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The First Ten Years of International Organised Leninism.

By G. Zinoviev.

Ten years have passed since the first Zimmerwald Conference. This ten years is the first ten years of Leninism organised on an international scale. The Zimmerwald Left formed at this Conference under the leadership of Lenin was the first international organisation which, in its principles, followed the path of Leninism.

Various aspects of Lenin's teachings had, of course, already taken shape long before Zimmerwald. The actions of Lenin at the commencement of the present century, and in particular his first action against menshevism, had possessed international importance. The attitude of Lenin at the International Congress of the II. International in Stuttgart in 1907 was likewise of undoubted international importance. But the first organised international cell which accepted the programme of Leninism, was the Zimmerwald Left. It is this which denoted the commencement of the Communist International. The Zimmerwald Left was the embryo of the Comintern.

Taken as a whole, Zimmerwald represented a fragment of the II. International, but at the same its best fragment. There participated at Zimmerwald before all the "Centre" of the II. International; further, a small portion of the Right,

and finally the Left wing which had begun to be formed in the II. International at the commencement of 1907. The majority at Zimmerwald belonged to the Right Centrists, who based themselves upon the Right elements in their fight against the Left wing, and it was only on rare occasions that the Left wing of the Zimmerwald Union succeeded in giving it a more radical tendency.

When one now looks back at the road which has been traversed, it becomes particularly clear how thoroughly rotten the II. International was. If the centrist majority of Zimmerwald constituted the best elements in the II. International (apart from the Left wing) then one can imagine what the II. International was as a whole!

In Zimmerwald there were present, in addition to Lenin, Tchernov, and Martov, Ledebour and Axelrod, Modigliani and Grimm. And these at the time were the "best" people of the II. International!

I have preserved a note book recording the events at the II. Zimmerwald Conference (at Kienthal). I will quote from it a short entry regarding the speech of the French Internationalist, Brizon:

"Brizon is making resistance. He continually delays making his speech. He lays down the condition that nobody shall be allowed to speak after him. Finally, after a terrible lot of preparations, he begins his speech:

"I cannot forget that I am a Frenchman and a socialist. As a Frenchman I have seen my country attacked. France is the teacher of revolution. I shall not sign a single line, or make a single gesture which could injure France. But as a socialist I am against the war. The Germans must be the first to make decisive steps. I belong to the most Left fraction of the French minority. I decided in June not to vote for the credits (applause) but under one condition: if the military situation permits this. If the military situation of France becomes worse than it is at present, I shall not undertake any pledges."

I remember the violent objections of the German "Internationalists" (from the Kautsky-Haase-Hoffmann group) against the proposal that the Conference should pledge the internationalist minded members of parliament to vote against the war credits. I remember that even such a sincere revolutionary as Ledebour almost fell upon Lenin with clenched fists, reproaching him (Lenin) that it was easy for him, who was living abroad, to demand that others should vote against the war credits.

Here is another item from my note book:

"Modigliani (a prominent leader of the Italian reformists): Lenin, you are logical! But you others, (turning to the Centre) are my friends!... Africa and India will come here and secure the majority for the Left."

And yet another item:

"Raffin Dujeans (French Internationalist): "We have voted for the credits and we have acted rightly in doing so. We are prepared to forgive the German social democrats, but they must not make any reproach against us".

Here there is clearly revealed the whole theory of mutual amnesty.

The Zimmerwald Union was a conglomeration of tendencies, from pale pink social pacifism up to genuine Leninism. Of course, such a conglomeration could not last.

A portion of the Zimmerwalders has "progressed" backwards, another portion has slowly developed to Leninism. Modigliani and Mogari have retrogressed and become bitter enemies of proletarian Socialism. The general secretary of the Zimmerwald Union, Robert Grimm, has ended up as an ordinary petty bourgeois reformist. The development of Tchernov, Martov, Axelrod and Kautsky is known to everybody, but people like Radek, Serrati, Ernst Meyer, Paul Fröhlich, Platten and Lapinsky (these all took part at the Conferences of Zimmerwald and Kienthal) have developed to Communism.

The Zimmerwald Left began its work under the most difficult conditions. One remembers with what pains the Leninist Central Committee scraped together, by means of mobilising all its financial resources, the 100 francs as a foundation fund for the Zimmerwald Left. In the midst of the white terror, the state of siege, military censorship and every form of repression, the Zimmerwald Left undertook the first steps for the creation of the international organisation of Leninism. There took place the first international understanding among the supporters of proletarian communism. Among the first to reply was Karl Liebknecht, in the first instance in a letter from the front and then from prison; then Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring came forward. There arose the first individual connections with Austria, Germany and France. The disciples of Lenin scattered about in various countries of the world and living in emigration, carried out under the most difficult conditions their duty as proletarian revolutionaries.

The working out of the programme of the new International did not proceed without friction. It suffices to say that even at the Kienthal Conference the group "International", whose leaders were Liebknecht and Luxemburg, adopted a position between us and the Russian Mensheviks. It suffices to call to mind that at this Conference the representative of the above group, comrade Meyer, in the name of the German Internationalists, read out a telegram of greeting addressed to the Duma fraction of Tscheidze.

With what energy, with what passion, with what devotion Lenin worked at that time — Lenin who exerted all his powers to pave the way for the idea of victorious proletarian inter-

nationalism! Is it only ten years since the time when Leninism could only boast of a small handful of followers in the international labour movement? Have only ten years passed since the time when the French socialist member of parliament, Brizon, turned condescendingly to Lenin and said: "There are only a few dozen pedants in the world who are interested in Marxism and Collectivism. We, however, have to turn to the docile people (braves gens) who work every day"?

In all, only one decade has passed since that time! But international Leninism has succeeded in growing from a small handful to a mighty international army; it has captured the first great State which embraces a sixth of the surface of the globe. The seed sown by Lenin has borne a rich harvest. From the Zimmerwald Left there has grown the mighty oak of the Communist International.

International reformism is rotten to the core, in spite of the short reprieve it has obtained, which in turn is the result of the equally short reprieve which history has granted to the international bourgeoisie. But the "few dozen pedants of Marxism" at the head of whom stood the greatest genius of the latest period of world history, have succeeded in leading millions of workers to the victorious fight against Tsarism and the bourgeoisie; have succeeded in converting Tsarist Russia into the Soviet Union. The first small international cell of proletarian revolutionaries has succeeded in growing into the world party of Communism, into the Communist International, which has already caused not a few sleepless nights to the rulers of that part of the world in which capitalism still prevails.

* * *

The Communist International, which is continuing on a world scale the work of the Zimmerwald Left, is now passing through the most difficult stage of its development. The first stirring successes of the years 1919 and 1920, which were to some extent due to the fact that in these years the elementary resentment of the masses against the imperialist war reached its highest point, have been followed by difficult years of struggle for winning the majority of the workers away from the influence of social democracy; a task which proceeds more slowly and is accompanied by more crises and reverses than we thought.

The Communist International is only now beginning to fulfil its great historical mission. It has not yet even traversed half of the way it has to go. Of course, it is difficult for the faint-hearted and narrow-minded "realists" rightly to appreciate a cause which has only accomplished half its task.

The tactics of the united front are the only correct tactics which can secure the permanent winning over of the majority of the workers to the flag of the Comintern, and which will liberate the international proletariat from the bourgeois influence of the leaders of the II. International. These tactics, in their main outlines, were indicated at the III. World Congress of the Comintern, at which Lenin played the leading part.

Four years have passed since then. And the first great results of the tactics of the united front are now beginning to be realised. The coming together of the trade unions of Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the increasing struggle for unity of the international trade union movement, the first impressive workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, the growing political influence of the young Communist Party of Great Britain, the splendid attitude of the Communist Party of France in the fight against the Moroccan war — which is securing the French communists the sympathy of ever-growing masses of the workers — the policy of Communism in the East (China) — all this goes to show that the Comintern is more and more gaining access to the masses, in spite of all the difficulties of the situation, in spite of the crises in the parties which are caused by the complicated situation.

The present need is a still wider, a more systematic carrying out of the tactics of the united front, a still greater propaganda for the unity of the international trade union movement, continued efforts to approach at all costs the broad circles of the social democratic and non-party workers and to make common cause with them against the treacherous leaders who are going more and more to the bourgeoisie.

* * *

Ten years have passed since the formation of the Zimmerwald Left. Is it so very long since the leader of the Russian bourgeoisie, Miljukov, saw in "Zimmerwaldism" an offspring of hell, and even derided Tchernov and Zeretelli as "Zimmer-

walders?" What great changes have taken place since that time? The "Zimmerwalders", Tchernov and Zeretelli, are together with Miljukov in one Noah's Ark of white emigration. And all of them, instigated by the imperialist gang of the English Conservative Party, are conducting a furious campaign against the Comintern.

In recent times it has become quite the mode among the enemies of Communism to deliver speeches on the theme that the chief crime of the Soviet power is its orientation to the international labour movement. In the "worst case" these gentlemen are prepared to reconcile themselves to the fact that the Soviet Union is growing stronger and is developing. But, they maintain, the Russian revolution must remain within its national limits, it must abandon the dream of an international revolution, the Russian Revolution must separate itself from the Comintern.

The answer of Leninism is plain and simple: You say that the international revolution is developing slowly. Quite right. But in spite of that the Soviet Union is right; it is wiser for it to keep, to the course of the slowly (for the time being still slowly) rising international proletariat, instead of to the slowly (but surely) declining international bourgeoisie.

The resolution passed at the last XIV. National Conference of our Party, insists upon the necessity of fighting against "national narrowness", which has been evoked by the circumstances of the NEP., along with the retardation of the pace of international revolution. Can one doubt, even for a minute, but that the Leninist Party will get rid of this "national narrowness"?

We admit that at the end of the first decade of international organised Leninism the proletarian revolution has only been victorious over an area comprising a sixth of the globe. In what part of the globe will the proletarian revolution be victorious in the course of the following decade? We shall see! In the meantime, however, true to the charge entrusted to us by Lenin, we shall do our utmost possible in one country in order to promote the victory of the workers in all other countries.

From the Russia of the NEP will emerge socialist Russia!

From the Communist International, which at present comprises the minority of the workers, will grow the Communist International which will win over the overwhelming majority of the workers of the entire world!

From bourgeois Europe will emerge proletarian Europe!

HANDS OFF CHINA

An English Blue Book on the Position of the Chinese Proletariat.

By Karl Radek.

In March 1924 there took place in the English parliament a short debate on the position of the workers in factories in China belonging to foreigners. The question of the application of the Washington decisions to China was raised. This furnished the occasion for Ramsay MacDonald, who was then Prime Minister, on the request of the Ministry of Labour, to demand from the English Consuls in China a report on the position of the Chinese workers. The replies of the English Consuls have now been published by the English Conservative government in a "Blue Book" bearing the title:

„Papers respecting Labour Conditions in China", London 1925, 130 pages.

The reports of the English Consuls lay bare the terrible background of the events in Shanghai, and at the same time, in spite of all the attempts of the Consuls to maintain the contrary, destroy every legend as to the position of the working class in the foreign, and in the first place in the English, factories being better than in the Chinese factories.

We will begin with the first question and exhibit the picture given by the consular reports on the position of the Chinese proletariat. In March 1923 the Chinese government passed the first provisional law aiming at improving the position of the Chinese workers. It is very significant what is forbidden or is recommended in this law. The law prohibits the labour of boys under ten and of girls under twelve. For adult workers it demands two, and for juvenile workers three days rest every month, and in addition a midday pause of one hour

every day. It demands that wages shall be paid at least once a month. All this has yet to be obtained. From all the reports of the Consuls it is to be seen that this law is not known by anybody and that nobody carries it out. This circumstance alone sufficiently illuminates the situation. Let us however examine the concrete reports from the various towns.

Consul General Barton reports upon the situation in Shanghai:

"It is a regrettable fact that there is no restriction in force governing child labour and that children in local British, foreign-owned and Chinese factories do work excessively long hours -- both on day and night shifts, and that many very young children who do not work themselves, accompany their parents in the factories. The normal hours of labour in local British-owned cotton mills are 23½, worked in two shifts of twelve hours, allowing only two spells of 15 minutes each; in the Japanese-owned mills 22½ hours are worked in two shifts of 12 hours, allowing two spells of 30 minutes and 15 minutes; in the Chinese mills shifts are generally worked for 14 hours with no spells. The hours worked by children and young persons are the same as that worked by adults . . ."

Mr. Barton writes further:

"There is in China practically no civil code, no statistical or Health Department, no inspection of factories, no effective means whereby labourers could voice their own needs, no dependable Civil Service and no Central Government capable of enforcing national legislation. Actually control is at the moment in the hands of provincial Military Governors, whose attitude towards organised labour appears to be dictated either by a desire for repression, when labour organisations by strikes or agitation interfere with their military communications or economic strength, or by encouragement when they calculate that labour organisations can be utilised to further their own political ends. Examples of this attitude are found in the recent execution by Wu Pei-Fu of labour leaders in Central China, and of the encouragement of socialists and communists by Dr. Sun-Yat-sen in Kwang Tung and Lu Yung-hsiang in Chekiang.

It is characteristic of the stupidity of mind of an English civil servant to lump altogether under one heading the shootings of trade union leaders along with their support.

The "Blue Book" contains a special detailed report of the Commission which was set up by the administration of the international settlement in Shanghai regarding the conditions of child work in Shanghai. The report begins with general descriptions of the position of the workers. The wages of adult workers never exceed 15 dollars a month; the wages of unskilled workers amount to 8 dollars. The minimum of existence for two people (a childless married couple) from the poorest section of the population amounts to 16 dollars a month. This means that a worker who earns 15 dollars is not in a position to maintain himself and his wife, not to mention his children. Tuberculosis rages in Shanghai. The position of the children in the factories is worse than in the villages.

"Young female children are commonly purchased and employed as domestic servants. They probably begin to work as soon as it is possible for them physically to do so . . . The commission has reason to believe, from the evidence given before it, that many children are employed in native brothels and trained to prostitution."

In the shops, small workshops, home industries, laundries and the building trade, the apprentice system is general. The commencement age varies according to the nature of the employment. There is little doubt that the average child is apprenticed at the earliest age at which, having regard to the nature of the particular occupation, it can begin to learn. The term of apprenticeship is usually five years and the apprentice receives during that time little, if any, pay. The report regards this as pure slavery.

The Commission visited a number of mills and similar places of employment, both during the day and at night, and saw very many children at work who could not have been more than six years of age. The hours of work are generally twelve, with not more than one hour off for a meal. The children frequently have to stand the whole time they are at work. Apart from interruptions and the customary holidays at China New Year, work is continuous. The Commission heard evidence to the effect that in some instances contractors obtain young children

from the country districts, paying the parents two dollars a month for the services of each child. By employing such children in the mills and factories the contractor is able to make a profit of about 4 dollars a month in respect of each child. In the cotton mills ventilation is inadequate. During the night shifts rows of baskets containing babies and children, sleeping or awake, as the case may be, lie placed between the rapidly moving and noisy machinery. Young children who are supposed to be working, but who have been overcome by fatigue or who have taken advantage of the absence of adequate supervision, lie asleep in every corner, some in the open, others hidden in baskets under a covering of raw cotton. In the silk factories the children have to be there some time before the hour for commencing work in order to get things ready for the adults. The children brush the cocoons and prepare them for the reelers by removing the waste and so exposing the silk thread. This operation is performed over basins containing nearly boiling water, with which the fingers of the children frequently and necessarily come in contact, thereby becoming roughened and unsightly. In the match factories the Commission saw young children, not more than five years of age, working with almost incredible rapidity. Many babies and infants, who could hardly stand, slept or played on the floor, whilst their mothers worked, in an atmosphere filled with the poisonous dust of white phosphorus. It is very interesting to note the declaration by the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners' Association that, in the opinion of the association, the employment of children by mills is a matter of charitable nature towards the parent workers; for so long as their children are employed it adds to their income, relieving the burden of supporting their children, and also removes their anxiety for the safety of their children.

The English Consul in Canton reports of a typical match factory in the neighbourhood of Canton, which may be taken as a good example. About 200 workers are employed, mainly small children of both sexes and a fair number of women, together with a couple of dozen men. Only the men are regular employees, paid by the month (averaging 15 dollars a month), the children and women are all paid daily by piece work; a fast worker can earn as much as 30 cents a day. The hours of work amount to 12 hours a day, seven days a week. In the Star Leather Company's Tannery, boys receive up to 6 dollars per month according to length of service; unskilled labourers 8 dollars; skilled machine workers 12 dollars. The factory works from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m., all the year round, except on Chinese holidays. There is no weekly rest day.

The Consul in Changsha reports that in the cinnabar mines worked in Hunan whole villages — men, women and children — are engaged in the work, and one and all are being slowly poisoned as a result of the insanitary conditions under which they work. One large mine was thoroughly examined and 81.6 per cent of the workers were found to be infected with hook-worm. In the Hunan cotton mills boys and girls under the age of 10 and 12 respectively are employed. The workers receive no wages during illness unless such illness is the result of injury from a machine. No assistance or special consideration is given to women workers before and after confinement.

The working conditions in Chefoo (province of Changtung) are described as follows: An average worker, working every day in a month, earns approximately 6.50 Mexican dollars or 3.40 gold dollars. Only four holidays are given to the workers throughout the year, these being national occasions. The sanitary conditions in the silk factories are extremely bad. In order to protect the silk the atmosphere must be kept warm and moist. Windows and doors are therefore continually closed, and the air is constantly loaded with odorous dust and germs. All workers must live in the factories. When they finish their work at night, they pull out their roll of bedding and sleep on the floors, on stray boards laid across benches, or on the ground in the court yard. During a brief illness of a few days a worker can remain in the factory and eat the regular food. But if his sickness continues more than a week he is discharged and sent out to the factory to look out for himself. In those factories where the workers live outside the factories and provide their own quarters, no provision is made for medical treatment. The apprentice system is universal, and during the period of apprenticeship the boys practically become the property of the manager. Apprentices in the blacksmith trade work from 6 a. m. to 1 a. m. seven days a week. In this particular trade they are at work almost constantly during these hours. It is not at all

an uncommon sight at 10.30 or 11 o'clock at night to see them fall asleep at their work, often receiving severe burns and injuries as a result. In all lines of industry the employers exercise absolute autocratic control over the workers. Strikes are rare and condemned, lock-outs are universal and unquestioned. The few attempts to strike have been immediately suppressed by police forces, and the workers compelled to resume their work under the existing conditions.

The British Consul in Chungking reports regarding the commandeering of labour by the troops engaged in preparations for or the prosecution of civil war. Almost every day, even in the Treaty Port of Chungking, gangs of men may be seen roped together with cords round their wrists being carried off by soldiers to act as transport coolies. And no soldier in Szechuan ever carries his own baggage on a march and sometimes not even his rifle. These commandeered baggage coolies receive no pay. A kind of general labour union existed at one time in Chungking itself, but has recently been dissolved by order of the military authorities.

The Consul in Harbin gives a very short report from which we quote the following:

"Hours of work — there is no limitation.

Unemployment. — No steps have been taken to combat unemployment or to establish free public employment agencies.

Employment of women during the night. — No regulations against.

Prevention of Anthrax. — No preventive measures exist. Government Health Service. No system of factory inspection exists.

Employment of children. — There are no regulations regarding the employment of children.

Night work of young persons. — No regulations exist."

The Consul in Kiukiang reports that child labour is extensively used wherever suitable employment can be given. Strikes are rare and generally occur among the poorest class of workmen. They are rarely due to discontent with labour conditions or the hours of work, but are for the most part caused by a rise in the price of rice. The Chinese coolie, if his wages are sufficient to provide him two good meals of rice a day, is content to work all day and every day.

The Consul in Tientsin reports that "here, as elsewhere in China, the scale of wages earned by the head of a family is insufficient to support the family, and any efforts that might be made by employers to regulate the labour of women and children are frustrated by the economic necessity on the part of the labourers to permit all the members of his family to contribute as much as possible to their own support". The factories at Tientsin are for the most part overcrowded, badly ventilated, and generally insanitary. In the match factories white phosphorus is still used and phosphorus necrosis prevails among the workers. Machinery is often left unfenced with the result that frequent accidents occur, especially to children. The hours of work are generally, in the larger factories, in shifts of twelve hours each. In some of the match factories the employees, including young children, are said to work from 4 a. m. to 8 m. p. The stoppage of work on Sunday is unusual.

These reports utterly destroy all the legends as to the labour unrest in China being due to Bolshevik agitation. They also destroy, as already said, the legend that the position of the workers in the foreign, and particularly in the English, factories is better than in the Chinese. In spite of this, this legend is being continually repeated in the English parliament and in the English bourgeois press. But if there were any truth in this legend, nothing would be easier than to prove this from the English consular reports. But it can be seen from the Blue Book that, although the Consuls would very willingly repeat this legend, they have no evidence to bring forward to support it. When the Chinese government published the first law for the protection of labour, which we mentioned at the commencement of this article, the English General-Consul in Peking telegraphed to MacDonal on 12th of April 1924 that he caused inquiries to be made in Shanghai with a view to ascertaining how the British-owned factories at that port would be affected. The replies received showed that "they would strenuously object to any control or interference being exercised by a purely Chinese Department". The English Consul gave as a reason for this that the new regulations could be used by the Chinese government as a means to place British factory owners at a distinct dis-

advantage in a matter of labour conditions, hours of work etc., but, in the opinion of the Consul, it might be difficult for those of the Powers who have accepted the First International Labour Conference's resolutions to refuse to apply them to their nationals.

The Consul in Shanghai reports that the Child Labour Commission appointed by the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, in its comment on the Peking Provisional Regulations, decided to recommend that should Chinese Government regulations be enforced at any time outside the settlement, the Council should seek power to enforce them within the settlement area so far as it thought they were reasonably practicable. At the same time he reports as to the recommendations made by the "honest" English regarding the amendment of the Chinese law. The law forbids employment of children under 12 years. The English propose regulations prohibiting the employment of children under 10 years of age rising to 12 years within 4 years from the date of regulations. The humane English demand the prohibition of employment of children under 14 years of age for a longer period than twelve hours daily. They are therefore of the opinion that children under 14 years can be exploited daily for 12 hours.

The Consul General in Hankow reported the arrival of the representative of the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to inspect the Chinese and Foreign factories in Hankow. This representative had sent him a questionnaire with the request that it be sent to the five British factories there. What happened to this questionnaire? The Consul reports:

"I have so far received no replies, but two of them have informed me in conversation that they have referred the matter to their head offices in Shanghai". The English Consul proudly adds: "British factories here, I know, no reason for fearing any inspection; the only thing they object to is Chinese interference in their affairs".

The Consul-General in Mukden reports:

"I have found it quite impossible to obtain any useful facts in this connection, even from the British Cigarette Company who are large employers of female and juvenile labour in Mukden, and who, in response to my request for information, stated that they referred my enquiries to Shanghai".

Finally, the Consul-General in Nanking reports:

"It must, I fear, be recognised that it is not yet feasible to give practical effect to legislation on many of the lines indicated in the draft conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Organisation (that means the International Labour Office of the League of Nations K. R.). In the case of factories run on foreign lines some limitation of hours of work and reforms in other directions might be effected; but, if such reforms were to result in increasing the present costs of production to any appreciable extent they would probably be found to be economically impossible".

These scanty reports and evasions of the English Consuls will perhaps serve to silence the English bourgeois press as to the humanity of the English factory owners, or will perhaps cause the English government to refrain from publishing any further reports from its Consuls.

POLITICS

The Imperialist Wars in Morocco and Syria.

By P. Kitaigorodsky.

At the end of July the impetuous "attacks" of Abd-el-Krim began to grow weaker under the obstinate counter-attacks of the French. At this time the latter were able to increase their army from 80,000 to 220,000 men (which constitutes more than a quarter of the total number of the French army) to convey a fifth of their naval forces to Morocco and to bring into the field a huge quantity of tanks, mountain guns and machine guns.

At the beginning of August the French went over to a general offensive along the whole front, and, after a month of strenuous efforts, huge losses and privations, were able, at many places, especially on the flanks, to recapture their lost position which had been occupied by the Moroccan insurgents since May. In spite of this, now, on the eve of the combined Franco-Spanish general attack, a considerable portion of the French zone still remains in the hands of the Riff Kabyles.

According to the most moderate calculations, the Spaniards on their side have landed an army of 100,000 men, so that the 20,000 men under Abd-el-Krim are opposed to a force of 340,000 to 360,000 well-armed men.

The French command is faced with the alternative of now or never! Either they will succeed in crushing Abd-el-Krim before the commencement of the rainy season (about 15th of October), or they will have to abandon their dearly-cherished idea of "rounding off" their possessions in Morocco.

The French have taken on themselves the main task of the campaign: to drive Abd-el-Krim back into the real Riff area; they have given the Spaniards the relatively easy task of carrying out the attack on the North Western Riff area. At the cost of really enormous sacrifices, and with the aid of a combined action of the French and Spanish fleets, the Spaniards have succeeded in capturing the isle of Alhucemas, within a stone's throw of which is "the capital" of the Riff, the little village of Adjir. Abd-el-Krim, however, has removed his head quarters in time into the interior of the Riff. The French are attempting on their side to consolidate their conquered positions, which are populated by the Asul and Bran tribes, and wish to convert them into points of support for their further attack in order to deliver Abd-el-Krim the "final decisive" blow.

It must however be pointed out that the chief forces of Abd-el-Krim, the main body of his troops, have not yet been brought into action. The French have had to deal the whole time with Moroccan tribes living in the French zone. The Riff Kabyles have, for the most part, acted as organisers, instructors, and leaders of the insurgents. The Riff Kabyles divisions have played the role of advance-guards who, by their exemplary self-sacrifice have caused the other tribes to join them. For the rest, however, they are not very numerous and constitute the advance-guard of the fighting Riff tribes and have appeared everywhere where the French least expected them.

In addition to this, Abd-el-Krim has employed tactics which remind one of the old Scythians. When the French commenced an attack they found that they had no one to attack, for the Riff Kabyles, led by the Moroccans, thanks to their excellent mobility, rapidly withdraw from the firing zone. This is the reason for the trifling losses on the side of the Moroccans. The losses of the French, however, according to their own reports, have been considerably greater.

Abd-el-Krim has very many favourable factors on his side. We will only mention two of these. The first is the approach of autumn weather, which will increase the difficulties of military operations a hundredfold, and will cancel all the French successes gained in the last month. Next year the French will have to commence all over again, for it is very doubtful whether they will succeed in defeating the main forces of Abd-el-Krim before the setting in of the rainy season. Secondly, a new friend of Abd-el-Krim has appeared in the shape of the insurgent tribe of Jebel Drus, to whom it has been granted to play in Syria a similar role as organisers as the Riff Kabyles are playing in the whole of Morocco.

Thanks to the revolt of the Druses, the French command was compelled to divert to the Syrian front a portion of the striking forces which were intended to be sent to Morocco. Thus, for instance, it is definitely stated that an Algerian division, which has had its head-quarters in Syria, should already have sailed from Beirut harbour to Morocco, when the revolt in Jebel Drus forced the French authorities to issue the command to send a division to the Drus front. It may be mentioned, by the way, that two Algerian regiments belonging to this division mutinied and had to be dissolved.

The position in Syria is similar in many respects to that in Morocco. The patriarchal natural economy of the Riff differs in no way from the economic system of Jebel Drus. The mountainous and waterless area of Jebel Drus in every way resembles the Riff. Jebel Drus, like the Riff, has already for centuries enjoyed an autonomy which the Druses knew how to defend even under the rule of the Turkish Sultan. Jebel Drus, which comprises in all a population of 50,000 people, seems to be destined to play the role of leader in the national emancipation struggle of Syria.

It is true that Syria, especially its Western portion, is politically, economically and socially more developed and advanced than Morocco. In the Lebanon district and in Damascus there already exists a somewhat differentiated population with a relatively large proletariat, with an impoverished peasantry on the one side and a commercial bourgeoisie and class of big landowners on the other side. Of the 2.5 million inhabitants, 750,000 are

landless peasants and day workers and 280,000 are town workers. In the small and middle silk mills, tobacco factories and other concerns, there are about 113,000 working men and women. In addition to this there exists in Syria a francosised native intelligentsia, various political groupings, 99% of which it is true are corrupt and open to bribery, and the feeble commencement of a serious proletarian movement.

In Morocco, on the other hand, the medieval regime still prevails practically undisturbed, even in the capital of Morocco, Fez. With the exception of the harbour town of Casablanca, everything has remained as it was a thousand years ago.

In Syria all sympathies are on the side of the Druses. The native bourgeoisie is a trading class (industry in Syria is in the hands of French factory owners), extremely weak in the fight against the European capitalists, who make use of the system of capitulations for their own purposes.

The feudal aristocracy of Western Syria, who have in their possession 60% of all the land, supply the highest officials, ministers, and government officials, behind the backs of whom the French occupation power strengthens itself. This landowning class is entirely on the side of French capital, which protects the class privileges and the estates of the Syrian nobles from the attacks of the people.

On the other hand there exist in Damascus, Aleppo, Beirut, Homes and other towns, a considerable proletariat and a fairly large section of poor craftsmen and small trading bourgeoisie who are ready for revolt. The peasantry of the "advanced" Western portion of Syria have not ceased to rebel against the French occupation authorities.

The French are trying to represent the revolt in Jebel Drus as a manoeuvre on the part of the English. Of course it is not impossible that the leader of the Druses, Al Atrasch, is made use of by the English in the same way as Abd-el-Krim was at one time made use of by the French against the Spanish, and is now being made use of by the English against the French. Al Atrasch is skilfully taking advantage of the Anglo-French antagonisms in Syria. In the revolt of Jebel Drus, which in addition to this has been severely hit by a bad harvest, we have a typical revolutionary revolt of an oppressed people against its oppressors. Al Atrasch aims at rousing all Syria into revolt and is putting forward the following slogans of a general national character: 1. Independence of Syria; 2. Convocation of a Constituent Assembly; 3. Withdrawal of the French troops. This alone renders Al Atrasch the leader of the emancipation movement in the whole of Syria.

The French are in an equally delicate situation in Syria as in Morocco. They must at all costs put an end to the revolt before the setting in of the rainy season. It is doubtful whether they will succeed in this; and in this event the revolt will drag on for a year if not for years, and French imperialism will be compelled to abandon Syria and Morocco.

The Situation in Esthonia.

By A. S. M.

In July last 300 Swedes paid a visit to Russia in order to investigate conditions there. The journey was organised by the Communists, but any worker organised in a trade union was allowed to take part in the same, and social democratic and syndicalist, as well as communist workers availed themselves of the opportunity. Among the party there were also some members of the bourgeoisie, including a director of a provincial newspaper, a liberal lawyer, a school teacher and a well-known artist.

The evil genius of West European democracy so willed it that the 300 travelled to Russia via Reval, so that they had the opportunity of comparing at first hand the bourgeois dictatorship of the Esthonian democracy with the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. The tremendous contrast between these two countries made the greatest impression upon the social democratic members of the travel party. These latter had been constantly informed by their party press that "Esthonia is an out-post of Western democracy against Bolshevism", so that they were astonished and embittered beyond measure by the inhospitable reception accorded them in Reval.

The Russian Embassy in Reval had prepared a dinner for the visitors in the Embassy grounds, but the Esthonian government forbade the Swedes, who in the meantime had become

hungry, from going to the Embassy; in fact it refused them permission to leave the ship until the train arrived to which of the Russian Embassy, who was accompanied by four police. Many of the Swedes were in a foreign country for the first time, and wanted to write to their relatives and acquaintances from this town; they managed, under great difficulties to hand over a few hundred postcards to the charge of an employee of the Russian Embassy, who was accompanied by four police.

The Esthonian population was prohibited from holding any intercourse whatever with the Swedes; a dock worker who in spite of this exchanged a few words with them, was arrested on the spot. When, however, in spite of this prohibition, some among the population wished to show their sympathy with the 300 visitors, they did so by a wave of the hand in a very cautious and surreptitious manner.

The train, which, after four hours delay, departed for the frontier, was accompanied by several hundred soldiers armed to the teeth in order to guard the dangerous travellers. These soldiers showed in an unmistakable manner that they would very gladly have cut them down with their side-arms. Whenever during the journey the Swedish workers sang the "International", a soldier immediately appeared at the door of the compartment, levelled his rifle, and gave them to understand that they would be immediately shot if they did not stop singing. At the frontier the train was deliberately held up half the night, although traffic with the Soviet Union has been regulated by a treaty; it was only after energetic protest on the part of the Soviet authorities that it was allowed to proceed.

The first "Potemkin village" which the Swedes set their eyes on was Kingisepp, where the entire population had actually waited eight hours for their arrival — of course they had been "compelled" to do so by the Bolsheviks. The 300 visitors were received by the Russians with singing and cheering and with such enthusiasm, that even the usually unemotional and reserved Swedes who are not easily excited, were so deeply touched that they could hardly express themselves in words; bright tears stood in the eyes of these sturdy, stolid workers. Then they viewed one "Potemkin village" after the other. The Bolsheviks are really masters of witchcraft.

On the return journey they were permitted, under strong escort, to take a look round the town of Reval, but they were attacked in the open street by fascists and police and robbed of their badges, as well as of the presents they had received in Russia. They preferred, therefore, to leave this inhospitable town as quickly as possible and betake themselves to the ship. But what must the social democrats among the party have thought? They knew that the general secretary of their party is enthusiastic regarding Esthonian liberty, and that some days after the killing of many communists in Reval in 1924, he had his photograph taken along with Esthonian "party comrades" who were responsible for these murders. On their arrival in Stockholm the delegates gave detailed reports regarding their experiences in Esthonia, but the social democratic press did not mention a word of this; instead of this they began to write about "Potemkin villages".

Now, a month or so later, the social democratic "Ny Tid" has had an interview in Göteborg with the "great" leader of the Esthonian Social Democracy, Mihkael Martna; and what he related at this interview, constitutes a damning indictment of "true democracy".

"Wages in Esthonia are at present 40% lower than they were before the war, although even at that time they were by no means high. Previously Esthonian industry was engaged in export to Russia; with the cessation of this export trade 20,000 out of the 50,000 industrial workers are unemployed. Not only wages but general working conditions have also become essentially worse. Housing conditions in our country are likewise very wretched, particularly in the capital town; the majority of families have only a single room, where they are obliged to cook their meals and to sleep. In fact the industrial workers do not constitute our supporters, our electors are among the small peasants and land workers.

Martna consoled himself however with the fact that, in spite of this, his Party forms part of a "democratic" coalition government, in which it holds two ministerial posts, "but our two comrades cannot achieve much against their nine bourgeois colleagues".

Little Esthonia has a relatively high military budget; but Martna as a good democrat, will not hear of this being reduced, although, as he himself says, "a third of the entire revenue is

devoted to military purposes, and in additions to this there is the expenditure for the police, so that these two departments swallow up half of the budget." "Hence there remains very little for cultural purposes; there is no unemployment benefit; it has been long abolished by the coalition government".

We have had therefore sufficient opportunity to see what leading, as well as rank and file, social democrats think regarding the state affairs in democratic Esthonia. We should be very glad if one of the grey-bearded sages in the great Socialist International would inform us in what way the workers of democratic Esthonia are better of than those workers "pining under the proletarian dictatorship" in the numerous Potemkin villages of the Soviet Union.

THE BALKANS

The Social Basis of the Zankov Government.

By V. Kolorov.

I.

1. The Economic and Social Structure of the Country.

Bulgaria has a population of approximately 5 millions, 80% of which is in the villages and only 20% in the towns. The density of the population is 74 to the square mile. The peasant population is divided amongst 5560 localities, the average number in each locality being 700. There are 92 towns, of these only the capital Sofia has over 200,000 inhabitants, two other towns have from 50—100,000 inhabitants and six further towns from 20—50,000 inhabitants. These figures prove that Bulgaria is preponderatingly a peasant country.

A considerable section of the population in some of the peasant districts, such as Perschin, Gorno-Oryechov etc. works in the mines and in the industrial undertakings there, and a not smaller section of the town population is engaged in agriculture. In 1910, 81% of the active population was engaged in agriculture and its allied branches. The present situation is not considerably different to that before the war, as in this period industry has made no particular progress.

In 1908, the total area of land under cultivation amounted to 19,716,653 acres; of these, 11,436,305 acres were in private hands, divided between 705,820 owners. According to the area of land owned, the owners were made up as follows:

Smallest landowners with an acreage	up to 7½ acres	41%
Small	from 7½ up to 24½ acres	46%
Middle	" " " " 24½ " " 42 "	14,35%
Larger	" " " " 49 " " 245 "	4,22%
Large	" " " " over " " 245 "	0,15%

The land areas owned were made up as follows (1910):

Smallest areas of land	up to 3 acres	16,10%
Small	from 3 " " 24½ "	64,60%
Middle	" " " " 24½ " " 73½ "	18,20%
Larger	" " " " 73½ " " 245 "	1,00%
Large	" " " " over " " 245 "	0,10%

It is impossible to determine with accuracy the alterations which have taken place since the war. But without doubt the process of proletarianisation has been strengthened. The general decay of agriculture and the derangement of peasant economy have both contributed to this. The relation between the large landowners and the other social groups in the village was altered to the disadvantage of the former by the loss of the Dobrudja, where at least one sixth of the large landed estates were concentrated. The land reform of the peasant government brought no important alterations with it, since it has gone over into the hands of the white guardist government. Up to the end of 1923, 120,905 acres of private land were expropriated and 80,430 acres of public land. The right to this land was recognised in the case of 79,527 landless and poor peasants, but only 780 persons finally received a total of 34,217 acres, or 43.14 acres each. After the overthrow of the 9th June, the expropriation ceased and a part of the re-distribution was annulled.

The economy of the small owner is very primitive. The machine and even the plough have not yet made their way into the Bulgarian villages. To each 49 acres there is one iron plough. The greater part of the small proprietors possess no

draught animals. In 1920, from a total of 641,744 peasant undertakings, one fourth possessed no draught animals and only one third possessed carts etc. This small-holding economy can only exist by the cultivation of tobacco, which is possible on a small area of land but which demands a great expenditure of labour power. In 1923, 191,800 undertakings cultivated tobacco, that is, 30 per cent.

The Bulgarian bourgeois economists point out that a welcome transition is taking place from extensive agriculture (cereals) to intensive (Tobacco etc.). But they naturally overlook the derangement of the small peasant economy, the rising exploitation of woman and child labour and the overloading of the small undertakings with mortgages held by commercial capital. Whilst in 1924 the wholesale price for bread cereals had reached to 30 times its pre-war level, in the same period the price for tobacco had risen only around 6 or 7 times its pre-war level. It is clear that the small peasants, in consequence of their lack of land and working animals, have gone over to the production of tobacco, despite the fact that this latter is less advantageous. This disadvantageous situation is utilised by the tobacco exporters, who have become one of the most powerful groups of capitalists in the country. According to an approximate calculation, in the last five years they have enriched themselves at the cost of the poor tobacco producer to the extent of three milliard Bulgarian levs.

Industry is still in its embryonic stage. With very few exceptions it is concentrated in the towns: the textile industry in Sliven and Gabrov, the sugar industry in Sofia and Philippopolis, Ruschuk and Gorna Oryechoviza, the tobacco industry in Philippopolis, Chaskov, Dubniza etc. Before the war, industry developed rather quickly, since then however it has come to a complete standstill. The census of 1922 showed that there were 1,541 industrial undertakings using over 10 horse-power in which 55,300 workers were permanently employed. A sum amounting to 5,758 Bulgarian levs was invested in them. The tobacco industry employed 19,815 workers or 35.8 per cent. The mines 9,642 workers or 17.4 per cent. The food industry 7,543 or 13.6%. The metal industry 4,482 or 8.1%. Practically the industrial army, including its reserves, totalled round about 80,000 men. It must be pointed out that since the war the national industry has been going over more and more into the hands of foreign capital, which enters the country, not to develop the productive forces, but to carry out unlimited exploitation. The Bulgarian industrialists, who enjoy no credit, have either sold their factories or turned their businesses into joint stock companies; in one form or the other they have come under the control of foreign capital. The anxiety of the Bulgarian industrialists for the revolutionary movement also contributes to this process, for in order to avoid the risk, the capitalists invest their money under a false flag. The chief national industrial branches — the milling and tobacco industries — are already completely in the hands of foreign capital, and soon the leather, textile and spirit industries etc. will follow them.

The war furthered the concentration of large capital, which however was not invested in an industry in the throes of a crises, but in speculation which opened up undreamt-of possibilities. Both the external and internal commerce is almost completely concentrated in the hands of the joint stock banks and companies. At the end of 1922 there were 531 such undertakings, with a total capital of 1,395 million levs. From the joint stock capital, 58.7% was invested in commerce (Bank, credit and currency institutions etc.), 2.6% in mining, 36% in industry, 2.3% in agriculture and cattle breeding and 0.4% in transport.

In 1924 foreign capital was represented in Bulgaria in 51 joint stock companies with a total capital of 410 million levs. Of this the eight banks accounted for 182 million levs, the 19 industrial companies 135 millions and the 19 commercial companies 82 millions. The entrance of foreign capital after the war also takes the form of capturing the internal commerce. A great part of the imports and exports goes through foreign firms which have set up their branches and agencies in the country. The total foreign trade in 1923, both export and import, reached 8,650.8 million levs. The imports for 1924 divide themselves as follows: 78.2% factory products and 14.7% raw materials and half-manufactured articles. The exports: 56.1% bread, cereals and food and 34.8% for raw materials and semi-manufactured products.

In consequence of the weak development of industry, handicraft still occupies a large place in the national economy. The

handicraftsmen form a rather numerically strong class chiefly in the towns. But the general crisis of industry and the lack of credit — in 1922 from the total sum discounted by the Bulgarian National Bank, only 1.4% fell to the share of handicrafts — result in the speedy ruin of the handicraftsmen. Nevertheless, a great number of wage workers are engaged in handicraft.

Reliable figures upon the class composition of the population of Bulgaria are not available. The figures given in the "Yearbook" of Varga are, it is true, taken from the official Bulgarian statistics, but they give a false picture of the social groupings in the country.

The following figures are approximately correct concerning the social grouping:

Proletarians	29%
Semi-proletarians	12%
Petty-bourgeoisie	40%
Middle- "	16%
Large- "	3.5%

From what has been previously said the following conclusions may be drawn:

1) Bulgaria is preponderatingly a peasant country, an agricultural country with small property owners. Nevertheless, the towns, although small, play a comparatively great role as centres where the economic, political and cultural life concentrates.

As a consequence, the organised state power, despite its low numerical strength, has a comparatively great significance.

2) The diffusion of the small producers in small groups and their economic independence of one another considerably reduces, despite their numerical strength, their influence upon the economic and political life of the country.

3) The proletariat, concentrated chiefly in the town, has, although it is not numerically strong, a great significance as the leader and the advance-guard of the semi-proletarian small property-owning masses. Its division amongst comparatively small industrial and handicraft undertakings is to a certain extent compensated for by the existence of solid and active trade union and political organisations.

4) Large land ownership is insignificant and the large landowners play no independent and leading role.

5) The town bourgeoisie, despite its numerical weakness, has a comparatively great economic and political power. The chief role is played by bank and commercial capital.

6) From its relation to foreign capital, Bulgaria is a colony. Despite this however, the Bulgarian capitalists use the foreign control in order to strengthen their position against the toiling masses.

2. The Forces which Carried out the Coup d'Etat.

Stambulisky came to power after the elections of the 17th August 1919, which gave the Peasant League a relative majority in the parliament. For the formation of the government he was compelled to seek support from other parties. A coalition with the Communist Party, the second strongest party in the country, was at that time out of the question. But for a number of reasons, a coalition with the mensheviks also did not take place. Stambulisky preferred a combination with the considerably weakened and less exacting progressives and narodniki. The first named entered the peasant government in their capacity as agents of the capitalist class.

After the suppression of the transport workers strike (December 1919 to February 1920), Stambulisky believed that he had weakened the Communist Party, and so he dissolved the Parliament and set the new elections for the 28th March 1920, in the expectation of gaining an absolute majority. But his expectation came to nought, the Communist Party increased the number of its representatives from 47 to 50, and in order to maintain itself in power and to continue governing the country, the peasant government was compelled to resort to bargaining with a certain number of the oppositional representatives.

Some time later a right wing formed itself within the Peasant League and called for a co-operation with the bourgeois parties and threatened to break up the peasant government from within. In order to save the situation, Stambulisky once again dissolved parliament and, after a previous alteration of the electoral system, set the new elections for April 1923. This time the Peasant League received a crushing majority in

parliament and its parliamentary situation was consolidated. But only a month and a half later followed the white guardist coup d'Etat.

The influence of the Peasant League upon the masses of the peasantry was incontestably greater, and the number of votes cast for it rose from 203,773 in 1919 to 346,949 in 1920, and in 1923 reached 437,000. Despite this, however, it did not receive an absolute majority of the votes cast. It was therefore compelled to seek for support either from the town capitalist bourgeoisie, i. e. from the Right, or from the working class, that is, from the Left. But the unequal social composition of the Peasant League made it impossible for Stambulisky to declare definitely either for the bourgeoisie or for the proletariat. Instead, he manoeuvred and changed his front from time to time. In this way, dissatisfaction with the peasant government grew both from the Right and from the Left, and at the same time the government also failed to satisfy the masses of the peasantry which supported it.

The capitalist bourgeoisie was used to commanding the state and working with state means. Under the government of Stambulisky, however, it was compelled to suffer its humiliation and to content itself with the crumbs tossed to it by the State, and very often it had to make real sacrifices in order to save its vital interests at all. The interests of all capitalist groups were threatened. The land reform perceptibly disturbed the "sacred rights of property" of the large landowners, that is those owners who did not cultivate their land themselves. Only the overthrow of the peasant government could restore their threatened property. The house owners had also suffered. A not inconsiderable number of buildings was expropriated for the use of the state and public societies with only a minimal compensation. And those owners who were not expropriated could not exploit their property according to the bourgeois law of supply and demand, for the tenants enjoyed the protection of a special law. For this category of capitalists also, salvation lay in the overthrow of the "peasant tyranny". The peasant government declared that it did not persecute industrial capital, nevertheless, the industrialists also felt themselves to be in danger, first of all because the Peasant League, conscious of its power, cast its eyes upon the milling industry and declared that it must belong to the peasantry, and secondly because industry received no sufficient amount of credit from the national bank. And finally, because industry was practically in the hands of the banks which dictated their attitude to the industrialists.

Naturally, the most perceptibly hit was bank and commercial capital. Stambulisky inflamed the hatred of the peasant masses against the speculators and the bankers and prepared the moral preliminary conditions for drastic action against them later. But apart from this, the peasant government, by a number of state measures, threw down the gauntlet also to large commercial capital. In 1919, for instance, it founded a consortium consisting of agricultural co-operatives and state banks, to which it gave the commercial monopoly for bread cereals. That was a terrible blow for the large bread cereal exporters who previously had formed the strongest capitalist group in the country. Two years later however, they were successful in abolishing this monopoly by the intervention of interested foreign firms and by the action of the Reparations Commission. But after this defeat the Peasant League did not give up the fight: the government attempted to form a consortium which would in fact have the monopoly in virtue of the credits issued by the state banks.

Under the peasant government the policy of the banks became ever more and more fatal to the interests of private commercial capital. The latter was clearly unable to carry out its gigantic operations in the purchase and in the export of the cereals, tobacco crop etc. without far reaching credits from the financial institutions of the State. In 1921, for instance, 73% of the total amount discounted by the Bulgarian National Bank went to the credit of merchants, banks and commercial companies and only 7% to the peasants. In 1922 however, the proportion was reversed, and the former received only 20% of the total bank credit whilst the latter received a full 52%. In the same period the credit of the industrialists rose from 11.6% to 12.5. The peasant government had, however, by cutting off the bankers and large commercialists so ruthlessly from their gold supply, made these latter into its sworn enemies.

And in fact Bank and export capital stood at the head of the struggle against the peasant government. It mobilised

the rest of the dissatisfied capitalist groups around it, and the whole capitalist bourgeoisie, strengthened by the large landowners and the owners of house property, took up the struggle against Stambulsky. That was very much, but not yet all. It was necessary to draw still other social groups into the fight and to work out the necessary programme to make the struggle into a struggle of the "whole nation" — and what was most important, to organise a sufficient armed power and to win over the army. The large bourgeoisie quickly closed its ranks under the hegemony of bank and commercial capital and set to work. It proclaimed itself as the "Bulgarian People", declared its interests to be the "interests of the people", and raised the banner of the "People's Alliance", to which it called all Bulgarian and all Parties, with the exception of the members of the Peasant League and the Communists. A conspirative political organisation, the "People's Alliance", was led and financed by the bankers and large merchants. The military organisation of the overthrow was placed in the hands of the Officers League.

What social groups responded to the appeal to found the "People's Alliance"?

First of all — the bourgeois intellectuals. The winning over of this group was of particular importance as a great section had served during the war as reserve officers. The rule of the Peasant League, which pushed the peasant half-intelligencia into the foreground, had abolished the educational conditions for the holding of most posts and in this way it had laid hands on the privileges which guarantee the existence of the educated intelligencia. Naturally, this latter group was indignant at the advance of "ignorance" and "peasant lack of culture", and set all its hopes upon a restoration of bourgeois government. In 1922 a conflict took place between the government and the Professors of Sofia University. The latter had received support from the banks for the previous six months and sought to influence the students. The alliance of capital with "science" was completed. The Peasant League regarded the legal profession, from which the majority of all party leaders had come, as the source of all evil. And upon its accession to power it commenced to fight the latter systematically: it abolished the institute of lawyers in the civil courts, it limited their right to appear before the military courts etc. The lawyers, hit so keenly, placed themselves in the front ranks of the struggle against the peasant government. At the same time the government threatened a section of the doctors with distribution to the villages, in order to supply medical aid to the peasants. In this way it brought the doctors into the ranks of its enemies.

The attitude of the officers, both in the active list and on the reserve, was of special importance. Before the War the sons of Mars had enjoyed exclusive privileges which no one had dared to touch. The peace treaty however which disarmed Bulgaria, was a catastrophe for the Officers Corps. The greater section was on the streets and the defeat and the coming of the general crisis influenced the privileges and the prestige of those officers still in the service. In consequence the dissatisfaction amongst the officers was very great, and upon this basis there were serious conflicts between the government and the Officers Corps. In order to guarantee the safety of the Gendarmerie, Stambulsky began to make supporters of the Peasant League, ex-sergeant, majors etc. into officers. In the army he utilised the non-commissioned officers. A great section of the active Officers Corps maintained its enmity towards the government to the end. With regard to the dismissed officers and non-commissioned officers, these were compelled to rely upon state posts for which they could only hope after the overthrow of the peasant government. With this the **Federation of Officers and non-commissioned Officers** was practically an organisation which prepared the overthrow, and it therefore formed a support of the Officers League.

A second support of the League was the **Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation**. The peasants were the least nationalist and after the defeat, the least inclined for war. In consequence it was easy for Stambulsky to declare that the "National Ideals" of the Bulgarian People were buried, and therefore to give up all claims to Macedonia and to pursue a policy of reconciliation towards Jugoslavia. But just this policy turned the nationalist elements against him, and they sought to maintain Bulgarian Nationalism under the cloak of the Macedonian Organisation. It was not difficult for them to confuse the mass of conscripts in the Macedonian Organisation and to mobilise them in the name of "Macedonian Autonomy" against the Peasant Government.

The petty bourgeois, workers, employees and working intelligencia of the towns in the main did not support the overthrow. A section of the handicraftsmen was even sympathetic towards the Peasant League. Those of them who belonged to bourgeois parties strengthened their passivity. It was however, a different matter when the overthrow was an achieved fact. A great section of the handicraftsmen and small dealers, oppressed by the heavy taxes, believed in fact that the overthrow would really bring them "freedom", and so they greeted it with joy and hope. But this illusion lasted but a very short time. The reality quickly opened their eyes. The same was true of a section of the state officials. Pauperised and the object of continuous attacks and injustices on the part of the government, which also limited their right of combination, they set all their hopes upon the overthrow, but their disappointment followed still quicker. Among the working class, naturally the overthrow produced no particularly cheerful spirit. The terror of the Peasant Government against the workers had been hard, despite this however the latter grasped the fact that the overthrow had given back the power into the hands of their most deadly class enemies, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and in their great majority they were prepared to fight to the death against the overthrow. Unfortunately, the Party, surprised and disorganised by the unexpectedness of the overthrow, did not come forward actively enough and failed to lead the masses in the struggle.

The bourgeoisie could win neither the petty bourgeoisie nor the working class to an active participation in the overthrow. And apart from this it needed neither of them. Its programme of a "Peoples Alliance" was only a mask. It did not need the masses of the people, but well-organised conspirative groups and fighting units. And when it was successful in creating these and in being able to rely upon the support of the army, the Macedonian revolutionary organisation and the Russian monarchists, then the coup d'État itself was a detail. With regard to King Boris, he was a sympathising prisoner in its hands. In this it received the active diplomatic support of Italy and England.

(To be continued.)

ECONOMICS

The United States and World Shipping.

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The strikes of seafarers now going on in Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Australasia, and the Far East, render it important that exact information be available about the position of the United States in world shipping, as a basis for the programme of the militant seamen of America to participate in the world struggle of the toilers of the sea.

According to Lloyd's Register, 1924—25, the total tonnage of the world is 64,023,567; of this, 15,956,967 tons are of United States entry, or approximately 25%. Great Britain is credited with 21,878,500 tons, or 34% of the world tonnage. The remaining 41% is divided almost entirely among 30 other countries, the largest of which is Japan. Japan has 3,843,707 tons, or 6%; the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, have together 7½%; France has 3,498,233 tons, and Germany 2,953,671; the first something under 6% and the latter over 4%. Italy is slightly under Germany, with 2,832,212 tons. The Dutch shipping amounts to 4%, and the Spanish to 2%. Thus eleven nations control 92% of the world's tonnage, of which 59% is in the hands of John Bull and Uncle Sam, leaving 33% to the nine other principal countries*).

All of this tonnage is not in use. There has been a world crisis in shipping for the past five years, with vast amounts of tonnage lying idle. The most acute result to the workers in this crisis, heretofore, has been in the ship-building industry. In America, the labour unions in the shipyards have been almost entirely destroyed. In Gt. Britain, the unions have suffered severe defeats and unemployment.

The amount of idle tonnage is given in a U. S. Govt. Report**) as 6,753,000 tons for the world, of which the United

*) Merchant Marine Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Navigation.

**) Commerce Reports, Aug. 24, 1925, page 429.

States has 4,253,000 tons, and Gt. Britain 1,130,000 tons. More important than the relative amount of idle tonnage, however, is the tendency of development. From Jan. 1 to July 1, 1925, the amount of idle tonnage in the United States increased by less than 1%, while that of Gt. Britain increased nearly 60%.

It is this sharp accentuation of the shipping crisis for Gt. Britain that has brought about the struggle now going on between ship owners and seafarers throughout the world. British shipping has lost tremendously through the decline in British hegemony over the world market. Even in 1921, the figures of British imports showed a decline to 74.3% of those of 1913, while exports had dropped to 49.8% of 1913; this decline has become even greater at the present time***).

At the same time that British shipping is in decay, the opposite is true of United States shipping. Less than 9% of the idle tonnage in the U. S. reflects any crisis in transportation itself, as distinct from ship building. The present tremendous U. S. Merchant Marine was produced during the war, by Government funds, and is now being absorbed into the "normal" process of American Imperialism. Beginning with the sale of vast quantities of tonnage by the Government to private interests, at a mere fraction of their value, the process is being carried through along two main lines: (1) the tremendous increase of U. S. foreign trade, and (2) the capture of world shipping through competition in rates.

The first of these lines of development is shown, for example, in the facts contained in an article by E. D. Durand (in Commerce Reports, Aug. 10, 1925, Dept. of Commerce), as follows:

"The value of exports in 1924-25 was a trifle less than two and one-fourth times, and that of imports a trifle over two and one-fourth times greater than in the average pre-war year... Although prices now average decidedly higher than before the war, there has been a quantitative increase of somewhere between 30 and 40 per cent in the case of exports, and of somewhere between 50 and 70 per cent in the case of imports, export prices on the whole increasing more than import prices."

The second line of development is illustrated in the "almost utter collapse" of the shipping industry, described by A. R. Marsh, in an article in the "Annalist", Aug. 28, previously cited, in 1920, when "ocean freight rates had fallen precipitately to a mere fraction of what they had been a few months before", and in the current rate decreases in 1925, as described by E. S. Gregg, in his article, "Shipping Depression Continues", in Commerce Reports, Aug. 24, 1925.

In the bitter struggle between British and American shipping interests for mastery of the world's shipping, the British owners are now trying to offset to some degree the advantage which the U. S. interests gained by the indirect but effective subsidy embodied in the sale of Government ships to private interests for little or nothing; the latest move of British shipping interests being another drastic cut in wages, to make the seamen bear more of the burden of imperialist competition. The British-wage-slashing campaign is, of course and by the "necessity" of capitalism, immediately reflected in wage-slashes in the smaller shipping nations of the world.

But this latest offensive against the interests of the working class has aroused the most wide-spread and desperate resistance. To this struggle of the workers in Europe and Asia, the workers of America must react by mobilizing the utmost possible assistance, and by joining the struggle. Unless the British and other seamen, now struggling against wage-cuts in the principal seaports of the world, are successful in their fight, the American seamen and the entire American working class eventually, will also feel the lash of their masters, driving them to pay still greater tribute for the imperialist rivalry for control of world commerce. It is thus of the most vital interest to the American seamen, and to the whole American labour movement, to join in and to assist the struggle of the seamen of Europe and Asia.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The XII. Congress of the German Trade Unions.

By Aug. Enderle (Berlin).

Whilst in England and France the Trade Union Congresses take place every year, the Congress of the A. D. G. B. (General Federation of German Trade Unions) is held only once in three years. In spite of this long period, and in spite of the fact that the past three years have been the most critical years for the A. D. G. B., as well as for the whole German working class, and that during this time the eight hour day has been lost, the rights of the factory councils have been restricted, social legislation in part abolished and in other respects restricted, an atmosphere of gaping boredom prevailed at the Congress. The leadership of the A. D. G. B., like the reformist majority of the Congress, had nothing whatever to say regarding the many present-day trade union problems; in fact one had the impression that the fossilized bureaucrats are not even capable of perceiving the problems.

Leipart opened the Congress with a profound bow to the various government representatives and to the representatives of the provincial and municipal authorities who were present. Under the pretext of saving time, the representatives of the foreign trade unions were not permitted to speak; only Mertens, from Belgium, in the name of the I. F. T. U., as well in the name of the foreign delegates, welcomed the Congress in a deplorably wretched speech.

In the main report of the Chairman of the Federation, Leipart, one failed to notice any fundamental treatment of the present tasks of the trade unions. The 50% decline in the membership, the loss of almost all the positions of the working class, was obviously for Leipart no occasion for profound thought or to acknowledge that there must be fundamental errors in the entire policy and tactics of the A. D. G. B. In the face of all these facts he could only repeat one thing: We, the A. D. G. B. and the trade unions, are in no way responsible for this. The blame rests upon the employers and — of course — the communists. It goes without saying that Leipart, in adopting this attitude, made no positive proposals for definite fighting measures, or even for a change of tactics in the sense of the class struggle towards any question.

Before the commencement of the general discussion on the trade union report the question was raised of supporting the many motions brought forward by the members regarding the various questions of the day. And, as a motion must have the support of at least 50 delegates, 90% of all the proposals brought forward by the members were doomed beforehand to be flung into the waste-paper basket, because they were not sufficiently supported. This served to show the actual relation of forces at the Congress. Of the 314 delegates, who, according to the average of 1924, represented 4½ million members, only three were communists. All the rest belonged to the Social Democratic Party of Germany. But these figures in no way corresponded to the actual mood among the masses of the members. As there was only one delegate to every 15,000 members, it was an easy matter for the ruling reformist bureaucracy practically to exclude the communist opposition. Thus, for example, in the metal workers' Union, 38,000 out of 140,000 votes were cast for the opposition list. In spite of this the opposition had only one delegate out of 59.

Apart from a small and feeble dispute between the strikingly small Dissmann group and the Federation Executive, the only discussion involving principles was that waged between the Communist delegates and the whole crowd of reformists. It was very significant in this connection that the speeches of the Communists were listened to with the greatest attention by all participants of the Congress, and were accompanied by lively applause from the crowded galleries.

By means of throttling all the oppositional proposals, the Congress majority avoided taking up a concrete attitude to the question of International and National Trade Union Unity. Leipart treated this question, which at the present moment is playing a very great role in all the trade union organisations of the world, very lightly. Without going further into the matter

***) Figures quoted by A. R. Marsh, editor Economic World, in "Annalist" Aug. 28, 1925, page 245.

he frankly and openly maintained that the A. D. G. B. gives place to no other trade union organisation in the world in its desire for Trade Union Unity; that it was and remains always ready at any time for the setting up of Trade Union Unity, and that it is solely the fault of the Russian trade unions if Trade Union Unity has not yet been arrived at. He carefully avoided alluding to the negotiations in the Executive of the I. F. T. U. in January and April of this year. He was equally careful to avoid adopting an attitude to the question of the Anglo-Russian unity Committee. In short, he took good care not to divulge the fact that up to now all efforts to establish unity had been wrecked by the resistance of the representatives of the A. D. G. B., who demand from the Russian trade unions unconditional affiliation to the I. F. T. U. and reject any preliminary discussion, or even an international trade union congress, which would aim at carrying out an amalgamation upon a new basis instead of unconditional affiliation. On the other hand, the communist delegates were the only ones who clearly set forth the real issue in their speeches, as well in their declaration of programme. The majority of the Congress, however, remained deaf to these objections and to the correct statement of the position. Nevertheless, it felt a little uneasy in view of the growing sympathy of the German working class for Soviet Russia, the journey of the German workers' delegation to Russia, and the enthusiastic reception accorded to this delegation by the workers in every town and factory in Germany.

Although the Congress refused to allow representatives of the workers' delegation to speak at the Congress, nevertheless, the Federation Executive was compelled to speak of "sympathy for Soviet Russia" and its readiness to send an official ADGB. delegation to Russia. It however made the reservation that it must demand "guarantees" for an unhindered investigation of the situation in Russia, and the free choice of its own interpreters.

In the question of the eight hour day, at present the most important problem in the German trade union movement, there was revealed the entire bankruptcy of the ADGB. In order to avoid the real struggle of the working masses for the eight hour day, the Federation Executive, in March 1924, decided, to carry out a plebiscite over the Washington Agreement, and thereby to obtain its ratification. For the plebiscite, the trade unions affiliated to the ADGB. demanded an extra contribution of 50 pfennigs from all their members. Nothing however was undertaken by the ADGB. for the practical carrying out of the plebiscite, and in the last few months there has very little been said in the ADGB. regarding the plebiscite. There were now submitted to the Congress a number of motions, among them one from the Metal Workers' Union, calling for the immediate carrying out of the ADGB. decision, of the plebiscite. But the Federation Executive fought tooth and nail against this proposal, because, so they stated, they will not permit themselves to be committed to the employment of a definite tactic. The real reason for this resistance is the fact that the Federation Executive do not wish to carry out the plebiscite on the eight hour day, because they fear that even to take a vote on this question would serve to stir up the masses. It was clearly and plainly shown that the Federation Executive are reconciled to the present situation, that is to say with the legal abolition of the eight hour day, and that they do not desire any new disturbance. The proposal of the Metal Workers', therefore, was declared to be settled by the acceptance of the Federation Executive resolution, which means that it was rejected.

The fifth item on the agenda: "German Economy" and "Economic Democracy" was treated as being the most important question. Although the ADGB. leadership, right up to the time immediately before the Congress, gave no official intimation as to what was really desired and aimed at by this item of the agenda, it was known by means of various statements and articles of some of the prominent ADGB. leaders that a fundamental change of policy of the entire German trade union movement was to be introduced; that means that co-operation with capital, which has been carried out in practice since 1914, is to become a definite part of the ADGB. programme.

In the statutes of the ADGB. trade unions, as well as in agitation, such catchwords as "class struggle", "overthrow of capitalism", "Socialism" etc. still continue to play a certain role. But the contradiction between the practice and the "revolutionary" programme of the trade unions has become more and more glaring in all movements. The leaders of the trade unions have long since become reconciled to capitalism; they

consider themselves the firmest pillars of the Republic and, as a result of this attitude, they are neither capable nor willing to carry out to a logical end the most simple struggles over wages and working hours if they do not wish to "shake" the capitalist economy and the capitalist State. It is for this reason that the ADGB. leaders are striving finally to abandon the old phraseology of class struggle, overthrow of capitalism etc. and to aim at "equality" with capital and by means of a new theory, to win the trade unions and the working masses for co-operation in conducting the national economy and for "Economic Democracy". The organs for this participation in the capitalist economy shall consist of local, district and national economic councils, on which shall sit an equal number workers' and employers' representatives.

It was very interesting to note that Herr Hermsberg, Professor of Economy, who is certainly no communist, in the course of his report, and still more in the discussion and in his closing speech, found himself in opposition to the leading forces of the ADGB. Hermsberg roundly declared that it was ridiculous to strive for the participation of the trade unions in the conduct of capitalist economy, and that it was bound to lead to a severe disappointment of the masses, because, in the capitalist economy there does not and cannot exist any systematic planned leadership. An Economic Democracy would only be possible after the abolition of capitalist economy.

The ADGB. leaders pulled long faces when this Professor arrived at such conclusions; the more so as in the discussion some of the speakers in the reformist camp declared the line of reasoning of Hermsberg to be absolutely correct. But Tarnov, one of the cleverest Right leaders of the ADGB. openly declared:

"The working masses have lost their ideals and their belief in the movement owing to the failure of the trade unions during and after the revolution and through the non-fulfilment of their hopes. But a mass movement without ideals is impossible, and therefore we must give the working masses a new ideal, a new purpose, the fight for Economic Democracy".

This was plain and straight forward, and means nothing more or less than: if we cannot obtain anything concrete with Economic Democracy, nevertheless it is an excellent means with which to befog the masses, in order, instead of the revolutionary class struggle, to place before their eyes a "practical" aim for the present. A terribly long resolution was then adopted which, in essence, demands the immediate setting up of legal economic organs with equal representation.

A further important item on the agenda was the organisation question, the question of craft or industrial unions. Here the sharp differences of opinion which many expected did not make themselves apparent. Dissmann admitted himself beaten at the outset, and accordingly delivered a miserably poor agitation speech for the idea of industrial unions. All further discussion was gagged by the closing of the discussion, and the motion of the Executive, which was the result of a compromise with the Dissmann wing, was accepted.

* * *

With this surprisingly speedy settlement of the organisation question the Congress had practically reached the end of its deliberations. The existing Federation Executive was re-elected, all proposals regarding the alteration of the statutes of the Federation which were not put forward by the Executive were rejected. Under the heading of "other proposals", there were rejected all the proposals submitted by the members regarding the struggle for the immediate release of all proletarian political prisoners, collective affiliation of the trade unions to the Workers' International Relief, support of the Red Aid organisations by the trade unions etc.

In order in the words of the chairman of the Congress, to "fill up the time", the various foreign trade union representatives were allowed to speak at the end. The only speech which deserves mentioning is that of the Hungarian trade union representative Rottstein, who was cynical enough to declare:

"It was we, the Hungarian trade unions, who fought right from the commencement against the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship, and we brought about its overthrow, not Horthy, who only came later".

It is necessary that this acknowledgment of treachery should be known to the whole world, for it not only removes an old legend, according to which the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship was responsible for the Horthy reign of terror, but it shows to

the whole world that the present trade union leaders of Hungary are entirely acting as the bought creatures of Horthy. This confession of Rottstein is on a par with the words of the vice chairman of the ADGB, Hermann Müller, who, at the conclusion of his report on social legislation, declared:

"It is we, (the ADGB.) who have set up a dam against the Bolshevist flood, it is we who saved Germany from Bolshevism".

The Breslau Trade Union Congress again proves that the reactionary reformist trade union leaders are all alike in all countries, that they are everywhere the most active counter-revolutionaries. The trade unions, however, are mass organs of the Proletariat, and the above-quoted words of Müller and Rottstein show that a victorious revolution is only possible if the trade unions, that is to say the millions of trade union members, are won away from the ideological and organisatory influence of these counter-revolutionaries. Communist enlightenment work among the masses, most intensive work in the reformist trade unions, this means in the truest sense of the word: **organising of the Revolution.**

THE WHITE TERROR

The Persecution of Comrade Lantzutsky.

(Special Telegramm to the "Inprecorr".)

Moscow, 13th September 1925.

In a day or two there commences in Warsaw the new Lantzutsky trial, after the court of Lodz has already succeeded in condemning Lantzutsky to three years imprisonment.

Lantzutsky declared before the Court: "It is not a question of justice with you; you only wish to strangle our movement". The Warsaw trial proves to us the correctness of the words of Lantzutsky, who is behaving in a heroic and proletarian manner.

The charge is brought forward on account of the Open Letter Lantzutsky addressed to Novak, who was then Prime Minister, in November 1922, in which he protested against the persecution of the League of the village proletariat with the town proletariat and called attention to the mass arrests, prohibition of meetings etc. "The elections in Poland", wrote Lantzutsky, "can be compared with the elections in Hungary and Roumania. Freedom in the Polish Republic only exists for the big landowners and the capitalist clique. The bourgeois democracy can only resort to lies and base trickery in order to conceal the suppression of the mass of the people". Lantzutsky is to be condemned for the second time on account of this letter.

The Terrorist Justice in Greece.

By Th. Gracchus (Athens).

Terror has for years past been the normal regime throughout the whole of the Balkan Peninsula. The Balkan governments are endeavouring to outdo each other in their measures of oppression. If Zankov is the professor of terrorism in the Balkans, the rulers of the other Balkan countries are becoming more and more the worthy disciples of their master.

For several years the changes of government in Greece have been nothing else than changes of dictators. If however all the dictators of the past endeavoured to appear behind the mask of parliamentarism, the new Cabinet, at the head of which is General Pangalos, has thrown aside every appearance of legality and has come forward as a military dictatorship which has no respect for any law.

In the first days after he took over the government, General Pangalos issued a decree for the defence of the Republic. This decree repeats the fundamental laws of the Constitution; but what is most remarkable, the war council declare that the government has full powers to alter or modify the constitution, and that therefore the decree for the defence of the Republic is quite in order.

Up to the present there have been three prosecutions, two of which were against the Communists.

The first of these two cases concerns the Communist organisation of the port of Piraeus, which wanted to organise a mee-

ting, and for this purpose requested the permission of the military government of this town, which permission was duly granted. On the day however on which the meeting was to take place, an officer informed the committee of the organisation that the permission was withdrawn. The Committee protested. Thereupon the officer and the soldiers who accompanied him arrested 12 comrades on the ridiculous charge of holding an "illegal meeting" and of having proclaimed in public that the government intended to expend 4½ milliard drachma for the army, a fact which had been announced by the bourgeois papers days before.

The second case was quite on the lines of those of the Zankov school. When the 12 comrades arrested in Piraeus were conveyed to military prison, a corporal with soldiers of the Republican guard flogged the arrested in the most brutal manner. The prison authorities would allow neither a doctor nor a lawyer to see the comrades, although some of them were seriously ill.

On the following day the Communist organ, "Rizospastis", published an article under the heading: "Zankov can no longer claim the monopoly of bestiality in the Balkans". As a result, the paper was accused of desiring to lower the prestige of the Republican regime in the eyes of the people, in spite of the fact that the "Rizospastis" is the only paper which for many years has fought against monarchism. But what goes to prove the absurdity of the whole charge is the fact that four of the arrested comrades, who on the same day on which the article appeared were lying ill as a result of the brutal mishandling they had received on the previous day, are accused as being the authors of the article.

At the first trial, in spite of the fact that in the case of several comrades it was proved that they had taken no part in the acts of which they had been accused, nine of them were condemned to 17½ years imprisonment, among them being comrade Maximos, the secretary of the Party.

In the second case, whilst the government commissioner only demanded the sentencing of the responsible editor of the "Rizospastis", and the acquittal of the remaining comrades, the military council ordered the suspension of the paper for six months and condemned comrades Fitsos, the responsible editor of "Rizospastis", and Puliopulis, who was elected as party secretary at the last Party Conference, to 1½ years imprisonment each and comrade Maximos, who, after the imprisonment of comrade Puliopulos, was elected party secretary, to one year imprisonment.

It must be observed that some days previously a bourgeois paper was condemned under the same law, to be suspended for three months and its editor sentenced to six months imprisonment. Some days after the sentence, however, they were pardoned.

At the beginning of September there was commenced the trial of those comrades who have been accused on account of the slogan of the party, "for the liberty and independence of Macedonia and Thrace"; but this trial has been postponed, because the government commissioner has submitted a letter from the secretariat of the Communist International, which has undoubtedly emanated from the same source as the notorious "Zinoviev Letter" and the no less notorious "documents" of Zankov.

The terrorist justice is raging in Greece with all its fury. The Greek bourgeoisie feels the ground shaking beneath its feet.

With the suspension of the "Rizospastis", the Communist Party of Greece is left without a central organ, as the government has issued an order for the suspension of the other journal of the Party "The proletarian Struggle".

Persecution of Communists in New Turkey.

By B. Ferdi (Constantinople).

More than three months ago the "Independence Tribunal" of Angora caused about fifteen workers and intellectuals to be arrested in Constantinople, on the charge of carrying on communist agitation during the demonstrations on 1. May, and of publishing a revolutionary pamphlet.

Those arrested were as a matter of fact communists, who have been carrying on methodical propaganda for years. They published a Marxist periodical "Aidinlik", and a labour newspaper: "Sickle and Hammer". These publications were read by more than 3000 persons, mostly workers. Wherever the labour movement awakened into activity, our comrades have been in

the front ranks. The leading trade unions, around which several tens of thousands of workers are gathered today, have, of their own free will been in agreement with their leadership by the communists.

The authorities maintain that these comrades, who carried on an open propaganda for Communism, were at the same time members of a very powerful secret organisation. The only germ of truth in this assertion is the fact that an illegal communist organisation has existed in Turkey since 1919, and all the efforts made by the Kemalist police to discover it have been in vain. Our champions, who had determined to defend the communist standpoint openly in the press and in the trade unions, were not members of this secret organisation, and held strictly to legality, thus offering no opportunity for persecution. As early as May 1922 the government seized the occasion offered by the distribution of an illegal proclamation to order the arrest of all persons whose writings or speeches showed them to be open representatives of communist tendencies. But as the mere fact of being a communist is not yet an offence against Turkish law, the court of justice at Constantinople was obliged to acquit our comrades.

After the last arrests, three months ago, the belief was current that the police had seized important documents evidencing the existence of an illegal party. It was expected that the accused would be sentenced to one or two years imprisonment on the charge of forming a political secret organisation.

The trial of the accused which was recently held showed, however, that the indictment contained no serious evidence against our comrades.

The trial was a farce. The accused did not even have the opportunity of providing the customary defence. The republican public prosecutor based his charges upon newspaper articles, upon passages from communist works, and upon the proud admission — "confession" — of our comrades that they, in the language of the public prosecutor, were "agents for the overthrow of the social order". The public prosecutor of the Turkish national republic in fact showed in every way that he was in no way inferior to his colleagues of the civilised European West.

The monstrous sentence, one which can never be erased from the history of Kemalism, shows that the sole object in view is the crushing of the communist movement. **Seventeen champions of communism, from among the best workers of Turkey, were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.** Our comrade Dr. Scheefik Huzny, our leading theoretician, and three other foreign comrades, were each sentenced to 15 years penal servitude. Fortunately, these four are out of reach of the minions of the Kemal republic. **The thirteen other accused, whom the republic has unfortunately been able to place behind prison bars, have been given sentences to penal servitude ranging from 10 to 17 years.** The Angora government thus proves that it is quite on a level with the civilisation of the capitalist governments of Europe.

The working class of Turkey is already too thoroughly conscious of its real interests and of its historical rôle to be intimidated by perverted justice of this description. The working class has replied to the recent discontinuation of the communist newspapers by founding in Brussa a proletarian weekly, the "Yoldachi". This last blow dealt by the imprisonment of its champions has already been answered by the working class by actions more energetic and powerful than ever before. This is demonstrated by the last strike among the engineers of the Bosphorus shipping companies.

The blow has, however, only struck those communist champions who have worked on exclusively legal lines. The illegal apparatus of the Communist Party in Turkey has scarcely been touched. The active workers belonging to the local organisations are still at their posts. It is thus to be hoped that our comrades will speedily recover from the blow dealt them by the nationalist reaction prevailing in new Turkey.

The sentence has, of course, rendered all open propaganda practically impossible. The Turkish authorities appear to be determined to apply the emergency laws, passed against monarchist reaction, to all communists. Not only the workers of Turkey, but the workers of all countries, must reply to this, and must work for the abolition of this base class legislation. The workers of young Turkey need the help of the workers of the other countries. Determined pressure must be exercised upon the self-styled "revolutionary" Kemalist party, to the end that the anti-monarchist laws are not applied to the communists, and that these shameful sentences may be annulled.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS DAY

The International Press Day.

By Eugen Paul (Moscow).

At the end of September there will be held the International Communist Press Day. What is the import and significance of this day?

The idea of this press day has sprung from out the communist movement itself. The necessity of a demonstration which shall symbolise and promote the efforts for unifying, for unity and ideological harmony, arose of itself as soon as the Communist Parties proceeded earnestly to fulfil all those tasks which we designate under the term, Bolshevisation. The International press day is to be a milestone on the road to the Bolshevising of the Communist Parties and of the Communist press. In order to bring this about, it will be necessary to conceive it as a starting and crystallising point of organised, systematic, self-sacrificing work for the building of the communist press, for rooting it in the factories, for converting it into a powerful fighting arm of the Communist Parties; in a word, for the bolshevising of the Communist press.

The Communist press reflects with tenfold strength the fundamental errors of our Communist Parties. The call to set up the united front with the non-communist workers sounds almost like a mockery in view of the differences of opinion, both as regards principles and tactics, which often appear in the papers of one and the same communist Party. The international communist press, of course, reveals these differences upon a larger scale. But one must ask oneself, is an effective, united front campaign, an ideological penetration into the broad masses of the indifferent and social democratic workers, thinkable, when within the communist press organs, which should be the loud-speakers of the whole united front campaign, there prevails no complete fundamental clarity regarding all the problems with which we must grapple if our united front campaign is not to remain a mere beating of the air? And if one disregards this struggle for unity, which is the acid-test for every communist Party, and only keeps in view the tasks which have to be fulfilled within the ranks of the Communist workers, is it not obvious that in this case also one cannot carry out any successful enlightenment work or effective agitation — that one cannot fulfil any of the tasks of the Communist press, if absolute clarity does not prevail within the same regarding all the fundamental questions — both theoretical and practical — of the communist movement?

It is necessary to overcome the lack of ideological unity which now where appears so openly as in the Communist press. The Communist newspapers — both national and international — must approach nearer to each other. They cease to carry on their own separate existence, and must commence to become the wheels within a single powerful organisation. This, of course, does not by any means imply that they shall cease to think with their own heads. On the contrary, they shall, within the confines of their own spheres of activity and having regard to the conditions under which they work, bear their own particular stamp. Adaption to the concrete conditions is the basic element of Bolshevism. But for a communist, thinking with one's own head does not mean going one's own way and conducting one's own policy. The Communist Party and the Communist International are great bodies which have a scientifically based and clearly outlined programme. This programme constitutes the limits within which alone a communist and a communist organ can and may lead its own life. And the Party, whose historical task is the carrying out of this programme, that is to say, its leadership, is the highest authority, the only existing control organ, the supreme guide and critic, not only for every communist but also for every communist organ.

And what is said here of the Communist press in general applies, mutatis mutandis, to the communist trade union press and for every other description of the press which is issued by communists or in which communists collaborate.

The centralising of the Communist press and its subordination under the control of the Party is the first and highest command of Bolshevising. Without these measures, which of course must not remain on paper but which must be carried out organisatorily, any improvement is unthinkable. These demands must therefore be placed in the centre of the International Press Day. By their fulfillment it will be possible,

in place of the many little papers which lead a miserable and precarious existence, to set up a virile mass organ, which in form and contents will be able to vie with the greatest bourgeois and social democratic papers and to oust them from the homes of the workers.

In addition to the idea of ideological and organisatory unity of the Communist press on a national and international scale, the agitatorial character of the International Press Day must not be forgotten or neglected. On the contrary, it must be emphasised as much as possible. As a rule there exists a tremendous disparity between the number of subscribers to Communist newspapers and the number of Party members, and which becomes even more striking when regard is had to the great number of sympathisers (electors). The international Press Day shall be made the central propaganda point of a widespread circulation campaign, which shall embrace in the first place the workers in the factories.

"Without a mass press there can be no mass Party", therefore, the best forces of the Party must be employed in order to gain thousands of new subscribers to the Communist press. But this shall not be the only form of press propaganda. The Press Day must become the starting point of a deeper penetration in the factories, into the masses of the workers and peasants, who are to be invited to contribute to the paper as worker and peasant correspondents.

The International Press Day must not be a mere empty gesture, but the commencement of a well-organised systematic campaign, the purpose of which is the bolshevising of the Communist press and its closer connection with the factories. We do not doubt that the Communist workers of all countries will fully realise the importance of this task, that they will devote to it their best forces and proceed with all eagerness to its fulfillment. By so doing they will carry out a good revolutionary communist work.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Co-operative Reactionaries Working for a Split.

By W. HANKA (Moscow).

The reactionary wing of the co-operative International, as is known, has been attempting for years to hide its pro-capitalist face behind a sanctimonious mask of **political neutrality**... At the last International Co-operative Congress (Ghent 1924) this hypocritical and reactionary dogma was one again laid down in the statutes, against the opposition of the delegates sent by the Soviet co-operatives, as the backbone of the policy to be pursued by the International Co-operative Alliance.

The official leaders of the Alliance majority boast that the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the national co-operative organisations, and the neutral attitude adopted by the Alliance (in other words, inactive vegetation), are "the best guarantee" for the maintenance of the unity of the international co-operative movement.

But in every country we observe increasing signs that the working class members of the co-operatives are becoming increasingly resolved no longer to permit the further alienation of their economic organisations from the class struggle by their petty bourgeois and anti-labour leaders. The pretexts and tricks hitherto employed by the co-operative bureaucrats for the purpose of carrying on the co-operatives in such a manner that the capitalists might not be hurt, are now unmasked and can no longer be employed. Under these circumstances the co-operative reactionaries resort to other tried and tested means. They recognise the danger threatening their rule, and are striving to ward it off by prompt action: **Expulsion of all class conscious elements, nationally and internationally. This is their slogan.**

And nationally and internationally the German co-operative bureaucrats, led by Messrs Kaufmann and Kasch, are again proving themselves reactionaries of the worst description by marching ahead of all others with this slogan. Their slanderous agitation against the communists, imitated in other capitalist countries, is being continued and increased. At the same time their central organ, the "Konsumgenossenschaftliche Rundschau" (Co-operative Society Review), is carrying on an uninterrupted campaign of calumny against the co-operative organisations of Soviet Russia. For these honest gentlemen no weapon is too vile

to be employed for ousting the Soviet co-operatives from the Alliance.

Besides this tactless and empty abuse in the "Review", Herr Kaufmann, at the sessions held by the leading organs of the Alliance, lets no opportunity escape for shrieking for the expulsion of the "Zentrosojus". At the executive sessions held at Frankfurt (January 1925) and Stockholm (June 1925), since the Ghent congress, he was the chief spokesman and "accuser" in the question of **communist propaganda** placed by him on the agenda.

At the executive sessions comrade Chintschuk, the representative of the Soviet Co-operatives, has repeatedly brought in motions of a positive and concrete character, aiming at an active policy being adopted by the International Co-operative Alliance: measures towards combatting high prices and war danger, and towards promoting the strivings for unity in the international labour movement. But the time at the disposal of the sessions has always been so frittered away with Kaufmann's everlasting anti-communist agitation, that these motions have never been really dealt with.

An utterly crass, absurd, and hysterical attack upon the unity of the international co-operative movement was recently published by the "Review" in its number appearing on 8. August. This time even the "sacred principle of non-intervention in the affairs of foreign co-operatives" was thrown overboard with the utmost coolness. The occasion was given by the report on the celebration of the International Co-operative Propaganda Day (4. July) in Soviet Russia.

This Day, a demonstration of international co-operative solidarity, celebrated by the majority of the co-operative reformists by the proclamation of ridiculously Philistine and mercenary co-operative slogans, was something very different in Soviet Russia — an opportunity for really imposing demonstrations of the will of the nine million members of the consumers' co-operative societies, and of the many millions comprising other kinds of co-operatives, towards positive socialist construction work by means of the co-operatives, and towards the national and international unity of all labour organisations. Another imposing working class demonstration was the crowded meeting held this year in the great theatre at Moscow, at which the best leaders of the proletariat and peasantry of the Soviet Federation, statesmen, trade unionists, and co-operators, explained the significance and importance of the co-operatives.

At this meeting there spoke the well known Marxist university professor Meschtscherjakov, who addressed the meeting on behalf of the Co-operative Section of the Comintern. He emphasised the differences existing between the position taken by the co-operatives in the land of proletarian dictatorship and in the countries under the bourgeois capitalist regime. He showed that it is only in Soviet Russia that the co-operatives receive the entire support of the State, for the proletarian state sees in the co-operatives the medium enabling Socialism to be realised among the peasantry. He emphasised the communist standpoint that the co-operatives are by no means to be regarded as organisations standing "outside" of or "above" the classes. Not a single organisation exists which can actually said to be outside of the class struggle of the workers. In actual practice the co-operatives in all countries are right in the midst of politics, despite all phrases as to neutrality. Comrade Meschtscherjakov concluded his address with the following remarks:

"During the last few years, ever since the moment when the Soviet co-operatives joined the International Co-operative Alliance, and ever since the moment that the revolutionary wing within the international co-operative movement began to grow — from this moment onwards, there has been carried on in almost every country, an **agitation against the communists**, and against those revolutionary co-operators who have condemned the policy pursued by the present leaders of the co-operative movement. **This agitation does not tend to increase unity, but to split the co-operatives; herein lies the culpability of the present leaders of the co-operative movement.**

Our participation in the International Co-operative Day must thus be devoted to the elaboration of those essential factors in which the Soviet Co-operatives differ from the majority of the co-operative organisations of Western Europe. Our slogan must be for **increased unity in the co-operative movement**, in the strengthening of the **principles of the class struggle in the co-operatives**, in the firmer establishment of

the co-operative as one of the links forming the **whole labour movement**, as one of the most powerful weapons in the struggle for the final victory of Labour over Capital."

The "Review" reprints this speech word for word, and takes the opportunity of making the following stupidly impudent remark:

"Mr. Meschtscherjakov, in demanding that the co-operatives should take an active part in political struggles, himself supplies the proof that his organisation is out of place in the International Co-operative Alliance. Up to now the Alliance has not been threatened with a split; this danger has only arisen since the Moscow co-operatives wormed themselves in. We trust, however, that unity will speedily be restored by the removal of these intruders."

This organ of anti-communism issued by the German co-operative bureaucrats, further concludes that for the Alliance, "self-preservation demands that the Zentrosojus be expelled from the alliance".

This is a perfectly barefaced attempt upon the part of Kaufmann and his companions to force a split. And the motives behind this attempts are as obvious as the attempt itself: The Soviet co-operatives demand that the Co-operative Alliance actively represent the interests of the proletarian members. "Our comfortable and tranquil jobs, maintained for years by deception of the masses, are in danger", so — out with the Soviet co-operatives from the Alliance!

It is characteristic of the lordly and genuinely bureaucratic contempt for inferior bodies, which is peculiar to these elements, that they adopt an insolent and would-be sarcastic tone in their remarks on the telegrams sent to the Zentrojus by the provincial organisations of the co-operative societies. The highly developed sense of international proletarian solidarity shown by these telegrams, the protests flowing in against the attempt at a split, from the remotest regions of the workers' and peasants' state, and even from Kirghiz and Mongolia, induce the official organ of a member of the Alliance to make the following cynical remark:

"We believe that this nauseous oriental comedy will materially increase the desire, in the International Co-operative Alliance, towards separation from its originators."

The co-operatives of Soviet Russia, comprising almost one quarter of the 40 million members of the Alliance, will doubtless defend themselves energetically within the Alliance against the blindly raging attacks of the champions of reaction. But it is equally the duty of all proletarian members of co-operatives, if international solidarity and unity in the movement are not merely an empty phrase to them, to demand from their national co-operative unions that these take steps within the Alliance itself to cool the ardour of the Hamburg co-operative reactionaries, who are aiming at a split, and to put a stop to their dirty work once and for all.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Peasant International and the International Agrarian Institute.

The Presidium of the International Peasants' Council addresses the following communication to all peasants, workers, and scientific and social workers in the Peasants' Movement.

For centuries the greatest part of humanity, the peasantry, have dragged on a wretched existence beneath the yoke of the ruling classes. They have been the slaves of the junkers and the bourgeoisie. Often enough the peasantry have risen and attempted to throw off their chains. But the road to their emancipation has led through a sea of blood. The struggle has not yet ended. Although the bourgeois revolutions have abolished serfdom, they have wrought new chains for the peasantry. They have been enslaved by usury and trade capital. The peasants' farms, once drawn into the vortex of the world's economic system, cannot hold their own against the competition of the great landowners. And above all the imperialists, wrestling for predominance in the world's markets, have ruthlessly exploited this same peasantry, driving them as cannon fodder to the fields of slaughter.

The last great war and its devastations have awakened the peasants from their century-long torpor. The mass movement among the workers has been accompanied by a movement toward emancipation among the peasantry. The Russian peasantry, in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie and the junkers. For the first time in the history of mankind the peasants left the confines of not only their villages, but also of their country. At the end of 1923 the first International Peasants' Conference was held, considered by that greatest genius among the teachers and leaders of the workers of the world — Lenin — to be the most important event of the century. This Conference was attended by the leaders of working peasants from 40 different nations. It expressed the inexorable determination of the masses of the peasantry to fight to the last for their emancipation — to fight in fraternal alliance with the working class.

The peasants' representatives, in ascertaining the tasks and working out the programme and fighting tactics, especially emphasised the necessity of dealing scientifically with all the theoretical and practical questions of the peasants' movement.

The junkers and capitalists exploit science for their own ends. The existing agrarian institutes take the interests of the ruling classes as their starting point, and serve these alone.

The working masses must for their part exploit all the latest achievements of science for their struggle for emancipation. The first International Peasants' Conference, in view of the enormous importance of an alliance with the best representatives of science for the purpose of studying the agrarian question and the peasants' movement, resolved to found an International Agrarian Institute.

In accordance with this decision, the presidium of the International Peasants' Council, after concluding the preparatory work involved, proceeded to set up the Institute, which must comprise all persons working scientifically and socially in agriculture, and who are willing to devote their activities to the interests of the oppressed masses of the peasantry.

The International Agrarian Institute sets itself the following task: The study of the theoretical and practical economy of agriculture as pursued by modern agrarian policy and legislation, of the revolutionary peasants' movement, and finally, of the experience gained in the first victorious Russian workers' and peasants' revolution.

In view of the importance of establishing an international scientific centre in the agrarian question and in the peasants' movement, the Peasant International appeals to all social and political organisations, to all scientific workers who do not wish to sell their powers to the enemies of the working people, to take part in the work of the International Agrarian Institute, which must become a powerful lever for the emancipation of the greater part of humanity, for their emancipation from misery and darkness, from oppression at the hands of the ruling clique, and for their transformation into masters of the forces of Nature, of their land, and of their fate.

The masses of the peasantry, advancing to the struggle against exploitation in alliance with the best representatives of modern science and technics, will work out their own science and their own theory in the service of the emancipation of the whole mankind.

Long live the alliance between Science and the working peasant!

Through knowledge and struggle to victory, to the emancipation of the working peasantry!

Long live the world federation between workers and peasants and the intelligentsia of the workers!

All honest scientists — join the International Agrarian Institute!

Long live the International Agrarian Institute — the mighty torch lighting the path of emancipation for the working peasantry!

Peasants and workers of the world, unite!

Presidium of the International Peasants' Council:

Dombal (Poland), Renaud Jean (France), Otto Rydlo (Czechoslovakia), Gorov (Bulgaria), Richard Bürgi (Germany), Orloff (U. S. S. R.), Gero (Sweden), Lieng (Norway), Alonzo (Spain), Odinetz (Ukraine), Ngyuen-ai-Quac (Indo-China colonies), Ursullio Galvan (Mexico), Knutson (America), Kon Hayaschi (Japan), Tenk (Estonia), Ruggero Grieco (Italy).

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky its Apostle.

By N. Bucharin.

IX.

The Soviet Union and the Capitalist Governments.

Karl Kautsky in the Service of Foreign Capitalists.

Despite all the stories of the social democratic theoreticians as to the dawn of a new era of peaceful capitalism, despite Hilferding's new gospel, relegating to the archives the assertion of orthodox Marxism regarding the inevitability of war in a capitalist state of society, and despite the glorification of the "League of Nations", of American money bags, and of American "democracy" by the social democrats — the world is none the less rolling onwards to frightful catastrophes, for we are still living in the epoch of wars and revolutions. We do not in the least regret living in tempestuous times. Our old leaders, the great founders of Scientific Communism, Marx and Engels, awaited with joy and triumph the moment in which the general war ("guerre universelle" or "guerre générale") should give place to general "Halloh!", that is, the moment beginning the era of decisive revolutionary fighting. This ideology is as far removed as heaven is from hell from the somnolent Philistine standpoint of Karl Kautsky, whose leading slogan is "Tranquillity and stability". Tranquillity for capitalism! Stability for capitalist conditions' (for Kautsky does not by any means desire stability for the Soviet regime, and in other states socialism has not yet been discovered by even social democratic "thought"). Herr Kautsky, see if you can find these demands made anywhere by Marx or Engels. See if you can find such language in their writings! you will not succeed! These are demands which are perfectly unthinkable to a revolutionist, for a revolutionist cannot approve of the existing capitalist state of society for a single instant; it is his task to overthrow this order, not to wish it good health, stability, and tranquillity.

It is high time to sweep away the residue of the past. The social democratic leaders must no longer be regarded, even conditionally, as revolutionists. They stand before us as perfect types of petty bourgeois counter-revolutionists, safeguarding the present order. As soon as we have grasped this, then we can grasp the whole logic of their arguments. Truly! If the main task consists of preserving the "tranquillity and stability" of capitalism, then it is naturally necessary to bark at and attack everyone who ventures to contend against capitalism, or even to cause it this or that inconvenience, discomfort or difficulty. Once the standpoint of "tranquillity and stability" is adopted one is bound to fight against the Soviet Union, for the mere fact of its existence is disagreeable to capitalism, and is detrimental in a high degree to both its 'tranquillity' and its "stability". From this standpoint it is imperative to combat Communism with all energy, for it represents the leading force of revolution. From this standpoint one is bound to combat the so-called "Asiatic nationalism", that is, the revolutionary emancipation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. From this standpoint it is imperative to aid all the external and internal enemies of the Soviet Union, and to undermine the rule of the proletarian dictatorship from without and within, since this rule is a source of non-tranquillity and non-stability to the capitalist order. Those holding this standpoint are thus bound to support bourgeois counterrevolution by every possible means. And this is precisely what Kautsky does; he repeats the same "scientific arguments" and the same slogans as the bourgeois press (he does not bring forward a single "original" argument).

Marx wrote, in the Communist manifesto:

"A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have joined in a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: the Pope and the Czar, Metternich and Guizot, the radicals of France and the police-spies of Germany."

Some of the personalities here listed among the active forces of old Europe must now be struck out, especially the Russian Czar. But on the other hand the list can be considerably supplemented. To this list of "popes", "radicals", and "police" we must

now add the names of our worthy social democratic leaders. We adduce a number of instances showing the entire lack of originality characterising their utterances and actions.

Thus, for instance, the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" (26. Dezember 1924) reports on the meeting between the pope and Mr. Chamberlain. The Bolshevik question was discussed, and the Pope of Rome declared, "after Kautsky" (or perhaps Kautsky after the pope?) that:

"We consider it to be our duty to call upon every one, but especially those persons in power, if they love the peace and sacredness of the human family and human dignity, to exert every effort in the fight against the exceedingly great dangers and injustices proceeding from Socialism and Communism!")."

Kautsky too maintains that Communism destroys peace. The "family" also plays a part in Kautsky's writings. (He wrote, for instance, that the Bolsheviki have "socialised" their women, and dished up a suitable falsified document to this effect.) And he has used up a whole ocean of ink on "dignity", as well as on the "dangers" and "injustices". Is not this harmony really touching?

One of the arch-reactionaries of today, Mr. Berdajev (also a one-time Marxist) observes, in the course of a special "philosophical" work based on the experience gained in our revolution:

"Social revolution is bound inevitably to suggest robbery and pillage.")

It is superfluous to produce proofs that the whole bourgeois press adopts the same standpoint. And we have already seen that this standpoint is the starting point of the whole Kautskyan conception, so that when the "stability" of the capitalist order is especially threatened a the present juncture by the Asiatic insurrections, we immediately find Herr Kautsky on the spot, ready to supply all the necessary justification for the machine-gun volleys fired upon the Chinese workers at the command of the alarmed English imperialists. It is moreover a well known fact that the press representing the extreme conservatives of the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to represent the mighty movement of the Chinese people as a mere conspiracy on the part of the "agents of Moscow". By this they contrive to provide a cloak concealing two objects; the phenomena in the East and the preparation for a military and financial intervention against the Soviet Union. And what does Kautsky do? Kautsky runs in front, stands readily on his hind legs, and barks:

"This (the failure of the loans N. B.) is, however, only one reason more impelling the desperate gamblers in Moscow to push onward to fresh piches, in the hope of obtaining by pillage what they cannot gain by loans. In all the states of the East they are laying their fires, that they may be able to set the world ablaze at a given moment, and then pillage it!")."

It might be expected that Kautsky would at least make an attempt to analyse the movement in the East, to observe its connections with the imperialism of the capitalist great powers, to lay bare its class roots, and to estimate it at its real value. But it is a mistake to expect this. Kautsky does nothing of the sort. He resorts to entirely different "scientific" arguments. After first representing the Chinese revolution to be the product of the piratical activity of the Muscovite "gamblers", Herr Kautsky immediately proceeds to give a "slight hint" as to what the imperialist powers should do to get rid of the unrest and jeopardizing of "stability". Kautsky writes:

"This incendiary policy (of the Bolsheviki N. B.) is, however, not entirely free from dangers for its originators themselves. Some fine day it may easily involve Russia in a war under very unfavourable circumstances!")."

One must be very stupid indeed in order not to grasp that Kautsky is here deliberately inciting the imperialist states against the Soviet Union. He does state, it is true, that he is opposed to armed intervention. This is, however, mere hypocrisy, a miserable and cowardly evasion. Has he not "proved" that a savage regime

1) "Manchester Guardian, Weekly Supplement", 26. December 1924. "The Pope and Russia. Grave dangers of Socialism."

2) N. Berdajev: "The Philosophy of Inequality." Russian. Berlin, publishing office "Obelisk". Page 25.

3) Kautsky: "The International and Soviet Russia". Page 48.

4) Ibid. Page 48.

of blood and executions reigns among us, and that it must be overthrown by force, that we are occupied everywhere exclusively with robbery, that we are mainly to blame for the events in the East, and here too are bent solely on pillage? And does he not follow this up immediately by the assertion that in the event of war we shall not be able to continue this "game" unpunished? And this assertion is made precisely at a moment when such a war is actually being prepared! After this it is hypocrisy to add: All the same we are opposed to armed intervention! This is said after all the "arguments" adduced have been in favour of intervention! Kautsky utters things which even a member of the bourgeoisie would be ashamed to express.

No, citizen Kautsky, it is not so easy to deceive the workers now as you found it in 1914.

Kautsky's further train of "thought" shows him to be thirsting for a war against the Soviet Union:

"A military defeat is very likely to have the effect of causing local risings in town and country to combine into one collective rising, gathering together the force of a billow which can sweep away Bolshevism and its means of power".

And further:

"What is the attitude to be adopted by the socialists of Russia in such a case?

... It might be fatal if our International, in consideration of its rejection of the prepared armed putch against Bolshevism, were to condemn every rising against Bolshevism beforehand as a counter-revolutionary action, and were to prohibit its members in Russia from taking part in such a rising.

That social democrats should attempt to save the Bolshevik system is out of the question. But neutrality in the case of a general rising of the whole mass of the people would be political suicide".

We are naturally aware of what a "rising of the whole mass of the people" signifies in counter-revolutionary language. Every one of our workers and peasants knows perfectly well that the masses of the people will fight for the Soviet power. But here we learn from Kautsky, from this authoritative social democratic source, that it is absolutely impossible that the Mensheviks should aid the Soviet power. On the contrary. According to Kautsky, the social democrats must participate actively in the rising against the Soviet regime.

We shall return to this subject. But first we must deal with another matter: the general strategy of the counter-revolutionist Kautsky. The above quotations render it easy to gain a general idea of this treacherous strategy.

Kautsky says to the international bourgeoisie: "Exploit the Chinese revolution for the purpose of drawing Russia into a war. And then we social democrats will strike from within."

In order to gain a true estimate of the whole immeasurable depth of baseness involved in this proposition, we must recall to mind what Kautsky said during the imperialist war under the rule of Wilhelm II., under the dictatorship of the Prussian mailed fist. At that time Herr Kautsky replied to our appeal for revolutionary defence by telling us that the "International" was merely an "instrument of peace", that it had nothing to do during war, so that we had to sit still and keep quiet. But now Kautsky is speculating upon war, he associates his insurrectionary (this is not joking!) line precisely with war, and has totally forgotten that his "International" is an "instrument of peace".

However has this come about? The point is that, according to Kautsky, it is inadmissible to fight against the bourgeoisie, but the dictatorship of the proletariat should be fought against; the imperialist war of the Fatherland of Kaiser Wilhelm's time was not to be interfered with, but the Soviet power defending itself against imperialism is to be attacked from behind; no rebellion is allowable against capital, but only against the Soviets. Is this not the highest imaginable culmination of treachery? Is this not an active armed support of foreign intervention? And in face of all this we are told that we "exaggerate", that the social democrats are socialists as well, etc. etc. It need not be said that there are sincere social democratic workers, sincere in their error. But the "leaders" of the Kautsky type are openly hirelings, bards and apostles of soiled and bloody imperialism. This is now clearer than ever.

How great was the rage of the social patriots when, during the imperialist war, the Bolsheviks brought out the slogan of: "Defeat for our 'own' imperialist government!" But now Kautsky is not only hounding the intervention-hungry beasts upon us, is not only speculating upon war, but he is directing his course straight for the military defeat of the Soviet Union. Is it possible to sink deeper than this in the service of the bourgeoisie?

Most interesting of all is the fact that in one place Kautsky openly acknowledges that he is a counter-revolutionist. We have seen that Kautsky's description of the world revolution represents it simply as a campaign of pillage and plunder among the wealthy states. But on page 24 of his pamphlet Kautsky, after analysing the "inconsistency" of our policy (inconsistency: seeking for loans on the one hand, world revolution on the other), writes as follows on the peace relations with the capitalist states:

"This aim excludes the pursuance of the world revolution, and yet the latter is not supplanted by the former in the policy of Soviet Russia. For one thing tradition already plays a leading rôle even in such a young and revolutionary body as the Soviet government, and then again it is solely by means of maintaining expectations of the speedy outbreak of the world revolution that it is possible to attach considerable sections of workers outside of Russia to the communist flag. Soviet Russia will lose a mighty factor of its power abroad at the moment when it renounces the world revolution before the world proletariat".

The renegade Kautsky believes that he has written all this against us. The renegade Kautsky does not observe how utterly he here flies in the face of his own past. What does this pasquillant (writer of calumnies. Ed.) really admit here?

It appears that the Soviet government is a "revolutionary body". Let us note this carefully. It is not a question of the Soviet government of the period from 1917 till 1920, but of the Soviet government which is negotiating for loans, that is, the present Soviet government. Kautsky lets slip the fact that it is revolutionary.

Let us go further. We remember that Kautsky declared the most counter-revolutionary government of the type of the Horthy government to be better than the "Moscow tyrants".

Therefore:

The Moscow government is worse than the Horthy government.

The Horthy government is counter-revolutionary.

The Moscow government is a "young and revolutionary body".

Hence? Where does this "hence" lead, Herr Kautsky? Have you any idea of what you are saying? Here you state, openly and cynically:

Counter-revolution is better than revolution.

This is the logical inference of the assertions quoted above.

Herr Kautsky calls upon the imperialists to fight against this "young, revolutionary body". Kautsky undertakes to attack the "young, revolutionary body" from behind as soon as it has suffered a military defeat. We must make a special note of this. It is something which we must never forget.

Soviet Russia — Kautsky "ascertains" — will lose its influence on the masses of the workers when it renounces sympathy for the world revolution.

A monstrous crime! A terrible crime indeed, that "Soviet Russia" enjoys such sympathy!

Here Kautsky unmasks himself once more. In his opinion it is very bad that "Soviet Russia" should represent a symbol of world revolution in the eyes of the workers of the whole world.

And how very bad indeed! It destroys the "tranquillity" and "stability" of capitalist rule. It does not even let the Philistines and their "learned" sleepy-heads slumber in peace.

It is now quite understandable why the revolution has to be represented as a campaign of pillage, and the world revolution as a plan of pillage extended over the whole world. Workers abroad must be distracted from revolution in the interests of "tranquillity" and "stability". And Herr Kautsky works for this aim in the sweat of his brow! Enjoy your bourgeois bread in all tranquillity, most worthy Kautsky, for you have honestly earned it!

(Chapter IX. will be concluded in the next number.)

⁵) Ibid. page 48.

⁶) Ibid. pp. 48/49.

⁷) Ibid. pp 24/25. The emphasis is mine N. B.

PROLETARIAN CULTURE

The World Congress of Proletarian Esperantists.

By L. Revo.

The International Association of Esperantists held its V. congress at Vienna in the middle of August. The Esperanto movement is now more than thirty years old; the workers' Esperanto movement is however, comparatively young, and although its first beginnings already existed before the war, it is only since 1921 that it opposes, as an independent factor, the so-called "neutral" Esperanto organisations under bourgeois leadership. Today the World Federation of Worker Esperantists (SAT.) has attained a sphere of influence threatening that of the bourgeois Esperanto movement. The proletarian elements in the Esperanto clubs are turning more and more aside from the "neutral" movement, and are streaming into their class organisations. The SAT. publishes a weekly paper, the "Sennaciulo", which has already 10,000 readers, and besides this a monthly scientific, literary, and pedagogic review, publishing not only many translations, but a large number of original contributions.

The aim of the first pioneers of the Esperanto movement was to provide, in a universal language, a medium for uniting mankind on the basis of a common tongue, and to make war impossible. The proletarian Esperantists have opposed to this visionary pacifism the principle that a universal language can only fulfil its purpose when employed in the hands of the proletariat as a weapon in the class struggle.

It is thus comprehensible that the 200 participants at the Vienna Esperanto Congress did not waste their time with superfluous discussions on lingual problems. Various speakers repeatedly emphasised that if it were a question of the theoretical elaboration of some artificial language, if Esperanto were not already a living language, spoken by hundreds of thousands of people, and if the workers' Esperanto movement were not already a widespread proletarian cultural movement, then the workers could spend their time better than with lingual trifling. But since it is a question of the practical application of an already existing and widespread language, the problem confronting the proletarian Esperantists is before all that of the most practical utilisation of Esperanto in the class struggle, whilst the propaganda of the universal language as such is a secondary consideration. Or it may be better expressed by saying that the task of the worker Esperantists is the propaganda of the universal language by means of its practical employment in the service of the proletariat.

The Congress, after having heard the addresses of welcome given by representatives of the Austrian Labour Chamber the Communist and social democratic parties, many trade unions, the freethinkers, etc., and after having rapidly dealt with the lingual and organisatory points of the agenda, proceeded to the discussion of the most important matter before the Congress: the relations between the proletarian Esperanto association and other proletarian organisations.

During the course of the past year the SAT. has been successful in interesting a number of important labour organisations in the universal language. The Red Sport International, the Central Committee of the International Red Aid, the International

Transport Workers' Federation, and the Lucerne Sport International, are already making practical use of Esperanto, and are making use of the international information and press service of the International Workers' Esperanto Federation.

It was further decided to promote with the utmost energy the international correspondence from factory to factory, and to place the Workers' Esperanto Federation translators belonging to the organisations concerned at the disposal of factories in which no Esperantists are employed.

Great enthusiasm was aroused by a comrade from Moscow, who reported that there had been many Esperantists among the labour delegates recently sent to the Soviet Union from Sweden and Germany, and that these had been able to enter into direct communication with the Russian comrades, without the aid of interpreters, whilst those without a knowledge of Esperanto were dependent on the lengthy and tedious process of translation.

The SAT. is an organisation of the proletarian united front, uniting proletarians of every political trend. But since all the members hold firmly to the class struggle, the Congress — apart from some few differences of opinion — was entirely harmonious in character. A motion proposing that the Congress should appeal to the Soviet government to release an arrested Esperantist anarchist was rejected by all against two votes. Even the non-communists are rightly informed as to the character of the Soviet government and the proletarian dictatorship; this is greatly due to the fact that very many social democratic workers in Central and Western Europe correspond in Esperanto with Russian workers, and thus receive their information from a better source than the lying reports and slanders spread abroad by their own leaders.

We thus see, on a small scale, how useful the wider propagation of Esperanto can be made for the working class. When the lingual barriers dividing the proletariats of the separate nations are swept away, it will be difficult for the bosses to incite them against one another by means of lies and calumnies.

The communist fraction of the Congress held a special session, at which it received the reports of the representatives of the Communist Esperantists in the CI., and commissioned these to exert their utmost efforts towards having Esperanto employed in the service of the CI.

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