

V. b. b.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 5. No. 72

1st October 1925

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

C O N T E N T S

- The Fresh Wave of White Terror in Horthy Hungary.
The Statements of Comrade Rakosi before the Police Authorities.
- Hands off China.**
Show Solidarity to the Chinese Proletariat!
An Appeal of the Chinese Trade Unions.
L. Heller: The Nationalist Movement and Labour in China. II.
- Politics.**
M. N. Roy: The Question of Mosul.
Arthur Rosenberg: The Security Pact and the Political Parties in Germany.
L. U.: The Severance of the Maximalists from the Aventino Bloc.
Edmondo Peluso: A Fascist Stabilisation Plan.
- The Balkans.**
Karl Kreibich: The Failure of the Czechoslovakian Relief Action in Bulgaria.
- The Labour Movement.**
Earl R. Browder: The Anthracite Slaughter House.
- The White Terror.**
Hirnyi: Brutal Persecution and Hunger Strike of the Political Prisoners in Poland.
- Union of Soviet Republics.**
A. B. Krassin: The Foreign Trade Monopoly.
- The Peasants' Movement.**
The Croatian Question.
- Organisation.**
W. Ulbricht: The next Organisatory Tasks of the Communist Parties.
- Our Problems.**
G. Zinoviev: Proletariat and Science.
- In the Camp of our Enemies.**
N. Bucharin: The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky, its Apostle X.

The Fresh Wave of White Terror in Horthy Hungary.

Comrade Rakosi and 105 Comrades arrested and tortured.

By A Hungarian Communist.

For weeks past the Hungarian Social Democratic Party has been using every endeavour to destroy any possibility of revolutionising the working class. Right from the earliest days of the white terror it has employed for this purpose the method of shameless denunciation. But it must be said that in recent times it has surpassed itself in this respect. When the delegates of the Independent Socialist Labour Party appeared at the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, they were openly denounced by Payer as "Bolsheviki". When the working masses attended a public meeting of the social democrats and called their leaders to account for their treachery, these bureaucrats called in Horthy's police to deal with the revolutionary workers, described them as being hirelings of Moscow and called upon the police to take a note of the names of the interrupters.

Every trade union drew up a "red list" containing the names of communist disturbers of peace, and took care that these lists came into the hands of the Horthy police.

What was it that caused the Hungarian Social Democratic Party to expose itself to an extent unexampled even in Hungary? Why did the Horthy social democrats, even at the risk of exposing themselves in the eyes of the very small upper section of the

labour aristocracy, carry out shameful and criminal denunciations?

The sanitation in Hungary has brought about a crisis such as has never been experienced before in the economic life of the country. Unemployment, the misery of the masses, discontent and desperation are growing from day to day. Neither the social democratic party leaders nor the trade union bureaucracy consider it necessary even to pretend to do anything in the interest of the working class. They declared quite openly that the present time is not suitable for even the smallest struggles. The trade union bureaucracy supported strike breakers against the fighting workers, and, in spite of the enormous profits of the employers, have acquiesced in wages being reduced month by month. The discontent of the working class against the lackeys of the bourgeoisie increased. Hundreds and hundreds tore up their party membership cards and thousands withdrew from the trade unions, in spite of the efforts of the revolutionary trade union opposition to prevent this.

There was a movement going on in Hungary which was bound to cause the creatures of Horthy to fear that the ground would give way under their feet. They also realised that this

movement would obtain a lead from the growing Communist Party of Hungary, which is providing the movement with proper aims and giving it a definite direction.

About three months ago the Congress of the Tailors' Union adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution welcoming the alliance between the English and Russian trade unions, and calling upon the workers to fight for revolutionary trade union unity. After the Marseilles Congress of the II. International the Budapest Shoemakers' organisation held a meeting which was attended by 2000 members, and which in a most impressive manner demonstrated in favour of revolutionary trade union unity. The meeting expressed its disapproval of the counter-revolutionary attitude of the trade union council, and instructed the delegates of the Leather Workers' Union to vote at the International Congress of the Leather Workers' in Paris for the admission of the Russian trade unions.

The Hungarian social democracy, which not only has a decisive influence in the trade unions, but is organisatorily connected with them, felt that all this meant the beginning of the end. They decided, as the trade union papers announced, to take "determined action". This "determined action" has now been carried out. Within the last few days the Executive Committee of the Shoemakers' Union has been dissolved and all prominent revolutionary members expelled, while the Trade Union Council has arbitrarily set up a commission to take the place of the dissolved executive.

But this was not all. All the spies and detectives were set to work. The trade union bureaucracy and the social democracy worked quite openly hand in hand with the Horthy police. It has now come to light from official reports that the trade unions and social democrats employed dozens of people, who not only worked in the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party, but who also managed to smuggle into the ranks of the Communists as spies.

In this manner they succeeded in getting on the track of our Comrade Rakosi, who led the Communist movement in Hungary, and in having him, as well as over a hundred other comrades, arrested. By means of fearful tortures the police succeeded in extorting "confessions" from some comrades. And by means of lying fabrications bourgeois society in Hungary was "rescued".

The "Nepszava", the organ of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, was overjoyed. It declared that the social democracy could itself have settled with the Communists, but every line betrayed its satisfaction. Its joy, however, was somewhat premature. Comrade Rakosi behaved heroically before the police. The Police did not succeed, even by means of the most fearful tortures, in extracting a "confession" from him. He admitted that he had come to Hungary in order to carry on communist propaganda and to organise a strong communist Party. To this work he had devoted his life, and because he knew that he had contributed something to this work he considered that he had not lived in vain. In the face of his torturers he delivered an impassioned speech against capitalism and against the Horthy regime in a tone which even won the respect of the jailers.

The replies given by Rakosi to his questioners had such an effect that even the newspapers of the "race protectors" (fascists) reported his statements, which at once brought about a complete change in the pogrom mood. Only the "Nepszava" kept silence regarding them.

But this will not help the heroes of the Pact with Horthy, the allies of the hangmen. The attitude of Comrade Rakosi has called forth a fighting mood among the working masses in Hungary, so that the social democracy and the Hungarian bourgeoisie will soon realise to their cost what a real communist means even in prison. By his heroic bearing comrade Rakosi had not only made a deep impression upon the working masses, but has rendered an indisputable service to communism.

The working masses perceive not only the act of devotion, but also the direction in which they have to fight.

As a result the Hungarian revolutionary labour movement is entering on a new phase. The glorious memory of the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship is again being revived, not only among the masses of the industrial proletariat, but also among the poor peasants, and this means an indestructable gain for the Communist Party. The road and the direction have now been indicated, not only by words but also by self-sacrificing acts, and this means a serious step forward for the victorious revolution.

The Statements of Comrade Rakosi before the Police Authorities.

We take the following description of the cross-examination of comrade Rakosi from the "Pesti Naplo", a bitter anti-bolshevik Budapest paper. The methods employed by the Budapest police presidium in obtaining evidence are sufficiently well known. The "delinquent" is tortured in the most cruel manner until he signs a previously prepared protocol, which, of course, contains all the usual bogey stories regarding plans for bomb outrages etc. According to foreign press reports and according to the statements of well-informed people in Budapest, these and similar methods were employed to the fullest extent against our recently arrested comrades. This is to be seen even from the police-censured reports of the bourgeois press, when, for example, it is reported that it took comrade Rakosi ten minutes to come from his cell to the room where the cross-examination was held (which for a man in normal condition would only require one minute at the outside) and that he was not capable of standing during his cross-examination. It witnesses to the unshakable proletarian heroism of our comrades when, in spite of these tortures, nothing was extorted from them except a bold acknowledgement of Communism, and in particular nothing that the police could employ against other comrades. Ed.

At the cross-examination of Rakosi the Deputy Police President, Hetényi called upon him to give particulars regarding himself. Rakosi stated that he was born in Adony near Miskolcs and was 36 years of age. He had passed through the Orient Academy. His mother tongue was Hungarian, and in addition he could write and speak six foreign languages.

He mentioned proudly that he had two brothers whom he had won for communism.

Are your parents alive? asked Hetényi.

"I do not know. It does not interest me greatly. I am only interested in our Cause and I have devoted my whole life to the service of this Cause. Nothing interests me which is not connected with this Cause."

This answer of Rakosi surprised even the deputy police president. It had to be admitted that he had not spoken out of a lack of human feeling, but out of a fanatical love for his life's aim, which completely dominated his mind and thoughts.

"After all that has passed were you not afraid of returning to Hungary?", asked Hetényi. "To mention nothing else you must have realised that there would be a warrant for your arrest on the charge of various serious crimes, ranging from high treason and murder to interference with personal freedom?"

Rakosi replied calmly and resignedly:

"I was quite clear about everything when I declared my readiness to fulfil my mission. I realised at the outset that, in the event of a failure, I had to reckon with consequences which would threaten my life. I also knew that I should not be sent back to the Soviet Union as an exchanged prisoner, but I did not let this interfere with my decision. I much rather relied upon the Budapest police not being able to find me. As a matter of fact, this is not the first time I have been in Hungary since the overthrow of the Soviet Republic. I have already been here five times; twice I was in Budapest, it is true only for a short time, and on the other occasions I was in the provinces. On the occasion of my first visit I felt sure that I should be able to return to Russia as an exchange prisoner. But I now believe that there will not be anybody for whom I could be exchanged. Without wishing to flatter you — I do not desire to create the impression that I wished thereby to improve my position — I must declare that I did not think that the Budapest police had progressed so much in the last few years. At the most I feel certain stings of conscience that I have not worked better and more cautiously; and now I can say that I regret that I did not commence my work earlier as I have been arrested so soon.

After these declarations of Rakosi the Court proceeded to deal with the actual matters in question. Rakosi declared that he was not prepared to submit any confession. He also refused all information. At the most he was only prepared to make some remarks regarding the evidence collected up to now by the police, if it was submitted to him.

When it came to questions as to the principles of Communism, Rakosi was quite willing to answer, in fact it even came to a social-political debate between him and the police

officer. As he said, he was prepared to place his ideas in the necessary light. He declared as follows:

"The object of my journey was to set going Bolshevik propaganda and organisation."

To the question what share he, that is to say the Communist Party, had in founding the Vagi Party, he made the following answer:

"The part played by the Communist Party in the formation of the Vagi Party was, that a section of the Communist Party allied themselves with the members expelled from the social democracy and endeavoured to influence the working class in a revolutionary direction. At that time I was, as a matter of fact, in Moscow; this may have happened just about April."

* * *

The official "8 Oraiujsag" (Eight o'clock News) describes the cross-examination as follows:

"Rákosi's imprisonment seemed to have pulled him down considerably. His eyes were sunken and his face was pale when he entered the room of the deputy police president.

When Rákosi was asked with whom he had frequented when in Vienna, and who of these people were at present in the hands of the Budapest police, Rákosi did not reply at once, but declared after shortly considering the matter: "Pardon me, but I cannot remember anything more, but even if I could remember anything, I should not be prepared to betray my comrades to the police..."

It was in vain that the deputy president addressed further questions to the former People's Commissar regarding the names of those communists with whom he was connected; Rákosi firmly stood by his refusal to give information and did not recognise anybody with whom he was confronted. Finally, when he was weary of the long cross-examination, he declared in a somewhat irritated tone:

"You can keep questioning me as long as you like. I can only say that I was quite clear regarding everything when I declared my readiness to carry out my mission. I also know that the Hungarian authorities will condemn me according to martial law, and that perhaps I shall not even escape the death penalty. But under no circumstances will I deliver my friends to any police in the world... You sit now, gentlemen, and enjoy yourselves as if you were in a box at the theatre, because you have in your hands a People's Commissar of the Soviet Republic, but I repeat, you are making a tremendous mistake if you believe that I will make any declarations to you which could facilitate the examination. You can do what you like with me: you can even hang me, gentlemen, but you will not get me to say anything."

This emphatic declaration of Rákosi was disregarded by the police officers and they asked him other questions. They wanted especially to get out of him what was the actual object of his journey to Budapest.

"The propagation of bolshevist ideas and to set going the work of organisation", replied the former people's Commissar, "the work of organising and of recruiting I took on myself".

From his emphasis upon the word "I" it is to be seen that he wishes to take the whole responsibility for the organising of the Communists upon himself."

HANDS OFF CHINA

Show Solidarity to the Chinese Proletariat!

Appeal of the R. I. L. U.

To the Workers of all Countries!

The troops of the hireling of the foreign imperialists, Chang-Tso-Lin, who came to Shanghai in order, ostensibly, to "protect" the cause of the people, on the 18th of September, apparently not without the approval of the Peking government, destroyed the Shanghai Trades Council, the general staff of the labour movement and of the revolutionary movement of China. The bands of the reactionary General knew what they were doing, they realised that the destruction of the Shanghai trade unions means a severe blow to the cause of the struggle against foreign capital. It must be regarded as the signal for the general attack

on the part of all the counter-revolutionary forces which are operating in China against the national liberation movement.

By this act of their lackeys, the English and Japanese capitalists declare war to the knife against the Chinese workers who have taken up the struggle for human conditions of existence.

This act of the imperialists, which bears within it the germs of fresh repressions, mass arrests and persecutions, must serve as a warning to the workers of the whole world.

The events in China have entered on a critical phase.

The labour organisations of all countries must act. For whoever in this critical hour, when the workers of China are faced with the menace of fresh mass mishandlings and annihilation, when the air is again full of the smell of powder, does not rise along with the Chinese workers, is in one camp along with the white-guardist Generals and the British colonial exploiters.

The recent Congress of the English trade unions in Scarborough decided to demand the withdrawal of British forces in China. This decision must be carried out.

The withdrawal of English troops, the cessation of transport of war material to Chang-Tso-Lin, the proletarian boycott and blockade against the Chinese reaction — these are the demands which unconditionally arise as a result of the recent events.

The trade unions of all countries must fulfil their international duty.

The trade unions of Shanghai, which have been driven into illegality, are continuing the unequal struggle. The revolutionary organisations of the world which are united in the Red International of Labour Unions, promise them their full support and will fulfil this promise. But in order to ensure the success of this struggle, upon the issue of which to a very large extent depends the fate of the whole of the international proletariat, a powerful world-wide universal demonstration of practical proletarian solidarity is necessary.

Greetings and Honour to the Shanghai Fighters!

Away with the English imperialists and their henchmen, the Chinese militarists!

Workers of all countries! Time is pressing! Arise! Hasten to the aid of the brave and heroic proletariat of China!

Moscow, 22nd September 1925.

The Executive Bureau of the
Red International of Labour Unions.

An Appeal of the Chinese Trade Unions.

The Chinese Railway workers' Federation has telegraphed to the R. I. L. U., the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, the British Trade Union Congress, the International Transport Workers' Federation and to Robert Williams, the following appeal:

"After the British Police, on the 7th of September, have carried out a frightful blood-bath in Shanghai, and after the Generals of Chang Tso-Lin in Tientsin and in the mining district of Kain-Loin have plundered the workers' organisations and throttled the strikes, the militarists are now attempting to strike at the heart of the Chinese labour movement by forcibly dissolving the Shanghai Trades Council, which represents 200,000 workers and 16 trades unions, under the pretext that the Trades Council is an unlawful organisation which prevents the resumption of work in the factories.

These strikes, which are only being continued in the English factories, are only being carried on because of the refusal of the British imperialists to make recompense for the shootings in Shanghai. The action of the imperialists is arousing the greatest indignation not only of the workers, but also of the students and all the democratic sections of the population, as well as of the Chamber of Commerce. All demonstrations of protest are being forcibly suppressed. The Chinese trade unions have already succeeded in improving the conditions of work of the Chinese working class, which are generally known to be bad; the Chinese trade unions form the basis of the Chinese emancipation movement. The aim of the present attack is to deprive the workers of their gains, in the interest of the foreign exploiters, and to prepare the suppression of the movement for national emancipation.

We appeal to you, in the name of the organised Chinese working class, to take measures in order to prevent the collapse of the Chinese labour movement, which would only serve the interests of the British and other imperialists."

The Nationalist Movement and Labour in China.

By L. Heller.

II.

The Textile Workers and their Struggle against the Capitalist Offensive.

The first place in the Chinese labour movement, from the point of view of activity and organisation, has until lately been held by the railwaymen, seamen and miners. To be sure, there have been sporadic strikes of textile workers in the past as well, but they were generally short-lived and, owing to weak organisation, ended as a rule in defeat. The main cause of the organisational backwardness of the textile workers is the domination of female and child labour. It will suffice to state that in many of the largest textile factories women constitute 90% of all the workers. In the silk industry the percentage is still higher, reaching even as much as 99%. About half the workers consist of children.

This explains why Shanghai, the foremost industrial centre of China, where is concentrated one third of the entire industrial proletariat of the country, has not until recently played any noticeable part in the Chinese labour movement; of the 500,000 workers of China, the cotton workers (160,000) and silk workers (80,000) constitute nearly one half. In addition, the next largest group, the porters (100,000), are also not easily given to organisation. Only after the Peking coup last autumn, in connection with the new political situation and with the rise of the nationalist movement in Northern and Central China, did the backward Shanghai proletariat begin to move.

The birth of the first trade union organisations among the Shanghai textile workers dates back to the second half of the past year. The first to be organised were the workers of certain Japanese textile factories, where men constituted a relatively high percentage. There were four such factories and they formed the nucleus of the Shanghai textile workers' organisation.

The Japanese capitalists immediately saw a menace in the organisation of trade unions, and started a determined offensive against them. The biggest Japanese textile company, Nagai-Wata, owning 13 textile factories in Shanghai and two in Tsintao, began systematically to replace the men by women, increasing at the same time the standard of production, and discharging, under various pretexts, the most active men. This led to the February strike involving all the factories of this company. Despite the cry raised by the entire imperialist press over this strike, despite all intimidations and provocations, despite attempts to corrupt the strike leaders and despite even the formidable intervention of the Japanese Ambassador, the strikers held out valiantly, and after eleven days of struggle came out partially victorious.

This success served to raise very high the prestige of the Union in the eyes of the workers and in a short time the union movement made very good progress, the membership growing from 2,000 to 10,000.

Two months later, in April, a strike broke out in the Japanese textile factories of Tsintao. The Japanese capitalists decided to show their teeth in Tsintao, a small town in the Shantung province, only recently evacuated by the Japanese, where they found it more safe politically to use force and easier to brow-beat the workers. The most ferocious measures were employed, including mass arrests and deportations, beatings and shootings. Things came to a head when a Japanese warship entered the Chinese port of Tsintao to crush Chinese workers.

In response to these events a second strike was declared in Shanghai by the textile workers, in solidarity with the striking textile workers of Tsintao. The Japanese capitalists then decided to apply the same ferocity in Shanghai. Clashes followed, in which the Japanese foremen killed one and wounded 30 Chinese workers.

On May 30th a peaceful demonstration, held by the workers and students in protest against the murder of Chinese workers by the Japanese, was fired upon by the British police of the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai. This served as a prelude to the Shanghai events, which reverberated so loudly in every

country, leading to the unheard of rise of the national movement that is still gripping the whole of China today. In this rise, there is reflected the entire nationalist and labour movement of the last decade. During that period the movement was having its ups and downs, first in the stormy onrush on to the political stage of the student movement in 1919 and in the splendid activities developed by the young Chinese proletariat, such as the strike of the Hong Kong seamen in the spring of 1922 or the Shanghai strike in 1924, and then the movement, during periods of reaction, would disappear underground, engaging there in invisible activities and gathering volume and energy for the next outbreak. The events of this summer represent one of this series of outbreaks. Their mainstay are the strikes in Shanghai and Hong-Kong.

The Result of the Strikes in Shanghai and Hong-Kong.

The distinctive feature of the mass Shanghai strike that has been carried on fully three months is that in it two currents, a nationalist and a labour, merged into one powerful stream.

The first results are extremely favourable to the fighting Shanghai workers. Such points of the settlement between the Chinese Seamen's Union and the Japanese shipping companies, as the re-instatement of all the strikers, the payment of wages for the entire period of strike, the forthcoming negotiations for wage advances, signify an indisputable and important, though not complete, victory for the Chinese seamen. The Textile Workers Union apparently came to a similar agreement with the Japanese textile companies (full information is not available at this writing).

It was not with a light heart that the Japanese capitalists and the Japanese Government, which took a very active hand in this conflict — the negotiations on behalf of the Japanese company were conducted by the Japanese General Council in Shanghai — granted these concessions. "The paradise for employers" mentioned in the report of the British Consul is apparently disappearing in China. The Chinese worker, whom the Japanese capitalists only recently could mercilessly exploit without meeting resistance, whom the Japanese foreman could beat and intimidate with impunity, has begun to rebel. Worse than that, he has even set up trade unions, formed councils and federations that must not only be recognised, but which even force one to retreat.

This victory of the Chinese workers is the more obnoxious to the Japanese bourgeoisie, in that it will undoubtedly be reflected in Japan itself and strengthen the revolutionary wing of the Japanese labour movement.

We do not know the exact losses sustained by Japan in the three months of strike and in the boycott of her goods. As has been mentioned, the 1919 boycott resulted in the trade between Japan and China being reduced by 40%. The losses caused by the present strike and by the much more effective boycott are undoubtedly incomparably larger. This, apart from the more general political motives, lie at the root of the present Japanese "leniency".

Japan's decision to seek a reconciliation with the Chinese workers through serious concessions greatly weakens the position of the British capitalists in the strike. The losses sustained by Great Britain are tremendous. This is seen in the drastic falling off of the exports of the Lancashire textile industry, in the complete paralyzation of British shipping in the Pacific. Each day of the Hong Kong strike alone, according to the Hong Kong correspondent of the London "Times", causes a loss of 250,000 pounds; the Hong Kong losses for the two months' strike are equal at least to 15 million pounds. Wholesale bankruptcies have become the order of the day in Hong Kong, and even the most solidly established firms are experiencing serious difficulties and are cutting down their forces. Panicky Hong Kong has been bombarding London with telegrams demanding immediate military intervention in Hong Kong, the crushing of the Chinese Bolsheviks, of the "Moscow bandits" who have seized power in Canton, who destroy civilisation and culture, lead China to its doom, etc. But London is "reluctant". True, fresh troops have been brought up to Hong Kong from India, a special warship loaded with hydroplanes arrived from Malta. Still London is practically inactive. Moreover, London is actually preparing "treason" and seems to be inclined to compromise, to make concessions to the "rebellious slaves".

Britain's Isolation.

From the very first and to the very last England has been pursuing a policy of threats and violence. However, there are already signs to the effect that England, preparing with one hand for intervention, is ready to stretch out the other with an olive branch in it. This is indicated in the recall of the Hong Kong governor, Sir Reginald Stubbs, notorious for having introduced corporal punishment for "agitators", whose name fills with pride the heart of every imperialist jingo, but who has become hateful to the Chinese masses, as a symbol of British arrogance and of the most ruthless colonial oppression. This arch-imperialist, with whom the representatives of labour would not think of dealing, has been removed from Hong Kong and transferred to Jamaica. Even the very tone of the British press, after three months of threats and provocation, has changed. It will suffice to compare several extracts from the leading British organs.

The "North China Daily News" of Shanghai, a semi-official press organ of British imperialism, wrote as follows in regards to the efforts of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai to find a compromise in the conflict: "As for the merchants of Shanghai we appreciate their efforts to restore peace, but... we tell them frankly that they are wasting their time. There is only one way in which peace can be restored, and that is by the unconditional surrender of the Students and other agitators." Such was the attitude of the British organ in June. In July the paper deciphered the meaning of the "surrender of the agitators": by openly and persistently demanding capital punishment for them. Hong Kong, where Sir R. Stubbs, referred to above, did not hesitate at shooting the active workers, was offered as an example to Shanghai.

However, at the end of August, when the front of the Shanghai and Hong Kong workers remained, as at the beginning, firm and unshaken, while Lancashire in England and Hong Kong on the Pacific were feeling more and more acutely the crushing blows coming from the Chinese strikers and the unabated boycott of British goods, the British press found a new language: "While the diplomats are disputing and frittering away valuable time — bitterly complains the London "China Express and Telegraph", a journal closely associated with the Colonial Department — the boycott has reduced the normal movement of British goods by 80%." (Issue of Aug. 6th, 1925.)

The diplomatic parleys really accomplished nothing of practical value, at least from the standpoint of the interests of British imperialism. All the efforts to line up America and France failed completely. Japan, who at one time followed in the wake of England, finally compromised and parted ways with that country, taking up the path of agreement, at a costly price to herself.

There was a time in the happy days of Lord Palmerston, when Britain was deliberately striving for "splendid isolation". Today this isolation is a fact, established against her will, and it is far from splendid, and the latest articles of the same London weekly reflect this black mood of sobered imperialism, while the Conservative Government finds it necessary to prepare the "public opinion", but more particularly the arrogant Hong Kong bankers and shipping interests, the Shanghai Municipal Council, the British Chamber of Commerce, which represent the most diabolical elements of British imperialism in China, of the necessity to seek a compromise, to agree to concessions.

"... The British Government recognises," the London Weekly writes in an evidently inspired editorial on Aug. 27th., "the real grievances from which China suffers and is anxious to remove these with the least possible delay."

"It is admitted", continues the editorial even more outspokenly, "that the treaties are out of date and must be revised, and it is obvious that the principle of extra-territoriality must be modified in face of the new China." (China Express and Telegraph, Aug. 27.)

So that is how the influential London circles began to see light.

And this tremendous work of "enlightening" has been carried out by the plain, illiterate Chinese coolies, by the Shanghai and Hong Kong strikers, by the dockers, seamen, textile workers, under the leadership of the Shanghai Trades Council, and of the All-Chinese Federation in the South.

Labour in the Van.

The Shanghai Trades Council was formed at the very outbreak of the strike, soon gaining general recognition as the centre of the labour movement. Its popularity not only in Shang-

hai, but throughout the country is enormous. To it flock with their various problems and difficulties, not only the labour organisations and various groups of workers, but all the various institutions; the civil and military authorities negotiate with it, the entire stored up hatred of the imperialists has been focussed upon it, and they are constantly working to undermine it with all the means at their disposal. The Shanghai Trades Council is the leading light in the Joint Committee consisting, in addition to the Council, of the Student Council and the Committee of the Street Unions which comprises petty business men. The Trades Council has not only developed great propagandist and organisational activities among the strikers but, with the aid of its daily, devoted to political and trade union affairs, and of the specially created Press Bureau, which circularises all the Chinese newspapers with daily information bulletins, it has exercised a decisive influence in the moulding of public opinion and in the growth of the national consciousness of the Chinese masses. Its prestige among the Shanghai workers is unchallenged. The latest events have proved this beyond any doubt. Only because it enjoys the complete confidence of the great masses of the Shanghai workers was the Trades Council able to put through such a complicated manoeuvre as was that of shifting from the fundamental national demands to economic issues, and retaining at the same time the integrity and solidarity of the proletarian front. For it must not be forgotten that, apart from the enormous outside difficulties, the very make up of the body of strikers contains within itself tremendous handicaps for the mere direction of the strike, and even more so for the execution of drastic strategic turns. Indeed, the main body of the strikers consists of textile workers, seamen and dockers. As a whole the strike movement has rallied entirely untrained sections of the proletariat that have only recently got into touch with any movement. The art of manoeuvring such masses, of making sharp turns, requires, in addition to a certain political maturity, cleverness and tact on the part of the leaders, and also, and particularly, complete confidence in them on the part of the masses.

The main body of the strikers was made up, as is known, of the workers employed in British and Japanese establishments. The latest despatches indicate that the strike in the Japanese factories has been settled in a manner denoting a serious, even if incomplete, victory for the workers. The workers of the British establishments still continue to strike. This again bears witness to the strong contact existing between the Council and the labouring masses. Only this contact permits of such an organised, step by step liquidation of this grand strike, when one section of the front is being liquidated, while at the others the struggle continues unabated. The entire weight and force of the struggle will now be concentrated against Britain, and this is the best guarantee that on this front as well the Shanghai workers will be victorious.

The Hong-Kong strike, though a direct continuation of that of Shanghai has, however, one distinct aspect: its character is purely political, it being a clear expression of the national emancipation struggle conducted by the revolutionary means and methods at the disposal of the working class.

It is hardly possible to name another place on the Pacific where British imperialism has been revealing itself more nakedly, more insolently than in Hong-Kong. A handful of big capitalists, backed by an adequate military force under the command of the Governor, is having full and unlimited sway on the Island. There is one trouble, however: within six hours travel by steamer, on the opposite shore is Canton (the capital of the Kwantung province, with a population close on 40,000,000), the foremost revolutionary city in China, with its Kuo-Ming-Tang Government, friendly to Soviet Russia; a city where the labour movement is developing freely, and where a revolutionary army of workers and peasants has been created. In short, a city that is the very opposite of Hong Kong, which hates it with the deepest hatred as a hotbed of the "Bolshevist germ" that is spreading throughout China, portending nothing good to the Britishers. The working population of Hong-Kong, in turn, have nothing but the profoundest hatred for their haughty oppressors and look with hope to Canton, with whom they maintain the liveliest connections. No wonder that it was precisely in Hong-Kong that the Shanghai events aroused not only a sympathetic, but a much more effective response. The proximity of Canton played a decisive part.

The Hong-Kong strike was led by the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The latter is a very young organisation, formed at the All-China Trade Union Congress early last May. Backed by the active support of the Canton

masses and of the government, the Federation Executive has been successfully handling this extremely difficult problem.

The Hong-Kong strike — and this must not be forgotten — is limited to a small island, dominated by a true despotism with the entire power, both civil and military, concentrated in the hands of an autocratic British governor. Nor should it be forgotten that the Hong-Kong strike hits the pockets of the British capitalists more painfully than that of Shanghai, where the Japanese interests are more directly affected. And finally, it should also be remembered that the Britishers wanted to make of Hong-Kong an example of the superiority of their methods of quelling disturbances. There is much "interference" in Shanghai on the part of other countries, and this leads to a lot of red tape and wavering; in Hong-Kong, however, there is a "purely" British rule, which knows what it wants and how to get it. Yet despite the fact that the authorities really did not stop at anything, including shootings, corporal punishment and mass deportations; despite the fact that they recruited scabs everywhere in the Philippines; in the adjacent Portuguese colony of Makoa, etc.; in spite of the fact that even the Russian white guards were rallied to this glorious business, of strike breaking, despite all this, the Hong-Kong strike, led by the Canton Federation, turned into a general strike affecting every branch of employment.

As a result, after two months of struggle, Hong-Kong is ruined. Unable to crush the strike unaided, Hong-Kong has been appealing to London, demanding intervention, military interference, an occupation, or at least the complete blockade of Canton. As has already been stated, there is every ground to believe that these militant outcries will hardly be heard in London. The Conservative Government is, of course, "at heart" with the Hong-Kong reactionaries, but conditions at home and abroad particularly, in China, are such that England will hardly dare to decide upon an intervention in Canton. A war with Canton would be a challenge to all of China. For the Chinese masses have become a nation.

The Birth of the New, Free China.

The traditions of provincialism and clanishness are still, as a matter of fact, strong in China. However, within the womb of old China, a new China has arisen. Owing to industrialisation, its life has been revived, "modernised". The growth of cities, the development of railways, the greater mobility of the population, the spread of literacy, the rise of the press, the springing up and proletarianisation of an intelligencia, and last and most important the appearance of an industrial proletariat, its activities and the growth of its trade union and political organisations, all these have undermined the foundations of old China, have led to the readjustment of the social forces, to the revision of the social relations, to what the Chinese themselves term as, the "reevaluation of the old values".

At the same time, on top of the old traditions grew and strengthened the feeling of national unity, of national integrity and a wrathful protest against the colonial slavery in all its forms and manifestations, a heightened resentfulness towards everything restricting Chinese sovereignty and handicapping the emancipation and unification of China. All this has been briefly formulated in the slogan of the entire nation: "Down with the Treaties!" This means, down with the "concessions", down with the control by foreigners of the Chinese customs and railways, down with extra-territoriality, down with the Consular Courts". And finally, it means "China free, independent, sovereign!"

That this is the common demand of the entire nation, of every section of the Chinese population, is not denied even by the most dyed-in-the-wool imperialists. Thus the Peking correspondent of the arch-imperialist Shanghai "North China Daily News" reports in the middle of July:

"The slogan "Abolish Unequal Treaties" used to be monopolised by the Kuomintang, but nowadays even the most conservative Chinese, who three months ago would have condemned such talk as the talk of wild men, are asserting themselves on the side of the rights recovery movement."

The strike of the Hong-Kong seamen in the spring of 1922 and the Seamen strike in summer of 1924, represent perhaps, the finest pages in the recent history of the nationalist movement. And these pages have been written by the young Chinese proletariat.

But splendid and significant as these activities have been in their time, they were only a prelude to the events of the

summer, when the role of the working class as the leader of the national emancipation movement, was so strikingly revealed. This is recognised by all, both the petty and the middle bourgeoisie and even, in a certain sense, by the Peking Government itself. Everyone became aware that the workers' strike movement was the backbone of the nationalist movement. This explains the support that the Shanghai and Hong-Kong strikes received throughout the country among every section of the population. This explains also the singular fact that the Tuan-Tsi-Jui government contributed 150,000 dollars to the Shanghai strikers and 100,000 dollars — by way of Canton — to the Hong-Kong strikers.

This role of the Chinese proletariat, considering its small numbers — there are hardly two million industrial workers in China, a country with 400 million people —, and its weak political and trade union organisation may seem surprising and strange.

(To be concluded in next number.)

POLITICS

The Question of Mosul.

By M. N. Roy.

The Anglo-Turkish dispute over the possession of the Villayet of Mosul was the first point on the agenda of the Council of the League of Nations that met at Geneva in the first week of September. The Commission appointed by the League to investigate the question, had published its report two weeks before the Council met. The report was a curious document. The recommendations made did not correspond with the evidence and impressions recorded as a result of the investigations made on the spot. The contradiction between the data collected and the conclusions made is so flagrant that the reader of the report cannot help feeling that the findings of the Commission had been predetermined.

But, in spite of all patch-work, post-war imperialism does not work smoothly. The renewed controversy over the possession of Mosul reveals the ugly fact that Great Britain will find it very difficult to neatly appropriate the oil deposits of the Tigris valley. The Turks may be brow-beaten; but there are other factors to contend with. Behind a dispute, apparently Anglo-Turkish, lurk ominously France and the United States of America. This makes the question extremely more complicated than it appears on the surface. Other factors than the refusal of the Turkish delegation to renew the pledge to abide by the decision of the League, induced the Council to refer the question to a new commission. The new commission is charged to examine the report of its predecessor together with all other evidence available. This means that the findings of the previous commission is practically rejected and the solution of the thorny question postponed indefinitely.

The sum-total of the recommendation of the League Commission was that the British Mandatory right over Iraq should be prolonged for another 25 years after the expiry of the present term ending in 1928. It was through a very curious process of reasoning that the Commission arrived at this conclusion. The evidence recorded on the spot forced the Commission to admit that if it were between Turkey and Iraq, Mosul should go to the former. But this admission was qualified. The Commission argued that besides juridical and sentimental reasons, which were all in favour of the Turks, there was the economic interest of Mosul to be considered. It declared: "that although in general all the peoples of the region of Mosul are sentimentally attached to Turkey, their economic interests are closer to Iraq supported by the power of Britain". Iraq, deprived of the protection of Britain, will have no legal or moral right over Mosul. Therefore, moved, by the Christian compassion to secure the economic welfare of the peoples of the villayet of Mosul (against their own desire), the Commission of the League of Nations imposed upon Iraq the duty of placing itself under British tutelage for another generation! Britain gracefully consented to accept this additional "white man's burden" to which she is so well accustomed. The British delegate to the League Council, declared the readiness of the British Government to agree to the extension of mandatory responsibility which the commission regarded as a condition for

the retention of Mosul in Iraq. What a sacrifice for the welfare of the humanity! As if the politically literate world had not known that Britain was determined to grab the oil deposits of Mesopotamia with or without the consent of the League. In order to invest this international swindle with a plausible motive, Amery declared that he could not commit the British government to 25 years' responsibility, since, conceded the Tory Minister, Iraq might be fit to stand on its own legs before that period was over. What a magnificent gesture of disinterested liberalism! Since when has British Imperialism become so susceptible to the desire for self-government on the part of the peoples subjugated by it? This liberalism however, is not at all disinterested. Amery, as the Colonial Minister of the Tory Cabinet, has recently visited Mesopotamia. Just before his (Amery's) departure for Geneva, King Feisal came to London. Consequently, the British Government is fully acquainted with the precarious situation of the puppet regime at Bagdad. It was with much difficulty that last year the Anglo-Iraq Agreement could be imposed upon the Bagdad Parliament, which reluctantly ratified the agreement only for four years. Naturally the British Government could not undertake the responsibility of "protecting" Iraq for another 25 years. The Iraqis might at any time refuse to be protected; and for Britain to remain in Mesopotamia even in that case (for 25 years) would be financially disastrous. It is indeed difficult for Britain to maintain the grip on Mosul oil fields.

But this liberal gesture of British imperialism failed to placate the rival claimants. Other powers were alarmed by the concession that the Commission Report made to British claim in Mosul. Although Twefik Rushdi Bey played a lone hand in the Council Chamber, he was not without moral support. The correspondent of the London Times writing from Geneva on September 4, remarks: "I have said that the Turks do not appear to have here any open allies or friends. But in this place, where so many interests and temperaments mingle, they undoubtedly have sympathisers. It was obvious in watching the faces during the debate that the Turkish arguments appealed to some hearers more strongly than the British. Then again in some circles complaints were made against the firmness of Mr. Amery's manners." The significance of this remark cannot be missed. The powers behind the League Council refused to hand over to Britain the rich oil deposits of Mesopotamia. That was the long and short of the show at Geneva. Now the robbers will hold secret conclaves.

But this is no solution of the problem. The ugly ulcer is covered up so that it might not prove fatal to the delicate constitution of the "organised Impotency". Apart from Turkey, and for entirely different reasons, France and America were opposed to the settlement of the Mosul Question according to the recommendations of the League Commission. None of them failed to give expression to their opposition.

Immediately after the publication of the League Commission Report Admiral Chester, speaking in New York in a meeting of the Ottoman-American Development Company in New York, declared: "The final decisions of the League of Nations on the Mosul boundary could not effect the Chester Concession in the Mosul oil fields, because the concession was negotiated in 1911 and the League had no power to give decisions affecting the rights and properties of Americans abroad. Great Britain, France and other nations had admitted claims to be the oldest, whilst the ratification of the Chester Concession of 1,000 million dollars by the Turkish National Assembly in April 1923, made its validity unquestionable."

This was a declaration of war upon the League. American capital had staked its claim on the spoils of the Tigris valley which could not be superseded by the claims of British imperialism supported by the League of Nations. Chester made the American position still clearer. He said that the only way in which American rights could be affected would be by disallowing Turkish right to Mosul whose population had been reported by the League Commission to prefer Turkish rule next after self-government. The spokesman of American imperialism added ominously that such a decision would create conditions approximating to a state of warfare in the vilayet of Mosul. The British Delegation to Geneva could not have failed to take notice of this menacing voice raised across the Atlantic; nor were the Turks ignorant of what that gesture meant.

Then there was a menace nearer home. France did not at all take kindly to the prospect of the League's ratifying British monopoly in Mesopotamia, particularly in this moment when her

position in Syria is threatened by British intrigues. Unmindful of the debt negotiations conducted so laboriously by the radical Painleve-Briand-Cailleaux Government, French imperialism, through the Parisian press, made it quite clear that the rapprochement with Turkey begun with the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement of 1922 had not been abandoned by France. Although, in order to secure British sanction to the Ruhr Occupation France temporarily withdrew from the rivalry in Turkey, leaving Britain the master of the situation, she is again prepared to enter the lists. The report of the League Commission and the London visit of King Feisal provoked the Parisian press into a severe attack on British policy in the Near East. The Temps wrote: "Without Mosul and its petroleum England would no doubt wash her hands of Iraq and abandon King Feisal to his fate." Another paper wrote: "Advised by Lord Curzon, Emir Feisal had sold the right of exploiting the Mosul oil deposits to more than one party. These parties were to enter in possession of their property in September 1925. The situation was indeed critical and complicated. It was urgently necessary to find a compromise. Therefore, England called in the aid of the League of Nations."

The anti-British campaign in the French press called forth a dignified rejoinder from the organ of the British Foreign Office — The Times. On August 19, the paper wrote: "I is, therefore, the more surprising that several responsible organs of the French press have seen fit to discuss the movements of the King Feisal in terms that are flattering neither to him nor to the policy of Great Britain in the Near East... This sudden criticism of our position in Iraq, with a revival of all the prehistoric catchwords about oil and racial intrigue, is hard to understand... The lessons of experience have not been lost upon the governments, and for some time past the fundamental unity of British and French interests in the face of the new problems of the world of Islam has been at least informally recognised. The mandatory Powers in the East have big common problems. They have to decide whether they shall jointly secure the conditions for the fruitful development of the patient pioneer administrative effort of the last five years, or whether, by the obstinate pursuit of rival aims, they will expose their work to new and serious risks. The tone of French press criticism must, perhaps, be interpreted as a reminder that return to a better and healthier spirit can, after all, be gradual..."

This rather long quotation is necessary in order to show how irreconcilable are the interests of France and England in the East. Chamberlain's efforts to bridge the gulf and form a united imperialist front have miserably failed. The righteous indignation of the British Government, however, was of no avail in persuading French imperialism to abandon its hostility to the project of having the League of Nations sanction British monopoly in Mosul. The subsequent events in Geneva proved that the report of the Iraq Commission was opposed by stronger powers than Turkey.

Apart from this rivalry between the imperialist powers, there is another factor which renders Britain's position in Mesopotamia precarious. That is the internal situation. There is a touch of prophecy in the British reservation as to the duration of the new mandatory rights in Iraq. The government of King Feisal is anything but a stable affair. It was foisted upon an unwilling people by the force of British arms and has been maintained by the same means. But to maintain a sufficiently large army there, is becoming a rather expensive luxury. There is a deficit of 636, 714 pounds in this year's budget of the Iraqi Government. This deficit is expected to continue for years. According to the Anglo-Iraqi Agreement, England undertakes to make up for this deficit. But the British bourgeoisie is reluctant to sink money in military adventure, while there is so little capital available for export. To head off a possible revolt against the Conservative Cabinet, the British Government, immediately after the statement of Amery at Geneva accepting the prolonged mandate over Iraq recommended by the League Commission, issued a communique to announce that the new policy would not entail any additional military expenditure in Mesopotamia.

But as soon as British imperialism is obliged to weaken its military forces in Mesopotamia, the fake kingdom of Feisal will disappear. As a matter of fact, Feisal's government is trembling at such a possibility, and imploring the British not to abandon it to cruel fate. Immediately after he had made his speech at Geneva, Amery received the following telegram from the Prime Minister of Iraq: "Iraqi nation, represented by the Chamber of Deputies, declare its strong friendship for Great

Britain and expresses its desire to continue in alliance with her after expiry of the present treaty!" This sounds like the frantic cry of a drowning man. In view of the fact that the Chamber of Deputies only a year ago would not ratify the Anglo-Iraqi Agreement for more than four years, this message of the Prime Minister is a simple political forgery. King Feisal will court ruin if he seeks his parliament to ratify a fresh 25 years' British tutelage. The British know it better; therefore they did not commit themselves to the dangerous adventure of perpetual military occupation of a country inhabited by a rebellious people. In the dazzle of easily earned purple, King Feisal might forget how his election to the throne of Iraq was secured; but the British have a long memory; and it is an irony of fate that the Commission of the League, in spite of its holding up British right to the oil fields of Mosul, should have incorporated in its report an account of the episode of King Feisal's election. The commission found out that the plebiscite which was supposed to have raised Feisal at the head of the new Arab Kingdom was a farce. A number of docile and friendly Sheiks were called to Bagdad to declare Feisal the King elected by the people. The commission also admits having found evidence to the effect that the people, who was supposed to have delegated these Sheiks to invest the henchman of British imperialism with royal dignity, tried to break the heads of the Sheiks for their act. The bunch of hired reactionaries posing as the government of Iraq, are naturally anxious to have the British forces stay perpetually in Mesopotamia, because the withdrawal of British troops would be followed by the downfall of the fake kingdom. But this bunch is a very unreliable support for the British in the midst of a hostile people.

Thus, the question of Mosul is beset with insurmountable difficulties. Before them the League simply stood naked in its impotency. The rivalry over the oil deposits will make for a war unless a bona fide national government of Iraq, brought into existence by a popular revolution, repudiate the claims of all the robber bands. In such new conditions the dispute between Turkey and Iraq might be settled with comparative ease.

The Security Pact and the Political Parties in Germany.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

On their journey to Switzerland to sign the Security Pact Stresemann and Luther bear with them the best wishes of the German big bourgeoisie and of the social democratic leaders. The western orientation of German capitalism is the natural outcome of the collapse of the Ruhr resistance and of the Dawes Pact. The German big bourgeoisie is quite aware that it cannot maintain with its own forces its rule over the proletariat and over the expropriated middle classes. Neither German industry nor the German big agrarians can live without American credits. It is only American support which maintains the German valuta and renders possible the existence of the German banks.

On the other hand, German heavy industry is dependent upon its understanding with the French heavy industry, and the mine owners in the Ruhr district are seeking to arrive at an agreement with the English mine owners. Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry is convinced that it will not be capable of carrying on without an agreement with Entente capital. This is the reason for the Western orientation of the German capitalist class.

The economic expression of the German Western orientation was the Dawes Plan; its political expression is to be the Security Pact. Both political actions of the German government, the journey to London as well as the journey to Lucerne are in accordance with the will of the National Federation of German Industry.

The adoption by the National Federation of German Industry of the policy of fulfilment and of the policy of the Security Pact, determines at the same time the attitude of the most important bourgeois parties in Germany. It is the German People's Party, the Party of Stresemann, which, before any other, acts in accordance with the instructions of the National Federation of German Industry. But the National Federation of German Industry also has a decisive influence upon the Centre and the German Nationalists. In the Centre Party the will of the National Federation of German Industry is embodied in the Catholic big industrials of Western Germany; in the German Nationalist

Party it is incorporated in such men as Krupp. The result is that the three great parties which constitute the support of the Reichs Chancellor Luther, have been won for the Security Pact and the Western orientation.

It is true there exists in the German Nationalist Party the petty bourgeois nationalist opposition, the stronghold of which is the fascist unions. The black-white-red fighting unions, Stahlhelm, Wehrwolf, Jungdo etc. declare themselves to be passionately opposed to the Security Pact, against this fresh recognition of the frontiers laid down by the Versailles Treaty, against the alliance with France and against the understanding with Poland. In the German National Party the fascist opposition has a strong following among the masses of the German nationalist petty bourgeois intellectuals. The opposition has carried the day at a whole number of Conferences of the German National Party. But this has not resulted in any change in the policy of the party; this is entirely determined by heavy industry and the higher bureaucracy. In addition to this there is the important fact that the German National agrarians are in agreement with the heavy industrials with regard to the Security Pact. The Land Union is interested before all in the question of American credits. Only recently the German Renten Credit Bank succeeded in raising a loan of a hundred million dollars. Of course, the German big agrarians can only hope for further grants of dollars if they concur in the Western orientation. The approval by the leading agrarian circles of the Security Pact is not without effect upon the attitude of the Centre and of the German People's Party.

Of the smaller right Parties only the German fascists are absolutely against the Security Pact. The Economic Party and the Bavarian People's Party are divided. It is to be assumed that the petty bourgeois Economic Party will quite openly oppose the Security Pact, whilst the agrarians and heavy industrials in the Bavarian People's Party will probably gain the upper hand over the nationalist petty bourgeois.

Taken as a whole the situation within the black-white-red and government parties is such that Luther and Stresemann will encounter very little difficulties in parliament in regard to their Pact policy. But among the great masses of the nationalist minded middle classes and among the millions of those who voted for Hindenburg and who support the Hakenkreuz, (fascist) unions, this attitude of the national government to the "hereditary" enemy will arouse the greatest disappointment and bitterness. In addition to the great disappointment which these circles have already experienced in regard to the "revaluation" question, there now comes the complete capitulation of the black-white-red Hindenburg government in the national question. Considerable commotion may therefore be expected before very long in the black-red-white bloc.

Of the opposition parties the Democrats are entirely in agreement with the attitude of Luther and Stresemann, for the businessmen and the manufacturers of finished products who belong to the Democratic Party believe that they can only secure their existence by means of the policy of fulfillment and of understanding with the Western powers.

Finally, the social democratic leaders display the greatest enthusiasm for the League of Nations and for the Security Pact. Whilst the bourgeois parties — in spite of their approval of the Security Pact, — wish to avoid open provocation of Soviet Russia, the social democrats are conducting an unrestrained campaign against the Soviet Union. The German big capitalists, in adopting a western orientation, are at least acting in accordance with their class interests. They believe that they can thereby obtain money and business. But the social democratic leaders, as regards their foreign policy, are deliberately acting against the interest of the workers. The German proletariat has nothing to gain but everything to lose by the western orientation. The interests of the German workers imperatively demand alliance with Soviet Russia. The social democratic leaders are giving their allegiance to the Entente and the League of Nations, because they desire, with the help of western capitalism, to keep Germany free from bolshevism.

Up to recently the left social democratic leaders unconditionally supported the slogans of Herman Müller, Breitscheid and Wels in regard to foreign policy. But in the last few weeks there has been a certain change in this respect. The social democratic workers, under the influence of the delegations to Russia, are gradually becoming distrustful of the official policy of their leaders. As a result of this, some at least of the left

social democratic leaders are beginning to revise their attitude in regard to foreign policy. At the Heidelberg Party Conference of the Social Democratic Party a proposal was submitted on behalf of the local group of Frankfort on Maine, which raised objections to the policy of the League of Nations and to the Security Pact, clearly pointing out that the policy of Stresemann and Breitscheid increases the danger of war with Russia.

Of course, the Heidelberg Party Conference approved by an overwhelming majority the western orientation of the party leaders. But the ferment among the social democratic workers is increasing. Ever increasing sections of the proletariat are coming to see in Russia their only hope. Even the Christian Railwaymen's Union has pronounced against the Security Pact, because it involves the danger of Germany being the cockpit in a future war between western capitalism and Soviet Russia.

The C. P. of Germany has the best prospects. As a result of its unshaken opposition to the Security Pact it will succeed in rallying to itself ever greater masses of workers.

The Severance of the Maximalists from the Aventino Bloc.

By L. U. (Milano).

The Maximalist socialists have officially pronounced the death sentence on the Aventino (Bloc of the anti-fascist parliamentary opposition, with the exception of the communists, who have boycotted parliament since the death of Matteotti). In reality they have only buried a rotting corpse. The severance of the Maximalists is one of the very symptoms of this decomposition. Why have the Maximalists decided on this step precisely at the present moment?

The Maximalists declare that their party thereby "again wins freedom of action with regard to the Aventino", and thus demonstrate to their followers among the working class that the Maximalist Party has up to now been compelled to carry out the bourgeois policy of the Aventino, that is, that they had renounced independent action, as a result of which the working class was delivered over to the semi-fascist fraction of the bourgeoisie. This is a belated, even if not direct confession, from which the maximalist workers must draw their own conclusions.

Why should the Maximalist policy, that is the coalition policy of the Aventino, have been correct in the past and yet be no longer correct today? There is not the least doubt that during the Matteotti crisis the situation was much more favourable for an independent action on the part of the working class. During the whole of this period the Maximalist organ, the "Avanti", justified with opportunist arguments the necessity of coalition with the bourgeois parties. If these arguments were correct yesterday why are they no longer so today, when the proletariat has to fight under far more difficult conditions, and this precisely because of the treacherous policy of the so-called socialist Parties? The shameful end of the Aventino proves that the Communists judged the situation correctly when they declared it to be necessary to base the anti-fascist action on the working class and not on the petty bourgeoisie of the Aventino. The Maximalist Party, however, constantly opposed all proposals for a proletarian united front and set its hopes upon obtaining support from the Crown and upon the intervention of the Generals. Today it is still attempting to calumniate the action of the Communists during the Matteotti crisis and to defend the past of the Aventino.

If the Communist Party had not saved the independence of the working class by organising its advance guard, then the same decay which is to be seen today in the ranks of the Aventino would have seized the ranks of the proletariat. It is only thanks to the Communist Party if the decay of the parties of the Aventino is not accompanied by a decay of the working class. And this also explains why the Reaction is carrying out mass arrests and mass persecutions against the Communist Party as is being carried out against no other Party.

On the 19th of September there took place in Rome a huge number of house searches among communists, as a result of which there was a great number of arrests. The official report of the police states that there were 234 house searches and 158 arrests. Among the arrested are comrade Ottavio Pastore, the manager of the Rome correspondence bureau of the "L'Unità",

which appears in Milan and is the only communist daily in Italy; comrade Edmondo Peluso, who is well known in the Communist International through his many years of journalistic activity; Comrade Giuseppe di Vittorio, the secretary of the "League for the Defence of the Poor Peasants", which recently affiliated to the International Peasant Council, and a whole number of other active comrades.

Wholesale arrests have also been carried out in the provinces. Already a week ago in Parma no less than 200 workers were arrested. In the whole of Toscana, and also in other parts of Northern, Southern and Central Italy, arrests are still taking place. It is a matter of course that the Communist "L'Unità" has also been frequently confiscated.

The severance of the Maximalists from the Aventino does not mean a change of Maximalist policy, but it only means that the Maximalists are following the masses, because the latter have turned their backs on the Aventino; for it is the constant aim of the Maximalists to prevent the masses from uniting under the leadership of the revolutionary advance-guard of the proletariat.

The Maximalist Party will never be able to carry on an effective struggle against fascism, so long as it is fettered to the economic policy of the Minister Volpi, which aims at favouring the investment of American capital in Italy. Before they grant loans to the Italian capitalists, the American capitalists require securities for their capital investments. The guarantee which, in the case of Germany, was given to the American capitalists by the German social democrats, is offered in Italy by the fascist and the Maximalists, who have pledged themselves to facilitate the operations of American finance. So long as the Maximalists refrain from conducting an energetic campaign against the intervention of American capital in Italy, so long will they remain a mere appendage of the fascist plutocracy. The same applies to them as regards foreign policy.

It is obvious to all that the manoeuvres of European diplomacy aim at creating an anti-Soviet bloc, and that the fascist government is inclining towards this bloc. In spite of this fact the Maximalist Party is continuing its calumnies against the Soviet Union. This attitude is leading to the policy of supporting international fascism and uniting social democracy with fascism. As an example it is only necessary to mention that democratic and "socialist" France is fighting along with fascist Spain against the Rif Kabyles.

By its severance from the Aventino the Maximalist Party is attempting to conceal its counter-revolutionary and anti-proletarian policy, and to check the decay which is making rapid progress in its own ranks.

As the tactics of the Aventino have suffered shipwreck, there only remains the policy of the united front advocated by the Communist Party. But the proletarian united front, in order to be really anti-fascist, must base itself on the struggle against the intervention of American capital in Italy and against the anti-Soviet bloc. This is what the Maximalist workers must demand today, while at the same time they must unite with the Communist advance-guard of the proletariat in the fight against fascism, unless they wish to be once more betrayed by their reformist leaders.

A Fascist Stabilisation Plan.

By Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

"My successor is not yet born." This is how Mussolini expressed himself recently at an interview which he had with Farinacci, the General Secretary of the Fascist Party. In this phrase there is embodied all the optimism of the victor.

Sure of the eternal duration of his rule, the dictator is making plans for the future. At present the object of his dreams is the stabilising of the Lira.

After Mussolini had taken over with a firm hold the leadership of the Ministries of war, of the Marine and of the Air Forces, whereby he made himself Minister of all the physical forces of the kingdom, he believed that he could finally deliver over the economic forces of the country to the financial plutocracy. As a matter of fact, Italian finances are at present controlled by the agent of the Banca Commerciale, Count Volpi, and the Ministries of Commerce and Industry by Belluzzi, Professor of the Milan Polytechnic, and at the same time one of the captains of industry of Northern Italy.

After its victory over the proletariat and after its momentary consolidation, there remained only two ways open for the inner development of Italian capitalism: **inflation** or **stabilisation**.

Various industrial groups which earn high dividends by the export of their manufactures, are working for **inflation**, and it seemed at first as if Volpi, the man of high finance, was in favour of this tendency. In the meantime we have experienced the collapse of the Lira and the pressure of Anglo-Saxon capital, which is demanding payment of the debts, and one immediately felt that in Italy a new policy was being pursued. Desperate attempts were made to raise the Lira; pressure was brought to bear upon industrial groups which were in favour of inflation. These latter were compelled to sacrifice their special interests to the general interest of the Italian bourgeoisie. In a few weeks the Lira recovered a few points. The government achieved this result by inducing the interested circles to pay their current accounts in foreign valuta, and at the same time forbade the banks to grant credits to those merchants who possessed property abroad. In order to attract money from abroad the rate of interest was increased.

After Belgium had arrived at an agreement with America in regard to the question of debts, Mussolini announced his desire to liquidate the Italian debts. It is obvious however that Italy will never obtain or be in a position to fulfil conditions in any way similar to those which were granted to Belgium. This was already demonstrated by the failure, right at the commencement, of the negotiations entered into only a few months ago with America. In the meantime new attempts at an approachment have been made, and it seems that this time the negotiations have made better progress, for the government has officially announced that Volpi will shortly visit America at the head of an Italian delegation.

All these measures are without doubt the prelude to a serious attempt at stabilisation on the part of Fascism. Mussolini denies all this as he wishes to carry out his plans in secret so that, in the event of a failure, he will have a means of escape. But the fact that the Italian big industries are issuing debentures, the interests on which is guaranteed to be repaid in gold, goes to confirm our assumption. On the other hand, American capital is penetrating to an increased extent. Piedmont which is undoubtedly the centre of modern Italian big industry, furnishes us with actual proofs of this. Thus, for example, the SIP. (Piedmont Waterpower Company) which controls the entire production of soft coal, represents a trust with a capital of 600 million Lira, which for the greater part consists of American capital. The Viscosa (a Company engaged in the manufacture of artificial silk) has increased its capital from 500 million to a milliard Lira. And as the Italian banks could not take on these new liabilities, they have been bought by the Americans.

The financial policy of fascism, or better said of the Italian plutocracy, is already clearly to be seen: **Increase of the value of the Lira, securing of the assistance of Anglo-Saxon capital, and settlement of the foreign debts.**

This plan of stabilisation would have some prospects of success if the masses, who are beginning to become restless as a result of the economic situation, did not stand in the way.

The index of prices rises to the same extent as the Lira recovers a few points. This increase in prices brings with it the revision of certain collective treaties between the employers and the workers. The workers employed in the Fiat Works in Turin have obtained an increase in wages and this partial success has encouraged the workers in other concerns and other towns to put forward wage demands. But their struggle must not be directed against the employers, but also against the passivity of their leaders. The more the masses are uniting for a general offensive in order to obtain higher wages, the more they are abandoned by their leaders, whose traitorous behaviour is becoming more and more apparent. The recent declarations of D'Aragona and Baldesi, the two leaders of the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro*, to the representative of a fascist newspaper, in which they assert that they have nothing against the trade unions being incorporated in the State, are an overwhelming proof of this.

In Italy we are approaching severe social struggles, which, once let loose, can annihilate all the stabilisation plans of fascism, as well as many other things.

THE BALKANS

The Failure of the Czechoslovakian Relief Action in Bulgaria.

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

All attempts hitherto made to relieve the distress of the victims of the Zankoff regime of murder, the wives and children of the murdered, executed, and imprisoned worker and peasant revolutionists, having been frustrated, and Zankoff's government having in particular brusquely refused to permit any action on the part of the International Red Relief, a special Czechoslovakian relief action was initiated. A delegation was appointed, composed of the following persons: comrade Landová-Stychová of the Independent Socialist Party, comrade Sváb of the agricultural labourers union, comrade Cech as representative of the small holders, comrade Dr. Sekanina of the revolutionary intelligenzia, and comrade Kreibich of the Czech Communist Party. The task set the delegation was to gather information as to the possibility of a relief action, and to initiate this if possible. The relief action was to bear the special character of an aid sent by the workers and peasants of Czechoslovakia.

The journey, the standpoint, and the whole activity of the delegation were perfectly open and legal. We observed the utmost accuracy in our conformation to the police regulations, and an absolute political neutrality in our conversations and with regard to the persons with whom we entered into relations. We were anxious to exert every endeavour towards the attainment of our goal: the initiation of a relief action, and to avoid anything which might endanger this.

After arriving at Sofia on 21. August, our first care was to obtain from the head of the police a permission to sojourn in the country. We received this at once, without any difficulty; it was a mere formality. The permit was valid till 1. October. The Bulgarian government has of late shown an inclination to be more obliging towards foreigners, and appears anxious to prove that things are not so bad in Bulgaria as they are reported to be. But all their assurances are contradicted plainly by the friendly warnings imparted us by the same people: to be very cautious, to take care of ourselves, etc.

Our first interview was with Mr. Danov, the general secretary of the Amsterdam trade unions. We gained but little by this conversation, for Mr. Danov wrapped himself in a pose of impenetrability, and concealed absolute declination beneath external correctness and politeness. We were very differently received by the deputy Nejko, general secretary of the social democratic party.

Nejko gave us the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the barrister Ljuben Danailoff, who has already defended several communists, and who has been engaged in the case brought against the communist youths. From Mr. Danailoff we received the assurance that he was prepared to participate in a relief action, and to intercede for the co-operation of the defending counsel. Assuming of course — both Nejko and Danailoff told us this — that the relief action is not in the least connected with communism, and is approved by the government.

After this we called upon the press chief of the ministry for foreign affairs, Mr. Popoff. This gentleman, whom we of course at once informed, as we had done the others, of our adherence to the Communist International, advised us to call upon Mr. Kovatschijeff, the chief of police in Sofia.

This was on Thursday, 27. August. The 28. being a holiday, we were not able to call upon the chief of police until the morning of Saturday 29. August. This interview was extremely short. The chief of police declared that he would not be able to send us his reply until the evening. His reply consisted of the appearance of two police constables at our hotel in the evening. These took away our passports, and informed us, without offering any reason, that we had to leave for Zaribrod, the first Jugoslavian railway station, by the passenger train leaving at 7.50 the next morning.

On Sunday morning early the police officials arrived early at our hotel to accompany us to the station. They did not leave us until the train had reached the frontier.

The workers to whom we managed to speak — these were however not members of the Communist Party — confirmed all that our Bulgarian comrades have told us of the conditions obtaining under Zankoff's government, facts known to all the readers of our press. The situation of the working class is frightful, its main features being unemployment and low wages. The legal eight hour day is observed in scarcely ten per cent of the works and factories. The wages paid, compared with the prices, amount to about one third of pre-war wages. All laws for the protection of the workers are on paper only. Strikes are suppressed at once by the police. Only recently attempts at strikes among the hotel employees and among the salt workers of Burgas were suppressed. The position of the working class has never been so bad as now, nor unemployment so great, although generally the summer months, are the best on account of agricultural work. One sign of the prevalent want and misery is the frequency of suicides among those lacking in all means of subsistence. Never have there been so many of these suicides. The lack of housing accommodation is also causing frightful distress.

The social democratic deputy Nejkoff confirmed the reports which we had heard about murders being committed daily at one time, and told us that there are still many persons missing, of whom it is not yet known whether they have been killed or whether they are being kept in imprisonment somewhere...

We shall never forget our visit to the central prison at Sofia. Those who obtained us admittance to the prison did not know that we are communists; no question was put to us on the subject, and we were under no obligation to volunteer the information. Had they known who we were, we should scarcely have been allowed to enter the prison.

The central prison of Sofia is a "modern" prison, the show piece of the government. Here foreigners are taken to show them how well the political prisoners are treated. It is not necessary to tell the curious foreigners that this prison only accommodates a handful out of the thousands of communists and agrarians who have been thrown into prison, and not murdered or made to disappear. Nor is it worth mentioning that even the few prisoners here must not be spoken to except in the presence of witnesses.

The first political prisoner whom we saw, in the carpentry workshop, ignored us ostentatiously, to show his contempt for what he took to be inquisitive bourgeois newspaper reporters. As I had at once assumed, he was a communist: comrade Kirschmann, sentenced to four and a half years imprisonment because a secret printing establishment was found in his house.

The whole of the political prisoners whom we saw during our visit behaved in the same manner as this young comrade. Whether communists or agrarians, or belonging to no party, men or women, old or young; all were proud and self-sustained, made no complaint, and turned aside all curious questions. Most difficult of all to me was the visit to the cell of comrade Kabaktschijev, so well known to all of us. His sentence is twelve years. All I could do was to press his hand, and receive his assurance that his health is good. When we visited the cell of the students then on trial, the sub public prosecutor accompanying us pointed out one expected to receive a death sentence; a proud and contemptuous smile was the sole reply given to us all, and nothing more could be got out of this brave young communist. The former chief of police of Sofia under Stambulijsky, Prudkin, whom we found in heavy iron chains, replied quite to the point to our question as to the reason for his imprisonment. That is best known to the law courts and the police. Muraviev, Stambulijsky's minister of war, shared a cell with Botev, the former minister of railways and internal affairs. Imitating the ignorance of a bourgeois journalist in questions of communist tactics, and especially of the agrarian question, I asked Muraviev if he really intended, as agrarian, to make a Bolshevik revolution. His repartee was immediate: "Here in prison we do not make any revolution at all". Another prisoner whom we saw was the physician Dr. Jankov (brother of the murdered comrade Jankov), condemned to fifteen years imprisonment merely for having lent medical aid to comrade Friedmann. His sentence has since been commuted to two years. We also saw the Frenchman Leger, who with his wife was sentenced to death for having sheltered comrades Jankov and Minkov; solely on the intervention of the French Ambassador the sentence was commuted into imprisonment for life.

In the women's department we saw Adela Nikolava, who, although by no means a communist, and taking no part whatever

in the movement, was sentenced to death for having lodged and nursed comrade Friedmann. Her sentence has too been commuted to lifelong imprisonment. When the sentence condemning her to death was pronounced, she called out to the judges: "Hang me then, the sooner the better". We found her in an overcrowded cell, her companions the lowest criminals. Her first words were an energetic protest against this treatment. The public prosecutor assured us that she was only here for a month, as punishment for having organised a hunger strike. In the same cell we saw a woman of about 40 years of age, still and resigned, with a child about three years old. When we asked her about her offence and punishment; she replied simply: "Eighteen years for having sheltered Borimetschkov". Mrs. Nikolova is the energetic and independent spokeswoman of her sisters in sorrow; in prison she has become a communist.

The three cells containing the female political prisoners are overfilled. Mrs. Leger, although not a communist, bears her fate courageously. Mrs. Popova, the mother of the Bulgarian violin virtuoso Sascha Popov, here awaits her sentence for the frightful crime of sheltering Grantscharov, an agrarian. Zdravka Napetova and Babianova are also awaiting their sentences on the charge of having aided the communist communication service. Here we had also the opportunity of admiring the courage of the young girls imprisoned here, and kept in ignorance of the charge laid against them. They actually do not know why they are imprisoned. They protest energetically and determinedly against their imprisonment, and demand to be either put on trial or released. On being asked if they had any special wish, they replied: Freedom.

We could not fulfil this wish of theirs. But it will be fulfilled. This is made certain by the inevitable decay of the Zankoff regime, and by the confidence felt by the workers with whom we spoke. And the certainty is again expressed in the straightforward and courageous bearing of the imprisoned Bulgarian revolutionists. But the proletariats of the world must not forget their tormented brothers and sisters in Bulgaria, and the failure of our attempt to bring them relief must be the signal for ever renewed attempts. We must succeed in the end!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Anthracite Slaughter House.

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The 150,000 anthracite miners now on strike are told by the employers that the industry is so "heavily burdened" that their wages must be reduced. It is true that the industry is "heavily burdened" by the capitalist monopoly, in the shape of profits of gigantic proportions by the coal companies, profits by the railroads, profits by wholesalers and retailers, plus royalty to landowners running from \$ 1.00 to \$ 1.50 per ton. Out of the current retail price of anthracite, \$ 17.00 per ton, the "burden" placed by wages (employers' classification including administration) is less than 20%. But what about the "heavy burden" of injury and death placed upon the workers by the industry? This is the most terrible burden of the coal industry, and the workers must bear it all in addition to their burden of starvation wages.

A report has just been issued by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Labour and Industry, which deals with industrial accidents in the state for the first six months of 1925. From this we learn that in this half-year period, almost one out of every ten workers engaged in anthracite production was injured, 96 out of each 1000 workers injured non-fatally, and 2 out of each 1000 killed.

Out of a total of 89,494 non-fatal industrial accidents during the first half of 1925, the anthracite miners suffered 14,561 of them. Of 1087 deaths, 296 were of anthracite miners. In other words anthracite mining cost the workers almost twice the price in life and limb, over the average borne by all workers in Pennsylvania.

And this is not a recent development. From the year 1900 to 1920, there were 12,032 anthracite miners killed in the course of their work, with non-fatal accidents in proportion. (Report of Department of Mines of Pennsylvania, 1921). Approximately every twelfth worker in the industry was killed during the 20 years.

Anthracite is a veritable slaughter-house of the workers. They are on strike now because the employers want to buy their

lives and limbs for 10% less wages, while the workers feel the price of their blood and sweat should rise a bit. The day must come before long when the miners, together with the working class as a whole, will refuse altogether to allow capitalists to coin their lives into profits, will take over the mines and industries, kick out the exploiters, and turn the work-places from slaughter-houses into safe and comfortable centres for producing the wealth of a Workers' Republic.

Until that time arrives, every class-conscious worker will help all he can in the struggle of the anthracite miners to protect themselves partially against the assaults of coal barons whose profits are stained with the blood of our working-class brothers.

THE WHITE TERROR

Brutal Persecution and Hunger Strike of the Political Prisoners in Poland.

By Hirnyj (Lemberg).

More than 50 young working men and women have been arrested in Lemberg in connection with the shooting of Cechovsky, the spy, by comrade Bottwin, who has since been executed. They were simply seized in the street and conveyed to the "Defensive" (political police), where they were subjected to a "thorough" interrogation.

The examination lasted more than ten days, during which time these young workers were fearfully ill treated and beaten. After ten days they were transferred to the court prison. Many of them were covered with bruises and had open wounds on their bodies — a fact which was afterwards confirmed by medical examination.

Among the arrested are the relatives of comrade Bottwin: a younger brother, aged 17, and an elder sister, neither of whom have anything whatever to do with politics. The sole reason for their arrest is that they lived under the same roof as comrade Bottwin. The "Defensive" wished to convert the 17 year old brother of comrade Bottwin into a spy. The police confronted him with other prisoners, innocent victims of the white terror; by promising immediate release and in addition the payment of a regular monthly salary, they endeavoured to persuade him to make statements which would incriminate the other prisoners, who were quite unknown to him. The youth indignantly rejected this proposal.

In the prison these young working men and women were placed in common cells with serious criminals and prostitutes. The rights of "political prisoners" were not allowed them. They were treated more severely than the ordinary criminals. They received neither books nor newspapers. They were only allowed to see visitors behind an iron grating. They only had fresh under-clothing and a bath once a month. They were only allowed half an hour exercise daily. Even those suffering from disease of the lungs were not allowed any longer exercise. "You can die"; that is how the prison doctor addressed those who are ill.

The intention of the prison authorities is perfectly clear. The Polish bourgeoisie wishes to exterminate the "politicals". Wholesale executions of revolutionaries are not always convenient. They cause excitement abroad, which can cause injury to Poland which wishes to be regarded as a "democratic" State, while within the country itself they only increase the revolutionary mood of the working masses. One must therefore have recourse to other means, to systematic extermination of the political prisoners who represent the advance-guard of the proletariat.

The political prisoners in Lemberg saw through this intention and adopted means of defence. These young workers, some of them little more than children, resorted to hunger strike. They demanded: separation from the criminals, newspapers and books, facilities to see visitors and longer exercise time.

After six days hunger strike the prison authorities declared that their demands would be complied with. The strike was ended, but the "politicals", instead of receiving the expected conditions, were only jeered and laughed at. The prisoners became very excited and embittered. Regardless of their physical exhaustion, these young workers for the second time resorted to a hunger strike.

The moral and physical power of resistance of the young "politicals" infuriated the authorities. The prison warders and

police beat the strikers, who lay in fever, like wild beasts. They were brutally mishandled. This ill-treatment lasted for four days. The cry of the tortured victims pierced the walls of the prison and could be heard in the streets. One of the young women prisoners was violated. Finally, all the political prisoners were thrust into a dark cell.

The working class of Lemberg is tremendously excited over these events, but the trades council, which is in the hands of the Polish Socialist Party, maintains silence. The organ of the Polish Socialist Party, "Dziennik ludowy" considers the action of the prison authorities as inadmissible, because it injures the reputation of Poland as a democratic State (!). Only for this reason.

The blood of the four martyrs of the proletariat still clings to the hands of the Polish bourgeoisie, and it is already marking down fresh victims. In Luck where some hundred Ukrainian peasants are pining in prison, the police fired upon the "politicals" during a hunger strike, killing one prisoner and wounding several others. In Volhynia and White Russia arrested peasants are tortured and beaten to death. Hunger strikes are being carried on in nearly all prisons.

The international proletariat must at once raise its voice in protest against the fresh cruelties of the Polish Defensive, in order to protect its victims.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Foreign Trade Monopoly.

By A. B. Krassin.

The main difference and the main advantage of the economic system of the Soviet Union, as compared with the system of the capitalist state of society, is that state economics are conducted on the basis of a consistent plan, subject to alteration and improvement in accordance with the demands of experience.

The Soviet state has the possibility of an unhindered realisation of a state planned regulation of economics, thanks to the fact that the foreign trade relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world are strictly laid down and regulated on the principle of the state monopoly of foreign trade.

The Essential Character of the Foreign Trade Monopoly.

The monopoly of foreign trade is in itself one of the component parts of a planned system of state economic functions. The monopoly of foreign trade means, that in the Soviet state the state alone possesses the right to carry on foreign trade, that is, to export and import goods, and that thus all trade with foreign countries is carried on through the intermediation and under the superintendence of a special state organ of the People's Commissariat for foreign trade.

This People's Commissariat exercises control over foreign trade mainly by a strict supervision, ensuring that export and import are not carried on except on the lines laid down by the state plan for the exchange of goods with foreign countries, this plan being in conformity with the collective plan of state economics. The highest permissible maximum of goods to be exported from the Soviet Union is ascertained in accordance with the plan of annual production, and with the surpluses in the output of agricultural products or industrial manufactures, and of raw materials, within the Soviet Union. The greater or smaller extent of the permissible import of foreign goods is determined according to the extent and money value of the exports first ascertained as above, adequate attention being paid at the same time to the question of whether the state possesses the possibility, and is desirous, of paying a certain sum from its gold reserves for the foreign goods, or whether it prefers on the other hand to add to these gold reserves at the expense of foreign trade.

In this manner the monopoly of foreign trade draws the most absolute and hard and fast dividing line between the unique position held by the Soviet Union in economic and commercial life, and the capitalist world surrounding the Soviet Republics. No goods can be imported into the Republics ex-

*) From Comrade Krassin's pamphlet, published in Russian: "Planned Economics and the Monopoly of Foreign Trade".

cept those desired by the Soviet state as a part of the general plan of economics. And no goods can pass the customs offices and frontiers, and leave the Soviet Republics, except those which the Soviet government deems it necessary to export, and which are being exported in the exact quantities in conformity with the economic plan. Without the permission of the foreign trade organs, not a single ton of goods can cross the frontiers of the Soviet state.

Protection against Economic Enslavement.

The monopoly of foreign trade represents a strong protective barrier drawn by the proletarian state along the whole of its frontiers, as a safeguard against the economic intervention of the capitalist world.

Economic intervention is not a mere figment of the imagination conjured up by suspicion. The study of the economic situation in various colonies shows by what means capital makes the economics of backward colonial countries subservient to its ends.

Another interesting form of economic intervention, apart from colonial relations, has been witnessed since the war in the action taken by the victorious countries, and by the countries whose currencies have maintained a high standard, in those state of Central-Europe which suffered defeat and have been weakened by the economic war: Austria, Hungary, Germany. The depreciation of Austrian and German currency was exploited by foreign capital, chiefly English and American, for the purpose of buying up for a mere song not only stocks of goods, but buildings, factories and works, shares and partnership in undertakings. To this end capital made use of the inflation (the depreciation in the value of paper money), the shortage of goods, and the generally shaken condition of economics in the defeated countries.

It is assumed by economists that at the present time no less than 40% of German industrial shares are already in the hands of Anglo-American capital.

In Austria and Hungary, and in part in Czechoslovakia, this percentage is probably even higher. The predominance of foreign capital is equally conspicuous in Poland, Roumania, and Jugoslavia.

There can be no doubt whatever but that, in view of the relatively great economic weakness of the Soviet Republics, of the lack of goods from which we suffered at the end of the civil war, of the subsequent sequence of bad crops, of the weak development of Soviet industries, and finally, of the complete depreciation of the Soviet rouble, no other means were left to the Soviet Republics for safeguarding against being bought up by foreign capital, against being robbed of all their reserves and even of the greater part of their possessions, than the monopoly of foreign trade.

There is no protective tariff which could have saved the Soviet Republics from the economic rule of world capital, and from the purchase and pillage of state and private property, had there that not existed that prohibition of imports and exports which was rendered possible by our monopoly of foreign trade.

Without the monopoly of foreign trade, the Soviet Republics would have been faced with threat of being simply transformed into a colony of the rich imperialist countries. Without the monopoly of foreign trade, the Soviet power would not have been in a position to formulate and pursue an independent economic policy. For had this restriction not existed, and all doors had been thrown open to West European capital, the whole country would undoubtedly have rapidly lost its economic independence.

Safeguarding the Soviet Industries.

The main task incumbent upon the state economic plan is, of course, the securing of the possibility of universal development for the economic forces and natural wealth of the Soviet state. But if industry is to be developed in a country so economically backward as Russia, it can only be on the condition that in the first place the industries are assured of receiving all the requisite raw materials, auxiliary materials, and fuel, and that in the second place those branches of industry which are still unable to face free competition with the more highly developed industries of Western Europe, are protected against,

what is for them, the deadly competition of the capitalist countries.

As the prices of many auxiliary materials vary greatly in the home and foreign markets, only methods based upon a strict adherence to the monopoly of foreign trade can safeguard the country from the liability of having raw materials and auxiliary materials, so necessary to our home industries and consumption, sent abroad.

The same applies to the protection of our reviving industries from the competition offered by the cheaper manufactures produced by foreign industry. This protection is accomplished by the Soviet state without much troubles, for it has the monopoly of foreign trade to rely upon, and has so drawn up its import plan that those foreign manufactures whose appearance in the home markets might be a source of danger to our own works and factories, are either entirely refused the right of entry, or are imported in previously restricted quantities.

Protective Tariffs cannot replace the Monopoly of Foreign Trade.

Bourgeois critics may oppose our standpoint with the assertion that the safeguarding of industry by protectionism does not necessarily imply the need of a monopoly of foreign trade, and that it would suffice to increase the import duties, and in this manner to protect home manufactures. To this we must first of all reply that even after the currency has been stabilised, the state industries cannot be developed merely by a system of duties. One of two things is bound to occur: Either the duties will be high, when they will assume the character of a prohibition; or they will be moderate, in which case they will not be able to prevent the country from being flooded with foreign goods at times when there is a shortage of goods, and great demands made for manufactures, tools, machines, etc. of every description and also for finished articles. The mere existence of duties, where these do not hinder imports from abroad, only serves to enrich the foreign manufacturers and their trade commissaries and brokers.

The absolute protectionism maintained by our Soviet power for safeguarding our socialised industry is necessarily bound up with certain sacrifices to be made by our country and our consumers (the workers and peasants). But the first condition for the firm establishment and security of the Soviet state itself is the creation of a strong industry of its own, independent of the outer world. It suffices to recollect that without well developed smelting, metal-working and chemical industries, and without adequate railways and waterways, there is no prospect of securing the military protection of the state.

The Abandonment of the Foreign Trade Monopoly would not cheapen Goods.

But even from the viewpoint of the consumer, the advantages of free trade are more than doubtful for a country like ours, despite the resultant inflow of cheap foreign products and manufactures. The first effect of free trade would, of course, be a great lowering in the prices of the goods imported from abroad. The next result would, however, inevitably be the complete ruin of the corresponding branches, of our industry, and most probably we should find ourselves out of employment except in agriculture, and in some few branches of primary production and heavy industry (coal, naphtha, manganese, and iron ore; wood industry, iron works, gold industry). The closing down of our own works and factories would probably be followed by a rise in the prices of goods imported from abroad, since we should now be dependent upon these, and the foreign merchants would be well aware that we had ourselves ceased to produce.

Under present conditions we could not build with certainty on the hope that mutual competition among foreign countries would compel these to charge low prices for the goods exported to the Soviet Union. The economically backward countries are more and more forming what is called a sphere of influence for the highly developed industrial countries; in other words, imperialist capital divides the markets of the world in such a manner that competition is being restricted, and the possibility is given of selling goods at the highest imaginable prices in countries relegated to the position of colonies. Let anyone only attempt to introduce his own goods into Palestine; the English would simply not permit it. The same applies to the French in Syria and Morocco.

The apostles of free trade, in preaching the import of cheap foreign industrial articles into our country, are preparing the way for having us reduced to a colony, and are at the same time unable to guarantee that the prices of foreign industrial articles will actually remain at a low level. Thus, from the standpoint of the people as consumers, the safeguarding of our Soviet industry remains an absolute necessity for so large a country as our Soviet Union.

So long as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics continues to be surrounded by capitalist countries, the natural allies of our own native NEP. men, who are equally anxious to divert the New Economic Policy from the lines laid down by Lenin into the old paths of capitalism, so long the monopoly of foreign trade will continue to be the sole reliable safeguard enabling the Soviet government to pursue its independent economic policy in accordance with the needs of the two main classes of the Soviet state, the workers and peasants, and in the direction of a general approach to socialism. Any weakening of the monopoly of foreign trade, and in a correspondingly greater degree its abolition, would signify for the Soviet state the immediate danger of intervention on the part of the capitalist states, at first in economic affairs, and then in the inner and economic politics of the Soviet state; a danger threatening the very existence of the Soviet system.

So long as we are surrounded by capitalist states, the monopoly of foreign trade must continue to be what it is at present — one of the fundamental laws of the workers' and peasants' state. For it is only under the protection of the monopoly of foreign trade that the Soviet state can execute its plan of state economics without hindrance, and it is planned state economics which form the foundation and essence of the Soviet system.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Croatian Question.

Declaration of the Presidium of the Peasant International.

For seven years the Croatian people has been carrying on an unrelenting fight against the hegemony of the insatiable, greedy, arch-reactionary Serbian bourgeoisie and its militaristic monarchy. The Croatian people who, after the prison house elections of Februar 1925, showed their power and heroically opposed in a united front the oppression on the part of the Serbian bourgeoisie and large land owners, have now, in the decisive moment of this fight, on the eve of real success (as Lorkovic, the president of the Croatian Union expresses it) discovered traitors to the Croatian National Freedom movement in the ranks of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party (CRPP.). Without the knowledge and without the consent of the Deputies' Club of the CRPP. and without the consent of the party, merely on the basis of arbitrary instructions of Stepan Radic, the leaders of CRPP. entered into secret negotiations with Paschitsch' great Serbian reactionary party, which ended with complete capitulation to the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie.

By this capitulation, the heads of the CRPP. betrayed not only the vital interests of the whole working people and working peasants of Croatia, but also the national liberation movement of the oppressed nationalities of all Jugoslavia and the whole of the Balkans; further they betrayed the international peasantry represented by its recognised leader, organiser and guide, the International Peasant Council, to which the CRPP. became affiliated in the summer of 1924.

On the occasion of the resignation of these leaders of the Radic party from the International Peasant Council, the Presidium of the International Peasant Council declared:

We did not accept into our international peasant family, into the Peasant International, single so-called politicians, cowardly chance hangers on of the Croatia national freedom movement such as are Stepan Radic and his clique, but the whole peasant population of Croatia. The resignation of Stepan Radic and other so-called politicians who had attached themselves to the peasant movement will only strengthen our fraternal alliance with the working class of Croatia. It is not the representatives of the broad masses of the Croatia peasants, of the peasant masses, who continue, as before, to suffer under the national yoke, under

the hunger for land under the excessive rates and taxes, who have withdrawn from the Peasant International, but those who have betrayed them. We are convinced that the whole working peasantry of Croatia has remained in the ranks of the Peasant International and will in the future remain there and fight under its banner, on which are inscribed the golden words: "Peasants and Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

We call upon all who have remained true to the original programme of the CRPP. to wipe out the shameful treacherous capitulation of the heads of the CRPP. and to carry on the fight for freedom, in common with the working class and all oppressed nationalities, until a glorious victory has been won.

ORGANISATION

The Next Organisatory Tasks of the Communist Parties.

By W. Ulbricht (Moscow).

"The factory nuclei, by leading the struggles of the working masses for their every day needs, should direct them into the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. A factory nucleus should therefore, consider and determine its point of view upon every political or economic question agitating the working masses, and upon every conflict arising in the revolutionary method of settling questions, and as the most conscious and active part of the working class, must assume the leadership of the struggle."

From the resolution on the organisation of factory nuclei, adopted by the Executive Committee of the Comintern in January 1924.

In connection with the carrying out of the Dawes Plan, the employers in Western Europe are conducting an intensified offensive in order to worsen the conditions of labour. At the same time the co-operation between the employers and the organs of the state, in their united struggle against the Communist Parties, is being further developed, by which communist work in the shops and factories is to a certain extent being rendered more difficult. In this situation the Communist Parties show a tendency to carry on their work of agitation and propaganda rather in the residential districts, this encountering fewer difficulties than work in the factories. But it is precisely at this juncture that the factory nuclei should be established and developed with the utmost energy, to render them active and fill them with political life, for it is solely in the shops and factories that the defensive struggles of the working class can be prepared and the fighting united front of the workers organised.

The Struggle against Imperialist Wars.

The struggle against the war in Marocco offers a most striking example of the necessity of strengthening factory nucleus work. The Moroccan war is the first imperialist war since the great war, and shows us the manner in which the Communist Parties of all countries must prepare for the struggle against imperialist wars. The first task is to conduct a broad mass agitation, and to organise the masses for the struggle. This requires that the Communist Parties possess an efficiently working agitation and propaganda apparatus, capable of influencing the masses, even at times when newspapers are suppressed, leaflets confiscated, etc., by means of the self activity in the local groups and nuclei, and with the aid of factory newspapers and other agitation material. It will then be seen that where active nuclei exist, the struggle against the imperialist war will be carried on successfully, even when the Party is obliged to work semi-illegally, or quite illegally. The more active the communist cells, the better is it possible to create united front organs in the factories, and then to organise these in districts. It is from this point of view that nucleus work should be organised in particular in the armament industry, the chemical industry, the transport industry, and in the industry producing electricity. It does not suffice to merely carry on general agitation in the press; we must be in a position to command the most important factories to such an extent that at a given moment a general strike can be carried out, and transport service laid idle under

the leadership of the committees or councils of action. This is rendered especially necessary in face of the united front of the imperialist powers against Soviet Russia, and in view of the increased campaign in preparation of the struggle against the Soviet power.

The **Communist Party of France**, in founding committees of action in the factories, and in organising the workers' congresses, has mobilised the broadest masses for the struggle against the war. The following example from the Lefranc-Ripolin factory shows how this work is carried on by means of the factory newspapers. Here, under the title of: **Men and women workers, rise up against war**: we read the following passage:

"Workers, who have fought for civilisation for four years, for the liberty and the rights of the people, now you are forced, after an armistice lasting five years, to send your sons to Morocco to fight against the rights of a people.

Let our soldier brothers hear your appeal to them to fraternise with the Riff people; do not let yourselves be made the murderers of a people fighting for their liberty; your sole enemies are the French capitalists; turn your weapons! We are with you. Follow the example of the Black Sea sailors! Do not let yourselves be slaughtered for a cause which is not yours. A worker must not become the murderer of a rebel who is fighting for his freedom.

In the Lefranc-Ripolin factory, where dyestuffs were manufactured for the last war, and the shareholders drew scandalous dividends, the workers are disgracefully exploited, especially the colonial workers. The chief of the staff, M. Detrie, engages colonial workers at a wage of Fr. 2.35 and French workers at Fr. 2.75. Is bread not equally dear for all? The French capitalists supply the same guns to all when it is a question of going out to Morocco to be slaughtered. In the ink department there is no question of hygiene. The workers leave the factory with all the dirt on their bodies, for they are given no opportunity of washing. Why does the management wait so long in providing shower baths for maintaining the health of their slaves?

Send one delegate for every hundred workers to the congress being organised by the committee of action, as a protest against the war in Morocco.

Every factory, every workshop, every building undertaking, must be represented at this protest congress.

For immediate peace with the Riff!

For the immediate military evacuation of Morocco!

For the right of self determination of the inhabitants of the Riff!

For the safeguarding of our children against murderous capitalism!

Against the constant increase in the prices of food!

Against the new taxes!

Set up the united front at once!"

This essay shows how the factory nuclei combine the campaign against the war in Morocco with the actual questions concerning the works and factories.

It is necessary that the struggle against imperialist wars should be carried on at the same time by the common efforts of the workers of all countries, a connection being established among the workers of the most important great undertakings, on an international scale. The first beginnings of such connections have already been created. It is however necessary that communications be kept up systematically between the works and factories of Germany, France, Italy, England, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, America, and Russia. The correspondents representing the workers of a factory should not only furnish information upon conditions of labour, the political conditions, and the experience won in the struggle, but it is equally necessary that the factory newspapers, factory wall newspapers, and other factory agitation material should be exchanged, and that when great struggles are being prepared for, delegates from the undertakings concerned should inform the workers in the factories of other countries personally of this. Those sections of the Comintern whose task it is to work in certain colonial districts must endeavour to establish the connection between the workers in the works and factories of the country itself and of its colonies.

The Activisation and Politisation of the Nuclei.

The experience gained up to the present in communist nuclei work teaches us that the nuclei possess too little political life. They have still to learn that the struggles of the workers in their daily needs are to be conducted from the standpoint of revolution. It is only by means of the greatest activity in the daily defence of the workers' interests that factory nuclei will win the confidence of the workers, and will gain the fighting experience required for the organisation of great mass movements.

In Germany the tariff campaign has resulted in a greatly increased agitation in the shops and factories. The attempt has been made to mobilise broad masses of workers, under communist leadership, by means of the creation of united front organs. That the success has been but slight can be mainly attributed to the fact that insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to political work in the factories.

A gradual intensification of nucleus work may also be observed in Norway. The following report shows an example of this:

"140 workers are employed in the factory. 135 of these are organised in trade unions. The nucleus is composed of 16 members, whilst the Tramnelites have 20 active adherents. Thanks to the work done by the nucleus, the trade union organisation is under our leadership. Fortnightly nucleus meetings are held regularly, and at these Party, political, trade unionist, economic, and all other questions arising are dealt with. Even the articles in the *Inprecorr* are discussed. (The comrades are enthusiastic that comrade Zinoviev, in his speech on Bolshevisation at the Session of the Enlarged Executive, quoted evidence and reports furnished by the members of Czech nuclei.)

When the nucleus commenced work, it was composed of 6 members; now it has 16, and besides this a circle of sympathisers. The nucleus has won authority by taking the lead in a strike action, and by discussing the daily questions occupying the workers."

An Austrian factory nucleus reports:

"On the occasion of the murder committed by the Fascists in Mödling a factory meeting was held, on the initiative of our nucleus. A resolution was passed, and a half hour protest strike decided upon."

When comrade Erich Mühsam was refused a visum from the Austrian authorities, applied for the attending of a Red Relief meeting,

the nucleus organised a spontaneous demonstration and procession after the factory work was over; by this we also induced other neighbouring factories to hold a meeting and to join our demonstrations.

Another Austrian factory nucleus reports:

"On the occasion of the murder at Mödling, a factory meeting was called, a committee of action against Fascism was founded, and a letter was addressed to the leaders of the Republican Defense League demanding the admittance of communists into this League. In connection with this an increased propaganda was carried on for the fight against the Fascist Ramek government, and for the establishment of a government of the workers and of the small peasants."

An Italian factory nucleus reports:

"Discussions of a political character were held in the nucleus on the occasion of the last Provincial Party Congress, and further with reference to the tactics of the Party towards the Fascisti and the Aventino. Other questions discussed were the economic struggles, the rise in the price of food, women's work, night work, and hygienic conditions in the factory."

Another Italian factory nucleus reports:

"A regular nucleus meeting is held every week. This is invariably attended by almost all comrades. The discussions are dealing mostly of factory affairs and trade union matters, or on questions relating to the tactics to be adopted in the factory commission and the factory relief club. Political discussions have not yet taken place."

This last example is not an isolated one, but could be supplemented by many reports from other sections of the C.I. The politisation of the factory nuclei is truly in its preliminary stage. As a rule the nuclei do not extend their activity to the

political campaigns of the Party until they have received repeated written and personal appeals from the Party leaders. At the present time the chief task incumbent on the Party leaders is to conduct the nucleus work in such a manner that the nuclei develop the necessary own initiative along the lines laid down by the Party. The above examples show that the first steps have already been taken in this direction.

The activation of the factory nucleus will find further expression in the increased and more interested participation in the workers' correspondents movement. In the provincial press of the German and Austrian Communist Parties great progress is already being reported in the publication of reports from the factories. Unfortunately this cannot be said of the whole Party press in the most important sections of the C.I. Factory questions are invariably neglected as compared with general local questions. It will be well to call to mind the instruction laid down by the E. C. C. I. in 1921: "On the character of our newspapers". Here we find the passage:

"Our Russian comrades' newspaper, the "Pravda", attained its strong position by allotting no less than the half of its columns to letters from men and women workers in the factories and workshops... These letters described the actual life and conditions in the factory, workshop, barracks, workers' quarter, etc. in which the writers lived. The activity of the factory managements etc. has also been revealed by these letters. And the collective effect of all these letters was to give a graphic idea of the sufferings and poverty borne by the working masses. They mirrored accurately that accumulated and gradually growing protest which gathered together later in the mighty revolution. The newspaper was the teacher of the working masses. The workers themselves participated actively in the work of enlightenment. The newspaper became the familiar friend of every worker, was found in every proletarian dwelling, in every workshop, in every public house frequented by workers. When a letter appeared from some factory or barracks, the next day it passed eagerly from hand to hand in that factory or barracks. The worker became accustomed to read the correspondence. When a letter was printed, this was felt as a great success for the whole of the factory from which it was sent."

Every factory nucleus should therefore appoint at least one comrade as permanent reporter, who must also endeavour to win non-Party workers as correspondents. Some communist papers have recently published detailed essays on the production, labour conditions, and fighting experiences in the various shops and factories.

This systematic treatment of the factory question contributes considerably to strengthen the communist influence in the works and factories. In some cases the factory supplement of the newspaper, after publishing the report on the conditions in a factory of the town in question, adds a report from a Russian factory nucleus belonging to the same industry. This affords a real object lesson on the difference between the conditions in the Russian and German undertakings. The regular publication of factory reports in the daily press facilitates the gaining of subscribers among factory workers, and the sale of the newspaper in the factory itself. A worker correspondent from Norway reports for example on the activity of his nucleus:

"Last year in June the nucleus decided that every member of the nucleus should order 20 Party newspapers for one week. These were to be sold before the factory building in the dinner hour from 1 to 2. By this means not only 20 newspapers were sold, but every day 70 to 80 workers employed in the factory received the opportunity, on the basis of the nature of their work, of reading our leading organ. Another advantage accruing from this was the earning of the sum of 450 crowns yearly, although the newspapers were sold at 15 oere each only. We are all agreed that this is the best method of agitation at our disposal."

We hear from other factories that every member has the duty imposed upon him, under the superintendence and instructions of the nucleus leaders, to gain at least one subscriber within a certain time. The mass sales of communist daily papers thus organised by the nuclei creates a firm basis for the systematic recruiting of new Party members. The above Norwegian worker correspondent reports for instance as follows:

"There is no need to believe that the successes gained by our nucleus are to be attributed to concealed manoeuvres, and are therefore of a purely accidental nature. The position held by our nucleus in the factory is the result of two years of systematic work. The recruiting of members for the nucleus was carried out in such a manner that every member of the nucleus was charged to recruit a new member. The workers showing the greatest sympathy for us were selected, and not let out of our hands until they were won over."

The following report on recruiting work is from a London district:

"The factory nuclei contain 299 members, 136 of whom were Party members before the establishment of the factory nuclei was commenced. The remaining 113 were recruited by the factory nuclei in the factories within four and a half months. A growth of 80%. During this same period the 31 factory nuclei have only lost 7 members."

Such successes as these in recruiting work are only possible when the Party members regard this recruiting work in the factories as their daily Party task, and when they really understand how to represent efficiently the interests of the workers in their struggles for their daily needs. The workshops and factories are the most favourable soil for our recruiting work, for it is here that the best opportunity is given for explaining to the workers the nature of communist policy and the policy of our opponents on the basis of their actual experiences. These advantages of our factory agitation and propaganda render it necessary that the work done in every branch of communist activity should be conducted from the viewpoint of the factory. This means that in the future more value must be laid upon the organisation or influencing of the meetings of the factory workers. These meetings are of greater importance for us than the general meetings in the residential districts. In the annual report issued by the German C. P., Erzgebirge District, Vogtland, sub-district Chemnitz, we read the following statistics on the supply of speakers by the district leaders:

Members' meetings	121
Functionaries' meetings	53
Public meetings	59
Conferences	11
Fraction sessions	36
Nucleus meetings	9
Nucleus group meetings	11
Factory meetings	23
Women's meetings	9
Trade union meetings	14

These statistics show that a certain degree of progress has been made in the supply of speakers by the Party leaders. The supply of speakers for factory nucleus meetings and factory meetings must be even better organised. The chairmen of the various factory nuclei should be more often sent as speakers to the other factory nucleus. This involves the necessity of the regular organisation and instruction of the chairmen of the nuclei, and their systematic training.

One of the most important means for the strengthening of communist influence in the factories is the regular publication of factory nucleus newspapers. It is not necessary for the factory nucleus to contain a great number of members before the publication of the paper is commenced. In the "Workers Weekly" of 24. April we read for instance:

"Some weeks ago one single comrade organised a factory newspaper at one of the London goods stations. He had 150 copies printed, and these were distributed among his fellow workers. The success was so great that a large number of workers offered a penny for a copy, so that 250 copies of the second number could be sold. At the same time 8 new members were gained for the Communist Party. 420 copies of the third number were sold, and another comrade joined the Party."

Another comrade, reporting on his work at a London railway terminus, states that he printed and distributed 200 copies of the factory newspaper. The demand was so great that 200 further copies had to be printed, these being snapped up with

equal eagerness. An edition of 500, of the second number, was sold. These instances show the success which can be gained by only a few individual active comrades, and prove the necessity of having factory newspapers brought out even in factories where there are no communists. In this case the nearest factory or residential nucleus must get into communication with sympathising workers after factory hours, inform themselves as to the conditions in the factories, bring out the newspaper, and distribute it in the factories.

The publication of factory newspapers greatly depends on the support lent by the Party leaders. The local and district leaders have to exercise a regular control upon the regular publication of factory newspapers by the factory nuclei, or should be informed as to the causes of irregular publication. The Party leaders should impart detailed instructions with reference to the technics of publishing a factory newspaper, to the cheapest sources of material, to the obtaining of suitable pictures for reproduction, etc. The most successful means of inducing the publication of factory newspapers is to bring striking instances from actual practices, on the bringing out, sale, and success, of nucleus newspapers. Good specimens of factory newspapers should be reprinted in the daily press. Besides this, it is extremely useful for the Party leaders to write individually to the separate factory nuclei, making critical comments on the contents, get up, and circulation of the nucleus newspaper.

In order to increase our influence upon the factory worker, the distribution of literature should be systematically developed in and by the factories. Some progress can already be recorded in this direction. The report issued by the Erzgebirge district, Vogtland, of the C.P. of Germany shows that literature is being systematically sold in 17 large works and factories. The West Saxony district reports that in about 50 factories members have been especially commissioned with the propaganda of literature. One factory nucleus informs us that every member of the nucleus receives two communist booklets with the instruction to sell them. Excellent results have been obtained by these methods.

Besides these tasks of the factory nuclei, we must here draw attention to a very important sphere of work, hitherto greatly neglected: the Red Relief. Up to now the organisations have frequently contented themselves with a general agitation for the Red Relief, but have neglected to promote the building up of Red Relief organisations in the residential and factory districts, or the recruiting of new members. The report issued by the German Red Relief, extending from 1. October 1924 to 1. April 1925, shows that a total of 24 factory organisations of the Red Relief exist, and that there are factory committees in 91 factories, whilst a functionary is working in each of 193 factories. The report proceeds:

"The Red Relief must be firmly anchored in the factories and organisations, the more that the authorities are endeavouring to hamper the Red Relief in its work."

The importance of the Red Relief renders it necessary for the members of the Communist Party to exert their utmost endeavours in the factories to gain fresh individual members for the Red Relief. At the same time intense general propaganda in the factories is imperative, in order to induce the cooperative affiliation of the factory workers to the Red Relief.

The Trade Union Fractions.

In addition to the activation and politisation of the factory nuclei, the setting up and development of the trade union fractions is the most important task of the Party. The campaign for national and international trade union unity not only makes it necessary to strengthen our influence in the factories, but to carry on the fraction work more systematically than has hitherto been done. It is necessary that the Party leaders appoint the most experienced Party members for the fraction work in the most important factories and most important districts. Hitherto fraction work has left something to be wished for in so far that the comrades have frequently confined themselves to work in the smaller trade unions, in which success is comparatively easily obtained. The much more difficult fraction work in the trade unions of the main industries has often been neglected; the comrades have been afraid of the difficulties, and have not been fully convinced of the necessity to win the confidence of the members by months and years of work as trade union functionary, and by this gradually to strengthen the communist influence in the trade unions. As the factory functionaries are the sub-

ordinate organs of the trade unions, it is of the utmost importance that our comrades fulfil their duty in these positions as trade union shop stewards, factory treasurers, etc. The following reports inform us on trade union work in the factory nuclei. The nucleus "Grünbach Coal Works, joint stock co." reports as follows:

"The nucleus decided to carry on recruiting work for re-entry into the miners' union, combining this with agitation for the necessity of organising the trade union opposition in the revolutionary blocs.

We were of the opinion that we could best promote the unity of the international trade union movement by informing the workers of the readiness of the Russian trade unions, expressed in the various letters addressed by them to the leaders of the Amsterdam International, to join the Amsterdam International, and by pointing out the importance of the affiliation of these five million revolutionary Russian trade unionists. Further, by making use of the report of the English trade union delegation for showing the progress made in Soviet Russia, the enormous amount of work accomplished by the Russian working class, and its greatly improved social and cultural position as compared with that of the other working classes of Europe. By this means we have been able to tear aside the veil of lies woven around Soviet Russia by the reformist leaders, and to succeed that a large section of the working class do no more believe in the calumnies and slanders of the reformist leaders regarding Soviet Russia."

A factory nucleus in Turin reports as follows:

"We have organised an energetic propaganda for the unity of the trade unions, also by means of leaflets exposing the reformist maximalist leaders and their methods. This has brought back into the trade unions many workers who had left them as a protest against reformist leaders."

In a report on a meeting held by the Communist Party members of the textile industry of England we read:

"It was shown that individual comrades have attained fairly successful results in factory work, as shop stewards, and as members of factory committees. The discussion showed that the sole means of creating a permanent and real basis for the minority movement in the textile industry is the increase of the number of factory nuclei in the factories. The district committee was called upon to concentrate the work in every local organisation to certain definite factories, in order to organise the workers of these factories in trade unions up to 100% if possible, to create trade union fractions as basis of the minority movement, and to devote special attention to the women textile workers".

The following instances show the great necessity of strengthening trade union work through the factory nuclei and the trade union fraction. The Reichenberg "Vorwärts", the organ of the Czech C. P., writes:

"When the last Party congress report shows about 40% of the Party members to be indifferent to the trade unions, and only 15% (in the Reichenberg district 26%) to be organised in the Amsterdam trade union federation, then we must admit that our influence in trade unionism is still exceedingly small, and above all, that we ourselves are to blame for this."

In America only 32.08% of the members of the Communist Party are organised in the trade unions. Only 480 out of 2080 metal workers are for instance members of trade unions. Out of 1165 communist miners 920 are organised.

The above facts show that it is high time systematically to develop our trade union fraction work, and regularly to control the activity of the fractions.

The Communist Parties have two main tasks to fulfil at the present time:

1. The activation and politisation of the factory nuclei, the participation of the nuclei in every branch of Party work. The allotment of Party work to all the members of nuclei.
2. The establishment and development of communist trade union fractions. The appointment of competent fraction leaders.

OUR PROBLEMS

Proletariat and Science.

Comrade Zinoviev's speech at the meeting of the Leningrad Soviet in connection with the celebration of the 200 years' anniversary of the Academy of Science*).

In the name of the Leningrad Soviet. I have pleasure in extending a hearty greeting to the Academy of Science and its guests. I greet you in the name of the Soviet of the first proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet of the town which deservedly bears the historic name of the greatest man of our epoch, that of Comrade Lenin.

In the 200 years since the foundation of the Academy of Science, much has happened in Leningrad. To mention a few things from the recent past: it was here that the Dekabrist movement began; here in the streets of St. Petersburg, men such as Tschernyshevski were led to the scaffold and, amidst the silence of the population, not only symbolic but actual executions of the greatest leaders of the movement "Narodnaja Wolja" (people's freedom, people's will), Sheljabov, Perovskaja and others, took place. It was here that the workers first raised the banner of insurrection, and here that the two revolutions of 1917 were carried to a conclusion.

Not Leningrad alone, but this particular hall**) has had many experiences. It experienced the epoch of absolutism, the epoch of monarchy, of the bourgeoisie and of the large landowners; here the State Duma met; it experienced the first lightning flashes of the revolution; and then, when the workers' revolution began to be victorious, it saw the delegates of the country of the workers and peasants. Finally it experienced great world congresses of the revolutionary workers of all countries, but it is now for the first time seeing within its walls an assembly like this, a meeting of representatives of the working class of the first victorious revolution with the best representatives of science in the whole world.

Our Party has an exactly outlined programme, based on scientific conclusions and on the foundation of the inviolability of scientific knowledge. Karl Marx was a very eminent scientific man and not merely a revolutionary. His discovery has, from the scientific point of view, at least the same enormous significance as the few inventions which have been made in the domain of pure science. True Marxism realises that a great discovery in any domain whatever — be it in astronomy or in pure mathematics — has an enormous significance. The discoveries of Prof. Pavlov are of far-reaching importance. We however believe that the discoveries made by Karl Marx with regard to the laws of the development of mankind, have at least no less historical significance.

As long as 80 years ago, Karl Marx showed that class war would inevitably lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship however on its part, is a stage of transition leading to the annihilation of the whole State, of all means of force, a jump from the era of necessity to the era of freedom. At that time only a few took this discovery seriously. It is now being confirmed here, in a country which embraces a sixth of the whole globe, and it will doubtless meet with confirmation in the whole world. (Applause.)

At that time the best heads, such as Darwin, also grasped the great significance of Marx' discovery. To-day there are no doubt, among scientists, not a few who take an attitude of unrelenting scepticism towards the idea of Marxism. We are however firmly convinced that now that Marxism is being put into practice, an epoch is coming in which there will inevitably be an approach between the best representatives of science and the representatives of the masses of workers who are numbered in millions. By various paths, from various sources, from various points of view, but inevitably, these currents will meet at some definite point and thenceforth flow together amicably side by side.

In the programme of our Party the following words are to be found: "The Russian Communist Party supports all measures which lead to the development of science and is interested in its further development and in the creation of favourable conditions for the improvement of the productive forces of the country."

*) In abbreviated form.

**) In the Uritzki Palace (formerly the State Duma).

We have of course not yet done even the half of what might be done to promote science and to improve the material position of the disciples of science. The situation of our scholars is still very hard. What has been done is only a beginning. Now that the country is beginning to boom economically and that we have started actually to carry out the programme of the October revolution, I must state that we shall greatly multiply that which has been done already. In any case, what we have already accomplished shows that we are fully aware that the development of science is closely bound up with the development of the efficiency of our country and of the whole human race.

There are many differences of opinion between the scientists with a revolutionary tendency and those with an anti-revolutionary tendency. Marx invented caustic appellations for those who did not take an objective view of his "Capital." Marx said that in order to reach the dominant heights of science, it is necessary to fight one's way fearlessly along stony paths. Alas, not all scientists are prepared to do this! A considerable number is in moral subjection to the privileged classes and is incapable of rising in any way. Those who subordinate science to outside interests were designated unworthy by Marx. Some of these answered Marx by saying that the himself also adapted his science to certain external interests. This is untrue. On the contrary, the fact is, that scientific Marxism has no other object than that of serving the masses and of giving objective expression to the interests of the enormous majority of the population.

Two parallel processes are inevitable. The fighting lines of the scientists are constantly approaching nearer to the fighting lines of the revolutionaries. On the other hand, processes of disintegration are taking place within the world of science itself. Scientists must study the science of social development as it is necessary and must endeavour as quickly as possible to open to mankind the door which must lead to the destruction of capital.

Lenin once said that the scientists had tried 605 remedies before they found remedy 606 to destroy such a scourge as syphilis. But is not capitalism on the whole a greater scourge than syphilis? And, is it not worth while for scientists and revolutionaries to have just as much patience and in the same way to try 606, and, if necessary, 6000 remedies to liberate mankind from the yoke of capitalism? (Loud applause.)

The idea that the proletariat by liberating itself is liberating the whole world, is beginning, in numerous places, to penetrate the minds of people of entirely different points of view. Thus, as the "Daily Herald" reports, an archbishop recently said at a religious meeting:

"I sometimes think that the Russia of to-day is endeavouring to fulfil the Christian teaching which we Christians reject. The slogan "Every one according to his need" is a more Christian commandment than "Everyone according to his greed". The former is the principle of communism, the second is ours."

Thus sound ideas crop up sometimes at unexpected places. Of course we do not carry out the Christian doctrine because we are materialists. Nevertheless we tell ourselves when, in the opposition camp they speak of the superiority of our ideas: "The mole of history digs well."

Professor Raman from India, who is taking part in this meeting, used strong words in his speech when he said the arm of time cannot arrest the inevitable. I said to myself that, though his terminology is different, he has in essentials reached the spirit of Lenin, and that the words "it is granted to no one to prevent mankind realising the principle of freedom", are very remarkable and symbolic.

All this justifies us in regarding with confidence the future of science. There is still much that separates us from the scientists, but there is also much in common between us, the representatives of the proletariat, and the scientists.

We do not demand a programme in common, but we believe that here are three points which might unite us. These are:

1. A fight against new wars. It is clear to us all that forces hostile to mankind are already making preparations for a new war. Can we, the workers in the revolutionary labour movement join with the camp of the scholars, so that each in his own way works against the return of new wars? (Applause). I believe that we can so unite.

2. I feel sure that every serious scientist realises the total injury which arises from the anarchy which prevails in production, from the lack of a systematic foundation in economics, from

the conflicts and rivalries which arise therefrom. In the present stage of the development of material wealth, the time has come to abolish anarchy in production. The time has come for mankind to live according to a plan which is less dependent on blind chance and on the nature of the elements in production, less dependent on the conflicts in privileged groups which inevitably lead to wars. He who is prepared to join us in fighting against war, must also be prepared to fight anarchy in production. I believe that, in spite of the differences of opinion between us we can, in the case in question, unite to help mankind to get out of the anarchy of production and to promote the development of the cultural and material forces of mankind. (Applause).

3. The third thing, finally, in which we can unite, is an alliance of scientists with the working masses, with the working class. Yes or no? I ask the scholars. Has the time come to bring science nearer to the masses and to make the greatest discoveries of science accessible to the people? Yes or no? I am convinced that all scientists, all the best of mankind cannot but be thinking of uniting with the people and especially with the working masses, the vanguard of all who work.

I believe that these three points: the fight against war, against anarchy in production, and for an approach between science and the masses must be completely and unconditionally acceptable to every scientist who wishes to serve his people, to serve the whole world.

The famous Russian scholar Professor Timirjasev, in his last letter to his son before his death, wrote that the Bolsheviki are working for the happiness of the people and will bring them happiness. Full of enthusiasm for Lenin's activity, Timirjasev wrote: "I send you my warmest greeting and wish you continued success in your work for the happiness of mankind."

This was the first swallow from the world of science. Since that time eight years have elapsed. The workers' revolution has overcome all obstacles and has come nearer to the fulfilment of its programme, to the elevation of the standard of the culture and well-being of the people. There is no doubt that the Russian scientists will now reach us by various ways; they will sometimes wound us but they will reach the point at which Timirjasev arrived.

We know that there is still much left for us to do and that many mistakes have been made by the way, but the foundation of our work has been thought out and is based on the best achievements of science. Thus our path is absolutely the right one, there is no other. Other peoples are endeavouring to explore more peaceful ways, they will however inevitably have to come to our difficult, thorny path.

The scientists of Leningrad experienced difficult times in the years 1918—1921, when the material situation of scholars was such that they had a right to be discontented. It was not easy for us to witness these privations. We did not close our eyes to the fact that the professors were suffering severely, and we were objective enough not to cherish feelings of enmity when we were met by an obstinate refusal on the part of certain groups of scholars to understand our work, and saw how all our intentions were interpreted in an unfavourable sense. We were objective enough to realise that this attitude was inevitable and to grasp the fact that at first we could not but talk different languages. We understood that the time would come, whether in one or in many years, when the best of them would recognise that we are in the right, not only externally but in essentials, when they would realise that the working class had seized the power not in order to gain privileges for itself, but in order through its victory to liberate the whole world.

The introduction of our revolution has now ended and the real programme of the great revolution is beginning. Now we can really think of safeguarding not only the political, but also the economic side of the revolution. Ensuring the economic side of the revolution however means raising our country to a height it has never before reached.

We turn to our scientists and to the representatives of international science who are present with the request that they will help us in this great work. We believe that it is their duty and their moral right to help the first revolution to raise itself to a cultural height which has never before been attained.

We look to you to show that science no longer plays the part of the handmaid of the bourgeoisie, but that of a torch which lights the way for oppressed mankind. Help this people of a hundred millions, and the working masses will show you their true gratitude. (Stormy applause.)

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky its Apostle.

By N. Bucharin.

X.

Karl Kautsky in the Service of Internal Counter-Revolution.

We have seen that Kautsky who desires a war between the imperialistic robbers and the Soviet Union and speculates on the military defeat of the Soviet Union, has solemnly promised the imperialists to attack the Soviet Republics in the rear, i. e. to support the attacking imperialists by raising insurrections in the country. In order to conceal from the workers the real significance of his monstrous suggestion, Kautsky is trying with all his might to cover up the disgraceful counter-revolutionary nakedness of his discussions by rosy investigations as to the impossibility of reaction in Russia. It is very interesting to illuminate this point, and I hope my readers will have patience with the long quotations from the works of Kautsky and his friends.

Kautsky maintains chiefly that an insurrection against the Soviet power would have been "justified" at the beginning of the Bolshevik rule, when, according to Kautsky's own words, the Bolsheviki were supported by strong groups of the revolutionary proletariat and of the peasantry (p. 41 & 42); at that time however, it would not have been advisable, as there was a danger that such an insurrection would serve reaction, the blame for which would have been placed on the shoulders of the Mensheviki and the SR., and "Socialism" would have been discredited and the prestige of Bolshevism raised. (Kautsky forgets however that all this actually did happen.) Things would be quite different to-day.

"To-day, the danger that a socialist insurrection against Bolshevism would promote reaction even in Russia has disappeared, and this for the simple reason that everything which is possible in the way of reaction in Russia, is already being practised by the Bolsheviki to a degree which cannot be surpassed. No other government, however reactionary it were, would dare to do away with the only thing among the revolutionary achievements which the Moscow Government did not touch, the destruction of the large landed property (the deceitful Kautsky conveniently forgets that the Bolsheviki are the only party which really carried out this "destruction". N.B.). In the same way the Bourbons, when they returned to France after Napoleon had been defeated, were not able to restore to the nobles and the Church their property which had been confiscated!)"

"We need no longer fear that an armed insurrection in Russia would promote reaction. On the contrary, there is a growing probability that such an insurrection, if it succeeded, would increase freedom in Russia, would not touch any of the few still existing achievements of the revolution, but would much more likely rouse such achievements to new life and thus promote the interests of the masses of the people and especially of the proletariat!)"

But this is not the only reason why an insurrection is possible. According to Kautsky it is also possible because.

"any government, which took the place of the Soviet Government would be a weaker one, if only for the reason that it would be less unified and opposed by more numerous and more contradictory interests than is the small clique which to-day rules Moscow!)"

We have seen that Kautsky associates insurrection with a war... For this reason the question of reaction must be considered especially in this connection, Kautsky however avoids this task as he feels that this is one of his weakest points. Let us consider objectively the situation which the writer takes for granted in his allusions.

Well, suppose there were a war. And the Soviet Government were defeated. Insurrections would break out in the country. The Mensheviki and the SR. would support these insurrections. Anyone can understand that the war of the imperialists would

¹) Kautsky: "The International and Soviet Russia", p. 44.

²) Ibid. p. 45.

³) Ibid. p. 44.

in such circumstances immediately turn into a tremendous interference in all "internal affairs". The experience of the intervention in 1918 and 1920 has shown how the "allies" behave in occupied territory, how they turn it into a colony, cover the country with gallows and shoot down workers and peasants wholesale.

Does Kautsky ask this question? Do we find in his writings any guarantee against such reaction? Not a word, not the faintest hint.

When we remember however that Kautsky is an agent of the international bourgeoisie, it is not difficult to understand what is at the bottom of it; and much will then appear in a "new light".

As we have just seen, Kautsky holds out the "brilliant" prospect of a weak government, torn by contradictions, of a weak government confronted with a strong army of foreign imperialism.

Do you grasp, fellow workers and peasants, what all this means?

That is of course the programme of the imperialistic robbers. The imperialists require:

1. The overthrow of the "young revolutionary body";
2. the occupation of a certain portion of Russian territory;
3. that a weak government should be at their service;
4. that they could treat this government as their vassal.

Kautsky has unintentionally blabbed out the secrets of his black magic. Just now when a campaign is being organised against the Soviet Union, and the German bourgeois fatherland is being sold to Entente capital, when the German bourgeoisie is beginning to turn to the West and it, the German bourgeoisie, shows particularly servile deference to the Entente and America and special enmity for the Soviet Union, Kautsky brings into the foreground an insurrection against the Soviet Union, with the programme of substituting for the strong Soviet Union a weak, divided, semi-colonial "government", which cowers to the Entente after the manner of those pitiful Entente puppets, of that "socialist"-bourgeois mob which was in power under the rule of the armies of Bulak-Balachovitch, General Ironside etc. The "great plan" of some influential circles of the international bourgeoisie implies just such a subjugation of our country. The problem of markets has again become a burning problem with the American, English and even the German bourgeoisie. The "peace and stability" of the capitalistic regime is interfered with by the existence of the Soviet Union, which is becoming more powerful with every month. The government of the Soviet Union, that "young revolutionary body", is constantly increasing in strength; it is strong and united. What then is to be done? And Kautsky dots his I's and goes so far as to talk of the prospect of a weak government in Russia. All workers should take particular note of this.

In discussing the problem of the connection between international and internal reaction, Kautsky entirely un.masks himself.

Let us now discuss the question of internal reaction. We have seen that Kautsky's chief argument consists in the "reflection" that our reaction represents the limit of all possible reaction. "It cannot become worse" — that is his chief thesis. The Marxist reader who is accustomed to having a class analysis placed before him, to having this or that specific combination of social forces pointed out to him, will once again realise with surprise that Kautsky, strange to say, takes not the least trouble to make such an analysis. No special social-economic categories with their political manifestations are submitted to the reader, but merely the vulgar stereotype figures of the Boulevard Press: the wicked Bolsheviks and the kind Socialists, "White Guardists" and friends of freedom generally. This idle talk of Kautsky's is

in such bad taste that even Dan and Miljukov had to protest against it. In the "Sozialistisches Westnik" Dan writes:

"As Miljukov has already pointed out, Kautsky's whole discussion leads to the conclusion that even the restoration of the Romanoff monarchy would be no such very serious evil if it relieved us of the Bolshevik despotism. And this conclusion is all the more justified, as Kautsky himself in this connection refers to the restoration of the Bourbons... Kautsky himself however naturally does not doubt that the restoration of the Bourbons was a reaction, even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, just as he cannot doubt that from the point of view of the proletariat the Thermidor was and remains a counter-revolution, even though it liberated France from the despotism of Robespierre".

We do not know how low the so-called "socialist camp" must sink in order to tolerate within its ranks "conclusions" in favour of the Romanoff monarchy, in order to regard people who are politically far more to the Right than the Cadet Miljukov (one of the greatest pillars of the Russian counter-revolution), as their leaders. Let us consider the matter. Of what does Dan — and with full justification — accuse Kautsky? He reproaches him with nothing more nor less than that in his wrath against Bolshevism he, Kautsky, is prepared to enter into an understanding with the Romanoff monarchy. Nevertheless Dan continues to be enthusiastic about Kautsky's book and, in a cowardly way, to avoid the conclusion which every honest politician would be forced to draw. When Kautsky propounds the thesis that Bolshevism is the limit of every kind of reaction, he not only gives no class analysis, he "forgets" his own definition of the Soviet Government as a "young revolutionary body". He takes the liberty of altering the chief characteristic in some directions. Is not this playing with faked cards?

There was a time when even in the Menshevist wing of social democracy, it was considered unseemly to speak of the "liberation of France from the despotism of Robespierre". But "nous avons changé tout cela" (we have changed all that), and Dan is not ashamed to speak in the language of the counter-revolution. Kautsky definitely accepts the protection of the Bourbons against the "despotism of Robespierre" and the protection of the Romanoffs against the "despotism of Bolshevism". A touching picture! After the letter from Hindenburg to Scheidemann we may soon expect that the "Grand-Duke Nikolaj Nikolajewitsch", or the "Czar of all the Russians", Cyril Vladimirovitch, will be congratulating Kautsky on his successful Bourbonist, Romanoff "socialist" work.

(End of chapter and of the series of articles in the next number.)

To our Readers!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England	2 sh.
America	50 cents
Germany	1,50 marks
Austria	2 (Austrian) Schillings
Norway	2 crowns
Sweden	1,50 crowns
Denmark	2 crowns

The subscription rate for other countries is three dollars (or equivalent in local currency) for three months.

These subscriptions include all Special Numbers besides the Regular Number.

Readers in England can also obtain the "Inprecorr" from the Communist Bookshop, 16, King Street, London W. C. 2.