequently the tendency to do away with the international division of labour, is growing in strength. The special crisis of the European industrial countries is thus rendered permanent.

3. The General Super-Development of Heavy Industry.

The forms of disproportionality hitherto discussed are localised horizontally according to countries. These forms are again transversely by vertical disproportions passing right through international economics.

Among these may be mentioned the disproportionate super-development of heavy industry and the relative super-production of foods.

Heavy industry in the wide sense of the term: production of iron and steel, shipbuilding, and machine building, has been greatly extended by the tendency towards industrialisation evinced by countries hitherto agrarian, and by the reorganisation for purposes of "peace production" of the new productive plant set up during the war for the manufacture of war material. The result is that one half of the blast furnaces in the most important countries are closed down, and that the shipyards and machine factories are only working part time.

This fact has led, within national limits, to the formation of cartels for securing the organised limitation of production (the new German steel trust began its activities by a 20% limitation of production); viewed internationally, the result has been, on the one hand the attempt to form an European iron cartel with the same object, and on the other hand it has led to imperialist collisions, and to the seizing and securing of markets. As the heavy industrial capitalists possess the greatest political influence in every country, the result — in combination with the above mentioned horizontal disproportions — leads to increasingly acute struggles for the markets, as evidenced by the "peaceful" trade agreement negotiations, and by the "belligerent" occupation of the Ruhr and the manufacture of war materials, which is carried on with increasing openness in the face of all pacifist phraseology.

4. The World's Agrarian Crisis.

As already stated in our last report, we do not by any means consider that the international agrarian crisis has been overcome by the present high prices. We merely consider it to be interrupted for a short time by this circumstance. On the other hand, the high prices of food signify an automatic lowering of the worker's standard of living. And since the individual capitalists know of no other way of overcoming the crisis caused by the difficulty in finding markets for industrial productions than that of "lowering the cost of production, in order to be able to compete in the world market", that is, in other words: lowering of wages, lengthening of working hours, and increased intensity of output, then it is evident that an acute aggravation of the struggle between capital and labour is inevitable within the next few years.

We may thus sum up our conclusions as follows: International capitalism has re-established its position with not inconsiderable success since the end of the war; but up to now there is not the slightest evidence of an end to the period of decline, or the beginning of a renewed peaceful revival.

General Section.

During the period covered by this report — the last quarter of 1924 — the economic situation in the most important countries has shown a general tendency towards improvement. For the first time during a considerable period, a simultaneous improvement of the economic situation is to be recorded for the United States, England, Germany, and a number of other and less important states.

But this economic improvement suffered a severe reverse during the last weeks of 1924. In England the number of unemployed during the last week of December suddenly increased by 103,000 — a perfectly unexampled reverse. In Germany a gradual increase of unemployment is also observable. In France considerable fears are being expressed that the existing prosperity cannot last. It is only in the United States that the improvement has continued into the new year, and even here there are indications of weakening.

At the time when the Dawes plan was first mooted, we expressed our opinion that this plan could not result in a general boom, but that on the contrary its execution would be attended by a general crisis in at least all European industrial countries. The experience gained during the past half year does not suffice for the formation of a judgment upon this, but at least it enables us to state with certainty that the carrying out of the Dawes plan is not bringing with it any general European boom.

The execution of the Dawes plan has, however, had one favourable result for European economics, and especially for Germany; it has cleared the way for the investment of American capital. It has created the political and social prerequisites providing the necessary security for the investment of American and English capital in Germany. The influx of American and English credits to Central and Eastern Europe signifies an equilibrating tendency between the "rich" and the "poor" countries, and is a factor contributing to the improvement of general economic conditions. On the other hand, political economic conflicts have become considerably more acute during the period of this report. The question of the consolidation of the French foreign debts has led to concrete proposals for a Dawes plan for France, as predicted by us in our last report. This raises the whole of the complicated question of the inter-allied debts, while at the same time the economic difficulties arising from the crisis in the West European industrial countries are being expressed in the severe conflict between France and Germany in the trade agreement negotiations; these difficulties have led at the moment to a dispute between France and Germany on the question of duties. The non-evacuation of the Cologne area etc. is closely connected with this dispute. Taken as a whole, it may be stated that relations between the capitalist countries have reached a very acute stage, and that backed up as they are by ever-increasing armaments, they are likely to lead to war again.

* * *

The economic improvement has been accompanied by a decided worsening in the position of the working class in all capitalist countries. The period has been characterised by a steady increase in the price of bread, and other food stuffs, naturally involving increases in the cost of living. The actual rise in the cost of living is only partially expressed in the official index

figures. It is becoming more and more evident that these index figures are, in the interests of the capitalists, deliberately kept lower than the actual level of prices. It must be emphasised that, with a few exceptions, the money wages of the workers have remained practically the same level. This means that the real wages received by the working class have sunk considerably. It is therefore probable that the coming half year will witness economic struggles on an extensive scale.

Rates of Exchange.

Rates of exchange have maintained a fairly equal level during the period covered by this report, with a decisive trend towards the improvement of European currencies in relation to the dollar. Whilst the currencies of Czechoslovakia, Italy, Belgium, France, Germany, and Poland, have remained completely stable during this period, the currencies of Sweden, Switzerland, and Holland — which always had the highest rates of exchange — reached gold parity. During the month of December the English pound rose in value from day to day, measured by the dollar standard, any by the beginning of 1925 the pound was only about 1½%, below the mint par of exchange with the dollar. It is generally expected that the pound will reach par within a short time.

Much is being written in the English newspapers with regard to the causes of the rise in value of the English pound, but no really clear idea is given. Considering that England pays the interest on her American debt regularly, that she has been obliged to buy very large quantities of grain from abroad at very high prices, and that England's foreign trade balance is becoming increasingly adverse, it would appear as if it were more likely for the rate of exchange of the pound to fall than to rise. The chief reasons for the rising value of the pound given by the American newspapers are the following:

a) the reflux of English capital, invested in the United States at the time when the Labour Government came into office;

b) short term investments of American loan capital in England, resultant on the higher rate of interest paid in England, in anticipation of the higher rate of exchange of the pound;

c) the sinking of the rate of exchange of the dollar in general in relation to all extra-American currencies.

In our opinion the last factor adduced is decisive. The falling of the rate of exchange of the dollar is obviously the result of the expansive loan policy pursued by the United States, and serves the purpose of preventing, by means of the export of gold, the unfavourable economic effects of gold superfluity, which might be described by the general term of "gold inflation".

Rates of exchange of foreign bills in New York (monthly average)
Cents per foreign unit, per £, in dollars.

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	22. I. 1925
Switzerland (Fr.) . . .	18.88	19.18	19.27	19.38	19.31
Sweden (K.) . . .	26.59	26.59	26.80	26.93	26.96
Holland (Fl.) . . .	38.40	39.07	40.01	40.36	40.35
England (£) . . .	4.46	4.49	4.61	4.70	4.80
Spain (Pesos) . . .	13.24	13.40	13.60	13.95	14.26
Denmark (K.) . . .	16.94	17.31	17.53	17.62	17.87
Norway (K.) . . .	13.83	14.21	14.70	15.05	15.30
France (Fr.) . . .	5.29	5.23	5.27	5.40	5.44
Belgium (Fr.) . . .	4.94	4.80	4.83	4.94	5.16
Italy (Lire) . . .	4.38	4.35	4.33	4.30	4.15
Finland (F. Mk.) . . .	2.52	2.51	2.52	2.52	2.52
Czechoslovakia (K.) . . .	3.00	2.98	2.99	3.02	3.50
Jugoslavia (Dinar) . . .	1.36	1.43	1.45	1.50	1.69
Roumania (Lei) . . .	52.00	55.00	55.00	51.00	51.00
Germany (Bill. Mk.) . . .	23.90	23.90	23.80	23.81	23.80
Hungary (K.) . . .	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.13	0.13
Poland (Zloty) . . .	19.25	19.25	19.25	19.25	19.20
Austria (K.) . . .	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14

During the last few weeks the weakened position of the Mussolini government has led to a fall in the rate of exchange of the lira. With regard to the French franc, this is being constantly bolstered up with the aid of the 100 million dollar loan granted to France by Morgan.

The Price Movement.

During the whole of the period under review, wholesale trade prices have shown an upward tendency, greatly attributable to the rise in the price of grain and foodstuffs. The stability of

rates of exchange enables the higher prices to be expressed more clearly in statistics. Wholesale trade prices have developed along the following lines in the most important countries:

Index of wholesale trade prices (1913/14 = 100), monthly averages

	U. S. A. Broadstreet	Sweden	Switzerland	Japan	England (Economist)	Denmark	France	Italy	Germany (Offic. ret.)	Poland	Soviet-U. Gosplan
1924 Dec.	144	150	183	210	170	210	459	577	126	—	—
Sept.	141	153	169	206 ^{a)}	176	235	481	580	127	112	164
Oct.	145	162	169	213	180	231	477	602	131	116	164
Nov.	147	162	—	214	180	232	486	621	128	117	168
Dec.	—	—	—	214	180	234	518 ^{b)}	640	131	—	—

The Liquidation of the "Scissors".

The steady advance of corn and food prices during this period in almost all countries has brought about a liquidation of the "scissors", that is to say, the level of prices for agrarian products, compared with pre-war levels, has reached approximately the same level as that for industrial products.

We give below a table of prices of food and industrial products, in so far as these are obtainable. Unfortunately the figures do not cover the end of the year in most cases.

Wholesale trade prices for foodstuffs and industrial products.

	Jan.	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Germany (official returns)							
Foods	103	102	111	121	129	124	127
Industrial products	144	139	138	139	135	137	139
Germany (Frankf. Ztg.)⁸⁾							
Foods	138	117	—	—	141	135	137
Industrial finished prod.	140	139	—	—	139	140	138
England (Statist)							
Foods	167	166	169	175	181	—	—
Industrial products	158	161	158	161	166	—	—
France (Stat. Gen.)							
Foods	450	445	440	449	454	448	—
Industrial products	526	511	508	516	532	572	—
Switzerland (Lorenz)							
Foods	177	169	172	175	181	—	—
Industrial products	204	187	180	175	170	—	—
United States (Bureau of Labour)							
Farm products ⁹⁾	144	141	145	143	149	—	—
Clothing	200	188	190	186	188	—	—
Furniture	176	171	171	171	171	—	—
All goods ⁹⁾	151	177	150	149	152	—	—

This table shows that in Germany the prices of industrial products, or of finished industrial articles, were still higher than those of foodstuffs in December. The same observation applies to France in November. In the United States, prices balance, whilst in England, where the disparity between the prices of food and of industrial products has never been so great as in other countries, food prices are maintaining a higher level than those of industrial productions.

Increased Disparity between Production and Consumption Prices.

We have frequently pointed out that the disparity between the cost of production and the price paid by the consumer is now considerably greater than was the case before the war, that is to say, goods increase much more in price during their circulation than formerly. We adduce an example of this:

In the Agricultural Year Book of the United States for 1923, we find the following table on the distribution of the price of one pound of bread in Washington in 1913 and 1923.

^{a)} July = 195, August = 200.

^{b)} End of December.

^{c)} Beginning of month.

^{d)} Yearly average 1923 for farm products 141, for all goods 154.

	Sept. 1913 Per cent	Sept. 1923 Per cent
Retail trade (labour, distribution, shop expenses, profit)	20.55	22.22
Bakery (baking, delivery and selling, administration, profit)	37.25	35.93
Baking materials, except flour	7.05	13.88
Transport costs of flour	3.08	3.21
Costs of grinding	7.76	5.31
Transport costs of wheat from elevator to Minneapolis	1.93	1.70
Elevator costs	0.97	1.38
The wheat producer receives for the wheat	21.41	16.37

This table shows that in the year 1913 the farmer producing the wheat received 21% of the price of the bread at the place of consumption, but in 1923 only 16%.

Since this time conditions have probably improved as a result of the considerable rise in the price of wheat. In any case it is interesting to note that the portion falling to the farmer does not amount to even one sixth of the price of bread.

The Cost of Living.

The data already at our disposal for the period of this report show the costs of living to have gradually increased. The actual increase is, however, much greater. As already mentioned above, the reliability of these official index figures calculating the cost of living is being questioned more and more by the trade unions and by the workers in general. The doubts thrown upon the accuracy of these figures appear to be fully justified. Thus we find, for instance, on examining the German figures for the cost of living, that the index figure has risen from 116 in July to 123 in December. The increase amounts to about 6%. But the wholesale prices for foodstuffs, according to these same official returns, rose from 102 in July to 130 on 17th. December — according to data compiled by the "Frankfurter Zeitung", from 117 to 137. It is thus perfectly incomprehensible that the costs of living should have risen so slightly, especially when we recollect that rents have meanwhile risen in Germany as well.

The costs of living.

Index 1913 = 100.

	Germany	England	France	Italy	Poland	Sweden	U. S. A.
1923 Dec.	125	177	345	499	—	164	177
1924 July	116	170	366	512	127	159	171
August	114	171	—	511	135	163	172
Sept.	116	172	367	516	141	165	176
Oct.	122	176	—	546	150	172	180
Nov.	123	180	—	563	—	—	181
Dec.	123	181	377	—	—	—	—
1925 January	—	180	—	—	—	—	—

The Lowered Standard of Living of the Working Class.

During the last few months the rising prices of food have been accompanied by a decided worsening of the standard of living of the workers. In the majority of capitalist countries: The United States, England, France, etc., there have been no rises in wages during this period; in Germany wages have risen to a totally inadequate extent.

The following concrete examples may be given:

United States. Official index figures for the costs of living, calculated on pre-war standard:

July	171
November	171
January probably about	185

On the other hand, money wages have not been raised in the United States during the past half year, but have, on the contrary, been reduced in many cases, especially in the textile industry, by 10 to 15%.

England: Official cost of living index figures:

July	170
December	181

Here again the official returns enable the fact to be accurately ascertained that the money wages of the English

workers have been reduced between July and November 1924. The official statistics issued by the English Ministry for Labour show the total weekly wages paid to have declined as follows:

January/June 1924	£ 560,900
January/November	£ 518,350

The confrontation of these two figures shows the sum of weekly wages to have sunk by £ 42,000, despite the considerably higher costs of living.

In the case of *Germany* it is not so easy to gain a clear idea of conditions, as higher wages have been granted in some places. The figures issued by the Statistic Office of the Reich give the following data, applying, of course, to the longer working hours:

Index figure of real weekly wages, compared with pre-war time.

	Skilled workers	Unskilled
July	87,1	98,3
November	86,0	95,2

In consequence of the considerable rise in the prices of food in *Germany*, which has not been in any way compensated by corresponding rises in wages, real wages may safely be assumed to have sunk a few points lower by December. Conditions are similar in all European States.

In conclusion, we append a somewhat out of date, but extremely interesting table, calculated by the International Labour Office, on the proportional real wages paid in the most important capital cities of the world. Comparative real wages index figures (London = 100).

	Feb. 1924	July 1924
Amsterdam	98	88
Berlin	51	65 ¹⁾
Brussels	62	64
Christiania	90	72
New York	219	213
Ottawa	186	155
Paris	88	73
Prague	78	61
Stockholm	86	79
Vienna	48	51

It need not be said that these figures are not absolutely trustworthy, but nevertheless they give a fair idea of the tremendous differences existing in the standard of living of the workers of the continent of Europe, as compared with that of the English, and even more with that of the American workers.

Unemployment.

In October and November unemployment showed a general tendency to decrease, whilst an obvious worsening again set in in December. Concrete data are only obtainable with regard to England, where, as already mentioned, the number of unemployed increased by more than 100,000 during the last week of December.

Percentage of unemployed among workers organised in trade unions.

	England	England (of all insured)	Belgium	Holland	Denmark	Sweden	Norway	Germany	Germany, part timers	United States. Degree of occupation = 100
1923 Dec.	9,7	10,7	3,6	15,9	16,0	14,1	14,0	28,2	42,0	99
1924 Aug.	7,9	10,6	3,1	8,7	5,4	6,6	4,1	12,4	27,5	87
1924 Sept.	8,6	10,8	3,0	8,9	5,5	7,0	4,8	10,5	17,5	90
1924 Oct.	8,7	11,1	2,9	8,8	6,5	8,4		8,4	12,2	91
1924 Nov.	8,6	11,0			8,6			7,3	7,5	
1924 Dec.	9,2	10,9			13,2					

With regard to the absolute number of unemployed, this was officially given for England at the end of the year as 1,272,000, only 13,000 less than at the end of 1923. This shows that in 1924 the attempts made by the English bourgeoisie to liquidate unemployment have been as unsuccessful as ever. The

actual number of unemployed in England at the present time is probably more than one and half millions.

In *Germany* the latest figures show unemployment to be again increasing, after a period, in October and November, during which the number of unemployed decreased considerably. The number of unemployed in receipt of out-of-work benefit slightly exceeds half a million; the actual number is likely to be at least a million.

There is a fairly large number of unemployed in Italy and Czecho-slovakia, and in Austria the percentage of unemployed is very high. Unemployment shows a very perceptible decrease in the United States.

The Position of the World's Shipping.

In the freight markets conditions have been entirely dependent upon grain shipments during the period of this report. Up to the end of October conditions were prosperous. Towards the end of October there was a falling off in the consignments of grain to Europe, and there was again a superfluity of tonnage seeking for freights.

Conditions continued to be unfavorable in December. The "Börsen Courier" writes on 12. December:

"A new and severe crisis has overtaken the world's shipping... The year is not yet at an end, and the revival enjoyed by the international shipping world has not only disappeared, but we find ourselves in the midst of a fresh crisis."

During the first weeks of January the world's shipping again made a rapid recovery, owing to the extensive purchases of grain made in Argentine and Australia, and freight rates were raised.

The unfavourable economic conditions obtaining all over the world have been reflected in the ship-building trade. According to Lloyd's statements, the world's shipbuilding was somewhat as follows in 1924:

	Tonnage in 1000 tons.	
	In course of construction	Completed
1910	1699	1798
1913	3331	3333
1922	2954	2467
1923	2445	1643
1924	2470	2179

Here it must further be observed that the number of ships commenced became less and less in each successive quarter of 1924.

The total tonnage of the mercantile marine at the present time is about 15 million tons more than in 1914. A number of the ships now laid up will never be used again, as they have meanwhile become out of date, and cannot compete with the new types.

The freight index published by the "Economist" gives the following survey:

Yearly average 1923	109,7
Yearly average 1924	113,4
July 1924	103,8
August 1924	104,4
September 1924	110,5
October 1924	115,6
November 1924	112,8
December 1924	111,2

It may be observed here that the English have succeeded in gaining a complete monopoly of the Danube shipping. After first securing the Danube Steam Shipping Company and the Hungarian River and Ocean Shipping Company, the English proceeded to buy from the Austrian government, in the name of these two companies, 7000 shares of the South German Shipping Company. This makes the English monopoly of the Danube shipping an accomplished fact, for the small Czecho-slovakian and South Slavian shipping companies still retaining their independence cannot enter into serious competition with the English shipping companies who are carrying on business under Hungarian and Austrian names.

¹⁾ June.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Comrade Stalin on the Question of the German C. P.

Moscow, 4. February 1925.

In the course of an interview with the communist journalist Herzog, comrade Stalin gave the following reply to the question of whether the political and economic conditions in Germany are such as to render a struggle for power on the part of the working class probable in the more or less near future:

"It would be difficult to reply definitely to this question were we to bind ourselves to fixing a definite period for the seizure of power, instead of considering tendencies. It is superfluous to prove that the present situation is essentially different to that of 1923, both with respect to international and internal relations. This does not however exclude the possibility that the situation may change abruptly in the near future in favour of the revolution. The possibility of serious alterations in the external situation already exist, alterations favouring revolutionary tendencies. The lability of the international situation guarantees that this assumption may become extremely probable."

In reply to the question of whether a long period of preparation is necessary before the seizure of power by the proletariat, comrade Stalin replied:

"In so far as the economic situation is concerned, it is only possible to judge of the position from the standpoint of the general statement which I have at my disposal I believe that the Dawes plan has already accomplished much towards a relative stabilisation of the situation. The circumstance that American capital has gained a foothold in German industry, the stabilisation of the currency, the progress accomplished in a number of important branches of German industry (though by no means signifying any real return of normal economic conditions in German, and finally a certain improvement in the material situation of the working class all this together has brought about a certain consolidation of the position of the bourgeoisie. This represents, so to speak, the positive aspect of the Dawes plan. But the Dawes plan has negative aspects as well, and these are inevitably bound to show themselves within a certain time, and to destroy the positive aspects of the Dawes plan.

There is no doubt whatever that the Dawes plan signifies a double pressure put upon the German proletariat, pressure from without and within. The antagonisms between the expansion of German industry and the limitation of foreign markets for this industry, the discrepancy between the enormous demands made by the Entente powers and the limited possibilities of meeting these demands out of the resources of German economics: all this is inevitably bound to worsen the position of the proletariat, of the small holders, the employees, and the intelligenzia, and will lead to an explosion, to a direct struggle for the seizure of power.

This circumstance is not the only one in favour of the German revolution. If the victory of this revolution is to be ensured, it is imperative that the Communist Party should represent the majority of the working class, that the Communist Party becomes the decisive power in the working class. It is imperative that social democracy be unmasked and shattered, that it be reduced to a negligible minority in the working class. Unless this is done, the dictatorship of the proletariat is unthinkable. If the workers are to be victorious, they must be moved by one united will, and the working classes must be led by a Party possessing the incontestable confidence of the working class. If there are two competitive parties of equal strength within the working class, a real and lasting victory is impossible, even when conditions are otherwise favourable. Lenin was the first to insist upon this in the period preceding the October revolution, designating it as the first prerequisite for the victory of the proletariat."

In reply to Herzog's question: "You say that the German C. P. should be backed up by the majority of the workers. Very little attention has been accorded to this up to now. What should be done, in your opinion, to make the German C. P. into such

an energetic Party, with a constantly growing recruiting power?" comrade Stalin replied:

"Many comrades are of the opinion that the consolidation and Bolshevisation of our Party is synonymous with the expulsion of all persons holding different opinions. It need not be said that this is wrong. The exposure of social democracy, and its reduction to a negligible minority in the working class, is a process which can only be carried out in the course of the daily struggle for the concrete needs of the working class. Social democracy is not to be combatted on the basis of abstract questions, but upon the basis of the daily struggle of the working class for the improvement of their material and political position, and here the most serious questions, if not actually the most decisive ones, are those relating to wages, working hours, housing, insurance, taxation, unemployment, high prices, and the like. Social democracy is to be defeated on the ground supplied by these questions, and its treachery exposed in these matters of daily struggle is viewed from the standpoint of revolution, and the whole work of the Party is permeated by the aim of conquest of power by the proletariat.

But such a policy as this can only be pursued by a Party headed by a cadre of adequately experienced leaders, able to make use of every error committed by the social democrats for the strengthening of their own Party. A cadre of leaders possessing sufficient theoretical knowledge to enable them to see beyond partial successes, and not to lose sight of the broader prospects of revolutionary evolution. This is the main reason why the question of the leading cadres of the Communist Parties in general, and of the leading cadre of the German C. P. in particular, forms one of the most essential questions of Bolshevisation.

In order to carry Bolshevisation through, the first necessity is to attain those fundamental conditions without which the Bolshevisation of a Party is absolutely impossible.

In the first place it is of imperative necessity that the Party does not regard itself as an appendage to the parliamentary electoral apparatus, as is the case in the social democratic party, or as a free supplement to the trade unions, as striven for by many anarcho-syndicalist elements, but as the highest form of proletarian class organisation, whose vocation it is to lead all other forms of proletarian organisation, from the trade unions to the parliamentary fraction.

In the third place it is imperatively necessary that the Party, especially its leading elements, should have thoroughly mastered the revolutionary theory of Marxism in its close connection with actual revolutionary practice.

In the third place it is imperatively necessary that the Party does draw up its slogans and issue its instructions on the basis of settled formulas and historical analogies, but as the result of a careful analysis of the concrete internal and external political conditions obtaining in the revolutionary movement, and accompanied by the fullest consideration of the experiences gained in the revolutions of all countries.

In the fourth place it is necessary that the Party tests the correctness of these slogans and instructions in the fire of revolutionary mass struggles.

In the fifth place it is necessary that the whole work of the Party, especially where social democratic traditions have not yet been eliminated, should be reorganised upon new and revolutionary principles, every step and every action of the Party being directed towards the revolutionising of the masses, towards the preparation and training of the broad masses of the workers in the spirit of revolution.

Sixthly, it is necessary that the Party is capable of combining the firmest adherence to principles (not to be confused with sectarianism) with a maximum of contact and alliance with the masses. Without this it is not only impossible for the Party to teach the masses of workers and to raise them to the level of the Party, but it is also impossible for the Party to hear the voices of the masses, and to recognise their most burning needs.

Seventhly, it is necessary that the Party is capable of combining in its work an irreconcilably revolutionary attitude (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with a maximum of elasticity and capacity for manoeuvring (not to be confused with a policy of adaption!) Without this it is impossible for the Party to get hold of all the forms of struggle and organisation, to combine the questions of daily

proletarian struggle with the fundamental interests of proletarian revolution, and to unite legal and illegal struggle in Party work.

Eighthly, it is necessary that the Party does not conceal its own errors, fears no criticism, and is capable of improving and training its own cadres by means of their own errors.

Ninthly, it is necessary that the Party is capable of selecting the best elements for forming the fundamental group of leaders for the revolutionary vanguard, leaders sufficiently devoted to the cause to make them real representatives of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and sufficiently experienced to enable them to be real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the strategy and tactics of Lenin.

Tenthly, it is necessary that the Party systematically improves its social contact and its organisation, and purges itself of all disintegrating opportunist elements, holding in view the goal of the maximum of unity.

Eleventhly, it is necessary that the Party works out an iron proletarian discipline, created on the basis of ideological unity, clearness as to the aims of the movement, unity in practical action and class consciousness on the part of the broad masses of Party members with reference to Party tasks.

Twelfthly, it is necessary that the Party systematically examines the execution of its own decisions and instructions, and prevents these from becoming empty phrases serving solely to undermine the confidence of the broad proletarian masses in the Party.

Without these and similar preliminary conditions, Bolshevism is only an empty phrase."

In reply to Herzog's question: "In view of the actual facts, we must admit that we have still a long way to go before social democracy is unmasked. Here the deficiencies and weakness of the present methods of Party work are becoming apparent; how are these to be improved?", comrade Stalin replied:

"It is not a question of deficiencies in the Party work performed by the German CP. The point is that the American investments, the influx of American capital plus the stabilisation of the currency, have brought about a certain improvement in the situation, and have awakened illusions regarding the possibility of a radical abolition of internal and external antagonism. German social democracy has hidden into the Reichstag on the back of these illusions, as if carried by some powerful steed. Wels boasts of his electoral victory. Apparently he is not aware that he is appropriating somebody else's victory. It is not German social democracy which has been victorious, but Morgan. Wels has merely been, and still is, Morgan's tool".

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and the C. P. of Russia on the Result of the Amsterdam Conference.

An Article from the "Trud".

Moscow 11th February 1925.

The Central organ of the trade unions of the Soviet Union "Trud" (Labour) writes:

The session of the I. F. T. U. in Amsterdam has ended with the acceptance of a compromise resolution. A certain, even if only an external change of the attitude of the Amsterdam International is to be attributed to the firm and clear attitude of the English delegation and of Edo Fimmen, who energetically advocated unity in general and the convening of a preliminary conference with representatives of the trade unions of the Soviet Union. Jouhaux, Leipart and Oudegeest were unable to give a rebuff to the English trade unions, as the attitude of the English and of the trade unions of the Soviet Union is supported by the overwhelming majority of the workers of other countries.

The unity of the international trade Union movement is demanded by the interests of the world proletariat, and it is impossible to approach the question of unity in a purely formal manner as did the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam Internatio-

nal. The Vienna Congress adopted the obstinate formal standpoint, according to which unity is only possible if the trade unions of the Soviet Union capitulate and affiliate to the I. F. T. U. upon the basis of the statutes of this organisation. Against this the English and the trade unions of the Soviet Union proposed a preliminary conference between the I. F. T. U. and the trade unions of the Soviet Union.

This did not please Oudegeest, who declared that already at the British trade union Congress in Hull he proposed to Comrade Tomsky that they should arrive at an agreement.

Tomsky, however, declared in Hull that the trade unions of the Soviet Union desired unity, but that they will only negotiate on the basis of equal rights. Should they have to recognise all the decisions of Amsterdam, this would mean a capitulation. The trade unions of the Soviet Union, however, are not vanquished.

The trade unions of the Soviet Union will submit to the decisions of Amsterdam if they find themselves in a minority at the world labour congress, which shall be participated in not only by the trade unions of the Soviet Union, but also by the other red trade unions standing outside of the Amsterdam International.

As the trade unions of the Soviet Union foresaw objections on the side of the Amsterdamers, they proposed a preliminary Conference. Oudegeest opposed the preliminary conference, and it was only under the pressure of the protest of the opposition that a compromise was brought about.

The compromise resolution declares:

We are prepared to enter upon negotiations if you capitulate and announce your readiness to enter the Amsterdam International.

Why then is a conference necessary? The resolution is intended to create the appearance of readiness to negotiate, in order to be able the better to sabotage the negotiations for unity. Mertens and Leipart are probably charmed with this decision, but it does not confuse the supporters of unity. The vote of the English and of Fimmen shows that this ruse was failure.

The question was plainly put. Those who desire unity must not demand self-annihilation from the other party. The Executive of Amsterdam, by the acceptance of the resolution of Steenhuis, has hindered the struggle for unity. But this has not yet put an end to the fight. The working class needs unity so urgently, that it cannot submit without resistance to the resolution of Amsterdam. Unity will be realised sooner or later.

An Article of the "Pravda".

Moscow, 11th February 1925.

The "Pravda" writes:

During the debates of the Executive of the Amsterdam International regarding the Russian question, two camps were formed: on the one side the supporters of the unity of the trade union movement, who demand concrete unequivocal steps to the organisatory rapprochement to the Red Trade Union International, and on the other side the sworn enemies of the unity of the trade union movement and of the rapprochement to the trade unions of the Soviet Union.

The strategical plan of the right wing consisted in rejecting negotiations with the Red Trade Union International and at the same time throwing upon the "irresponsible" Russians the responsibility for the alleged rejection of negotiations with Amsterdam. The English delegates, who as a whole maintained a firm attitude, were not caught by the demagogic manoeuvre of the right wing.

Thereupon the right wing voted for the so-called compromise resolution of Steenhuis, which demands nothing more or less than the recognition of the statutes of the Amsterdam I. F. T. U. on the part of the trade unions of the Soviet Union. The English delegates and Edo Fimmen saw through the hypocritical manoeuvre and proposed a counter-resolution, which however was rejected by the continental majority.

The right wing has gained a formal victory. The prospects of the victory must not however be overestimated. The fight is not yet ended, in fact it has not yet even reached its decisive phase. The right orientation is being more and more abandoned by the most powerful army of Amsterdam — the English trade unions.

The importance of the Amsterdam session consists in the fact that the right wing did not venture to hinder the English in their independent efforts for the realisation of the unity of

the British and Russian trade union movement. The resolution of Amsterdam maintains silence regarding the Anglo-Russian Committee of Action.

The right wing is inspired with hate against the English, against the Red International of Labour Unions, and against the Communists. The left wing however is inspired with the sincere desire for trade union unity, with the will to fight against capital, with the honest and sincere recognition of the real situation of the labour movement in the Soviet Union.

Fred Bramley, who declared himself to be no communist, and in fact to be a representative of the right wing tendency, acknowledged that the Russian workers can only achieve successes under the lead of the communists.

The Mertens, Jouhaux and Oudegeests may adopt resolutions against the Red International of Labour Unions, but in spite of this the trade union blockade will be removed. The English proletariat has made itself effectively heard. The time is approaching when the proletariat of other countries will join its voice with that of the English.

The blind hatred against the communists is everywhere disappearing, where it has not yet already disappeared. The fight against imperialism is impossible without an alliance with the working class of the Soviet Union and without the unity of the trade union movement.

In spite of the hypocritical resolutions of Amsterdam, Unity is marching on.

IN THE COLONIES

The New Stage in the Political Developments in Egypt.

By A. R. (Cairo).

Since the last English ultimatum to Egypt and the overthrow of the National government of Zaglul Pasha, English diplomacy has made many experiments.

The most important and decisive of these experiments are the following:

1. The final and permanent seizure of possession of the Sudan and the creation of a special Sudanese army under the exclusive command of English officers.

2. The retention of almost all European officials (the majority of them English) at their posts in the various ministries.

3. The creation of a monarchist Party, "Itachad" (Unity).

4. The organising of the parliamentary elections in such a manner that the majority is assured before-hand for all the opposition (anti-Zaglul) Parties.

5. The liquidation of the European, chiefly the French, influence upon the political life of the country.

These five items, which of course form part of an inseparable whole, are not only an expression of that general line of the English Foreign Office which is called a "firm Continental policy", but are an expression or a reflection of that crisis in the national movement, the issue of which it is at present difficult to predict.

The seizure of possession of the Sudan, that is, the exclusive exploitation of that country by British imperialism, represents nothing new. The so-called "Condominium" (joint rule) of England and Egypt in the Sudan, which consisted in Egypt maintaining an army which enabled the English Cotton syndicate to plunder the country "peacefully", was, of course, always a farce. This farce nevertheless had a certain importance for Egypt. Before all, the Condominium always allowed Egypt the legal (!) right to demand a control over the inner life of the country and also over the budget. At the same time this Condominium, shadowy as it was, nevertheless held England back to some extent with regard to the question of the water supply: as a rule every conflict regarding the division of the water supply of the blue Nile between Egypt and the Sudan (for the latter read the "English cotton planters") was not settled without incidents.

As a matter of fact, the Sudan question is not merely a question of water. For the Egyptian trading bourgeoisie, it is also a question of markets. Hitherto the Sudan, not only politically but also economically, has represented a colony of a colony. As it had no immediate trade connections of its own with the outer world, it constituted an important factor for the middle-men

operations of the Egyptian trading bourgeoisie. The legal separation of the Sudan from Egypt means the setting up of a foreign customs, which, of course, will not please the Egyptian bourgeoisie. The administrative separation of the Sudan from Egypt will mean a blow into the face of this bourgeoisie, and will be no less disastrous for it than for the Egyptian peasantry.

The withdrawal of the Egyptian troops, as well as the approaching removal of the Egyptian officials, means the complete liquidation of the "Condominium" which had already long become impossible.

The conclusion of a new Treaty, lasting for four years, with all European (English) officials, secures the complete carrying out of the ultimatum. Nevertheless, this new contract is important, not only because it delivers the entire interior administration over to England, but that it means a direct and serious blow against the Egyptian intelligentsia, who will not find suitable employment, either in the state apparatus or in industry.

The creation of a monarchist Party is the most striking expression of the crisis which the national movement is undergoing. If one accepts as the alleged reason for the founding of this Party the accusation that Zaglul is disloyal to the throne, an accusation which has frightened some of his not very staunch followers, the underlying reason for this step has long been developing within the Zaglul Party. Right from the first day of its existence the Zaglul movement bore within it the elements of its own destruction. Its first appearance in the political arena was so violent, that it attracted whole groups which, in their very nature, had to be hostile to the Zaglul movement (big landowners and aristocratic intellectuals).

Nevertheless, these elements did not immediately decide to leave the Zaglul Party. They remained in Zaglul's camp until recent events demonstrated to them that there existed a stronger one. Hence there set in, at first gradually but becoming ever more rapid, the desertion of prominent members of the wafd (the national Party of Zaglul Pasha) to a surer place, thereby showing their devotion to the throne. Of course, all this did not take place without the "help" of England. The English press endeavoured to prepare the way for a "conspiracy" against the Egyptian throne, which was alleged to be instigated by Zaglul.

As regards the "Unity" Party, it is most probable that it will amalgamate with the Constitutional Democrats (the right).

The parliamentary "elections" literary beat all records in the way of terror. Space does not permit us to enumerate all the measures which have been adopted by the government (read England) and which aim at securing for it a majority.

We will mention the most interesting of these:

1. Every candidate had to deposit 150 pounds, and in the event of his obtaining less than a tenth of the number of votes received by his opponent, his money flows into the coffers of the government.

2. Only the candidates are permitted to convene meetings. Speeches are not allowed at the meetings convened by the candidates. The candidate brings forward his programme and there the matter ends.

3. It is not allowed to conduct election propaganda in the press.

4. It is not allowed to print appeals, to arrange demonstrations etc.

5. The students are entirely prohibited from taking any part in the election campaign. Only on the day of the election can those who are old enough to exercise the vote, leave the school for an hour in order to fulfil their duty as citizens.

In addition to this, there take place mass arrests and the flogging of all those who are in the least suspected of spreading proclamations. Persecution is specially directed against a manifesto of the Committee for the Protection of the Workers and Peasants, because the ruling Party is more fiercely criticised in this than are the other Parties.

English imperialism in Egypt and in the whole Arabian East, in spite of its apparent consolidation, is losing more and more ground under its feet, and is before all losing the support it enjoyed among the working peasantry. If the peasantry has not up to now been able to play an active rôle, this was owing to two factors: first, as a result of the "cultural" rôle which a rising imperialism at first plays in the occupied colonies, and secondly, as a result of the profound political and cultural backwardness of the Egyptian peasant.

The first factor has long ceased to be of any effect (since the beginning of the war, when the English showed their "culture"

to the Egyptian peasant), the second factor is being removed, in spite of its far-reaching roots, by the mere passage of events. The Egyptian peasantry is taking its place in the political life of the country. From an object it is changing into an active subject, and will sooner or later have a word to say.

Syria under the Rule of the French Left Bloc.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

France has no luck in its policy in the Orient. The great aspirations for supremacy in the Mediterranean, which French imperialism had never abandoned since Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, seemed to be approaching realisation after the defeat of Germany in the world war and the dividing up of conquered Turkey. But the seven years' rule of French imperialism in Syria proved only too clearly the opposite, that France is no longer a decisive factor in the East. **Oriental policy is the chief source of worry to the French Foreign Ministry.**

France's share of the booty in the Near East yielded at first little enough. Of the rich morsel which, according to the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1915 was to fall to the lot of France, only a few poor crumbs remained. Clémenceau bartered Mossul in the East to England for a 25% share in the exploitation of the petroleum wells. Cilicia in the North had to be returned to Turkey as a pledge of the Franco-Turkish "friendship", in order to restrain the Turkish Irredenta in Syria, which is still very strong. In the South the English, under various pretexts, pushed the frontiers of Palestine as far as possible into Syrian territory. What remained of Syria was a helpless trunk, strategically hard to hold, politically a centre of unrest, economically non-viable. The Syrian people had become a victim of imperialistic greed.

First of all experiments were made in the administration of the country. General Gouraud, the first supreme Commissary, is described, even by many Frenchmen, as a model of political stupidity. He combined ruthless brutality as regards the suppression of a movement for freedom, with despicable irresolution, when it was a case of carrying through economic reforms, even such as were absolutely necessary to the country (re-establishment of industry, improvement of the trade balance, agrarian reform). It was Poincaré's government which recalled Gouraud who was thoroughly incapable and, at the end of 1923, sent a new High Commissioner into the country; no one less than general Weygand, the famous saviour of European civilisation from the Bolshevik danger, the victor of Warsaw and organiser of the Polish White Army.

Weygand did full credit to his famous energy. He understood how to create order. Weygand administered the country in a proper and approved manner: the last organs of the opposition Press were suppressed; the Court sentenced revolutionaries to penal servitude. On the other hand the French capitalists were favoured. The silk weavers of Lyons put the silk industry once more on its feet. The Bekaa however (in Central Syria) was by extensive planting of cotton to become to the French textile industry, what the Sudan is to the English textile industry of Lancashire.

Since May 11th 1924, Weygand has been the representative of the French Left Bloc in Syria. As long as it was a case of opposing Poincaré, Herriot was an enthusiastic advocate of autonomy, even of the evacuation of Syria by the French troops. Herriot was the idol of many Syrian nationalists. The Blum Socialists had also repeatedly declared in favour of self-determination for Syria. Herriot and Blum formed a government. Weygand remained in Beyrout.

The Left Bloc did not depart from Poincaré's Oriental policy one jot. In the discussion as to the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, the Communists were the only ones to demand the evacuation of Syria. The Left Bloc and the National Bloc joined hands in a brotherly way in voting for the budget for the occupation of Syria. Weygand was allowed for a full six months to continue to hold the mandate over Syria in the name of Edouard Herriot, the democrat. The misery increased, the number of emigrants from Syria did not decrease. The trade balance did not improve. A large number of the intelligenzia who had been in favour of the French, turned to the anti-French camp, when they saw how thoroughly Herriot the Democrat had

deceived them. It was only then that Herriot decided to recall Weygand.

The general then completed his last act: he visited Sir Herbert Samuel in Palestine and prepared the way for Anglo-French co-operation against the revolutionary, and especially the Bolshevik peril, in the East. Weygand who, in addition to all the other good qualities with which he had blessed Syria, had made himself particularly unpopular with the mainly Mohammedan population by attending masses for hours at a time and kissing the hands of Jesuit and Capuchin fathers as often as possible — the Catholic General Weygand had found a language in common with the confidant of the Jewish banker in Palestine, the Zionist and pious frequenter of the synagogue, Sir Herbert Samuel. The free-thinker Herriot and the Socialist MacDonald came to an understanding through their worthy representatives — against the Bolshevik machinations!

Weygand departed at last. The French Press indulged in interminable paens of praise for the General. The population is said to have parted from its beloved High Commissioner, with great regret. What was the actual state of affairs? A group of paid students from the Beyrout Jesuit College accompanied the general to the harbour. There the dignitaries of Church and State awaited him. The streets were fairly empty. The shouts of "Long live Weygand!", "Hurrah for France!", which the poor students were obliged to shout at the top of their voices in order to earn their pay, met with no response. Not a hand was waved, but a murmur arose which expressed anything but sympathy. As the ship departed with the general on board, the general atmosphere was one of relief combined with an anxious anticipation of the arrival of the new general.

The new High Commissioner is Serrail and is a friend of Herriot's. Soon after his arrival he let the Syrian people know that he did not intend to change the main lines of policy, and the working masses of Syria who have seen Weygand for the last six months representing the Left Bloc, know now what they have to expect. The fact that Serrail, in order to gain the favour of the aristocracy in the Lebanon district, will appoint a governor from their circle, does not alter the situation.

It is especially in the colonies that the Left Bloc shows its true reactionary character.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The New Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, Comrade Frunse.

Biography of Comrade Frunse.

The new People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Soviet Union, Michael Vassilyevitch Frunse, was born in 1885, in Pischpek in Turkestan, and is the son of a Moldavian peasant. On leaving school he attended the technical college in St. Petersburg from 1904 onwards. Even before leaving school he joined the revolutionary self-education clubs. In the first year of his University studies he became a member of the Social Democratic party organisation and immediately showed his sympathies with the Bolshevik tendency. Since the end of 1904 he has taken an active part in various Bolshevik activities. In 1905 he was one of the organisers and leaders of the famous textile worker's strike in Ivanovo-Voznessensk. The Ivanovo-Voznessensk committee sent him as a delegate to the 3rd and 4th party conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

From 1904 onwards Comrade Frunse was repeatedly arrested by the Czarist police. At the beginning of 1907 he was sentenced to four years hard labour on account of his Bolshevik activities. While serving his sentence, he was again brought before the Court for armed resistance to the police and condemned to death. The death sentence was however commuted to 10 years hard labour. In 1914 he was released, but again arrested in the summer of 1915. He soon escaped from prison and carried on illegal work in the Transbaikalian district under the name of Vassilenko where, with a few other comrades, he published a large weekly journal. Here however he was soon discovered by the police and fled to West Russia. He drifted to the West front and worked at the creation of an illegal revolutionary organisation in the army. In February 1917, Comrade

Frunse was already head of a complete illegal revolutionary organisation which had its sections in the 10th and 3rd armies.

After the February revolution, Comrade Frunse was one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in White Russia and on the West front; he carried through the disarming of the Minsk police and gendarmerie and became the chief of the Minsk civil militia. The 1st Congress of the White Russian Workers' and Peasants' Soviets elected him as chairman.

In the Kornilov days, the Executive of the Minsk Soviet nominated him chief of the staff of the revolutionary troops of the district. By the end of August he was chairman of the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Soviet in the town of Schuya and was sent as its delegate to the Democratic Conference.

In the days of the October revolution he placed himself at the head of the armed forces of his district, and on October 30th he arrived in Moscow with an armed troop consisting of 2000 workers and soldiers and took an active part in the October fights.

In April, when Koltchak's offensive had reached its height, Comrade Frunse was nominated commander of four armies on the southern section of the East front. He organised and carried through a flank attack against Koltchak's army, which led to the collapse of the Koltchak offensive and the rapid retreat of the whole of Koltchak's army. During the advance he was wounded by an aircraft bomb. He was decorated with the order of the Red Banner for his successful strategic operations near Ufa.

At the end of June 1919, Comrade Frunse was appointed commander in chief of the whole East Front. Under his leadership, the red troops occupied Chelyabinsk and advanced along the whole Front across the Ural mountains. In September, the Red Troops which he commanded surrounded and annihilated Koltchak's Southern army. Thanks to this operation, communications with Turkestan could be re-established, and the Orenburg Cossacks joined the Soviet power. In December he conducted the operations on the Ural front which, by the end of December, led to the occupation of the shores of the Caspian Sea by the Red Army.

In the first half of 1920, Comrade Frunse continued to work in Turkestan at the liquidation of the White Guard Front.

In September 1920, Comrade Frunse was appointed commander of the Southern Army fighting against Wrangel. In the last days of November, the Southern Army, under his command, completed the annihilation of the South Russian counter-revolution by occupying the whole of the Crimea. In recognition of this, the Central Executive Committee presented Comrade Frunse with a sword of honour and a portrait of Karl Marx.

After the end of the civil war, he was appointed plenipotentiary of the Revolutionary Military Council in the Ukraine and commander of all the divisions of troops in the Ukraine.

Petyura's and Machno's last bands were destroyed under his leadership. During these operations he himself received two bullet wounds. His coat was riddled by seven bullets and it was only by good luck that he escaped with his life. He was for the second time decorated with the order of the Red Banner.

In 1920, Comrade Frunse was elected a member of the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Ukraine and a member of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee. Since the 10th party conference of the C.P. of Russia, he has been a member of its Central Committee.

Since April 1st 1924 he has been vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Soviet Union and in fact, has commanded the Red Army since Comrade Trotsky fell ill, and already before the January 26th when he was formally nominated chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council.

ANNIVERSARY OF PARIS COMMUNE

Theses for Agitators on the Day of the "Paris Commune" and I. R. R.

1. During the month of March, and especially on March 18, the proletariat of all countries remembers the heroes and martyrs of the revolutionary uprisings of the working class, aimed at the overthrow of the thrones of the czars and kings of the bourgeois social order. The February Revolution in France and the March Revolution in Germany in 1848, the uprising of the Paris proletariat, the proclamation of the Paris Commune on

March, 18, 1871 — these are first milestones in the struggle of the working class for power. The Russian Revolution of 1905, the overthrow of czarism in March 1917, are next stages through which the proletariat went prior to October 1917, to the triumph of its dictatorship, the Soviet State, in the realm of the former czarist Russian empire. Its power extends over one-sixth of the globe.

2. In June 1848 and in May 1871 the bourgeoisie, with the aid of their Generals Caveignac and Gallifet, suppressed the uprising of the working class. Tens of thousands remained on the battle field, thousands were tortured to death in prisons and by compulsory labour. In December 1905 the Russian czar suppressed the uprising of the proletariat, and like his fore-runners, the executioners from the camps of the French and the German bourgeoisie — was convinced of the certainty of his victory. But the class-conscious proletariat did not forget the great cause of the liberation of humanity proclaimed from the barricades of Paris, Berlin and Moscow in 1848, 1871 and 1905. It repressed its hatred and desire for revenge, and when, in consequence of the sufferings of the war and the disorganisation resulting from the bloody battles of 1914 to 1917, the patience of the toiling masses came to an end, the workers of Leningrad, under the leadership of Lenin and the Russian Communist Party, — the Bolsheviks, — courageously proceeded to the realisation of the bequest of the former revolutionary generations, and with the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, an epoch of the international socialist proletarian revolution was entered upon in one country. The Day of the Paris Commune, as well as November 7, are therefore international revolutionary holidays of the entire proletariat, which mark the first concluding strokes of the 75 years of history of the revolutionary fight and the lessons drawn from the defeat of 1871 as well as of the victory of October 1917.

3. The revolutionary workers of all countries are conducting their present struggle for the abolition of the power of capital and for the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International and its Sections. Revolutionary Marxism, Bolshevism, Leninism — is the only direct continuation of the life-work of the first great teachers of the working class, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the direct participants and leaders of the fight of the proletariat in 1848 and 1871. Social democracy, the II. International, has rejected the continuation of the revolutionary fight which was begun in the preceding revolutions. They turn to the workers with the request to reject the class struggle. They themselves stand at the head of bourgeois governments or aid directly in their activity. From their midst have arisen many executioners, such as the German social democrats Noske, Ebert and Hoersing, the Hungarian social democrats, the Estonian, Finnish Socialists, who, with their own hands, organised the military slaughter of the revolutionary uprising of the working class.

The working class, which carries on the work of the cause of the Paris Communards, must conduct a determined ruthless struggle against the whole bourgeois front, and with unflinching will, drive from their midst the social democrats, the watch-dogs of the bourgeoisie, who weaken the revolutionary energies of the working class and deliver them defenceless to their enemy class. Only if the working class unites in the only workers' party, the Communist, will it be prepared for and be capable of meeting the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie: Only then will it be able to prevent a repetition of the mistakes of the Parisian Communards and be able to achieve an equally decisive victory as that which the Russian proletariat achieved in October 1917.

4. The Paris Commune of 1871 bequeathed to the revolutionary proletariat the first experiences in the sphere of the organisation of its power, its dictatorship. The Paris workers realised that they could not complete their liberation if they built on the foundation of the existing bourgeois state. They overthrew this State and gave their power a firm basis. Simple workers, absolutely unknown up to that time, courageously took into their hands the lead in the revolutionary commune, beset on all sides by enemies. Two armies were against the Commune which until the day previously had still been fighting each other: the armies of French and German capital. But the defeat of the Commune cannot be ascribed in the final analysis to the vacillations in the ranks of the Communards, their refusal to make the decisive attack against fortified Versailles, where the bourgeoisie with their

leader, Thiers, had taken refuge. The defeat of the Paris Commune was actually a consequence of the weakness of its military organisation. The heroism, courage and flaming enthusiasm of the Paris Communards did not suffice alone to secure victory: the French proletariat at that time did not yet possess an internally firm revolutionary mass party, which might have led it without a pause to decisive victory.

During the present period between two revolutionary waves, the revolutionary working class, which learned from the experiences of this defeat, is preparing for fresh decisive battles, is directing all its energies to organising its forces, to the creation of a strong Communist Party, to preparing it for the armed struggle. The Russian proletariat has already avoided the mistakes of the Paris Commune, and created a revolutionary party long before the uprising, organised the Red Army, the army of its class, which is armed in accordance with all the rules of the latest military technique and has absorbed all the experiences of the military struggle.

5. The cause of the easy victory gained by the bourgeoisie over the Paris Commune was the fact that the Parisian workers were not supported by the workers of France and the workers of other countries. The fact that the French peasantry, which stood apart from the fight of the Parisian workers, not only did not support the latter, but even sided with the French bourgeoisie, helped the latter to defeat the revolutionary working class. The proletariat learned its lesson from this sad experience. The slogan, "Workers of the World Unite!", will never again be forgotten by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class — it is incorporated in the revolutionary world organisation of the proletariat, the Communist International. The communist movement is no longer limited to the capitals, but embraces also the toilers in the most remote spot in every individual country. Following the teachings of Lenin, the revolutionary workers entered into direct alliance with the peasants fighting against the yoke of imperialism, they support them in this struggle and strive to bring about the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants, which conquered in the October Revolution of 1917 and which will help the workers and peasants of the countries of the West to attain victory, and every day bring it nearer and nearer.

6. The revolting Parisian workers during the March days of 1871 had no illusions about and no confidence in the bourgeoisie and its governments. Their slogan was the revolt of the working class, the fight for power. Neither does the advance-guard of the revolutionary proletariat of the present day harbour any illusions and deceptive hopes. The past year, however, has destroyed these illusions in the broad masses of the proletariat. The "democratic-pacifist era", proclaimed a short time ago, very quickly came to an end. The bourgeoisie of all countries adopts the undisguised policy of fascist violence against the working class and prepares for fresh imperialist wars. The parties of the II. International also support this fascist policy of the bourgeois governments, just as they supported the "democratic-pacifist era" preceding it. In Great Britain the Conservative Government is militarising the railways in the fight against striking workers, proclaimed recently the transition to a protective policy, which will increase the prices of all articles of consumption of the working class, and is conducting an open violent campaign against the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East and of the Colonies, subjected to British Imperialism. The "pacifist" and "democratic", Herriot, supported by the socialists, is trying to disguise with phrases his open desertion to the imperialist policy of force introduced by Poincaré. Under Herriot reprisals against the communists have begun and are becoming more and more intensified, the military occupation of the Cologne District has been prolonged, but with respect to the Soviet Republic, the policy of the British Conservatives has been imitated. In Germany, as a logical result of six years of social democratic betrayal of the coalition government, power fell into the hands of heavy industry and the Junkers, the Party of the German Nationalists, of the Monarchists. The characteristic phenomenon in the sphere of international politics, is the general offensive of world capital against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples under the slogan of the "united front" of the whole bourgeoisie, organised by the British Conservative Government. Pacifist phrases are completely unmasked by the increased armaments on land, sea and air with recourse to the destructive chemical means for future wars; the refusal, in spite of the Ver-

sailles Treaty, of the Allies to evacuate the Cologne District, and the preparations of world capital for an armed attack on Soviet Russia. In view of the increasing reaction in all countries, and the breathless preparations for fresh imperialist wars, the working class must close its ranks and march in a solid united front under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party, the Communist International.

During the revolutions of 1848 and 1871, the bourgeoisie had already ruthlessly manifested that unlimited cruelty of which it is capable in the fight for the maintenance of its privileges and its power against the working class which ventures to rise up to secure its own emancipation. And at present also, the more determined becomes the will of the vanguard of the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie by revolution, the more ruthlessly does the bourgeoisie deal with the fighters for the cause of the workers, no matter whether the bourgeoisie in question is a monarchist, a fascist or a republican power. The prisoners of capital who fell into the hands of their class enemies at the defeat of the Hungarian and Bavarian Soviet Republics, are still languishing in the prisons of Bavaria and Hungary under the most unendurable conditions. The prisons of Germany are filled to overflowing with prisoners who were imprisoned after the revolutionary fights of 1920 and 1921, in the Hamburg uprising and during the other fights in October in 1923. The prisons of the colonial countries of Great Britain and France are filled to overflowing with revolutionaries who fought for the overthrow of the imperialist yoke imposed by the European bourgeoisie on the colonial peoples of the East. The Republics of the German Social Democrat Ebert and of the Polish Socialist Pilsudski, the monarchies of Roumania and Yugoslavia, the "free" republic of American capital, vie with each other in the effort to invent the most outrageous persecutions against the communist vanguard of the working class. The Social Democrats of Esthonia, together with the wealthy peasants and the speculators, and with the full endorsement of the II. International, before the eyes of the whole of Europe, participate in the carrying out of mass executions of workers, in most cases simply because they belong to the working class. Cynically and insolently the Hungarian Social Democrats, under the pressure of the workers, publish their notorious agreement with the bloody Hungarian ruler, Horthy, while a special commission sent by the II. International to "investigate" these base dealings of the Hungarian socialists, openly endorses the part played by their friends in the bloody settlement of accounts with the Hungarian working class.

The total number of victims of the White Terror during the period from 1918 to 1924 amounts to half a million. In the uprisings in Germany, Finland, and Hungary (without counting the victims of White Terror in Russia), etc., 100,000 people were killed, 150,000 were compelled to leave their country, tens of thousands are in prison (7000 in Germany, 5000 in Poland, 5000 in Italy, 3000 in the Baltic Border States, and 4000 in the Balkans). The working class must put an end to this White Terror. In the course of the last year the fight for the liberation of political prisoners assumed a violent character. On March 18th our slogan "Liberate all the political prisoners who have suffered in the fight for the cause of the workers and for the liberation of oppressed peoples", must resound more powerfully and unite millions of workers in street demonstrations and processions.

8. The German bourgeoisie and the social democrats, who are preparing a new campaign against the Communist Party of Germany, the battering-ram of the proletarian revolution, are having recourse to the great provocative "Tcheka Trial". Spies and provocateurs of the German criminal police flooded the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany during the period of the revolutionary events in October 1923, and under instructions from the social democratic head of the police, organised a number of the most senseless and provocative acts of terror, murder, etc. The German reactionary State administration, with the approval of the German Social Democrats, laid all the blame on the Communist Party of Germany in order to provide a formal excuse for fresh mass arrests and a further prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany.

This was one of the most insolent provocations of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary communism, bolshevism, never had recourse to the methods of individual terror and has always conducted its preparatory work for the rising of the working class under the slogan of the struggle and solidarity of the

broad masses of the proletariat. "The liberation of the working class is the work of the working class itself". The adventurous policy of perpetrating individual acts of terrorism against the enemies of the working class during the period of the first Russian Revolution in 1905, was not characteristic of the revolutionary Marxists, but of the petty-bourgeois Party of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, who belong to the reformist II. International, and are friends of the German social democrats. The masses of workers will not allow themselves to be misled by the provocative methods of the German social democratic secret police. And the renewed attempts to suppress the Communist Party of Germany will prove to be as futile as the former. This attack of German reaction on the German workers will only result in the growth of the sympathy of the workers of all countries for the fighting German workers, in further strengthening the slogans against the White Terror. We must issue the following slogan at our demonstrations on March 18th, in all countries: "Down with the provocation of the German bourgeoisie and Social Democrats". "Long live the German Communist Proletariat".

9. The Russian proletariat, armed with the experiences of all the preceding revolutionary fights of the workers of all countries, which carried out the behests of the Paris Communards who died in the struggle, has already reached the eighth year of its power in its vast country, which it has united into a "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". In spite of the pressure of world capital, which at present is leading the attack with all the weapons of the economic fight, as well as with lies and denunciations which are spread by the socialists of all countries in alliance with the Russian White Emigrants abroad, the Soviet Republic lives on, its economy is becoming more stable every day, and it is demonstrating to the whole world the increasing ability of the working class to organise the administration and economy of a vast country.

10. March 18th is the day of International Red Relief. This revolutionary working class mass organisation unites millions of workers in its ranks who realise the necessity of struggle against the White Terror, and the necessity of aiding all the victims of the White Terror who were thrown by the bourgeoisie into prison or driven into exile. The bourgeois governments and the social democrats persecute the International Red Relief with deep hatred, called forth by the fact that Red Relief is one of the strongest supports of the revolutionary struggle.

"Support International Red Relief"; "Workers, join in the Ranks of the International Red Relief"; "Help the Political prisoners" — these must be the slogans of every worker on March 18th.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Republics of Inquisitors and Hangmen.

By O. Rjastas (Esthonia).

On that spot of earth where the Lithuanian, the Lettish and the Esthonian "independent democratic republics" are situated, the white terror is at present raging on a fearful scale and in a most cruel manner. Tortures and mishandlings of the arrested by whippings and floggings until they lose consciousness, in order to extort confessions from them — all these methods of torture of the most primitive kind, and with which every political prisoner is familiar, are being employed.

But all these tortures and ill-treatment are as nothing compared with those horrors which are being perpetrated in Esthonia, in Lithuania and Lettland behind those walls which bear the sign of departments of the "Political Police". We will not speak here of the raids and mass arrests in the working class districts which are undertaken against the workers in Esthonia and Lettland for the sole purpose of seizing hold of prominent functionaries in the Labour Movement. All this is "quite in order" under Democracy. It is not a question of the arrests, it is a question of what happens to the arrested. The tortures which are exercised in order to extract the desired confession know no limits. We give below the reports from people living in the neighbourhood of the secret police.

From the dungeons of the secret police there arise the most heart-rending cries, which penetrate to the neighbouring houses

and so terrify the women and children that they are afraid to remain in the house alone. The inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the Reval Police headquarters state that every night they are awakened by frequent revolver shots which come from the guard-room of the police headquarters. It is there were the workers are shot.

A comrade who managed to escape describes the inquisitorial tortures of the Esthonian secret police:

In addition to the violent floggings with sticks and whips made of barbed wire, the electric bath is frequently employed. The prisoners who are brought up for examination are placed in the bath and subjected to an increasingly powerful electric current until they writhe with convulsions and instinctively try to get away; beside the bath there stand police officers armed with whips made of barbed wire who drive them back. As a result of such torture the victim suffers from convulsions and cramps a long time afterwards, causing him unbearable pain. Workers who are known to have been more active in the Labour Movement are subjected to even more fearful tortures. They undergo a process of scalping, that is, the skin is torn from the top of the head right down to the eyes.

The names of the arrested are not published. Those who have been so mutilated as to be unrecognisable are shot. The shootings are carried out by a certain captain Kuusk in the guard-room of the Reval police headquarters. Two soldiers, who receive 10,000 marks as remuneration for this work, hold the victim, while this captain shoots him in the skull. When mass shootings are undertaken, automobile engines are set in motion in order to drown the reports.

Cases have occurred in which the prisoner undergoing examination could not endure the torture and has flung himself out of the third storey window. One of the prisoners who threw himself out of the window in this manner and was not dead, said to the people who gathered round, as he recovered consciousness, that he could not endure the torture and had decided rather to die on the street pavement. This victim who was severely injured was not taken to the hospital but brought direct to the mortuary, where he died after five hours.

Precisely the same reports as to mishandlings and torture are received from Lithuania. The electric bath is the device most frequently employed with prisoners undergoing examination. Recently it has become the custom to kick the arrested in the stomach and to tear portions of flesh from their bodies with pincers. It is hard even to imagine the methods which the "democratic" secret police exercise when "examining" the prisoners. In Lithuania and in Esthonia it is not only the workers who speak of these deeds of horror, but also members of the "upper classes". The same methods of torture are frequently employed against intellectuals who are suspected of sympathising with the communists.

The question arises, why does the bourgeoisie have recourse to such terrible cruelties? The answer to this is not difficult. A handful of cut throats, speculators and hangmen feel that the ground is crumbling under their feet. Around them there prevails discontent and dire poverty, which form the soil for the growth of the revolutionary movement. This handful of hangmen rages like a mortally wounded wild beast, which seeks to slay everything in its reach. But all this will not save the hangmen.

And all these horrible murders are participated in by the Socialists of the Baltic States and by the Socialist International!

It is the duty of the millions of proletarians of the whole world to come forward in defence of this tortured and terrorised working class of the Baltic States.

Down with the Republics of Inquisitors and Hangmen!

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Young Communist League in China.

The following facts are taken from a report recently submitted to the E. C. of the Y. C. I. upon the situation of the Young Communist League in China.

The League in China has approximately 3,000 members, chiefly amongst the student youth. The chief task is the proletarianisation of the young Communist League. The Chinese com-

rades are now organising clubs of the working youth, sport organisations etc. in the industrial centres and are recruiting there amongst the working youth for the League. At the same time peasant leagues are being organised amongst the national revolutionary sections of the peasant youth.

The Young Communist League has a great ideological and leading influence upon the Chinese Student League which has been the pioneer in the struggle against imperialism for many years.

The League issues a publication in the Chinese language ("The Chinese Youth") of which 48 numbers have already appeared. The paper is widely distributed and is at the same time the leading organ for the active workers and the nuclei. Apart from this, the League publishes the periodical, "The International of Youth" in the Chinese language and also leaflets, etc.

The conditions for the growth of the Young Communist League are favourable. The working day of the Chinese youth is from ten to twelve and even fourteen hours. And in this time the young workers can only earn half the wages of the adults. The Chinese Young Communist League stands before the task of strengthening its economic work which has previously been absolutely insufficient. The Young Communist League agitates successfully upon the political field and attacks the imperialist plans for the enslavement of China in all meetings.

PROLETARIAN ART

To Communist Newspapers, Periodicals, and Publishing Houses of all Countries!

In our issue of 8th January last (Vol 5 No. 2) we published a Notice under the above heading issued by the International Liaison Bureau of Proletarian Literature. The following list should be regarded as a supplement to this Notice. Ed.

List

of works by Russian writers which the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. and the International Liaison Bureau of Proletarian Literature recommend for translation into foreign languages.

Poetical works:

1. Demjan Bednij: "The High Street", "In the Ring of Fire", "The Soviet Sentinels" and others.
2. Alexander Besujmenskij: "Peter Smorodin", "The Cap", "The Party Membership Card", Extract from the first part of "The Little Town". Extracts from "Young Communist Life", "Snowshoes", "Lenin Day", "Party Membership Card No. 224,332", "Young Lenin Fighters", "Prelude to Spring".
3. Ivan Dorinin: "The Steam Plough Driver", "The Love of the Fields for Spring".
4. Alexander Scharow: "Master Jacob", "Drunken Sleep", "The Song of the Tchervonez", "Ice-foes", "The Factory Scholars", "We keep Watch over our Country".

II. Belles Lettres.

I. A. Serafimovitch: "The Iron Stream" — A tale, 160 pages in octavo form describing the civil war in the Kuban district and on the coast of the Black Sea, the unexampled campaign of the poor population who, with their women and children, made their way across the waste steppes and mountains and through the encircling white forces in order to unite with the Red Army.

II. F. Beresovskij: "The Mother" — a tale, 64 pages. The Author describes the situation in Siberia during the rule of Koltchak and the Interventionists. The mother is a working woman who blows up a munition train belonging to the Whites and perishes at the same time.

"In the Open Steppes", a Romance in two parts, dealing with the civil war in Kirgisia. 224 pages.

"The Commune", "The Red October", description of an agricultural commune in Siberia.

III. Jurij Libedinskij: "The week", a story of the civil war. 128 pages. This has already appeared in some American

newspapers, and in "Humanité". It gives a magnificent description of the struggle of a communist organisation in the provinces against the uprising of the Whites.

IV. Tarassov-Rodionov: "Linev" a romance. 120 pages. Deals with the civil war and the foreign interventions in Siberia.

V. Michail Platoshkin: "From the New Life", a tale. 128 pages. The workers life in the Soviet Union, the fight of the old against the new.

VI. Dimitri Furmanov: "Tschapajev", a tale. 240 pages. Description of the civil war in the Volga district. Gives the story of the celebrated leader of the Red Army Schapajev.

"The Red Landing Forces". 32 pages. Descriptions of the fight against the Whites.

VII. Georgi Nikiforov: "Two Generations". The life of a lonely railway signalman.

"The Little Engine-Driver". The heroic act of the little son of an Engine-driver, who saves a red train during the civil war.

VIII. Markus Kollosov: "Thirteen" A story. 16 pages. Deals with the contemporary life of the working youth and of the Communist Youth.

"Stengas". A Tale. 16 pages. Deals with the contemporary life of the young communists.

IX. Vsevolod Ivanov: "The Armour-Train". A story of the Siberian partisans. 96 pages.

X. Fadejev: "Flood". A story of the first successes of the communists in winning influence among the peasantry and in the Far East.

"Against the Stream". A story of the time of the transition of the Red Army from partisan troops into a regular army.

XI. Lydia Seifulina: "The Law Breakers". An extraordinarily talented story of life in the children's Homes. 32 pages.

XII. Alexey Volekki: "God's Anointed". A tale. 24 pages.

"Toni, the Bell ringer", a tale. 4 pages.

"The Greens", a tale. 8 pages.

"The Village Correspondent", a tale. 32 pages.

The majority of stories by Volekki are anti-religious in their contents.

XIII. A. Andrejev: "Light in the Darkness". A story of the electrification of a remote village in the far north.

"Little People upon the great Stage". Story from the life of the theatre workers. 8 pages.

XIV. Vassilji Rachovskij: "The Conflagration", a story of village life during the October days. 32 pages.

XV. Alexejevskij: "Lenin". A tale. 16 pages.

XVI. Ivan Rachillo: "The Son of the Street". A story of the life of neglected children. 16 pages.

"Bilyal". A story of the awakening class-consciousness of a Tartar shepherd. 16 pages.

XVII. Em. Maisky: "Three Fathers". True to life history of the rights of the woman in Soviet Russia.

III. Dramatic Works.

I. A. Lunatcharsky: "Thomas Campanello". Drama in five acts. Life of a great utopian in the XV. century.

II. V. Pletnov: "Lena". Drama in five acts. The massacre in the Lena district in 1912.

III. Tryetyakov: "Antigas". A drama. How he workers of a soviet factory rescue their factory.

IV. Bjelozerkovskij: "The Echo". The Fight of the American workers against the Anti-Soviet intervention.

IV. Theoretical and Instructive.

I. Platform of the art and thought of the Union of the proletarian writers.

II. A. Lunatcharsky: Article from the "Krasnaje Novy". "Marxism and Literature".

III. G. Lelevitch: "Alexander Besujmenskij".

IV. P. Kogan: "Serafimovitch".

V. L. Sosnovskij: "Demjan Bednij".

VI. S. Rodov: "Worker Correspondents and Proletarian Literature".

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

Village Life in Soviet Russia.

Our soviet village has in many ways outstripped the former backward and ignorant czarist village.

I want to tell you about our life and doings. First of all let me tell you that our village is now under the administration of the village Soviet, which is elected by the peasants themselves. It has happened that "Kulaks", well-to-do peasants, traders, etc. managed to get into the Soviet. But last autumn we decided to elect to the Soviet only poor peasants, in order that it should work for our interests. The last Soviet was weak, and we have made up our minds that those who have four cows and three horses must not be admitted to the Soviet. One of these people wanted very much to get in. He was very persuasive and almost succeeded in befooling the peasants. But thanks to the Young Communist League, which exposed his machinations, he was not admitted to power. The Soviet was elected. It is a good businesslike and diligent Soviet. It is only a fortnight since the election, and already the village Soviet is showing what it can do. It proposes to introduce electricity into the village. The "Ukhtomtok" (Ukhtom current) Company has been formed in the volost, and the members of our village Soviet have got into touch with this company. They found out what is required and set to work. They collected money among the peasants and have already begun to erect the necessary posts. Towards the spring we hope to have in our village "Ilyitch's little lamp" — electricity.

The Kulaks and traders were cheating the villagers right and left, and made their lives a misery. At last the peasants could not stand it any longer. They called a meeting and discussed ways and means for getting rid of these Kulak elements. Finally they made the following decision: „We must establish a cooperative. No sooner said than done. They began to organise. It was difficult at first, there were very few members, but the states of affairs soon improved. The peasants began to show more

attention to their child, and they also managed to obtain credits from M. S. P. O. (Moscow Soviet of Consumers' Societies) and from the Moscow and District Credit Union. The business was extended, and now this cooperative has a clear profit of 7,000 roubles, and has opened two branches in the villages of Gakarevo and Jhilino, as well as a bakery here in Chasovia. As the profits are considerable, the society has been able to establish a mutual aid fund. Poor peasants receive loans for cattle, seed, implements etc. In addition to the mutual aid fund, the society assigns money for cultural-educational work. On the initiative of the society, a village reading-room has been organised and is the cultural centre of the village. The village reading-room is an ordinary peasants room but fairly spacious and decorated with posters and portraits of our leaders. It has a little library of agricultural political works, as well as newspapers and periodicals. The village reading-room boasts also of an information bureau, where peasants can get satisfactory answers to all questions of interest to them. There are two study circles: an agricultural and a political circle. Shortly a „bezbozhnik" (free thinker) circle will be formed. The village reading-room publishes its own wall newspaper, which reflects the life of the village. This newspaper exercise considerable influence over the peasants, especially the younger peasants who are eager to contribute to it. Special work among women is also being carried on. A sewing and general needlework school has been opened for them. While the girls and women sew, knit or embroider, someone talks to them on political subjects or reads the newspapers. The work of the village reading-room is in charge of the Young Communist League, which is assisted by the school-master and the agronomist.

This is how we live and how most of the villages of the Soviet Union are living.... Won't you tell us about your own life?

J. Hetling,

Village Correspondent.

Correspondent of the newspaper "Moscow Village" and of the periodical "Town and Village".