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The Stabilisation of Capitalism, the Second International and Ourselves.

By N. Bucharin.

Below we publish from Comrade's Bucharin's report on "The present situation and the Policy of the Party" at the 6th Union Conference of the Russian Leninist Young Communist League, the introductory section, which deals with the international situation.

In analysing the international situation, I must dwell on the question of the stabilisation of capitalism.

First of all we must explain where we differ from all theoreticians, economists and politicians of the 2nd International. When they speak of the stabilisation of capitalism (Hilferding and many who blindly follow him in Germany, Austria etc. are typical in this respect) they describe the present period more or less as follows: the revolution which resulted from the war is, in its nature, no proletarian revolution and is altogether a peculiar kind of revolution. It is, as the Menshevik Dan says,

a military species of revolution. Now the excitement has subsided; Russia which has lived through the military revolution, is being re-established, according to their opinion, on the basis of bourgeois conditions, and a new cycle of sounder capitalist development is beginning. In the most important capitalist countries, things are again running on smooth lines, capitalism is flourishing once more,, the curve of capitalist development is ascending and capitalism is assuming new forms.

Hilferding maintains that the Marxist assumption that the development of capitalism is inevitably accompanied by shedding of blood, should be done away with and that peaceful forms of understanding between the great powers are possible. Thus we are entering on a great period of world history with a much greater advance and much wider development of capitalist conditions than before the war. This is the theoretical conception which the theoreticians of the 2nd International connect with the idea of the stabilisation of capitalism.

When we speak of the stabilisation of capitalism, we understand something quite different. We do not in any way repudiate our assertion that capitalism has entered on the epoch of its decay. We only state that in the course of this epoch there will be periods of ebb and flow, periods of decay and periods of expansion of capitalism. In one country capitalism will advance, in another recede. It will present a very variegated aspect. It will be different in the various parts of the globe and will change with the times. It would be wrong to imagine that capitalism will necessarily decline at the same rate in every country. During the last few years capitalism has declined, but now the picture has changed. In all European countries capitalism was a short time ago on the decline, but it is now beginning to raise its head again. We say: in the first place, this phenomenon is a temporary one and in the second place it is not to be seen everywhere. It does not embrace the whole extent of capitalist conditions, but only some countries in which the crisis of capitalism has been particularly acute. This means that when we speak of the stabilisation of capitalism, we understand a comparative stabilisation.

Needless to say, this point of view is diametrically opposed to that shared by the theorists of the 2nd International. The theorists of the 2nd International maintain more or less the following: throughout the whole world, capitalism which has recovered from its wounds, is advancing uninterruptedly forwards. We, however, say that capitalism on the whole is even now in a period of decay. Only in a single section of the front, in which the affairs of capitalism were in a very bad way, have conditions improved. But that is all.

It is not difficult to demonstrate that the deliberations of the theorists of the 2nd International are simply contrary to the facts. In all countries of the world, an increase of armaments and preparations for new wars are taking place.

Not long ago a proposition was made at the Conference of the Limitation of Armaments called by the League of Nations. The proposal was to restrict the use of bacteriological war, i. e. to institute a campaign against the use of bombs filled with cholera and plague bacilli and all kinds of other good things (laughter). The Conference rejected this proposal, alleging as the reason for its rejection that in any case the proposal could not be carried out. This means that the cause of war has already advanced so far that it would be of disadvantage to the most powerful States to limit themselves even in such a dastardly affair as is the preparation of bacteriological bombs. Armaments are going ahead at full steam. At the present moment there are more men under arms than before the war. The theorists of the 2nd International, however, say: "we are now entering on a peaceful epoch. We must do away with the Marxist assumption that there will always be war." And they say this when under our very eyes two wars are proceeding, in China and in Africa. We have at present a whole series of very deep-seated conflicts and we have two wars.

In these conflicts and wars capitalism is showing its most loathsome sides. It is carrying on an imperialist policy of plunder which will lead to collisions and serious conflicts and will inevitably result in a second world war. Therefore the Menshevik theory as to a peaceful stage in the development of capitalism is a completely nonsensical, deceptive, mendacious and rotten theory, which is contradictory to facts.

Can it possibly be said that the present situation is similar to that which preceded the war? This is simply nonsense! Before the war we had Czarist Russia. Now we have Soviet Russia. In China, where there are 430 millions inhabitants, we have a colossal movement which is receiving spiritual nourishment from us. A very eminent German professor openly states that he wishes God would give every bourgeois government as much influence with its own people as have Comrade Karachan and the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Through its correct national policy, the Soviet Union has roused the greatest sympathy for our country among the enormous number of the Chinese people. Was there anything similar to this before the war? Not a bit of it, there was nothing similar.

Before the war we had a very powerful Germany. Germany and Russia were the incorporation of the international gendarmerie. At present there is no German navy and the German bourgeoisie has had its fangs drawn; therefore it hisses with a toothless mouth and preaches virtue: "Oh, how disgracefully the Entente is behaving in China!"

Now as regards England. The capitalist regime is still in force there. That is true. But the working class is there also now

beginning to make its appearance as a fairly strong revolutionary force. Further, take into consideration a whole series of colonial ferments in Egypt and other countries.

Is all this a pre-war picture? How can anyone say that capitalism has a firmer foothold than before the war?

It is true, things have apparently improved in Germany, but in China there is a great commotion, an enforced peace has been concluded with Germany, but war is being carried on in Morocco. England has issued victorious from the German war, but on the other hand its working class has begun to get a move on. Draw the balance, and we shall see what kind of a stabilisation you will have. So you see that stabilisation is of an extremely relative and extremely conditional character.

Among the questions of international relationships which are at present of interest, there must be mentioned the question of the united front of the imperialists against ourselves.

You know that a comparatively short time ago, a series of communications appeared in the newspapers to the effect that the capitalist powers are preparing for a general attack against us. They spoke of the demand that the Communist International should be expelled from the Soviet Union, of the economic blockade and so on. An English squadron is to visit the Baltic in order to show how formidable it is. You know many other things as to England's activity in Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Roumania etc., not to mention the Conference of representatives of the general staffs of the Baltic countries which took place a short time ago. To put it briefly, they are feeling our pulse in order to ascertain how weak or how strong we are.

The campaign against us was especially intensified in connection with the explosion in the cathedral of Sofia and in connection with the terrible, absolutely unprecedented persecutions which were let loose on our brother Communist Party in Bulgaria. The possibility of united action against us could be felt in the air. It cannot be said that an end has yet been put to this activity. At the first suitable opportunity the capitalist powers may inflict a whole number of horrors on us. That this has not happened so far is due to the fact that many States have more troubles than they know how to deal with. Do you not think that China is a pretty hard nut for England to crack? Do you think that Morocco is a trifle for France?

You know however Comrades, how things occur in history. Exactly the same cause, acting in the same way, leads at one stage to one kind of result and at another stage to completely the reverse result.

The aggravation of conditions in China has up to now shattered the united Bloc against us. If however events in China continue to develop, it is extremely likely that the imperialists, seeing themselves seriously threatened, will proceed against us in a united front.

All must know that we are not concerned in any "manoeuvres" and that we desire peace at all costs.

HANDS OFF CHINA

The Consolidation of the Revolutionary Government in South China.

By Tang Shin She.

Hongkong constitutes the imperialist headquarters in South China. Right opposite this town lies revolutionary Canton, the general staff of the national revolutionary emancipation movement. This town is a thorn in the flesh of the bourgeoisie; it would very much like to destroy it. It has already several times attempted to do so by direct and indirect means.

In the year 1922 the English egged on Chen Shui Ming, who was at that time a follower of Sun Yat Sen, to fight against the revolutionary government. Sun Yat Sen had to leave Canton. But after some months the revolutionary government again established itself in this town. England continued on every occasion to support Chen Shui Ming, whose troops were in East and South Kwantung. This lasted until shortly after the death of Sun Yat Sen.

In the middle of April of this year Chen Shui Ming was finally annihilated by the revolutionary troops. The English incited another general, the governor of Yunnan, against the Canton government. But he was unable to penetrate through

Kwangsi (a neighbouring province of Kwantung and a sphere of influence of the Canton government). This was how the imperialists carried on their indirect work.

Sometimes however they lost patience and made direct attempts against the Canton government. At the end of 1923 the imperialists concentrated their warships before Canton on account of a customs dispute. Sun Yat Sen declared that he was not afraid of entering into war with them; they should only start. But one ship after the other steamed away from the harbour.

In the summer of last year the English supported the so-called volunteer bands of the merchants against the government, and the English Consul even went so far as to send a letter to Sun Yat Sen in which he threatened that

"if the Canton government fired upon the volunteers, he would take action on behalf of the volunteers with warships".

In October last Indian soldiers directly supported the revolt of the volunteer bands in Canton.

Now, when the fight for emancipation broke out in Shanghai and the national revolutionary movement threatens to spread over the whole country, the imperialists incited the troops of Yunnan and Kwangsi, who have for a long time been in Canton and who belonged to the right wing of the Kuomintang, to fight against the revolutionary government. Although the treacherous troops had the town entirely in their hands, before a week was over the revolutionary government once again had complete mastery over Canton. This means that the revolutionary forces are capable of defending their government.

The Canton government is not a workers' and peasants' government; but it supports the workers' and peasants' movement; it leads the workers and peasants in the revolution. The government was set up by the Kuomintang. It is well known that, formerly, the Kuomintang was based upon the intellectuals and the army. It is only since 1922 that it has come to rely particularly upon the peasants and workers. As a result the old members formed a right wing within the party or became out and out counter-revolutionaries. The two traitors: the leader of the Yunnan troops, **Yang Hsi Ming** and the leader of the Kwangsi troops, **Liu Tchun Wan**, were right wing members of the Kuomintang and have meanwhile become counter-revolutionaries. As a result of the fights in Canton, a thorough purging has taken place within the party and this purging of the Kuomintang has rendered the position of the Canton government more firm than ever and has enabled it to come into closer contact with the workers and peasants.

Since Sun Yat Sen established direct relations with the workers and peasants, the Canton government has been protected by the workers and peasants. The fascist revolt in October last year was only defeated by the Canton workers. **Chen Shui Ming** was completely annihilated solely because the peasants fought against him along with the revolutionary troops. The struggle in this month was likewise so speedily decided because the Canton workers assisted the revolutionary government by going on strike. Many workers and peasants are now being armed (in accordance with the decision of the workers and peasants Conference held on the 1st of May in Canton). They are to constitute the Red Guard of the Revolution.

The Canton government has various bodies of troops at its disposal. In February of last year Sun Yat Sen formed a party troop on the pattern of the Red Army. He said to the soldiers:

"The troops who are at present in Canton, are all enemies of ours; it will not, be long before we shall have to fight against them."

And this has proved to be the case.

Not only has **Chen Shui Ming** been completely annihilated, the treacherous troops have also been completely defeated.

The financial position of the government has been considerable improved as a result of these two victories, because, on the one hand, important harbours like **Swatow** fell into its hands, and on the other hand, because the revenues no longer, as hitherto, find their way into the hands of private persons (military rulers) but are paid direct into the government treasury. It will now be possible to strengthen the party army. The Canton government will now no longer need to remain on the defensive, but will be able to go over to the attack against the counter-revolutionaries and imperialists. The consolidation of the Canton

government means, therefore, at the same time a strengthening of the general staff of the national revolution. The emancipatory struggle commenced in Shanghai will thereby be able to spread over the whole of China.

It is not only the French and English imperialists who are interested in overthrowing the Canton government but also the American and Japanese imperialists. The Japanese, who possess some influence in Fukien, fear that the Canton government will capture power over this province also. America has attempted in recent times to obtain mining and railway concessions in Kwantung. Both these latter powers equally wish to annihilate the Canton government. All these imperialists have concentrated in Hongkong. The two generals of Yunnan and Kwangsi, **Jang Hsi Min** and **Liu Tchun Wan**, made their war preparations in the middle of May. They desire that Canton should be controlled by Hongkong. But the imperialists have already experienced a great disappointment. Canton stands firmer than ever, the national revolution has approached nearer.

POLITICS

German Fascists before the Soviet Court.

There is now proceeding in Moscow the trial of three German fascists (**Hakenkreuzler**) who, on their own confession, came to Russia with the express purpose of carrying on espionage and to assassinate the most prominent members of the Soviet Government, including **Stalin**, **Trotsky** and **Kamenev**. It should be mentioned by the way, that these assassins are receiving the sympathy and support of the social democratic press of Austria and Germany, which only recently were calling on the workers to commemorate the anniversary of the death of the socialist martyr and victim of Fascism, **Matteotti**.

We give below an extract from the leading article of the "Pravda" of the 26th of June dealing with this trial. Ed.

The declarations made yesterday by one of the three accused German fascists, who have come to Russia in order to murder leading personalities of the Soviet power and of the Communist Party, have opened up such a panorama as to the morals of the monarchist conspirators that even the most unbridled communist phantasy could scarcely find better arguments against the bourgeoisie.

Herr Ditmar who has become penitent, has, already before the court before witnesses and in the presence of his fellow prisoners, made damning statements.

The whole bourgeois and social democratic press of Germany has for long endeavoured to prove that the Moscow trial is only a frame-up, that the accused not fascists and white guardists, but noble minded young scholars, young scientists who have journeyed to the barbaric country of red discoveries, red fairy tales and red miracles, and who have been captured and held in prison, that these young scholars are innocent and that only the Moscow Tchekists can assert that they are familiar with poisons and pistols, rules of conspiracy and other far from innocent things.

The accused **Ditmar** has shown how mendacious and hypocritical this concern of the German press, particularly of the fascist wing of the counter-revolution, has been. Monarchist conspiracies in Germany, espionage work among the working class, penetration into the Communist Party by agent provocateurs, service in the Berlin police presidium, relations with princes, counts, barons etc.; fascist organisation "Consul", drowning of the revolutionary attempts of the German proletariat in blood, unsuccessful provocatory attempts to sneak into the Russian Trade Mission in Berlin and, finally, the adventurous journey to Russia for purpose of carrying out murders — these are all links in the chain of crimes of the counter-revolutionary cliques, who are stained with the blood of the German people and who were about to stain themselves with the blood of our best men of the Soviet Country.

The crimes of these people against the German proletariat were not judged by our court, this must be the affair of the

proletarian court of the German Soviet Republic. In spite of the fact that the threads of the crime lead in a most striking manner to the portals of the Berlin Police Presidium and to a whole number of highly placed personalities of the German oligarchy, we will not break out into hysterics over Germany. We shall soberly weigh everything up and we know that there are firmly rooted economic and political reasons which induce us to value peaceful relations with the German Republic. But we must candidly assert that the monarchist and fascist circles resort to means of war-fare which arouse the greatest indignation and abhorrence in our country. It would be wrong for our people to tolerate such things, just as the proletarian court could not overlook these murderers, who were only prevented from carrying out their intended acts of murder thanks to the watchfulness of our comrades. And this court will pronounce its judgment with no uncertain voice, if the course of the proceedings should demand it, if the results of the preliminary investigation and Ditmar's credible statements are not refuted.

Our court is not employing forged Zinoviev letters, as is the habit of the civilised forgers of Great Britain, nor false quotations as did Painlevé only a few days ago, who brought forward a mass of his own inventions and afterwards declared with a genial smile over these same words and inventions: "Se non e vero, è ben trovato"! "If it is not true then it is a good invention". Our court does not need such half-witted provocateurs as Felix Neumann, but prefers to deal with objective data, with genuine documents and statements, not of its agents, but of people who came here on the orders of the fascists.

Our authorities do not think of arranging raids upon the German Embassy as did the German police upon the Russian Mission in Berlin, — this same police who are deeply involved in the affair of the accused fascists —, for we are for peace, for peaceful relations and their extension, for we are not given to hysteria, like the monarchist and social democratic leaders of the Berlin police. Our court will soberly weigh the matter and calmly determine the punishment to be borne by each of the accused.

The Political Crisis in Belgium.

By J. Jacquemotte (Brussels).

It has taken 73 days to arrive at the formation of a government which declares that it is supported by a large and reliable majority in both the Chamber and the Senate, in other words, the formation of a strong government. Doubtless the new government will remain in existence as long as the social democrats, who belong to it, renounce the defence of the interests of the proletariat.

The election of the 5th April 1925 brought about significant changes in the representation of the political parties, and it cannot be denied that taken as a whole, the mass of the workers explicitly voted for the Left.

The rapid collapse of the hopes which were expressed by the last ballot of the electors, will not be less marked.

From 1921—1923, the clerical-liberal government pursued a clear and open reactionary policy, supported by the Catholic Right and by the Liberal Party.

The most characteristic "factors" of this policy are: participation in the criminal adventure in the Ruhr, in common with Poincaré, the attempt to prohibit the legal existence of the Communist Party (the so-called communist plot against the security of the State, March 1923), the crushing of the railway strike by illegal mobilisation of the strikers, and the persecution of the active elements in May 1923; the raising of the heavy taxes with which the workers are burdened; a general policy of "limitation of expenses" to the disadvantage of the proletariat in order to restore equilibrium in the budget — in vain by the bye!

The result of the election, which reduced the liberal representatives by more than one third and cost the clericals one seat, is a condemnation of the policy pursued by the clerical liberal Government. The social democratic party was the great beneficiary of the discontent with the policy of the Theunis Ministry, which had accumulated among the proletarian and petty bourgeois masses.

The crushed liberal party declared that they would not take part in the formation of a new ministry, they prefer to be once more in the parliamentary Opposition, doubtless in the hope that they would again acquire electoral virginity.

Thereupon a truly murderous game with combinations of ministries was witnessed. The social democrats whose leader, Emile Vandervelde had been commissioned to form a ministry, having convinced themselves of the impossibility of splitting off some elements from the groups of the Clericals and Liberals which would have been prepared to participate in a government of the socialist Left against the consent of their party, refused to form a united socialist government, as in the circumstances this would have been a challenge to the bourgeoisie and, as such a government, if it wished to carry through its programme, could only have done so if, in its fight against capitalism, it had accepted the support of the organised forces of the proletariat.

Then followed Broqueville's attempt to patch together the broken fragments of the clerical liberal ministry. In vain! Thereupon the Catholic party formed a united ministry which, thanks to the hostile attitude of the other parties, fell on the first day of its existence.

But the formation of this ephemeral Cabinet which had been formed by the Catholic Minister Vandevyvere, had one chief object, that of proving to the Chamber itself the impossibility of constructing a uniform Cabinet whether Catholic or Socialist, and further to demonstrate in public debate that the programme of the Vandevyvere Cabinet and the government programme advocated by the social democrats are in essentials as like as two peas.

After Max, the Mayor of Brussels, had acted as mediator, Poulet, who had been a minister in the Theunis Cabinet, undertook the mission of forming a Cabinet and, after a great deal of bargaining, subterfuges and roundabout ways, arrived at the aim which had been pursued for more than ten weeks! A Catholic-Socialist Government was formed. Twelve ministries are provided for, five Catholics, five Socialists and two personalities who are regarded as "liberalising" or as standing outside party: Baron Rolin-Jaquemyns and General Kestens who has taken over the Ministry of War.

Rolin-Jaquemyns was the Belgian delegate in the inter-allied Supreme Commission for the occupied territories of Germany.

On the eve of the formation of the Cabinet, the Right elements of the Catholic party had raised an objection to the first project of a Poulet-Vandervelde combination in which the "non-democrats" would not have had enough influence.

As a matter of fact, in spite of the "three party" aspect, which was fraudulently imparted to the Poulet Cabinet by the introduction of the "liberalising" members, the government is actually a Catholic-Socialist Government.

And the long comedy of the formation of a "democratic" Government ends with the formation of a Cabinet which was constructed thanks to the whole Catholic Right entering into a coalition with the social democrats.

And vice versa.

The true character of this new government is revealed by the following simple statement: of the five Catholic Ministers four were members of the previous Theunis Cabinet and supported its external and internal policy. The fifth Catholic Minister, Janssen is director of the Banque Nationale de Belgique. It was he who was commissioned by the League of Nations to report on the plans for the "reconstruction of Austria" which led to the enslavement of the Austrian people for the benefit of international finance.

Finance is represented by Minister Vandevyvere who will belong to the combination created by Poulet. He is well known to the Belgian workers. He was Minister of the Interior in 1912 when, on the occasion of the general strike of the Walloon workers, shortly after the election of 1912, which had been a victory for clericalism, the gendarmes fired on the workers — who had peaceably installed themselves in the "Populaire" of Liege — killing and wounding several of them.

This means that the Reformist leaders are by no means disgusted by it.

But it is certain that this will soon be quite clear to the workers!

Splitting Tendencies in the Italian Opposition Bloc and the Communist Proposal of Alliance.

By Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

The disintegration of the opposition parties takes its course and is becoming more and more accelerated, and at the same time the Fascist regime is strengthening and consolidating itself. The monarchy has now quite gone over to the side of Fascism and has taken with it the general staff of the regular army and the high officials, and finally the various social strata of the bourgeoisie, who vacillated a little after the murder of Matteotti, have at last recognised that at the present moment Fascism alone can protect and defend their interests.

The anti-Fascist movement has thus, under the lead of the "democracy" been completely defeated. The Bloc compounded of very heterogeneous elements, which the Opposition formed against Mussolini's regime, continues to crumble away gradually. The Constitutionalist who paid homage to the king on the occasion of his jubilee in spite of the fact that he had left them in the lurch, called forth loud protests from the non-Constitutional parties (Republicans, Social Democrats and Maximalists.) In order to satisfy the masses who followed in their train, these parties had to give expression to threats of separation. But these threats remained nothing but threats, and at the last Meeting of the Aventine Bloc, they showed, by unanimously passing the resolution not to return to Parliament, that their fate is linked for ever with that of the bourgeois "democracy".

It is, as a matter of fact, obvious that these three parties, who call themselves anti-Constitutional, have completely lost their independence and that they only continue to exist as a fraction of the "democratic constitutional" Bloc whose discipline and instructions they accept.

If this however is true of the republican, social democratic and maximalist leaders, it does not apply to the masses who follow them. Many proletarian elements of these parties come to us, take part in the formation of workers' and peasants' committees, and make proposals for common action, emphasising that they agree with our slogans.

One of the reasons for the proposal made by the communists to these anti-constitutional parties, in which a new grouping of forces for the fight against Fascism is planned, is just the wish of these masses who, in view of the inactivity and even treachery of the parties to which they belong, want to act, and see that the communists alone can now take the lead in the fight against Fascism and carry it through to a successful issue.

The proposal for alliance which the communists have made to the republicans, socialists (both the unitarians and the maximalists) and to the committee of Action of Sardinia (autonomists) is the continuation of the strategic line which the Party has pursued, since the events of last year endangered the existence of the Fascist regime. When we remember that the Communist Party of Italy at that time proposed to the opposition parties to constitute themselves as an opposition parliament, which would have been the first step towards an open fight against the usurping and oppressive regime, but that the Aventine rejected it, is it not evident that this represents the last reserve of the bourgeoisie against proletarian revolution? In view of this refusal, the Communist Party of Italy proposed to the so-called proletarian parties, a general strike, which was also rejected.

To-day the development of events makes it possible to take up again the line sketched at that time, in order once more to set in motion the masses which are prevented from action by the parties to which they are attached. Since the tactics of the past year have made our party the third factor in the political life of Italy, this proposal of an alliance will doubtless serve to gather the active masses who are eager to defeat Fascism, round the Communist Party of Italy.

The open letter of the Communist Party to the republicans and socialists invites them to a meeting in order to discuss the general situation of the country and to decide on a line of action for the fight against Fascism.

It laid down the following fundamental conditions:

1. The control of the workers over industry as the only means of fighting against the plutocracy which finances Fascism.
2. The land to the peasants.
3. A fight for the formation of a republican Conference which should be formed on the basis of the workers' and

peasants' committees and should organise all the anti-Fascist forces of the people.

This proposal greatly embarrassed the parties to whom it was made. At first they tried to suppress it and then hardly mentioned it. The Government on its part immediately understood the significance of our strategy and immediately had all our news papers confiscated, among them the daily paper which had published the news, and had the arrests and persecutions of the communists increased. It is obvious that the political situation in Italy will be entirely changed if, as we believe, the opposition of the Aventine is replaced by the pressure of the proletarian opposition. Having been prevented from openly propagating our proposal, we printed it secretly and distributed it among the masses.

The answer of the Italian social democrats who, at their last congress, made fundamental declarations which are not anti-monarchistic, was a firm and categorical refusal. The committee of action of Sardinia declares itself ready to accept the proposals and to stand up for them against the opposition parties. The republicans have not yet answered, but the party in the most embarrassing situation is that of the maximalists who do not know what to answer: while the leaders will, in no way, work hand in hand with the communists, the masses who are their followers, hold the opposite point of view.

There can be no doubt that this new tactical line will serve to strengthen the prestige of the Communist Party in Italy and to help forward the course of development in Italy.

THE BALKANS

The Trial of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

By V. Kolarov (Moscow).

The cross-examination in the trial of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, which is accused of having prepared the September revolution in 1923, has begun before the District Court of Sofia. All the members of the Central Committee as it was constituted at that time are before the Court as accused: of these, Comrades Blagojew and Todor Petrov have died, Comrades Kristo Kabaktschiev, Anton Ivanov, Nikola Penev as well as our Comrade Tina Kirkowa have been in prison for a year and a half. It has been communicated to us that one of them, Comrade Anton Ivanov has been tortured to death in prison in the most brutal way, and as regards the others, no one knows whether they are now in the prisoner's dock or have been murdered. Comrades Georgi Dimitrov, Todor Lukanov and Vassil Kolarov are out of the country and are being tried in their absence.

The Central Committee is accused of having, in 1919, begun working systematically towards the overthrow of the existing order of society in Bulgaria and of having issued the call to immediate action in Sept. 1923. Furthermore Georgi Dimitrov and Vassil Kolarov are accused of having directly taken part in the insurrection for which they have twice been tried and twice condemned to 15 years penal servitude. The acts of which they are accused are punishable by penal servitude for from ten years to lifelong duration.

On September 12th 1923, the White Guardist Government according to a pre-arranged plan, took action for the destruction of the Communist Party and of all mass organisations of workers which were under the leadership of Communists, on the pretext that the party intended to declare an insurrection on September 16th. Of course the Government had absolutely no proofs of this, and its campaign was nothing more nor less than a bloody provocation which had been previously prepared against the Party and against the masses under its guidance.

A year and a half have passed since that time. The public prosecutors have industriously collected evidence by studying the material and the facts of all the numerous lawsuits which have taken place throughout the country in connection with the September insurrection. But they did not succeed in proving anything, apart from the fact that after the provocation from the Government, the Central Committee took the side of the masses who had been so abominably and brutally attacked, and that it took the lead in their armed defensive.

The accusation framed in this way only serves however to confirm our statement that the **Government deliberately provoked the insurrection**. This is why the Government's faithful public prosecutors were compelled to defend it by declaring that the whole activities of the Party were criminal from the moment of its joining the Communist International and accepting its programme and its tactics onwards. **Not only the members of the CC. but also the whole Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Communist International**, whose aims and tactics are dealt with in detail in the bill of indictment were in this way brought before the Court of Sofia.

The "defenders of the law" in Bulgaria took not less than a year and a half to discover what was "criminal" in the programme and activities of the Communist Party, though these had been carried on before the eyes of the whole people. This "enlightenment" was only vouchsafed them, when the **Zankov Government of generals and professors gave the signal for a general attack on the masses of workers**. By this however they only showed once more that they are the thralls of the ruling Fascist capitalist crew.

Of course we have no objection to the basis of the accusation being thus extended. Neither the accused comrades, nor the Party, nor the Communist International will be disconcerted by it. The White "administration of justice", which has already soiled itself for ever by its cruel sentences on innumerable fighters from the ranks of the working masses, and has closed its eyes to the daily sanguinary crimes of the ruling bandits, is only exposing itself more than ever to ridicule.

Against the Judicial Murders of the Working and Peasant Youth of Bulgaria.

To the Young Workers, Peasants and Students!

Young Comrades!

The murders and the cruel deeds of the White Terror in little Bulgaria are still in full swing. After the illegal slaughtering of innumerable young workers, peasants and students there are now commencing mass judicial murders. A series of trials against young people are taking place at the present moment in nearly every town in Bulgaria. The Court Martials are working at full pressure. In the majority of cases the Prosecution demands, and the judgment imposes, the **death penalty**. **In the trial of 31 young comrades in Sofia, the Public Prosecutor is demanding 27 death sentences**. The accused are all higher grade school pupils and students. They are all accused of being conspirators and "elements dangerous to the State", solely on account of their membership of the young Communist League of Bulgaria. In the trial of young comrades of Plevna 15 of the accused were sentenced, **three being condemned to death** while the remainder received from 10 to 12 years imprisonment each. In the trial of young comrades of Tirnovo against 22 higher grade school pupils, the accused were sentenced altogether to **151 years imprisonment**.

In the trial of Varna, our young comrade **Micheal Georgiev** was also **condemned to death**.

Further trials of young comrades are pending: in the town of Vratza 2 trials of 37 young workers and higher grade pupils, in Berkovitz against 8 young people, in Rustschuk against some young people, while in Sofia there are two trials of young comrades.

Among the accused workers and peasants in the present mass trials there are likewise a great number of youths.

Simultaneously with these judicial murders, young comrades are still being shot down like dogs in the open street without any trial. In this manner, for example, the secretary and chief editor of the **Young Peasants League, Micho Genovsky** was **murdered**. He had conducted an active struggle for the united front of the working and peasant youth with their adult brothers and fathers.

At no time in history were there such mass murders of young people on account of their political convictions and activity, and this by a government consisting of professors — "educators of the youth". Instead of education for the youth, the

bloody Zankov government is closing the schools and converting them into prisons, and is opening schools for secret police! Instead of freedom for youth, it is being shot and murdered wholesale! All the rights of the working youth have been abolished, their organisations dissolved, their papers prohibited, their literature, which is alleged to be "dangerous to the State", has been burnt.

We appeal to the international working, peasant and student youth to raise their voice in energetic protest against this unceasing mass slaughter of the working youth of Bulgaria. The powerful intervention of the working youth of the whole world will contribute to the speedy removal of the Zankov murder government and to the cessation of the slaughtering and will enforce a general amnesty.

Down with the bloody Zankov government of murderers!

Long live the revolutionary youth of Bulgaria and its leader, the Young Communist League!

The Secretariat of the Balkan Young Communist Federation.

THE GERMAN "TCHEKA" TRIAL

The Second "Tcheka" Trial in Leipzig.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

In the month of June the State Court for the Defence of the German Republic dealt with the case of a group of communists who once again are alleged to have committed a Tcheka murder. This trial was of extraordinary importance in connection with the persecution of the Communist Party of Germany which is now going on. The Public Prosecutor and the Government wish to prove by every possible means that the communists are not only the party of high treason against the bourgeoisie but also of base and vile murder. It will be remembered what a gigantic apparatus was employed in order to stage the great "Tcheka" trial, how use was made of the spy **Felix Neumann**, who himself confessed to having committed murder, how all the political investigating judges and chiefs of Police were mobilised in order to be able to bring in a verdict of "guilty" against the C. P. of Germany. Every one remembers how miserably the prosecution broke down in the great "Tcheka" trial. There remained nothing over but a shady and sinister affair between two police spies: **Felix Neumann and Rausch**.

The Public Prosecutor thereupon prepared to deliver a fresh blow. He declared that he was in a position to prove that in the winter of 1923/24 at least a second communist Tcheka murder was committed. The victim was a worker named **Jomass** in Mecklenburg. He is alleged to have betrayed the Communist Party of Germany. Thereupon the Communist Tcheka condemned him to death. A Communist worker of the name of **Zeutschel** carried out the murder on the command of the Party.

One can understand what importance the Zeutschel trial had for the German bourgeoisie. If they could succeed this time in proving the truth of the accusation, then the case of Rausch and Felix Neumann would appear in a new light. Then there would be two cases of so-called Tcheka murders in Germany and on the strength of these two cases a system could be inferred with all possible political consequences.

The accused in this second trial were comrades **Zeutschel** in Hamburg and three functionaries of the C. P. of Germany in Mecklenburg. The accused have behaved excellently throughout the whole trial. They bravely and courageously repudiated the accusations of the Public Prosecutor. The President of the court this time was not the notorious **Niedner**, but a very skilful and exceedingly correct lawyer, the judge **Hettner**. The Defence was conducted by comrades **Wolff and Herzfeld**.

The Defence succeeded in a struggle which lasted several weeks against the entire police and justice apparatus of the German Republic, which again has been set in motion, in completely shattering the case for the prosecution. The real facts which came to light in the course of the trial were as follows:

The whole affair is only to be understood when one is familiar with the special political situation of the province of Mecklenburg. This province is one of the most backward of

Germany, the stronghold of the feudal great landowners, faced with a very oppressed agricultural working class. In order to render the revolutionary agricultural labourers defenceless, the great agrarians of Mecklenburg introduced into the country the worst bands of the Baltikumers (fascists). The volunteer corps Rossbach and other fascist bands were settled in Mecklenburg by the great landowners. They had the task of terrorising the agricultural workers. The Rossbach people have introduced political murder into Mecklenburg. In Mecklenburg there has existed for a long time a fascist secret court whose task it is to remove inconvenient opponents, traitors or other troublesome persons. A whole number of political murders in Mecklenburg are due to this society.

In Autumn 1923 political antagonisms in Mecklenburg were exceedingly acute. The land workers and poor peasants for the greater part sided with the C. P. of Germany. On the other side the junkers and Rossbach people assembled their forces. The Communist land workers could to some extent imagine what would become of them if the Baltikumers were let loose against them one day. The red rural population endeavoured to set up a defence organisation, such as it was. The law courts of the German Republic have of course not undertaken anything serious against the heavily armed baltikum bands and political murderers. They have however arrested hundreds of land workers and small peasants in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, East Prussia etc. as so-called partisans and condemned them to severe terms of imprisonment and hard labour.

In the Winter of 1923/24 the fascists endeavoured to smuggle their secret agents into the ranks of the C. P. of Germany. They succeeded in doing so here and there. This is proved by the fact that Jonass worked for the fascists. Another agent of the fascists within the Mecklenburg organisation of the C. P. of Germany was a certain Pollmann. Apparently this Pollmann has been the wirepuller in the whole Jonass affair. Later on Pollmann withdrew from the C. P. of Germany and is now a fascist party secretary in Mecklenburg. This man had an interest in causing Jonass, who apparently was an unwelcome competitor who knew too much, to disappear. It is true the full elucidation of this connection has been prevented by the Mecklenburg police and justice. So much is clear however; Jonass was killed on the instructions of Pollmann or some sinister elements, while the Mecklenburg communist organisation had nothing whatever to do with the murder.

The deed was committed by a certain Walter who is described by several thoroughly reliable witnesses as a man of a Polish Jewish type with a corresponding dialect. The Prosecution maintained however that Zeutschel, who is a typical Hamburg worker, was one and the same person as this Walter.

In the course of the trial the witnesses for the Prosecution, who had to identify Zeutschel as Walter, completely failed. In his speech for the Defence which lasted for five hours, comrade Wolff warned the court against committing a judicial murder.

The course of the trial was such that even this State Court did not venture to establish Zeutschel as the murderer of Jonass. Owing to the lack of proofs Zeutschel had to be freed from the charge of murder. In order to preserve appearances Zeutschel, on account of some other crimes, received the unheard of sentence of eight years hard labour. Apart from this the State Court maintained, in stating the reason for this judgment, that it is clear that the C. P. of Germany is responsible for the murder of Jonass. An absurd statement. The court was unable to say who the murderer was. Nobody knows who this Walter is. Everything indicates that Walter received instructions to carry out the murder from the fascists. The State Court considered it necessary however to hide the exoneration of Zeutschel from the charge of murder by an anti-communist leading article in the shape of its judgment.

Taken as a whole this trial constitutes the greatest moral and juridical defeat which the Public Prosecutor and the German big bourgeoisie, which is thirsting for revenge, has suffered up to now in the trials against communists. With the exoneration of Zeutschel from the charge of murder the Tcheka swindle in Germany is completely exposed.

ECONOMICS

The Production of Sugar.

By Horst Fröhlich.

A few days ago, the sugar exhibition in Magdeburg, one of the largest in Europe, came to an end. It gave a good general impression of the significance of the production of sugar from the point of view of political economy, of its development and technical improvement, of the relation between production and consumption and the relation between the various industries which, directly or indirectly, are connected with the sugar industry. It is significant that the exhibition showed no material as to the investment of capital in the sugar industry, its trust system, its social conditions and the differences in the sugar consumption of the various countries and strata of the population. We will supply these data in our treatise.

In 1913/14, the sugar production of the whole world amounted to 18,400,000 tons, by 1919/20 it had fallen to 15,100,000 and rose again by 1924/25 to 22,400,000 tons. Before the war it seemed that the production of beet sugar with its 8,600,000 tons was gradually exceeding that of cane sugar. As Central Europe, the chief centre of the production of beet sugar, suffered most during the war, the production of beet sugar sank in 1919/20 to 3,200,000 tons, and even in 1924/25 was, with its production of 8,100,000 tons (i.e. 36% of the world sugar production), far behind the production of cane sugar.

The alteration in the figures of sugar-production throw light on two processes in world history, England's being supplanted by America in its position of supremacy in the sugar market as in all other markets, and the ruin of Germany as a great power. Germany's share in the production of beet sugar which, in 1913/14 had amounted to 2,700,000 tons (Germany was the second greatest producer of sugar and the greatest of beet sugar) fell in 1924/25 to 1,600,000 tons, and its export of sugar from 1,100,000 to 250,000 tons. On the other hand American production, of which 80% is cane and 20% beet sugar, increased enormously, if we include the production of its so-called colonies. The production of Cuba increased in the twelve years from 1912/13 to to-day, from 2 to 5 million tons, Mexico's to about 165,000, Brazil's to about 500,000, that of Argentine and Peru to 300,000 each, of Louisiana to 100,000, of the Hawaiian Islands to 626,000. In consequence of this gigantic production of which America only uses 4,900,000 tons itself, it became dictator in the sugar market.

The gigantic production of sugar on the one hand and the decrease in the European capacity of consumption on the other hand, have produced an over-supply in the world sugar market. The era of free trade has vanished for good. The sugar dealers are trying to re-conquer the lost market by means of a keen tariff war.

England has succeeded through Imperial Preference in increasing the sugar import from its dominions and colonies from 129,000 to 173,000 tons, and in correspondingly restricting the non-British import of sugar. In spite of this, it is impossible for England to re-conquer the world market. Germany is planning a duty of 20 and 18 marks for every 100 kilo refined and unrefined sugar (1913/14 4.80 and 4.40 marks!). Poland, the third strongest producer of beet sugar in Europe, is laying a duty of 100% on inland consumption, and yet its export price for white sugar, 35 Zloty for 100 kilo (inland price about 80 zloty!) still exceeds the world market price. Czechoslovakia also, the second greatest producer of beet sugar, has erected a tariff-wall round its sugar production. The high duty on German sugar which is pledged to the Entente, is a weapon with which these States try to rid themselves of German competition in sugar. A large amount of American capital is invested in the Czechoslovakian sugar industry. Almost the whole of the sugar production of Poland is pledged to America. America is using every means to force down its rivals.

The leadership in this tariff-war is in the hands of the large sugar trusts. The tariff-war strengthens their power and helps them to absorb their small competitors. In America three large groups rule the market, the Atlantic with 16,760 tons, the Gulf with 3950 and the Pacific group with 2680 tons of daily production of sugar. The largest concern of the Atlantic group, the American Sugar Refining Co. in Baltimore, has a capacity of 4, and a production of 2½ million tons. It is planning to

amalgamate with the largest sugar factory in Cuba. In Germany there are four large concerns, the Baltic, the Silesian, that of Magdeburg-Brunswick and that of Halle which have absorbed the largest refineries and, by cutting the rest of the refineries off from the supply of raw sugar, have starved them out. In Czechoslovakia on the contrary, the large refineries have absorbed the raw sugar factories under the leadership of the most important banks (Zivnostenska banka, Böhmisches Industrie- und Landesbank etc.).

Hand in hand with the growth of trusts in the sugar industry, goes a standstill of the antiquated factories and an ever increasing technical perfection and mechanisation of production. The Magdeburg sugar exhibition gave telling illustrations of how the whole process of the production and manufacture of sugar, from the despatch of the beets to the preparation of various kinds of sweets is done by machinery. The sugar industry has harnessed electricity to its service. In all modern factories, polyphase electric installation and electromotors with isolation against damp are used. Among the many technical novelties in the production of sugar, we will only mention the explosion proof sugar machines (for sifting, grinding etc.) of the Geck Works in Worms; they were the first to succeed in avoiding the danger of the sugar dust becoming electrically charged, which every year led to catastrophes. Of course the sugar manufacturers sabotage the use of these machines, as the lives of workers cost them less than expensive apparatus.

The conditions of work and wages in the sugar industry are as bad as they could be. Ruthless exploitation of women and children during the three months of the actual sugar season is customary in all countries. The German sugar manufacturers prefer to employ foreign workers in order to cut down wages; in 1924 there were 26,000 of them. To the bad conditions of wages and the uncertainty in the works must be added the injurious character of work in the refineries from the sanitary point of view; bones and teeth are affected, the skin becomes discoloured, the internal organs are weakened. It would be of social interest to collect statistics as to the difference in length of life of sugar manufacturers and sugar workers.

Apart from being used directly in the household, sugar is employed in industries which manufacture other goods such as chocolate, jams, tinned and bottled fruits, sweets of various kind. The German chocolate industry uses 64,000, the jam and fruit preserving industry 20,000 tons of sugar annually. Simultaneously with the development of the sugar industry, the consumption of raw cocoa in America rose from 67,600 tons before the war to 166,000, in Germany from 52,500 to 88,000 tons, so that Germany now takes second place in the world consumption, as before the war. The consumption in the Netherlands amounts to 41,065, in Great Britain to 52,677, in France to 43,323 tons.

The consumption of sugar has also increased, but less than the production. America has a sugar consumption of 55 kilo per head per annum, England of 37 kilo, the Netherlands of 30 kilo, Austria and Belgium of 23 kilo each, France of 21, Italy of 9 kilo and Poland, the great sugar producer, of only 6½ kilo per head per annum. Germany, in which the sugar consumption in the first years of the war increased to 25 kilo, has to-day a consumption of only 15 kilo.

Even though the production of sugar is of less significance than the production of coal, petroleum, iron and cotton, it is evident that there is in this sphere also, a shifting of forces among the great powers and an intensified struggle which is anything but peaceable, between the States, to re-conquer the position of supremacy, which is being fought out at the expense of the workers and the colonial peoples.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Strikes and Lock-outs since the War.

By R. B. (Berlin).

The whole world, and especially Europe, was shaken to its foundations by the war. The unexampled economic crisis following the war is still raging. Unemployment has reached a frightful point in many countries. Millions and millions of workers have been condemned to death by starvation.

Starvation, poverty, and disease have demanded their victims daily. Death has reaped a generous harvest. The working class all over the world, and especially in Europe, have been driven again and again into fresh class struggles.

The strikes and lock-outs which have taken place in this period may serve to illustrate these class struggles. The following figures, though taken from a somewhat incomplete and not entirely reliable compilation published by the periodical "Wirtschaft und Statistik" (No. 17, September 1924), are still extremely instructive.

Strike movements in England have developed along the following lines:

Year	Number of strikes	Striking workers in thousands	Strike days	Average No. of days each striker was on strike
1919	1352	2591	34,969	13.5
1920	1607	1932	26,567	13.8
1921	763	1801	85,872	47.7
1922	576	552	19,850	36.0
1923	611	397	10,642	26.8
1924 (Jan. till June)	356	390	3,341	8.6

This table shows the strike movement in England to have been strongest between 1919 and 1921. It reached its highest point in 1921, the number of strike days amounting to 86 million, and the number of strike days falling to each striker being 48 on an average, that is, no less than seven weeks!

Since 1922 the strike wave has ebbed steadily, production having temporarily increased, and the economic crisis being thus temporarily alleviated. The strike struggles have been divided as follows among the various branches of production. Out of 100 strikes the participation was as follows:

	1923	1924 I. half year
Metal industry	56.3	19.2
Transport	9.6	42.1
Mines	11.1	25.1
Textile industry	11.5	—

In Germany the strike struggles developed as follows:

Year	No. of strikes	No. of under-takings involved	No. of strikers in thousands	No. of strike days	Average No. of days each striker was on strike
1919	4970	51,804	4706	48,067	10.21
1920	8800	197,823	8324	54,207	6.51
1921	5223	60,526	2042	30,068	14.72
1922	5361	57,607	2322	29,241	12.60
1923	2209	31,611	2098	15,172	7.23

It will be seen from this table that the strike wave reached its highest point in 1920, the number of strikers exceeding the huge number of 8 millions. This was a thorough mobilisation of the broad masses of the workers against capital.

Later on the strike movement ebbed again, the slackening being greatest in 1923, when the inflation enabled the German industries to pay the German workers such miserable wages that successful competition in the markets of the world was again possible. The great number of political strikes, and also of lock-outs, is especially remarkable.

The following table shows the average number of days each striker was on strike:

Year	Economic strikes	Political strikes	Lock-outs
1919	16.35	5.05	19.12
1920	11.13	5.40	14.51
1921	17.21	7.47	16.24
1922	14.03	0.98	19.81
1923	7.72	3.24	11.11

Out of 100 strike days the nature of the dispute varied as follows:

Year	Economic strikes	Political strikes	Lock-outs
1919	71.80	26.91	1.29
1920	30.13	67.34	2.53
1921	76.62	12.48	10.90
1922	83.93	1.19	14.88
1923	84.35	6.80	8.85

It may be seen from this that there is a great proportion of political strikes, especially in the year 1920, when two thirds

of the total strikes were of a political nature. There were also a great number of Political strikes in the year 1923, the class struggle being especially acute in this year. There have been two general strikes, one in October 1923.

The economic strikes of 1923 were participated in as follows by the different branches of production:

	Out of 100 strike days	No. of strikers out of 100 employed workers
Mining (incl. smelting works, stone, and earth)	28.25	25.2
Metal and machine industry	25.73	15.6
Building trade	7.97	33.6
Printing trade	1.76	23.5
Paper industry and wood trade	9.23	23.2

In 1923 15% of the strikes were completely successful, 51% partially successful, and the remaining 34% unsuccessful.

The data at our disposal regarding industrial disputes in the United States are incomplete and inadequate. Here the strikes were as follows:

Year	Total no. of strikes	Strikes on which de-tailed in-formation is obtainable	No. of strike days in thousands	Average duration of strike in days
1919	3577	2612	4155	34
1920	3299	2114	1441	39
1921	2382	1782	1098	51
1922	1080	862	1608	38
1923	1491	1117	744	23

It will be seen that the data furnished by this table are entirely insufficient. No detailed information is obtainable with regard to a large number of the strikes (up to 30%). The remaining data fail to give any complete survey of the strikes in the United States.

From Italy we have the following data regarding industrial disputes:

Year	Strikes	Strikers in thousands	Strike days	Strike days per striker
1919	1663	1049	18,888	18.0
1920	1881	1268	16,398	12.9
1921	1045	645	7,773	12.1
1922	552	423	6,586	15.6
1923	200	66	296	4.5

It will be observed that in 1919, and especially in 1920, the strike movement assumed enormous dimensions, owing to the acute political conflicts. The year 1920 occupies a prominent position in the history of the Italian labour movement. This was the year in which the workers in the leading industrial districts occupied the factories, and hoisted the red flag over them. The unheard of Fascist terror brought about the subsequent decline.

The various branches of industry were affected by the strikes in the following proportions, out of 100 strike days:

textile industry	38.5
building trade	22.6
metal industry	7.3

In Belgium the strike movement was as follows:

Year	Strikes	Under-takings involved	Strikers, in thousands
1921	252	1485	122
1922	169	613	85
1923	164	1026	105

For such a small country as Belgium these figures are highly significant. The strikes have been exclusively of an economic nature. Thus in 1923 there were 164 strikes involving 105,000 workers, and of these 122 strikes involving 97,067 workers arose out of wage disputes.

The following data show the conditions in other countries:

Year	Strikes and lock-outs	Strikers in thousands	Strike days in thousands	Strike days per striker
Canada.				
1919	298	139	3942	28.4
1920	285	52	887	17.0
1921	145	23	956	41.7
1922	85	41	1975	48.1
1923	91	33	768	23.4
Sweden.				
1919	440	81	2296	28.3
1920	486	139	8943	64.3
1921	347	50	2663	53.6
1922	392	76	2675	35.3
Czechoslovakia.				
1921	356	110	1946	17.8
Poland.				
1922	800	607	—	—
1923	1215	697	—	—
France.				
1921	508	478	—	—
1922	674	146	—	—

Although these figures are incomplete, and for many countries no figures are available, such statistics frequently not being compiled by the official statistic offices, they nevertheless furnish a very definite idea of the acute economic crisis in Europe and throughout the world since the war. Capitalism is sick unto death, and the momentary consolidation cannot save it. It is no longer capable of maintaining its own slaves; all that it can now give humanity is fresh wars, fresh crises, fresh misery.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

**To All Organisations Affiliated to the
R. I. L. U.**

To the Supporters of the R. I. L. U.!

To the Workers of All Countries!

On July 4, 1925 there will be held the third

International Co-operative Day.

The Red International of Labour Unions calls upon all Trade Unions affiliated to it and all Trade Unionists sympathising with it to take active part in all demonstrations and meetings which are to be held on this day in all countries.

The co-operatives are mass organisations and the followers of the Red International of Labour Unions must everywhere work actively where the masses hold demonstrations.

The International Co-operative Alliance is the only international organisation which has preserved its unity.

The Co-operative Movement participates in the economic emancipation of the workers in town and country from the fetters of capitalist profit economy. If the Co-operative Movement is a long way from having achieved this aim, it has nevertheless often given moral and material support to the peasant and working class in the various countries in their fight against the exploiters.

Reaction has always been a furious opponent of the co-operatives and, with the help of Fascism and white Terror, has succeeded by means of persecutions in destroying the work of the co-operatives which has been organised by the workers at the cost of great sacrifices. Fascism has destroyed the greater portion of the work of the Italian co-operatives; the Bulgarian government of hangmen has had the most active co-operators executed and in all countries the capitalists are fighting against the development of the co-operatives, because they see in them a great danger.

The Red International of Labour Unions calls upon all its affiliated organisations and all its followers in every country to contribute to the success of the

International Co-operative Day on July 4, 1925!

In all countries the followers of the Red International of Labour Unions must be represented in the propaganda organs of the co-operatives. The voice of the revolutionary trade unionists must everywhere be heard along with that of the revolutionary co-operators in town and country.

The R. I. L. U. calls upon all trade unionists to take part **officially** in the International Co-operative Day and see that their propagandists and speakers propose resolutions which have as their aim:

1) To expose Fascism as the destroyer of the workers' and peasants' co-operatives, and to stigmatise the murdering and persecution of leaders of co-operatives by the Bulgarian government of terror.

2) To demand a revolutionary attitude on the part of the International Co-operative Alliance.

3) To demand the supporting and strengthening of all proletarian actions for the establishment of Trade Union Unity in every country and on an international scale.

On the 4th July 1925 unite with the International Co-operative Alliance, regardless of all national frontiers, for the fight against Capitalism, and against the **White Terror**.

In the hands of the Workers of all countries, the International Co-operative Alliance must be converted into a sharp weapon in the class struggle.

Long live the Co-operative Movement fighting for the economic emancipation of all workers!

Long live the unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

Long live the unity of the International Co-operative Movement!

Long live the International solidarity of all workers!

The Executive Bureau of the
Red International of Labour Unions.

FASCISM

Fascism in Britain.

By R. P. Dutt.

Fascism in Britain has so far only revealed itself in trivial manifestations, and in consequence has so far been treated as trivial. Its overt activities, apart from one or two demonstrations and attempts at strike-breaking, have been confined to small brawling, petty burglaries and one case of kidnapping. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose from this that Fascism has no role to play in Britain. On the contrary, both social conditions and the character of the labour movement make certain that Fascism will play a very big role in Britain. It will therefore be of value to note the initial signs that have already made themselves evident, as well as to note the general conditions pointing in the direction of Fascism.

Organisation.

The principal overt organisation of Fascism in Britain, the "**British Fascisti Ltd.**" (which received its charter of incorporation, and therefore recognition of legality, from the Labour Government) was formed in 1923. This is of course simply the parading section of the miscellaneous and variously organised, open and disguised, counter-revolutionary forces in Britain. Its head is **Brigadier-General Blakeney**, and the head of its London section **General Sir Ormonde Winter**.

The strength of the British Fascisti is given by its supporters at every kind of figure from 30,000 to 300,000. These figures need not be given much attention, and the central office publishes no figures. More important is the evidence of such public demonstrations as have been held. In 1923 a demonstration in Hyde Park was not able to assemble a hundred members. In November, 1924, an Armistice Day Procession was able to assemble 2000 demonstrators, "well-organised and operating under strict discipline" in the words of the press reports. In May, 1925, an Empire Day Procession and Demonstration in Hyde Park was participated in by 5000 organised members of the British Fascisti (according to the *Daily*

Herald estimate) in semi-military order. This is a very striking rate of growth, and faster than any ordinary political organisation. It is doubtful whether the London Labour Movement could as yet mobilise 5000 organised members for a demonstration. Evidence shows that leading State officials, as well as Army officers, are taking part in the organisation of the Fascisti.

Alongside of the British Fascisti must be taken into consideration the subsidiary organisations, which also serve a counter-revolutionary purpose. Chief of these is the **British Legion**, or semi-official organisation of ex-service men under **Field-Marshal Haig**. The British Legion had in 1924 2488 branches and 48 regimental associations. According to the claim in the Annual Report of an average financial strength of 60 members per branch, the total membership would be in the neighbourhood of 150,000. In addition the Womens Section has 175 branches. In February of this year the Government granted £ 10,000 to the British Legion.

A civilian middle class association, the "**National Citizens' Union**", organised under **General Cavendish**, and possessing a special volunteer strikebreaking organisation, claims 350 branches.

Important for the training of the young for military and counter-revolutionary purposes is the **Boy Scouts** movement under **General Baden Powell**. This organisation, which is semi-official, has for its objects the training of the youth in "good citizenship", "obedience", "loyalty" and service to "King and Empire". In 1924 it had 20,973 officers and 287,557 members. Alongside of these are kindred semi-military organisations such as the **Boys Brigade** with 70,000 members, and the **Curch Lads Brigade** with 60,000.

These are only a few leading examples of a host of kindred organisations, all working more or less closely together.

Bourgeois Policy and Fascism.

It needs very little observation to see that all the Fascist and counter-revolutionary preparations which are already visible are being carried out in close connection with the State machine, and with the whole network of existing official counter-revolutionary preparations of the Home Office, Labour Ministry, military, naval and air organisations, and Secret Police.

At the same time the psychological preparation of bourgeois opinion for Fascism has already developed a considerable way. Lloyd George's statement at the beginning of this year "Scratch a Conservative and you will find a Fascist" is certainly applicable over a very wide area, which does not exclude Lloyd George's own followers. Mussolini and his "revolution", like Primo de Rivera, has of course been received with practically universal approval by the bourgeois press; and Mussolini, like Denikin, has been decorated by the King with a British titular honour (rarely conferred on foreign civilians), thus indicating clearly enough British official sympathies. The butcheries of Tsankov have been widely acclaimed in all the official press.

Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, speaking on behalf of the Government in reply to a toast before the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, and referring to the possibility of the next Labour Government, based on a Labour majority in Parliament, said:

"I venture to say quite unprovocatively and sympathetically that, if and when the time comes that with real power our place is taken by them, they will retain that power only if they make themselves the mouthpiece, not of one section of English life, but of the nation as a whole, and make themselves the responsible trustees and guardians of the ordered continuity of English life." (Times, 21. 2. 25.)

This is a direct threat that the next Labour Government must follow in the footsteps of MacDonald and continuity, or, if there is the slightest tendency to the left, active steps will be taken.

The question of Fascism is not of course primarily a question of the next Labour Government (Lord Birkenhead himself said in the same speech, probably with justice, that "he believed they would not fail"), but of a preceding direct attack, when the time is considered ripe, on the organised labour movement, or rather on the left elements. The first approach to this has been begun with the raids and burglaries on the offices of the **Minority Movement** in London and of the **Communist Party** in Glasgow. A sharpening of the class situation would see an extension of this. Already, at every sign of working class unrest, the threat of Fascism is used more and more openly in the bourgeois press.

The "popular" press contains frequent direct Fascist propaganda and recruiting appeals; the "respectable" press contents itself with frequent less conspicuous suggestions of the necessity of "a Citizens' Guard reinforcing the constabulary" or reminders of "the Fascist solution" as the inevitable outcome of labour unrest.

No case of illegal action by the Fascists has yet been punished by the State. In cases even where Fascist "provocation" has been publicly admitted by the authorities, workers who have defended themselves have been punished with imprisonment, while the Fascists have been allowed to go free. In the case of the kidnapping of Comrade Pollitt, Secretary of the Minority Movement, the five Fascists concerned, who all openly admitted their action, were all acquitted by the petty bourgeois jury; and no further measure was taken.

Labour Party and Fascism.

If we turn to the position of the Labour movement in relation to Fascism, we find a serious situation.

The Right Wing Labour Leaders have shown, not only a refusal to take any measures against Fascism, but a direct friendliness to Fascism.

The direct granting of privileged legal rights to the British Fascisti by the Labour Government has already been noted. In return it is worth noting that J. H. Thomas has been directly praised in the official organ of the British Fascisti.

Even more significant is the language of the Labour Party Right leaders in relation to Mussolini and the Italian "revolution". This was the declaration of the Editor of the *Daily Herald* with regard to the Italian Fascist coup:

"Whether the Italian Fascisti are enemies to the point of view of the workers in this country is not very clear... It is impossible not to feel a certain amount of admiration for the man who has organised what he calls a bloodless revolution."

And this was the declaration of the virgin constitutional democrat MacDonalld in the *Daily News*:

"If we see in the Italian Fascismo movement nothing but a rather loud and dictatorial revolt of political hooligans, we miss the real reason why Italy seems not only to have accepted it, but welcomed it. The life and spirit of Italy were being stifled by economic and political conditions which, like the sheath of buds in the spring time, have to be burst before the energies of the tree can expand in freedom... the Fascist movement was much more than the political idea of a Russian dictatorship applied by a body of political reactionaries, and amounted to a national revival which appealed to the youth, to romantic tradition, to co-operative idealism.

Only the purely political aspects were unlovely, and they were temporary."

Buds in the springtime? The biological metaphor is clearly capable of use for non-evolutionary purposes, provided those purposes be counter-revolutionary.

The close association of the Right Wing Labour leaders and the counter-revolutionary preparations has been shown even more menacingly in the question of the Secret Police, where the Labour Government openly defended their operations against the Communists; and in the case of the Supplementary Army Reserve (a strikebreaking and counter-revolutionary organisation for use in "emergency") where the Right leaders, Walsh and Thomas, came to the defence of the War Office against the Trade Unions, which had raised protests.

On the other hand, the Left leaders do not as yet entertain any conception of the possibilities of the Fascist danger, attempt no preparations for protection, and are satisfied to treat existing symptoms with ridicule.

This treatment of course plays into the hands of the real Fascist preparations, and lulls the working class into complete unpreparedness.

The working class movement is completely unprepared to meet any Fascist attempts. This has been shown by the petty outrages already executed, which have been received so far with blank helplessness and stupefaction at the inaction of the police. The opium of trust in constitutional legality has sunk very deep in all the upper and official strata, and makes the path for Fascism easy. There has been so far no attempt at united front defence organisations.

It is inevitable that, in view of the outrages which have already taken place, some attempt at a united front defence must soon begin. The Communist Party has already approached the General Council of the Trade Unions to take steps; and it is to be hoped that the General Council will take active measures. There would undoubtedly be strong support within the trade unions for any measures of defence, once the lead is given.

Prospects of Fascism in Britain.

An objective consideration of conditions in Britain shows that the conditions exist for a large-scale development of Fascism in Britain in the approaching period.

The figures recently published of the 1921 Census of the Population show a tremendously large proportion of the population engaged in non-productive labour, i. e. in parasitic or petty bourgeois occupations. Of the total working population only 489 per thousand are engaged in "production, repair and maintenance". Against 9 millions employed in productive industries, 8 millions are classified as employed in "services". Of these "services" more than half are covered by Commerce, Finance and Personal Service. Two thirds of the workers are unorganised.

These figures are of tremendous significance for the light they throw on the decaying social structure in Britain. They reveal an unhealthy situation, in which there is a very large petty bourgeoisie, semi-proletariat and parasitic proletariat — all mainly unorganised and the easy soil of "jingo" agitation.

The monster circulations of journals of the type of the "*Daily Mail*", "*Daily Express*" and Sunday press, all, in their essential features of service to Big Capital under a cover of demagogic nationalism, true forerunners of Fascism, are also significant.

Finally the Labour movement, by the very prevalence of its reformist parliamentary ideology and leadership, and exaggerated hopes in constitutional machinery in the midst of a situation of inevitably sharpening class struggle, is peculiarly open to the inroads of Fascism as the easiest weapon of the bourgeoisie, once the situation makes it desirable.

Thus the conditions show that Britain, so far from being immune from the possibility of Fascism, possesses all the objective factors for becoming eventually even the classic land of Fascism. For this reason it is all the more important that the British working class movement, on the basis of international experience, should awaken beforehand to the possibilities in front, and take measures to be prepared against them in time.

The Economic Effects of Fascism in Italy.

By Josef Grün (Vienna).

The social-economic causes of Fascism in Italy and other countries on the one hand and its political effects on the other hand have often been the subject of comprehensive and thorough expositions. The economic effects of Fascism have, it is true, not infrequently been dealt with in separate articles and in connection with the events of the day, but they have so far lacked a comprehensive critical exposition. It is all the more to be welcomed that, in a series of publications issued by the Trade Union Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, an eminently lucid and generally comprehensive work by Nicola Cilla has appeared ("*Effetti Economici del Fascismo*", "*The Economic Effects of Fascism*"), which offers rich material in an effective and telling form.

Fascism has now held sway in Italy for more than 2½ years. When it first came into being, in the late autumn of 1922, the effects of the international war and of the post-war period on Italian soil were to a certain extent already overcome. The further and largely newly-arisen worsening of the conditions of economic life, and especially of the situation of the working class, can therefore logically be attributed directly to the methods popular with the Fascisti. This has made itself particularly felt in 1924 and 1925. Thus, taking the wholesale prices of 1913 as 100, they rose from January 1924 to Jan. 1925 from 571 to 657, that is by 15.05%, a percentage which has been exceeded in the same period only in Germany.

House rents have increased still more, so that the housing conditions have become seriously worse. The abolition of a number of regulations for the protection of tenants which took

place a few weeks after Fascism had taken over the government, has immeasurably increased the excessive charges for rent. The removal of the last protective measures will come into force in 1926, and houseowners are already preparing for fresh exploitation of the working class. This will have the result of increasing to an impossible extent the abominable conditions of the present day (not less than 83% of the workers' dwellings in Milan, for instance, are overcrowded!).

The purchasing power of the lira, which had reached its lowest point in 1920 and had risen again a little in 1921 and 1922, has fallen even below this through mismanagement during the rule of Fascism and has reached less than a seventh of its pre-war value.

Moreover, not only has there been a considerable fall in real wages which, during the last post-war years before Fascism seized power, had again approached those of pre-war times, but even nominal wages show a serious retrograde movement. This is especially strongly marked with the agricultural labourers whose nominal wages have sunk by 30—60%, in spite of the fact that the cost of living has continuously risen. Further, the collective agreements which have frequently been concluded by the Fascist compulsory organisations and, it is true, in many cases by no means kept by the employers, include a number of disadvantages as compared with former conditions which, in some occupations, cancel in the most irritating, petty way, various paltry gains, such for instance as in the question of sleeping accommodation for seamen. Real wages in Italy are lower than the lowest in all other countries.

Fascism has however rendered excellent service to large capital. The number of limited companies has increased by half as much again in the period 1922 to 1924, their capital by almost one third. The dividends distributed, which represent only part of the profits which they publicly admit, amount only in very few cases to less than 10%, and even then to only a little less, whereas in very many cases they are more than 30%, nay, frequently very much more (up to 200%!). And yet the proletarianisation of the middle classes continues without interruption, one of the evidences of which is the large number of insolvencies which have more than doubled in the course of the two years of Fascist rule.

If, according to official reports, unemployment has decreased during the last few years (it should be noted that it has begun to increase again during the last few months), this is to be attributed on the one hand to the increasingly inefficient registration of the unemployed — according to the Government's own reports, only one tenth of the registered (!) unemployed are receiving unemployed pay, whereas all employed persons are compelled to contribute to unemployment insurance! — and on the other hand to the increase of emigration which is one third more than in 1922. As regards emigration, which for many decades has played an important part in the economic life of Italy, very remarkable changes have taken place in the type of emigrant. Whereas formerly the majority of Italian emigrants were unskilled workers who emigrated from the agricultural districts of South Italy to America, and a large number of whom returned to their homes, re-immigration has now greatly decreased, and emigration to European countries (85% being to France) from the industrial North of Italy has greatly increased, a striking fact being that to a large extent skilled workers emigrate, who take their families with them, whilst, before Fascism inaugurated its reign of terror, the families were as a rule left behind.

The Fascist reign of terror has caused a great set-back to the Trade Unions. The number of members organised in the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* (General Confederation of Labour) i. e. in the free Trade Unions, has fallen from 1,075,000 in 1921 to 400,000 in 1922 and 270,000 in 1923. In 1924 there was indeed a fresh increase, so that they numbered about 450,000 members.

The decrease in the Trade Unions manifested itself first of all and most conspicuously among the agricultural workers, owing to the fact that in the rural districts the Fascist terror set in before it seized power. This also explains that the strikes of agricultural labourers had, even in 1922, fallen to almost one third of the number in the previous year, and the number of strikers to less than one third. In 1923 there was only one agricultural strike involving 110 strikers and 540 strike days. In 1924 also the number of agricultural workers who went on strike was quite insignificant. The strikes in industry had fallen

in 1922 to half the number of those in the previous year, the number of strikers to two thirds, but the number of strike days to only one seventh, in 1923 however, the number fell to one fifth, the number of strikers to one tenth and the number of strike days even down to one twentyfifth as compared with 1921; they rose again considerably in 1924.

Thus Fascism, by increased exploitation of the workers who were prevented by measures of force from organising and from carrying on wage struggles, has brought about a general fall of wages and a decline in the standard of living and therewith a progressive impoverishment of the proletariat. Through its rule, the large bourgeoisie has benefited by an increase of profits and a considerable development and concentration of wealth in the large limited companies. The petty bourgeoisie, parts of which, declassed by the war and its immediate consequences, helped not a little in establishing the rule of Fascism, was, by the rule of Fascism, rewarded with a progressive proletarianisation.

This work, carefully compiled and made more easily comprehensible by a number of graphic illustrations, and therefore suitable for distribution among the masses for more reasons than that of its low price, deserves not only to find a large sale among the Italian proletariat, but also to be translated into other languages (with the exception of a few parts referring only to the work of Italian trade unions) and thus to be widely spread among the proletarians of other countries who, in view of the strengthening of international reaction, cannot have the consequences of Fascism placed before them in too telling and too detailed a form. It is very desirable that, as far as it is in any way possible, similar expositions for the enlightenment and rousing of the international proletariat might be written in other countries in which Fascism has partly or entirely taken over the rule.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Another Move against International Unity.

Echoes of Mac's "Easter Message"

By George Hardy.

In an "open letter" to Mr. J. Ramsey MacDonald, published in a recent issue of the Central Organ of German Railwaymen's Federation. (*Gewerkschaft Deutscher Eisenbahner*, E. B.), the Social Democrats are again attempting to drag a red herring across the path leading to International Unity.

The appeal to J. R. M. is for assistance in the creation of a Commission of Enquiry into the conditions of German Railwaymen.

MacDonald's Easter Message was intended to distract from the work of the Anglo-Russian Unity Commission. His pronouncement was in favour of Unity with German Workers, to the exclusion of the Russian Trade Unions. The National Minority Movement denounced this Easter declaration, not because of their desire to oppose Anglo-German Unity, for we need it, but because it was intended as a political thrust at complete International Working-class Unity. It was made to keep the Russian Unions out of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to divert attention from the Anglo-Russian Trade Union negotiations.

We have now proof for the justification of our judgment, for the "Open Letter" says:

"Mr. MacDonald, this question is of greatest importance as regarding the welfare of the workman, and is even more important than that regarding relations to Russia".

These Social Democrats are responsible for the condition of the German Workers, for they helped to drive the German Workers back into the workshops every time they attempted to alleviate their miserable lot in 1923. In many cases they ordered troops to shoot, and who killed hundreds of workers. They now use the very conditions for which they are responsible in order to attack the whole International Working-class Movement, which, if successful, would leave the workers in every country weakened and open to further attacks, which would result in

the conditions inflicted by the Dawes Scheme being applied internationally. It was the MacDonald Government, supported by the Social Democrats in the German Reichstag, who supported and fostered the application of the Dawes Commission Report.

The statement goes on to say:

"... we beg to suggest the following, which in our opinion, would be preferable as preliminary steps.... A British delegation which would first have to discuss matters with the Amsterdam International and the German Unions, is sure to work too slowly, and would not enable the British Labour Party to do quick relief work. It would be more advisable to proceed as follows: A representative of Mr. MacDonald, familiar with all questions of an economic nature, together with representatives of the British Railway Unions, to come to Germany as soon as possible.... The success of such an action depends on the effective assistance on the part of Mr. MacDonald and his friends."

Do we want any more evidence as to the methods used to detract from and to destroy Unity? If the German Railway Officials are anxious for real assistance, why not appeal to the British Trade Union Council through its General Council, and let A. A. Purcell, Chairman of the I. F. T. U., in conjunction with the General Council, arrange for an International Joint Conference to consider the effects of the Dawes Plan and the remedies. Why do they suggest this exclusionist policy? I suggest it is because they do not believe in our General Council's policy of working for the inclusion of the "Bolshevik" Trade Unions in the International Trade Union Movement.

We suggest to the German Railway Officials, that instead of appealing for a Reformist Commission, they work for an all-inclusive International Trade Union Movement, and we will by International Solidarity, stop exploitation of the working-class in all countries. They need the assistance of the Russian Trade Unions who are more powerful than they because of their revolutionary achievements.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

Appeal to the Peasants of the East and the Colonies.

Adopted at the Second Enlarged Executive of the Peasant International.

To the Peasants of the Colonies and of the East: of Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Algeria, Palestine, India, China, Corea, Japan, the Negroes of America and Africa and to all peasants and toilers in the Colonies who are oppressed by the capitalists and large landowners.

Brothers, Comrades!

In October 1923 there assembled in Moscow for the first time in world history the representatives of the peasants of 40 nationalities from all countries of the world and decided to form an International Peasant Council.

Its aim is to build a centre for the defence of the interests of the peasantry, to close the ranks of the peasantry for the struggle for freedom from the century-long slavery to the landowners, to establish a close connection between the peasants of the whole world, to unite the peasants who are fighting for their national and economic freedom with their brothers, the workers, and to determine the further methods of the struggle.

Not only the peasants of the West answered the appeal of the International Peasant Council, but also the peasants of the East. And to-day, after one and a half years, delegates have come to the conference of the International Peasant Council from Turkey, Persia, Egypt, India, China, Corea and Japan. Representatives have also come from the American Negroes.

The peasants of almost every country in the world were represented at this Congress. In these countries there are various religious beliefs. And these peasants belong the most divergent parties. Many of them belong to no party at all.

The majority of them are poor. Nevertheless there are peasants of the middle class amongst them. In fact there are even well to-do peasants amongst them for whom the foreign

yoke has become unbearable and who have stretched out their hands to their poorer brothers.

They are all here, for they are all sons of the soil.

They have all been united by the recognition of the fact that in the colonies and in the East, from Turkey to Japan, from Kashgar to Java, from Algeria to the Cape of Good Hope, the peasants form 80% to 90% of the population.

They have grasped the fact that the whole burden of the taxes falls upon them, the peasants, that the whole state revenue is made up at the cost of their labour, that the armies are formed from the peasantry and then flung at each other for mutual destruction in the interests of the large landowners and capitalists, and that the large landowners have seized all the best land for themselves.

And whilst the peasants work with sweat and blood for the benefit of the foreign exploiters, the over-fed parasites, the officials and landowners, the conditions of the peasants themselves differ in no way from those of animals.

In the best case the peasant receives enough food to prevent him from dying of starvation. In the worst case he is condemned to die of starvation. But he must give here a third, there a half, in other places two thirds of his labour to the landowner. And every time he seeks to better his lot, he is threatened with monstrous judgments.

Thousand of peasants are shot by foreign soldiers, or by their own brothers who are thrust into the imperialist armies by force.

India, Algeria, Morocco, Tunis and Corea are groaning under the yoke of foreign bayonets. In the so-called independant states like China, Persia, Egypt and Siam, the capitalists behave just as though they were at home.

In America the Negroes are deprived of almost all human rights.

Comrades, Brothers!

How long shall this state of affairs last? How long will the peasants who form two thirds of humanity, yield up their work and the work of their wives and children and their whole lives for the benefit of a small group of exploiters?

These are the questions which the peasants of the Orient and the Colonies put to themselves here. In the Peasant Council however, they determined that an end must be put to such an order of things!

But is it easy to bring this about? Is it easy, for instance, to drive the foreign exploiters out, the English from Egypt and India, the French from Morocco and Algeria, the Japanese from Corea, the Dutch from the East Indies? Is it easy for the Negro to become a citizen of the United States with equal rights? Is it easy for the Chinese peasant to take back the land wrested from him by the foreigners? Is it easy for the Persian and Turkish peasants to withdraw the concessions obtained from them by force or by the bribery of officials? Is it easy for the Oriental peasants to take the land which belongs to them away from their feudal masters? Or is it easy for the peasant to free himself from the taxes, from forced labour, from forced military service, from forced participation in the execution of his brother peasants?

Brothers, Comrades!

You all know that that is a difficult matter. But the peasants of the East and of the Colonies are not fighting alone. You are not isolated. The first Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic existing in the world has become a refuge for you. The class conscious workers of the whole go hand in hand with the Soviet Republic. The workers in the countries the governments of which oppress you will rise together with you.

Look to the Russian comrades who have given an example of how the peasants must free themselves from the large landowners and oppressors. Look to the example of the Transcaucasian Republics and to that of the Mohammedans of Turkestan, look at the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic, see how the freedom of all nations is assured in a great union of peoples.

Victory is only possible if there is unity amongst the workers, when the peasants in all countries and in the whole world rise against their exploiters and enslavers.

And for this purpose not only a firm unity between the peasants of one land is necessary, but an alliance of the workers and peasants of all countries.

Who, however, is to devote himself to this? The International Peasant Council.

The International Peasant Council must unite the peasants of the whole world. There must be no country in the world without its representative in this Council.

If there are no peasants unions or associations in your country, then create them.

Organise defence committees for the struggle against the oppressors in the country! Link these committees up into a single peasant union in your country! Affiliate this union to the International Peasant Council in Moscow!

Send your delegates to us to discuss the general work together with the peasants of all other countries and to report to the International Peasant Council how you are struggling against the oppressors or how you think to struggle against them, what hinders your struggle, how can we help you to put an end to the immeasurable suffering of our peasant brothers in the Orient and the Colonies.

Long live the Unity of the Peasants of the Orient and of the Colonies!

Long live the Liberation of the Peasants of the East and the Colonies from foreign exploiters and their own landowners!

Long live the Alliance of the Workers and Peasants of the whole World!

Long live the International Peasant Council, the General Staff in the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peasantry!

The Presidium of the Plenum of the
International Peasant Council.

Resolution upon the Report and the Activity of the Presidium of the International Peasant Council.

(Proposed by comrade Grieco in the name of the French, Italian, and Chechoslovakian delegations and adopted by the Second Enlarged Executive of the International Peasant Council.)

The Enlarged Executive of the International Peasant Council finds that the work carried out by the Presidium and the Secretariat in the last 18 months is fully in accord with those resolutions adopted at the first Congress. The work of penetration into the peasant masses still under the influence of the bourgeoisie was carried out by the Presidium with great success. Under its leadership, ever larger and larger masses of the peasantry swing towards the Red Peasant International and express the wish to fight hand in hand with the workers against the capitalists and the junkers for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

The Three Sources and the Three Constituents of Marxism.

By N. Lenin.

In every part of the civilised world the teachings of Marx have aroused the intensest enmity and hate among bourgeois scientists (official and liberal alike), who regard Marxism as a kind of "harmful sect". It is impossible to expect them to take up any other attitude, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a state of society based on class warfare. Both official and liberal Science seek by one means or another to defend wage slavery, whilst Marxism declares ruthless war against this slavery. To expect impartial Science in a state of society based on wage slavery, is as naively foolish as to expect impartiality from factory owners in the question of whether it would not be advisable to raise the wages of the workers by means of reducing the profits of the capitalist.

But this is not all. The history of Philosophy, and the history of social science, show with perfect clearness that there is nothing in Marxism resembling a hard-and-fast stereotyped teaching, taking its rise in some back-water apart from the main stream of the evolution of international civilisation. The direct contrary is the case, for the genius of Marx consists in the fact that he replied

to questions which had already been put by the advanced thought of mankind. His teachings followed as an immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, of political economy, and of socialism.

I.

The philosophy of Marxism is materialism. During the whole course of the more recent history of Europe, and especially in France at the end of the 18th Century, at the time of the decisive struggle against all the relics of mediaevalism, and against feudalism in institutions and ideas, materialism proved to be the sole consistent philosophy, true to all the teachings of the natural sciences, hostile to superstition, to hypocrisy etc. The enemies of democracy have therefore exerted their utmost efforts to "confute" materialism, to undermine and slander it, and have defended every imaginable variety of philosophical idealism, invariably ending in the defence or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism with the utmost energy, and were never weary of emphasising the fundamental incorrectness of any deviation from this principle. Their views are stated with special clarity and detail in Engels' works: "Ludwig Feuerbach" and "Antidühring", books which -- like the "Communist Manifesto" -- are among the text books of every class conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at the materialism of the 18th century; he carried philosophy further. He enriched it with the results of classic German philosophy, especially that of Hegel's system, which again led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The most important of these results is to be found in dialectics, that is, in the doctrine of evolution in its completest and deepest aspect, free from one-sidedness; in the theory of the relativity of human knowledge, mirroring for us the unending development of matter. The latest discoveries of natural science -- radium, electrones, transmutation of chemical elements -- have afforded a brilliant confirmation of Marx' dialectical materialism as opposed to the teaching of bourgeois philosophers, with their "new" retreats into old and decaying idealism.

In deepening and developing philosophical materialism, Marx carried it through to its ultimate end, and extended his knowledge of Nature to knowledge of human society.

The historical materialism.

of Marx has proved to be the greatest achievement of scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness which had hitherto prevailed in the conceptions of history and politics have been replaced by an astonishingly consistent and well-constructed scientific theory, showing how the growth of productive forces causes one system of social life to develop into another and higher system -- how, for instance, capitalism grows out of feudalism.

Just as the knowledge of mankind mirrors the nature existing independently of it, that is, the evolving matter, in the same way the social knowledge of man (that is, the various views and teachings of philosophy, religion, politics, etc.) mirrors the economic structure of society. Political institutions are a super-structure placed upon an economic basis. We see, for instance, that the various political forms of the present European states serve for the firmer establishment of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is perfected philosophical materialism, placing powerful tools of knowledge within the reach of humanity, and especially of the working class.

II.

Having recognised that the economic structure is the basis upon which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted the greater part of his attention to the study of this structure. Marx's chief work: "Capital", is devoted to the study of the present state of society, that is, of capitalist society.

The classic political economy which arose before Marx's day developed in England, the most highly developed capitalist country. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, in their investigations into the nature of the economic structure, laid the foundation for the theory of value derived from labour. Marx continued the work begun by these writers. He firmly established and logically developed this, theory. He showed that the value of all commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour time required for their production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw relations between things (exchange of goods for goods), Marx discovered the actual

relations between human beings. The exchange of commodities represents a connection between the individual producers, effected by the aid of the market. Money signifies that this connection is becoming continually closer, in that it binds the entire economic life of the individual producers together into one indivisible whole. Capital signifies the further development of this association: **human labour power is converted into a commodity.** The wage worker sells his labour power to the owner of land, factories, and means of production. The worker employs a part of his working day in covering the cost of keeping himself and his family (wages), and for the rest of his working day the worker is working for nothing, producing for the capitalists that surplus value which is the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The theory of surplus value is the corner stone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labour performed by the workers, oppresses the workers, by ruining the small independent enterprises, and creating the reserve army of the unemployed. In industry the victory of large scale production is at once evident, but even in agriculture we many observe the same phenomenon: the great capitalist agricultural undertakings are gaining the upper hand, machinery is being employed more and more, the farmer is becoming involved in the noose of finance capital, and is being ruined under the burden of obsolete technics. Agriculture presents other forms of the decay of small production, but the decay itself is none the less an incontestable fact.

Capital, in driving small production out of the field, increases the productivity of labour, and creates a monopolist position for the great capitalist combine. Production itself becomes more and more social — hundreds, thousands, and millions of workers are amalgamated into one systematic economic organism, but the values produced by the labour of all are appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The consequence is, anarchy in production, crises, a wild chase for markets, and utter uncertainty of existence for the masses of the population.

Capital, in increasing the dependency of the workers upon capital, creates the great power of combined labour.

Marx has traced the evolution of capitalism from the first germs of traffic in commodities, from simple exchange and barter, up to the highest forms yet attained, the form of large scale production.

The experience being won in all capitalist countries, old and new, is showing to an ever-increasing number of workers the correctness of Marx's teachings.

Capitalism has been victorious all over the world, but this victory is merely the gateway to the victory of labour over capital.

III.

When feudalism was overthrown, and the "free" capitalist state of society came into being, it became immediately apparent that this alleged freedom merely signified a fresh system of oppression and exploitation of the workers.

Various socialist teachings were at once propagated, exposing and protesting against this oppression. But the earlier socialism was a Utopian socialism. It criticised the capitalist order, condemned and cursed it, dreamed of its abolition, conjured up fantastic ideas of a better system, and attempted to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

But this Utopian socialism could not show any real way of escape. It could neither explain the essential character of the wage slavery resultant on capitalism, nor discover the laws of capitalist development, nor find the social force capable of creating a new state of society.

But the tempestuous revolutions accompanying the overthrow of feudalism and serfdom all over Europe, and especially in France, made it more and more evident that the

class struggle

is the basis and motive force of the whole course of evolution.

There has never been a single victory won for political freedom without desperate resistance being offered by the feudal lords. There has never been a single capitalist country which has set up a more or less free democratic system without a life and death struggle among the separate classes of capitalist society.

Marx's genius consists in the fact that he was able, before any one else, to draw the right conclusion, and to grasp that which the whole history of the world teaches. This conclusion is the principle of the class struggle.

Men always have been, and always will be, the stupid victims of deception and self-deception in the world of politics, until such time as they learn to seek, behind all moral, religious, or political social phrases, explanations, or promises, the **interests of this or that class.** The supporters of reforms and improvements will invariably be led astray by the defenders of the old system, until they grasp the fact that every old institution, however barbarous and corrupt it may appear, is maintained by the power of this or that ruling class. And there is only one way of breaking the resistance of this class: to find in the surrounding society itself, other forces, to enlighten and organise these forces for the struggle, so that they can form a power (and which, in view of the position of these forces in society they must form) capable of sweeping away the old and forming the new.

Marx's philosophic materialism alone has pointed out to the proletariat the way of escape from the slavery suffered up to now by all oppressed classes. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the real position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

All over the world, from America to Japan, from Sweden to South Africa, the independent organisations of the proletariat are increasing. The proletariat is being enlightened, is educating itself by pursuing its class war; it is emancipating itself from the prejudices of bourgeois society, it is welding itself more and more closely together and learning to form a true estimate of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is constantly growing.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jacob Walcher: Ford or Marx?*

By Hermann D u n c k e r (Berlin).

For trade unions to stigmatise and conduct agitation against an employer who pays miserable wages, takes advantage of his women workers, produces shoddy goods, etc. is not difficult. But the matter assumed a different aspect when there arose the big capitalist type of employer, who posed as being in favour of agreements with his workers, who welcomed trade union intermediaries with the motto of: "Live and let live", who could not, of course, grant all the demands of the workers, but who was willing to discuss small improvements.

The book published by Henry Ford, the American motor car king and milliardaire, carries us vividly back to these days. Although the luxurious visions of an imperialist world-wide economy have been effectually dispelled in Germany, still the extreme skill with which Ford unfolds his scheme of harmony and reform has won him many blind adherents in Germany. It is the old combination of sugar and whip! Even though in this case the very substantial whip is set off by very unreal sugar.

Comrade Walcher, in his exceedingly thorough, graphic, and impressively written book: "Ford or Marx", has set himself the task of destroying this bulwark of anti-Marxist reformism. **This book should be attentively studied by every trade unionist.**

It shatters what is undoubtedly the strongest position of the enemy, and thus furnishes an indispensable weapon in the conflict against the German miniature Fords — Fords in theory only, not in practice!

Ford or Marx! It is the old bone of contention: reform or revolution, capitalism or communism. But we know of no other book which instils reformist illusions into the reader so skillfully as that of Ford's. Ford can substantiate his teaching of industrial harmony by amazing results from his own experience as an employer. Ford, the most successful of all the great industrial magnates of America; Ford, whose annual output of motor cars increased from 18,664 cars in 1909/10 to 2,200,682 cars in 1922/23; Ford, who employs about 100,000 workers at the present time, proclaims to the world:

Fordism is good for the workers (6 dollars daily wages and an eight hour day!);

Fordism is good for the Ford company (the initial capital of one hundred thousand dollars (1905) has accumulated till it has now reached 435 million dollars!);

* Jacob Walcher: "Ford oder Marx?" Publishers: Neuer Deutscher Verlag, Berlin, 1925.

Fordism is good for the consumers (the price of a motor car having been reduced from \$ 950 (1909/10) to \$ 240 (1923);

Fordism is good for preventing the growth of socialism (the socialist vote sank from 235,000 to 4200 within two years in the province in which Ford has his undertaking!).

Everything appears truly to be working in perfect harmony: high profits and high wages, good work and good products at the cheapest prices. What more can the most exacting demand? No wonder that the German social democrat Ströbel, after reading Ford's book, sees "the social question solved within the confines of capitalism", and only sighs that "all capitalist employers were economic organisers like Henry Ford!" (Walcher page 8). The only obstacle in the way is the lack of insight on the part of the other capitalists! It is to be seen that the Utopist Ford is highly successful in proselytising German social democracy. But all that the German capitalists take over from Ford is the travelling platform and the other ingenious contrivances of the Taylor system of increasing production and intensifying work. But "on the other hand they cannot afford" the eight hour day and the high wages". (Berlin „Börsenzeitung“).

In forming a judgment on Fordism, it is important to differentiate accurately — comrade Walcher does this very skilfully — between: 1. What Ford teaches all backward capitalists; 2. in how far Ford forms and can only form, an **exception** to the general rule of capitalists; 3. and to what degree the socially valuable factors of Fordism can only be realised under **communism**.

Ford is never weary of repeating that high wages are not detrimental to profits:

"Our profits prove that **high wages are the most profitable of all business principles**." (Walcher, page 74.)

We greatly doubt, however, whether even Ford's most urgent representations on the close connection between the decent treatment of employees and profits for the employer will restrain the capitalists of Dawes Germany from squeezing unfair profits for themselves out of the low wages of their workers.

The German employers will show equally little interest in Ford's teaching that accidents can be rendered impossible by "suitable working hours, adequate wages, and the application of the technics of machine construction." (Walcher, page 53.) In Germany human flesh is so cheap that there is no need to give it any consideration!

But the German capitalists will accord their heartiest agreement to Ford's cardinal principle:

"**The productive day's work is the most inexhaustible gold mine ever opened up**." (Walcher, page 57.)

They are scooping and shovelling out of this gold mine with utter ruthlessness. But they will never give open expression to a principle with such an alarmingly Marxian sound about it. Neither will they ever attain the degree of candour which permits Ford to admit that:

"Everything which we have added to our knowledge and skill during the course of time is due to our workers." (Walcher, page 76.)

But it is only the honest **practician** Ford who recognises all this. Ford the **theoretician**, the capitalist Utopist, confuses the essentials of what he has recognised in the most pitiable manner. Here he all at once discovers that wealth originates with the consumer. The requirements of the consumer are insatiable, and the possibilities of sale thus unlimited. Therefore, Ford has expanded his production into the limitless, and looks into the capitalist future with childish optimism.

The decisive point to be kept in view when judging of any of Ford's successes, is the economic fact that Ford possesses a huge monopoly. His monopolist dominance of the market leaves play for many varieties of reformism, gives much opportunity for "social sport". Ford has worked his way into an exceptional position in the motor car manufacturing world. It is not solely the possession of capital which has enabled him to do this, but mainly his sharp insight with regard to methods of business and management, his utilisation of technical advantages, and his exploitation of all the favourable factors of American economic life.

Ford has converted Taylorism into an omnipotent system. His travelling platform — a platform gliding past the workers at a speed compelling the utmost exertion — diminishes, for instance, the time required for manufacturing the motor car frame

from 12 to 1½ hours! "Every necessary second is allotted to the worker, but not a single second more". (Walcher, page 25.) A barbarous division of labour makes the worker a "virtuoso" in his special performance! The factory doctors have not reported any physical or mental ill effects upon the workers, so we may assume that there are none!

According to Ford, there are only two kinds of human being: Those with creative instincts, like Ford himself, revolting at the idea of being allotted one special work only, and — let us say, work beasts, preferring the most soulless and mechanical piece of work possible! — Proletarian show animals of this description, products of the ruin which capitalism has wrought among humanity, flock to Ford in response to the high wages. A capitalist having at his disposal such an elite troop of servility and coolie mentality can accomplish much. Such workers can be trained to such a point of patriarchal attachment to their factory, that they regard the welfare or misfortune of the business as their private affair. German proletarians died with hurrahs upon their lips for Hindenburg and parched vegetables, why should American workers not slave and cheer for Ford and high wages?

But Ford is an adept at stimulating his workers by a skilful abolition of troublesome bureaucracy and arrogant titular aristocracy. The road is open for the capable! The strictest discipline in the works, accompanied by a control extended to the private life of the workers, keeps all unruly elements in check. A production school, working on the latest pedagogic methods, ensures a sufficient number of recruits of the same stamp for the next generation of workers. These and similar methods of obtaining exceptional productivity and intensity of work, added to the opportunity of exploiting successful technical inventions, and to the concentration on one ingeniously thought out universal model of motor car construction, have built up Ford's **monopolist position**. At the present time Ford is already producing about 60% of the American motor car output.

His systematic **price policy** has, however, been decisive for his further success. Ford has refrained from pocketing the profits which lower wages for his workers would have brought him, and in the same manner he refrains from pocketing the extra profit to be gained by his advanced methods of production, or the usurious profit to be won by his business monopoly. This has enabled him to out prices with a boldness which has gained him enormous markets, and again enabled him to increase his output to an enormous extent.

The banal catchword of "Small profits and large returns" has been converted by Ford from a mere advertising phrase to a real business maxim. The suitable framework has been supplied by the virginal industrial markets of America, the war boom, and the world monopoly of American capital. This is the explanation of Ford's unique success! The capitalist "normal profit", that is, the surplus value produced, has been made by Ford his sole source of profit. The productive day's work has truly proved an inexhaustible gold mine to Ford, this most successful of all the surplus value extractors of America! But though the wages of his workers, in money and in kind, may be higher than all others, the relative wages, that is, the **ratio of wages to profit**, is more unfavourable to the proletarians in America than anywhere else. The degree of exploitation is the highest, and the economic class antagonisms are the most acute, though the coolies in Ford's employ may be unable to see it.

All this is efficiently demonstrated by comrade Walcher with the aid of admirably selected quotations from Marx and Engels, giving the reader a graphic survey of the essentials of Marx's criticism of capital. We are clearly shown that Fordism is an exceptional case, a mere stage of transition to open barbarity. And when Ford's monopoly has once been broken through, or when his production exceeds the demand of those able to buy (and this is the sole point playing any real rôle in capitalism), then even the external glory of Ford's enterprise will wane. Even Ford will be shipwrecked when the crisis comes, and every increase in productivity will dig the grave of his undertakings deeper.

It is a very different matter if **communism**, and even its preliminary stage: Soviet Russia, can utilise Fordist methods of organising production, Fordist conceptions of the decentralisation of industry, of equilibration between town and country, etc. Here the capitalist Utopianism of Ford has recognised important communist truths, but his having done so is merely further confirmation of the correctness of Marxism.

Comrade Walcher's book is an exemplary application of Marxist teachings to modern economic phenomena.