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CONTENTS

Ira dust: Morocco, the Key to the Mediterranean.

Hands off China

A. Vosnesenski: The Events in China and their Influence upon the Masses of Asia.

Politics

J. B.: Zionism and the Jewish National Question.

A. Neurath: The Campaign of the Coalition Government against the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

H. M. Wicks: The History of Bryan — the History of the American Petty Bourgeoisie.

The Balkans

T. Gracchus: The Political Situation in Greece.

S. Boschkovitch: The Treachery of Radiuch.

The Labour Movement

E. L...g: The Strike of the French Bank Clerks.

A. Ketzlik: The International Conference of the Workers in the Chemical Industry.

The White Terror

Kavolski: The Fight against Provocation in Poland.

Red Aid

Rescue the Victims of the Polish Murder Justice.

H. Tittel: The Amnesty Campaign in Germany.

Our Martyrs

Hirny: The Martyr Death of Comrade Bottwin.

Organisation

D. Kostolansky: Factory Newspapers.

In the Camp of Our Enemies

P. Sch.: The Judgment in the Trial of the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia".

N. Bucharin: The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky its Apostle. V.

Morocco, the Key to the Mediterranean.

By Ira dust.

The war in Morocco has entered on its critical stage. The French government of the Left Bloc is exerting all its forces in order to avoid a military collapse and to bring to an end the "colonial expedition" against the Riffpeople; an "expedition" which, in an unexpected manner, has become converted into a "great war", as the President of the French Republic, Painlevé, was compelled to admit after his return from his visit to the Moroccan front.

In the course of the month of July the French government resorted to a series of exceptional measures for the purpose of further carrying on the war. On the 10th of July the French Chamber of Deputies, after passionate debates, granted by 411 votes against 29 with 150 abstentions, 183 million Francs for war operations. On July the 12th, after long negotiations in Madrid, an understanding was arrived at with regard to Franco-Spanish co-operation in Morocco and as to joint action against the Riff people. At the same time there is taking place a change of command in the French army in Morocco, according to which Marshall Liautey, the former Commander in Chief, only retains the general political leadership, while Nolin, the representative of the French War Office, is entrusted with the military leadership. In addition to this Marshall Petain, this hero of the French National Bloc, who distinguished himself during the imperialist war by his defense of Verdun, has been sent to Morocco in the capacity of an extraordinary commissioner for war, "in order to organise

victory". During the last few days great reinforcements, the strength of which is being kept secret by the French military staff, have been despatched to Morocco. A plan of simultaneous action against the Riff troops from the Spanish and French zones has been discussed.

In order to prepare the ground for this action rumours have been put in circulation according to which France and Spain have made peace offers which, it is alleged, have been rejected by Abd-el-Krim. The patriotism of the French soldiers is being stirred up by their being told that the Riff people are relying upon German and Bolshevik support. The French forces are going over to the offensive and reckon upon ending operations before the autumn rains set in, which will render all military action impossible.

In spite of the reassuring tone of the government communications, the French newspapers admit those great difficulties which the French military forces will have to overcome in view of the fierce resistance of the Riff troops and the revolts of the Kabyl tribes in the rear of the French. The attitude of those powers which, while at present remaining neutral, are interested in the war, is causing even greater uneasiness in the French press. The forcible solution of the Moroccan question in favour of France runs counter to the interests of other colonising countries, in the first place the interests of England. England, which is also supported by Italy, is raising the question of the necessity of a new

international conference to solve the fate of Morocco, basing its attitude on the fact that the Moroccan question has acquired international importance in the post-war period.

The successful struggle of the Riff troops for independence has entirely changed the relation of forces in the North Western corner of Africa, where the interests of those powers who are fighting for hegemony in the Mediterranean cross each other. France viewed with pleasure the gradual ousting of Spain from the Northern zone during the last four years, and reckoned that it would be able to come forward as claimant to the "Spanish heritage". In this French diplomacy appeals to point 4 of the Anglo-French secret treaty of 1904 regarding Egypt and Morocco, which provides that in the event of Spain not fulfilling the obligations laid upon it in the "Spanish zone" in Morocco, the original Anglo-French agreement over Morocco comes into force. This agreement is interpreted by the French in the sense that if Spain loses control over the zone allotted to it, or should the Spanish troops evacuate this zone, the control of this zone passes automatically to France, which can then unite the whole of Morocco under its rule.

The French plans diametrically oppose the interests of England, as the Northern coast of Morocco, owing to its geographical position, is of great importance in the world scheme of the defence of the British Empire. England's position as a great power in the Mediterranean, apart from the naval bases at Malta and Cyprus, is based in the first place upon the control of the Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar. Gibraltar was converted by the English into a fortress which dominates the entrance to the Mediterranean. The technics of modern warfare have considerably reduced the importance of Gibraltar. The latest "howitzers" are easily able to bombard Gibraltar from the Spanish coast, and the question of its defence is beginning to encounter great difficulties. The commission consisting of English war specialists recently sent to Gibraltar has reported that the prospects of organising the air defences of Gibraltar are likewise exceedingly poor, as there exist no suitable landing places.

The British Admiralty has therefore of late observed with uneasiness that the English strategical positions in the most vital part of the Mediterranean have been growing weak. Therefore England cannot reconcile itself to the idea that the French flag is perhaps to be hoisted on the Southern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, which for England would mean a far greater danger than the flag of weak Spain. The military interests of England are compelling it to active intervention in the Moroccan question for the purpose of consolidating the English influence on the South coast, on the coast district of the Spanish Moroccan zone. The military collapse of Spain suited English interests, which explains the somewhat benevolent attitude of the English government towards the Riff people.

Even the setting up of an independent Riff State, the economic and political capturing of which England hopes easily to carry out, is quite compatible with English interests. This explains the "demonstrative neutrality" which the English government showed towards the Riff people and its opposition to a blockade of the Riff coast. The immediate aim of English diplomacy in Morocco is to obtain strategic positions on the Moroccan coast. The chief attention of British military circles has been directed of late to Ceuta, a Spanish possession which commands from the South the entrance to the straits of Gibraltar. This Peninsula is extraordinarily suited for the establishment of an exceedingly strong naval base, and fulfils all the conditions for setting up an air station.

It is not by chance that the "Daily Express" reported a few days ago that English military circles have been discussing the question of exchanging Gibraltar for Ceuta, the possession of which would greatly strengthen the strategical position of England in the Mediterranean. The possibility of such an exchange is at present doubtful, as according to the agreement of 1904 Spain has pledged itself not to cede any territory in the zone allotted to it to a third power. This is why England is now demanding the revision of all treaties which relate to Morocco and Tangier. In this question the English government is striving to win the United States and Italy as allies, whose interests have not been taken into consideration in the above mentioned treaties.

There exists not the least doubt that the international conference which England is demanding will considerably change the situation in Morocco and exert a great influence upon the result of the struggle for freedom waged by Abd-el-Krim.

HANDS OFF CHINA

The Events in China and their Influence upon the Masses of Asia.

By A. Vosnesenski.

When British Conservative Ministers speak of "Bolshevist agitation" in China, they never forget to add — "and in India". Although at present there are no open symptoms of a national-revolutionary movement in India, the fears of Lord Birkenhead are not altogether without foundation. The English colonial officials have long since learned from experience what effect one little spark can have upon the explosive material heaped up in Asia. Already in the "Blue Book" published in 1919 on the revolutionary movement in India (from 1897 to 1918), there is to be seen running through it like a red thread the idea of the importance of the Russian revolution of the year 1905 for the national emancipation movement in Persia, for the young Turkish movement and for the revolutionary movement in India. If we glance still further back into history then it is easy to trace the immediate influence of the Chinese peasants' movement, of the Taiping revolt in the years 1850 to 1865, and the movement of the peasants against the Manchu yoke upon a whole series of revolutionary and peasants' movements in Asia: upon the Sepoy movement in India 1857 and upon the movement of the Tonhaks in Korea.

The pace of the revolutionary movement in Asia differs from that in Europe. That which in Europe matures in a few months, in Asia requires a number of years. But once the masses are awakened and set in movement, they will never rest so long as there is still a single corner of the Continent of Asia which has not been captured by this movement. Of course, it is here not a question of the fairy tales of Chamberlain and Birkenhead regarding "Bolshevist agents", but that the present events in China constitute nothing else but the prelude to the revolutionary movement in India, and probably throughout the whole of Asia.

How are the broad masses of the Asiatic countries reacting to the events in China? Scarcely a month has passed since the action of the workers in Shanghai and we already see positive proofs of the influence of the Chinese revolutionary movement upon the advanced intelligentsia of the Asiatic countries. At present one can only speak of the bourgeois intellectuals, as among the radical elements it is only they who are able, in this or that manner, to take up an attitude to these events, for the simple reason, that it is only they who have the necessary means and — even if only within the narrow limits allowed by the censor — have a press at their disposal, whilst the workers and peasant masses can only give expression to their standpoint to these events by means of the radical intellectuals.

In India the official and the kept press, as well as the news agencies, are representing the Chinese events as being mainly, if not entirely, an anti-Japanese movement. The independent newspapers are endeavouring to refute these lies. The organ of the Swarajist Party, that is the party of those Indian nationalists who do not recognise revolutionary methods of struggle, is attempting, with the greatest caution, in view of the British censor, to make it clear to the Indian people that the Chinese movement is not only directed against Japan, that China is not only under the Japanese yoke but also under the yoke of other (it does not mention the names) imperialist powers, and that it is therefore necessary "to study the lessons of the Chinese June" also in India.

At the other end of Asia, in Corea, the Federation of the Korean Youth, one of the few legally functioning organisations of the radical intelligentsia, had the courage, in spite of the cruel repressions of the Japanese occupation authorities, to adopt a resolution as to "solidarity and support of the Shanghai strikers, as the champions of the national emancipation movement". The appeal issued by the Federation was not allowed to see the light, and from the Japanese bourgeois press we can learn nothing regarding this except the fact that it "draws analogies between China and Korea" which, in some way or other, are not in accordance with the facts. The question of the events in China is being treated in a somewhat more intelligent manner — although in Aesopic language — by the Korean press. The liberal paper, "Tonha Irbo", (a paper with a circulation of 50,000 copies, which is very considerable for Korea) recommends in general the repudiation of revolutionary methods, because, in its opinion, they

do not achieve the desired end but only strengthen Japanese repressions. Nevertheless, this paper makes the following remarks regarding the Chinese events:

"We are on the threshold of a new historical epoch. The masses of the people are beginning by these (Chinese) lessons to become conscious of themselves. They are beginning to learn from this example and to organise themselves. We have already passed the first stage. Afraid of making sacrifices, those people who in their inner heart are not at one with the cause of the whole people are falling off. With all the greater efforts, with redoubled energy therefore must the struggle be taken up by those who remain true to the cause and upon whose shoulders from now on the whole burden of the approaching struggle will rest. May the Chinese movement be a shining example and proceed without interruption to its final aim."

There is no need to comment upon these lines. In a country where it is forbidden even to mention the words "national emancipation", "revolution", "socialism", "proletariat"; where the upper sections of the population — partly intimidated by the refined cruelty of the Japanese occupation authorities, partly bought by the authorities — have for long betrayed the cause of national emancipation, there is now talk of the Chinese lessons, of the "organising for the struggle those who have remained true to the cause of the whole people". This inspiring hope speaks more clearly than thousands of resolutions as to how the Shanghai strike was regarded by the advanced Korean intelligentsia in the first days of the strike, and what they have learned during the one month of stirring events in China. They have learned that the national liberation movement in Asia is becoming more and more the affair of the workers; it is only the workers and peasants who do not betray it.

This is what the events in China are teaching the two most oppressed peoples of Asia. This is the lesson which the conscious representatives of public opinion of the two countries which constitute the main basis of Japanese and British imperialism expect from the national liberation movement in China.

Lord Birkenhead and his colleagues have good cause, therefore, to tremble with fear in face of the events in China and to turn their glances to India even when mentioning these events. The events in China constitute only the beginning of a slowly but uninterruptedly rising revolutionary wave which in the next few years will sweep over the whole of Asia.

POLITICS

Zionism and the Jewish National Question.

(The 14th Zionist Congress in Vienna.)

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Never before had the national problem assumed such an acute form as in the period immediately following the war. The war had not only placed capitalist society out of joint from the social point of view, but the national movements, which in the pre-war time had only been held in check with the greatest difficulties, broke out in all their fury. And the solutions which the world bourgeoisie has found for the national questions are just as one-sided and incomplete as are its solutions in the social sphere.

One of the many unsolved questions is the Jewish question. The situation of the Jewish masses in the most important countries in which they are concentrated became, immediately after the war, a very desperate one. The anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland, in Roumania, in former white Ukraine, combined with economic boycott and terrible political suppression, served as an all too forcible "illustration" of those decisions of the Peace Conferences which, it was announced with a great fanfare, were to liberate all the suppressed peoples. There was only one way of solving the desperate situation of the Jewish masses: by the taking over of power by the working class, which at one stroke would put an end to national animosity and oppression. (As a matter of fact, with the entry of the Red troops into the Ukraine the pogroms and persecutions of the Jewish minority immediately ceased.) The capitalists gradually came to realise this "danger". It therefore became necessary to convert the national liberation movement of the Jewish masses from a revolutionary into a counter-revolutionary factor. The instrument which was to serve this purpose was the Zionist organisation.

Up to the time of the war Zionism was the dream of a handful of Utopians. Whilst the ideal set up by Dr. Herzl of a "Jewish State", provided the discussion theme for a number of equally unproductive and tedious Zionist Congresses, the practical activity of the Zionist organisation consisted in eagerly deputising present and future political big-wigs and also in settling a few hundred petty bourgeois Jewish families in Palestine. The war and the nationalist atmosphere created by it drove certain circles of the Jewish bourgeoisie (especially in the Western countries) to the Zionist organisation. The Jewish bourgeoisie thereby hoped, by speaking in the name of a people numbering 18 millions, to obtain political weight and, should the idea of the Jewish State in Palestine be realised, to obtain a marker of their own. As their interests exactly co-incided with the efforts of the Entente Ministers to establish law and order in Eastern Europe, with the Eastern plans of England and the endeavours of the capitalists to preserve the semblance of justice, Zionism in 1918 to 1921 entered on its most prosperous period. The Jewish bourgeoisie succeeded in persuading the Polish and Roumanian Jewish people that mighty England wished to rescue them, and had made the Jews a present of Palestine — that it was only a question of a little patience and endurance and the poor Jewish people, just as in olden time they had been led out of Egypt, would now be led out of the Polish slavery into a land flowing with milk and honey. The struggle in "exile", where the Jew is a stranger and only tolerated, must of course cease, and all forces be directed to the better future in the Promised Land.

In the "Promised Land" however Zionism played a peculiar role: as a small cog in the machinery of the powerful English imperialism, the immigrating Jews were allotted the role of diverting to themselves the forces of the Arab national emancipation movement which were directed against the British conqueror. The Jewish bourgeoisie embodied in the Zionist organisation, is doubly reactionary: as ally of the Polish and Roumanian governments, even in the countries populated by large masses of Jews — while at the same time as the enemy of the emancipation movement of the working people in Palestine — it has sold and betrayed the interests of the poor Jewish masses for the sake of the few paltry concessions which the bourgeoisie of the more powerful peoples have thrown to it.

The 14th Zionist Congress which is just about to be held in Vienna, is characterised by the fact that the Zionist illusions are beginning to be dispelled from the masses of the Jewish people. The Zionist Polish Agreement, by which Grabski, the Polish Prime Minister, pays the Jewish capitalists, at the cost of the toiling Jewish population, the reward for their lackey service on the one hand, and the nomination of Lord Plumer as High Commissioner in Palestine, who is converting the native home of the Jews into an English military camp, on the other hand, must open the eyes of the most simple follower of the Zionists. When we add that the economic result of the six years intensive Zionist activity in Palestine is the settling of about 3000 persons in agricultural colonies, which are not even yet on a firm economic foundation, with the simultaneous monstrous growth of urban settlements, in which the great number of traders, speculators and other parasites unfortunately reminds one too much of this unproductive type which the champions of Zionism have promised to liquidate — then one can easily understand that the 14th Zionist Congress will be anything but harmonious. The innumerable contradictions, of which we have only indicated a few — particularly the struggle between the petty bourgeois tendency in Zionism, which feels itself deceived by the results of the activity, and the bourgeois leadership which aims at still fostering the illusions — will find expression at the Congress, reflecting the profound discontent of the Jewish masses who are now finally endeavouring to repudiate the Zionist propaganda.

The socialist Zionists will probably play a special role at the Congress. They had always and everywhere rendered faithful flunkey service to the Jewish bourgeoisie, and as the part they played during the period of the revolutionary upheavals in damping down the revolutionary mood of the Jewish masses, as well as in establishing connections with the left governments of the powers patronising Zionism (MacDonald, Blum, Ebert etc.), was not to be underestimated, and as they rendered extra service in keeping down the Communist movement in Palestine, they were rewarded by financial support and privileges. The object of the Congress of the Socialist Zionists before the General Zionist Congress is to lay down with greater precision

the tasks they have to perform in this period in their role as lackeys. At the approaching Congress it is probable that they will lose a number of their privileges, especially as regards the budget question.

Whilst in Vienna the Jewish bourgeoisie and social democrats are holding their Congress, accompanied with a great fuss in order, draped in the blue and white flags of innocence and a heap of empty nationalist phrases, to prepare fresh betrayals and deceptions of the people, there is being quietly accomplished in the Soviet Union an important real step to a partial solution of the Jewish question. The proletarian power has not remained satisfied with abolishing all traces of national suppression and putting an end to all persecutions of Jews and granting to all Yiddish speaking workers the widest possibility of satisfying their cultural and national requirements. It has also proceeded to a radical solution of the question of the Jewish minorities living within the territory of the Soviet States. The great agrarian scheme, for which the Peoples Commissar for Agriculture has granted ten thousands desyatins of land, the efforts of the Jewish section of the Russian C. P. to procure the necessary means for cultivation of the soil, and finally, the results of the work recently commenced, which had already many times surpassed the results of the Zionist colonisatory activity, are a further proof that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the Jewish national question, and that the only way out for the Jewish masses, disregarding all Zionist swindles, is the proletarian revolution.

The Campaign of the Coalition Government against the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

By A. Neurath (Prague).

The coalition government and its parties acted somewhat hastily and therefore prepared things badly when they sought to challenge the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by an election manoeuvre. The coalition parties, for various reasons, are not yet united regarding the way and manner in which the election struggle against the Communist Party is to be conducted; of course this unity will be arrived at, the Czechoslovakian bankers and big landowners will take care of that. But the fact is that the first blows which were directed against our Party were so clumsily prepared and carried out, that one immediately observed that here the cunning hand of the social democratic demagogues was lacking. The social democrats are furious at having been beaten by a hair's breadth by their national socialist coalition allies in the contest on the occasion of the Marmaggi affair. In the settlement of this affair the national socialists have proved themselves to be the greatest demagogues. The social democrats are sulking and the national socialists are attempting, along with the national democrats, to seize the initiative in the fight against the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

The first step towards this was the arrest of comrade Jilek on suspicion of having conspired with a foreign power against the Czechoslovakian government. The "Ceske Slovo", the organ of the Foreign Minister Benes and of the national socialist party, showed itself to be exceedingly well-informed regarding the intentions which the government has towards the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. In huge type, according to the model of the vilest boulevard press, it attempted to stir up mob feeling and create a pogrom mood against the leaders of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. Of course all this talk regarding plans for high treason is only the product of eager spy work and phantasy. The Jilek affair, like all similar high treason trials, ended in a gigantic farce. But instead of beating an orderly retreat, the coalition parties, and above all the organ of Herr Benes, attempted to make good the first blunder by means of a second still greater blunder. Jilek was arrested on the charge of some imaginary treasonous intentions, and now comrade Houser has been arrested on suspicion of having, three years ago, along with Jilek and a certain Herr Stastny, planned an attempt upon the life of Masaryk! The "Ceske Slovo" with unusual eagerness made a great feature of this stupid concoction of a spy. Of course the other worthy organs of the coalition parties, and among them naturally those of the social democrats, joined in this campaign. But before 48 hours had passed, the whole coalition, headed by the Central organ of the section of the II. International, beat a disorderly retreat, which soon developed into a wild flight.

We must of course reckon on new and much more skilful actions which will now be undertaken against the Communist

Party before the elections. The specialists in anti-communist hate are meeting together in Karlsbad. Messrs. Pasic and Svehla, surrounded by their ministerial colleagues, are exchanging in Karlsbad their experiences in the fight against the Communist movement. It seems up to now as if Herr Svehla has not learned anything sensible from Herr Pasic. But it will come in time.

The Party has with magnificent unanimity repulsed the first bald election manoeuvres of the coalition government and its parties. The stupid speculation of the enemy upon the development of fresh differences in our party, the insane expectations of the Bubnik people that new differences would arise in the leadership, have come to nought against the actual facts.

During the last week there was held in Prague an extraordinary meeting of the Prague members of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. The meeting place, which holds several thousand persons, was completely full. The speeches were delivered by comrades Haken and Smeral. Comrades Muna, Neurath, Kreibich, Sverma and Krenova were elected to the Presidium. Comrade Zapatotzky, who is wanted by the police in order to send him to prison for 15 months, sent a letter to the meeting in which he stated:

"The Communist Party is here the irreconcilable accuser and the inexorable exposé of all the sins and crimes of the coalition government. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia is a powerful opponent, which threatens the government majority and the possibility of the further corrupt administration of the government. The coalition is therefore endeavouring by false accusations to discredit the Communist Party in the eyes of the broad masses of the people. One of its further aims is, in the period of agitation before the elections, to arrest as many as possible of the prominent party workers of the Communist Party, in order thereby to prevent the action and agitation against the Coalition in the elections from developing.

Finally, it is presumed that, in consequence of recent events, the Party is inwardly disunited and shaken and that it will be possible by means of these persecutions to provoke fresh differences.

In the face of these speculations I consider it necessary to declare: We have settled our differences before our own Party authorities. We have mapped out the route and the right line to follow, in accordance with which we will work in the future to consolidate our Party, to bolshevise it and render it capable of action. We have considered it necessary to remove those elements which actually introduced liquidatory tendencies in to our Party. We have pledged ourselves to fight unitedly against those who wish to act in a similar manner in the future. This pledge we are fulfilling and will fulfil. If in recent times efforts have been made to split us into out-and-out and moderate Bolsheviks, I declare:

In the fight against the liquidatory tendencies and the bourgeoisie, we will all endeavour, without exception, to be the most out-and-out and the staunchest. Only cowards and traitors will abandon the Party in this moment."

Finally, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution of which the following is an extract:

"The Plenary meeting calls upon the Central of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia to take up as speedily as possible and on the broadest basis the defensive struggle against the fascist terror organised by the government and the coalition parties. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia, having expelled the traitors Bubnik, Roucek and Co. from its ranks, will now carry on with an inner solidarity hitherto unknown the fight against the capitalist exploiters of Czechoslovakia and the coalition government, as well as against the fascist terror. The government of the Czechoslovakian capitalists will in vain let loose their hordes of spies against our Party; in vain will they concoct stories of high treason for electioneering purposes. They will be just as unable to prevent the firm unity of the Communist Party with the great majority of the working sections of the population of Czechoslovakia as the reckoning which the exploited classes will hold with their capitalist exploiters and the agrarian bloodsuckers.

We greet comrades Jilek and Houser who have been thrown into prison as victims of the vilest police machinations and of an abominable campaign of lies on the part of the whole coalition press; we greet the men and women comrades who have been persecuted and imprisoned just as Jilek and Houser."

The History of Bryan — the History of the American Petty Bourgeoisie.

By H. M. Wicks (New York).

The sudden death, at Dayton, Tennessee of William Jennings Bryan, removes from the American political arena the foremost champion of the petty bourgeoisie of this generation.

Bryan's vagaries were those of the middle class of this nation. In politics he was the champion of the petty bourgeoisie. In the sphere of religion he was their prophet. He appeared to superficial political editors as "a champion of lost causes", because the power of the petty bourgeoisie in America, which he represented, has been steadily declining throughout his career. The history of Bryan from July 10, 1896, when he flamed like a meteor across the political horizon, capturing the Democratic party nomination for the Presidency of the United States, until his forlorn fiasco as defender of religious fundamentalism in the famous "monkey" trial at Dayton, Tennessee, parallels the decline of the petty bourgeoisie as a political factor in face of the rise to supremacy of the powerful combinations of finance and industrial capital.

For nearly two decades Bryan was the undisputed leader of the Democratic Party and for another decade he had sufficient following to defeat any aspirant for the Presidential nomination who incurred his enmity. These thirty years constitute an epoch in American history.

Economic forces, operating since the devastating panic of 1873 prepared the soil for Bryanism. That crisis marked the beginning of the development of trusts. In that panic thousands of small industrialists and merchants were forced out of business.

During the following period a middle class political movement arose known as Populism, that made a strong bid for the support of small business men and farmers. A third political party grew out of this agitation and had as one of its main planks currency reform. Many small calibre politicians of that day supported the demands of the Populists while remaining in the two old parties—Republican and Democratic. The Republican Party since its inception has been the political expression of the economic interests of the industrial capitalists. The Democratic Party before the Civil War of 1860—64 was the party of the Southern slave holders, but after the War endeavoured to become the party of the petty bourgeoisie. Bryan was one of these political lights that supported Populism within the Democratic Party.

In 1890, when only 30 years of age, Bryan was elected to the House of Congress from the first district of Nebraska, until then a Republican stronghold. He first definitely formulated the political slogan that afterwards made him famous in a speech delivered in the House on August 16, 1893, when he opposed the repeal of the silver purchase clause of the Sherman Act and advocated "free and unlimited coinage of silver, irrespective of international agreement, at the ratio of 16 to 1."

Currency reform had long been a favourite illusion of opposition movements in this country. As every Marxian knows, it is impossible arbitrarily to set a price upon silver and gold, for the simple reason that conditions of production constantly change in relation to both these metals, sometimes raising or lowering the value of one while the value of the other remains stationary. This economic absurdity, holding out the promise of "easy money" to the small capitalists, captured the minds of millions of voters in this country through two Presidential campaigns.

At a critical moment, well-timed by his political advisers, during the Democratic convention of 1896 in Chicago, at the close of a long debate on bi-metallism, Bryan, in spite of a bad political record, having been defeated for re-election to Congress and for the United States Senate from his State, aroused the exhausted convention to wildest enthusiasm with his speech in defense of money reform. He concluded with the words: "You must not place a crown of thorns upon the brow of labour; you shall not crucify labour upon a cross of gold." His first nomination for the Presidency followed this speech. But 36 years of age, one year over the necessary age for that office, he waged a campaign that was unequalled in the history of American politics.

Having stolen the thunder of the Populists, Bryan was able to deliver this movement to the Democratic Party. The long-hoped for achievement was realised. The Party of Bryan became

the one political expression of the middle class of the United States.

The working class of the country, being almost wholly unconscious of its class interests, threw its support to this petty bourgeois movement. The majority of the organised workers were deluded into believing that its hope for better conditions could be realised by supporting the rapidly vanishing small capitalists against the trusts.

In the 1896 campaign, Bryan, polled a popular vote of 6,502,925 to 7,104,779 for his Republican opponent, William McKinley.

Under the McKinley administration the government was, as had been the case under all such administrations, the tool of the big industrial capitalists. In 1898 the government provoked the war against Spain in the interest of the Havemeyer Sugar Trust and the American Tobacco Company. Bryan opposed this war, although he entered the volunteer army, attaining the rank of colonel. At the close of the war he opposed the retention of the Phillipine Islands, claiming that the maintenance of a standing army in the Islands meant increased taxation for the common people of America.

In the campaign of 1900 Bryan was again the standard-bearer of the Democratic Party, opposing President McKinley, the tool of the trusts. The outstanding plank was still "free silver", but he waged his campaign on the slogan of "anti-imperialism". This was obviously a clear-cut campaign in the interests of the middle class. In spite of another bewildering campaign he was again defeated and by a somewhat larger majority than before.

Bryan still remained, after his second defeat, the foremost champion of the middle class. Retiring to his home at Lincoln, Nebraska, Bryan started his weekly paper, "The Commoner", where with his pen he assailed imperialism and the gold standard with the same vigour that characterised his platform utterances.

The removal from the scene of President McKinley by an assassin's bullet placed the demagogic Theodor (Teddy) Roosevelt in the White House at Washington.

At the Democratic convention of 1908 Bryan routed the agents of the House of Morgan who came from the Eastern part of the nation and again became the Presidential nominee; this time against the trust owned William Howard Taft. For the third time in his career he waged a strictly petty bourgeois campaign and again met defeat.

Finance capital, under the leadership of the House of Morgan, was growing more powerful and was far from satisfied with the policy of the Taft government that was defending with all its might the interests of the industrialist group around Standard Oil. Between 1908 and 1910 Finance Capital intensified its drive for control of the Democratic Party. The spoils politicians around Tammany Hall willingly delivered that part of the Party under their control to Morgan; others of that calibre followed. In 1910, for the first time since the Grover Cleveland election of 1892, the Democratic Party, in the congressional elections, secured a majority in the House and increased its representation in the Senate. Thus the Party of the middle class capitulated to Finance Capital. Through a period embracing a quarter of a century the influence of that Party had declined in inverse ratio to the growth of the great combinations of capital. The class from which it derived its support, the petty bourgeoisie, was being sapped of its vitality, it did not have sufficient power and cohesion to maintain an independent political existence. The composition of the middle class that survived was rapidly changing. Instead of independent merchants and small manufacturers, they became more and more dependent upon the large industrialist and financial groups.

When the 1912 convention opened at Baltimore the Democratic Party was the private property of the House of Morgan. Champ Clark, congressman from Missouri, was Morgan's candidate. Bryan, throughout the long convention, opposed Clark and supported Woodrow Wilson, then governor of New Jersey. Bryan was victorious and his nominee, Wilson, headed the ticket.

That same year produced a split in the Republican Party. Standard Oil insisted upon control of that Party and the renomination of Taft, but the Harvester, Packing House and Steel trusts concentrated upon Roosevelt.

In this three-cornered fight Wilson emerged victorious and when he announced the personnel of his cabinet William Jennings

Bryan was secretary of state, as a reward for having nominated the President.

From the very first day he occupied that office history played peculiar pranks with this champion of the middle class. His first act as secretary of state in the Wilson cabinet was in the interest of the House of Morgan, although the "peerless leader" fondly imagined he was striking a blow at Imperialism. The Wilson administration, as its first international manoeuvre, announced the withdrawal of the United States government from the "Six Power Group" which had been trying to impose a loan upon China under the most shameful terms — conditions that amounted to partitioning China between England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and the United States.

All the petty bourgeois liberals in the country hailed this act as indicative of the benevolent character of the Wilson administration. Bryan thought he had at last realised the triumph of his anti-imperialist plank of 1900 and was leading the hosts of humanity toward disarmament and world-peace. To his mind this vile conspiracy, the Six-Power Loan, was stifled by the valiant hand of the liberal Wilson government. And he was Premier of that government!

Meanwhile Morgan and his associates sat back and smiled at the antics of these liberals, knowing that the first act of the Wilson government had made it possible for Morgan to challenge the rest of the world in China, instead of sharing between a consortium of powers the natural resources and the exploitation of labour in that vast country.

From that time to the approach of the declaration of war against Germany, we had the inglorious spectacle of Bryan, champion of the middle class, unconsciously playing the game of the finance capitalists of Wall Street, whom he so bitterly condemned when they tried to select their own candidate.

It was not until the notes that Bryan was compelled to write Germany could no longer be concealed beneath the pious platitudes of pacifism that his petty bourgeois soul revolted and he quitted the cabinet, realising that the man he picked to thwart the designs of the House of Morgan was in reality the servile lackey of that citadel of Finance Capital. But Bryan, himself, had been a party to playing the game of Morgan, so he did not dare openly state his convictions. During the strife of World war this middle class pacifist was in almost total eclipse.

At the San Francisco convention of 1920 Bryan played no rôle. At that convention Morgan had everything his own way and James M. Cox, a colourless character from Ohio, was selected to hold aloft the Morgan slogan of the League of Nations. The industrialist capitalists used their political machine, the Republican Party, to assail the ambitious dream of world domination formulated at Versailles. The result was a landslide that routed the Democrats. This defeat again brought Bryan into the councils of the Party.

Last year, 1924, at Maddison Square Garden, New York, he played a prominent rôle in the Democratic convention, defeating the aspirations of the Tammanyite politician, Governor Al. Smith, of New York. But he could not force through the nomination of his own favourite, William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury in the Wilson cabinet. Against Bryan's opposition John W. Davis, lawyer for the House of Morgan, was the nominee.

During the past five years the steady encroachment of finance capital upon industrial capital; the amalgamating of corporations into ever larger combines under the aegis of banking capital, brought the Republican Party, to a pronounced degree, under the domination of the House of Morgan. This political alignment paved the way for the rise of a Third petty bourgeois party. The La Follette movement was the response to this demand and drew heavily from both old parties—La Follette, himself, being a Republican, and his vice presidential running mate, Wheeler, being a Democratic senator from Montana. The middle class support that in former years had gone to the Democratic party was, in the early part of the campaign, swept behind La Follette, but in the closing days of the campaign the Republican newspapers combined with the liberal use of the radio presented a picture of chaos confronting the nation in case none of the three candidates — Coolidge, Davis or La Follette — secured the election. The result was that this timid class, always cowardly and vacillating, was swept into the Coolidge camp, giving the Republican Party a record landslide, while in many states the Democrats ran behind La Follette. The political sun of the Democratic Party was near the Western horizon and the nation was

faced with the imminence of one reactionary party with no effective political resistance and the working class was just in the process of breaking away from the two old parties.

Bryan's political sun had also set. His place in history was that of champion of the middle class, and as its vitality ebbed, so his political prestige declined.

The middle class of this country turned to religious fundamentalism and the mummery of the Ku Klux Klan after its political decline. Bryan tottered into the same camp, roaring the tenets of these petty illusions from innumerable chautauqua platforms; meddled in various state legislatures to get legal sanction for the teaching of Calvinism, the religion of the petty bourgeoisie. In the sphere of religion the class conflict also has its reflex. With the growth of imperialism religious concepts change. Since imperialism deals with peoples in all parts of the world and of various faiths the religion of imperialism must be cosmopolitan, not the provincialism of the middle class. It must also embrace the positive sciences which prove so useful in industry and warfare. Hence the recent rise of religious modernism to a place of prominence in American life. Against this religious concept stands the middle class with its religion of fundamentalism — Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, down to those half-idiots who constitute the sects of Holy Rollers, Nazarenes, etc.

Bryan, a political fizzle, became the foremost champion of fundamentalism. Having the audacity to state publicly in innumerable harangues that he not only accepted the bible as a guide to morality, but that he believed it from cover to cover — Jonah and the fish story, the snake story, the rib story and all — he became the butt of ridicule of the cosmopolitan press of the nation.

Himself a follower of John Calvin, his religion was that of predestination. Since the middle class cannot explain the financial failures that deplete their ranks, in spite of the practice of those capitalist virtues of industry, thrift and perseverance, they attribute their fate to the caprice of some supreme being who had foreordained these failures.

In this last fight of his career Bryan stood forth as the personification of all the ignorance, the hatred and the bigotry of a petty capitalist class desperately fighting for its life and losing its fight. Entering the "evolution" trial at Dayton, Tenn., as the chief prosecutor of those who teach our blood relationship to lower forms of life, he not only exposed his own shallowness, his astounding ignorance of everything that passes for education among intelligent people, but at the same time revealed the low state of mentality of the obnoxious crew that followed him for the past 30 years. His senseless, spread-eagle, flamboyant oratory could only evoke plaudits from such a class. He was absurdly puritanical, with all the viciousness of puritanism. In spite of his standing aghast before the threat of wars, in his seared heart there burned the fires of another inquisition, but his followers were not sufficiently numerous to start the conflagration.

But his god, the deity of the petty bourgeoisie, played its last ironic prank on this embattled crusader by snatching him from his followers at a most inauspicious time and in a most dramatic manner. Apparently enjoying robust health his sudden death following close upon the heels of the Dayton trial, surprised the nation. Many comic publications and some serious journals were forced to destroy thousands of copies of their publications because they did not deem it proper to circulate their lampoons against him after his death.

Surely no one but a thorough fundamentalist can explain the caprice of a God that will remove from the scene of battle his principal champion and leave the field to his enemies to gloat over their earthly triumph. About all that is now left for the fundamentalist ministers of the gospel is to console themselves by repeating the sombre litany of predestination and assert that their God "works in mysterious ways his wonders to perform."

As for us revolutionists, who have disposed of all gods, we view the demise of Bryan as heralding the death of the independent political movement of the petty bourgeoisie, whose champion he remained to the end, in spite of the fact that his most notable political achievement, attaining the position of secretary of state, forced him to play the role of unconscious flunkey of the House of Morgan.

THE BALKANS

The Political Situation in Greece.

By T. Gracchus (Athens).

I.

Since the commencement of the world war the political life of Greece has been subject to an uninterrupted series of upheavals which are still continuing at the present time. In view of the "neutral" policy of the king and his court during the world war, which in fact amounted to support of imperial Germany and behind which stood all the feudal landowners, the higher military authorities, already in 1915, considered it necessary to intervene in politics. The officers, who were in favour of Greece's entry into the world war, were strong opponents of the policy of the Court and co-operated with the Party of Venizelos which was an organ of French-Anglo capitalism. They placed themselves at the head of the anti-monarchist movement. But the seemingly "pacifist" policy of the Court during the great war secured for it a certain amount of sympathy among the broad sections of the population, and particularly among the peasantry.

The political life of Greece during the last few years centred round these two political parties: the Venizelos Military Party and the Monarchist Party. But after the defeat of Greece in Asia Minor in September 1922 the situation underwent a considerable change. Owing to the monarchist parties having continued the war policy of Venizelos, they became bankrupt in the eyes of the masses. The military clique seized power by a coup d'état and proclaimed the Republic. But after the collapse in Asia Minor they also proved themselves to be incapable of satisfying the most elementary requirements of the exploited masses and of the one and a half million refugees. Thus the masses of the people gradually lost their illusions regarding the bourgeois Republic.

Following the proclamation of the Republic the parliamentary elections took place in December 1923, in which the monarchist parties did not take part. A National Assembly was elected which consisted solely of representatives of the Republican Parties. In spite of the fact that the National Assembly consisted of the strongest elements of the bourgeoisie, it was unable to form a steady government. Over eighteen months have elapsed since the elections and in this time there have been no less than six governments.

Up till recently, until June 1925, the Michalakopoulos-Kondylis group was in power, which represented a monarchist-fascist tendency and which made use of all means in order to fight against the working and peasant class of Greece. In pursuance of this policy huge numbers of revolutionary workers were imprisoned, strikes were crushed by means of the army etc. This government, which was an organ of the big Anglo-American trusts, was overthrown in the last months by a declaration of the military clique. A new government came into power, at the head of which was General Pangalos, who had issued the declaration.

The new government announced that its aim was to support the interests of the people, to reorganise the army, to dissolve the National Assembly and to hold new elections according to the system of proportional representation. The chief of the government declared that he would liberate the imprisoned communists, as well as the workers and peasants, and reinstate those railway workers who had been dismissed from their positions by the former government on the occasion of the recent strike.

More than a month has passed and none of these promises have been fulfilled. On the contrary. Under the pressure of American capital, which in Greece is embodied before all in the "Refugees Settlement Commission" and the "Commission for Maintenance of the Refugees", the government threw numerous refugees who had sought shelter in wretched wooden houses, on the street.

It is very significant that the mass of the people have not participated in the continual military declarations and coup d'état which have led to the complete bankruptcy of parliamentarism in Greece. The masses who have been disappointed by all the bourgeois parties have, since the defeat in Asia Minor, begun to turn more and more to the Communist Party.

II.

The persecution of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Greece have resulted in the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as well as over 400 members of the Party and sympathisers, being thrown into prison; more than 250 are now exiled on various little islands in the Aegean Sea.

The whole Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Central Committee of the Young Communist Federation, the Central Committee of the International Red Aid, the Secretary and also two members of the Committee of the General Trade Union Federation, the chairman and secretary of the Athenian trade unions, four editors of the official daily paper of the Party, "Rizospastis", and a number of other functionaries of various workers' organisations, have been and are being prosecuted on the charge of high treason on account of the agitation of the Party for "a free and independent Macedonia and Thrace". All this only refers to the persecutions in Athens. In the provinces the situation is even more terrible. In Salonika during the past month nine comrades were condemned to 132 years imprisonment for their participation in the Macedonian liberation movement. In Larissa, Missolongi and in Patras the military courts have been exclusively engaged in condemning communists.

On the occasion of the expulsion of the orthodox Patriarch from Constantinople, who was an agent of the Greek bourgeoisie, a new war threatened to break out between Greece and Turkey which was only averted by the courageous attitude of the Communist Party and the organisation of the ex-service men who co-operated with it. As a result of this attitude, persecutions set in in Athens and in other places. In various towns it came to bloody collisions.

Since the founding of the Greek State — that is, since the war of independence of 1821 — the land has belonged to the rich land owners, the "Tsiflikades". For years past the poor peasants in all districts, and especially in Thessaly, have been carrying on a bitter struggle for the expropriation of the "Tsifliks", as the estates of these landowners are called. During the past months the poor peasants and ex-service men from various towns and villages of Thessaly have taken possession of a number of "Tsifliks" and parcelled them out themselves among the poor peasants. This again has led to bloody encounters and further imprisonments, as for example in Larissa, Trikala and Livadia.

The soldiers who sympathise with our party are condemned to compulsory labour. In June the military court of Salonika condemned eighteen soldiers to terms ranging from eighteen months to 10 years imprisonment, solely because they had read the Communist organ "Rizospastis". The sale of "Rizospastis" is prohibited in various parts of Eastern Macedonia. Our Communist monthly journal and the fortnightly organ of the Youth League can only be circulated with the greatest difficulty.

These and other circumstances have created a very difficult and extraordinary situation for our young Party. Our Party in recent times has greatly increased its influence upon all sections of the population. The trade union movement is completely in our hands, the same applies to the movement of the ex-service men. The bourgeois press is crying out that the "Communist Bacilli" has already penetrated into every hut in Thessaly and that the Communist paper "Rizospastis" has a greater circulation in Macedonia than any Athenian paper. The refugees, who on their arrival in Greece were dominated by a nationalist spirit and a spirit of revenge against Turkey, have now, after three years during which they have been neglected by all the bourgeois governments, begun to turn to our Party.

The Treachery of Raditch.

By S. Boschkovitch.

The terror elections of February 1925 showed clearly the strength of the Croatian national and peasant movement. The Serbian Paschitch government did not succeed in breaking the Croatian Republican Peasant Party. Despite the raging white terror, the arrest of its leaders, the prohibition of its newspapers etc., the C. R. P. P. did not only maintain its position but won tens of thousands of new fighters. When the Serbian government convinced itself in practice that it was not so easy to break the C. R. P. P., it abandoned its terror policy and adopted a new policy, the policy of agreements.

The big peasant elements which rally around the Croatian agricultural co-operatives and which feared to take up the struggle with the peasant masses against the white terror of the Serbian hangmen, hastened to the assistance of the Pachitch government. With their class interests in view, the big peasants under the leadership of Paul Raditch utilised the illegality of the party to open up negotiations with the government in March of this year. The commencement of these negotiations was the traitorous speech of Paul Raditch in the Belgrade parliament on the 27th March in which amongst other things he said:

"We recognise the general political situation created by the Vidovdan constitution and also the Karageorgevitch dynasty. Relying upon a positive policy being in harmony with the clear will of the Croatian people, which has already expressed its will on three occasions at the elections, we declare that we have never fought against our state and its interests... With regard to the Peasant International, all information corroborates our standpoint that the Peasant International has nothing in common with the Communist International. The C. R. P. P. has not yet attached itself de facto to the new international and we have accepted no obligation towards it. We will prove this at the first opportunity."

These negotiations lasted approximately four months in the interests of a "general national understanding". In reality however, it was quickly shown that it was nothing more nor less than a complete capitulation before the Serbian government. During the course of these negotiations the official representatives of the C. R. P. P. have often declared: 1. that the Croatian people recognise the Serbian monarchy. 2. that the Croatian people recognise the Serbian rule of terror set up by the Vidovdan Constitution and that they abandon the struggle for the right to self-determination and abandon also the struggle for an independent Croatian republic, and 3. that the Croatian people surrender the brotherly alliance with the workers and peasants of the world which expressed itself in the affiliation of the C. R. P. P. to the Peasant International.

Only the press of the Croatian big bourgeoisie and the pan-Serbian radical party welcomed this new orientation of the C. R. P. P. with enthusiasm. With regard to the left wing of the Croatian bourgeoisie, it always mistrusted to a certain extent the policy of Paul Raditch, not that it would be against the policy of agreement, but because the representatives of the C. R. P. P. sell themselves too cheaply. The "Hrvat" the organ of this left wing of the Croatian bourgeoisie (Dr. Trumbitch, Dr. Lorkovitch and others) writes:

"We were always supporters of the national understanding between the Croats and the Serbs, for by means of such an understanding the questions of the internal construction of the Yugoslavian state can be solved, a construction which will demand the utmost efforts of the Croatian people... We are against the "Pachitch Agreement" because we do not believe that this agreement will satisfy the minimum demands of the Croats, demands which they cannot surrender unless they wish to surrender their existence."

During these negotiations the peasants have written in their letters to the Zagreb workers organ "Radnicka Borba" (Workers Struggle) amongst other things:

"The peasantry is indignant about this treachery of its leaders. It is indignant about the shameful attitude of its representatives in the Belgrade parliament who permitted Pachitch to harness them as willing pack horses to his wagon... The Croatian peasantry does not accept the policy of its representatives, it will not follow this way, it remains true to the fight for the Croatian republic and the right of self-determination of the Croats."

This spirit of the broad masses of the peasantry was also expressed in the new Croatian newspaper "Krestyanskaya Mysl" (The Peasant Idea) which represents the former programme of the C. R. P. P. and carries on a merciless struggle against the traitors to the Croatian liberation movement. The left elements of the C. R. P. P. which remain loyal to the programme of the party and the decisions of the 8th December 1920 which demanded the proclamation of an independent Croatian republic gather around this paper.

As is known, the negotiations between the representatives of the C. R. P. P. and Pachitch ended with the complete capitulation

of the C. R. P. P. before the pan-Serbian Pachitch government, with an amnesty for Stephen Raditch and with the entry of four representatives of the C. R. P. P. into the government. In consequence, the most important demands of the C. R. P. P. were not fulfilled. Croatia received no autonomy, the peasantry received no land and even the revision of the Vidovdan "constitution" was postponed. All objective conditions for the growth of the Croatian national and peasant movement remain as they were.

The treachery of Stephen Raditch has already led to the withdrawal of many members from the Croatian Peasant Club. On the 14th July a session of the club took place at which the treacherous policy of Raditch was sharply criticised. Five members of parliament voted against the policy of Paul and Stephen Raditch and left the club (Basal, Lorkovitch, Politch, Trumbitch and Schanitch). These members of parliament issued an appeal in which they declared that the negotiations between Raditch and the Pachitch government had been carried on without the knowledge and without the consent of the Croatian Peasant Club. On the 19th July, the committee of the Croatian Union in Zagreb adopted a resolution in which the new and traitorous policy of the party leaders was rejected. Apart from the five members of parliament mentioned, the following Croatian peasant members of parliament later declared themselves against the block of Pachitch and Raditch in a session of the Croatian Peasant Club, and left the club: Uroitch, Butch, Troyanovitch and Yagaschitch. The withdrawal of still further Croatian peasant members of parliament from the club is expected.

Although a few cowardly hangers-on of the Croatian liberation movement may have left the Peasant International, the whole Croatian peasantry remains in the ranks of the Peasant International and will fight with it further until the final victory of the toiling masses over their enemies.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the French Bank Clerks.

By E. L. .ng.

The bank clerks of France are among the worst paid employees. The monthly salary of an unmarried bank clerk amounts to 450 francs. A married clerk draws a salary, including allowances for wife and children, of 580 francs a month. The salaries of the women clerks are, on the average, half that of their male colleagues. As the French franc only possesses a quarter of its pre-war value, the purchasing power of the above mentioned salaries is of course very small. The official index of wholesale prices for the end of July amounted to 569 compared with 554 at the end of June and 531 at the end of May (the figure for 1914 is reckoned as 100). The discontent regarding the miserable wage conditions has already for long past found expression in various local actions. On the 24th of July the employees of the Paris Banque Nationale de Credit demanded an increase in their salaries of 100 francs a month. As the management was only prepared to grant an allowance of 45 francs on account of high prices, the staff immediately ceased work. This was the signal for the great strike movement which rapidly spread to all the important bank concerns in France and which is still spreading.

The fight, which is being carried on with great bitterness, has already led to several severe collisions between the demonstrating strikers and the police. At the head of the action there stands a national strike committee comprising two representatives of the Catholic Clerks' Federation, two representatives of the National Federation of Independent Bank and Stock Exchange Clerks, two representatives of the Federation of Financial Clerks (reformist Union) and two representatives of the Unitarian Clerks' Federation (red union); in addition to this there is a representative of the Paris strike committee and a representative of the strikers in the provinces. Up till now all negotiations, which have been conducted either directly or indirectly with the managements, have been abortive. Although the mass of the bank clerks lack any fighting tradition, and although a considerable portion of them are bourgeois and even nationalistically inclined, the duration of the struggle has not yet given rise to any depression. On the contrary, the fighting spirit of the strikers increases from day to day and with it there is growing

the solidarity of the workers, officials and other clerks. The action has long grown beyond a simple wages struggle. The demands of the strikers no longer relate merely to an increase in salaries; the wage demands have been supplemented by a number of principle demands.

At the time of writing the struggle is still proceeding with all fierceness. The issue of the struggle will show what real force the bank clerks will be able to bring against the powerful financial capital which controls the government and the State. The Unitarian Clerks' Federation occupies a leading position in the struggle, and it is clear that the movement will not be without influence in bringing about trade union unity. Further, the fight will also cause ideological changes among the mass of the bank clerks. As French finance capital is the most interested party and the chief instigator in the Moroccan campaign, the fight of the bank employees must be regarded as being objectively also a fight against the imperialist expansion of French finance capital.

The International Conference of the Workers in the Chemical Industry.

By A. Ketzlik (Vienna).

The Factory Workers International has instructed the various groups attached to it to hold special conferences for the discussion of questions in connection with their trades. In consequence the International Conference of the Workers in the Chemical Industry was held in Vienna from the 27 to the 29th July.

The conference dealt with the conditions of wages and health.

Brey (Germany) showed, excluding Russia, the value of wages according to purchasing power in the various capitalist states. In England an hour's wages purchased 6000 grams (approximately 13 English pounds) of bread or 250 grams of butter (slightly over half a pound); in Germany 1,600 grams of bread or 160 grams of butter; and in Austria 1,300 grams of bread or 130 Grams of butter. England occupies the first place on the scale of wages, and Austria the last. The speaker declared that the wages in the chemical industry in all countries were not sufficient to cover the needs of a worker and his family and that the working conditions in many cases exercised a deteriorating effect upon the health of the workers. He demanded that the conference instruct the participating trade unions to aim at obtaining a sufficient minimum wage in the chemical industry and that for shift workers' one completely free day a week with a pause of at least 36 hours should be assured. And he declared in conclusion that such demands could only be put forward with energy and success by strong and well founded trade unions.

The Russian delegates, comrades Dobrovolski and Smoiianski, showed the great differences between the working conditions in the Soviet Union and in capitalist countries. The Russian working class stands on the second rung from the top of the wages ladder and the first in connection with working conditions. For an hour's work the Russian worker receives 3,600 grams of bread or 200 grams of butter. The weekly working hours total 46. In the shops were work injurious to health is carried on the working hours are 7 per day, and in the white lead shops only 2 hours per day. The legal holiday with pay, to which every worker is entitled after a year, is two weeks, and in the dangerous shops, four weeks. Pregnant women are given two months leave of absence before the confinement and two months afterwards, the legal holidays are not included in this time which of course is fully paid. Apart from the state rest homes, the trade union of the Russian factory workers has 60 rest homes of its own through which yearly about 50,000 workers pass. Sick workers are taken to the Sanatoria in the Crimea. The sickness pay is the full pay of the particular worker and is paid during the whole period of the sickness. The social insurance contributions are not paid by the workers, but by the employers (State and private undertakings) and amount to from 15 to 20 percent of the wages.

The reformist speaker Haupt paid no attention at all in his report on wages and working conditions, to the wage and working conditions in Soviet Russia. He deliberately excluded Soviet Russia and had to be reminded by the Russian delegates

that such a place as Soviet Russia existed, that it occupied one sixth of the area of the globe and offered the best working conditions.

In Soviet Russia there is the proletarian dictatorship so much hated by Haupt and his friends together with all bourgeois and reactionary elements, and there are the revolutionary trade unions under the leadership of the communists which they fear so much. Therefore the bourgeois social democratic reporter Haupt considered it inexpedient to mention the wages and conditions of work of the Russian comrades. On the other hand he considered it necessary to attack the communists with the usual social democratic demagoguery. In his concluding speech Haupt declared that "everywhere where the communist agitation commenced, the strength of the trade union struggle was weakened". The reformist Haupt can only imagine a "trade union" struggle carried on by the reformist "well founded" trade unions for which he appealed, and not by a fighting organisation as demanded by Marx and Lenin and by the communists.

Therefore the motion of the Russian delegates for the acceptance of the Russian factory workers union into the international was rejected by Haupt and Co., with the most ridiculous reasons, saying that not the international conference of the workers in the chemical industry, but the international Congress of the factory workers was competent to decide the question. The latter takes place next year. It of course did not occur to the trade union bureaucrats that the Conference might at least have recommended the request of the Russian delegates for acceptance to this Congress. That characterises once again the ideas of the reformists upon the united front. The secretary of the International Stenhuis then crowned this attitude by rejecting the proposal of the Russian delegates that the secretariat of the factory workers international should take up an attitude with regard to the acceptance of the Russian unions. His reason was that not the secretariat of the factory workers international, but only the International Federation of Trade Unions was the competent body for this. Naturally, the Amsterdammers will find ways and means to postpone the acceptance of the Russian Unions still further.

The international conference of the workers in the chemical industry held in Vienna brought nothing for the workers but the usual social democratic bloodless speeches. All the demands set up by the conference will remain on paper owing to the social democratic practice and tactics. The practical aim of the social democratic conference was to create the "well founded" trade unions demanded by Haupt in order to have once again a broad basis of reformist unions as support, and to prevent the acceptance of the Russian unions in the international by which the international trade union unity of international fighting organisations is to be hindered.

The working class of the chemical industry in the individual capitalist countries wants to reach the exemplary Russian working conditions. It knows that it can only do this through the revolutionary unity of revolutionary fighting organisations. The sabotage of the social democratic leadership will be overcome by the pressure of the chemical workers in the various capitalist countries and the demand of the Russian delegates will be carried out for they are necessary for the existence of the proletarian workers.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Fight against Provocation in Poland.

By Kavolski (Warsaw).

In white Poland provocation has become a system. The past year was especially rich in cases of provocation and espionage. Fabrication of forged documents, bomb outrages arranged by spies, and in the first place the penetration by spies into the workers' organisations, are assuming the dimensions of an epidemic.

The Communist Party of Poland, which has opposed to it the government of white terror and the whole of bourgeois society, including the social patriots, is being very severely hit by the criminal system of provocation.

The Communist Party does not advocate individual terror; it realises the futility of this method of struggle and the dangers it involves. But the Communist Party is proud of the fact that

the working class is proceeding to self-defence against provocation; that brave people from its ranks are taking up an active fight against provocation, in order to warn the enemy and to rid the working class of this burdensome horror which has been oppressing it for years, and in this manner to render it capable of revolutionary mass struggles.

Some months ago two miners of Sosnowice, Hajczyk and Pilarczyk, after a heroic defence lasting several hours, were killed by the forces of the bourgeoisie with poison gas on account of their fight against the provocateurs. A year ago, comrade Engl, a youth of 19 years, was executed in Lodz for having killed a spy. But the bloody sentences have not frightened the communists from their fight against provocation. On the contrary, in the place of those who have been murdered fresh heroic workers come forward who raise high the banner of the self-defence of the working class.

Vladislav Hübner, for years a champion of the working class movement, a great favourite of the Lodz proletariat, former secretary of the trade union council, an inflexible and staunch communist, had, along with two other young communists, Knievski and Rutkovsky, taken upon himself the task of removing a specially dangerous provocateur. The fight between the communists and the band of spies and police lasted several hours. They killed one of their opponents and wounded several others. Streaming with blood they fell into the hands of the police. Their deed called forth the fury of the ruling class and the veneration and admiration of the working class.

Scarcely had the blood of these heroic workers dried in the streets of Warsaw when the government thought it would be able to terrorise the working class by means of wholesale arrests and threats of special courts, against the three champions. Almost at the same moment there fell in Lemberg from the bullets of a young communist, comrade Bottwin, the basest of provocateurs Cechnovski, who was deeply hated by the working class of Poland and who, in his time, had delivered the revolutionary officers Vieczorkievicz and Baginski to the hangman.

The press, the mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie, bemoaned the death of the spy, holding him up as a national hero and demanded Bottwin's blood. The government carried out the will of the possessing class. Thus there again fell a victim of proletarian self-defence.

The thousands of workers who assembled in the streets of Lemberg before the Court on the day when the trial of Bottwin took place, and the ferment within the working class of the whole country are sufficient proof that the act of Bottwin was not the action of an isolated revolutionary, but the expression of the growing fighting spirit of the great masses of workers, who are taking up active self-defence. This is also confirmed by the attitude of the Polish Socialist Party. These social traitors immediately ranged themselves on the side of the government of white terror and denied the right of the communists to act in self-defence. But under the pressure of the working masses and the ferment in their own ranks, they were finally compelled to stigmatise the crimes of the government and to make at least a show of defending Bottwin.

The government and the ruling classes of Poland are preparing further executions of the heroes of the working class. The trials which are commencing in Poland are not only the affair of the Polish proletariat but the affair of the proletariat of the whole world. There in the dock will appear the bravest of our class who wished to wrest from the hands of the enemy the most terrible weapon it has in its fight against the working class. The Polish government is here fighting for the right to continue the system of provocation. The international proletariat must protect the advance-guard in its self-defensive struggle and wrest this weapon from the hands of its enemy.

There was a time when the abominable system of provocation employed by the Tsarist government called forth the indignation and the hate not only of the working class, but also of such circles which were in no way connected with the revolutionary movement. Today these circles of "democracy" gladly join their "cry of protest" to the campaign which is being conducted by the white guardists against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, against the workers' Republic which has left not one trace remaining of the Tsarist system of espionage, of provocation and torture. The help and the fight of the international proletariat for the brave fighters against the system of provocation must therefore be all the more active and determined.

RED AID

Rescue the Victims of the Polish Murder Justice.

To the Toilers of the World!

New death sentences are about to be pronounced in Poland!

On the 19th of August three workers, Hübner, Knievsky and Rutkovsky will appear before the Military Court of Warsaw. They who defended their liberty and their lives are formally charged with having shot or wounded some police. In reality they appear before the court on account of the crimes of the Polish government. The Polish government itself is driving the workers and peasants to acts of desperation, for which it then causes workers to be shot. The Polish government is converting the class struggle of the workers and peasants into a series of acts of terror and bloody fights by employing the vilest system of provocation.

Bottwin, a youth of twenty years, was executed in Lemberg for having murdered the police spy Cechnovsky, one of the most abominable criminals who have ever been in the pay of the Polish justice. Cechnovsky himself organised provocatory acts of terror; he himself supplied bombs — there fell as a victim of one of his bombs a Professor of the Warsaw University. As a result of the provocation of Cechnovsky there was commenced the trial of Vieczorkievicz and Baginski, who were condemned to death but afterwards granted an amnesty, as they were to be exchanged for white guardist prisoners held by the Soviet government, but later were foully murdered by a police officer Muraschko. Right up to the last Cechnovsky was at the head of the army of provocateurs and spies who inmeshed hundreds and thousands of workers in the factories and workshops in a net of betrayal. Cechnovsky came forward at trials in order to make perjurious statements against persons innocently accused.

The three young workers who are to stand before the Military Court are "guilty" because they attempted to murder a provocateur who is bespattered with the blood of innocent workers. The Polish government knows how to defend criminal provocateurs. It did not deliver the foul murderer Muraschko to the Military Court or threaten him with the death penalty. But the three Warsaw workers, Hübner, Knievsky and Rutkovsky are threatened with the death penalty. These young workers, streaming with blood, were tortured by the police for days in order to compel them to become betrayers and informers. The young heroes endured the tortures. The hangmen of the Polish government have covered themselves with fresh shame.

We appeal to all members of the Red Aid, to all workers and peasants, to all those in whom honour and conscience still live, to raise their voice against the fresh attempts at murder of workers on the part of the Polish government, to protest against the Warsaw blood justice!

We demand that the court martial proceedings against Hübner, Knievsky and Rutkovsky be abandoned!

Shame on the vile hangmen, shame on the government of provocation and murder!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

Long live the International Red Aid!

Moscow, 14th of August 1925.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

The Amnesty Campaign in Germany.

By H. Tittel (Berlin).

The amnesty campaign conducted by the "Red Aid" has been mobilising for months millions of workers in town and country. During the last two months approximately 1500 large works and factories, and local trade union organisations, have passed resolutions in favour of a complete amnesty. This fact is the more significant that the work being done by the "Red Aid" has everywhere encountered the opposition of the social democratic leaders and functionaries, and above all of the whole German SP. press. About 40 municipal and urban councils

have accepted the communist motions for the amnesty, and have passed these on as demands to the governments of the German republic and of the provinces. Besides this, in many places the workers have organised street demonstrations under the leadership of the "Red Aid".

The "Red Aid" amnesty campaign received fresh and powerful impetus through the collection of signatures.

On 20. June of this year the Central Committee of the "Red Aid" issued an appeal to the German working class, and to all workers' associations, to collect signatures for the purpose of proving to the government and to the Reichstag fractions that there is a widespread demand and desire among the people, not only in the working class, but far beyond it, to rectify the injustice of political class legislation by a complete amnesty. These signatures for the demand of a complete amnesty are collected on lists specially issued for the purpose; they circulate in works and factories, trade unions, and from house to house, and are to be certified by the factory councils, house owners, or chairmen of the municipal or other councils.

The "Red Aid" organisation in Germany has only existed as independent organisation since 1. October 1924.

Despite the comparatively slight organisatory influence, and of the comparatively small organisatory apparatus, the results of the signature collection can already be designated as excellent. One month's work for this collection has enabled almost one million signatures to be collected amongst all strata of the population.

The partial results of the signature collection already published shows that great sympathy exists in the population for the demand of a complete amnesty. That the results differ greatly in the different districts is due to the fact that the zeal of the members varies. **Württemberg**, which has suffered most of all under the persecutions of class legislation — even the "Red Aid" is here subjected to such petty persecutions that legal activity has become almost impossible — has despite this collected almost as many signatures as the Communist Party had votes at the last election to the presidency. The **Düsseldorf** district, on the other hand, though possessing a much stronger "Red Aid" organisation and above all a much stronger Communist Party, has up to now only succeeded in collecting not quite a third of the number of signatures which would correspond to the number of votes cast for the Communist Party at the election to the presidency.

There is no doubt whatever that this collection of signatures has been the means of winning over for the "Red Aid" hundreds of thousands of people who have hitherto been passive, or even hostile, to our propaganda. In **Thuringia** and **Württemberg** signatures have even been obtained from peasants organised in the reactionary agrarian federation. In **Hamburg** a teacher sympathising with the movement circulated a list among his colleagues, with the result that the whole of the 16 teachers of the school concerned gave their signatures.

A partial result published after the first few days of the collection in **Stuttgart** showed that out of 5636 signatures 471 had been given by members of the CP. of Germany, 115 German SP., 10 National Liberal, 10 Centre, 9 Democrats, 2 Bavarian Peasants' League, and 5015 non-party. Doubtless many of signatories preserved silence as to their association with a party, and were thus counted to the non-partisans. A partial result from **Gleivitz** in Upper Silesia is similar. Out of 1698 signatures 1499 were non-party, the others belonging 123 to the German CP., 36 to the German SP., 19 to the Centre Party, 14 to the German National People's Party, 3 to the Democrats, 2 to the National Socialists, 1 to the Polish People's Party, and 1 to the German National Party. In **Leipzig**, a stronghold of the Socialist Party, 40 to 50% of the signatures are given from social democratic workers.

These examples prove in themselves the enormous importance of this campaign for the collection of signatures. Quite apart from the fact that this collection of signatures exercises a pressure, which is not to be underestimated, upon the extent of the amnesty, it is of very great propagandist importance for the "Red Aid" organisation.

OUR MARTYRS

The Martyr Death of Comrade Bottwin.

By Hirny (Lemberg).

Moscow, 7th August 1925.

On the 5th of August there commenced in Lemberg the trial of the Communist, Comrade Bottwin, who shot the police spy Cechnovski. Bottwin bore himself bravely before the military court. He declared that he shot Cechnovski as a convinced communist because the latter was a loathsome agent provocateur.

On the 6th of August Bottwin, after the announcement of the death sentence was executed by being shot.

Naphtali Bottwin, a leather work of twenty years of age who shot *Cechnovski*, a Polish provocateur, in the street in **Lemberg**, was executed on the 6th of August at 1.15 in the afternoon in the "Brygidge" prison yard in Lemberg.

Comrade Bottwin behaved before the white guardist court and immediately before his execution like a true hero. The proud face of this youthful hero remained quite calm when the death sentence was pronounced.

"I am a Communist", he said to his white guardist judges, "and I do not repent having shot a provocateur". When Bottwin was asked as to who were his accomplices, he replied: "I alone bear the responsibility for my deed." He did not betray anybody. The Polish police attempted to besmirch the name of this hero and spread reports that Bottwin had betrayed his comrades. This is a base lie. Up to the last moment of his short life this youthful hero thought of the Communist Party and the Communist ideal. His face beamed with inward joy as, when standing on the place of execution, he met the eyes of hundreds of political prisoners who were looking out at him from their cells and called out to him their last greetings. "I am happy", he said to his defender Dr. Axer, "this is the most beautiful hour of my life".

Bottwin's life was gloomy and indescribably sad. The life of a real proletarian child. Born in 1905 in a small town of Galicia, he lost his father at a very early age. After passing the third standard of the elementary school he had to commence work in order to support his mother and seven brothers and sisters. As a boy of thirteen he sold cigarettes and later became an apprentice to a boot-maker.

In 1923 he became a member of the Communist Youth and at the end of 1924 a member of the Communist Party. He was very active in the Leather Worker's Trade Union. On July 28th he shot **Cechnovski**, a blood-stained, abominable agent provocateur. Bottwin became the revenger of the working class of Poland. His bullet killed the betrayer of the cause of the workers, the most dangerous provocateur, who for years had done great damage to the Communist Party and had caused the death of some of our best comrades.

The news of **Cechnovski's** death spread like wild-fire through all the working class quarters of Poland. The workers of **Warsaw**, **Lodz**, etc. rejoiced. The blood of **Baginski** and **Vieczorkiewicz** was at last revenged.

Bottwin showed us how a communist should behave before his class enemies, how a communist should die! With proud courage, head erect and beaming eyes, Bottwin went to the wall where eight soldiers with loaded rifles stood facing him. He showed the rabbi the door when the latter came to his cell. He sings the "International". This youth of twenty years does not allow his eyes to be bandaged. "Long live the revolution! Long live Communism! Down with the bourgeoisie!", are his last words. Eight shots ring out and **Bottwin** falls to the ground.

All present are deeply moved, even the class enemies. The defenders weep. Above, in the cells, the political prisoners sing the "International" with trembling voices and call out: "We will revenge your heroic death and your blood." "Down with the bourgeoisie!"

Bottwin is not dead. His spirit is immortal. He lives in us. His name is enshrined in the hearts of the proletarians of Poland and of the whole world.

Honour to the memory of the young hero!

ORGANISATION

Factory Newspapers.

By D. Kostolansky.

Factory newspapers are an innovation in the life of the Communist Parties of the West. They had their origin on the revolutionary soil of the Soviet Union in the form of wall-newspapers. During the last year they crossed the boundary which separates the proletarian European East from the capitalist West, assuming the form or cyclostyled factory newspapers and becoming a form of agitation, propaganda and organisation which is daily gaining in importance.

The resolution adopted at the Organisation Conference in connection with factory newspapers (this resolution was endorsed by the Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I.) sums up the experience of those parties which have been able to a certain extent to create a network of factory newspapers. Among these Parties were first and foremost the Communist Parties of Germany, France, and to a certain extent also Czechoslovakia, Italy and Austria. At present this network has been considerably extended. The idea of factory newspapers has also already been put into practice in the British Isles, in the U. S. A. etc., and more and more sections of the Communist International begin to take in hand the establishment of factory nuclei and also of factory newspapers.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that factory newspapers are indispensable without nuclei. This shows that factory newspapers are the organs of factory nuclei "by means of which the latter get into touch with the workers in the factories, getting to know them better and exercising Communist influence, all of which helps to draw larger sections of manual and office workers into the political life of the country" (extract from the Resolution adopted at the Org. Conference). For this reason factory newspapers must make it clear that they are organs of the Party nucleus. Unfortunately, the experiences hitherto at our disposal have shown that this was not always the case. For instance in Great Britain the first factory newspapers were published without indicating that they are the organs of the nuclei, without producing the impression that they are Party newspapers. This was the case with the "Nine Elms Spark". Of course now even most of our British comrades understand, that this was a mistake, especially over there in Great Britain where the Party is confronted with the great task of making organisational capital out of the sympathy of the masses, in order thereby to transform the small Party into a mass Party.

Considerable time elapsed, before the factory nuclei and also Party Executives hit upon the right way to publish a factory newspaper, capable of doing justice to the manifold tasks confronting it. Everyone understood that factory newspapers cannot and must not be a replica of ordinary Party newspapers. But what the difference between these two forms of newspapers should be, gave rise to many discussions. In many cases it was thought that it was enough to draw the workers of the enterprise into the work connected with the publication of the factory newspapers and to deal with the current political questions in the simple terms and forms of speech used by these workers, whilst leaving the responsibility for the publication of the factory newspaper to the Party Committee.

Such tendencies could be especially observed in France. Here factory newspapers were made up from one centre for a number of enterprises. This explains why even the outside appearance of French factory newspapers became almost uniform, and why the same headings and titles are to be found almost in all factory newspapers. Although in many cases the workers employed in the enterprises contributed to the newspapers, it was obvious that the latter could not do justice to the tasks awaiting them. They were not blood of the blood nor flesh of the flesh of the factory. They did not breathe in the air of the factory, they were strangers to the everyday life of the factory. In this respect even now everything is not as it should be. If for instance we peruse the factory newspapers "Le Drapeau Rouge" on the Schneider Creusot Works, we must admit that factory questions are only given second place, whilst the first stage is devoted to a political survey which is too general and is not connected with the life of the factory. Moreover, the so-called factory questions such as the question of locomotives in the last number, are frequently not concrete enough to persuade the indifferent worker that the conclusions made by us are correct also from his standpoint. Of the French news-

papers much the best in this respect is "L'Idée Nouvelle" published by the factory nucleus of the "Maison Thomson-Houston".

In many factories in Germany and in the first factory newspapers in Great Britain and Czechoslovakia we observe other forms of deviations. The idea prevailed that ordinary Party newspapers deal with political questions, hence it is not necessary for factory newspapers to deal with them, and all our attention should be concentrated on the economic questions within the factory by which means the interest of the masses in the newspaper should be aroused. In some places one went even so far as merely to register factory events (this was done for instance in the first British factory newspaper) without showing the slightest intention to explain these events from a Communist viewpoint. This tendency exists to a certain extent even now. If one peruses for instance the "Nine Elms Spark" (of which already about seven numbers have been published) one cannot help noticing a trade-unionist deviation. The so-called "factory nucleus newspapers" of Germany, which are in fact nothing but organs of the trade union opposition, as for instance the "Leder-Prolet" are also to a certain extent tainted with this tendency: to issue wages and taxes slogans.

The Organisation Conference condemned both tendencies and made it incumbent on factory newspapers to deal with all questions "in a simple and concise manner to illustrate questions in a way to allow workers to draw from them political conclusions quite simply and naturally, to avoid abstract subjects, to deal with everything in a concrete manner, to describe conflicts between workers and employers, and incidents from the life of the working class, and to avoid a stereotyped style in the factory newspapers".

One should bear in mind that factory newspapers are to appeal to the indifferent masses who have frequently a very perverted notion about Communists and who never or hardly ever read Communist newspapers and literature. The task of factory newspapers is to win the masses for the Communist Party, for the struggle of the working class. Therefore one should not allow the small everyday questions of the factory to obscure the wide perspectives of Communism. Therefore it is essential, as shown by the decisions of the Org. Conference, to connect the small factory questions with the big political questions confronting the Party and to explain them to the masses. This connection of political incidents with factory incidents affecting the workers directly has been achieved with considerable success by the German "Leuna-Prolet" which contained the following statement in an article entitled "Easter Reminiscences":

"Easter, four years ago in 1921 the Red Leuna Fortress surrendered. I recall this event with pleasure, for I myself was a bestial hireling in the force of the green "Schipo" (secret police) beasts. We did terrible bloody work in these Easter days. It gave us extreme pleasure to give these revolutionary proletarians a taste of what we could do. We made them stand for hours with their arms raised, we kept them also for hours on their knees. We beat them with our fists, we belaboured them with the butt-end of our rifles, and made them the butt of our sadist propensities. Even today it gives me satisfaction to recall how these proletarians weltered in their blood, now they lay before us with broken eyes and smashed skulls. Today their bodies must have rotted long ago on the Goelitzsch geese pasture. And these others whom we compelled to drill and to sing the national hymn "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles" ("Germany above all"), had to be witness of all this. We struck them in the face whenever we felt inclined, it was a regular treat for us. We had to take the Red swine to the Silo, a cellar without windows, much too soon, we would have liked to have had them in our power longer.

Hoersing told us explicitly: the bloodier the first day, the better for your pocket. He was right, I will never forget the glorious Easter of 1921, and the splendid red blood. To revive these glorious conditions I invite all sadists to vote on April 26th for the mass assassin, Hindenburg."

Of course not every factory has such a revolutionary past as the Leuna Works. But on the other hand, there are in every factory everyday questions of all kinds which can be easily collected with general political questions. When for instance the "Bergprolet", the organ of the Bubiag Works nucleus, attacks the "watchdog Tomschke", the overseer, and urges the workers to join trade unions in order united "to show the teeth to these creatures" — then connection between factory questions and a general Slogan of the Party has been established.

The outward appearance of factory newspapers can contribute a great deal to the capture of the indifferent masses. Our

experience on the field of agitation and propaganda shows what great impression can be made on the masses by caricatures and good illustrations. In Germany the factory newspapers used caricatures and illustrations with great effect. We will give as an example the illustration of the factory newspaper of the "Horsch Works", the "Rote Stern" which shows in two pictures that the same capitalism, which drove in 1914-18 the proletarians dressed in soldiers uniform into the fratricidal struggle, is driving now the proletariat to bear the burdens of the Dawes Plan. This is also partly the case in France, whilst the factory newspapers of other countries including Great Britain, did not know until quite recently how to make use of this form of agitation in the factory newspapers. Unfortunately the caricatures concerned themselves only with general political questions, although it is obvious that for instance caricatures of unpopular foremen or managers and also caricatures, branding certain odious factory conditions, would appeal to the average worker. Humour is also a good form of agitation. It is a frequent occurrence that humour is overdone in factory newspapers, but a certain kind of humour is essential.

The prologue which was published in the third number of the *Leuna-Prolet* can serve as an example:

"In building Nr. 6 the machinery was being painted, a foreman had already given it a coat of minium (red oxide of lead), and the building was resplendent with red. Machenheimer, the overseer, wearing steel helmet and swastice (fascist badge) came upon the scene and saw the machinery. He called the foreman, and several workers were witnesses of the following conversation:

Machenheimer: Why is the machinery looking so red?

Foreman: It was given a coat of minium.

Machenheimer: Had it to be red?

Foreman: But minium is red.

Machenheimer: But you know that I do not tolerate anything red, that I throw out all red elements, how could you deliberately use this colour?

Foreman: But, Sir, I cannot help minium being red.

Machenheimer (excitedly): I ask you once and for all not to take such independent action in the future. Have the machinery immediately painted black and ring me up when this is done."

Factory newspapers riled the employers and their lackeys from the beginning. With all means and power at their disposal they tried to find out who the damned editors of these obnoxious wall-newspapers were, in order to punish them and to frighten factory nuclei into ceasing to publish such papers in future. The editors of factory newspapers were not only simply dismissed, but dragged into court and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. This happened for instance in Hamburg and in the Ruhr Basin. In a big Berlin enterprise the chairman of the Factory Council was dismissed on the mere suspicion of having edited the factory newspaper. His dismissal had the support of the Berlin Police Presidium (this affair was investigated in the 8th Chamber of the Industrial Court in accordance with the Law Statute 1772/24).

As a result of this, factory nuclei decided from the beginning to published factory newspapers illegally. They had to be very cautious in their collection of the necessary publishing material. The newspapers had to be made up secretly, and the circulation had to be arranged in such a way as not to expose our comrades to the danger of being caught by the detectives working for the employer and the State. It is obvious why such caution was necessary. Nuclei and factory newspapers pursued the aim of establishing the closest possible contact with the masses. But if our class enemies succeed in removing the most active elements from the factories, our work becomes much more difficult. To prevent this, nuclei should not work too openly and factory newspapers should be published illegally.

The fact that factory newspapers have to be published illegally in the capitalist countries, contributes to many of them having rather humorous headings and signatures'. Particularly German factory newspapers excel in this. For instance, in the usual place for address of the editorial board we read: Editorial Board "On the Moon", or the address of the manager of the police is given. The editor is either "Look for him" or also "His honour the General Manager", etc. In the place where it is generally stated how often the paper is issued we read: "Whenever it does not suit the police" or "As often as required", etc. There was a regular competition in this kind of humour among the factory newspapers of Germany.

How is a factory newspaper to be produced? We have already said that it must be produced with the utmost caution in order to escape destruction the part of our class enemies. This being so, it is frequently impossible to produce them in a regular printing works. Nevertheless many German factory newspapers are printed. Some of the German and most of the French factory newspapers are produced on duplicators which in some cases belong to the Party Committee but in many cases even to the nuclei. Some factory newspapers are produced on the hectograph. Printed factory newspapers have of course the advantage of being more legible; but only in very few cases can nuclei produce printed newspapers. Therefore the duplicator or the hectograph is the best method of the production of factory newspapers. The latter is comparatively cheap and can be easily acquired by the nucleus.

We have already pointed out that the factory newspapers is the organ of the nucleus. Therefore the nucleus is not only responsible for its literary production and make-up but also for finding the necessary funds. It has been frequently asserted that the necessary funds cannot be found everywhere. The example of the "Horch Works" in Germany and of the Nine Elms Railway workers in Great Britain shows that provided nucleus members exert themselves, the necessary financial support for factory newspapers can be obtained from non-Party workers.

Another important matter is to have the newspapers properly edited. A factory newspaper financed by the Party Committee has not much chance of a long life, and the least adverse breeze will probably put a end to it. Factory newspapers have not only the task to do agitational work among the masses and to contribute to the organisation of the enterprise, they are also a means for drawing nucleus members into active work. Moreover the necessity to procure funds, compels factory nuclei to be more active, does away with the passivity which can be observed in enterprises without nuclei. There are many examples of the fact that in factories where newspapers were published, the formerly indifferent workers have been roused out of their apathy; they even began to participate in the production of the factory newspaper. By drawing the factory workers in sympathy with us into the work, it has frequently been possible to establish the factory newspapers on a sound basis without any great difficulties. For instance America is by no means a classical land of factory newspapers, and yet the few factory newspapers of the American Party have set into motion enterprises which were a regular morass only a little while ago, rousing the workers to energetic action against the employers.

We must regard factory newspapers as a regular means in the hands of nuclei for exercising influence over the life of the factory. Therefore energetic opposition should be offered to the tendency of publishing factory newspapers irregularly or at too long intervals. It is the task of the respective leading Party organs to pay due attention to this point.

It is on the whole essential that respective Party Executives and especially the local leading organs of the Party pay attention to the regular publication and ideological supervision of the factory newspapers. Naturally this does not mean that Party executives are to publish the factory newspapers themselves, or that they should interfere in this respect with the initiative or the nucleus. The factory newspaper must be published by the nucleus executive, but general instructions are given and the necessary control is exercised through the existing Party organs.

It is all the more necessary that factory newspapers should be properly edited and circulated as employers have lately begun to publish their own factory newspapers, in order to counteract on this field "inflammatory Communist agitation". That capitalists were compelled to adopt such means shows that the establishment of factory newspapers was a step in the right direction. This being so, our task is to pursue our work in connection with factory newspapers even with greater intensity and care than formerly.

When the question of factory newspapers was discussed at the Org. Conference in Moscow, the question arose as to what the attitude of these newspapers should be to the groups of workers of national minorities or to the foreign language groups. This applies particularly to France and America, and in a lesser degree also to Czechoslovakia and other countries. Already at that time the Conference recommended that in factories of that character special columns be reserved in the factory newspaper for correspondence in the native language of the said group. The experience of the French Party with the Italian workers, shows that there was justification for this standpoint and that it resulted

in complete success. It would be desirable that the example set in this respect by our French comrades should be followed by other Parties which are in a similar position.

In conclusion it is essential to throw light on the attitude of the factory newspapers to the young workers of the factory. In many places, especially in France, young workers have begun to publish their own factory newspapers. Is it always expedient that youth newspapers be published parallel with the newspapers of the Party nucleus? We have learned by experience that this is not very profitable. It is frequently expedient that wherever no separate youth newspaper as yet exists, the young workers should take an active part in the work connected with the factory newspapers of the Party nucleus and should become contributors to it. The collaboration can also take the form of a special youth column, as is the case with the wall-newspapers in Russia.

As far as wall-newspapers are concerned, we are still in the initial stages. We have seen that in the Soviet Union this form of active agitation, propaganda and organisation has thereby enormously developed in a comparatively short time. We also see that a great development in this direction has also taken place in a very short space of time in Western countries, in Germany France etc. and that our prospects are good.

Factory newspapers are a means to educate for us proletarian editors and real proletarian writers. We will have to return to this subject many a time. Today we should like to say in conclusion: Pay more attention to the question of Factory Newspapers.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Judgment in the Trial of the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia".

By P. Sch. (Moscow).

After a trial which lasted nearly two weeks, the Supreme Court of Justice of the Georgian Socialist Soviet Republic has pronounced its judgment against the so-called "Committee for the Independence of Georgia" which in August last year attempted to overthrow the Soviet power by means of an armed revolt.

The judgment states that all points of the accusation have been proved. It was proved that the chief role in the preparation of the revolt in Georgia was played by the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party under the leadership of the former members of the Georgian Menshevik government who are at present residing abroad. The coalition of anti-Soviet parties consisted on the one hand of the Mensheviks, who represented the aims of the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand of the national democrats who gave expression to the aims of the feudal elements.

The preparation of the revolt was for the greater part made abroad. The anti-soviet block was actively supported by the II. International whose representative, Julius Braunthal, came to Georgia in order to induce the vacillating parties to enter the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia". According to the evidence of Tevsaya, a former member of the Menshevik Central Committee, this Committee was, in the first place, set up abroad. The Foreign Bureau of the anti-soviet parties were in constant touch with the French government. Briand was informed of the proposed revolt and he approved of the same. The representatives of the social democratic party of Georgia negotiated with Loucheur, the former French Finance Minister, regarding financial support for the revolt. Loucheur promised support, but laid down certain conditions regarding the future and assured himself of the agreement of the social democratic leaders that, in the event of a successful revolt, France would be granted a number of economic privileges in Georgia.

On the basis of the statements of the accused and of witnesses, it was further established that the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia" had carried on systematic espionage on behalf of the Entente on the territory of Soviet Georgia and obtained funds by means of acts of terror and plunder.

In his concluding words Andronikaschvilli, the former president of the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia", declared that he took entire responsibility upon himself.

He declared, that as a socialist he considers it permissible to carry out armed action. But he now declares in his own name and in the name of the other accused, that to seek to solve the eco-

nomie, political and cultural questions of the Georgian nation by way of revolt must be recognised as being thoroughly harmful.

"The results of the revolt and the situation following it", said Andronikaschvilli, "compel all political parties of Georgia to follow a peaceful policy on the basis of the Soviet Constitution, to follow the policy of co-operation with the Soviet power, and to take part, step by step and with a reasonable and wise criticism, in the economic and cultural construction of Georgia".

The representatives of the other anti-soviet parties associated themselves with the declaration of Andronikaschvilli.

The court condemned the chief accused — Andronikaschvilli, Dschavachischvilli, Dschinoria, Ischnelli and Botschorischvelli — to be shot. Having regard however to the increasing strength of the Soviet power and to the declaration of the accused during the trial, in which they call upon the political parties of Georgia to follow a peaceful policy on the basis of the Soviet Constitution and to co-operate with the Soviet power in the economic and cultural construction of the State, the Court commuted the death sentence to ten years imprisonment, this to include the time spent in prison awaiting trial.

A number of the accused were sentenced to three years imprisonment; but in view of the fact that these persons do not constitute any danger to the Soviet power, their sentences were cancelled. Thus, for example, the following leading members of the Menshevik, National Democratic and Social Federalist parties were set free: Lordkipanidze, Bilianischvilli, Schengelia, Tschaidze, D. Oniaschvilli, Rtziladze, Dadiani etc.

The Communist press of Georgia compares the sentence of the Soviet Court with the juridical practice of the west European bourgeois States as regards the representatives of the working class, and rightly calls attention to the mildness of the sentence of the Soviet Court.

In spite of the fact that the revolutionary danger in the West European bourgeois States is not so acute at present as it was after the conclusion of the imperialist war, the machinery of justice of these States has never proceeded so cruelly against the working class as at the present time. For merely distributing a simple proclamation many of the bourgeois States wreak vengeance by means of shooting and the gallows.

Our Soviet Court, on the other hand, not only spares the lives of the leaders of the revolt, who by their activity drove the working class into the bloody events of August 1924, but many of them have been set entirely at liberty and allowed to retain civil rights. The Georgian people is waiting to see the realisation of the promises which the representatives of the various parties made during the trial. The Georgian people will test by their deeds how sincere the declarations of these people are and what benefits they will bring to the Soviet State in the sphere of cultural and economic construction.

The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky its Apostle.

V.

The Soviet Regime and the National Economy.

We must now analyse those wonderful theses upon the economic situation in our country with which Kautsky has enriched the world. In order to grasp the results of Kautsky's "investigations", his "critical observations" and his simple abuse, one must keep in mind a few methodical, introductory preliminary conditions which are characteristic of Kautsky. These conditions are described by the "critic" in his following remarkable decree:

"It is probably approximately correct to say that three-quarters of what is told about Russia are lies. But that by no means suggests, as the bolsheviks do, that everything that their opponents say is false and everything that they say is true. One can say of the reports which paint Russia in dark colours, one half is false and the other half true. Practically everything however of the rosy-hued descriptions of "eye-witnesses" which lie before us is incorrect.¹⁾"

Kautsky assumes beforehand everything said of Russia as lies, but as compensation for this he offers to recognise half

¹⁾ K. Kautsky: "The International and Soviet Russia", Page 27.

the bad things said about Russia similarly as lies. The result is that the other half is the embodiment of truth. This "truth", however must be as black as night.

It is hardly worth the trouble to attempt to convince Kautsky that his simple arithmetic does not represent the truth. For our readers however, we must stress the boastful and thoroughly dishonest theoretical shamelessness of this gentleman. How did he come to such conclusions, when did he make any sort of acquaintance with the actual facts? Perhaps not in his assertions about the "nationalisation of women"? Perhaps also not during the course of his daily "marxist" prophecies regarding the inevitability of the coming collapse of the bolsheviki by which he places himself along side of all the other white guardist astrologers who occupy themselves with casting the horoscope of the Soviet power from their own class hatred of it?

In the last result, the only criterion of truth is practice. At a time when the workers and peasants (as Kautsky himself now admits) were enthusiastically for the bolsheviki, he wrote his malicious articles and pamphlets in which he "prophesied" the "immediate death" of the soviet power. Where is the difference in this connection between him and the white publicists of all shades? There is none. Since that time the heroes of the white emigration have taken Kautsky under their protection. This however, can hardly act as a substitute for the other important fact: the fact that the bottom has fallen out of the white guardist prophecies in a shameful fashion.

Let us however return to the thesis: Kautsky naturally did not refrain from the very beginning from falling upon us "ab ovo" "fundamentally". We must apologise to our readers for giving the following long and stupid citations, but we are compelled to do so in order just to show their stupidity.

"What the bolsheviki achieved by their confiscation has been achieved by very good bourgeois governments outside Russia by the inflation. No German government exercised this sort of confiscation of property more zealously than the most bourgeois of them all, that of Herr Cuno.

"The social democrats opposed both the Leninist and the Cuno form of confiscation. Not because capitalist property is holy for us, but because both methods of confiscation were extremely inexpedient, even harmful. Indiscriminate confiscation without compensation robs the various classes in a similar way, just as the inflation, blindly, without consideration of the consequences. It robs the poor widows and orphans just as the insolent finance magnates. It creates the possibility of drawing new and immeasurable profits from the bitterest need. It confiscates all property that comes in its way without considering whether it is fitted for socialisation or not. And it causes a lamentable chaos in the process of production which cripples the economy of the whole country.

"Only if the objects to be socialised and the debts to be annulled are chosen with care and legally defined, if the owners, at least those still in the country, are compensated and the sum for compensation raised through a progressive tax upon wealth, only then can a transformation of private property into social property take place without economic disturbances in a manner which will achieve exactly that which the law-makers intended."")

Yes, one can really learn something from the old Kautsky. Thus we see: The bolshevist confiscation of the factories, shops, land of the landowners etc. and the Cuno "confiscation" are one and the same.

One reads, but can hardly believe ones eyes.

What was the result of the inflation policy in Germany? An incredible enrichment of Stinnesses who with the help of the inflation got the "sword" in their hands.

What was the result of our confiscations policy? Our own Stinnesses (the Putilovs, the Raduchinskis etc.) have lost everything.

How alike the two pictures are?

One used to say: *Vulgus non distinguit* (The mob can see no difference).

To-day one must say: the (proletarian) "mob" sees the differences quite clearly. The "scholars" however, Kautsky & Co., have lost all capacity, not only to distinguish between the nuances (such a capacity is not given to everybody) but to distinguish between diametrically opposed things.

A further observation. Whilst Kautsky defends the protests against inflation and confiscation, he repels the suspicion of a too great sympathy for the holy capitalist private property. Did Cuno however, attack capitalist private property? Did the inflation policy transfer even a small piece of capitalist private property into the hands of another class?

One cannot in the least say, however, that the "Leninist" confiscation left large property in the hands of that class which had previously owned it. Neither the large land-owners nor the capitalists could retain their property.

Here also, the "marxist" social democrat Kautsky makes not the faintest allusion to the class nature of the policies. And that is called an "analysis"!

A third observation. No matter how it may be, the dullest person knows that the confiscation of the manorial lands, the factories, the mines and the banks made them the property of the state (nationalisation) whilst the inflation of Herr Cuno brought about no nationalisation (not even a bourgeois one), it simply caused the increase of the private capital of Stinnes & Co. But Kautsky does not even understand that.

A fourth observation, which perhaps can serve as the key to the false conclusions of Kautsky. This "scientist" believes that the "indiscriminate" confiscation robs all classes equally, the "finance Magnates" just as the "poor widows and orphans". (The "class" terminology here would even be to the taste of the holy Eugen Richter!) Let us assume that this is the case. Thus: All classes are the objects of a shameful plundering. Who is however in this case the "plunderer"? It is clear that this "plunderer" must stand outside each class. What is the result of this? One result for instance, is that in the exact words of Kautsky, "the most bourgeois of governments, that of Herr Cuno" is something standing outside of each class and ruling over all classes, in fact, just like the spirit of God upon the waters. Wonderful!

A fifth observation — the last, but by no means the least. Herr Kautsky, greatly daring, tries to teach us how private property is to be transformed into social property. He puffs himself up like a turkey-cock, his face goes red and blue from his great scholastic efforts, he preens all his feathers and commences to write out the recipe: First of all chose the object, define it legally, compensate the capitalist, then tax him for it progressively and then, oh then, the capitalists will sit still peacefully, they will gladly let their property be socialised "without a disturbance of the productive processes", and we, we will glide peacefully in beautiful weather into the empire of socialism.

Not a bad picture! An excellent picture! An idyllic picture! A delightful picture!

But ... but, we have nevertheless the right to ask our strategist:

Most esteemed sir, have you already tried to act according to your own plan? Wouldn't you take the trouble to inform us how far you have gone on the way to real socialism with the European, thought-out, and in a word, arch-Kautskian methods?

About this point Herr Kautsky is silent. And it is not difficult to guess why.

Let us call to mind the times when Kautsky & Co., were ministers.

Then there was no "absolutism" and nothing of the sort which according to Kautsky would be unpleasant, frightful, in contradiction to the interests of the masses and which would lead us away from socialism. At that time the coalition, the best, the most successful and by Kautsky the best loved "form of government", was at the helm.

And at that time Kautsky & Co., "carried through" the "socialisation". There was a special "socialising commission". It did not upset itself in its haste, this careful commission! Could one then act "bolshevistically"? The commission chose the "objects". And how it chose them! Kautsky sat in this commission so often and so long that one involuntarily thought of the famous Puschkin academician, Prince Dunduk:

In the Academy of Scholars
Sits Prince Dunduk with honours,
They say that such a privilege,
Is hardly his prerogative,
That he's small beer, and no right here,
But he's Prince Dunduk -- with honours!

2) Ibid. Pages 36 and 37.

Our hero however, thoroughly deserved the "prerogative". As a result of the exhaustive work of the commission a tremendous number of books appeared. All "objects" were chosen: The legal conditions were exactly laid down, the time limit of the "socialisation" was set, and the order in which these "legal" judicial and economically justified measures were to be carried out was determined (dear reader, you certainly remember the high style in which the ex-minister Kautsky expresses himself). In a word, everything is arranged just as on a chess board: "Queen's Knight to Queen's Bishop three. King's Pawn to King's four".

One thing is true, it all caused no serious disturbance of the productive processes. Even the contrary was the case: A number of books had to be issued upon the old, firm capitalist basis. The work of the "commission for socialisation" was — that at least we may not forget — extremely productive.

But a "disturbance" of another sort took place. Whilst the "socialisers" were sitting round a table and hatching out their plans, fearful to touch even a hair of the bourgeois head, the generals and the officers did not waste a single sheet of paper, but they acted. And soon the learned men were taken by the ears and removed from all vestige of office as "law-makers". And they did not even chirp, one must naturally not "disturb the process of production".

And now, after this whole experience, Herr Kautsky has the insolence to speak of the advantages of his peaceful, loyal, coalition and commission "revolution". We have not laughed so heartily for many a long day! Such a comedian!

But in Russia there is the most terrible misery! You are leading the country into ... etc. etc. Good. Let us listen to what he has to say on this theme:

"When however, the capitalists and large landowners were rooted out (Just as under the Cuno government perhaps? N. B.) and the real white guardists beaten back, it was seen that the great plundering of the property owners, a plundering that each robber and thief understands, was no socialism, that all preliminary conditions for the construction of socialism were missing in Soviet Russia, so that the process of production came to a standstill, and the misery of the masses became ever greater as the bolshevist state power grew firmer" (3) (Stressed by me. N. B.)

The reference to the "thieves" and "robbers" we have already quoted in the previous chapter (what a pity that Herr Kautsky drew no parallel with the Cuno government in this connection! However, one may not "disturb the process of production"! Now we can once again return to this quotation and in its enlarged form in order to see the matter from another side.

Kautsky recognises that there were "real white guardists" and that they were "beaten back". And the capitalists and large landowners were "rooted out". From this it would seem that just those capitalists and large land-owners represented the fundamental kernel of those white guardists who were "beaten back".

That their attack was "beaten back" was obviously good and not bad.

But why were they beaten back, Herr Kautsky?

Perhaps because the capitalists and large-landowners were "rooted out"!

Perhaps because these large-landowners and capitalists were "plundered"!

3) Ibid. Page 9.

One has only to put these questions and one can see immediately the essence of the matter. Yes, under difficult circumstances the workers and peasants have destroyed "their" capitalists and large-landowners, despite the support accorded to these latter by the international bourgeoisie. And they destroyed them because they defended the factories and the land which they had taken away from the capitalists and large land-owners, with their lives. Although they earned thereby from Kautsky the names "thieves" and "robbers".

And the German proletariat was unable to beat back its large land-owners and capitalists because it followed Herr Kautsky & Co., did not touch the property of its enemies, left all sources of power in the hands of its enemies and did not strengthen its own ranks by the consciousness of its own new situation in the country. Kautsky did not act as an "expropriator of the expropriators" (in his present-day language as a "thief" and a "robber"). He acted as a pitiful slave. The consolation however remains to him that he did not "disturb the process of production". And his colleagues acted in the same manner: think for instance, how the honest Herr Ebert strangled the strikes in the armament factories. But what has all this to do with socialism?

Is Kautsky right when he says that there was a time then the misery of the masses in Russia grew with the consolidation of the bolshevist state power? Yes, he is right. There was such a time, (Kautsky however, fails to observe that this time has passed). But had Kautsky taken the trouble to understand what it was all about, in what manner the soviet power was able to consolidate itself, despite the misery of the masses, in what manner this soviet power in 1920 was supported by the enthusiasm (even Kautsky admits that) of the "robbers and thieves" behind it, had he taken the trouble to discover honestly what it was all about, he would have received quite another answer.

The growth of misery! Yes, we experienced terrible years of great and immense misery. But Kautsky forgets to give an analysis of why, and at least to mention the intervention in this connection. Is it possible for a more or less serious investigator, or even a simple earnest person who is no apologist (glorifier) of capitalism, who does not play false, to speak about the causes of our misery in the years of the civil war without mentioning with even one word, the intervention, the blockade etc.?

Only a conscious servant of capital can do that.

And Karl Kautsky, the theoretical head of the German social democracy, does it.

One cannot however, forget such a detail as the intervention. The united forces of the Russian white guardists, the German, French, Japanese, American, English, Polish, Roumanian, Czechoslovakian and other white guardists had encircled the Soviet Republic. Was that the case, Herr Kautsky? Yes, it was. Was there a time when we sat upon the bare stones, cut off from Siberia, from the Ukraine, from the Caucasus? Yes, there was. Does not Kautsky know what tortures we had to suffer in consequence of the fact that our enemies had temporarily cut us off from all our sources of material assistance, from all the vital sources for our industrial forces of production? Or perhaps Herr Kautsky knows nothing about the destruction carried out by the international counter-revolutionary swarm of locusts which settled down upon our country from all sides, mutilated and smashed everything, which stole and destroyed everything within its reach. Wonderful! Kautsky says no single word about it.