

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 5. No. 18

5th March 1925

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

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Lenin and the Period Preceding the Founding of the Comintern.

By N. I. Metscheryakoff.

I.

The rôle played by Lenin in the international socialist movement is immense. It was he who exercised the most caustic, fundamental and destructive criticism of the II. International. It was he who formulated the idea of the III. International. He was the founder and leader of the III. International. For these reasons therefore, the study of the articles of Lenin which were devoted during the whole of his activity to the questions of international policy in their entirety is of extraordinary interest.

All that was written by Lenin upon the international socialist movement may be divided into three sections.

The first group of articles embraces the period of the bloom of the II. International before the outbreak of the World War. This group is not very extensive. In the volume of Lenin's works it occupies approximately 160 pages.

The second group represents those articles which were written during the imperialist World War up to the foundation of the III. International.

The third group consists of the articles written after the foundation of the III. International and speeches delivered in the same period.

The following short sketch is devoted to an analysis of the first group mentioned above:

Lenin began his work in the ranks of the social democracy. He ended it as an opponent of the Social Democracy. But even in the first articles of Lenin upon the questions of the international working class movement, as also in many articles devoted to other questions, his profound differences of opinion with the Social Democracy are evident, and also those ideas which later formed the basis for the policy and tactics of the Comintern and the Communist Parties. To follow the evolution of these ideas, their development to a powerful and uniform whole, this is one of the most interesting and important tasks. It is the object of the present article to take the initiative in the solution, or at least in the elucidation of this task.

II.

Looking through the first volumes of the works of Lenin, we find nothing about the questions of the socialist or workers movement abroad. At this time all the attention of Lenin was directed to Russian affairs, to the approaching Russian Revolution. If at this time he refers to the Western European social

democrats, he does so only in connection with theoretical questions (for instance, the Bernstein errors), or in connection with their attitude to Russian questions, to those questions which were raised by the Revolution, and to the various tendencies in the Russian revolutionary movement. At that time Lenin saw clearly that the Revolution was developing rapidly in Russia and that the application of a revolutionary tactic was unavoidable and for which the peacefully developing Western European working class movement could supply no example. Lenin did not approach the politicians of the II. International at that time in order to seek instruction from them. He studied the literary accomplishments and the work of the founders and leaders of the I. International, he went to school with the authors of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party". The peaceful legal work of the II. International interested Lenin at that time very little. And he wrote nothing about it.

The defeat of the Revolution in 1905—1906 brought Lenin to the conclusion that the decisive outbreak of the Revolution was postponed and that up till this outbreak, Russia would have to go through a definite period during the course of which it would be necessary to "learn German", that is to say, to make use of all existing legal possibilities, even if somewhat cut down, remaining after the 1905 Revolution, in a revolutionary manner for the preparation of the new Revolution. (Reich-Duma, the one or the other possibility of legal labour newspapers, the possibility for the workers of taking part in the various congresses etc.) For such work the experiences of the Western European movement could be of advantage, therefore it was necessary to examine these experiences, it was necessary to study them.

Lenin however, in no way thought that these experiences were to be taken over blindly. On the contrary, he was extremely critical of these experiences, and for this reason his articles upon the Western European working class movement had such an extremely important significance when they first appeared, and have still for the study of the process of the development of the revolutionary working class movements which have since then organised themselves into Communist Parties and into the III. International.

III.

One of the characteristic peculiarities of the II. International was (and still is to-day) the almost complete lack of any co-ordination of the international movement which stands under its banner, the extraordinary weakness of the connections between the Social Democratic Parties of the various countries.

Many even very important questions are decided by each Party according to its own opinions. There is no unity in the decisions, no united and disciplined workers movement as a whole as though formed of granite, like that represented by the III. International. Under the cover of such decentralisation, such a lack of discipline, it is easily possible for that lack of principle and opportunism which is so characteristic of the II. International, to penetrate.

Lenin observed this weak side of the II. International immediately and already in his first article published in 1907 in the newspaper "Proletarian" entitled "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart", he pointed out with pleasure that "the Congress adopted general resolutions upon a number of questions which previously were decided exclusively inside the various individual socialist parties. The question of the consolidation of socialism into an international force is shown with particular clearness by the increase of the number of questions which demand a uniformity of principle in their decision in the various countries". A necessity which even to-day has not been sufficiently considered by many representatives of the extreme Right and extreme Left digressions in the III. International, who seek to defend the right of the Communist Parties to decide this or the other question independent of the general decision of the Congress of the III. International.

One of the characteristics of imperialism consists in the fact that it seeks to find support for itself in the so-called aristocracy of labour, in those sections of the proletariat whose work is well rewarded at the cost of the overwhelming majority of the toilers. In the articles written during the epoch of the World War and in his book upon imperialism Lenin deals in detail with this question. He brings forward the same question in the article already mentioned on the Stuttgart Congress. The reference is a passing one but nevertheless completely precise... "The extended Colonial policy", he commences, "has led to the European proletariat falling partly into such a situation that the whole of society is no longer maintained by its work but from the work of the sup-

pressed colonial natives. The English bourgeoisie for instance, draws a larger income from the tens and hundreds of millions of the population of India and its other colonies than from the English workers. In these circumstances, the material economic basis in certain countries causes an infection of the proletariat with colonial chauvinism". From this short extract we can see also the breaking through of that interest for the revolutionary movement in the exploited colonial countries which later became one of the foundation stones of Leninism and the III. International.

Further on in the same article, Lenin once again, in connection with the question of emigration, raises the point that "the same spirit of aristocracy is prevalent amongst the proletarians of a few "civilised" countries, who draw advantages from their privileged position and are therefore inclined to forget the demands of international class solidarity".

With this the question of the unity of all toilers (the workers of the capitalist countries and the peasants of the colonial countries) in the struggle against the imperialism which exploits them all, the question which the II. International has not yet solved, was correctly formulated for solution already in the first article of Lenin upon international matters written in 1907.

Another characteristic feature of the workers movement of the epoch of the II. International was that all the various forms of this movement — political, trade union and co-operative — were regarded as three absolutely independent forms of the movement. The workers parties had a socialist character; however, the trade unions independent from these parties could stand rather far from socialism. Such a separation in a united workers movement was naturally one of the causes of its weakness. It was at the same time extraordinarily favourable ground for opportunism, for the broad masses of the proletariat organised in the trade unions were not under the influence of the political parties, which for the most part were imbued with socialist and more revolutionary ideas, than all other forms of workers organisations. For this reason the Russian Bolsheviks put forward and carried at the London Party Conference in 1907 the resolution to bring about the closer connection of the Party with the trade unions and even in certain circumstances, to consider the trade unions as party political. The Stuttgart Congress also recognised the necessity for a closer connection between the trade unions and the political parties and Lenin called special attention to this resolution as a victory for the revolutionary tendency. This connection between the two is fully and completely realised in the III. International.

IV.

Finally, the question of war was raised at the Stuttgart Congress. In connection with the attitude of Hervé, who at that time proposed to answer every war with a General Strike and insurrection, Lenin wrote that Hervé "on the one hand had not grasped that war is a necessary product of capitalism and that the proletariat cannot reject participation in a revolutionary war, for such wars are possible, and such wars have taken place in capitalist society". Hervé did not grasp that the war against war "did not alone consist in the replacement of war by peace, but in the replacement of capitalism by socialism. The essence of the matter does not lie in the prevention of the outbreak of war, but in the utilisation of the crisis brought about by the war to speed up the overthrow of the bourgeoisie". This is exactly that standpoint towards war that Lenin defended so passionately during the world war: the task is not to preach pacifism, not simply the end of the war; the task is to transform the imperialist slaughter into the civil war. Consequently, we find this important and integral idea of Leninism expressed by Lenin in a completely clear and definite manner already in 1907.

The article, "Militarism in War and the anti-Militarist Activity of the Social Democracy" ("Proletarian" No. 33, 23rd July 1908) is interesting. Here Lenin states that "sufficient inflammable material (for the war) has been collected recently and it is continually growing" and for this reason the socialist Parties were faced with the task of defining a firm "anti-militarist tactic". In this tactic are two incorrect digressions. The one, to which belonged Noske, who later became notorious as the social patriot and hangman of the German proletariat, declared that in the case of a war against Germany "the social democrats would not lag behind the bourgeois parties but would take the gun upon the shoulder".

Lenin called this tendency "opportunistic cowardice".

He showed with regret that the excellent criticism of Kautsky had left no stone upon the other of these opinions. Kautsky

showed the complete impossibility of detecting, particularly in the moment of patriotic hurrahing, whether a given war served the purpose of attack or defence. The social democrats would become entangled in the toils of diplomatic negotiations if they attempted to base their attitude towards war upon this bogey. The social democrats could even find themselves in the situation of demanding a war of aggression. Lenin foresaw here the original sin, the betrayal of which the social democrats were guilty in 1914 by taking refuge in the slogan of the war of defence for the Fatherland.

On the other hand Lenin also attacked the tendency of Hervé which demanded a General Strike in case of the declaration of war. That the proletariat has no Fatherland, that is really said in the "Communist Manifesto", wrote Lenin, but the correctness of the assent of Hervé and of Hervetism by no means follows from that. It is by no means immaterial to the proletariat in what Fatherland it lives; whether it lives in Monarchist Germany, in Republican France or in despotic Turkey. The Fatherland, that is to say, the given political, social and cultural environment, is the most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat. The proletariat cannot hold itself apart from and consider the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle with indifference, and for this reason it cannot remain indifferent to the fate of its country. The fate of its country however, interests it only in so far as this has a connection with the class struggle and in no-way on account of bourgeois "patriotism", completely out of place in the mouth of a social democrat. "Not the defensive or aggressive character of a war, but the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat, or still better, the interests of the international movement of the proletariat represent the only possible standpoint from which the question of the relations of the social democrats to this or the other event in international relations can be examined and decided upon." As the reader can see, in this short article written in 1908 Lenin presents all those basic ideas which he developed in the following period, in the epoch of the imperialist war.

In the article "The Conference of the International Socialist Bureau" ("Proletarian No. 37. 16th October 1908) we draw special attention to the section in which Lenin deals with the question of the admission of the English "Labour Party" into the International. This Party did not call itself openly socialist and did not definitely recognise the principle of the class struggle. A section of the membership of the Bureau was opposed to the admission. Lenin decidedly opposed this allegedly left tendency... "When Aramoff*) said that to admit the "Labour Party" would mean to favour Opportunism, he expressed an extremely false opinion", wrote Lenin, "If objective conditions exist which retard the growth of political consciousness and independence amongst the proletarian masses as a class, then one must understand how to work hand in hand with them, patiently and firmly, without digressing from one's principles, without also rejecting the possibility of working in the centre of the proletarian masses". Here the standpoint which Lenin developed in the Comintern upon the question of the admission of the English Communist Party into the Labour Party, upon the question of the entry of communists into the trade unions etc. etc. is not merely indicated, but fully and clearly formulated.

We draw attention to still another section in the same article: "That in England amongst the working class socialism is rising, that socialism is becoming once again a mass movement in this country, that the social revolution is rising over Great Britain, only the blind can fail to see that" wrote Lenin. In another article "The Congress of the English Socialist Party" ("Svesda" No. 18. 16th April 1911) Lenin wrote once again upon this question: "The Liberals of all countries, Russia included, laugh and triumph over the fact that the opportunists are dominant in the British working class movement. But he who laughs best laughs last". This prediction of Lenin has not yet been completely fulfilled, but the whole course of development of the English working class movement to-day shows clearly that it is proceeding in the direction indicated by Lenin.

V.

In No. 17 of the "Social Democrat" of the 25th September (8th October) 1910 an interesting article by Lenin appeared devoted to the Copenhagen Socialist Congress. From all the points on the agenda of this Congress, Lenin picks only one out, the question of the Consumers Co-operatives. In this article he criti-

cises the attitude taken up by the opportunist wing of the social democracy and gives the text of the resolution which was proposed by the Russian delegation. This resolution defines splendidly the rôle and significance of the Consumers Co-operatives during the period of the normal development of capitalism. The Resolution warns energetically against the extremely wide-spread illusions about the Consumers Co-operatives which imagine that these organisations are "a means by which the social problem can be solved without the class struggle and without the expropriation of the bourgeoisie". The resolution points out "that improvements which can be made with the help of the Consumers Co-operatives can only be very unimportant so long as the means of production remain in the hands of that class, the expropriation of which is absolutely necessary if socialism is to be realised".

Two small newspaper items — "In Switzerland" which is devoted to a description of a small strike, is interesting on account of the attitude which Lenin adopts to the old leaders of the social democracy and the trade unions. "The strike was decided upon although the leaders of the political organisations were against it (the old spirit of the petty bourgeois opportunist Swiss leaders!)" wrote Lenin in the first notice.

In the second he accused these leaders of compromising with the bourgeoisie. "The political leaders of the Swiss workers" he wrote, "have gone with their opportunism so far as to a direct betrayal of the Party". This betrayal "possesses great international significance because it shows us obviously just where and how the danger of an international decomposition threatens the working class movement".

This prediction of the danger of internal decomposition in the social democracy in consequence of the treachery of opportunist leaders was completely corroborated two years later upon the outbreak of the World War.

In the preceding articles of Lenin there are many passages which defend the democracy. At the end of the article dealt with there is struck another tune: "A sharper phase of the class struggle has commenced" wrote Lenin, "and the illusions of the constitutional order and the Democratic Republic" have been scattered to the winds with one blow and our petty bourgeois in office, the social democratic town councillors have lost their heads and have sunk into the bog.

"Class conscious workers can see from this sad incident to what the spread of Opportunism in a workers party must lead."

At the outbreak of the war and the entry of the socialists into the bourgeois governments this prediction was completely justified.

In the following article, "The Social Significance of the Serbian-Bulgarian Victory" ("Pravda", 7th November 1912) the last lines draw the attention:

"The workers democracy alone stands for the real and complete freedom of the Balkan peoples. Only the economic and political emancipation of the peasants of all the Balkan peoples pursued to the end can destroy all possibilities of national enslavement."

These lines retain their full significance down to the present moment.

I pass over a number of articles from which extracts similar to the previous ones could be taken and go on to the article "The Significance of the Election of Poincaré".

"In France the last bourgeois party is in power, the Radicals" wrote Lenin, "The difference between them and the Reaction is becoming ever smaller. The whole bourgeoisie from the Radicals to the Reactionaries forms an ever more solid front against the socialist proletariat and the border line between the two wings becomes narrower." The whole course of political events after these lines were written proves the correctness of the line laid down in them. In place of the words "Radical Bourgeoisie" one has only to put "Social Democracy". The process of consolidation amongst the bourgeoisie is now much more advanced than Lenin pointed out in 1913.

I have already made quotations which show with what great attention Lenin followed the growth of the revolutionary movement in Asia. Lenin refers with still greater enthusiasm to this movement. In the article, "Backward Europe and Progressive Asia" ("Pravda" 18th May 1913.) he writes:

"In Asia a powerful democratic movement is growing, extending and consolidating itself. There the bourgeoisie are still with the people against the Reaction. Hundreds of millions of people are awakening to life, to light and freedom. What

*) The Delegate from Bulgaria.

an enthusiasm this world movement evokes in the hearts of all class conscious workers who know that the way to collectivism leads over democracy. All honest democrats are filled with a great sympathy towards young Asia."

"The whole of young Asia, that means hundreds of millions of toilers, has a reliable ally in the proletariat of all civilised countries. No power in the world will be able to prevent its victory which will free not only the peoples of the East, but also the peoples of Europe."

These lines maintain their whole significance when one makes simply a few reservations with regard to the democracy — reservations which are caused by the World Revolution which has set in in the meantime.

VI.

From the quotations which have been made we can see that Lenin in his articles before the World War set up a number of theses which have since become the most important principles of the ideology and the tactics of the Communist International.

But all this would not be sufficient to declare that in the epoch of the World War Lenin was communist. Another circumstance is much more important to the solution of this question.

We can and must call him a communist who sets as the aim of his whole activity the realisation of the communist society. Communism can however only be realised as a result of the victory of the proletariat, for no other class is interested in the triumph of communism, whilst on the other hand communism (or even socialism) cannot be realised so long as the political power and the economic rule is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The necessary condition to make possible the realisation of communism is the conquest of power by the proletariat, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The recognition of the idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the basic principle of the whole struggle of the proletariat, no matter what environment or in what stage of development this struggle may proceed, is the most important characteristic of the communist.

From the very beginning of his revolutionary and literary activity, Lenin stood as the bitterest opponent of that form of Opportunism which sought to blunt, hide or weaken the outspoken revolutionary character of Marxism. Lenin was always a staunch advocate of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the name of communism. This essential feature is to be found already in his earliest articles (for instance in the book, "Who are the Friends of the People?"). Lenin always asserted that the victory of the proletariat was only to be obtained by means of a Proletarian Revolution. Even in the epoch of the Revolution of 1905, Lenin was convinced that the conditions for the triumph of the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries of the West were sufficiently ripe and that this revolution must lead to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Already in the epoch of the Revolution of 1905, Lenin had put forward the idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry, as the program of the Revolution which was then proceeding. Even at that time the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was no far off aim for Lenin, no fine but empty phrase, not merely a phrase which brought with it no duty to act, but the immediate and basic question of the moment, the central aim upon which the working class movement had to concentrate itself as on the basic principle of the whole revolutionary activity of the proletariat.

The whole work of the working class of Western Europe was judged by Lenin at that time from a strongly defined revolutionary standpoint as the preparation for the Proletarian Revolution which, as has been said above, must lead to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Lenin however, remained in the ranks of the II Social Democratic International, took up an extreme left position in it, turned all his energies to its destruction and to the immediate formation of a new, a Communist International. The question of splitting the International could not arise, because in the decisive European Parties, in which no left wing existed, it did not come up for discussion. The delegation of the Russian Bolsheviks always adopted an independent revolutionary line inside this International, demanded the formation of a left wing in it and brought its influence to bear in the Resolution of the Congresses (1900, 1904, 1910, 1912.).

In Russia where these conditions were given, Lenin had already at this time created such a revolutionary organisation and rejected the co-operative work with the typical representatives of the II. International. This was the situation in Russia where Lenin had definitely broken with the Mensheviks and created a firm, revolutionary, disciplined and bolshevik Party, the embryo of the III. International. In the building up of the Bolshevik Party, the practical work of Lenin against the Opportunism of the II. International and the preparation for the formation of the III. International, the Communist International, found its expression.

POLITICS

The Exposure of the Witness for the Prosecution in the German "Tcheka"-Trial.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The whole of the first week of the "Tcheka" trial was taken up with the cross-examination of the chief accused, Felix Neumann, the head of the alleged German "Tcheka". Felix Neumann is to-day one of the most important and valuable objects of the Ebert Republic. It was not for nothing that during the whole year he has spent in prison awaiting trial he has been the pampered favourite of all the officials, and it was not for nothing that the examining Judge Dr. Vogt treated him as a personal friend. It is intended with the help of Neumann to discover sensational material with which to ruin the C. P. of Germany morally and to put an end to it both politically and legally.

It can already be stated beyond doubt that the Public Prosecutor and also the government of the German Republic will not achieve their aim. The flimsy evidence of Felix Neumann will not suffice for a legal or even for a political condemnation of the C. P. of Germany. Felix Neumann, the witness for the prosecution, is a thorough neurotic. When already before the commencement of the trial, it was emphasised on behalf of the communists that Neumann is mentally unsound this was received by the public with a certain amount of incredulity. But on the morning of the third day of the trial in Leipzig Neumann had already had a severe epileptic fit, which confirmed the correctness of the communist assertion regarding him. The epileptic-hysterical condition of Neumann leads in the first place to pathological lying, and in the second place to complete moral instability combined with a morbid self-overestimation.

The exciting events of the winter of 1923/1924 in which Neumann was involved did the rest. In this condition he obviously became an easy prey of the police, who have been able to make use of him as they wished. That he is capable of relating things in a fairly clear and coherent manner and, where his own person appears to be threatened, reveals a certain amount of cunning, cannot surprise anybody who is really familiar with a very wide-spread type of mentally unsound person.

Neumann's tales are a peculiar structure. With the greatest coolness he tells of sittings and meetings which occurred eighteen months ago. But Neumann says with the greatest exactness: that was on 13th of February at half past six in the evening, and then the sitting lasted until 3 o'clock next morning. Neumann even remembers every document, and which typist wrote it. That such a thing is impossible in the case of actual occurrences is perfectly clear. The objective observer of Neumann is forced to the conclusion that his detailed and coherent statements do not emanate from his memory but are derived from carefully prepared written sources. During his imprisonment awaiting trial, the police and the Public Prosecutor placed at Neumann's disposal the whole of the material obtained by spies regarding the C. P. of Germany. This material was built up into a system in accordance with Neumann's own assertions, and this protocol, in all its details, was carefully memorized by Neumann during the long months of his imprisonment.

Neumann has learnt his task well. In the course of the proceedings it happened several times that Neumann showed a better knowledge of the protocol than the chairman of the court Niedner, that is, Neumann is in fact neither an accused nor a witness, but the solemnly set up vice-examining judge of the High State Court.

Of what does his statement consist? A cleverly erected structure, composed of his own observations and inventions, and material obtained by spies. Driven into a corner by the defence, Neumann could not furnish any serious proof that the political leadership of the C. P. of Germany had any knowledge whatever of the assassination plans of a so-called terrorist group. As the one alleged to have issued the orders there only remains the mysterious Russian Hellmuth, of whom Neumann declared in the proceedings of the 17th of February that he had at least equal authority as the political party leader Brandler. Even according to Neumann's own assertions he only on one occasion came in contact with a political leader of the Party regarding the so-called Tcheka, namely, with Brandler. On this occasion he declares that Brandler demanded that the plan to assassinate Seeckt should be given up.

So far as the Neumann group did anything beyond discovering spies there is a complete lack of any connection between it and the Party. This is very disagreeable to the police. They would very much like to lay hands on this enigmatical Hellmuth. But the German police, with their usual stupidity, have simply arrested a Russian emigrant of the name of Skoblevsky and presented him to the world as the Russian General Hellmuth or Wolff, the secret Commander in Chief of the German Red Army and protector of the "Tcheka". The unfortunate Russian has had nothing whatever to do with the Communists, or the Tcheka or the whole affair. It is already clear that in this case of Skoblevsky the prosecution will render itself absurdly ridiculous.

The same is the case with the bogey stories of the cholera germs. Neumann declares that the germs were to be employed. Any proof that the Party had anything to do with the germs is not forthcoming. A dispute is proceeding as to whether the germs were at all "genuine". Some milk containing these germs was given to a rabbit. Some say that the rabbit drank the milk and that it still lives; the others assert that the rabbit refused to drink it. In any event this rabbit is a symbol of the whole "tcheka" accusation. The invented Hellmuth and the unfortunate rabbit are on a par.

The attitude of Neumann showed many peculiarities. This fellow, who is alleged to have carried out the most secret and most illegal work of the Party, definitely asserts that he never received any instructions regarding illegal work from the Party, because such instructions contained the order not to carry any superfluous incriminating papers. Neumann on the other hand, with true fanaticism, wrote reports regarding his plans of assassination and collected every possible dangerous slip of paper. He at all times carried this complete arsenal of public prosecutor's documents about with him, and then, with all these compromising papers he sits down with his whole group in a tavern in Stuttgart. They continue drinking until past the hour when the police make their usual rounds to see that the taverns are closed. The police come, arrest the whole company for drinking after legal hours, and find, quite "by chance", all these papers. Whoever believes that and considers Neumann to be an honest party worker is worthy to become public prosecutor for the German Republic.

As regards the various plans of assassination, as to which Neumann has so much to say, he confessed to the general surprise that the plan to assassinate Seeckt was never seriously meant by him. But to the others, his alleged subordinates, he acted as if the thing were serious. A very old and well known dodge. A dozen other plans of assassination were quite affairs belonging to the imagination. There only remains the shooting of the police spy Rausch in Berlin. Neumann asserts that he only intended to wound him, in order that it would serve as a reminder. But in fact Rausch died under the most extremely suspicious circumstances two months after he was wounded. Perhaps the Berlin police know why Rausch had to die. All these strange facts came to light in the proceedings and were called attention to by the defence.

The statement of Neumann was the strongest weapon of the Public Prosecutor. Beyond this there is no sensational material against the C. P. of Germany. It will be the business of the defence, in the further course of the trial, to go beyond the fabrications of spies to the real political situation in the year 1923. The trial of the living or dead rabbit is a matter of absolute indifference to the international proletariat. The more important therefore is the trial of the abortive German revolution of 1923.

M. N. Roy and British Imperialism.

By Ali-Kemal Fauladi.

The recent expulsion of M. N. Roy from France is one more fact added to the history of the relentless persecution by British Imperialism of the Indian revolutionaries, wherever they may be — in India, in other parts of the British Empire, in Europe, and, as a matter of fact, throughout the whole World. To give only two other cases of recent British persecution, one may mention the expulsion in one case, and internment in another, — on the instigation of Britain — of two Indian revolutionaries who found themselves in the French possession of Pondicherry in South India.

It is a fact to be particularly emphasised that the Government of the *Bloc des Gauches* under Herriot has of late been lending itself as a ready accomplice to British Imperialism in the work of the suppression of the revolutionary activities aiming at the destruction of the British Empire in the East. In France and in the French colonies, the militants of the Indian revolutionary movement are being pursued by the joint surveillance and persecution of the French and British police.

It is not to be wondered at therefore, if Indian revolutionaries, in their capacity of political refugees, are being denied the right of asylum in French territory. The European Social Democracy, whose French section is supporting the Government of Herriot, thus shows itself in the case of the oppressed peoples of the East — as it has shown itself in the case of the European proletariat — as the absolute policemen and lackeys of World-Capitalism.

The persecution of Roy is not new. As a matter of fact, he has been singled out by British Imperialism, for a long time as the special object of a consistent and harassing policy of persecution. Roy was cast into jail in India as early as 1915 when, still very young, he was already taking a leading part as an ardent revolutionary in the movement for the political liberation of India. In all the countries that Roy has since passed through in his eventful career — the countries of the Far East, America, Mexico, and, latterly, Germany, Switzerland, and, now France — Anglo-Saxon Imperialism has doggedly followed his footsteps, sometimes sending on his track a miserable band of spies and agents-provocateurs, sometimes seeking his expulsion or imprisonment by political pressure. It has to be said to the credit of the Government of President Carranza in Mexico, and, in a lesser degree, to the Federal Government of the Swiss Republic that they refused to do the dirty work of British Imperialism; in one case complete rights of political asylum were accorded to Roy, in the other case his expulsion was not carried out as desired by the British authorities.

Why is Roy the special object of the hatred and persecution by the British authorities? — indeed to such an extent that Chamberlain ordered that Roy should be expelled from French territory, even if it meant on the part of the Foreign Minister of the Baldwin Cabinet an officious intervention at the Quai d'Orsay in a question which, after all, is a matter of internal administration in France.

The answer is to be found in the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in India since 1922, and its connection with the revolutionary doctrine that Roy has been putting before his Indian compatriots, and the revolutionary action which he has been undertaking effectively in spite of the many difficulties which his unsettled life of a political exile, far-off from the terrain d'action, creates for him. As a matter of fact, however, Roy and his comrades in exile of the Indian Communist Party have compressed within a few years an amount of work whose revolutionary value with regard to India is comparable in many respects to that of the work done with regard to Russia by the Bolshevik leaders in their period of exile in Western Europe. It was Roy who gave for the first time a political — and, under the circumstances, a dramatic — expression to the objective forces of revolt in India when, in 1922, he intervened in the Indian National Congress with an open revolutionary manifesto which was nothing less than a Marxist view of the historic struggle of the Oppressed Peoples of the East for political freedom. Roy has extended and intensified his work till today British Imperialism is forced to proscribe Communist literature in India, to throw Indian Communists into jail and to oppose

the growth of revolutionary political parties by the promulgation of barbaric decrees, as for example the recent Bengal ordinance. If increasing sections of the Indian population are liberating themselves from the ethico-religious illusions of the Gandhist thesis and are turning towards a nearly revolutionary orientation, there are concrete and objective factors in the Indian situation to account for this. Anyone familiar with the writings of Roy will know that he has — by his trenchant polemics and his clear ideology — aided in this transition to realism. Even if there were no revolutionary action to the credit of Roy — which as a matter of fact there is — this ideological service to the cause of Indian revolution would by itself be very considerable.

As regards the Indian situation itself as it is today, we hope to deal with this in a different article. We shall give here two extracts from the most recent manifesto of Roy to the Indian National Congress held in December 1924. It is to be noted that this time the manifesto of Roy was countersigned by some members of the Executive Committee of the Congress itself — a fact which shows that the revolutionary wing of the Congress is ready to come out in the open. It may also be noted in passing that a considerable section of this Committee voted for a resolution appreciating the services rendered by Lenin to the cause of the World-revolution.

Roy said in his manifesto, among other things, that — “The struggle of the Indian people for freedom is an integral part of the struggle of the international proletariat against capitalist domination, in that its success would break down one of the strongholds of World-capitalism. The revolutionary nationalists of India should, therefore, not only join hands with the Indian workers and the peasants, but should establish close relations with the advanced proletariat of the World. The Communist will fight side by side with the revolutionary nationalists and will be found always in the front ranks”.

Addressing the Indian terrorists, who recall the Blanquists in European history, Roy exhorted — “Brave patriots, do not waste your energy in futile terrorism. Your noble idealism and undaunted spirit demand a much wider field of action. The dynamic outburst of social forces is much more powerful than bombs. The revolutionary action of the toiling masses will free India. Let us organise and lead this action”.

This call to revolutionary action launched by Roy certainly constitutes for British Imperialism a danger much graver than the ethico-political pacifism of Gandhi and the parliamentary obstructionism of C. R. Das. But it was hardly necessary for M. Herriot to show such an exaggerated zeal for the safety of the British Empire and to refuse Roy the right of political asylum in France.

“The New Leader” on Ramsay MacDonald’s Indian Policy.

The following appears in the editorial columns of “The New Leader” of February 27, 1925:

“Through the *Indian Review* Mr. MacDonald has sent to the Indian people a message which repeats the burden of the open letter which he addressed to them on the eve of taking office. It is an appeal against the methods of “revolutionary minds”, and a call for “a firm stand against subversive tendencies”. No one will differ. But was it wise to repeat this message? Has Labour no other? After nine months of office, which from end to end were barren of any achievement whatever, whether for Indian liberty or for Indian labour, its moral effect may be slight. A Socialist Party, as we see it, should rally and even incite the workers in backward lands to press forward in the struggle against exploitation. But plainly one cannot say this, if one has done nothing to help. We trust that no Labour Government will ever again earn such a commendation as Lord Birkenhead passed last week on our Indian record.”

The Privy Council’s Decision on the Lemieux Act.

By Maurice Spector (Toronto).

What the chief organ of Canadian “Liberalism”, the Toronto “Globe” calls the most momentous and far-reaching in a long line of its judgments on Canadian affairs, has been the decision of the Privy Council sitting in London that the “Lemieux Act” (Industrial Disputes Investigation Act) is “ultra vires” of the Dominion Government as violating the provisions of the British North America Act. Undoubtedly Canadian “autonomists”, all those elements who have been stressing the newly won status of the Dominion since the war, are now chafing under this latest reminder of British Imperial tutelage over the Federal Government and the Canadian judiciary. If any means could be devised whereby a re-argument of this decision which deals such a blow to Federal in contradistinction to provincial jurisdiction and powers, could be devised, no stone would probably be left unturned in an effort to gain that end. Certainly it came as a distinct surprise when the Privy Council in Great Britain failed to sustain the findings of the Appellate division of the Supreme Court in Ontario, and flew in the face of a similar decision of the Court of Review of Quebec upholding the validity of the act.

The “Lemieux Act” was drafted in 1907 by the present Premier Mackenzie King when he was Deputy Minister of Labour in the Liberal Laurier Government of that period. The Act provides in the main for an investigation by a “Board of Conciliation” before a strike or a lockout can be declared on a public utility. A Board is appointed by the Minister of Labour consisting of three members representing the two parties to the “dispute” along with a chairman, who is chosen by the representatives of two parties or, failing agreement, by the Minister. The Act was considered by the “Liberals” an “enlightened” piece of “labour legislation” since its obvious purpose was to prevent “the life of the community” from being “disturbed” by strikes. From the outset many unions considered that the Act was a definite hindrance to prevent them from striking when it was most effective to strike. The railway brotherhoods opposed the Act at the time it was framed. A class-conscious leadership of the trade unions would have fought this scheme to ham-string the workers’ will to action, to the last ditch, but the trade union bureaucracy only made a few feeble protests and adapted themselves to the “enlightened” liberal form of sabotaging the labour movement by “arbitration”. Since 1907, 441 Boards of Arbitration have functioned and have prevented strikes in all but 37 of the cases before them. So well has the trade union bureaucracy adapted itself to the Lemieux Act that Tom Moore, the President of the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress, declared on hearing of the Privy Council’s decision making it invalid, that it “would set the clock back a decade so far as the progress in dealing with industrial disputes is concerned”.

In 1923 the Electrical workers of the Toronto Hydro-Electric Commission invoked the Lemieux Act because of a dispute over wages and the Federal Department of Labour responded by appointing a Board of Conciliation. But the Hydro-Electric Commission refused to name a representative and obtained an interim injunction restraining the Board from proceeding with the investigation as well as a declaration that the Board was without lawful authority. The case went to the Appellate division of the Supreme Court of Ontario which (with one dissentient) refused the declaration and injunction sought by the Commission. The latter thereupon obtained permission to carry an appeal direct to the Privy Council.

The Privy Council sustains the appeal of the Hydro-Electric Commission and declares that the Dominion Parliament had no right to pass any such legislation as the Lemieux Act under the conditions of the “British North America Act” which has been the constitution of Canada since Confederation about fifty years ago and which can only be amended by Act of “British Parliament”. Two sections of the British North America Act (No. 91 and 92) define the powers of the Dominion Parliament and the provincial legislatures respectively. The idea of those responsible for passing the Lemieux Act was that as affecting trade and commerce and possibly as dealing with criminal law, “labour legislation” was a function of the Dominion. But the law lords of the Privy Council rested their decision chiefly on the section of the B. N. A. Act which assigns the subject of property

and civil rights to the legislature of that province. Lord Haldane who delivered the judgment held out that legislation similar to the Lemieux Act could be enacted by the provinces. Canadian Confederation is still regarded by the judicial committee of the Privy Council as a sort of treaty between independent states and not the creation of a new state with provinces enjoying certain defined rights and with the Dominion as overlord. The London "Times" senses the dissatisfaction and unrest that the interpretation of the Privy Council will stir up in the Dominion and therefore admits that "while the decision was legally sound it seems to be in opposition to the main trend of recent events in Canada and the United States". The "Times" then talks about the centralisation of national powers as a modern tendency of the courts throughout North America and concedes that the Act of 1867 may have to be amended so as to secure for the Dominion full power to act.

Although the Lemieux Act was absolutely against the class interests of the Canadian workers, the repeal of the British North America Act destroying the sovereignty of British Imperialism over the Dominion and making for Dominion centralisation would be in the interests of the workers, even though certain sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie desire these things too. Already Premier King has taken advantage of the Privy Council decision to emphasise his stand that unemployment relief is a matter of provincial and not Federal jurisdiction. Undoubtedly the Supreme Court of Canada which now has the question of the legislative jurisdiction of the Eight Hour Day before it will also decide that the Dominion Government cannot deal with such a matter. The interests of the workers demand the centralisation of the class struggle.

Taken in all we may expect this latest decision of the Privy Council to loosen still further the bonds of the Empire.

"Social Welfare" in Dawes Germany.

By Martha Arendsee (Berlin).

The capitalist class and its accomplices have already declared themselves ready to execute the Dawes plan. This means, in the first place, that 2.5 milliards are to be squeezed out of the working class annually. At the same time the rates of profit hitherto gained by the capitalists are not only to be maintained, but increased without limit.

The only way of accomplishing this is to reduce the standard of living of the working class down to the lowest imaginable level, and to limit to the utmost minimum all expenditure for cultural and social purposes.

Social democracy, whose anti-labour policy has secured for heavy capital a position of power such as it has never held before, will continue to lend willing aid to the bourgeoisie under cover of pseudo-oppositional speeches, and will pursue the line of action initiated by the enthusiastic social democratic support of the London slavery agreement.

The German working class, under the leadership of the sole labour party, the German C. P., has not only to take up the struggle for the eight hour day and higher wages, and for relief from the unbearable burden of taxation, but must at the same time take up arms against the obvious intention to abolish the last remnants of social provision for the victims of capitalism, and must struggle for the restoration and development of social welfare institutions.

The health of the working class is completely undermined by years of overwork and under-nourishment. The number of sick club patients increases. The physicians are being called upon to limit the applications from patients. The hospitals are overfilled, and the chief Health Office in Berlin has given notice to the doctors that they must not make too many applications for the admission of patients. Epidemics find a favourable soil. Prussia heads the list of typhus cases. Hygienic regulations are being dispensed with. The spread of tuberculosis is especially calamitous. During the war a great many persons died of tuberculosis, after this the number of deaths decreased until 1920, but only to increase again rapidly up to the present time. In 1913 8.3 per thousand of the school children examined suffered from tuberculosis of the lungs, by 1922 the number had risen to 30! Reports from various towns, especially from the Ruhr

district, show the deaths from tuberculosis among persons from 15 to 20 years of age to comprise 10 to 15% of the total number of deaths. The Prussian memorandum issued in the autumn of last year reports 50 to 60% of the children to be under-nourished, in many districts even up to 90%. In Dortmund 72% of the children suffer from rickets.

Meanwhile conditions have become considerably worse. The scanty meals provided in the schools have almost entirely ceased. And to this frightful state of health among the children we must add still another chapter of misery — child labour. The children, weak and still-nourished as they are, are forced to contribute their work for the support of the family, in order that the propertied class may rake in profits and live in luxury. In the textile and toy industries, in which much work is done in the workers' homes, children are frequently kept at work for 6 to 8 hours, even small children not yet attending school. Who troubles about laws for the protection of children? The drones of society adorn themselves with bead-work and embroidery which have cost these children of the proletariat their health and youth.

The women of the proletariat lead the life of martyrs. They break down beneath the double burden of wage-earning and caring for the household and children. Millions of women use every possible means to prevent themselves from having children. The question of artificial abortion is today not merely a problem confronting only the working class, but the ruling class too is becoming gradually conscious that legal paragraphs imposing prison and penal servitude are of no use for stemming the increasing decline in the number of births.

Discussions for and against the foeticide laws are being carried on with special energy in medical circles. The movement among the masses of proletarian women is growing daily in strength and intensity. Huge demonstrations in Berlin and other cities give expression to the distress and anguish of the tortured mothers of the proletariat.

The Communist fraction in the Reichstag has now submitted an interpellation which compels the government and the various parties to face the question of what they intend doing to put an end to these conditions, which claim tens of thousands of victims yearly, and subject hundreds of thousands to the most frightful mental and physical tortures.

The introduction of a bill for the protection of mother and child indicates the one and only way by which women may be enabled to give birth to children again, and may be freed from the necessity of grasping at any means for destroying the life within them, even at the cost of their own physical ruin.

The social democrats however, fail to find any better means of escape from the situation than to demand the ratification of the Washington Agreement regarding employment of women before and after confinement. This ratification has been refused over and over again since 1919, even by governments containing social democratic ministers. The social democrats now declare themselves prepared to support the ratification, although they are perfectly aware that it affords no real protection for motherhood.

The right to abstain from work six weeks before and after confinement is simply a farce if a subsistence is not assured during this period. And the granting of intervals during work time for the nursing mother is equally purposeless if the mother is not at the same time given the possibility of nursing the child. When discussing the budget in the Reichstag, the government declared itself to be well aware that expenditure for the protection of mothers and children is most profitably spent. But still the Reich is unable to bear a greater burden than the 20 million marks at present calculated in the budget for "maternity aid". The communist motion proposing to raise this sum to 150 millions was rejected by the votes of all parties, including the Social Democratic Party.

Precisely as the capitalist state here fails to fulfil its duty, and is bound to so fail since it aims at securing the profits of the capitalists, in the same manner it fails to provide for the victims of war and work. The official returns show that approximately five millions of war victims, social and small pensioners, can lay "claim" at the present time to assistance from the state. To these we must add the recipients of poor relief, receiving aid from public sources after investigation as to their destitution.

After the introduction of various "reforms", there remain at the present day, of the victims of the great war — in Germany 1,824,051 dead and 4, 245,105 wounded — only 768,00 war disabled (exclusive of old age pensioners) 421,600 widows, 1,077,600 orphans and 240,000 fathers and mothers entitled to support.

The pensions are at the same time being constantly reduced. The classification into three groups skilled workers, unskilled workers, and higher professions, secures the privileges of the propertied class.

The government has no intention of raising pensions equally all round, but of undertaking a revaluation in accordance with the amounts of contributions formerly paid. In the same manner the government is planning a "reform" of accident insurance, which entirely excludes injured persons drawing small pensions, about 300,000 in number. Accidents are multiplying daily in the works and factories as a result of the speeding up and exploiting system. Official statistics report 500,000 accidents yearly. The victims are left to their fate.

The low wages of the worker cause care to be a daily guest in the workman's family, even when work is to be had; and when unemployment steps in, the workman's family is plunged into the lowest depths of want and misery. The effects of the Dawes agreement may be seen in the increasing number of unemployed. In round number, 1,5 millions are without means of support (without counting the members of the family). Up to now the Reich has been entirely successful in thrusting the entire cost of the support on to the working class. The contributions made by the working class for the unemployed maintenance fund suffice completely to cover the amount of benefit distributed, in addition the employers are even able to obtain credits from this fund. But the greater part of the unemployed are debarred from receiving unemployed benefit by a multitude of enactments. 170 millions were originally stated in the Reichs budget as the amount to be contributed by the Reich, but only 3 million of this have actually been used for the unemployed. The social democrats are now demanding an unemployed insurance, and the government has announced that a bill to this effect will be brought before the house presently. This means that the social democrats are prepared to relieve the capitalist class of the burdens incurred by the support of the army of unemployed created by capitalism.

The Communist Party will therefore oppose this insurance plan with the utmost determination. It demands that the Reich undertakes to provide for the unemployed, and submits to the Reichstag a bill in accordance with this demand.

Not only in this point, but with regard to measures of general social welfare, the German working class is confronted by a systematic offensive on the part of the capitalist class, which is endeavouring to exterminate all elements no longer utilisable for purposes of capitalist exploitation.

At the conferences held by industrialists, and in the press, it is pointed out that industry must strictly supervise the expenditure of public bodies. A special circular issued by the industrial protection federation in August 1924 announces reprisals against municipalities which give support to the relations, the wives and children, of striking or locked-out workers. In the future an increased number of workers are to be locked out in such cases, until the municipality is no longer able to grant aid. The employers are promised far reaching financial assistance. The Prussian government has lent further support to these reprisal tactics by issuing a decree expressly prohibiting, on principle, the granting of aid to the relatives of strikers and locked-out workers.

This brutal war of starvation on the part of the employers is accompanied by the campaign being carried on by the representatives of the class medical profession. Professors and district physicians declare in the medical periodicals that the "exaggerated" expenditure for the aged, the disabled, the consumptives, lunatics, rickety children, unmarried mothers, etc., is capital expended without bringing in any return, and that our present economics cannot bear this expense.

The Communist Party, acting in closest touch with the working women, demands the measures required in each separate sphere of social welfare, and points out at the same time that no social reform can save the working class from ruin, but only social revolution.

The Significance of the Insurrection in Kurdistan.

Moscow, 26th February 1925.

The insurrection of the Sheik Said in Kurdistan against Mustapha Kemal and the Angora government is regarded in Moscow as an attempt at restoration on the part of Turkish reaction, in alliance with English imperialism.

Broadly speaking, Kemal represents the national emancipation movement and is endeavouring to democratise and liberate Turkey from the remnants of feudalism as well as from the influence of the mohammedan clergy. Kemal is being opposed first by imperialism, secondly by the feudal great landowners, thirdly by the clergy and fourthly by the commercial bourgeoisie of the labour towns which is allied with foreign capital.

Recently all reactionary forces have combined to form the so-called "Progressive Republican Party", which led an attack against Kemal. The insurgents are mobilising the nomadic tribes, who are hounded on by the clergy, and are making use of religious slogans.

The insurrection broke out in the Eastern vilajets (administrative districts) in which the great landowners predominate. Behind the insurgents there stands England which is interested in the Mossul question i. e., the petroleum question.

The outbreak of the insurrection was made to synchronise with the investigation of the Mossul question by a commission of the League of Nations and was also caused by the intention of the government to abolish the taxes levied by the church (Aschar) which often amounted to 80% of the total harvest. The quelling of the revolt is rendered more difficult by the inaccessible nature of the country, by the weather conditions and the class struggle. The class struggle of the Kemal government, supported by the city petty and middle bourgeoisie and a portion of the peasantry against the big landowners, the clergy and English imperialism, has entered on a decisive stage.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Fourth Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

III.

General Section (continued).

The all-European Iron Trust and the Situation in the World's Iron Industry.

In spite of the present antagonisms, we are of the opinion that the prospects of arriving at a Franco-German agreement are not quite so poor as they appear at the moment. We believe this because it is quite obvious that a private agreement has already been come to between the heavy industrial groups who form the politically most influential elements in both countries! This agreement will probably form the core of an all-European iron trust. We must therefore take a somewhat wider survey and give a brief sketch of the situation in the world's iron industry.

The most important fact is that the productive capacity of the iron and steel works of the world far exceeds the absorbing capacity of the world's markets. It is difficult to ascertain the exact productive capacity, as direct data are not obtainable. The following data however permit of fairly accurate conclusions being drawn ("Economics and Statistics". 1924. p. 729):

	England	France	Belgium	Luxemburg	Sweden	U. S. A.	Total
Existing blast furnaces	484	219	56	48	132	417	1356
Blast furnaces working							
in autumn of 1924	171	135	47	34	51	182	620
Blast furnaces not working							736

We see that in the autumn of 1924, at a time of comparative economic prosperity, less than half of the blast furnaces in these important iron producing countries (data on Germany have not been published) were working.

This fact alone does not furnish a sufficient basis for ascertaining the difference between productive capacity and actual production, since it may be assumed that the blast furnaces which have been closed down are old ones, of inferior producing capacity. The difference can, however, be approximately judged by means of a comparison between the highest production figures calculated for the last decade and the present figures:

	Annual production in millions of tons:			
	highest Iron 1924	highest Steel 1924	highest Iron 1924	highest Steel 1924
United States . . .	40.0 (1916)	30.0	45.8 (1917)	34.8
England . . .	10.7 (1913)	7.4	10.0 (1917)	8.7
France . . .	5.2 (1913)	7.7	4.7 (1913)	6.9
Belgium . . .	2.5 (1913)	2.9	2.5 (1913)	2.8
Luxemburg . . .	2.6 (1913)	2.0	1.3 (1913)	1.8
Sweden . . .	0.8 (1915)	0.5	0.6 (1915)	0.5
Germany . . .	16.7 (1913)	7.0	13.8 (1917)	8.6
Total . . .	78.5	57.5	78.7	64.1

The actual difference is much greater than this, for:

a) The productive capacity of France has been greatly enhanced by the transference of the blast furnaces of Lorraine (doubling the number possessed by France in 1913), whilst Germany has regained her lost productive capacity to a great extent by means of new plant.

b) In addition to this the highest figures for 1913 do not signify a 100% utilisation of the productive capacity.

When all these points are taken into consideration, we find that the productive capacity is only utilised up to scarcely more than one half.

The decline in production in comparison with productive capacity applies especially to the European countries: European production has been as follows 1):

	Millions of tons	
	1913	1923
Iron . . .	45	33
Steel . . .	45	33

It must also be borne in mind that in a number of European countries the producing capacity has considerably increased since 1913. In England the increase is estimated at 50%. Germany has almost replaced what she lost by the peace treaty, for she has greatly extended the producing plant in the territory which has remained to her, etc.

"Whilst the world's production of iron amounted to 10 to 12 million tons at the beginning of the seventies, it had increased to 80 million tons by 1913, and even to 120 million tons by the beginning of 1923, whilst at the same time consumption only increased to 80 to 90 million tons. It is characteristic for the development of these relations of production that even countries from which no iron production was expected have proved capable of producing their own iron. India and South Africa may be cited for instance. South Africa seriously entertains the plan of supplying Africa's anticipated extensive requirements in railway rails to a very great extent from its own production. 2)

Under such circumstances there is bound to be very keen competition among the various iron works and among the different countries. This is mirrored in the following alterations of prices 3):

Price per ton in gold marks, for the same quality:

	Germany	England	United States
Average 1913	74.5	59.8	61.6
Average 1924 (11 months)	93.0	80.8	98.9
Increase in percentages . . .	125	135	160

1) Statements from "Manchester Guardian" Commercial supplement 11. December 1924.

2) "Bergwerkzeitung", 30. November 1924.

3) "Economics and Statistics", 1924. Vol. 24, sp. 775.

We see that the English prices have remained considerably below the general rise in prices. The French gold prices for various sorts of iron are lower than those of 1913. With regard to the German prices, however, we find that inland prices stood considerably higher than the foreign prices.

"Even in the summer of 1924, when German bar iron cost M. 155 at home, bar iron of German origin was offered to the German market by Holland at Mk. 117." ("Vorwärts". 7. January 1925.)

The competition of prices has been especially acute among the West European countries, for here again the production has greatly exceeded the needs of the home market, and export has greatly diminished as compared with pre-war time. The export of iron and steel products has been as follows 4):

	Millions of tons		
	1913	1922	1923
Germany	6,47	2,65	1,75
England	5,80	3,62	4,51
United States	1,13	2,15	2,79
Belgium	1,95	1,94	2,62
France	0,92	3,28	2,90
	16,27	13,64	14,57

The total exports of the leading European countries have diminished by more than 3 million tons (the figures referring to the United States being deleted from the above table), in round figures 25%. England and France suffer most severely from lack of markets.

Although France's exports have greatly increased in comparison with pre-war time, France is still more dependent on exports than the other countries, for her productive capacity far exceeds home consumption. Germany too is dependent upon large exports, and the same applies to England and Belgium. (In the United States export plays a less important rôle, 2 to 3% of the production.)

Attempts at the Formation of an All-European Iron Trust.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that the idea of forming an All-European "International Iron Trust" is gaining steadily in popularity in heavy industrial circles. Even before the war international trusts existed in individual branches of the iron industry: thus the international rail trust, the international armoured plate trust (for war-ships), etc. These trusts were district trusts; that is, each "national" trust was allotted its own state area and some other countries, where it could deliver goods without competition.

At the present juncture what is proposed is the formation of a general iron and steel trust. This renders the matter more complicated. Armoured plates or rails are goods, and their trustification does not interfere with the process of production. But if iron and steel in general are controlled by a trust, and the prices raised, then the industries working up iron, and their markets and export possibilities, will be greatly influenced!

In Germany, where the ironware manufacturing industry is trustified with heavy industry to a wide extent, the antagonism of interests between these two branches plays a less important part; if manufacturing industry loses something through high iron prices, the same capitalists gain the greater profits from their share in heavy industry, and have at the same time the advantage of being able to ruin the remaining independent manufacturing industrialists by means of the high iron prices. But in England and France, where the vertical trustification is not so far advanced, this question plays a great rôle. Nevertheless, a strong inclination towards international amalgamation may be observed both in France and in England.

On 25. September 1924 the "Matin" published an article, or rather a report of a speech made by the well known French heavy industrialist de Wendel, in favour of a Franco-German understanding. One passage of this speech was as follows:

"Even for the manufacturers of finished articles there is a possibility of finding common ground for an understanding; the commercial and the manufacturing industry of South Germany have always been supplied by the iron-works of Lorraine, Luxemburg, and the Saar district, and

4) "Wirtschaftsdienst" No. 1, 1925.

it would be impossible to deprive them of these sources of supply without arousing great dissatisfaction. On the other hand, if the undertakings in these three districts are no longer able to sell a part of their production to Germany, they are forced to throw the whole of it on to the foreign market; Germany's general economic force her at the same time to export considerable quantities. This means that great difficulties lie in the way of international agreements regarding the export of iron; the prolongation of the duty free import of consignments from Lorraine, Luxemburg, and the Saar district into Germany is doubtless the necessary prerequisite for any such agreements."

De Wendel's suggestion, which is in itself not new (even before and during the Ruhr occupation negotiations took place between the French and the German heavy industrialists), met with a favourable response in Germany.

On this basis consultations have been held between the German and French big industrialists, and Franco-German trade agreement negotiations have been carried on at which those whose interests were involved on both sides have been present in the capacity of "experts". The question of the formation of a trust has been combined with the question of the import of iron productions from Lorraine to Germany. The German heavy industrialists have rapidly proceeded to act. They have united in a "crude steel association", and have proposed to the French heavy industrialists that these supply a certain quantity of Lorraine iron goods at a price to be mutually agreed upon. This would mean that the customs question would lose all significance for the French iron industrialists; and on the other hand it would render it possible for the German iron industrialists with the high tariffs on iron, to send up the inland prices.

Up to now no agreement has been arrived at, as is shown by the holding up of the trade agreement negotiations. For these negotiations are only apparently being carried on by the official delegates of both sides; in reality it is the capitalists of both countries who are negotiating directly with one another, in their rôle of "experts". We are, of course, not informed as to the reason why the negotiations have been a failure up to the present, but two main factors may be gathered out of the extremely contradictory reports given by the German, French, and English newspapers:

a) The French demand that the Germans purchase 1½ million tons of iron goods annually; the Germans are only willing to agree to 1 million tons.

b) The Germans demand certain customs facilities for German finished iron articles, but the opposition of the French finishing industry has prevented these from being granted. (Speech delivered by M. G. Mure Ritchies, president of the well known firm of Siemens Bros. and Comp.)

The question is being used as agitative material in favour of protective duties.

Another well known British steel industrialist, Lord Furness, calls upon the British steel industrialists to unite in the interests of organised defence.

When forming a judgment on all these indications, it must of course be kept in mind that their object is rather to deceive the adversary than the desire to give a clear explanation. But it may at least be assumed that the English press, even the leading newspapers, attach an extraordinary degree of importance to the question. It is extremely possible that the non-evacuation of the Cologne zone represents a means of exercising pressure upon Germany in this question.

Questions of International Organisation.

In Germany it is continually being pointed out that an international agreement is only possible if the producers of the various countries are closely united in firmly established organisations, as otherwise there is no guarantee that the agreement will be observed. It is pointed out that no such organisation has existed in France since the dissolution of the selling offices, and that the Comité des Forges is a political economic organisation, not a trust. The same applies to England. The Germans themselves have created the necessary organisation in the crude steel association. But with the exception of Germany and Poland, no country has taken steps in this direction.

To sum up, we may say that although it is not yet possible to form a final judgment on the issue of the negotiations, it is obvious that there is a determined will on the continent to

create a European iron trust. On the other hand, it seems as if the English heavy industrial bourgeoisie is more inclined to use political means for the prevention of a German-French agreement than to enter a trust, unless especially favourable conditions are granted to English industry.

Special Section.

Germany.

During the first two months of the period covered by this report, Germany's economic situation continued to improve; towards the turn of the year this comparative prosperity showed signs of waning, but it is not yet clear whether this is merely a seasonal phenomenon, or an actual worsening of conditions.

The improvement in the economic situation was chiefly due to the improved sales in the home markets. Exports continued to be hampered in many branches of industry by the excessively high prices of German products.

The change of government which took place at the turn of the year signifies that the pseudo-government of the petty bourgeoisie has probably come to an end at last, and the class which in reality rules Germany — the capitalists and large landowners — have now formally taken over governmental power. Although this new government is inclined to inaugurate its reign by pacifying the working class, as may be seen by its enactment with regard to the reintroduction of the three shift system in the blast furnace and coke-burning works, nevertheless the whole economic situation is such that great struggles are inevitable in 1925. German industry is obliged to force exports by means of reduction of prices, and this at a moment when the rising prices of the world's markets are increasing the costs of living.

Unemployment.

The state of the labour market is mirrored in the unemployment statistics. The number of unemployed in receipt of maintenance is given in thousands in the following:

1. November 1924	435
1. December 1924	437
15. December 1924	458
1. January 1924	529

Production.

Coal production has had to struggle against lack of markets during the period of this report. The mild weather has lessened the consumption of household coal. On the other hand the reparation commission has demanded a much smaller quantity of coal than in the preceding months. The total deliveries of coal for the reparations — coal, coke, and briquettes being calculated into coal — has been as follows, in 1000 tons:

August 1924	1638
September 1924	1496
October 1924	1027
November 1924	885

The coal supplied by the former Regie undertakings is not included in these figures. The result of this falling off is that, despite the fact that many shifts are not worked in many of the mines, coal and coke had accumulated to a total of 3.4 million tons by the end of November.

Production in millions of tons:

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Coal	11.39	11.94	10.69	11.10
Lignite	10.84	11.98	11.50	11.99
Coke	2.19	2.28	2.28	—

In the case of coal, production attained approximately the monthly production of 1913; 11.73 millions tons. In 1913 the monthly average production of lignite was 7.27 millions tons, so that the present production exceeds this by about 50%. On the other hand, the quantity produced per head of the workers is still less than before the war, although the machine plant of the mines has been greatly improved since that time.

Conditions are not uniform in the various branches of industry working up iron: the machine building trade, ship building, etc. The shipyards complain of lack of occupation, whilst some branches of the machine building industry, for instance, the manufacturers of electrical plant, are fairly well occupied.

In the textile industry conditions are better on the whole, and the improvement has continued since the culmination of the crisis in July 1924. The cessation of duty free import of textile goods from Alsace will probably give the textile industry increased employment in the immediate future.

Building activity is increasing, for the first time for many years. In the majority of the towns building workers are employed up to a full 100%, and in many places there is already a shortage of skilled workers, so that the necessity of transferring young workers into the building trade is being mooted.

Working Hours.

The General German Trade Union Federation again took a census in November (as in May) 1924 on the length of working hours in Germany. The data were drawn from 51,166 undertakings employing 2,362,820 workers. This number is only about one sixth of the total number of German workers, but it is large enough to give a general idea. The results of this survey are as follows, compared with the May data:

	Working over 48 hrs.	Of these, those wor- king over 54 hrs.
May	54.7%	13.0%
November	45.4%	10.7%

Among the various branches of industry the textile trade has the worst record, 66% of the workers working over 48 hours; next comes the metal industry with 53.1%. The best position is held by the shoe industry with 8.1% and the building trade with 10.5%. With regard to the various undertakings, about three quarters of these work 48 hours. Although these figures only refer to a part of the German working class, the fact that working hours have not inconsiderably decreased is none the less of great importance, and shows on the one hand the strength of the resistance made by the German working class against lengthened working hours, and on the other hand the moderate demands put upon production, making it unnecessary for the capitalists strongly to urge longer working hours.

During the period covered by this report, wages advanced sporadically by a few points, but these advances are obviously far behind the increased costs of living.

Foreign Trade.

The slightly favourable position shown by the German foreign trade balance in the months of July and August was followed during the period of this report by an adverse balance amounting by the month of November to more than 400 million gold marks. The following table gives a survey of the first 11 months of the current economic year:

	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
	In Million Goldmarks		surplus	
1913 monthly average	933.84	849.88	83.96	
1923 monthly average	506.78	506.60	0.18	
1924 January . . .	564.9	431.0	133.9	
February . . .	729.6	466.2	263.4	
March	692.7	456.6	236.1	
April	803.2	482.0	321.2	
May	886.8	516.2	370.6	
June	753.1	475.2	277.9	
July	556.5	573.4		16.9
August	448.2	589.4		141.2
September . . .	723.4	564.1	59.3	
October	855.6	611.9	243.7	
November	1048.3	643.5	404.8	
Jan./Nov.	8062.3	5819.2	2152.8	

No data have yet been issued for December.

Germany's incapacity to compete in the world's markets is stated as the cause of this enormous deficit.

The unfavourable trade balance is in reality the reverse side of the great loans received by Germany in the course of the last half year. Of these loans only a comparatively small sum has found its way to Germany in the form of gold; the greater part has been received in the form of goods, and this is reflected in the adverse trade balance.

A trade balance as unfavourable as this is bound to lead to a fall in the value of the currency, unless it is bolstered up by further loans, and the payment balance thus kept artificially active. This appears to be the case at present, for the mark continues to be stable.

Notes in Circulation.

The stability of the currency has been maintained, although the total of the notes in circulation has increased rapidly. The total sum in circulation, in notes, Rentenmarks, and coins, has increased as follows:

	Million marks
31. January 1924	2278
30. August 1924	3534
30. September 1924	3707
31. October 1924	3870
30. November 1924	4000
31. December 1924	4300

Credit shortage has diminished correspondingly during the last few months, and rates of interest have fallen. According to statements issued by the "Börsen Courier", the rate of interest for bank credits has been about 18% annually during the whole of the period of this report; in December it was still somewhat lower. It is interesting to note that the rates for credits in dollars or pounds have been lower, during the whole period, than for mark credits. Taken on the whole, the credit market shows a nearer approach to normal standards, although the rates of interest are still greatly higher than the American or English, a consequence of the impoverishment of Germany.

State Finances and Reparation Payments.

As is known, during the present economic year no reparation payments are to be made out of state revenues. The instalments are to be paid from the reparation loan of 800 million marks, and 200 millions out of railway debentures. State finances are thus not immediately affected by the reparation liabilities.

In November a supplementary estimate to be added to the budget for 1924 was submitted to the Reichstag, and passed. This budget shows expenditure to the amount of six milliard marks, and reckoning all extraordinary expenses and reparation payments, closes with a deficit of 348 millions, which are to be covered by a loan.

And yet the revenues were considerably higher than had been anticipated. During the first seven months of the current financial year, 76% of the revenues calculated for the whole year had already been collected. After the reparation agents had reimbursed the temporarily confiscated customs and taxation revenues to the Reich, the surplus in the month of December amounted to a total of 208 million Reichsmarks. The taxes paid by the proletariat, the wages tax, the turn-over tax, the duties, have been the chief sources of increased revenues, whilst the taxes affecting the capitalists have not brought in the sums anticipated, with the exception of the corporation tax. The taxation question will form one of the chief objects of struggle between capital and labour in the coming year.

How much the Workers in the American Factories are Exploited.

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The Census Bureau published, in February, 1925, figures on production and wages which give an interesting view of the balance sheet of capitalist production in America for the last few years, and which show to some degree the extent of exploitation of labour as recorded by the capitalists themselves. Here are a few samples:

	1919	1921	1923
In thousands of dollars			
Total new values created in manufacture	24,753,064	18,316,666	25,853,151
Amount of wages paid to producers	10,461,787	8,200,324	10,985,895
Total surplus value extracted from the workers in factories	14,291,277	10,116,342	14,867,256
Total number of factory workers	9,000,059	6,946,570	8,763,233
In dollars			
Average production new values per worker . . .	2,750.00	2,637.00	2,950.00
Average wage per worker	1,162.00	1,180.00	1,253.00
Average surplus value, per worker	1,588.00	1,457.00	1,697.00
Rate of exploitation (ratio of surplus value to wages)	136%	123%	136%

According to the capitalist bookkeepers, in short, every worker engaged in manufacture has worked (on the basis of an 8 hour day) a little over three hours to reproduce the value of his wages, and a little under five hours to produce surplus value for the capitalist class. This surplus value, amounting to 7/12 of the total values produced, has been distributed among the capitalists and their retainers in the form of rent, interest, profit, and the upkeep of government, press, and pulpit, to support the capitalist dictatorship and keep the wage-slaves in subjection.

IN THE COLONIES

The Anti-Christian Movement in China.

By S. Tretyakov (Peking).

The Christian press of Europe and America is disturbed. The active antichristian movement among the Chinese students is developing at a rate hitherto unknown.

In almost all universities anti-christian unions have been founded. In Nanking the students have publicly destroyed the bible. In Canton the anti-christian students at Christmas time arranged a Carnival and ragged the christian youth. It is natural that the missionaries have been roused by this question and that the majority of them have broken out into a terrible howl over "bolshivism".

It is true that this is not the case with all the missionaries. There are some who perceive the connection between the anti-christian and the anti-foreign movement and are endeavouring in their sermons to distinguish the cause of the missionaries from the cause of imperialism, and even to proclaim that the fundamental task of the christian missionaries consists in "realising a higher type of nationalism".

Even the most simple minded must see the trap which the catholic priests and the methodist doctors of divinity are laying by endeavouring to identify christianity with the most popular slogan of the nationalist movement in China, which in spite of the machinations of the missionaries bases itself upon the anti-foreign and anti-christian movement.

It is true that in Tientsin some weeks ago some naive missionaries attempted to be "honestly consistent" and to declare that religious propaganda must abandon all those privileges which have been assured to it by the imperialist penetration of China. These naive people however, were literally crushed by the whole of the remaining missionary fraternity. A flood of indignation has broken out among the missionaries regarding such an improper attitude towards the sacredness of the mailed fist, without which, as the missionaries generally admit, the holy cross cannot be firmly established on Chinese soil.

The anti-christian movement is an organic part of the anti-imperialist movement; in fact it is more than that. The anti-

christian movement goes in advance of anti-imperialism and gives rise to the latter. It has struck deep social roots in China and has behind it a past of over half a century. It is immediately connected with the so-called Taiping movement (1850—1864) which in its nature constituted a mass revolt of the Chinese people against the Manchu dynasty.

It is not to be wondered at that with the growth of the national anti-imperialist movement the anti-christian movement also increases among the students. Thus, for example, the students of the university of Tchancha have put forward the following two demands:

1. The registration of the university by the government (that is, its subordination to the programme and the control of the Ministry for Public Education).

2. Abolition of obligatory attendance at church services.

The students have seen through the social nature of the missionaries, of this advance-guard of imperialism. They see how the missionaries, under the cloak of charity, are carrying on a persistent propaganda among the Chinese proletariat against those people who wish to educate this proletariat to self-consciousness and solidarity.

This is shown by a long article in the "North-China Daily News" reporting on the results of the activity of the missionary organisation of Shanghai, and which states, that this organisation is not only engaged in charity but in the fight against the strike movement.

What wonder then if the youth, who are building up a new China, so strongly hate these enemies of Chinese national and class-consciousness. Rather is it a wonder that the Chinese youth maintain such a sober and disciplined attitude in their protest demonstrations.

The missionaries are carrying on a furious and well-paid work, aiming at converting China into a "factory of slaves". But they will not achieve their aim. The steadily growing anti-christian movement among the youth and among the masses is a guarantee for that.

The Sharpening of the Class War in Indonesia.

By P. Bergsma.

In the month of January on the island of Java, numerous comrades were wounded and some killed at several communist meetings, because the police made use of their weapons in the attack against the population.

These acts of terror began in Bandoeng where an assembly of 1500 communist workers and peasants refused to obey an order to disperse. The police dispersed the assembly, consisting of men and many women, by force of arms, with the result that there were several wounded on each side. The bourgeois press expressed great satisfaction and hoped that this disgraceful behaviour of the police would intimidate the revolutionaries. It had however an exactly opposite effect, for about a fortnight later the Communist Party held protest meetings against the measures of the government, which had suspended communist schools. The enormous attendance at these meetings showed how greatly the population are interested in communist schools and how great is the embitterment against the government. At these meetings the hatred of the people against the foreign yoke was expressed in the strongest terms.

This also occurred in Ngawi, a small place in the interior of the island of Java, at a meeting, attended by about 2000 workers and peasants, at which the government was severely criticised. The police went so far as to attempt to arrest one of the speakers during this meeting, which was immediately violently resisted by the crowd. In the struggle several of the police were wounded with knives and one of the revolutionaries shot, another was cut down with swords, besides this 30 revolutionaries were wounded. The police were immediately reinforced by auxiliary troops from the nearest town of Madioen.

The police also roughly interfered in other places, with the result that there were many wounded on both sides. In Tjamis a speaker was arrested, hundreds of women had to flee before the superior force, and the building in which the meeting was held was destroyed. Protest meetings were also held in the capital city Batavia and in Meester-Cornelis.

With this barbarian behaviour of the police the colonial policy of the government entered a new phase. The police had, it is true previously harried the speakers, and now and then threatened to dissolve this or that meeting, but armed attacks, such as now occur, had not happened before.

In the year 1918 and previously, the government, on the basis of existing laws, had formally granted the police the right to call the speakers to order. The growing revolutionary movement had forced the government to alter the right of assembly in a way which was favourable to the population, so that formally the police themselves had to come before the Court when they had unduly interfered. The Chief of Police has however cancelled the right of assembly by instructions issued to his subordinates. It soon became evident in practice that the right was only on paper, as the police molested the meetings in the old way and were sly enough to give false reports as to what had been spoken, thus giving the Court an argument for throwing the leaders into prison.

This had gone on since 1918 until quite recently without the government in any way attaining its aim. On the contrary, the public interest in political questions grew, more and more workers and peasants took part in the meetings, and the leadership remained in the hands of the Communists. At the same time the economic situation steadily grew worse. The increasing number of unemployed received no allowances, they were simply left to starve. Many Europeans who, for long time had good posts in the plantations, are now, with their families, in the greatest distress and live in huts without bedsteads or other furniture.

As the political and economic factors favour the growth of a revolutionary movement, and the Communist Party of Indonesia knows how to make the best of the situation, our influence over the masses is increasing. For this reason the bourgeois Press has raised a volley of abuse against the communist danger.

The trade unions are also increasing their numbers. In December 1924, a national organisation of transport workers, seamen and dock workers was founded, which unites the already existing associations. At the opening of the Congress in Soerabaya more than 5000 workers were present. This organisation is also affiliated to the seamen's organisation founded in Amsterdam with about 1300 members. Nearly all the leaders of the trade unions of the natives are communists. Comrade Gonhdojowono, also a communist, who has served a four year's sentence, was elected chairman and thereupon immediately arrested and imprisoned by the police.

It is evident that, in spite of all the drastic measures of the law, the ruling classes have not succeeded in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Indonesia, and that, along the whole line, an enormous growth of the revolutionary forces is to be observed.

This is reflected in the nervous attitude of the ruling classes and their servants who now, all over the country, are using their arms with increasing effrontery. But the fact that the population is not intimidated by deeds of force and is not afraid, if necessary, to defend itself with weapons, proves that the old spirit of slavery is disappearing, and that the population of Indonesia, numbering millions, is beginning to be conscious of its power. All this justifies us in anticipating with confidence a further development of affairs of Indonesia.

After the completion of the above article, news has been received that the government has limited the right of assembly, in fact, has practically suspended it. Persons under 18 are forbidden to attend political meetings, and the chairman of the meeting or of the organisation which has called the meeting, is held criminally responsible for seeing that this prohibition is carried out. Persons under 18 must be turned out by the police, who further have the right to suspend the whole meeting. As, in spite of 300 years of "cultural work" on the part of the Dutch imperialists, no regular register exists in Indonesia, and as the date of birth of most of the workers and peasants is officially unknown, the regulation that persons to whom objection is raised, must, at the meeting, be able to bring evidence that they are over 18, is in effect a mere mockery!

The revolutionary will of the masses can, at the present day, no longer be held in bounds by such measures. The govern-

ment is playing a dangerous game. A tremendous struggle of the masses against this colonial terror is setting in, and will be continued until the liberation of the workers from the yoke of the bourgeoisie is accomplished.

The Labour Movement in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries.

By L. Geller (Moscow).

The task with which the labour movement is faced in the various countries of the East are — corresponding to the general political and economic situation — of a very diverging character.

In China an anti-imperialistic movement of national extent is at the present developing for the first time. It is meeting with enormous difficulties, especially with the very strong pressure of the Imperialists, who in spite of the disintegrating fights amongst themselves, are unanimous in opposing the national movement for freedom. But this is not all. In China itself, side by side with the Imperialists, the forces of the military cliques and of the middlemen bourgeoisie ("Kompradores") who are still fairly strong, are actively fulfilling their function of serving foreign capitalists. Through this plundering of the working masses in common with the Imperialists, these agents have won great fortunes, so that for them a transition to industrial activity is less tempting than the continuation of their "work" as middlemen.

Nevertheless the industrialisation of China has made great progress during the last decade. A new Chinese industrial bourgeoisie has arisen and a new industrial proletariat which, in certain centres and districts forms compact masses. This applies especially to the railwaymen, seamen, miners and — in a lesser degree — to the ship-building workers and metal workers. These new social elements, together with the urban petty bourgeoisie, led by the radical intelligenzia and their party („Gomindou“) form the driving forces of the national revolution.

The Gomindan party is however very variegated in its composition. In spite of its nationalistic fighting programme, it contains not a few Japanophile elements. Besides this, an influential right wing has become crystallised, which represents the interests of the commercial bourgeoisie and would be very glad to settle the "national revolution" by a cowardly compromise with the Imperialists. In these circumstances the rôle of the real organisers of the national revolutionary movement falls to the lot of the organisations of the working class — the Communist Party of China which forms the Left wing of the Gomindan party and the trade unions of the railwaymen, seamen and miners who, in several strikes, have proved their great capability of fighting. The revolutionary movement is faced with particularly great dangers just now, when the coalition government in which the Gomindan party is included, is in its heart Japanophile, and the Prime Minister who is friendly to Japan, is trying to take the leader of the Gomindan, Sun-Yat-Sen, in tow, and when, within the party, the elements, tending most to the Right, are coming more and more to the fore.

The news from China shows that the leaders of the young Labour movement have recognised the dangers and do not shrink from fulfilling their extremely difficult tasks.

The objective situation in India is a different one. This is a "pure" colony. There is no fight between different imperialistic groups here, England enjoys undivided sway. The process of industrialisation began earlier in India than in China and is more advanced. A numerous and influential native bourgeoisie has existed for a long time — solid groups of the liberal and radical intelligenzia. The national movement is several decades old.

The Labour movement only came into existence at the end of the imperialistic war, but it immediately assumed great proportions. In the years 1918—1919 the whole of India was swept by an extensive strike movement, in which hundreds of thousands of workers participated. This broad stream of the Labour movement however merged into the national movement, at the head of which there are moderate elements. These made use of the movement to serve their own purposes, and then played the workers false. Most of the spontaneous strikes ended in defeat. The workers were disappointed in the national movement and turned their backs on it. Only a few of the trade unions which arose in the years of storm and stress have been maintained, and

even these only lead a chimerical existence. Annual district Congresses and conferences take place, it is true, and four State Congresses have already been held.

This abundance of congresses and conferences has however very little significance for the Indian worker. They are staged by the liberal intelligentsia and the bourgeois philanthropists, in order to urge the working class towards moderation and cooperation. Real proletarians have very little say in the matter.

The working class however, as the strikes in Achmedabad, Bombay and other places show, pay no attention to the honeyed words of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat, mercilessly exploited by the English as well as by native Indian capital, rises from time to time to protect its own interests. Its political and trade union organisations are however still weak.

The English Government values the potential forces of the working class in India at their real worth, and is trying by a series of laws relating to insurance, working hours etc., to separate them from the bourgeois national movement. A similar policy is pursued by the English Government with regard to the peasantry. The national movement, robbed of the support of the broad masses of workers, is in consequence suffering defeat after defeat.

Thus we see that the working class in India, in contrast to China, not only does not play a leading part, but has no appreciable part at all in the national movement for freedom.

Industry however is strong in India and has comparatively a great number of picked troops of proletarians. In the North especially, there is a wide-spread peasant movement. The development of the trade unions and the creation of a workers' and peasants' party are the actual tasks before the Indian proletariat.

We find a different situation in the countries of the Near East.

Turkey, which until recently was a semi-colony of Anglo-French capital, has completed its revolution and liberated itself from the imperialists' yoke by force of arms.

As long as the fight lasted, the Kemal Government cast sheep's eyes at the workers and peasants. As soon however as the war was over, the "People's" Government began cruelly to persecute the Labour movement. Trade unions are forbidden, only such trade unions are allowed to exist at the head of which are agents of the government. The most popular methods of the Kemal policy are those of espionage, fanning the flames of the national chauvinist passions, incitement of the Turkish workers against their Armenian, Greek and Jewish comrades. The Turkish working class, which is small in numbers and concentrated chiefly in Constantinople, Smyrna, Brussa and the mountain district of Sunguldak, is only freeing itself slowly and with great efforts from the influence of the national religious circles on the one hand, and from the pressure of "leaders" of the Subatow type on the other hand.

The most recent strikes of the tramway workers of Constantinople and of the miners of Sunguldak, and other movements show that the class consciousness, the consciousness of the necessity of fighting not only foreign but also native capital, is penetrating further and further, not only into the ranks of the Constantinople workers but also of their Anatolian comrades who, until recently, were the support of the Kemal Government.

The movement among the native workers in the French colonies in North Africa is still more promising. The great French democracy has created special laws for them, limiting their rights. The "Left Block" which is to-day in power, is already extending the sphere of application of these laws to those colonial workers who are working in France itself.

Neither in Algeria nor in Morocco have the native workers trade union organisations. Only in Tunis has the seed of the trade union movement taken root. The events in Bizerta, the firing on the unarmed crowd, show however that in the colonies even the membership of the native workers in the Reformist organisations is regarded as a serious crime.

Nevertheless the spirit of protest and the recognition of their own interests is beginning to penetrate even the "colonial slaves". On Dec. 7th 1924, the first conference of colonial workers from North Africa, working in Paris and its environs, took place in Paris. The Government of the "Left Block" surrounded the conference hall by a cordon of spies. This did not however hinder the 150 delegates from holding the meeting and discussing the tasks with which the colonial workers are faced. The conference was held at the instigation of the CP. of France and the CGTU, whose propositions were passed by the majority of the delegates.

Appeal of the Workers of Shanghai.

Moscow, 1st March 1925.

The Strike Committee of the textile workers of Shanghai has sent out the following appeal:

The Chinese textile workers, working in the factories of Japanese capitalists in Shanghai, are subject to uninterrupted persecution and suppression. This has aroused the desperate hate of the workers. A strike has broken out, involving 40,000 workers in 22 factories.

The police of Shanghai, who are under English leadership, have, upon Japanese instigation, arrested 56 delegates of the strikers, thrown them into prison and subjected them to the most violent mishandling and torture. These workers are to be tried by court martial.

Workers of all countries!

We appeal to you for active support! Help your Chinese fellow workers with all your means and all your strength!

The Secretary of the Strike Committee: Tchan.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Appeal of the Peking Communist Women.

To Our Women Comrades in all Countries!

The people of China have for long been suppressed by the imperialists with every possible means. The representatives of these imperialist powers are your capitalist governments who have always suppressed and exploited the weak nationalities of the whole world. They pretend to be helping China to avoid civil war and to be saving the country from misery. In reality, however, they are driving the Chinese people into fratricidal war and are supplying the militarist cliques with enormous sums of money and huge quantities of arms. It is they alone who are prolonging civil war in China and they are endeavouring to suppress the Chinese revolutionary movement. To this end they are sending warships to the Chinese ports and even sending forces into the interior of the country.

In recent times, since the outbreak of the war between the militarist cliques of Tchilli and Fontzin, Imperialism has been spinning its intrigues even more openly. Behind the Tchilli militarists there stands Anglo-American Imperialism and behind the Fontzin militarists there stands Franco-Japanese Imperialism. The imperialists have always supported one of the belligerent parties and have placed at the disposal of the Chinese militarists every thing necessary for conducting civil war.

During the last decades the civil war provoked by the imperialists has continued without interruption. The civil war has resulted in the destruction of Chinese agriculture, the annihilation of the villages, the crippling of trade and commerce, and the peasants and workers, who have to bear the entire burden of the civil war, being mobilised in the army or becoming bandits, whilst their women and children die of cold and hunger. Who is responsible for this misery? The imperialists!

The support given the Canton fascists by the English against the Chinese revolutionary government, the arrest of the Tantzin students by the French — they were charged with having participated in the enthusiastic reception of the leader of the Chinese revolutionary movement, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the despatch of warships by the Americans up the Yang-tse-Kiang river for the purpose of suppressing the Chinese revolutionary movement this is what constitutes the alleged help the imperialists are affording to our country. The Chinese people would very gladly do without such help.

The Chinese people, which is desirous of working out its own destiny, is organising itself and taking up the struggle against Imperialism. We Chinese women communist are leading the masses of the people into the fight against Imperialism and appeal to you for help. Join the "Hands off China" organisations

which our comrades in Soviet Russia, in England and in other countries have founded. We are convinced that this movement will also assume great dimensions in your country and will further the cause of the emancipation of the Chinese people.

Long live the Women's Movement!

Long live the Chinese National Revolution!

Long live the Proletarian Revolution!

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Situation in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party.

By Alois Neurath (Prague).

The alliance of deserters and renegades has been increased by a "fighter" of the lowest type. Paul Levy, Höglund and Souvarine have now been joined by Josef Bubnik. This is the latest recruit to those who, under the cloak of a fanatical love of truth, organised within the ranks of the Communist Parties the fight against the principles of communism.

That the decision of the V. World Congress, which aimed at the bolshevising of all sections of the Comintern, is not a mere mechanical formula was recognised by the working class of Czechoslovakia immediately after the second conference of the Party. The heavy industrials and the great agrarians of Czechoslovakia have, since the end of last year, been delivering a series of heavy blows against the working class of this country.

The new Party leadership saw itself confronted with exceedingly great tasks. It was therefore convinced that the effective defence of the proletarian interests, the practical application of the so-called new trade union tactics, the speedy reorganisation of the Party, the uniform political leadership of the Party press and a closer and more practical co-operation of the Politbureau with the communist parliamentary fraction, constituted the prerequisites for the realisation of these tasks.

Apart from the obstinate opposition of Bubnik, the Party leadership was able to overcome the difficulties of another sort (press, parliamentary fraction) with relative ease. Progress was also achieved in the sphere of Party reconstruction.

Soon after the Party Conference the Central Committee organised a comprehensive action for increase of wages, against high prices, defence of tenants, for adequate unemployed maintenance etc. In fact our agitation embraced exceedingly wide masses. The two social democratic Parties have not done the least thing against high prices and have either sabotaged or directly opposed all efforts on the part of the workers to establish a united front. It is a recognised fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has organised and conducted, as a single political Party, a great fight in the interests of the working class in Czechoslovakia. The demonstrations of the Party preceding the opening of parliament were exceedingly well attended.

The government was preparing to deliver fresh blows. The measures of the Central Committee against the shameless provocations of the government were understood and welcomed by the workers. But at this moment the C. P. of Czechoslovakia had reached in its development those limits beyond which Bubnik and his consorts were not prepared to go.

Bubnik, as chairman of the first Prague district, sabotaged the instructions of the Politbureau regarding the question of the Prague demonstrations. But long before this action, and in fact immediately after the Party Conference, this "Communist" had organised a cunning and cowardly campaign against the Central Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. He went up and down the country seeking to stir up feeling against the Central Committee, using the same arguments as the "Pravo Lidu" (the Czechish social democratic paper) has used for months past. Caught in the act, he at first attempted to deny the charges and then when faced with proof he admitted what he had just denied.

One can judge what sort of a man this Bubnik is from the leaflet which he issued after his expulsion from the Party. Regarding our Party Conference he writes as follows:

"The Party Conference was held on the 1st of November. At this Party Conference the left wing was in a minority. Its delegates consisted of those who had no

acquaintance whatever with the working class. All the proceedings were merely trilles. The only thing of interest was the new executive committee. In the election committee which had to put forward candidates, the majority was in favour of the old leadership. The representative of the III. International, comrade Manuilsky, supported by Comrade Katz from Germany, demanded however, that the new Executive Committee should consist in its majority of left wingers... the representative of the III. International threatened that in the event of the majority not submitting, the discussion would be prolonged and an extraordinary congress would be convened within three months on the command of the International."

Only a renegade can estimate our Party Conference at such a low level as Bubnik does in his leaflet. It must here be stated that not only the new, but also the old leadership had expressed their distrust in Bubnik. He was never at any time elected into the Central Committee, and never included in any serious, inner political consultation. In general his political past is not at all revolutionary. When he was still a member of the Czechish social democracy, he put forward a motion in the union of civil servants that the government be approached with the petition that the officials, in order to make them look more important, should be allowed to wear swords. This was even too much for the Czechish social democrats.

In the same leaflet Bubnik adopts the same tone as the counter-revolutionary reporters regarding the high salaries of the Party officials. Bubnik is of course the right man to complain about this, as he himself received about three times the salary of a party official. Finally, one must bear in mind that Bubnik at one time founded a paper and formed a society which opposed its own conditions to the 21 conditions of Moscow. At the end of his leaflet, however, he declares that he pardons the III. International, "and that I recognised the III. International in which we desire to possess equal rights".

Bubnik only found approval among a few members of the Party. The attitude of the present majority of the Executive Committee of the Brünn district is unheard-of. But this constitutes no surprise to the Central Committee. The comrades grouped round Kovanda and Roucek have never concealed their attitude. Kovanda in particular has repeatedly declared that the decisions of the V. World Congress must be regarded as a misfortune for the working class. After the expulsion of Bubnik had been announced, a conference of functionaries was called in Brünn. No speaker from the Central Committee was invited. The evidence submitted to the conference was practically the same as that which Bubnik and the "Pravo Lidu" brought against the Party. And these base lies and calumnies were submitted to the functionaries as evidence and even accepted in the resolution as proven facts. The conference was attended by forty one persons. The resolution in which the conference supported Bubnik, was adopted by 21 votes against 17, with three abstentions, i. e. with a majority of one. And in the face of this the "Rovnost", the editorial staff of which is controlled by Kovanda and his comrades, reported that the resolution was adopted by an "overwhelming majority".

The bourgeois and reactionary press is jubilant; it is full of praise for its heroes, Bubnik and his companions. It will soon be disillusioned. The working class will both speedily and thoroughly settle accounts with the Party splitters and their supporters.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Economic Position in the First Quarter of the Economic Year 1924/1925.

By Wl. Sarabjanoc (Moscow).

According to the provisional dates October-December 1924 the position has changed very much as compared with the previous quarter.

The most important thing to point out, is that during the second half of 1923/24 supply of goods in the light industries was chronically unable to meet the demand. This crisis of insufficient supply still continues in 1924/25; but there are already signs of its being liquidated which is to be explained by the considerable increase of production. This crisis was chiefly

caused by the fact that the light industries hardly increased their production perceptibly in the period January to August, whereas, thanks on the one hand to the growing possessions in the form of goods of the agriculturalists, and on the other hand to the rapid development of the cooperative societies, the market grew at a quick pace. In 70 provincial exchanges, the turnover was:

First quarter 1923/24	253 million roubles
Second "	329 " "
Third "	366 " "
Fourth "	515 " "

In October-December 1924 industry as a whole as well as its lighter branches, began to increase its production at a faster pace than in 1923/24.

As the State heavy industries had increased their total production in 1923/24 by 32% as compared with 1922/23, and as already in October 1924 we could boast of a production of 487 million roubles (according to pre-war prices), whereas the production in the same months of 1923 was only 340 million roubles, the year 1924/25 surpasses the previous year of operations by 40%.

All signs indicate that industry will increase its production in the coming months, as the light branches of industry only fulfilled the programme set them in a very moderate degree owing to the impossibility of increasing credit. As regards heavy industry, its most important branch, the metal industry, which in the first quarter had already sold the produce it anticipated for the whole year, must, according to a resolution of the January plenum of the CC. of the CP. of Russia, work with a programme increased by 15% which must bring with it an increase of the production of coal and ores.

In December 1924 the production of the whole State industry was higher by 44% than in December of the previous year. We said that the rate of development of the light industries had outstripped that of industry as a whole. The following figures are evidence of this:

Production in December 1924 (Dec. 1923 = 100).	
Total industry	144
Cotton-yarn	185
Unbleached cotton goods	175
Cotton material	187
Wool	147
Yarn	128

Linen goods do not belong to the chief articles of necessity, as they are expensive and their production has therefore not grown so much; apart from this, this branch of industry has already reached the pre-war level as is represented by the firms which are working. Thanks to the growth of industry, the supply of industrial goods corresponds to the demand, which has a favourable effect on the retail prices. Whereas before the beginning of the year there was a great difference between the wholesale and retail prices, a certain stabilisation was evident in December with a tendency for wholesale and retail prices to approach one another.

If we study the difference in the position of this year and the previous one, we must take the financial situation of industry into consideration. At the beginning of the year this situation was difficult as the cooperative societies were not able to cover their debts, amounting to about half their monthly production. At present the cooperative societies have to a certain extent covered their debts, industry has increased its bank deposits and at the same time reduced its debt to the workers (in the form of over-due wages).

One other circumstance especially characterises the improved position: the favourable increase in the stores of agricultural goods. Of the year's programme which anticipated 256 million poods of cereals by Jan. 1st 1925, 159.4 million poods have already been collected; this applies to the State reserves; 97 million poods remain to be provided, whereas, according to carefully controlled data, 110 million poods may be expected. By Jan. 1st 1925, 25% more flax had been collected than was on the programme. As compared with a cotton harvest of 19 million poods in 1924, 16 million poods are already stored. Although we have only mentioned the chief points of the economy of the Soviet Union, we cannot refrain from mentioning that the year 1924/25 has begun under the sign of restoration of the proportion between the various parts of its industry with a general all-round growth.

Reorganisation of the Labour Exchange in the U. S. S. R.

By J. Ressenkov.

Labour Exchanges came into being only after the February revolution as mediatory organs and retained this form also in the beginning of the post-October Revolution period. In connection with severe unemployment caused by the demobilisation of the army and curtailment of industry, the Labour Exchange extended their functions considerably, paying doles to the unemployed, organising dining halls and night shelters for them, etc.

In the epoch of military communism when all able-bodied persons were obliged to work, Labour Exchanges became State organs for the supply of labour power and formed part of local labour departments.

Since 1922, when the New Economic Policy began to operate, Labour Exchanges came again into being; whilst the obligation to engage labour through the Exchange remained in force.

Exceptions were made in cases demanding political reliability or special knowledge on the part of the person to be engaged, and also in case the Labour Exchange could not satisfy the demand of the hirer within the stipulated time. In such cases the hired persons were registered at the Labour Exchange after their engagement.

However, one must admit that owing to the enormous number of registered unemployed, the Labour Exchange found it difficult to satisfy the exact demands of the would-be employers.

Enterprises and institutions required carefully selected employees with a definite qualification. As the Labour Exchange had to observe the sequence on the register, it could not always give satisfaction to would-be employers, and it invariably happened that considerably fewer persons were engaged than were sent by the Labour Exchange.

While not satisfying would-be employers the Labour Exchange failed also to satisfy the unemployed. In view of the enormous number of people on the register of the Labour Exchanges, especially in big centres where unemployment was very severe (in Leningrad for instance about 150,000 people were registered at the Labour Exchange before the reform, and almost as many in Moscow) there were thousands of people on the lists of every profession, and people had frequently to wait many months for their turn. In the meantime the more enterprising among the unemployed could have found suitable employment if left to themselves.

On the one hand the obligation to hire labour through the Exchange resulted in those who had already found work, who went from one place of employment to another, being obliged to go again through the Labour Exchange thereby increasing the number of those on the register. On the other hand the fact that unemployed received doles and also enjoyed other privileges (they live almost rent free, pay very little for communal services and are almost free from taxation), caused a great influx into the labour Exchange of fictitious unemployed, namely people who registered not in order to get employment, but merely to benefit by the privileges of unemployed workers. How large was the percentage of these so-called unemployed can be judged by the results of the re-registration and of investigations which were made almost everywhere. As the result of this investigation 42,117 peoples were taken off the register of the Labour Exchange in Moscow, namely 39.2% of the total number of unemployed.

It was discovered that among those who had registered as unemployed there were people who kept two servants, were the owners of shops and frequently whiled away the period of unemployment in Crimean sanatoria.

In July 1924, there were in Leningrad among the 146,000 unemployed over 90,000 women, most of them with no qualifications whatever. Out of the total number of unemployed 60,000 were unskilled workers mainly from the villages. To provide work for such an enormous number of people is of course extremely difficult even if it could be done systematically, and the fact that all these unemployed were registered at the Labour Exchange did not actually help them and greatly impeded the activity of the Exchanges.

That is why it was proposed in the summer of 1924 that the Labour Exchanges be reorganised and be converted into Employment Bureaux.

The Government monopoly in connection with the engagement of workers has been abolished.

People may be engaged and can find work for themselves without having recourse to the Labour Exchange. The Labour Exchange itself becomes an ordinary Employment Bureau and registration there is voluntary.

Unemployment doles and various privileges are henceforth not dependent on registration at the Labour Exchange, but are granted in accordance with the economic position of the unemployed person. Unemployment doles are paid at the proper insurance bureaux and their branches. In order to prevent doles being paid to those who have already found work, the following method has been adopted in Leningrad: when a person is sent to work, or on the registration of that person on engagement without the assistance of the Employment Bureau, a note to this effect is made in the documents of the unemployed and as the same documents are required at the insurance bureau and for the registration of the contract, hence no abuses can take place.

The Employment Bureau does not register all unemployed, but only in accordance with the demand. Those who wish to be registered have to undergo an examination as to their qualifications. The Bureau does not give any certificates to the unemployed and is in no way responsible for them. The Bureau does not make any charges to the unemployed for its services. A small initial fee is taken from the employers of labour.

But the abolition of the monopoly in connection with the engagement of workers does not mean that private employment bureaux can be established. In accordance with the law, the People's Commissariat of Labour and its organs retain monopolist rights as intermediaries in connection with the engagement of workers.

In the interests of proper control all contracts between employers and workers must be registered.

As to the control of unemployment throughout the country, trade union members have to register as before with their unions, which will be found quite sufficient. If one takes into consideration that there are not more than 5—6 percent out of the total number of manual and brain workers not registered in trade unions, one can see that only a very small number of people can escape control.

Employers have the right to engage labour power to suit their requirements. But factory, workshop and local employee committees register the engagement of every newly engaged worker. Thus, trade union control over the engagement of workers is even stronger than before. Moreover, special paragraphs are inserted into collective agreements, making it incumbent on employers to give preference to trade union members, non-members being engaged only in the event of none of the trade union members being able to do the required work. At the same time the engagement of a non-union worker must have the sanction of the union. These measures are a sufficient guarantee that trade union members interests are safe, and experience has already given proof of this.

Another safeguard is that trade unions take a direct part in the establishment of Employment Bureaux and in the formation of these bureaux' committees. Although there are representatives of economic and State organs in these bureaux and committees, the predominance of trade union influence in them is thereby guaranteed.

Of course the reform of the Labour Exchange does not solve the question of unemployment. But it certainly makes it easier to help the unemployed. And we see already that after the reform the number of unemployed sent to work is growing, and this in spite of the fact that those provided with temporary work are not taken into account.

This reform is all the more important as it has given an opportunity to ascertain the exact extent of unemployment, which turned out to be considerably less than the number of registered unemployed gave one reason to assume.

ORGANISATION

Nuclei and Local Organisations of the Sections of the C. I.

By Ossip Pjatnitzky (Moscow).

It is nowadays difficult to meet an active Party member in the sections of the C. I. who is openly opposed to the organisation of factory nuclei or declares himself against them. Factory nuclei have won themselves a position in the local organisations of the sections of the C. I. Here and there they have even come into being without the instructions and direction of the local organisations.

In France, Germany, Bulgaria and Italy the factory nuclei have brought more life into the Party organisations. More than that, in these countries the parties have, through the factory nuclei got into touch with the broad masses of workers in the factories and works. This is indicated by the recent great Labour demonstration in Berlin—for the amnesty of the political prisoners and on the anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht—and the magnificent demonstration of the Parisian proletariat on the day when the mortal remains of Jaurès were conveyed to the Pantheon. The discipline shown by the demonstrators and the wholesale participation of the workers in this demonstration are, to an appreciable extent attributable to the work of the factory nuclei.

The development of factory nuclei must be continued in all countries as energetically as hitherto. Our essential task now is to help the nuclei to strike out on the right path and to give them concrete substance. Otherwise the activity of the Party members, which was roused by the masses, will soon be exhausted and the nuclei will not fulfil the functions for which they were created but will become empty forms. An example: in Czechoslovakia our Party is carrying on an energetic campaign against the rise in prices. The working class women are holding street demonstrations, whereas in the factory and works nuclei (according to official statements the CP. of Czechoslovakia has about 500 nuclei) the question of the rise of prices of articles of necessity for wholesale consumption is not treated and discussed, as though this question did not concern the workers in the factories and works.

There are in Czechoslovakia several central trade union organs; there are parallel associations in one and the same branch of production, of which some are affiliated to Amsterdam and others to the Red Trade Union International. For this reason the forces of the proletariat in Czechoslovakia are split up. For this reason it is not in a position to combat successfully capital in its own country. Surely the broad masses of the workers are interested in the unity of the trade union movement both in Czechoslovakia and on an international scale. This question can and must be discussed in the nuclei. The Party nuclei in the factories can do much for the unity of the trade union movement and towards attracting the workers to the trade unions, whereas at present in Czechoslovakia, according to the official report of the CP. of Czechoslovakia at the last Party Conference, we judge that about 30% of the members of the Party are not members of the trade unions at all.

Is it impossible to discuss the question of Leninism and Trotskyism in the nuclei? As a matter of fact, it is not only a Russian but an international question, and it will therefore be very difficult for us to become real Bolshevik Parties unless the broad sections of the Party members, especially the workers in the nuclei, rightly understand the question, accept it as their own and solve it. Nevertheless many Parties have been satisfied with accepting resolutions submitted to them by the Central Committee and with printing a few articles in the Party Press.

Apart from the question connected with the life in the nuclei, the nuclei can and must discuss the questions which are connected with the campaigns carried on by the Party: the platform for the election of the factory councils and municipal councils, of Parliament, the Party's motions for an amnesty, the fight and the motions of the Party for the taxation of the bourgeoisie and against the taxation of the poorest of the peasants, finally the policy of the Party in the national and agrarian question— all these are questions which also concern the nuclei.

All the questions mentioned can only become slogans for the broad masses of the workers if the members of the Party, especially those working in the nuclei, who are in daily touch with the non-party workers of both sexes, make the slogans their own. Only thus will the slogans of the Party be realised as slogans of the broad masses.

Plenty more questions could be enumerated with which the nuclei can and must concern themselves, whereas in many places their only occupation is that of discussing the affairs of their factory, and even that insufficiently, or of collecting membership fees. It is easy to understand that this state of affairs is unsatisfactory to the members of the nuclei. It would not have been worth while to form nuclei for this purpose alone. A communist factory and works nucleus can and will only work well if it really becomes the fundamental organisation of the Party for the place in question, with all the functions which appertain to an organisation of this kind.

It is therefore necessary for the local Party organs to see that the nuclei are well administered, to establish close connection with them and to prepare material for the discussion both of questions of internal interest to the Party and of those which at the moment agitate the masses of the workers.

In conversations with the leading comrades in some of the sections of the CI. we learned that these comrades attach great importance to the nuclei with regard to the organisation of street demonstrations and similar actions, but consider that the nuclei are unsuitable for carrying out parliamentary election campaign, for the elections of municipal councils and Parliament. They therefore allow the former district electoral organisations to exist side by side with the nuclei.

These views cannot stand any criticism. Why should the nuclei in the factories not be able to carry out election campaigns? Is it not mainly the workers who vote for the Communist Party? Is it not chiefly for the workers that the Communist Parties publish their appeals, broad-sheets, posters and newspapers in the industrial districts? They are most easily and best distributed where it is most important, in and around the works. And surely it is easier for the Party members to carry on the agitation for the election slogans of the Party according to a plan mapped out by the nuclei in the works, factories and workshops, in the mess-rooms during meals, in trains when the workers are travelling to and from their work and finally in the districts where they reside. Since these nuclei are able to rouse and mobilise whole works demonstrations, why should they not be able to lead these works to meetings, even if they are not held in the works or in their immediate neighbourhood?

The Communist Party can and must seek out the workers in the factories, organise them there, formulate their demands, lead the daily fight for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers in all their forms, and on the same spot do their Party work and carry out the Party slogans.

Factories and works must become the citadel of the Communist Party.

In the discussion as to the reorganisation of the Communist Party on the basis of factory nuclei, voices have made themselves heard both in the American and English Party Press and at the conferences called by the local Party organisations in Czechoslovakia and other countries to discuss the same question, maintaining that with the organisation of factory nuclei and the transference to them of the functions of the Party, the local Party organisations would be destroyed and cease to exist, while the nuclei would not be capable of carrying out the manifold Party work in the whole group of cells, in urban districts and in the town.

This is complete confusion and a misunderstanding of the nature of the resolution of the ECCL as to the construction of the sections of the CI.

What has been up to now (and it still exists in many places!) the structure of the Party organisation of a large town in Czechoslovakia or Germany? The Party members of one residential district were periodically, about once a month, called to meetings with the object of hearing this or that report which was put on the agenda by the district or local leaders of the Party. These leaders were elected at one of these meetings of the Party members, usually once in six months.

The local directors (committee) distributed the Party literature, collected the members' subscriptions and conducted the

election and other campaigns. With such a structure of the organisation it cannot be said that the members of the Party are overburdened with Party work (in Czechoslovakia less than 20—25% of the members of the Party have up to now done Party work). The members of the Party were according to their place of residence, divided into groups of ten with an elected or nominated comrade at their head only in those Parties which were illegal (for instance in Italy) or semi-legal (in Germany) or in those with regard to whom the government was able to apply exceptional laws (in Czechoslovakia). This was of course already a progress in organisation. But it cannot be said that the activity of the members of the Party increased with the existence of the groups of ten, as these were not employed in active, regular Party work. As a rule they were mobilised for great Party campaigns, for street demonstrations or for the distribution of literature during the elections etc., but where no campaign was carried on, the groups of ten succumbed and disintegrated.

In many urban Party organisations in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria and other countries, the permanent institution of "functionaries" still existed (party functionaries, trade union functionaries, functionaries of the cooperative societies, members of the fractions of the town and district Soviets etc.). They were periodically called together by the Party leaders of the towns to discuss and decide the most important Party questions, although they had not authority from the Party members to do so, and although they were not sufficiently in touch with the latter; as the result of this the members of the Party tended to drop out of active participation in Party affairs, and were less and less employed in active work and in carrying out definite Party functions.

Is it true that the local Party organisations are destroyed and annihilated by the organisation of factory nuclei? By no means!

What is it which is changed in the structure of the local Party organisations through the comprehension of the members of the Party in nuclei at their places of work?

In any given district of the town of Prague there are factories and works, offices etc. All the communists of every one of the enumerated concerns are grouped in communist nuclei (according to their place of work). The members of the Party in these districts who are not in work (housewives), are, on the other hand, if there are not too many in the district, attached to the existing factory nuclei or, if there are very many, to nuclei according to the streets in which they live. As soon as their organisation is completed, all the nuclei get into touch with the Party leaders in the district in question. When all or the majority of the Party members of the district have been grouped in nuclei and the latter have begun to function, the leaders of the district call a conference of representatives of the nuclei at which the leaders of the district Party are elected or re-elected.

What has been changed? The leaders of the district Party have, through the nuclei, come into immediate touch with the basis of the Party — the workers and employees in the factories and works. These latter distribute the work of the Party among all its members, issue directions and see that they are carried out by the members of the Party.

All that is necessary is to dissolve the groups of ten and do away with the old institution of "functionaries" and, in their place, to discuss important questions more frequently in the meetings of the nuclei, to provide good speakers and good material with regard to those questions which are put before the nuclei for discussion, to hold more frequent conferences with the delegates of the nuclei (in parties which are legal) for the discussion of important questions which are not urgent, after they have been discussed by the nuclei and resolutions passed with regard to them.

Needless to say, the leaders of the groups, towns and local districts can call (indeed it is desirable that they should) councils of the secretaries or the directors of the nuclei, of the secretaries or the directors of the nuclei of the existing communist fractions, of the comrades who work among the women, the young, the peasants, etc.; these can be called either all together or separately according to the branches of the work of the Party, as seems desirable. These conferences however neither can nor should take the place of Party councils of groups of nuclei in the town or local districts.

The comrades in Paris grouped all members of the Party in the Paris districts into factory nuclei, and then dissolved the old organisations. In this way they were eminently successful in developing the Party, came into touch with the working masses and brought new life into the work of the Party.

This is how all local organisations of the sections of the C. I. should proceed.

To sum up:

1. The organisation of nuclei must be continued energetically as the necessity of their existence has been demonstrated in all the countries in which they already exist.

2. The nuclei can fulfil their function if the existing Party leaders direct and control their work aright, if they discuss Party questions with them and prepare material for the questions raised.

3. The nuclei must engage all members of the Party in Party work, must give each individual a special piece of work in accordance with his capacities, his gifts and his strength.

4. As soon as the nuclei are organised and have got into touch with the local leaders of the Party, all previous organisations are dissolved.

Only when all this has been carried out can the right foundation for the construction of the Party be laid, and a part of the task of Bolshevising the Party be realised.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Our Army is Growing.

By N. Krupskaya.

For a long time, for many centuries, Russia was an economically, politically and culturally backward country. When, thirty years ago, a revolutionary workers' party arose, our working class was a down-trodden, enslaved and dumb mass. Only he who saw not only the present, but also the future, and was able to view the movement from an international standpoint could believe that this class would one day become a staunch, upright and disciplined fighter, and would be absolutely victorious.

And for this reason the Russian labour movement never for a moment forgot its blood relationship with the international labour movement, and it never will forget it. For the proletarians of our Soviet Union, such days as the 1st. May and the 8th March are days of international brotherhood, days of the greatest importance.

In the Union of Soviet Republics in the last years there has been expressed with enormous force the urge of the masses for independent activity. The movement has spread rapidly, fresh thousands of working women of our union — working women and peasant women — awoke to a conscious life. They flocked to the ranks of those to whom the cause of the victory of the international proletariat is dear, who passionately long for the emancipation of all workers and devote their whole lives to this aim.

"Our army has grown greater" can be said to-day by the class-conscious proletarian women of all countries. Every year the army of class-conscious, closely-knit proletarian men and women, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder, will become greater.

And no power in the world will be able to resist this army.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

How the Textile Workers live in Soviet Russia.

Dear Foreign Comrades!

As I know that your bourgeois press is not only giving you a wrong idea of the life of Russian workers, but is even distorting facts, I who am myself a worker will endeavour to describe in this letter our factory life to help to give you a right idea of it.

Our factory is in the centre of the Textile industry, in the Ivanovo-Voznesensk District. It is a cotton mill which employs

eleven and a half thousand men and women. After the October Revolution our workers took the factory into their own hands and kept it going. The workers chose from amongst themselves capable people from the bench, and these elected persons became the head of the management. Our workers were not long in realising that they themselves were the true masters of this gigantic enterprise.

Once workers have assumed power they begin to improve the conditions under which they have to work and live, and they improve production at the same time. They formed a protection of labour department which looks after the needs of the workers: provides them with suitable clothes and footwear, fats (if necessary for the kind of work they perform), etc. We have special rest homes where those whose health has suffered can spend from a fortnight to one month with full pay. Workers who are tubercular are sent to sanatoria, and health resorts for longer periods, and they also receive their full pay. In 1924 over 600 of our workers spent some time in rest homes, sanatoria, and health resorts.

Working women — the mothers — are also well looked after, and perhaps their privileges are greater than those of the men. For instance, during pregnancy they are given two months leave of absence and two months after the birth of the child. During these four months they receive full pay and their places are kept open for them. During the 9 months when she is nursing the child, a working woman works only 6 hours instead of 8 while receiving full pay. During this period she receives a special monthly grant. We have children's homes and crèches where mothers can leave their children and can be certain that they are better looked after there than at home. All this is provided free of charge. Our working women have been given equal rights with men and are drawn everywhere into social work. In our factory there is not a single organisation without its quota of women. They are on the factory committee, in the Club, in the co-operative, etc. There are women who occupy responsible posts such as chairmen of factory committees, factory managers, etc. In our factory engineers are only employed as experts. Relations between them and the workers have undergone a complete change. Our workers have no longer to submit to rough treatment by the engineers, as the latter are aware that they will be dismissed for such behaviour. And the time is not far distant when we shall have our own engineers, technicians, chemists, mechanics, etc., who have sprung from the working class.

For young workers there is in our factory an apprenticeship school where they get a thorough training and from where they can enter higher educational establishments. Their labour is also protected.

The factory has a club where the workers can increase their knowledge. It has a well-stocked library and a reading room, and all sorts of circles and sections are organised by the workers themselves. The former masters would not have given all this to the workers, and neither will yours.

For adult men and women there is a higher grade school. The attendance there is not very numerous — about 300 people a day. Our workers have a great desire to learn and to improve their minds. On leaving this school they will go to higher educational establishments, as the doors of universities and technical colleges are opened wide to our workers.

The adult and young workers of our factory publish wall newspapers. Through this press many shortcomings are remedied, production is improved and old customs and habits are combated — the achievements of these wall-newspapers are very great indeed. Production is growing from month to month.

Our workers are anxious in all their doings to carry out the injunctions of the leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Lenin.

Dear foreign comrades, should this letter be reprinted in your press, I will write to you regularly every month in more detail and will describe the life of our peasantry.

My comrades and I await your reply, and shall be particularly glad to receive a letter from the textile workers in your country.

With Comradely Greetings,

Malyshev, Workers' Correspondent of the Wall Newspaper
"Rodnikovskiy Rabotchi".

Life in the Russian Red Army.

I do not know whether our comrades abroad know how we live. Anyhow I think it is worth while to tell them about the life of the young Sivash Artillerists.

Sivash is a bay, a very swampy place where Wrangel had one of his main strongholds. Our division drove Wrangel out by attacking him from the rear and thus settled his fate. Hence our division is called the Sivash division.

Discipline is very strict, but it is secured by continually and at every opportune moment explaining to the Red Army men their rights as well as their obligations, their rôle as the defenders of the Soviet union. For this purpose we have, in addition to military training, political education classes two hours daily. During these classes Red Army men study the Soviet Constitution, the history of the Soviet power and the history of the Red Army and the civil war. The Red Army men are also taught geography, reading and writing, arithmetic and agriculture. In our artillery regiment we have no illiterates, but there are illiterate people in the infantry regiments. They are formed into separate groups or squads and are taught to read and write being set free from drill and other work.

Definite hours are given to general physical training and to the study of sanitation and physics.

On the whole six hours a day are given to study and the rest of the time they have at their own disposal and may spend it just as they like if they inform their immediate chief.

For their recreation there is a club with a number of circles, a school for political education, a dramatic circle, a circle for general education, etc. The club has a library and reading room, it publishes a wall newspaper which does not even spare the commander of the regiment if he has been at fault in any way. There is also a military correspondance circle to which all Red Army men who contribute to the paper belong. In this circle they learn how to write for the newspapers, etc. Once a week there is a dramatic performance in the club, and we also have "youth" socials, "military" socials, etc. The club works for the whole regiment. We must admit that the club of

our regiment is not as efficient as the clubs of other regiments.

In addition to all this we have a Lenin "corner" with various sections in every battalion of the regiment. In these "corners" there are small libraries and about 8 different newspapers. Readings and informal talks take place in these "corners", as well as Party, Young Communist and general Red Army meetings. Similar meetings are held once a month for the whole regiment.

Very frequently (every week) we are taken to the Cinema. We also visit the workers in the factory which is our patron. We also visit museums and aquariums (there is a very good one in Nikolaev). This is just the general outline of our army life. Although we are taken away from our homes we do not feel isolated.

The Red Army which is a proletarian army is a school, and young peasants are right when they say:

"We must study otherwise we will come back to our villages just as we left them, and what would be the use of that?"

And we get a military training and education and become more efficient as we go on. Thus your bourgeoisie will never be able to take us and our Union unawares.

There is still much to write about — our economic situation, our shortcomings, the link between the workers and peasants etc. But I will leave all this for my next letter, that is to say if you are interested in it and if I receive a reply from you.

Today I want to describe just one more fact. Not so long ago we had in the regiment the trial of the commander of the platoon. He was charged with having compelled a Red Army man to run about 15 minutes wearing an anti-gas mask as a punishment for some misdemeanour. The revolutionary military tribunal sentenced him for exceeding his powers to 12 months solitary confinement. Does it happen in your army that commanders are tried in this fashion?

G. Koten,

Red Army man of the 15th Artillery regiment.

Nikolaev Ukrainian SSR. 20/1. 25.