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Bolshevisation and Work among Women.

For the International Womens' Day.

By G. Zinoviev.

It must be admitted that the work among women of most of our Communist Parties is still very unsatisfactory. While we have achieved more among the youth than the 2nd International, and are in any case not lagging behind it, we do most decidedly lag behind as far as work among women is concerned.

Evidently there are still many communists in Western countries who continue to regard work among women as of secondary importance, if not of even less importance than that. At the same time no proper Bolshevisation of Communist parties can take place if we do not treat the question of work among women as Lenin would have us treat it, namely, if we do not organise working women and also certain sections of peasant women.

From the conventional social democratic view point, it is not worth while to organise working women, especially if women have not the parliamentary vote and are therefore no use as "voting cattle".

Communists, and Leninist Communists to boot, must at last realise that the movement which is a real popular mass movement

in the best sense of the word is in duty bound to draw the working women into its ranks. The Party which is in all earnest preparing the proletarian revolution cannot be ignorant of the fact that victory in the proletarian revolution is impossible without the participation of women.

The history of the Russian Revolution is the best confirmation of that trend of thought which says that the best criterion for the mass character of a revolutionary movement is the degree of women's participation in this movement. If women played an important part in the great bourgeois revolutions, — and the history of the great French bourgeois revolution tells us that women's part in it was considerable, — there is all the more reason that the same should hold good concerning proletarian revolutions. In the Paris Commune in 1871 women played an even more important role. And in the proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917—25 women's part was truly colossal. And there is no doubt whatever that in the coming constructive period of the Russian Revolution women will play an even more important role.

Work among women must not be left to this or that small group of men, or what happens more frequently to women pioneers of the Women's Movement. This must not be, for this is the work of **THE PARTY AS A WHOLE**. Without a real understanding for this it is useless to talk about Bolshevisation.

Working women, mothers of working class families feel more than anyone else the hardships of capitalist economics. High cost of living, excessive taxation, the burden of all sorts of "plans", such as the Dawes' Plan, school troubles, the housing crisis — all this affects working women more than anyone else. There are moreover other burdens which are particularly hard on women, as for instance unemployment, social and juridical inequality, prostitution, etc. This is an explanation of the fact that in all popular movements women frequently play the principal part. This also explains how it happens that women play a decisive role when revolution emerges boldly into the open.

Bolshevisation of the Party means above all — **TO THE MASSES!** To bolshevise a Party is tantamount to imbuing it with the strength to rouse all the sections, even the lowest, of the working class population. And working women are one of these sections.

In this respect we have left much undone. We must by all means make good what we have left undone. The greatest attention must be paid by our parties to work among women. Our best organisational forces must be devoted to this work.

Let us express the hope that this year the Women's Day be not observed only by fine phrases and agitation. Let us hope that it will become the turning point in all our parties with respect to the organisation — real organisation and not only lip service to it — of Working Women not only in the towns but also in the country.

Let all the Communist Parties bear in mind that henceforth the Communist International will judge of their Bolshevisation also by the success they have achieved with relation to mass organisation of women.

POLITICS

The German "Tcheka".

By R. Albert.

The High State Court of Leipzig was set up under the powers of the law for the defence of the Republic, which was enacted as a result of the monarchist plot of which **Walther Rathenau** was the victim. In the very same year it showed its indulgence towards the murderers of this Republican Minister. In the Rathenau murder trial, the Public Prosecutor, the defence and court vied with one another in keeping the real culprits out of the affair. The name of **Ludendorff** was not mentioned in the proceedings, although it was on everybody's lips among the general public. Later, when monarchist Bavaria carried out its *coup d'état* of November 1923, the High State Court of the Republic did not think it necessary to take action. Instead of this, it liberated **Rossbach**, it allowed **Ehrhardt** to escape and took good care not to interfere with the black **Reichswehr**.

But after the retreat of the German proletariat in November 1923, the democratic and social democratic members of this Court awoke to a consciousness of their duty of taking action against the communist workers. The legal weapon forged by democracy for the defence of the Republic against reaction has only been used for the defence of reaction against the workers.

The High State Court of Leipzig is now proceeding with the trial of the accused of the so-called German "Tcheka". Several communists have been brought up before it on the charge of having executed a police spy of the name of **Rausch**. Ever since there have been suppressed and exploited, who are compelled to form secret societies in order to win a little freedom and better conditions, there has existed the indispensable necessity of having some means of dealing with traitors and spies. No army in war time ever gives quarter to spies. The only fact which the prosecution has been able to establish against the accused in the Tcheka trial constitutes nothing very unusual. During the last few years dozens have been killed by the monarchist organisations of Germany on the ground of being suspected of treachery.

Around this simple affair of **Rausch** the High State Court of Leipzig is now weaving a highly complicated and sensational romance. Much has been said regarding assassinations which have never been committed; of the assassination of the General **Seeckt**, who, as a matter of fact, is at present having a far better time than the majority of the German proletarians, of the murder of **Hugo Stinnes**, who died peaceful in his bed, of the murder of the capitalist **Borsig**, who is enjoying splendid and uninterrupted good health. There is talk of a march of conspirators on Berlin which was planned in the year 1923, of dollars which were given out by the Soviet Embassy, of mysterious Bolshevik Generals who had charge of secret operations, which owing to a miracle have not been carried out.

All who have followed the revolutionary preparations in the autumn of 1923 know that one was faced with an enormous mass movement, which was rallied and organised with great pains by a mass party which had mobilised all its forces. In view of this more than obvious truth all this talk of mysterious conspiracies must be regarded from the outset with the greatest suspicion.

As everyone knows, the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Berlin has been the object of the closest observation of the police. The raid of the Berlin police on the trade mission of the Soviet Union in Berlin did not result in the discovery of any sensational documents. On the contrary, we have since gained some idea of the object which lay behind this raid. High functionaries of the German police, who at that time forced open the drawers and cupboards of the department for industrial concessions in the trade mission, are at present under lock and key. But the High State Court in Leipzig does not bother about these details. It prefers to talk of cholera germs, Moscow gold, instructions from **Zinoviev**, etc.

A Tcheka? One of these days the German workers will find it necessary to set up a Tcheka. And the sooner this is the case the better. Seven thousand of them are enduring the mild regime of **Ebert's** prisons. Twenty thousand have fallen in the last few years in the social struggles. The best and noblest of the German proletariat have been foully murdered while the perpetrators of these crimes remain unpunished. Whilst **Count Arco**, the murderer of **Kurt Eisner**, is allowed the fullest privileges while serving fortress imprisonment, thirty champions of the Soviet rule in Munich have now been in the prisons of Bavaria for over six years. And this German proletariat, which has undergone a ruthless process of steeling during the years of struggle, which is covered with scars from badly healed wounds, is now confronted with police "revelations", and is accused of assassinations prompted by Russian intervention which in fact have never taken place. This is too presumptions and too open. The stage managers who have arranged the Leipzig spectacle believe they are carrying on high politics. They greatly deceive themselves. They will bitterly rue this — when, sooner or later, a real Tcheka, which however will not be a Russian one, will seize them in its iron hand.

The Housing Situation in Great Britain.

By F. Turner.

If we need any proof that British Capitalism is crumbling, it is quite evident from the fact that it has utterly failed to house its Workers. Prior to 1914 the situation was pretty bad but has since been aggravated by the lack of Building and the terrible over-crowding that has followed.

Our Mining Villages and Industrial Towns are a standing disgrace to our so-called Civilisation.

Most of the villages consist of houses of one, or at the most two rooms, and in these, very often, large families have to live. The following case is quite common:

In **Consett** (County Durham) in a house of two rooms, (the upper one being reached by a ladder through a hole in the floor of the upper room,) there lived a man, wife, and 6 children, including two girls of 21 & 23 and a boy of 18.

The average room space for the whole county is 0.77 per person, (1921 census returns) and in the Mining and Industrial District it is very much less than that.

The County of **Lanark** tells a similar story. In the North-east corner live 1,539,000 people, (about 1/3 of Scotland's population)

and the district is a mass of slag heaps, chimney stacks, blast furnaces, and insanitary houses. There are 321,471 houses in the county, 61,200 single-roomed, 155,285 two-roomed, i. e. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the houses contain at the most two rooms.

The Mining villages are clustered round the pit-shafts, and the dust and grime penetrates to every nook and makes the task of the women hopeless.

In the early days of Capitalism, when Labour was needed for the machines, small houses were rapidly thrown up without any thought of sanitation or health. Many of these are still standing to-day and although condemned years ago, are still occupied.

Birmingham, a centre of the Iron and Steel Trades, is typical of our Industrial Towns. To cite but two cases from this city are quite sufficient.

1. Father, Mother, and 4 children all sleep in one bed and live and sleep in one room.

2. Father, Mother and 9 others of the family, (aged 3 months to $5\frac{1}{2}$ years) have one living room, bedroom and an attic.

These houses often have no water supply or sanitary convenience.

For the privilege of existing in these hovels, the Workers pay, not only exorbitant rents, but often with health, and life.

Rents & Legislation.

At the beginning of the war, the housing situation began to grow more acute. Thousands of Workers flocked into the Industrial Centres, until it was almost impossible to get a room. The Authorities erected Wooden Huts as a temporary expedient, but these were not sufficient to relieve the position. Rents soon soared, but as a result of organised opposition on the part of the Workers, the Rent Restrictions Act (1915) was passed, forbidding the increase of rents.

The first legislation, however, was to prevent eviction, for the dislocation of Industry that followed the outbreak of war had caused much unemployment, and to protect the workers the Courts (Emergency) Powers Act forbade evictions for non-payment of rent without the permission of the Courts.

The Rent Restrictions Act (1915) applied to houses of not more than £ 35 annual rental, i. e. Working Class houses. No provision was made for furnished houses, with the result that many were let, containing a few inferior articles of furniture, and the landlord had complete control. This Act remained until six months after the war, when it was replaced by a further Act allowing 10% increase in rent and covering houses up to £ 70. This was amended in 1920 by a bill to last three years and provided for an increase of 40% and also included a clause making profiteering in furnished rooms illegal.

The position had now become so keen that "key money" was often paid for the possession of a house, sometimes as much as £ 20 being paid for the key of a small cottage.

With the fixed rental, the return on property was small compared to that from Industry, and much of the property found its way on to the market. Many of the Workers bought their own houses, only to find that they had paid a fictitious price for them.

Building & Legislation.

It became quite apparent, after the conclusion of the war, that there was no hope of private enterprise supplying the necessary houses, and the Government took action by passing the Housing of the People's Act (1919), making it compulsory for the Local Authorities to supply the shortage. 45,000 houses were built as a result, but on the grounds of economy, the subsidy was curtailed and operations almost ceased. The loss on the building, which was being borne by the State, was estimated at £ 10,000,000 for the year, the cost of the houses being £ 1,100 each.

Labour Government & Housing.

With the advent of a Labour Government the Workers looked for some relief. Mr. Wheatley introduced his housing bill granting a subsidy of £ 6 per year covering a period of 20 years, providing that the houses were let at a rent of about 10/- per week. Conferences were called, both of the Building Workers and the masters and each gave their word that they would do all they could to make the scheme a success. The workers agreed to admit others into the trade after an intensive training, and the masters promised not to force up the price of the materials. In spite of this, the price of bricks increased almost the next

day, and other materials soon followed suit. The threats of the Government were of no avail, and they took no action. They were too busy enslaving the German Workers to think of the Workers at home, and having accomplished their task, were thrown out of office before any material improvement had taken place.

Tory Government & Steel Houses.

A Tory Government followed, and Lord Weir, who is interested in the Clyde Shipyards, found a method of building houses of steel plates. The Government immediately gave its support to this method in spite of the fact that the cost exceeded that of the brick houses. Some criticism was given of this type, and it was stated on good authority that these houses would prove to be extremely hot in summer and cold in winter, also verminous and damp.

The Minister of Health (?), however was not to be put off so easily, and in replying said, "What if these allegations are true? Are slum houses free from vermin? Are they rain or damp proof? Are they always cool in summer and warm in winter?" Evidently the Tory Government think that the slum standard is good enough for the Workers.

A dispute arose over the rates of pay of the men who were building them. The men employed in the erection were Engineers, who received about £ 1 per week less than the Building Workers, and the Builders' Union claimed that these men should be paid the standard rate of the Industry. Lord Weir refused to discuss the question, on the grounds that these men were members of the Engineers' Union, and received the agreed rates of that Union.

The Rings once more took advantage of the situation, and the Light Castings Federation, the only one that need fear no competition, once more put up the price of their goods.

The Fight against Evictions.

After the end of the war, evictions became prevalent. The control had to some extent been relieved and it was now easier for the owner to obtain possession of his house. The unemployed, unable to pay their rent out of the miserable pittance they received, were the greatest sufferers.

They were, however, well organised, and were not prepared to take the matter lying down. They rallied their forces to the scenes of the evictions, and by force of numbers, either prevented the eviction of the tenant, or replaced the furniture after the officials had left. They interviewed Local Authorities, and were often successful in getting the notices cancelled. But while many of their members were houseless, there were in many localities, houses standing empty, and they took the law into their own hands, and very often seized the houses and put their members into them, while the landlord, rather than go to the expense of the law to turn them out, often let them stay.

Another tactic used successfully by the unemployed was to change over the tenants against whom the notices were served, so that when the officials came to carry out the eviction, the person against whom it was made out did not live in the house, and so it was necessary to go over the whole of the proceedings afresh.

The Workers have often come up against the police in these fights, and many have been severely injured and imprisoned for the part they have taken in the struggle.

Rent Strikes.

The revolt also found expression in rent strikes which took place in various parts of the country. A Tenants' Defence League had been established to defend tenants in the courts against evictions, and illegal increases of rents. The League was controlled by the Social Democratic element and was most careful to keep well within the law. In Manchester, a rent strike took place. Two streets were involved. The Landlords had not given the necessary "notice to quit" and the tenants, relying on the support of the League, had a clear legal case. The League refused to give its support as they said it was unfair that advantage should be taken of a small error to deprive the landlord of his rights, and so the strike fell through. In London and other centres, strikes took place, with varying degrees of success, but nowhere in the country was the fight so persistently and tenaciously carried on as in the Clydebank area in Scotland.

The Fight in Clydebank.

Clydebank is a town of about 50,000 inhabitants, the main part of whom are engaged in the Engineering works of Beardmore's and Singer's.

The houses are owned by these firms and in 1914 they tried to force up the rents. The women of the district revolted and refused to pay the increase. The Workers then organised for the fight in the Clydebank Housing Association.

Enthusiasm was strong, and in the windows cards were displayed bearing such slogans as, "No Increase in Rent", "No Evictions", etc.

The landlords tried to force the increase from them by issuing notices of eviction, but they were not so easily beaten. Sentries were posted at the street corners to watch for the coming of the officials, and cycling scouts were in readiness, so that in a very short time, the Workers could be rallied to prevent it.

The Landlords then tried the tactic of suing their tenants in court for debt. On the day of the trial, when the courts were opened, hundreds of dungaree clad men, straight from the workshop, crowded into the court, packing it to the doors. The whole of the Workers of the District had rallied to the call.

The Authorities were aghast. Something must be done, so they got in communication with London. Something was done, the Rent Restrictions Act was passed. A Victory for Working Class Solidarity.

With the termination of the Act, the landlords demanded an increase of 60% although legally they only could claim 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %. This the Workers refused to pay and in August 1920 the whole of Scotland declared a one day's strike in protest.

A legal flaw was found in the notices that had been served on them. The landlord and not his agent should have signed the notice, and they fought them on the grounds that they were not legal. The well-known case of *Kerr versus Bride* was taken into the courts and fought on these grounds. The decision was given in favour of the tenant, and although it was carried to the county Sheriff, the Court of Appeal, and in October 1920 to the House of Lords, the tenant still had the victory.

In 1923 the Government passed a bill allowing the tenant to keep the unpaid increases, but made no allowance for the return of these that the landlords had received illegally. It also allowed the right of appeal to the Court of the Sheriff for the making good of any "bona fide" errors or omissions that may have been made. This was fought on the grounds that the errors made were not "bona fide" and as yet no settlement of the position has been reached and all the increases are still illegal.

The struggle is still raging, and in the meantime the rents that are owing are mounting up as it is necessary for the landlord to refuse the offered rent, otherwise that would become the agreed rent and he would have to commence the whole proceedings again. They cannot evict the tenants, for the scouts are still on the alert.

The Labour Council and Provost are on the Workers' side, although there are £ 70,000 owing in rates, while the landlords have so far lost £ 150,000 and the amount is growing at the rate of £ 50,000 per month. But the Workers are determined to carry on the fight until their demand for the pre-war standard of rent is granted.

The Communist Party.

Through all the phases of the struggle, the Communist Party has been playing its part, encouraging and supporting the Workers in the fight, whether by constitutional or extra-constitutional methods, and putting before the Workers its programme, such as:

Adequate house-room for all badly housed and houseless Workers.

Rationing of all Housing Accommodation.

No Evictions of the Workers.

No Decontrol of Rents.

Municipal Housing Schemes by Direct Labour.

At the same time the Party is pointing out to them that the only hope for the solution of this and all the other evils from which they were suffering is through the revolutionary struggle for the Workers' Republic.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Fourth Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

II.

General Section (Continued)

Changes in the price of grain.

In our last report we dealt in detail with the question of the changes in the price of grain. We expressed the opinion that the present rise in price does not signify the final liquidation of the "scissors", but is merely the effect of the year's bad crops. We also intimated that in our opinion the price of grain might soon begin to fall again.

This supposition has not proved correct. On the contrary, during the last few months grain prices have risen greatly in the world's markets. At the turn of the year the price of wheat in New York exceeded the two dollar limit, and the rise continues, even if in a zig-zag line. On 20. January \$ 2,24 per bushel was quoted in New York. We append a survey of grain prices, in gold francs.

Price of wheat per cwt in gold francs (commencement of each month or end of preceding one):

	Dec. 1923	Oct. 1924	Nov. 1924	Dec. 1924	Jan. 1925
Canada:					
Winnipeg (Manitoba I)	17,8	29,9	31,8	31,2	
U. S. A. Chicago (Winter 2)	20,4	27,8	28,1	29,7	(32,2)
Minneapolis (Northern I)	21,5	27,8	28,0	29,3	
New York (Winter)	23,1	30,8	31,2	32,8	(36,9)
India: Karachi (white)	19,8	27,8	28,2	28,1	
Argentina:					
Buenos Aires (Barletta)	21,9	29,6	30,1	29,3	
Import grain in London:					
Manitoba I	22,9	34,5	34,6	35,4	
Winter 2	—	32,1	32,0	32,9	
Plata	22,7	32,9	33,3	33,5	
Karachi	23,3	32,9	33,5	32,4	
Native wheat in					
German, Berlin (Brandenb.)	—	30,4	25,9	(26,4)	(28,5)
Belgium, Antwerp	21,9	30,4	31,1	31,2	
France, Paris	27,9	31,5	33,9	34,9	
England, London	21,7	28,6	28,8	28,1	
Italy, Milan (soft)	20,6	31,9	34,0	36,3	
Holland, Rotterdam	24,6	34,1	34,1	33,6	

Data furnished by the Roman agrarian institute. January data based on our provisional calculation.

The question now is, what can be the reason of such a rise in prices all over the world. Either the world's crops have been worse than at first appeared to be the case, or consumption is greater than has been anticipated.

With reference to bread corn crops, we have at our disposal the data published by the International Roman Agrarian Institute, dealing with the whole world with the exception of Russia and China. These may be seen from the following table:

Wheat and rye crops (in millions of metre cwts):	1919—23	1923	1924
Import countries of Europe	344,6	381,2	335,3
Surplus countries of Europe (without Russia)	63,2	75,9	70,8
All Europe (without Russia)	407,8	467,1	406,1
The great import bloc of Western Europe			
Germany	83,7	95,8	85,4
Belgium	7,9	8,9	8,4
France	78,3	84,3	86,9
Great Britain	17,7	16,1	14,5
Italy	49,8	62,8	47,8
Total	237,4	267,9	243,6

The great export bloc (without Russia)

United States	258,7	229,9	253,6
Canada	93,8	134,9	77,6
British India	89,6	101,4	99,1
Argentina	54,9	68,3	52,9
Australia	30,1	34,2	38,1
Total	527,1	568,7	521,3

This table shows that this year's crops of bread corn, if we leave Russia out of consideration, have actually proved to be worse than was at first anticipated; both the European crops and the crops of the great export bloc are behind the yield of the year 1923, even although not to any great extent. If we further take into consideration that Russia evidently does not intend exporting this season, then we are faced with the fact that the great import bloc of Western Europe, the final determining factor for the world's market prices, has to reckon upon a certain shortage in comparison with last year.

The Argentine crops are the decisive factor behind the rise in prices in December, and yet authentic data as to these crops are not obtainable. Thus, for instance, the Argentine agricultural office estimates the amount of wheat harvested this year at 5,15 million tons. ("Frankfurter Zeitung", 21. December 1924.) This may be designated as a good medium crop, corresponding approximately to the average of the last ten years. Other sources ("Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", 24. December 1924, and various American papers) speak of a wheat crop in Argentina below the average. There is no doubt that all these estimates are strongly influenced by speculative aims.

The increase of international consumption is to be attributed to a great extent to the new factor of China and Japan as consumers. The consumption of these countries appears to be increasing rapidly. The amounts exported from Vancouver have been as follows:

Year ending March 1921	572,000 bushels;
Year ending March 1924	41,5 million bushels;
Amount of wheat, end of 1921	103,000 barrels;
Amount of wheat, end of 1924	1,014,000 barrels.

The development of the up-to-date flour-mill industry in Shanghai and other Chinese ports during the last few years has been amazing, and it costs less to transport wheat from the American coast to Shanghai than from the north west provinces of China. It may be assumed that a total amount of 62 million bushels (= 15 million tons in round figures) of North American wheat were transported last season to the Far East¹⁾.

The import of bread corn and flour assumed great dimensions during the first quarter of the grain year. The following table supplies the data:

Import and export of wheat, wheat flour, rye, and rye flour (in million metre cwts.).

	1919/20 till		I. quarter of season	
	1922/24	1923/24	1923/24	1924/25
Import of all import countries of Europe	159,3	164,8	37,7 ²⁾	43,5 ²⁾
Import of the great import bloc of Western Europe:				
Germany	17,2	12,0	3,0	4,7
Belgium	10,3	11,4	2,5	3,1
France	15,5	14,9	4,4	4,1
Great Britain	56,6	62,4	16,0	18,1
Italy	26,0	21,2	3,7	3,0
Total	125,6	121,9	29,6	33,0
a) Export from surplus countries of Europe (without Russia)	—	—	2,0 ³⁾	4,6 ³⁾
b) Export of great export bloc:				
U. S. A.	66,2	35,7	16,3	30,2
Canada	58,7	95,0	15,6	12,7
British India	4,6	5,5	1,0	2,5
Argentina	41,2	47,5	5,7	17,3
Australia	24,4	22,4	3,8	3,7
Total	195,1	206,1	42,4	66,4
Total a + b (Russia)	—	3,0	—	—

1) Without Spain and Portugal. All data from the "Times", 18. Oct. 1924.

2) All data from the "Times" of 18. October 1924.

3) Bulgaria not included.

One of the most striking things shown by this table is the fact that the amount exported by the great overseas surplus bloc was 50% greater during the first quarter than was the case in the previous year. Newspaper reports state that the export from the United States in October greatly exceeded that of the months of July, August, and September.

The collective general impression gained is that the crops of Europe have been quantitatively worse than the data issued by the Roman Institute would lead one to suppose.

The United States and the Rise in the Price of Grain.

The improvement in economic conditions commencing in the United States in the third quarter of 1924 has continued in an even greater degree since, but without reaching a point at which production attained its level of the end of 1923. Final data are not yet obtainable.

We append comprehensive figures characterising the general conditions:

	Production index issued by Federal Res.	Labour market index Board.	Wholesale trade index 1913 = 100 Bureau of Labour
July	94	87	147
August	94	87	150
September	103	90	149
October	109	91	152
November	—	—	153
December	109	92	157

These figures show a very considerable increase from the low level of July. The production figures are higher than those of 1919, whilst the number of workers employed is considerably lower than that of that year. Although the figures relating to production and those relating to the labour market are not drawn from the same sources, still the growing divergence of these figures since 1919 shows the intensified process of concentration, the increase in the extent to which constant capital participates in American industry at the expense of variable.

The economic improvement received fresh impetus immediately after the Presidential elections, and this was expressed in particular by a constant upward tendency on the Exchange. This upward tendency was the outward and visible expression of the feeling of security felt in capitalist circles, especially among those with money invested in railways, as the great victory won by the conservative republicans destroyed every prospect, for many years to come, of any plans for an effective control or nationalisation of the railways. And on the other hand, the conservative victory signified the certainty of a high protective duty policy, and with this the security of extra profits for trustified big industry for many years. The political factor in this upward tendency has been evidenced by a rise in the value of shares to a degree far exceeding that justified by the actual increase in economic prosperity.

The capitalist organs are never weary of insisting that the rise in the price of grain has been one of the main factors contributing to the betterment of economic conditions in the United States, since this has greatly increased the ability of the farmer to purchase industrial articles.

The present rise in the prices of agricultural products signifies a movement in the direction of restoring the balance originally existing between production and consumption within the country itself. To this we must probably add the fact that the American working class, after almost three years of steady employment — with the exception of a brief interruption in the second quarter of 1924 — at a time when food was comparatively cheap and money-wages comparatively high, was enabled to save a certain amount, and is thus occasionally able to satisfy industrial needs even now, when food has become dearer again.

The actual significance of the rise in the price of farm products, in its relation to the economic situation in the United States, cannot be properly judged unless we are in a position to accord due consideration to the quantitative relations. A report issued by the American ministry of agriculture surprises us by giving the figure 9% as expressing the total value by which the

products of American agriculture in 1924 exceed the value produced in 1923.¹⁾

In view of the tremendous rise in the price of agricultural products, this figure appears astonishingly low. It must however, be taken into consideration that the maize crop, which amounts to about 1½ times the quantity of all the other sorts of corn together, was exceedingly bad this season, and only 65% is fit for the market. The profit gained by the higher price is partially balanced by the reduced quantity. This is probably the cause of the comparative smallness of higher profit on the total crops.

The second important question is the share of profit falling to the farmers, and the amount pocketed by the grain dealers and speculators. If we remember that a great number of American farmers were deeply in debt, if not actually bankrupt, it appears highly probable that most of the farmers were obliged to sell their crops in the early spring, so that the benefit accruing from the subsequent rise in price has not fallen to their share, but to the corn dealers and speculators, to the railway companies with their extensive network of elevators, and to the mills. Until we can ascertain the quantitative increase of income of the farmers; it is not possible to form a judgment as to the extent to which the rise in the price of grain has really benefitted the farmer and increased his purchasing powers.

The Future of American Agriculture.

The future development of agriculture is being widely discussed in connection with these questions. In the course of a great speech delivered before an agricultural association on 14. November 1924, President Coolidge drew an exceedingly rosy picture of the future of American agriculture, as it is going to develop under the protection of import duties, and on the basis of supplying the home markets. One passage of his speech was as follows:

"We are not nearly a generation ahead of the time when our country will witness a reversal of its relation to world agriculture.

I mean that in a very few years the natural increase of population and the inevitable tendency to industrialization will place us among the nations producing a deficit rather than a surplus of agricultural staples."

"Our only agricultural exports of consequence are cotton, meat products and wheat; and, as to the two latter, it must be plain that the scales will shortly turn against us. We shall be not only an agricultural importing nation, but in the lives of many who are now among us we are likely to be one of the greatest of the agricultural buying nations."

Coolidge considers the main immediate task to be the organisation of the sale of agricultural products, and his words on this subject, taken in connection with the efforts to organise the co-operative sale of agricultural produce (often only a concealed form of capitalist monopolist organisations), show that an effort is being made towards the artificial enhancement of prices for American agricultural products in the future. This would signify a similar system of political economy as that practised in pre-war Germany: High industrial duties, high duties on foods, industry combined in monopolist organisations and dumping goods which are superfluous in the inland markets on to foreign markets at low prices; in other words: a genuinely imperialist system of political economy.

The Wealth of the United States.

In our reports we have frequently quoted data as to the growing wealth of the United States. This time we shall again give a few figures. A compilation shows the savings deposited in savings banks, state banks, private and national banks, post office savings banks, etc., to have increased at the following rate:

¹⁾ The total values of agricultural production have been estimated by the American agricultural ministry as follows:

Economic year 1921—1922	9,500 dollars
" " 1923—1924	11,500 "
" " 1924—1925	12,000 "

("Manchester Guardian". 25. December 1924.)

Year	Total amount of savings millions dollars	Savings per head	Total number of savers in millions
1912	8,425	89	12.6
1919	12,455	118	18.2
1922	17,331	158	30.3
1923	19,568	176	35.4
1924	20,874	186	38.9

In the United States every possible means is used to promote saving. Special school savings banks, etc., have been organised on a large scale. It need not be said that the 21 milliards in 1924 do not signify such an increase over the 8½ milliards in 1912 as would appear from the nominal figures, as the level of prices is now approximately 50% higher than at that time. But we may safely assume a doubling of savings within these twelve years. The enormous increase in the number of savers is due to the fact that wide circles of the working class have been enabled to save something, even if the amount be small.

Another symptom of the enrichment of American economic life may be observed in the huge increase in the amount of stocks and shares. According to data published by the Investment Bankers Association, the total sum represented by these new issues since the year 1921 has been something over 4 milliard dollars annually. This amount increased to 6 milliards in 1924, the first half year calculated to the year. ("New York Times", 25. September 1924.)

The value of the new building erected yearly has been estimated as follows:

	Milliard dollars
1919	3.6
1923	4.6
1924	5.0
1925	4.5 (estimate)

(December bulletin of National City Bank, New York.)

In conclusion we give figures, based on an estimate of the national capital possessed by the most important capitalist countries, compiled by the National City Bank and published in the December number of their bulletin. The American figures are obtained from the census, the European figures from the estimates drawn up by private savants, and as contemporaneous as possible with the American figures:

	In milliards of dollars			
	1922	1912	1890	1870
United States	320.8	186.3	65.0	30.1
England	88.8	79.3	53.3	40.0
France	67.7	57.1	43.8	33.1
Germany	35.7	77.8	49.5	38.0
Italy	26.0	23.0	9.7	7.3

We thus see that whilst in 1870 the national wealth of the United States was less than that of England, France, or Germany, at the present time the united national wealth of the four greatest capitalist states of Europe only amounts to somewhat more than half that of the United States. The national wealth of the United States has so grown as to be approximately as great as that of all the European states.

The United States as Investor of Capital in Europe.

This huge increase in the wealth of the United States, the extremely favourable trade and payment balance maintained during the last decade, the resultant accumulation of a superfluity of reserve gold and the fear of a gold inflation, the exceedingly low rate of interest for loan capital (3% bank rate as compared with 4% in London!), the productive capacity far exceeding home requirements — all this impels American capitalism towards an increased investment of capital abroad.

These economic conditions have been the reason why the policy pursued by the United States, after long vacillating between the "pro-European" and "anti European" standpoints, finally took the line of participation in European politics, as evinced by the rôle played by America at the London negotiations. America's "participation" in European affairs was and is necessary in the interests of the American bourgeoisie, in order to create the political pre-requisites for a safe investment of capital in Europe! This was the object of the Dawes plan. The same object will be served, sooner or later, by the "Dawes plan for France".

In the course of the year 1924, the amount of capital invested abroad by the United States greatly increased. Summary data are already obtainable on the new loans issued on the American market ("Federal Reserve Bulletin", December 1924, p. 924). During the first eleven months the total sum amounted to

1.1 milliard dollars,

four fifths of which were new capital. This sum is about three times greater than the sum attained during the whole of 1923. More than one half (520 million dollars) of this sum went to Europe!

The most important of these loans were:

	In mill. dollars
German reparation loan	110
French loan	100
Holland	40
Switzerland	30
Belgium	50
Norway	25
Sweden	30
Hungary	9
Japan	150

besides loans to almost all South American states.

The proceeds of the reparation loan were in part remitted in gold to the German Reichsbank, hence the extensive shipments of gold made at the end of the year, and the swollen gold reserve of the German Reichsbank. These State credits have been supplemented by 39 private credits of multifarious kinds. Thus German industrial groups have received short-term credits, on good security. For instance:

	mill. dollars
German sugar syndicate	6.5
German potash syndicate	6
Joint stock co. for aniline manufacture, Rhenisch Westphalian Coal Syndicate	5+2 ¹ / ₂
Krupps	10

A large number of loans are still in course of negotiation, thus the A. E. G. (General Electric Co.) with 20 to 30 million dollars, Winterschall (potash concern) with 12 million dollars, Hamel with 1¹/₂ million dollars, etc.

The remittance of 40 million goldmarks in nominal shares of the Deutsche Bank to an Anglo-American banking syndicate bears another character. This is not merely a simple credit operation, but an actual participation in German enterprises. It is easy to foresee that the development of events is bound to tend more and more to this form of investment of capital, and to the regular organisation of the employment of foreign capital in Germany.

It is not possible to gain a complete survey of the credits granted to Europe, for private American firms grant credits to private European firms in the most various forms, and the public learns nothing of these.

The German capitalists have been pressing so urgently for credits, and there have been so many speculating elements among the credit-seekers, that both the American and the German bourgeoisies have been obliged to resort to organised measures. The President of the International Chamber of Commerce and Vice President of the Guarantee Trusts Company, W. H. Booth, has suggested the formation of an international institution for the observation of the world's economics and "for the solution of the problems arising out of the execution of the Dawes plan, for the promotion of production, and for the restoration of international commerce"¹). Under the lead of the banking house of Dillon Read & Comp. a special organisation has been created for European investments, and especially for German investments²).

The Morgan group, though on the one hand declining any immediate participation in the financing of European industry, has founded the "German American Bank Syndicate", which will grant industrial credits to affiliated German undertakings, etc. On the other hand, the German government has prohibited German cities and provinces from applying separately to America for credits.

We thus see that the unorganised quest for and granting of credits is being superseded by an organised activity on the

part of the American big bourgeoisie, which is working towards subjecting Europe to a systematic financial control.

The sums hitherto invested in Europe by the United States are still extremely small in comparison with the mighty wealth of the United States, as shown in the above figures. But for impoverished Central Europe, with its shortage of circulating capital, resultant on the relatively excessive investment in fixed capital during the inflation period, these sums appear very large, and render it possible for the United States to seize control.

To this we must add the positions of power held by the United States as creditor of the Entente countries. This brings us to the problem of the interallied debts.

The inter-Allied Debts.

American capital having secured for itself, by means of the Dawes Plan, the political and social pre-requisites for an extensive investment of Capital in Germany, it was easy to foresee that it would presently proceed to subject France also to its financial control. We made mention of this in our former reports, and pointed out the wide extent to which French financial policy is influenced by the severe conditions of the Morgan loan. The recent raising of the question of the settlement of the French debts to America is nothing more or less than a weapon of political pressure for the same object.

With the present economic and financial position of the United States, such income as would be derived from the interest and sinking fund of the French debt is entirely insignificant for America. In American financial circles it is frequently maintained that the consolidation of the English debt to America possesses more disadvantages than advantages. This is again clearly stated in an article published by the "New York Times" on 1 December 1924:

"From the economic standpoint it was perfectly apparent that the United States could not collect this great debt or even receive the interest on it annually without disturbing its balance of trade in a very serious way."

The article further states, that in the event of all the debtor States paying their debts,

"The amounts transferred to the United States then become so large as to interfere materially with our international trade balances. We either have to receive more goods than we are willing to take or else we have to reinvest the surplus of our funds abroad in private bonds or stocks, in which case we merely exchange a government debt for one created on private securities."

"No satisfactory or complete adjustment of international debts is possible on the present plan, and eventually some kind of international rearrangement of obligations must take place. What we do in the meantime will be merely nominal and technical and the settlements announced will be necessarily insincere. "Politically" they may be a good "card" to play but only from a very short term standpoint."

This newspaper bases the above view on the assumption that France is entirely unable to pay anything within a calculable time.

As a matter of fact the demand for payment of the French debt is not founded upon the wish to actually get the money, but on the desire to create in France the conditions required for an extensive investment of capital on the same lines as in Germany, under American control.

The real state of affairs appears sufficiently obvious: The United States are desirous of sending an American commission (as they did to Germany) to the "temporarily bankrupt" France, and of placing French finances under the supervision of American bankers, in order to subject France, in the same way as Germany, to immediate dependence on the United States.

French Attempts at Resistance.

The French bourgeoisie is by no means willing to submit to this. The history of the last two months is full of attempts on the part of the French to extricate themselves in some manner from the dilemma. At the beginning of December negotiations took place in America between the French ambassador Jusserand and the State Secretary Mellon. The American politicians have on several occasions expressed their willingness to grant more favourable conditions to France than those accorded to England and the smaller states: Finland, Hungary, and Lithuania.

These negotiations yielded no result, but they brought about a strong feeling against France in America, for the French government declared that Jusserand had acted entirely upon his

¹) "Journal of Commerce". New York. 10. November 1924.

²) "Journal of Commerce". New York. 16. October 1924.

own initiative, and had no authority from the foreign office. ("Times", 29. December 1924.)

American displeasure was greatly increased by Clémentel's budget speech, in which he differentiated between France's political and commercial debts. He declared the commercial debt to consist of the sum owed to the Allies at the end of the war for goods received. The actual war debts are political debts. "Strict justice", he maintained, "would demand that all war expenses should be added together and divided among the allied states in proportion to their wealth, setting aside the special obligations which individual states were forced to incur in consequence of momentary necessities." But the logic and morality of this view have, of course, nothing to do with the case, for here it is not a question of morality, but of the imperialist expansion of the United States.

It was precisely for this reason that Clémentel's utterances, and the fact that he did not include the interalied debts in his statement on the French state property and the debts of France, aroused the greatest disapprobation in America. On 30. December 1924 the "Times" reporter wired that never since the occupation of the Ruhr has friendship between America and France been so seriously disturbed as since the question of French debts was again brought to the forefront of international questions.

Senator Reed delivered a sharp speech, pointing out that the American taxpayers had already paid about 800 million dollars out of their own pockets during the last few years, in place of the French taxpayers. He added that the essential to all military preparations is the securing of credits and that therefore France must perceive that the cancellation of her debts incurred in the last war would destroy the possibility of receiving credits in the next war for which she is preparing. He further stated, that the American government need only raise its little finger in order to prevent all foreign loans in America, but as the situation is at present, it seemed doubtful whether any government intervention was necessary in order to render French securities unpopular in America¹.

This was followed on 31. December by a visit paid to Herriot by the American ambassador, and by a subsequent audience given by Clémentel to English and American journalists, in which he gave the assurance that France had not the least intention of not paying her debts to America. This again was followed by a memorandum from Clémentel to the American ambassador, explaining the financial position of France, and making proposals for the consolidation of the French debt to America. These proposals were made personally by Clémentel to Mellon, and are not official proposals from the French government.

Various rumours are in circulation as to the nature of these proposals: moratorium for ten years, the sum to be paid off in 68 years, or, according to another version, in 80 years. Rate of interest 1%, or, again to take another version, 2½%, etc. The trend of the whole affair becomes apparent in an article by Gauvin, published in the "Journal de Débats", in which he writes decidedly in favour of a Dawes plan for France, in order that France's capacity for payment may be ascertained. It need not be said that this writer does not call for the control of French finances by the United States, but it is obvious that this is what it will come to.

The English Standpoint.

The news that the United States intends collecting the French debt has met with widespread approval in England. Some sections of the English press adopt the point of view of the most favoured country, that is, should the conditions imposed for the consolidation of the French debt prove more favourable than those for the English debt, then England is to be granted similar advantageous conditions.

On the other hand, the demand is made that France, if she shows her ability to pay by beginning to make payments to the United States, should begin to make payments to England as well.

It seems as if the United States will refuse to accede to the first demand, whilst France will decline to meet the second demand on the ground that France is not merely a debtor, but a creditor. The minimum demand made by the French is that,

¹) Whilst this report has been in preparation, the "New York Times" published a notice that "the American bankers found themselves obliged to hold up for the time being the plans for the sale and fresh issue of French industrial and communal loans.

("Börsenkurier". 62. January 1925.)

even though a general combination and distribution of the interalied debts in accordance with the wealth of the participators be in itself impossible, then France's demands at least should be reckoned against her debts.

The official English standpoint, as expressed by Churchill in his speech of 10. December ("Times", 11. December 1924) is still that of the Balfour note of August 1922. As will be known to our readers, England declared in this note that she was prepared to be content to collect only so much of the amounts owing to England by European states, including Germany, as she would have to pay to the United States. At the time the main purport of the note was to exercise pressure on the United States, and to attempt to form a European united front against the United States. Now that the consolidation of the debt has taken place, this standpoint can, of course, be no longer maintained with regard to the United States. England's obligations to the United States are fixed, and it is entirely wrong to interpret Churchill's declaration as meaning that England is no longer inclined to pay more to the United States than she receives from Europe. At the present time England can only exercise pressure upon her debtors on the continent of Europe.

An agreement with England on this basis would signify for France a fairly considerable reduction of her debt to England, provided that the payments stipulated under the Dawes plan were to be made regularly. But the French ask: What will happen if Germany does not pay, if England does not receive from Germany the instalments agreed upon? From the English standpoint it would be France who would have to cover the deficit in this case. That is, France would not only suffer from the lack of receipt of her own reparation payments from Germany, but would be liable to pay an increased sum to England in consequence of Germany's failure to pay. The French bourgeoisie, which sees more and more clearly that there is no reckoning upon a full receipt of the reparation payments, is not inclined to enter into any such agreement.

We have here a chain of imperialist activities, all linked up with one another. The United States exercise pressure upon France, England is exercising pressure upon France, and is trying to force France to agree to something which would oblige her to exercise the utmost pressure upon Germany for the purpose of extracting the full reparation payments. Obviously, the final result will be that America will undertake the task of placing France on a sound financial basis again, according to the recipe already applied to Germany, and will thus strike France out of the list of imperialist powers.

The State of the inter-Allied Debts.

The "Kölnische Zeitung" of 12. December 1924 published a compilation of the inter-allied debts, which we give here in round figures:

In million pounds sterling:

England's claims

as per official returns issued by the Treasury on 29. April 1924:

From the dominions:

Australia	89.3
New Zealand	29.2
South Africa	11.9
Other Dominions and Colonies	1.1
	<hr/>
	131.5

From the Allies:

Russia	722.5
France	623.3
Italy	553.3
South Slavia	28.5
Portugal, Greece, Roumania, etc.	73.3
	<hr/>
	2000.9

Relief and reconstruction loans:

Austria	10.8
Poland	4.4
Roumania	2.2
South Slavia	2.2
Belgium	9.0
Armenia	0.9
Other states	1.0
	<hr/>
	30.5

Total 2162.9

England's Debts:

To the United States 940,5 pounds sterling

France's Claims:

	Mill. gold frcs.
From Italy	1000
From Russia	4000
From Belgium	2250
From Roumania and other countries	1250
Total	8500

that is, about 360 million pounds sterling.

France's Debts:

	Mill. pounds sterl.
To England	623.3
To the United States, 3634.8 million dollars	748.0
and interest	75.0
Total	1446.3

In addition the English debt of 940.5 million pounds sterling, the payment of interest and amortisation of which was calculated by Baldwin, the present Prime Minister, when Chancellor of the Exchequer in Bonar Law's cabinet, to extend over a period of 61 years, the following are the further

Claims of the United States:

	Mill. Dollars
From France	3,634.8
From Italy	1,809.0
From Belgium	409.3
From Russia	211.6
From Poland	135.7
From Czecho Slovakia	97.2
From South Slavia	54.6
From Roumania	38.6
From Austria	24.1
From Greece	15.0
From Esthonia	14.0
From Armenia	12.0
From Cuba	9.0
From Finland	8.3
From Livonia	5.1
From Lithuania	5.0
From Hungary	1.7
From Liberia	0.3

Total 6,484.9 and interest

The Reparation Question.

Nothing essentially new has taken place in the reparation question during the period covered by this report. Germany has paid the monthly reparation instalments regularly, and this without becoming involved in any financial difficulties (the budget shows considerably increased revenues); therefore there has been no direct intervention in German affairs by the control organs.

At the beginning of January the Conference of the Allies took place in Paris, and dealt with the settlement of accounts with regard to the Ruhr booty, and with the division of Germany's, future reparation payments. We give here the most important points of the protocol:

a) The United States have succeeded in obtaining a priority for their claims upon Germany: from September 1, 1926 onwards they will receive 55 million gold marks annually; and in addition to this 2 1/4% of the German payments available for reparation payments, provided that this sum does not exceed 45 million gold marks yearly.

b) The expenditure for the upkeep of control institutions and armies of occupation is limited to the following sums per year:

	Mill. gold mk.
Inter-allied control commission	10.0
Military control commission	7.5
Armies of occupation from 1. September 1924 till 31. August 1925.	
	Mill. gold mk.
Belgian	25.0
British	25.0
French	110.0

N. B.: The costs of the occupation are paid out of the payments provided by the Dawes plan, but are not placed to the credit of Germany's reparation account. The object of the limitation is to prevent France from maintaining her army out of the reparation payments.

c) The Ruhr revenues and arrears of occupation expenses have been settled.

d) The Belgian priority and the participation of Roumania and Greece have been fixed.

Dawes Plan and Trade Agreement Negotiations.

In our last report we already pointed out that the antagonisms which the Dawes plan is intended to bridge would probably take the form of trade agreement negotiations, and be expressed in struggles for protective duties. Summed up briefly, the payments provided by the Dawes plan demand that Germany shall export industrial finished articles to the value, in round figures, of 6 milliard gold marks more than she does at the present time. But as a disproportion exists at the present juncture between the producing and selling possibilities of industrial products all over the world, a disproportion most acutely felt in the chronic state of crisis suffered by the old European industrial centre, there is no possibility for Germany actually to export the required additional quantities of industrial goods.

On the contrary: even the smallest export possibility calls forth sharp conflicts between the separate industrial export countries. France, despite the great financial advantage which she would derive from German reparation payments, is exerting every endeavour to prevent Germany from exporting industrial goods to France or to French markets, and is struggling with the greatest energy to secure favourable conditions for the export of her goods to Germany. The same applies to Belgium and Italy. All these countries are surrounding themselves with high tariff walls, in order to secure at least their home markets for their own industries. (Hitherto England has formed an exception, but it is questionable how long she will continue to do so under the rule of the Conservative party!).

This is the international economic situation which is rendering the trade policy of the European states hopeless. This is the reason why the trade agreement negotiations between the European countries drag on eternally, without ever arriving at any proper trade agreement. Those agreements which have been made: the German-American and the German-English, are simply empty most favoured nation agreements, both parties being accorded full possibilities of increasing import duties.

It would go too far to deal in detail with all the trade agreement negotiations now going on. The great political importance of the Franco-German negotiations induces us, however, to accord some attention to them.

The Versailles treaty separated highly industrialised areas from Germany: Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar area, Luxemburg, Eupen, and allotted these to France or Belgium.

The following figures show how greatly the districts allotted to France are dependent on Germany. In the first half of 1924 German foreign trade, according to the German official returns, was as follows, in millions of goldmarks:

	Imports	Exports
France	89.5	39.8
Alsace Lorraine	244.3	5.2
Saar area	34.8	27.1
	368.6	72.1

Imports from France amounted to only one third of the imports from Alsace-Lorraine, and doubtless many French goods came in under Alsatian names. German exports to Alsace-Lorraine have been negligibly small. The figures show an enormous import surplus from France into Germany: almost 300 million gold marks in six months!). In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that French exporters have shown intense anxiety for the prolongation of duty free imports, and that as early as at the time of the London consultations on the Dawes plan, Herriot attempted to make the evacuation of the Ruhr area dependent upon the prolongation of the duty free import of goods from Alsace-Lorraine, an attempt which was, however, wrecked on the resistance of not only the German bankers, but of the English and American. Despite this the Ruhr area and Cologne still remain occupied, a weapon retained for the exercise of pressure during these negotiations.

The Franco-German trade agreement negotiations have now been going on for months; at the time when the term agreed upon for duty free imports expired, neither an agreement nor a temporary understanding had been arrived at and at the time of writing (18. January), it looks as if a regular tariff war between France and Germany is by no means impossible.

1) German foreign trade statistics do not calculate the reparation consignments as exports, but it is probable that the French statistics do so.

The German negotiators have refused to grant the duty free import of goods from Alsace-Lorraine. Besides this, there are a great many general difficulties. Whilst Germany grants to France the position of most favoured nation, in principle, France refuses this, again on principle. France has a minimum tariff; the most favoured nation clause could thus be substituted by a general granting of the minimum tariff in relation to Germany. But France is by no means prepared to grant the minimum tariff for all items. Thus, the negotiations are concerned with the question whether France will consent to apply the minimum tariff to the descriptions of goods most important for German export.

During the time in which negotiations have been carried on, the French minimum tariff has been considerably raised, again rendering the negotiations more difficult.

Thus by the 10. January no understanding had been arrived at, not even a temporary one; the autonomous German customs laws are applied to French goods (including Alsace Lorraine and the Saar area), and a lively discussion is being carried on in the press of both countries as to which country would suffer most damage in the event of a tariff war.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Labour Movement and the Situation in Japan.

By J. Feinberg.

After the progress made in the years 1920 and 1921 Japan fell into a condition of economic depression. The internal crisis in the country was aggravated by the earthquake which devastated the country at the end of August 1923. The long duration of this crisis is explained by the difficulty with which Japanese industry finds foreign markets for its productions, and by the necessity of importing a considerable proportion of the raw materials and foodstuffs required by Japan. The result is a decided slump in the iron and steel industry, in shipbuilding, in chemical production, in the industries producing finished articles, and even in the textile industry, resulting in the decrease of production, the restriction or complete closing down of numerous undertakings.

The impossibility on the one hand of finding foreign markets capable of absorbing sufficient quantities of Japanese goods, involving limited exports, and on the other hand the necessity of making considerable purchases of food and raw materials abroad, have resulted in a passive foreign trade balance. This tendency has been increased still further by the import of the materials required for restoring the damage done by the earthquake. A most unfavourable trade balance has been the result, imports exceeding exports last year to the extent of 700 million yen, a record figure in the whole commercial history of the country. This constantly passive trade balance has been disastrous to the credit of the country, and is expressed by the low rate of exchange offered for the Japanese currency in foreign markets. The yen has fallen by more than 20% in comparison with the dollar. This has greatly promoted the economic crisis in the country itself. The inflation of the currency becomes more acute, the gold reserve goes abroad, the prices rise, the money market becomes more and more restricted, and the prospects of improvement lessen.

In consequence of the restriction of industry, the workers are dismissed in hundreds from the factories, steel casting works, and ship yards. As there is no exact system of counting the unemployed in Japan no accurate statistics are to be had, but it is generally admitted that unemployment has reached an actually dangerous point. The situation will be further aggravated in the immediate future by the intended dismissal of 30,000 to 40,000 employees, part of the plan for the restriction of state expenditure.

The state of economic uncertainty thus obtaining has led to growing discontent, politically expressed in obstinate demands for political reforms, and in the spread of so-called "dangerous ideas".

At the beginning of 1924 this discontent among the masses brought almost the whole population in opposition against the Kiura cabinet, as a cabinet of the highest nobility and highest officials. The parliament was dissolved, and at the last election, in May 1924, the Kiura cabinet was defeated. It was hoped that under the government of Kato, a member of the lower nobility,

an era of democratic reforms would be entered; but these hopes were speedily dispelled, for it soon became evident that he is not a representative of democracy, but only of the industrial and financial oligarchy. Kato threw his democratic promises overboard one after another, and the masses of the Japanese people received convincing demonstration that the military leaders are as mighty and as arrogant as ever. The promised reduction of the army has not been carried out, for though the army was reduced to four divisions, the authorities have insisted upon the money thus saved being expended for the technical improvement of the army. Besides this, the schools have been militarised. The sole promise which Kato intends keeping at present is a partial extension of the suffrage.

All this has brought about a state of tension, expressed from time to time in attacks upon the Regent and on leading politicians, and in revolutionary leaflets posted on the walls of houses, telegraph poles, etc. The militarising of the schools has called forth an energetic protest from the students. All this has greatly alarmed the police and the gendarmerie, and persons under suspicion of revolutionary activity are subject to arrest and molestation. Besides this, the government intends to bring in a bill on public safety, directed against the revolutionary movement.

These sporadic outbreaks of revolutionary feeling are signs of the desperation of the middle classes. The working classes for their part have steadfastly resisted all attempts made by the capitalists to worsen working conditions during the past year, in almost every branch of industry. In many cases they have even overtaken the employers, and made demands for increased wages and for the eight hour day. When the extent of unemployment is taken into consideration, it is not to be wondered at that the workers have suffered defeat in many cases, but their policy of attack has enabled them to ward off a worsening of their working conditions, which have already been made exceedingly difficult by the constant rise in the price of food.

A characteristic feature of the insurrectionary movement of the past year has been the numerous cases of protest strikes against the dismissal of active functionaries of the trade union movement, and for the recognition of the trade unions. This is in itself a proof of the increasing strength of the trade union movement in Japan. New trade unions are springing into existence in places where the workers have hitherto not been organised, and weak local organisations are amalgamating to form powerful unions. The Japanese trade unions, by organising and uniting the workers, have greatly strengthened the labour movement, giving it definite forms and a leadership.

We must keep in view the fact that until quite recently the labour movement in Japan has developed under conditions synonymous with complete illegality. The trade unions are not recognised by the law, the proclamation or leadership of a strike is regarded as a crime, punishable with imprisonment. There is no strike without the most prominent workers being arrested, and without collisions with the police.

But the movement has grown to such an extent that the government realises the impossibility of suppressing it by police methods. It is therefore intended to submit two bills to parliament: one abolishing those police enactments which regard the leading of a strike as a crime, and a second one rendering the trade unions legal, but at the same time restricting their activities by a number of reservations practically placing them under government control. These bills are opposed by both the employers and by the police authorities, these latter being entirely opposed to the legalising of the trade unions. The bills are also opposed by the trade union federation, which demands legalising of the trade unions under conditions securing full freedom of action for these. It is doubtful whether these two bills will be passed. But the circumstance that the question is raised by the government will be made use of by the labour movement for the purpose of opening a broad campaign for the freedom of the trade unions.

At the present time conditions in Japan favour the growth of political consciousness among the workers. Hitherto the Japanese worker has devoted but little attention to questions of politics, and has assumed that his interests did not go beyond the working conditions in his own factory. One section of the more advanced workers are still adherents of syndicalist ideas; a change is however already observable in their way of thinking, and may be seen in the growing consciousness of the necessity of founding a labour party, and of carrying the class struggle

into the political arena. This idea is being supported by the leaders of the trade union federation, and steps have been taken for the organisation of this party. An association for political study has been organised, probably the forerunner of the organisation of a workers' and peasants' party.

The peasantry plays a considerable rôle in the labour movement. The position of the peasantry is becoming steadily worse. Conflicts between the peasants and the large landowners are among the constantly recurring phenomena of class warfare in Japan. For this reason the government proposes to lay before parliament a bill on the formation of boards of arbitration for the settlement of agrarian conflicts. But these boards of arbitration will scarcely bring the desired success, for these conflicts are rooted in the essential character of the agrarian system of Japan.

The comparatively poor crops of this year will give rise to even severer conflicts between the large landowners and the tenant farmers. This year's poor yield is not only caused by the drought, but by the decrease of the area under cultivation, many tenant farmers and small holders having deserted the farms which afford them no guarantee of their subsistence. The tenants pay the rent in kind, and are thus left without any means of subsistence when the crop is a failure. The rice prices rise rapidly, and the spectre of the rice insurrections of 1918 haunts the public. There have been cases in which the tenants have refused to pay the rent, and the large landowners have confiscated the property of the tenants in order to force them to pay.

Peasants' unions are being organised. A fact worthy of note is the contact observable between the peasants' associations and the workers' trade unions. The peasants' unions have frequently supported the workers during strikes. The peasants are becoming convinced of the necessity of political activity, and the organisation of a peasants' party has already been proposed. This plan was however dropped, and in all likelihood the peasants will join the workers' and peasants' party as soon as this is formed.

To sum up the above, it may be said that at the present time Japan has run into a blind alley as far as economics are concerned, and is seeking in vain for a means of escape. With respect to politics, we see the industrial and financial oligarchy at the top of the social ladder, fighting for the hegemony against the bureaucracy of the agrarians and dignitaries. Further down we see the middle class, making desperate endeavours to save itself from ruin, but without leaders and utterly incapable of organisation. The labour movement is developing and assuming definite forms, and has at the same time recognised the necessity of fighting all along the line, that is, it is beginning to recognise class interests. There is a danger that the reformists will side track the movement, and signs of their endeavours in this direction are already observable. A Communist Party is more necessary now in Japan than ever before, for only this can impart a definite trend to the growing discontent in the country, and gather together the increasing forces of the working class in the struggle against the enemy.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Bolshevising Party Conference of the C. P. of France.

By Albert Treint (Paris).

Our French Party Conference took place from Jan. 17th — 22nd 1925 at Clichy, in the heart of that red suburb of Paris, the proletariat of which has shown the way to the working class of France, by rallying round the Communist banner at the last election on May 11th 1924.

Even by its mere external appearance, this Party Conference characterised the deep-reaching change in the Party; it was a real proletarian assembly which also comprised a small number of peasants. From the mouths of energetic comrades, dispassionate and powerful criticism was heard. On every face was reflected the wish to strengthen the Party in order to be equal to the tasks of the morrow, in order to prepare the working masses for the revolution.

The Right — A Counter-Revolutionary Fraction.

The Clichy Congress emphasised the real character of the French Right, that fraction of the international Right. It had

received no mandate from an organisation to take part in the Party Conference, and that they were able to speak there, is due to the fact that the political bureau had invited them to appear in order to make statements.

One after the other Dunois, Lorient and Mahouy, greeted with icy silence, rose to pronounce their criticism. Two of them referred to the V. World Congress and tried to make their audience believe that their views corresponded with those of the International. They made much of small faults as against a political direction, which as a whole is correct. Lorient alone had the honesty and the courage to oppose the resolutions of the V. World Congress in general and the re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei in particular.

Mahouy tried to make capital out of a letter from Comrade Sadoul to the political bureau, a copy of which was in his possession.

Later Sadoul, questioned by the political bureau, declared that he had sent a copy of his letter not to Mahouy but to Dunois. He declared that he disapproved of the use made of his letter for fractional purposes. He emphasised that he agreed with the Party leadership with regard to the fight against the Left Block externally, and the fight against the Right within the Party and within the International.

The mere exposition of these facts shows the political unscrupulousness of our Right which had sent Mahouy on to the platform as its delegate.

The Party Conference unanimously replied by giving their leaders the mandate to use every means to defend the Party, the International and the Russian revolution, especially that of unmasking their enemies.

Lorient is an old active fighter who, since 1914 has stood at the head of the opposition movement against the war and later at the head of the Communist movement. He was a member of the Committee for the resumption of international relations and later one of the leaders of the Committee for the third International. He violently combatted the opportunism of Frossard. After the Party Conference at Marseilles (1921), Lorient, in consequence of his resignation, withdrew from active participation and watched the Labour movement and the Communist movement from a distance. This voluntary retirement which loosened the ties which bound Lorient to the life of the proletariat and of the International, explains his mistakes of to-day.

The whole French Party distinguishes Lorient carefully from the right, and cherishes the hope that he will again return completely to active life, find his way back to union with the International and prove himself worthy of this past.

In the name of the Party leaders, I had to intervene on the platform in order to explain the true character of Souvarine's Right.

At the moment when our Party is seeking in supporting itself on factory nuclei, Souvarine recommends, as a means of saving the Party (which as a matter of fact is in no way endangered), the formation of "groups of intellectuals" apart from our organisations. Souvarine's letter to Rosmer which is directed against the Party, is typical of the fight of Menshevism against Leninist Bolshevism.

Souvarine in his letter to Rosmer writes as follows:

"Salvation would be found in a crisis which would endanger the whole revolution. Then the whole Party would turn to Trotsky."

A tendency is here evident which rests on the intellectuals and the petty bourgeois elements and tries to make use of difficulties, not in order to solve them, but to get advantages out of them, which raises the demagogic slogans of free discussion and of democracy, which represents itself as the organiser and administrator of a petrified revolution; this tendency tries to disintegrate the revolutionary Party, seeks and chooses in Trotsky the saviour destined to it by providence and does its utmost to create around him, not only in Russia, but in the whole world, an atmosphere of blind popular worship.

In any case the development of history shows that Trotsky has not the least intention to fulfil the desires of certain of his partisans of Souvarine's type that he is by no means anxious to play the part of a Napoleon.

Against his will, Souvarine has rendered the Party a good service by showing it whither the logic of development leads those who, like him, oppose the Party and the International.

The Ideological Defeat of Trotzkyism.

The Party Conference at Clichy has rejected the mistakes of Trotzkyism of to-day, and condemned in them the repetition of the errors of Trotzkyism of the past in a new form.

Trotzky who, in the International had occupied himself in French affairs, whose articles and works had been widely distributed through the "Bulletin Communiste" and by the copies in the hands of Souvarine, Trotzky who, during the war in France, had fought side by side with Monatte and Rosmer; Trotzky enjoyed a year ago an almost unlimited reputation, affection and admiration in the Labour movement and in the Communist movement of France.

The rapidity with which our Party and the proletarian masses which sympathise with it, have liquidated Trotzkyism as soon as the discussion has been transferred from affection and sentimental feelings for the man to the foundations of the doctrine, shows that Trotzkyism is incapable of a proletarian future.

At its last Party Conference, the French Party determined the development of the international situation as a development of the rivalry between American imperialism and the block of European imperialism which is led by England. In each group, in the American and in the Anglo-European, capitalistic contradictions continue to develop, but they will be temporarily modified every time that the two groups clash on a vital question. The comparative modification of unimportant contradictions between the two groups will only occur at the expense of an intensification of the essential contrast which pitches America against Europe.

It is easy to foresee that, in face of the threat of the spread of the proletarian revolution in a large capitalist country, the rivalry between American and Anglo-European imperialism will give place temporarily to a counter-revolutionary understanding between the two groups. The perspective of the formation of an Anglo-European block for defence against America and for attack against the Soviet Union is imminent. Several facts indicate that the situation is developing in this direction. Only to mention the most important facts, we refer to the resumption of the idea of the creation of a naval base in Singapore by the English government, the English plan of a pact of guarantee between England, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy, and the Anglo-French intrigues in Eastern Europe and in the Balkans against the Soviet Union.

The opinion of the French Party as to the development of the international situation is opposed to the view held by Trotzky of an American super-imperialism which, for a whole period of history, dictates its laws to the capitalist world.

At the Party Conference at Clichy, the French Party stated that the end of the period of democratic pacifist illusions has come. It stated that the internal contradictions of capitalism are continually becoming more acute and that, neither Fascism alone nor the bourgeois democracy alone is able to prolong the life of capitalism. A period of great fights on the part of the workers and colonials is beginning.

The French Party has emphasised the progressive development of the apparatus of Social Democracy in the direction of Fascism, and the necessity of wresting the working masses from the influence of social democracy in proportion to this development. Social democracy will within itself reflect all the contradictions of the bourgeoisie, both fundamental and secondary, especially the rivalry between the American and the Anglo-European system and also the internal rivalries within the Anglo-European imperialist group.

The Conquest of the Masses.

The chief duty of the Congress was to find the practical solution to the question: How are the masses to be approached? This question is no longer a theoretical one for the French Party. It is a vital question which must be solved without delay.

The internal situation is developing rapidly.

Under the benevolent regime of the Left Block, Fascism is organising itself technically and is endeavouring to construct a political foundation among the intellectuals, the petty, bourgeoisie, the peasants and the workers who are behind the times. The oppressed colonial peoples in Martinique, Guadeloupe, Morocco, in Tunis, Algeria are raising their heads and turning against their mother country. The policy of the stabilisation of the franc, the revival of the industrial competition of Germany and the United States indicate the approach of a tremendous economic and financial crisis. The French upper bourgeoisie is

sure to make great efforts to avoid the inflation which, as a matter of fact, drives the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry into the arms of the revolutionary proletariat and the Communists. The danger is great, and the policy pursued by German capitalism in the years 1918 to 1923 cannot be transplanted into French soil without great risks for the regime. The urban and rural middle classes are comparatively more numerous in France than in Germany and they have a revolutionary tradition!

In order to combat the growing Fascism, in order to attract the proletariat and the working masses to the great fight, the French Party has carefully arranged its practical work.

The first duty is to develop on the foundation of the strengthened factory nuclei which show an ever-increasing political activity, in this way to wrest the proletariat from the influence of social democracy, to pass from the phase of propaganda for unity among the trade unions to the phase of actual realisation of this unity on a national and international scale.

It is therefore important not to close the door on any tactics which are likely to bring us nearer to our aim, and at the same time to prepare the French Amalgamation Congress which the CGTU is planning for Sept. 1925: parallel with this the work of the Communist fractions within the CGT. must be reinforced, the development of the unitary Left of the Reformist trade union movement must be supported and the formation of committees for proletarian unity in every industrial concern must be promoted.

Further it is important to win the alliance of the peasants, no longer to confine ourselves to Communist peasant conferences but to work at the development of a peasant movement on a large scale within which the Communists will work at winning over the rural population by a programme of acceptable, immediate demands, and by the prospect of an agrarian reform which would result in the free distribution of the land to those who cultivate it.

Finally we must not limit ourselves to propaganda for the independence of the colonial peoples which is to be brought about by armed fighting, but we must work towards uniting in an organising spirit with the national revolutionary movements of the colonies and bringing these movements into harmony with the proletarian fights in the mother country.

Our Party has also occupied itself in developing its influence among tenants, among members of trade unions and among those who fought in the war. It has tried to find means to win over the women, especially those employed in industry.

The Phases of Bolshevisation.

To put it briefly, the Party Conference at Clichy was a genuine Party Conference of Bolshevisation. Its unanimity, which by no means excluded criticism and suggestions, but on the contrary stimulated them, gave an impression of power which roused confidence for the future.

The Clichy Party Conference, by creating a strong foundation of Leninist ideology, by removing the leaders of the Right from responsible posts and by creating a unanimous Party leadership, has effectually carried through the first phase of the Bolshevisation.

The inimical attempt of the fraction leaders of the Right will however be mercilessly combatted both in the field of ideology and organisation.

Thus the second phase of the Bolshevisation of the Party makes its start in an atmosphere of serenity and inward strength.

The Bolshevised Party will Bolshevisate the proletariat and the working masses of France and the colonies by strengthening its apparatus and its organisation.

The First Practical Duties.

Bolshevisation which, in despite of the daily struggle prepares the proletariat and its allies for the decisive revolutionary attack, is the correct policy.

Every attempt to be satisfied with propagandist slogans and to neglect the organisation of the proletariat for the immediate struggle, will be opposed.

Even according to government statistics, that which in 1914 was worth 100 francs and in January 1924 370 francs, had in Jan. 1925 a value of 408 francs. There is a steady increase in prices.

The financial and economic dependence of France on English and American capital is increasing.

Our slogans for immediate action must be:

1. Organisation of the masses for the fight against the rise in prices. Workers' and peasants' control of price and markets.

2. Practical fight of the masses for the 8 hours' day. Employers must be forbidden to dismiss a single worker until the 8 hours' day is actually in force. If unemployment becomes more threatening, reduction of the length of the working day without reducing the daily wage.

3. Organisation of the political struggle and of the armed defensive war of the masses against Fascism. Disarming and dissolution of the Fascist organisations.

4. Struggle against France and Europe being colonised by English and American capital. Fight against the Dawes plan and against its being extended to France.

The Party must use every possible means in the struggle for the carrying out of these slogans: activity of the trade unions, fight for the unity of the trade unions, extension of the committees for proletarian unity to all industrial concerns, introduction of bills by the Communist fraction in Parliament, campaigns carried on by means of the Press, meetings, pamphlets and posters.

The Clichy Party Conference has clearly expressed its will. The attraction of the working masses in the every-day struggles is preparing the way for the proletarian and communist revolution.

The Results of the Discussion in the American Party.

A Statement by the Central Executive Committee.

Our party has just passed through its first great discussion, and from this discussion some unmistakable conclusions have been established.

Never in the history of our party was a minority given such full and free opportunity to put its case before the membership. It was the aim of the C. E. C. from the beginning to widen and deepen the discussion and to draw the entire party membership into it. In this we were successful.

In the discussion, the party had to consider two questions of fundamental importance. First, the question of the main line of party policy, and, second, the question of leadership. The prevailing policy of the party is indissolubly bound up with the proletarian leading group of the C. E. C. Consequently, the attempt of the minority to reverse our fundamental policy went hand in hand with the attempt to undermine and discredit the C. E. C. To both questions, the party has given a decisive answer. That answer is, against the policy and leadership of the minority and for the policy and leadership of the C. E. C.

The final results of the discussion could already be foreseen in the first series of membership meetings held on Sunday, December 28. The failure of the minority to carry such important party centers as New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis, showed that their case was hopeless.

Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Pittsburgh all gave majorities for the C. E. C. This was followed by decisive and overwhelming victories in such important party organisations as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Milwaukee, the mining sections of southern Illinois, the industrial towns adjacent to New York, and a number of other centres, until the question of the minority gaining a majority in the party passed out of the range of possibilities.

One of the most fruitful results of the party discussion has been the emergence and crystallisation of the C. E. C. group in the New York district. The fight between the minority and the Lore group for the control of the New York district no longer occupies the centre of the stage. The group of the C. E. C. has proved itself strong enough to conduct a struggle on political grounds against both groups simultaneously, and to defeat them both. The leadership of the New York district belongs neither to the minority nor to the Lore group, but to the C. E. C.

The membership meetings not only registered a complete defeat for the farmer-labour policy of the minority; their fight for leadership shared the same fate in an even more decisive fashion. The real aim of the minority, which they have pursued in a conscious and organised manner, for the past year, was to overthrow the C. E. C. The minority has confronted the C. E. C. as an organised opposition ever since the last convention and has resisted all our attempts to come to an agreement with them and to dissolve the factional organisation.

The leaders of the minority could not by any means reconcile themselves to a situation where the party leadership was in the hands of "half-educated workers" and "syndicalists", as they

characterised the proletarian elements in the party, especially those who emphasised the importance of work in trade unions. They were not willing to recognise the validity of our mandate from the last party convention.

The party during the past year was confronted with the most difficult problems since its founding, which tested and tried the leadership of the party as never before. The wild exaggerations and overestimations of events, which had been committed by the C. E. C. last year, reacted against the party this year with full force. We were compelled to readjust ourselves a number of times and to adapt the party to an entirely new situation. Our party was sick with the fever of "high politics" and it was no easy task to lead it back to basic Communist work. The decision of the Communist International against the "third party alliance", the collapse of the farmer-labour movement, the presidential candidacy of LaFollette, the necessity that we put up our own party candidates—all these events required a series of quick changes in policy and it was a real achievement to carry them through without any serious disturbances or crises in the party. Coupled with these external difficulties, we constantly had the problem of the organised opposition fighting for control of the party, striving to distort every action of the C. E. C. to seize upon and magnify every little mistake, real or imaginary, and use it for factional purposes.

One of the greatest weaknesses of our young party in the past has been the lack of stable and authoritative leadership. There never yet has been, up to this year, a central executive committee which has been able to withstand an organised opposition. Continuity of leadership was a thing unknown.

"Overthrowing the C. E. C." has hitherto been an easy "pastiche". There is a section of our party which still carries with it the traditions of "permanent opposition", which grew out of the long fight in the socialist party and which was even a part of the philosophy of the syndicalist and anarchist movements. This hostility and prejudice against all leaders offered favourable soil in which to start an opposition and was fully exploited by the minority. Such comrades who have not yet assimilated the Leninist conception of proletarian leadership, who draw a line between the leaders and the party membership, and who do not understand their indissoluble connection, all rallied for the "raid" on the C. E. C.

But with all these factors in their favour, with a year-long caucus organisation, and with a considerable amount of fundamental opposition in the party ranks to our main line of policy, the attack of the minority on the C. E. C. met with a decisive defeat.

This has an outstanding significance for the party. For the first time in the history of the party an organised fight against the C. E. C. has failed. The C. E. C. has proved itself fully able to lead the party through the most difficult year of its existence, to execute a number of necessary changes in tactics, to adapt the party to the constantly changing political situation, to cope with an organised opposition, and at the same time to keep a firm hold on the party and to strengthen itself in the confidence of its most active and dynamic elements. These facts are the best augury that the party ranks will be unified and consolidated, and that factionalism will soon be liquidated.

In the course of the discussion, the opportunist and revisionist character of the farmer-labour policy of the minority was established beyond all question by the minority themselves; and the reactions of their rank and file supporters merely gave it the final confirmation. From the slogan raised in Comrade Pepper's pamphlet, "For a labour party" of "A labour party or the capitalist dictatorship," it was only one step further to Comrade Lovestone's book "The Government—Strikebreaker," and his pamphlet "The La Follette Illusion" in which the role of the Communist Party is completely eliminated from consideration. And from these deviations the proposals of many rank and file supporters of the minority, expressed at all the membership meetings, "to bore from within" the La Follette movement and create a left wing there, followed naturally and logically.

The leading group of the C. E. C. is a group of the proletarian class struggle, that grew out of the struggle, and whose whole aim and conception is to build and develop the party, according to the teachings of Lenin, in the process of struggle.

Nevertheless, during the discussion, the minority was constantly reproaching us with the charge that we had "done nothing" during the past year, that there were no new "grand manoeuvres" undertaken, that there was no "action". Their

conception of politics is "high politics". The day-by-day work and struggle which builds the party firmly and solidly and drives its roots into the labour movement, appears to them to be mere "sectarianism". The real and solid achievements of the past year have escaped their attention.

It is apparently a matter of small moment to the theorists of "politics on a grand scale", that the beginnings of a hard and firm left wing movement have been crystallized in a number of important unions, under the leadership of the Communists; that we have made at least a beginning with systematic party educational work; that our party, for the first time, has made an election campaign under its own banner, and that we are learning how to develop concrete struggles and agitation on the basis of the united front.

The appearance of a revolutionary left wing—although a small and weak one in such a reactionary union as the gigantic Brotherhood of Carpenters, for example, and the strong movement we are leading in the United Mine Workers, represent nothing to the minority; and the tremendous energy, sacrifice and courage embodied in these achievements of our party, brings no commendation from them. For them it is merely another example of "syndicalism". It is time to say frankly to the party and to the Communist International that we are losing all patience with this superficial and condescending attitude towards our work in the trade unions and towards the comrades who do this work.

For two whole months the party discussion has absorbed almost the entire attention of the party. We must now turn our energies toward the constructive external task of broadening its scope and drawing ever wider masses of workers into united front actions. The whole party, down to its last member, must rally to the support of our comrades in the Michigan case. The party must become a dynamo of activity over this burning question and must rouse the labour movement into action. Our party must come to the front in the fight against wage reductions. It must put life and power into the child labour campaign. It must take the lead in the fight over unemployment. It must prepare to launch a wide united front movement to defend the foreign born workers against new persecutions. The party must go deeper and ever deeper into the trade unions, and draw them into the political struggle. Every struggle of the working class must find the Workers Party in the vanguard, for it is only by active participation in the struggle that our party can live and grow.

The giant tasks confronting the party make it mandatory that we call forth all our constructive energies for the speedy liquidation of factionalism. The C. E. C. has already taken the first step to this end by appointing a special committee to work out special and detailed methods of facilitating it. The C. E. C. calls upon all the party comrades to assist in the endeavour. The basis for comradesly cooperation of all party members must be established without delay. The ground for unity and cooperation must be laid so securely that the party, as one man, will be prepared to accept the final decisions of the Communist International on the problems of our party and to carry them out.

American capitalism, the most powerful and relentless in the world, is planning new and more terrible oppressions for the American workers and poor farmers and for the people of the colonies and smaller countries of Central and South America which it has brought within its sphere. History has set for our party the colossal task of leading the workers and exploited peoples into the struggle which can only end in the destruction of this imperialist monster and the liberation of the masses who suffer beneath its rule. We must go forward with full consciousness of our great responsibility, and with the firm and unshakable conviction that only a united, disciplined Bolshevik party will be equal to this task. We are on the way to becoming such a party. Let us hasten the process by all means. Let us put the stamp of our party on every struggle of the workers and show to the workers, in actual practice, that it is the only party that fights for and with the working class. In the struggle and by the struggle, our party will grow and become hardened, and will develop into a mass Communist Party capable of leading the exploited masses to the final victory.

**Workers Party of America.
Central Executive Committee,**

Results of the Plenum of the Central Control Committee of the C. P. of Russia.

By V. Kulbyshov (Moscow).

If one were to attempt to sum up the recent Plenum of the Central Control Committee in a few words, one could say that it was exceptionally business-like with respect to the questions with which it had to deal, as well as in respect to the general character of its work.

The questions on the agenda for the Plenum were questions of the greatest importance to the State.

We can safely say that they were approached in a practical manner: the reporters were provided with an enormous quantity of facts, figures, comparisons and approximations. From the members of the Central Control Committee working in the provinces we had a series of practical proposals, much valuable information on the state of affairs in the provinces, in the villages and in the factories, and concerning all local needs and demands. It was quite evident at the Plenum that the Central Control Committee was a mass organisation, closely connected with the masses, since the members of that committee are themselves working in the villages and at the bench in the factories.

The first group of questions considered by the Plenum was directly connected with the villages. Let us take for instance the questions of trade and cooperation. The 13th Party Congress laid down that the Party must concentrate on the struggle with private capital, but in any case without impeding the normal development of our trade. Under the NEP, this struggle must be carried on by purely economic methods — methods of competition and of proper utilisation of the privileges bestowed on cooperative and State trade. General trade development could, of course, also give an impetus to private capital; but cooperative and State capital must develop more rapidly than private capital and their share of trade must continue to increase.

Lately the question of cooperative and State capital on the one hand and of private capital on the other hand has been brought vividly before us. It cannot be denied that on the strength of the directions given by the 13th Congress of the Party, too much zeal was shown in the fight against private capital. As a result in some branches of our industry fewer agreements were made with private capital in spite of increased production, with the result that there was a certain slackening in our trade. After the 13th Party Congress our industrial activity was mostly concentrated on cooperative societies, especially credits. The total credit allowed to cooperative societies by industry from month to month amounts approximately to 100 million roubles. This constitutes a considerable portion of the turnover capital of our industries which are hard hit by the fact that this portion of their turnover capital is unprofitably invested in the trade operations of the cooperative societies.

What did the Plenum ascertain? First of all it did not shut its eyes to the real position of cooperation: the large number of bills of exchange which could not be honoured has of course placed industries which gave credits to cooperative societies in a very difficult position. The shortcomings of the cooperatives are: the still prevalent commercial tendency, the slow increase in the number of shareholders compared with the growth of the turnover, the very high office expenses, etc. But at the same time the Plenum also recorded a general improvement in cooperation, a considerable move forward. By a whole series of carefully verified figures the Plenum showed that the fears of the economists are exaggerated, that cooperation is developing, that its turnover is growing, that the general trade turnover of the country has also grown considerably in spite of the policy of the elimination of private capital, and that there is consequently no reason whatever to change our procedure in this respect.

The Plenum therefore, resolved: back to the 13th Party Congress and to its decisions. Notwithstanding certain sacrifices we must pursue with determination the path laid down for us by Comrade Lenin. We must show still more consideration to cooperation. Hence a number of practical deductions: liquidation of cooperatives which have shown lack of vital capacity, but full support to cooperatives showing vital capacity and capability of development and of getting into contact with the masses. Credits allowed to cooperatives must by no means be smaller than hitherto. Private capital must be utilised to absorb that portion of our increased industrial production which cannot be absorbed by the cooperatives.

Another group of questions which occupies the attention of the Party and the State are questions connected with the agricultural tax and with the campaign for the collection and storage of corn.

The agricultural tax effects the material interests of the peasantry, especially of the medium and well-to-do sections, and it is an important factor in the establishment of normal relations between the peasantry and the working class. The result of the investigations made in the centre as well as in the provinces was very carefully discussed and summed up by the Plenum.

"A four months experience of the agricultural tax", the Plenum recorded, "has shown that a complete system of progressive taxation has not been attained". It has been ascertained by practice that even with the help of the very complicated device (the sliding scale) a correct method for collecting the tax could not be found. Therefore the Plenum pointed out that further efforts must be made to perfect our system of taxation in the country, that the tax itself must be altered for the purpose of changing from the sliding scale system of taxation on property to the adoption of the principle of an income tax for peasant farms."

The main question in the present campaign for the collection and storage of corn was the policy of the so called corn limits. The State had elaborated a comprehensive plan in connection with the agricultural tax campaign, which laid down the maximum quantity of corn to be provided by the tax-payers at profitable rates for the peasants and at the same time at accessible prices for the workers. Hence the necessity of a correct "limits" policy capable of regulating prices properly. In the meantime a number of objective conditions (the indifferent harvest in 1923-24, autumn weather which did not auger well for the next harvest, etc.) led to the influx of corn to the market being less than had been expected. This encouraged attacks on the "limits" policy.

What then were the deductions made by the Plenum? "Irregularities and misinterpretation of the 'limits' policy can be laid at the door of those in charge of collecting and storing the corn, as well as at the door of some of the organs in charge of the regulation of the proceedings. This led inevitably to a number of harmful occurrences. But at the present juncture it cannot be denied that if the State has been able to manoeuvre up till now in such a way as to keep the prices at a level which guarantees the equilibrium of the budget and the stability of the currency, that this is mostly due to the fact that correct lines were adopted in connection with the establishment and application of the limits". At the same time the Plenum gave instructions to the organs of the Central Control Committee and the Workers and Peasants Inspection to continue collecting and examining material bearing on the collection and storage of corn, with the object of eliminating any possible abnormalities and mistakes.

The other questions investigated by the Plenum are connected with the problem of the reconstruction of our industries, and especially with the reconstruction of the basic capital of the metal industry of the Soviet Union.

Metal problems and the development of the metal industry are given first place in the economic development of the country. The Plenum of the Central Control Committee had to make the directions which had already been issued more effectively by a series of practical proposals based on the investigations made by the organs of the Central Control Committee and of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. A characteristic fact, which speaks well for our economic development, is the decision of the Plenum concerning the possibility of extending the existing metal production programme: "As the adopted programme is a minimum programme and has been dictated mainly by the financial position of the metal industry of the country and not by the country's requirements, a certain extension of the programme is possible." But at the same time the Plenum pointed out: "But the Trusts can on no account be allowed to carry out the programme indiscriminately. Every extension must take place only after very careful verification in every individual case of the real necessity for the development of the production and the financial means of the Trusts, which can take place only with the sanction of the central organs."

Finally the Plenum also dealt with the question of irregular payment of wages to workers engaged in our industries. At the present juncture when there is a general development of industry and when efforts are made to raise the productivity of labour, irregular payment of wages is an inadmissible abnormality in our economic life, which impedes the development of industrial productivity. The Plenum once more investigated this question,

very carefully analysing the causes of this inaccuracy on the part of enterprises, and issued a number of instructions concerning further activity on this field: irregular payment of wages is an evil which must be eliminated once and for all. This is to be achieved in a twofold manner: on the one hand, measures must be taken to liquidate the existing indebtedness of the enterprise, and on the other hand special attention must be paid to the adoption of preventive measures to preclude a recurrence of such indebtedness.

The Plenum pointed out that in spite of the successes achieved on this field, many difficulties are still ahead of us. Therefore, the Wages Commission of the Central Control Committee must on no account relax its efforts and must adopt every possible means to liquidate once and for all this abnormality which disorganises our economic work.

This is just a short sketch which illustrates the great work accomplished by the Plenum. We feel justified in saying that this work will be of considerable assistance to our Party and to the Soviet Government.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Reply to the Two Deserters from the Flag of Communism.

By Karl Radek.

On the Estimation of the World Situation.

My article on "The Stability of Capitalism, or the Unstable Communists", published in the "International Press Correspondence", Vol. 4., 81 of 27th November 1924, was reprinted by the London Communist periodical, "The Labour Monthly" and provoked replies on the part of those deserters from the English Communist Party, Philips Price and Walton Newbold. The editor of the Labour Monthly has requested me to reply to these two articles. I do so, although the arguments of these two champions are more than ridiculous. I begin with the question which both of the above-named ex-members of our Party regard as fundamental for themselves, although this is by no means the fundamental question to be considered when arriving at an estimate of their behaviour: with the question of the international situation.

Philips Price thinks that he is killing, if not me, at any rate the Comintern, when he gives expression to the view that one cannot consider the present period as a period of fierce revolutionary struggle which will end within the course of the next few years in the victory of the proletariat throughout the world. The attempt of Price to represent the Comintern as being blind and unable to see realities is ridiculous. The Comintern did not have to wait for lessons from Philips Price, who has arrived at political maturity in 1925, for at its third Congress in 1921 the Comintern pointed out to the Communist Parties that one cannot regard the development of world events as representing a continually rising wave of revolution, and that the defeat of the Italian proletariat in the Summer of 1920 and the defeat of Soviet Russia in the war against Poland, signified a temporary ebb in the revolutionary wave, and that therefore, the principal task for the next period was the winning over of the majority of the working masses and the creation of firm Communist Parties which would be able to lead these masses into the fight when a new wave of revolution set in.

Such a wave rose in Germany in 1923; but it did not prove strong enough to carry our vessel into the port of victory. The Fifth Congress, which occupied itself with the examination of a number of errors committed during this new rise of the revolutionary wave by those at the helm of the German Party, was by no means inspired with the slogan of shouting for victory. It considered that the Experts' Report would prove a temporary obstacle to the development of the revolutionary struggle in Central Europe. And whoever seriously thinks over the heated debates which took place at the V. Congress, will clearly perceive that the fundamental struggle at this Congress turned upon the question of how best to strengthen the fighting ability of the Communist Parties in the period separating us from the new wave of revolution.

If Price and Newbold want to know how the Comintern and the leading circles of the Russian Communist Party regard the world situation, they can read the speech of Comrade Stalin

at the Moscow conference of the R. C. P., in which the General Secretary of the C. C. of the R. C. P. speaks of capitalism in England and America being consolidated to such an extent as to be able to pour fresh blood into the weakened capitalist organism of Germany and France. But being a dialectician, Stalin at the same time not only sees the temporary character of this consolidation of European capitalism, but also the revolutionising of the East and, resulting from this, the approaching conflict between Western Capitalism and Eastern Revolution. The English sycophants who are eating the crumbs which fall from Uncle Sam's table only see the dividends of Morgan, and look upon these as constituting the whole world.

But if our two opponents are both filled with pessimism as regards the revolutionary perspectives, they hold completely divergent opinions as to the concrete estimation of the relation of forces in world capitalism. Philips Price is of the opinion that English financial capital is striving to create a world financial consortium together with American financial capital, and he only expects a modification in the event of industrial capital, — the capital which is interested in the raw material market and the capital which is interested in munition and armament industries — succeeding in obtaining the preponderance over financial capital. Price hereby posits the existence of an Anglo-American co-operation at the present moment. Walton Newbold however, derides all thought of any existence of Anglo-American collaboration.

We will not analyse this question in detail. We will only say that in either case a temporary stabilisation of capitalism will lead to a serious sharpening of the international antagonisms. If the Anglo-American co-operation continues long enough — a thing which is quite possible, as in the first place, although the United States of America have a formidable economic preponderance over England, they do not possess a sufficient number of military bases, or a completed system of alliances, and in the second place, because both countries have now one common aim: the struggle for the capture of the Chinese and Russian markets — then it will cause to rise up against it not only the Eastern peoples and the Soviet Union, but also a number of weaker capitalist countries which will become stronger precisely during the process of capitalist stabilisation, and which will seek to protect themselves against violation on the part of the Anglo-American financial consortium.

If however, Anglo-American competition, which is becoming more acute in a number of countries in spite of the political co-operation of these two great powers, puts an end to this co-operation — a thing which might be accelerated by lack of success in the fight against the Soviet Union and China —, then the Anglo-American antagonisms will become the axle of the sharpening imperialist and revolutionary conflicts and will accelerate the rising of the new wave of revolution. None of us affirms that all this will take place tomorrow. But he who only sees the consolidation of capitalism and fails to perceive the revolutionary perspectives proves himself to be an opportunist philistine.

But the real question arises when one asks, what is the duty of the Communist, even with the most pessimist view of the world situation.

The Men on Horseback with their Faces to the Horse's Tail.

Both of my opponents have replied to the above question by deserting from the Communist Party into the camp of the opportunist Independent Labour Party, which is affiliated to the II. International which is fighting for the restoration of capitalism. Both of them are thereby sitting on horseback with their faces to the tail. To the credit of Newbold one must say that he, while clinging with both hands to the horse's hind-quarters, does not presume at the same time to give lessons to anybody in riding: he only plays the rôle of a clown who gives expression to his delight at the comfortable position in which he finds himself.

The case is otherwise with Philips Price. Jolted from side to side in this unenviable position, he at the same time poses as a master of communist tactics. He philosophises and faces me with the "fatal" question: "What, in your opinion, should MacDonald have done when entering the Government under the given co-relation of international forces, and without having a majority in the working class?"

My reply to this terrible question is very simple. In the elections at the end of 1923 the English bourgeoisie only ven-

ured to split itself because the Labour Party did not represent any revolutionary danger either to the Liberals or the Conservatives. It was only because both Conservatives and Liberals knew that the Labour Party would not conduct a revolutionary policy, that it would not shake their state apparatus and by its deeds would not mobilise the working masses, that they could risk giving the Labour Party a chance to compromise itself by a temporary period of office. The Russian Liberals before October 1917 also said that the Bolsheviks, when they came to power, would only compromise themselves; but not one serious Russian Liberal thought that it was possible to afford himself the luxury of "giving the Bolsheviks a chance", for the simple reason that he knew that once the Bolsheviks came to power they would not yield it up without leaving their mark behind them.

The English bourgeoisie knew MacDonald and Snowden to be opportunists and enemies of the revolution. For this reason the coming to power of the Labour Party guaranteed beforehand that, so far as the intentions of its leaders were concerned, there would not result any benefit to the proletariat. But in politics there also exist revolutionary facts created by opportunists against their own will. Such a revolutionary fact is the experience obtained by the English proletariat, which with its own eyes saw what the opportunists were doing once they were in power, and which in fact emerged from the period of the Labour government enriched in knowledge. Therefore, to charge the English Communists with Machiavellianism because they welcomed the coming to power of the Labour government only shows that Price and Newbold deserve to be praised for having left the Communist Party. These charges only prove their lack of elementary understanding of the tasks of a revolutionary proletarian party, and also show that there is no place for either of them in such a party.

Philips Price places the knife to my throat and asks: was it not perchance better that MacDonald did not give battle to the bourgeoisie on the question of the Experts' Report, but gave battle to it on the Russian question? Philips Price, remembering that he must be more radical than MacDonald, regrets that the latter when accepting the Experts' Report did not at the same time say to the English proletariat, this report is fraught with dangers to the proletariat, but it is necessary to accept the report.

We do not know whether Philips Price considers English readers to be naive children, or whether this question is another proof of the innocence of his soul. Mr. Snowden and Mr. MacDonald have done everything in their power in order to help the robbers of Wall Street and the City to realise their plan of enslaving Europe. Mr. Snowden came forward as a witness on behalf of Morgan and swore that the Stock-Exchange Kings did not interfere in the London negotiations. Mr. MacDonald proclaimed that the London Pact marked the beginning of a new era of Democracy and Pacifism. The entire rôle of the Labour government and of the II. International consisted in deceiving the workers regarding the objective import of the Experts' Report, and Philips Price regrets that MacDonald, in bowing down to the decrees of fate and in accepting the Experts' Report, did not proclaim the socialist truth to the working masses.

And now this fight over the Russian question, in the name of which MacDonald helped to carry out the Experts' Report! We must again ask: has Philips Price lost the remnants of his feelings of socialist shame, or has he lost the remnants of his capacity for seeing facts as they are? Snowden was an enemy of the Anglo-Russian understanding. MacDonald was driven to it by the Left wing of the Labour Party, and it goes without saying that this opportunist did not put up any fight on the Russian question.

Must one perchance again refer to the shameful story of the so-called Zinoviev letter? Mr. MacDonald did not dare to ask from the chief of the Russian department of the British Foreign Office, Mr. Gregory, for any proofs of the authenticity of this letter and, in the event of their non-existence, to bring him before the Court for supporting the Conservatives with forged documents. Mr. MacDonald, during the last election, for three days abandoned the Labour Party to the hail of bullets of its opponents, maintaining a cowardly silence and not daring to fight, not only against the English bourgeoisie, but also against a clique of Foreign Office officials who incarnate all the intrigues of English diplomacy against the working class, against universal peace and against the Soviet Union.

If Philips Price now speaks of a fight by MacDonald on the Russian question, he only shows that he, the Communist of yesterday, who has entered the Labour Party in order, in his own words, to revolutionize the masses organised in it, even at the price of the concession of principles, has slid down to the position of its Right wing and is now helping to conceal the entire lack of character, the complete opportunism of its Right leaders.

Llyod George recently wrote that the MacDonald Government has left no mark behind it. As regards the achievements of this government in the field of legislation and in the fight against imperialism, it not only failed to leave any mark behind, it not only failed to improve the position of the working class, it has soiled itself with the responsibility for the London compromise, for the bloody offensive against the Indian nationalists, for preparing the way for the misdeeds of the English government in Egypt.

But there exists not the least doubt that by all this the MacDonald government promoted the crystallization of a Left wing in the English Labour Party. The treatment accorded to MacDonald at the election of the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party is a proof of this. The members of the Left wing of the Labour Party are not Communists — as we know very well —, and we know that they will only with the greatest hesitation arrive at a really revolutionary position. The English Communists in criticising them, must show some restraint and patience and must strive quietly to enlighten them.

But as regards ex-Communists, who, having fled from the Communist flag are now playing the rôle of shielders of opportunism, there exist no words too sharp but which might be used against them by even the most zealous defender of the tactics of the united front. It is one thing with the ordinary rank and file worker who is slowly coming over from Reformism to Communism, and another thing with the characterless intellectual who, at the first difficulties, has fled from Communism, who poses as a realist in order to hide his renegacy and who is sinking to the level of a defender of MacDonald.

Philips Price comes forward as a witness for the honesty of Newbold. I am ready to affirm that Walton Newbold has never stolen silver spoons, and that Philips Price even has no need to resort to such a crime. "Brutus is an honourable man, so are they all, all honourable men". But the answer of both Price and Newbold has convinced me that we shall only encounter these renegades on the other side of the barricades.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Agricultural Worker in Great Britain.

By H. M. Emery.

The peasant problem in Great Britain is less acute than in any other European country. But this is purely relative, and should be no excuse for not facing now, a problem that will ultimately play a large rôle in the revolutionary movement.

Strictly speaking, there are very few peasants in Great Britain. But, with about 1,000,000 agricultural wage-workers, and several hundred thousand small farmers who take part in their farm work, it would be a merely formalistic evasion to deny the existence of a peasant problem.

The British agricultural worker is notoriously conservative. Dominated by the landowning class and the clergy, tied to his work by the system of "Tied cottages" (cottages owned by the farmer he works for) which makes it practically impossible for him to leave his job, he has remained in much the same position, economically and intellectually, as were his ancestors after the "enclosures" of a century ago. He has practically no contact with the town worker such as is found in most other countries. He is not a small producer, taking his product to market himself, as in France. There has not been for many years any periodic flow of workers from the town to the village, the unemployed proletarian never returns to the land, as in some other European countries. The divorce between town proletariat and village agricultural wage-worker is almost complete.

Trade Union organisation has only occasionally seriously affected the British peasantry.

In 1921 there were 130,000 organised peasants, in 1922 70,000, in 1923 only 30,000.

The two main Trade Unions concerned are the "National Union of Agricultural Workers" and the Scottish Farm Servants

Union". The "Workers Union", an organisation of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, has at various times claimed a number of agricultural members, but it is difficult to find any exact statement as to the number.

The rural districts have been, and are, the stronghold of the Conservative Party; the Labour Party having failed to scratch even the surface. It has recognised that it can never obtain a majority in Parliament until it has won a large part of the agrarian workers, and it is now conducting a campaign in the country in an endeavour to remedy this weakness. But it has no definite programme and is apparently meeting with little success. So here, in the English villages is a great mass of wage-workers and poor farmers almost entirely untouched by the Labour Movement. What has the Party done to reach this mass?

At times various agricultural experts, particularly Comrade Foss, have written long (and exceedingly good) treatises on the question, in the "Communist Review". The "Workers Weekly" has occasionally, after Comintern Congresses, touched the subject — and then dropped it.

Here let us say that this is not an attack on the Party for failure to carry on work in the villages. The British party has innumerable tasks which, considering its handicaps — small membership etc. —, it is facing with determination. We are merely attempting to revive, and keep up, interest in one important task which may easily be neglected in the pressure of so many other problems.

What can the British Party do? Even if it devotes more space in its organ the "Workers Weekly" to the peasant question, will that be of any use? The Party has practically no contact with the villages. One may as well say it has no contact. The town proletariat amongst whom the "Worker's Weekly" circulates has, as we have pointed out before, no living contact with the villages. So what is to be done? Sporadic propaganda raids into the villages by the party propagandists from the towns may be suggested. But such a suggestion would be merely romantic. If, at the loss of valuable energy which is all needed in the towns, such raids could be carried out, they would have no permanent value.

The only method whereby the Party can seriously tackle the problem of the agrarian worker is, by a weekly paper devoted to the needs of the villages. This would necessitate the setting up of a small department at headquarters devoted to the peasant question, and a vigorous attempt to set going a Peasants' Minority Movement amongst the few agricultural workers now organised. Section 4, paragraph 4, of the Thesis on tactics "passed at the Fifth Congress, states"; Lack of attention to the peasant question is a relic of Social Democracy in our ranks. Communist Parties, which fail to carry on revolutionary work among the peasantry, cannot be considered as Communist mass Parties, intent on the conquest of power." We can agree with every word of that. But such a statement is of little help to a small party in the most important country in the world — from a revolutionary point of view —, that has not only the ordinary tasks of a party in an industrial country to perform, but is confronted with special tasks such as, dealing with, among other questions, the colonial question in an acute form and over a great field.

The coming Enlarged Executive Meeting should discuss in detail the problem as to how the British Party should deal with the peasant question. The programme to be put forward, the means to be adopted in reaching the agrarian masses, etc., should be put before a competent commission. Mere generalisations, on the peasant question will be of no help to the British Party.

IN THE COLONIES

Down with the White Terror in Palestine!

To the Proletarians of all Countries!

The British imperialists and Zionist colonists have again attacked the revolutionary advance-guard of the workers and peasants in Palestine with all the venom of terror and repression.

After having established its dictatorship in Egypt and in the Sudan, British imperialism now wants to suppress the revolutionary and nationalist movement in Palestine once and for all. Under the slogan "Peace and Tranquility" at the Suez, Great

Britain has introduced an embittered campaign of terror and persecution in Palestine. For the purpose of carrying out this infamous activity, it accepted the service of its devoted lackeys — the Zionist bourgeois colonists.

While British imperialism itself calmly keeps behind the scenes, it is striving with the assistance of Zionism to destroy the nationalist liberation movement of the Arabians in Palestine. In return for its bailiff services, the Zionist Jewish bourgeoisie earned the privilege of being the "ruling nation", whereas the Jewish comprise only about 13% of the whole population of Palestine. On the strength of these privileges, which are protected by British machine guns and aeroplanes, the Zionist organisation is endeavouring to deprive the Arabian peasants of their land and to supplant them with Zionist colonists. But British Imperialism is not alone in supporting the predatory activity of the Zionist organisation. In alliance with the European bourgeoisie, the wealthy Arabian feudal aristocracy — the "Effendi" — are voluntarily selling their lands to the Jewish capitalists without caring in the least for the fate of the poverty-stricken Arabian peasantry who have been tenants on this land for decades.

The expulsion of the Arabian peasants from their native soil has become a daily occurrence since the coming of the Zionist colonists, and leads to sharp conflicts between the Jewish colonists and the Arabian small peasantry.

Every foot of land which the Zionists are colonising is obtained at the price of the ruin of hundreds of Arabian peasant families. The British Government is very skilful in playing up to the national antagonisms developing from this situation. In inciting the Arabians against the Jews and the unclass-conscious Jewish workers against the Arabians, British Imperialism obtains the opportunism of playing the rôle of a peace-maker and "protector of the peaceful population" — and thus of justifying its presence in Palestine.

The predatory triumvirate — British imperialism, Jewish Zionism, and Arabian feudalism — which combines for the joint exploitation of the proletariat and peasantry of Palestine, found an excellent and devoted lackey in the Socialist Party "Achtud Avoda" — the Palestine Section of the Second International. This "Socialist Party" is conducting the most contemptible and ignominious activity in connection with the "holy conquest of the land" of the Arabian peasants for the Zionist colonists. The unclass-conscious Jewish workers united in the "Achtud Avoda" and the Arabian fellaheens are shedding each others' blood while the Zionists and Effendi harvest the fruits.

The merciless expropriation of the Arabian peasants — the fellaheens — sunk into misery, forcibly driven out of their native towns, the misery and hunger of the Arabian and Jewish workers who are exploited in an unheard of fashion by the Jewish bourgeoisie and the Arabian aristocracy, are driving the toiling masses of Palestine to rebel and fight against their oppressors.

The recent events in Aful, where the blood of Arabian peasants and Jewish colonists was shed in a fight for the land, have again given prominence to the question of the predatory imperialist policy conducted by the Anglo-Zionist colonists.

The Communist Party of Palestine is exposing the hypocrisy and underhandedness of the British robbers and their Zionist bootlickers. The Communist Party of Palestine is fighting against the treacherous Socialist Party "Achtud Avoda" and against the yellow leaders of the union "Histadrut", who work hand in glove with the Zionists, and help the latter to exploit the Arabian and Jewish workers. The Communist Party furthers the organisation of all the Workers of Palestine — Arabians and Jews — without distinction of nationality, and also united class-political trade unions. The Palestine Communists are fighting with self-sacrificing devotion against the formation of a privileged Zionist labour caste, which would be used against the suppressed and defenceless Arabian workers and peasants.

All the reactionary forces of Palestine, from the British police to the Socialists, have now declared war against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat of Palestine — the Communist Party of Palestine.

The Zionist-fascist bands attack the revolutionary workers and horribly maltreat them, all workers' clubs are closed and the arrests of revolutionary workers and peasants have resently assumed mass proportions.

Comrades! Workers! Demand the freedom of the imprisoned revolutionaries! Demand the liberation of all political prisoners and all Arabian nationalists who are fighting against the Anglo-Zionist occupation!

Down with White Terror!

Long live the Communist Party of Palestine, which is courageously leading the struggle for the revolutionary alliance of the exploited Arabian and Jewish toiling masses!

Eastern Bureau of the Communist International.
Sen Katayama, Roy, Brown, Katz.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Modern Teacher.

By N. Krupskaya.

We knew long ago that the teacher would become a social worker, but only the recent Teachers' Congress revealed fully the extent to which teachers have advanced. We no longer see the former sentimental village teacher somewhat remote from life; he is now a genuine social worker, moving in the very thick of life, an organiser, an independently thinking human being expressing his thoughts in his own words and pondering over what is going on around him. In conversations with teachers such words as "Marxism", "historical materialism", "lumpenproletariat" usw. scintillate.

At the Congress there were 1,600 delegates, — teachers from literally every nationality in Russia, from the South, and the Far North, from the most remote districts, from such places even where not a single person in the village has ever seen a mirror. The elections of the delegates were conducted with quite a ceremony. Positively every teacher took part in the elections, and gathered at the local teachers' conference. Even the peasantry were extremely interested. The latter gave the teacher delegates instructions like the following: note what kind of communists there are in the centre, are they carrying out the teachings of Lenin? Can they be relied upon? Make inquiries how to conduct collective farming. Secure somewhere in Moscow mechanical spinning machines; this from the peasant women. "Spinning" they said "just wearies us to death. We have to spin day and night, and yet we have to study. We've got to liquidate our illiteracy, and we get no time for it".

Even the children gave instructions. "Link us up with the Moscow pioneers (Red boy scouts), bring us copy of the 'Pioneers' Laws". Go to the Zoological Garden and come back and tell us about the lions and tigers.

The teachers greedily absorbed all the new impressions they obtained in Moscow. Many excursions were arranged to the Museum of the Revolution, to factories, schools and clubs.

There was extensive fraternisation between the workers and the teachers. Delegations of workers came to the Congress to greet the teachers, brought them presents and portraits of Lenin, the working women of the Sokolniki District came on to the platform bringing a model semaphore. After switching on the red light one of the women delivered a warm speech of welcome which she concluded with the words: "The line is clear for the 'smichka' between the teachers and the working class". A thunder of applause from the assembled teachers responded to this appeal. In the evenings the teachers broke up and visited the workmen's clubs where they were met with such marks of comradely affection that, as the teachers themselves, said, they will never in their lives forget.

At the Congress the delegates listened to the speeches of Rykov and Zinoviev in rapt attention. Resolutions of greeting were passed to the scientists, to the Red Army, to the Young Communist League and to the Pioneers. The teachers assembled at this Congress realised that they were members of a common family of toilers.

The political significance of the Congress was enormous. It marked the fact that Lenin's teaching concerning increasing the moral weight of the teachers, concerning the conversion of the teachers into a reliable bulwark of the Soviet Government in the villages, has been realised to a considerable degree. All the speeches delivered by teachers at the Congress gave proof of this. Conscious of this the teachers paid their visit to Lenin's mausoleum.

Politics, however, did not entirely absorb the teachers. They eagerly discussed purely pedagogical questions, in connection with new curricula, text books and methods.

Last year and the year before new curricula were issued. These are planned to train the child to take a lively interest in his environment, to connect school closely with everyday life, and

to train it to utilise the knowledge it acquires at school in the work of constructing a new society. These new curricula, drawn up by the State Scientific Council and rending asunder the old teaching traditions, were met at first with suspicion on the part of the teachers. At the Congress, however, the vast majority of the teachers warmly welcomed the new methods and pointed out how they facilitated the development of the children and how they were finding favour among the peasantry. The peasants say: "Useful things are being taught in the schools now". The only complaint made was that it was difficult to carry out the system under present conditions when a teacher sometimes has to instruct a class of from 100 to 250 children in three sections without the necessary text books and school appliances.

Schools are overcrowded this year. Every child is attracted to school; even those who for various reasons have not been to school for several years past, now desire to attend. There is not sufficient room to accommodate them all. The peasants are dissatisfied. The desire for knowledge has taken an unprecedented grip of the country.

The discussions in the various sections on questions connected with the building up of the new school revealed an extraordinary improvement in the purely pedagogical skill of the teachers. The curricula are supplemented with local material, many excursions are made, new methods are applied. The teachers are carrying out a great constructive and collective work and are being absorbed by it. The local interest in the schools is increasing and this is fostered and increased by the fact that the school is daily increasing its interest in local life. Not only the teacher but the school as a whole is carrying on social life.

In the villages the school children are informed of the meetings that are to take place. Elder children are asked to visit the homes of illiterate families, where they read the newspapers. The school-children teach comrades, their brothers and sisters and parents to read and write. In many places the school conducts extensive propaganda for hygiene. As a result of the influence of the school the children learn to wash more frequently, to cut and tend their hair and mend their clothes. The peasants' homes are kept cleaner, the village streets are cleared of filth, gutters for drainage are dug along the streets, trees are planted. The school also conducts agricultural propaganda, and frequently it happens that under the influence of the school the peasants adopt the system of rotations of crops, begin to cultivate kitchen gardens more intensively, exercise greater care for their cattle, acquire machinery, etc. Of course such schools would naturally attract the interest of the peasants, and they are now willingly sending their children to school.

School exhibitions are being organised on an increasingly extensive scale. These exhibitions illustrate the work of the school and particularly of the "examination work". To these the local population is invited and the children show visitors round and explain to them the nature of the work of the school. These exhibitions serve as a means for popularising the new school.

The delegates eagerly discussed the questions appertaining to the children's movement. Already we have more than one million Pioneers. The Pioneers introduce a new spirit into the schools. They are well-disciplined, organised and zealously follow their studies. They relieve the teacher of his policeman duties and make it possible to establish comradely relations between the teacher and pupils. The Pioneers enliven and extend the sphere of child self-government in the schools.

In addition to the plenary meetings of the Congress and meetings of the various sections of the Congress, the teachers attended a number of special meetings convened for them; to discuss such questions as work among the peasantry, the budget of the volost (county) Soviet, etc. The "Teachers' Journal" and "Pravda" convened special meetings of delegates for the purpose of organising systematic correspondence between teachers and these newspapers. The teachers were supplied with general political and special pedagogical literature.

The teachers were immensely pleased with the Congress. "We are simply amazed with all we have heard and seen" they said. "Our people at home must be waiting impatiently for our return", and then they went on eagerly to discuss how best to arrange to deliver their reports, what volost and villages to visit, etc.

The teachers in the localities are eagerly awaiting the return of their delegates; the whole population is filled with expectation.

The First All-Russian Teachers' Congress is undoubtedly of enormous importance; it is a brilliant page in the history of constructing a new life.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Roumanian Hell.

By O. E. Petroseanu (Bucharest).

From the subterranean dungeons of the Roumanian Boyar justice, there arise with more and more frequency the cries for help from the workers imprisoned because of their communist activities.

During the last wholesale persecutions of Roumanian Communists, more than 500 proletarians were crowded together in the dark and airless subterranean cells of the Jilava military prison. Before however they crossed the threshold of this Roumanian "Petropaulovsk", they had to pass through the ill-famed torture-cells of the local Siguranza authorities in order to serve as objects of experiment for methods of torture unknown up to now even in Roumania, which even put to shame the proceedings of a mediæval inquisition.

The arrested persons were already subjected to a "cross-examination" even at the local "Siguranza". Day and night they were beaten by 4 or 5 subordinate officials of the political police with sticks, switches, iron rods, horse-whips and similar instruments in the face, on the soles of their feet and on their whole bodies until they lost consciousness. Half bleeding to death, with broken limbs, incapable of the slightest resistance, they were "tamed" for the trial.

In some parts of the country even more refined tortures were invented. In Cronstadt the joints of the arrested persons were dislocated with ropes. In Arad the thumb-screw was the usual instrument of inquisition. There one of the prisoners, having become mentally deranged as a result of the tortures he had suffered, had to be handed over to his family. The metal worker Stephan Tóth whose fingers were crushed in a vice, desiring to escape from his torturers by suicide, cut open his radial artery. In some places the tortures inflicted on the prisoners caused haemorrhage from the nose and mouth. The victims who were rendered unconscious were brought to themselves again and the torture was resumed.

In order to intimidate a man, his wife was tortured, fathers were beaten in the presence of their children, the workers disfigured by torture were shown to the newly arrested prisoners and their torture renewed.

When the prisoners were removed to the head-quarters of the Siguranza in Bucharest, the scene of the wholesale inquisition was transferred to the offices of the chief inquisitor and general director of the Siguranza **Romulus Voinescu**.

In the "Siguranza Generala" the cruelties were commenced afresh, the only difference being that here they were carried out by higher officials. Apart from the commissioners **Georgescu**, **Popescu** and others, **Banciulescu**, the general inspector of the political police and the inspector **Vladimirescu** gave orders for the ill-treatment and personally took part in it. Esteemed guests were even present at these barbaric performances; for instance the vice-director **Christescu**, the prison doctor **Dr. Demetrescu**, as well as **Herr Jaques Radoi** who, in Vienna professes at one time to be vice-consul, at another time, commercial attaché of the Roumanian Embassy, but who in reality is the director of an extensive organisation of informers of the Siguranza in Vienna.

After the "examination" by the torturers, the prisoners were housed in Jilava, where the tortures were continued in order to "prepare" the victims, from whom no "confessions" could be extorted, for trial. "Communist activity", "organisation of actions subversive to the State", "participation in conspiratory organisations", "incitement to insurrection", these are the actions of which the police of the Roumanian Boyar oligarchy would like to prove the prisoners guilty. The 500 imprisoned martyrs who had fought for the freedom of the Roumanian workers and peasants, responded to the cruelties practised on their bodies by Boyar justice, by declaring a hunger strike as a protest against their immediate release and an enquiry — under the control of public opinion — in order to convict and punish the officials who were guilty of torturing them.

Under the pressure of the 11 days' hunger strike and of public opinion, the prison officials promised to fulfil their demands. No sooner however did the prisoners abandon the hunger strike than the prison officials introduced hard labour. Any who resisted these orders were packed, in the most literal sense, into a box-shaped concrete cell, which had for ventilation nothing

but a hole the size of the palm of a hand. Among these unfortunates was the ex-editor of the Party organ "Socialismul", Comrade D. Fabian, who dared, at the end of a hard-won interview with his wife, to give her his hand on parting. Comrade Fabian, who has a serious lung trouble, broke a blood vessel in consequence of the tortures he endured and the hunger strike. The seriously injured prisoner, who had asked for medical help and examination, was knocked and pushed about by the prison doctor himself.

As a protest the prisoners again resorted to a hunger strike, whereupon some of the cruelly ill-treated comrades were speedily released in order to get rid of some of the chief witnesses against the inquisition, in anticipation of the possibility of an enquiry taking place. The metal worker Lazar Ulics from Arad, who had been brought to, Jilava with his chest crushed, bleeding from nose and mouth, was released but at the same time compelled to leave the capital at once, without being able to call his torturers to account.

In spite of the collapse of the inflated "evidence" as to the "plot to overthrow the State", Boyar justice still retains within the subterranean walls of the Jilava fort, more than 150 comrades who are continuing the resumed hunger strike. Comrade Dobrogeanu, who is seriously ill as a result of the hunger strike, is the one whom savage justice especially will not allow to escape from its clutches. He who, six months previously, had been sentenced "in contumaciam" (in absence of accused) to ten years penal servitude on the pretext that he had prepared "plots against the State", was dragged before the court martial of the second army corps, simply because, in the Spring of 1924 he went to Buzeni on administrative business of the "Socialismul". The Court, without hearing any evidence, then confirmed the infamous sentence previously pronounced against him.

An enormous number of workers in all the towns of Roumania have been arrested, merely in order that they may for a few days experience the blessing of the Roumanian jurisdiction through the methods of the Boyar executioners already described. In Oradea-Mare, the district secretary of the unitarian metal workers union, Comrade Johann Czeller was arrested. In Bucharest, the chief secretary of the Union, Comrade B. Abraham, was arrested and released after a fortnight's hunger strike. In Targu-Mures, 24 workers engaged in the trade union movement were taken into custody. In keeping with the good old Austrian custom of former days, they were chained up until they lost consciousness. They were then sent to Bucharest and set free, in pursuance of the practice of setting prisoners free in a strange town and then preventing their return to their homes.

The Roumanian Boyar and financial oligarchy is thirsting for the blood of the workers. Its representative, the Bratianu government, believes that it can prolong its corrupt, cruel regime of oppression, supported on hundreds of thousands of bayonets, which is cracking in all directions in consequence of the shortage of food, the collapse of production, the intensification of the internal political situation and the hopelessness of its foreign policy, through heartless and cruel despotism. The Roumanian proletariat, tried in the fire of the White Terror, is however perfectly aware that these endeavours represent the last stage in the existence of the broken Bratianu regime. It is not deterred by the persecutions which await it, and it will steel its will to liberate the workers of Roumania from the fetters of the Boyar oligarchy, with the certain consciousness that it is not fighting its battle alone, for the public opinion of the international proletariat will pil'ory the infamous deeds of the Roumanian regime, and the workers and peasants of all countries will not withhold their effective support.

Rescue Maurin, Arlandis and their Comrades!

(Special Telegram to the Inprecorr.)

Moscow 23rd. February 1925.

A manifesto of the Red International of Labour Unions against the white terror in Spain states:

The white terror is raging in Spain.

Hundreds of workers are languishing in the prisons of Spain. The best champions of the proletariat are being executed or banished by Court Martial.

The classical means of terror having proved insufficient to beat down the rebellion of the workers, Primo de Rivera has claimed two of the best fighters for the trade union movement in Spain — comrades Maurin and Arlandis — as hostages.

The lives of Maurin and Arlandis are in danger. The bourgeoisie and the military dictatorship have decided on their death.

Workers of Spain! Will you permit this foul murder of your champions? If you permit this you will be thereby signing your own death warrant.

Workers of all countries! Arrange meetings and demonstrations of protest! Let your voices be heard before the Spanish Embassies! Send protests to the tyrant in Spain, to Primo de Rivera!

The terrible crime of the Spanish dictators must be prevented!

Save the lives of Maurin and his Comrades!

The Executive Bureau of the
Red International of Labour Unions.

OBITUARY

Waltcho Ivanov.

On the 11th February at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Comrade Waltcho Ivanov, one of the best and one of the most beloved leaders of the working class of Sofia, was arrested by agents of the murder central of the Bulgarian government and murdered in the most bestial manner. He was long tormented and tortured, and finally strangled. After he had been put to death in this barbarous manner his body was removed in a motor car from the scene of the crime and cast away in a lonely street. His corpse was found at one o'clock the next morning with the arms and legs broken; the neck and face were covered with bruises.

Comrade Ivanov had devoted himself from his early youth to the cause of the proletariat. As a teacher he for years spread communist ideas among the peasantry and was often subjected to persecutions on this account. Finally, four years ago, as a result of his opinions, he was discharged from his position and since then devoted himself entirely to the cause of the workers. By his blameless character, by his devotion to the work of the Party and by his untiring industry he soon became the favourite of the workers of Sofia. He had only reached the age of 45.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria suffers a severe loss in his death. He will always remain a shining example to the Bulgarian revolutionary working class!

Theodor Straschimirov.

Only a few days after the murder of comrade Waltcho Ivanov, comrade Theodor Straschimirov, a communist member of the Bulgarian parliament, was shot by agents of the same murder organisation of Zankov in one of the most busy streets of Sofia.

Comrade Straschimirov is the third member of the Bulgarian parliament and representative of the united front of the peasants and workers who has fallen a victim to the bullets of the murderer Zankov. After Petkov and Hadji Dimov, Comrade Straschimirov has now fallen a victim to the bloody vengeance of the fascist bourgeoisie. By his courageous attitude in parliament on behalf of the subjugated and oppressed working masses, he caused himself to be greatly hated by the bourgeoisie. He was threatened with murder even by the official representatives of the government, in fact by one of its ministers, if he did not cease his severe and justified criticism of the policy of violence of the government. But he preferred to die rather than be unfaithful to the working masses.

Comrade Straschimirov was murdered at the very moment when he was about to proceed to Varna in order to act as a defender in a communist trial and thus he died at his fighting post, at the age of 45. A lawyer by profession he enjoyed universal love and esteem.

An Exchange telegram states that Professor Zankov the Bulgarian Premier is contemplating a visit early in March to London and Paris, where he will have interviews with leading statesmen. In this event it is to be hoped that the workers of the two towns in question will accord him the welcome he deserves.