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**CORRESPONDENCE**

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**

**Ernst Thälmann:** The Presidential Election in Germany and the C. P. of Germany.

**Politics**

Sun Yat Sen's Farewell Messages.  
Exchange of Telegrams between the Comintern, the C. P. R. and the Kuomintang Party.  
S. Brike: The Insurrection and the Government Crisis in Turkey.  
Evelyn Roy: French Persecution of Indian Political Exiles.

**The Balkans**

A. Stoyanovitch: The Terror Regime in Yugoslavia.

**Economics**

Eugen Varga: Economics and Economic Policy in the Fourth Quarter of 1924 V.

**E. C. C. I.**

The Agenda of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I.

**The Labour Movement**

A. Enderle: The German Railway Workers' Strike.  
Tang-Shin-She: The Importance of the Textile Workers' Strike in Shanghai.

**For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement**

Edo Fimmen: Unity without Victors or Vanquished.

**In the International**

America and the Recognition of Soviet Russia.

**The White Terror**

Down with the White Terror in Indonesia!  
Polish Police kill two Workers with Poison Gas.

**Workers International Relief**

The Famine in Ireland and the Workers International Relief.

**International Red Aid**

Appeal of the International Red Aid.

**The Co-Operative Movement**

L. M. Chinchuk: The Results of the Frankfort Session of the Executive of the International Co-Operative Alliance.

**Book Reviews**

Eugen Paul: Zinoviev: The War and the Crisis of Socialism.

**The Presidential Election in Germany and the C. P. of Germany.**

By Ernst Thälmann (Hamburg).

There existed no two opinions in the Communist Party of Germany with regard to the question of participation in the Presidential election. It was clear to us right from the outset that we must participate in this election, just as in every parliamentary election, with a candidate of our own. We were the first of all the parties to announce a candidate. The bourgeois parties had begun to discuss this question weeks before Ebert's death, and up to the time of writing have not yet come to an agreement. For the C. P. of Germany the question was decided in a few minutes. How correct this speedy decision and its prompt announcement was, is shown by the confusion which this news created in the camp of the Social Democratic Party. There the news that we had come forward with a worker's candidate, the only possible workers candidate in the presidential election, had the effect of a bomb-shell.

It is an open secret that the Social Democratic Party executive was determined to bring about an agreement with the other Reichsbanner parties as to a so-called "republican" candidate, and in this connection the former Reich-Chancellor

Marx was mentioned. But the Barmat executive did not manage to carry through this proposal at the session of the National Council of the Party. The district representatives, it appears, pointed out the difficulty there would be in convincing the social democratic workers that they should not vote for a workers' candidate but for a bourgeois candidate. It was in view of the competition of the communist candidate that it was decided to put forward Otto Braun, the former Prussian Premier, as a candidate of the Social Democratic Party.

This decision has created the greatest excitement in the ranks of the black-red-yellow republicans. The National president of the Reichsbanner, the social democrat Hörsing, was dispatched to Berlin by the national executive in order to bring his socialist colleagues to reason. Haenisch, another social democrat, regretfully admitted in an appeal of the Republican Reichbund, that the splitting of the Republican parties would render possible the victory of the Monarchist candidate. The stupid demagoguery which the socialist party of Germany has used against the communists is now recoiling on its own head. They

called us "stirrup-holders of reaction", because we were not prepared to unite with the republican bourgeoisie against the monarchist bourgeoisie. They are now being paid back in their own coin. But the leaders of the Barmat party will be mistaken if they believe that by means of an independent candidate they will be able to persuade the class-conscious workers that the candidate of the Barmat executive, the former Prime Minister of the great coalition in Prussia whose merits the Stinnes party praised to the skies, is a workers' candidate. The workers will not fail to use every opportunity to put forward the question, what workers' demands this so-called "workers' candidate", Otto Braun, really represents. The Barmat candidate will be unable to furnish an answer.

The communists will make use of the election campaign as a means of agitation and propaganda for their demands among the broadest masses. We shall not tell the workers that any worker, if he is elected as president, will be able to do anything, within this State and with this State apparatus, in the interest of the workers. We shall remind them how miserably such an attempt was wrecked in Saxony and Thuringia in 1923 by the armed force of the bourgeoisie. For the bourgeoisie snaps its fingers at the Weimar constitution when its class interests are in danger.

We will connect our election campaign with our campaign against the monarchist Luther government, with our campaign for an amnesty, for the eight hour day, for adequate wages, and for trade union unity. We shall demonstrate to the workers that they cannot get anything they want as a gift from any president, but they must fight for it by forming a red class front, by breaking with the black-red-yellow Barmat agents and taking up the struggle against the Dawes Plan, for the overthrow of the Luther government, for a proletarian government.

The Communist Party is fully conscious of the serious importance of the election campaign. It will throw the whole power of its organisation into this fight. It is not afraid that this will mean being diverted from the immediate tasks of the class struggle, but on the contrary it will involve the concentration of all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat for this fight.

The bourgeoisie has realised in an equal degree the importance of our election fight. It made use of an appeal of the Central committee of the C. P. of Germany on the death of Ebert as an occasion for prohibiting the "Rote Fahne" and a whole number of our provincial newspapers. It was intended by this means to suppress the voice of the proletarian party in the approaching struggle. This measure created the greatest indignation and bitterness among the working class. The Berlin workers sent such a number of factory delegations to plague the social democratic police minister Severing, that after a few days he was compelled to withdraw the prohibition of the "Rote Fahne".

We regard this as a favourable augury for our fight. It is an indication as to how firmly the Communist Party is rooted in the factories. And it will be in order to increase our influence in the factories — not in the Wilhelmstrasse — that we shall conduct our election campaign with all our energies.

## POLITICS

### Sun Yat Sen's Farewell Messages.

Moscow, 14th March 1925.

On the eve of his death Sun Yat Sen wrote his last message to the Kuomintang Party, in which he stated among other things:

"Forty years work for the national revolution and for winning freedom and equal rights for China have brought me the firm conviction that China can only achieve its aim by mobilising the masses and by the closest collaboration with those peoples who consider us as equals.

The fight for the completion of the revolution must be continued.

The National Assembly must be convened and the demand put forward for the annulment of all treaties in which China is not treated as a party with equal rights.

I call upon the party to concentrate all efforts upon the speediest realisation of its aims."

Sun Yat Sen addressed the following message to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union:

"Dear Comrades,

Here on my death bed my thoughts turn to you, as well to the future destiny of my Party and of my country.

You are at the head of the Union of free Republics, that heritage which the immortal Lenin has left to all suppressed peoples of the world. By means of this heritage the victims of imperialism will inevitably win their emancipation from that social order which has always been based upon slavery, war and injustice.

I leave behind me a party which, as I always hoped, will be allied with you in its historical task of liberating China and other suppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism.

My charge to the Komintang party before all is that it shall continue to promote the cause of the national revolutionary movement for the emancipation of China, which has been degraded by imperialism into a semi-colonial country. I therefore charge my party to maintain permanent contact with you.

I cherish the firm belief that your support of my country will remain unaltered.

In taking my last leave of you, dear comrades, I express the hope that the day is approaching when the Soviet Union will greet in a free and strong China its friend and ally, and that the two States will proceed hand in hand as allies in the great fight for the emancipation of the oppressed of the whole world.

With brotherly greetings  
Sun Yat Sen."

### Exchange of Telegrams between the Comintern, the C. P. R. and the Kuomintang Party.

Moscow, 14th March 1925.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has addressed the following telegram, signed by Stalin, to the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Party:

"The Central Committee of the Russian C. P. mourns with you over the loss of the leader of the Kuomintang Party, of the organiser of the national emancipatory struggle of the workers and peasants of China for the freedom and independence of the Chinese people and the unity and independence of the Chinese State.

The Central Committee of the Russian C.P. has not the least doubt that the great cause of Sun Yat Sen will not die with his death, but will live on in the hearts of the Chinese workers and peasants, in spite of their enemies and that the Kuomintang Party will hold aloft the banner of Sun Yat Sen in the great fight for emancipation from imperialism and will carry it with honour up to the final victory over imperialism and its agents in China.

Sun Yat Sen is dead. Long live the work of Sun Yat Sen! Long live the cause he has bequeathed!"

Zinoviev and Stalin received to-day the following telegram from the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Party in Peking:

"The national revolutionary movement of China has lost today by the death of Sun Yat Sen its leader who devoted his whole life to the creation of a party which could free the masses of the people in China from capitalist and imperialist exploitation. In this fight he found a true and active friend in the exploited working masses of the whole world. The work of Sun Yat Sen is not yet completed, and will be continued by his party. We are still confronted with huge difficulties, for we are surrounded by counter-revolutionary forces which are allied with imperialism.

Our leader bequeathed to us the principles and the revolutionary methods for rescuing suppressed humanity. They will help us in spite of all obstacles to achieve victory.

We are convinced that you, as true disciples of Lenin, will fight along with us, the heirs of Sun Yat Sen."

Comrade Zinoviev, in the name of the Comintern, sent the following telegram in reply to the Kuomintang Party:

"The news of the death of Sun Yat Sen will be heard with the greatest sorrow by the intelligent workers of all countries.

Sun Yat Sen has died at a moment when his life's work was beginning to bear the desired fruit. Slowly but surely the movement of the revolutionary proletariat is becoming stronger and is uniting with the national emancipatory movements of the suppressed peoples against imperialism, which will only be successful if they proceed hand in hand with the international proletariat which is fighting against imperialism.

The national emancipatory movement of the Chinese people is of the greatest world historical importance. The Communist International is following the struggle of the Chinese people with the greatest attention and knows that the Chinese working class, which is now beginning to play its part in history, has a great future before it.

True to the charge entrusted to it by Lenin, the Communist International is teaching the workers of all countries to support with all their powers the national revolutionary movements of the Eastern peoples, especially the people of China. The Executive Committee of the Communist International will do everything which lies in its power in order to make clear to the broadest masses of all workers of all countries the great importance of the work of Sun Yat Sen. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is convinced that all its sections will render support to the Kuomintang Party, which will lead the cause of Sun Yat Sen to a victorious end, and does not doubt that the Communist Party of China, which is co-operating with the Kuomintang Party, will also prove equal to the great historical tasks confronting it.

The independence and the freedom of the Chinese people will be secured in spite of all the efforts of imperialism.

Undying memory for Sun Yat Sen!

Long live the workers and peasants of China!"

The President of the E. C. C. I.

Zinoviev."

## The Insurrection and the Government Crisis in Turkey.

By S. Brike.

The cabinet of Fethi Bey has resigned as a result of the resolution passed by the People's Party regarding questions of home policy. Ismet Pasha has been entrusted with the task of forming a new cabinet.

Although Fethi Bey and Ismet Pasha are members of one and the same government Party, the change of Prime Ministers implies not only a change of personalities but also a change of policy.

In order to appreciate the significance of this government crisis one must call to mind the circumstances under which Fethi Bey came to power.

At the end of 1924 the leading circles of the People's Party, the party which was led by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, was faced with the open mobilising of the forces of the counter-revolution. Within the party itself there appeared a determined right wing which was only seeking an opportunity to create a split.

On the 8th of November 1924 the decisive moment arrived. During the discussion of the question as to the return of Turkish subjects from Greece, feeling became so acute that the government of Ismet Pasha, which at that time was in power, was compelled to ask for a vote of confidence. It must be pointed out in this connection that all the members of the Turkish parliament (Medshillis) were members of the People's Party. On the vote of confidence being taken the government of Ismet received an overwhelming majority: 147 members voted for the government and only 19 against. In spite of this discouraging result the whole of this group of 19 members withdrew from the People's Party and announced the organising of the "Progressive Republican Party".

In order to characterise this party it is only necessary for us to point out the social standing of these 19 members who

constitute the kernel of the progressive republicans: 11 of them represent the big feudal landowners of the Eastern Vilajets, while the remaining eight represent the financial and commercial bourgeoisie of Constantinople.

The new party, therefore, appears as the open organisatory and political centre for all counter-revolutionary elements in Turkey.

Mustapha Kemal and the leading groups of the People's Party decided to test the possibility of a compromise with the "Progressive Republican Party". On the 19th November Ismet Pasha, in spite of the undisputed vote of confidence he had received, resigned. His place was taken by the cabinet of Fethi Bey which was to form a bridge or means of approach to the so-called "progressives".

The group of Fethi Bey constituted the most moderate wing in the People's Party. Fethi Bey was an opponent of radical agrarian reforms, he held it necessary to make great concessions to West European capitalists and advocated a policy of reconciliation and understanding towards the progressive Republicans. This whole programme of Fethi Bey rendered him very acceptable to the oppositional circles in the country. His nomination therefore, was received with great satisfaction not only by the reactionary press of Constantinople, but also by the greatest bourgeois organs of France and England.

In spite of the exceedingly moderate character of the programme of Fethi Bey, there were included in his cabinet as guarantees, and to a certain extent as controllers, some representatives of the Left, radical wing of the People's Party, such as Machmud Essad and other enthusiastic advocates of radical agrarian reforms.

This composition of the cabinet determined beforehand that it would be short-lived and impotent. The moderate character of the Fethi government not only failed to do away with the political crisis in the country, but rendered it more acute and hastened its outbreak. The reactionary opposition, which saw in Fethi Bey the little finger which was offered to it, attempted to seize the whole hand. The press of Constantinople characterised the coming into power of Fethi Bey as the victory of "moderation and lawfulness" and welcomed the "completion of the revolution and the transition to a wise policy of concessions".

Fethi Bey did everything possible on his part in order not to disappoint these hopes. In spite of the numerous reports regarding the preparation of an armed rising by the feudal big landowners in East Anatolia, in spite of the growth of discontent among the over-taxed peasants, Fethi Bey would not venture finally to abolish the most oppressive tax: "Aschar". It was only the most determined pressure on the part of the Left wing of the cabinet, which was supported by Mustapha Kemal, that compelled Fethi Bey to take this step.

This hesitation of the late prime minister, as well as his fear to make use of the peasants' cudgel in order to strike at the feudal agrarian reaction, contributed objectively to the outbreak of the insurrection on its present scale. "Dshem-churiet" the organ of the radical wing of the People's Party, was quite right in stating that the chief reason why Fethi Bey should resign was, that he allowed "the preparation for the revolt" to proceed undisturbed.

In this manner the counter-revolution, the ideological and financial centre of which is the bourgeoisie of Constantinople, in the shape of the reactionary "Progressive Republican Party", in spite of all attempts of the People's Party to arrive at a compromise and an understanding, first took up the offensive and commenced the fight against the National government.

This compelled the leading groups of the People's Party to abandon all hesitation and to go over to the determined counter-attack along the whole front. It is now not only a question of suppressing the revolt in Anatolia, but of shattering all those forces of the counter-revolution in all Anatolia and Constantinople, which are awaiting further results in the East in order to take active part in the struggle.

For this task there is needed a strong and determined cabinet, and the government of Ismet Pasha appears to be such. The composition of the new cabinet shows that the People's Party is determined to put an end to its whole policy of compromise and hesitation. In the new government we see a whole number of radical and left politicians, who advocate bold and comprehensive domestic reforms, as, for example, the Minister of Justice Machmud Essad, the Foreign Minister, Terfik Rushdi, the Minister for Education, Hammdula Subhi, and others. The

whole cabinet is composed of staunch and convinced supporters of the economic and political independence of Turkey.

The despondent mood of the entire opposition press shows in the most convincing manner that the reaction clearly perceives the serious political importance of the entry into power of the cabinet of Ismet Pasha. The cleverest organ of the reaction, the "Tanin", on hearing of the coming to power of Ismet Pasha began to make use of direct threats and declared that "the change of the cabinet would cause unrest and threaten the unity of the nation". This can only be regarded as foreshadowing an unavoidable sharpening of civil war in Turkey.

The opposition press, which voices the interests of the united reaction, is endeavouring, regardless of the ambiguous and insincere declarations as to the revolt of Scheich Said, to hinder the fight against the feudal landowners, and thereby supports them.

It goes without saying that the firmness and decision of the government of Ismet Pasha must be expressed before all in its political line. The landowners and feudal lords of Turkey are only dangerous in so far as they have the support of the unenlightened and starving peasant masses. Only a bold and rapid policy of agrarian reforms is capable of wresting these masses from their influence and of uniting them with the national government.

On the other hand, Constantinople is not only the capital of the reactionary bourgeoisie but is also a great proletarian centre. The rapid carrying out of elementary labour legislation, and the satisfaction of the chief demands of the Turkish proletariat will help the government of Ismet Pasha to establish a fighting alliance with the working masses of Constantinople, Smyrna, Sungulak and Argana in the dangerous fight against the united reaction.

Finally, the coming to power of the cabinet of Ismet Pasha means not only a determined fight against the counter-revolution at home, but a firm and consistent policy towards those outer forces which have staked all their cards upon the enslavement of the Turkish Republic.

## French Persecution of Indian Political Exiles.

By Evelyn Roy.

The increasing severity with which Indian political exiles are treated in French territory leads one to believe that it is due to the policy of close co-operation entered into between the French and British Governments since the advent of the Conservatives to power in Great Britain.

Three such cases have been brought to our attention in the past few weeks, and a fourth one has just been added.

The first and most monstrous is the expulsion from France of Manabendra Nath Roy, political exile and well-known revolutionary from British India, whose writings and organising activities have done so much to bring India into close touch with the outside world, and whose ideology has deeply impressed itself upon the Indian liberation movement, especially during the past four years. Manabendra Nath Roy has been actively associated with the nationalist and revolutionary movement in India since the age of fourteen years, that is to say, twenty years of his life have been dedicated to the cause of the suffering millions there. Severely persecuted on account of his activities by the British Indian Government, he was several times imprisoned and finally forced to escape in 1915, to avoid a heavy punishment. Since that time, he has continued his activities on behalf of his country by means of writing, organising and arousing public opinion in various countries on behalf of his country's cause. He came to Europe in 1920, and has travelled extensively in nearly every European country, his life tormented by the ceaseless activities of the British Secret Service, which has dogged his footsteps from the Orient to America, from America to Europe. The German Government, acting under British pressure, issued an order for his arrest in 1923, but he left Germany before it was executed, and took up his residence in Switzerland. Here also, pressure was brought to bear to bring about his expulsion, which was refused by the Swiss Government. He came to France in July of 1924, after the Herriot

Government came to power, hoping to find here a wider field of activity and a safe refuge on the soil of France. His expulsion, executed on January 30th, can only be attributed to British pressure brought to bear upon the French Government, which has refused him the right to remain on French soil.

A very ugly feature of his expulsion lies in the fact that reports were telegraphed out to India by Reuter, from an obviously inspired source, on February 6th, that M. N. Roy was on his way from France to India, under arrest on a warrant issued in India against him as a result of the Cawnpore Conspiracy Trial. It appears that only a slight miscalculation of time prevented the British authorities from seizing him and putting him aboard a steamer bound for India, before any public protest could be made, or any preventive action taken on the part of his friends. The manner of his arrest and expulsion bears this supposition out. M. N. Roy was taken in the street, on photographs and information supplied by Scotland Yard; he was hustled to the nearest local police station by a detective and three policeman, without any warrant of arrest being shown to him, nor any proof of identity being provided. His demand for a delay of twenty four hours, in order to arrange his affairs and to consult a lawyer, was roughly denied; he was not allowed to communicate with anyone before his departure, and was sent under escort to the frontier by the first train. His wife, who was arrested with him, was kept in detention until his departure, without being allowed to see or speak with anyone. He was told by the detective who arrested him that he was going to be sent to England. The fact that he was sent to Luxembourg only shows that a country was selected where his abduction by British Secret Police would be an easy matter. His escape may be regarded as a miracle of good luck.

The other cases which have been brought to our attention of the persecution of Indian political exiles at the hands of the French authorities, include two refugees in the French colonies of Pondicherry and Chandernagore. Mr. R. C. L. Sharma, political refugee from British India since before the war, has been constantly harassed by the French and British Secret Police, acting in common. In September-October 1924, he received a verbal order to leave French territory without delay, no reason being given. Through his lawyer, he was able to secure a delay by demanding a written order from the Governor, who gave him the choice of leaving French territory, or going to live in a small village in the interior, Canouva-peth. Here he has lived for the past six months, closely watched by the French and British police, unable to leave without authorization. No offence against French law has been alleged against him; he has done nothing to justify these arbitrary measures.

At British instigation, the introduction, distribution and circulation of literature printed in English and freely circulated in Great Britain, is severely prohibited in French India, because in these publications, the truth about British rule in India is told.

A third case, now occupying the attention of the Indian public, is that of Mr. Moti Lal Roy, political exile in Chandernagore from British India, the founder of an Ashram or religious school, and editor of a newspaper, "Prabartak". Mr. Moti Lal Roy is a highly religious man, whose pupils revere him as a "guru" or spiritual teacher. Besides religious instruction, his school aimed to teach the students to become self-supporting in after-life. He is the author of several religious books, and of "Hundred Years of Bengal", proscribed in British India. At the instigation of the British-Indian government, the French authorities of Chandernagore suddenly began persecuting Mr. Roy. He was called before the local Administrator and severely interrogated about his activities, in rude and insulting language. His school was searched, its pupils subjected to cross-examination by the police, and his paper suspended.

We believe that the French people, once aware of these wrongs inflicted upon the sons of India who are struggling to free their country from one of the blackest tyrannies in history, will demand the protection of those exiles who have sought refuge from British persecution on the soil of France or her colonies. The position of Indian political refugees is seriously menaced; it lies with the French people who still believe in the rights of man, to demand their protection at the hands of the French Government.

## THE BALKANS

### The Terror Regime in Yugoslavia.

By A. Stojanowitsch (Belgrade).

The Yugoslavian Fascist Government of Pachitch Pribitchewitch which represented the interests of the Serbian upper bourgeoisie, the bankers and profiteers was given at one time by its principals, the monarchy and the officers' clique "Bela Ruka" ("The White Hand") the mandate to carry through the elections of Feb. 8th 1925 with the employment of the greatest Terror against the opposition parties, in order to be certain of obtaining a majority in the future Parliament, and thus to be able to maintain and consolidate the economic and political hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie and monarchy by the easy "legal" and "democratic" way of parliamentarism. If this failed, the much more difficult and dangerous way of an open dictatorship would inevitably have to be followed, a way which would intensify the fight of the working people and the oppressed nations and lead to an open struggle for power.

The Fascist corruptionist Government of Pachitch Pribitchewitch proceeded to carry out this mandate. The speech which Pachitch had held in Bjelina, in which he openly announced that the Radical Party would defend Serbian predominance with its blood, showed how it was intended to defend the Serbian hegemony also during the elections. At these elections the government did not shrink from the most bloody Terror and the meanest forgeries. More than 20 persons killed before and during the elections, about 50 severely wounded, 500 slightly wounded and about 6000 persons arrested characterise the method which in these elections was to secure a parliamentary majority for the Serbian bourgeoisie. Terror, corruption and forgery in the elections did not, it is true, bring about the result expected by the Fascist Government, but it did secure a narrow majority in Parliament.

The Government carried on this election campaign under the slogan of the "Fight against the Bolshevik Peril". For this purpose it invented Zinoviev letters against the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, it had the leaders of this party with Stephan Raditch arrested, accused them of high treason and of alliance with the III International. The Government had however very little success with these machinations. Only too soon — while the election campaign was proceeding — the "Zinoviev letters" were recognised as a cheap, clumsy forgery, the Zagreb Court which was outside the influence of the Government, acquitted the accused leaders of the C. R. P. P. and, in the midst of the elections, the Government suffered a serious defeat with its slogan against Bolshevism.

When the elections were over, the Government had to explain away the exposure and to show the public at home and abroad that a Bolshevik peril actually had existed, and that the bloody terror and the measures of violence employed had had a certain "moral" foundation.

The Government did not hesitate for a moment as to where to locate the centre of the Bolshevik danger which it had conjured up before the whole world. Immediately after the elections they opened a furious campaign of persecution against the workers' organisations and arrested their leaders wherever they could get hold of them. The whole gang of the bourgeois Press, always a complaisant tool of the police, announced: "there are, it is true, still a few Communist leaders at large, but they will shortly be arrested."

As the most suitable target for its persecutions, the Fascist Government this time selected the organisation Red Aid in Yugoslavia, an organisation whose only object was to help, in the modest way which the funds they collected for relief made possible, the workers and peasants who had been persecuted, arrested and sentenced by the regime without consideration of their party, and also to support their relatives who were in distress.

The Yugoslavian Red Aid had up to then carried on its activities quite openly, its work and proceedings were publicly announced and discussed in the Labour Press, its collections were publicly reported and carried on, and it occurred to no one — not even to the authorities of the absolutist regime — to

object in any way to the humanitarian work of the Red Aid for the relief of victims of political persecution.

This makes the sudden persecution of the Red Aid all the more surprising and insidious. On Feb. 11th, immediately after the elections, Comrade Desanka Cvetkovitch, the secretary of the Red Aid was arrested. Her house was searched and all the books of the Red Aid were confiscated. At the same time sensational news was spread among the public by the police, that they had discovered secret organisations of the Red Aid, whose object was to give financial support to Bolshevik undertakings in the country. The Belgrade Court which is under the immediate dictatorship of the Fascist Government, went into the question of whether the organisations of the Red Aid are or are not Communist organisations, and naturally found, in accordance with the wishes of those in power in Belgrade — that they are Communist organisations! On the basis of the results of these investigations it is intended to arrest everyone who has been in any way connected with the Red Aid or who has received relief from it. About 470 persons, whose names are in the documents seized, are concerned, and from all parts of the country reports are being received of persecutions "in connection with the Belgrade arrests." The persons arrested are to be charged under the law for the protection of the State, according to which membership of communist organisations and communist propaganda is punishable with a death sentence or with 20 years hard labour.

The Belgrade Fascist Government is setting to work again to justify its arbitrary actions before and since the election campaign by a monster trial against the workers' organisations. The active workers and peasants of Yugoslavia are raising a protest against the newest plots of the Fascist reaction, a protest which is all the more decided since the plots are directed against the relief organisations which are intended to help them in their most difficult times; their most effective answer to the powerful Fascist regime will take the form of a still more energetic transformation of the Red Aid organisations into true mass organisations of the working people.

It is the duty of the workers and peasants of all other countries to join in the protest against the persecution of the Red Aid in Yugoslavia and not to permit draconic verdicts of a mediaeval law being given against representatives and active workers of the International Red Aid, simply because of their activities in relieving the victims of the proletarian class war.

## ECONOMICS

### Economics and Economic Policy in the Fourth Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

V.

#### England.

The November elections swept away the Labour government, although the Labour Party received a million more votes than the year before. The Conservative Party carried off an unexpected victory. Baldwin, with a parliamentary majority such as no government has gained for decades, and "with the support of the confidence of the business world"<sup>1)</sup>, came into power in England. For perhaps the first time in the annals of England, the electoral struggle was carried on on a class basis. The Liberal Party, that party of the bourgeoisie whose dogma is the denial of the class struggle, suffered a catastrophic defeat, and has ceased for the time being to exist as a parliamentary factor. The representative organ of liberalism, the "Economist", is much concerned at this. For the new Conservative Party in Parliament contains too many reactionary conservatives, and if these elements take over the leadership, then the ranks of the socialists will not only be swelled by the resultant class antagonisms, but by the revolt of the younger generation against this reactionary course.

These fears are well founded, despite the aversion felt by many Labour Party politicians to the class war. But what can the Conservative government do? It is as powerless as the Labour government was in dealing with the great problem of English economic policy! Can it find markets for English in-

<sup>1)</sup> "The Economist." 28. November 1924.



dustrial products? Can it reverse the tide of industrialisation throughout the world? Can it overcome the rebellion of the colonial peoples? Can it prevent England's being overtaken by the United States?

No, never! It cannot restore to the English workers the privileged position which they held before the war; it cannot raise their standard of living again! Nor can a Liberal government do this! Nor a bourgeois "Labour government"! These problems are not to be solved within the capitalist system.

#### Economic Situation and Unemployment.

During the months of October and November the slow improvement in economic life was maintained. The Conservative victory quieted the alarms of the capitalists, and their restored confidence was speedily felt in the form of railway orders, firmer credits, and above all in the considerable rise in the exchange value of the pound. A gradual but steady decrease in the number of unemployed gave rise to the hope that the severest point of the crisis had been passed over. Thus the "Economist" wrote on 22. November 1924 that there was reason to hope that the worst point of the crisis had been overcome, and that the number of unemployed would decrease in the coming months.

But alas! This illusion lasted but a short time. In December the number of unemployed began to increase again with great rapidity. The figures were as follows:

	Total number	Increase compared with previous week
22. December 1924 . . . . .	1,169,000	10,625
29. December 1924 . . . . .	1,273,885	104,785
5. January 1925 . . . . .	1,307,800	33,915

In three weeks there vanished all that had been gained during the course of the whole year: on the 5. January 1925 the number of unemployed was greater by 40,000 than a year previously, on 7. January 1924. This is the fifth winter accompanied by mass unemployment!

And despite the innumerable investigations, the speeches, articles, and commissions, nobody has a single sensible suggestion to make as to how this evil is to be remedied, except by England's abandonment of her position as an industrial country, that is: emigration, return to agriculture, limitation of the population — Malthusianism is triumphing in England.

#### Production.

The following are the data of production in the most important branches of industry:

	Coal Weekly average million tons	Iron Monthly in 1000 tons	Steel
September 1924 . . . . .	5,11	569	645
October 1924 . . . . .	5,11	586	679
November 1924 . . . . .	5,25	583	674
December 1924 . . . . .	4,94	580	551

The full significance of the figures can only be grasped after comparing them with last year's statistics. We then see that in the corresponding months of last year, coal production was, in round figures, 400,000 tons more per week, whilst the average monthly production of iron in 1923 was 610,000 tons, that of steel 685,000 tons.

Nobody has the least idea how the coal industry is to find a way out of this difficult position. The problem involves the fate of 1,200,000 workers! Unemployment and short-time are on the increase.

Frank Hodges, the former secretary of the Miners' Federation, states the number of out-of-work miners in December at 114,000. Even those in work have not been fully employed, 665,000 shifts not being worked within one week. Wages are considerably below the real pre-war wages. During the past few years money wages have varied from nine to eleven shillings per shift, which is considerably higher than the wages received by the German miner: the output per man and per shift is also higher, but does not balance the difference in wages, so that the cost of wages is higher than in Germany or France. In the United States wages are much higher, but the price of production is none the less lower, for the coal lies nearer the surface, is easily worked, and is obtained with the assistance

of huge machine plants. Thus coal is always considerably cheaper in the United States than in England<sup>2)</sup>. English coal, one of the most important export commodities, is thus being gradually supplanted in the world's markets, a state of affairs further contributed to by the increased use of crude oil as a motive power for ships.

Nobody can find a way out of this difficulty. The great plan proposed by the Labour Party: nationalisation of the coal industry, by which the present splitting up of the industry into innumerable small undertakings, many with inadequate technical equipment, was to be done away with, and the inequality obtaining in conditions of production equalised, has been buried for the time being owing to the victory of the conservative Party. The capitalists demand longer working hours and intensified output. The workers demand a wage of 12 shillings per shift, the present working hours being retained. "The workers would rather starve than give up their hardly won rights" says Hodges, who is by no means an extremist. Thus the standpoints of the capitalist and the worker are in acute opposition, and a severe struggle appears to be inevitable this year.

In the iron industry conditions continue to be very unfavourable. The average monthly production has been as follows (in 1000 tons):

	Iron	Steel	Total
1913 . . . . .	855	639	1494
1923 . . . . .	620	707	1327
1924 . . . . .	610	685	1295

The monthly production remains 208,000 tons below that of 1913. Conditions in the world's markets are very unfavourable, as already pointed out in the general section. England's exports of iron goods are decreasing while the imports are increasing.

Ship-building is still labouring under a crisis, though a certain degree of improvement may be deduced from the figures. The following figures give the tonnage built, in 1000 tons<sup>3)</sup>:

	In course of construction in England	Percentage of world's ship building	Launched in England	Percentage of world's ship building
1913 . . . . .	1957	59	1932	58
1922 . . . . .	1469	50	1031	42
1923 . . . . .	1395	57	646	39
1924 . . . . .	1297	53	1440	66

According to this, England's share in the ship building of the world has not been seriously endangered as yet. But the more detailed data relating to the ships commenced in 1924 place the matter in a somewhat different light.

	Ships commenced in England, 1000 t.	per cent of world's shipbuilding.
1924 I. quarter . . . . .	228	53
" II. " . . . . .	375	60
" III. " . . . . .	253	58
" IV. " . . . . .	195	40

But even apart from this it is a very poor consolidation for the English shipbuilders to hear that shipbuilders all over the world are suffering from the same crisis. For England the number of the unemployed is decisive. The following are the unemployment figures for the ship building trade:

1922 . . . . .	37,6%
1923 . . . . .	40,0%
1924 . . . . .	31,6%

<sup>2)</sup> According to "Wirtschaft und Statistik", No. 24. p. 773, the prices per ton of coal (in marks) have been as follows:

	Coal (at the pits mouth)		
	Germany	England	United States
1913/14 . . . . .	12,—	10,97	5,46
November 1924 . . . . .	15,—	14,78	7,10
	Coke		
	Germany	England	United States
1913/14 . . . . .	18,50	—	11,30
November 1924 . . . . .	24,—	31,—	14,62

<sup>3)</sup> The whole of these data are according to Lloyd's register; taken from the "Economist". 10. January 1924.

There is an improvement, but the crisis still continues.

In the cotton industry conditions improved essentially during the period of this report. The number of hours worked weekly, which only amounted to 26½ hours up to 3. November, increased to 32 hours from this day onwards. On 1. December there was a further increase to 39½ hours. This improvement is due to the excellent cotton crops, and to more extensive sales to the East. China in particular is buying much more than before, in spite of the civil war.

Agriculture is in a very unhappy condition, though there is no disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products. The extended area brought under cultivation during the war has long since been lost again. The following figures show the comparative areas of land devoted to agriculture:

1914 . . . . .	27,114,000 acres
1924 . . . . .	25,873,000 "

Reports state that in some districts of England the cultivation of arable land is being further reduced, the landlords are giving notice to the small tenant farmers, and transforming the fields into pasture land for sheep, owing to the high prices obtainable for wool.

#### Foreign Trade.

In England foreign trade plays a much more important rôle than in the countries of the continent of Europe. Why this is the case may be seen from the following:

In England there are 22 million workers (1911). If we deduct the unemployed from this number, and also those who are only apparently workers: landowners, house-owners, pensioners, state officials, etc. there remain, in round figures, 18½ million productive workers.

In 1924 the value of England's exports amounted to 935 million pounds, that is, to £ 50 per worker annually. If we assume the average weekly wage of the worker to be 45 shillings, or £ 112.10.0 yearly, and the rate of surplus value to be 50%, we arrive at the sum of £ 168.15.0 yearly, or let us say £ 200, in round figures. From this we see that one quarter of the total value produced in England annually is exported. If we were further to deduct that which is employed in branches of production the products of which are not or cannot be exported: agriculture, building-trade, railways, etc. then we actually obtain a clear idea as to the importance of foreign trade for England, and as to the extent to which English industry is dependent on the world's markets.

The adverse balance of English foreign trade has increased greatly and unexpectedly during the past year. The following figures show its amount, in millions of pounds sterling:

	Import	Export	Import surplus
September 1924 . . .	100,9	72,8	28,1
October 1924 . . .	120,5	81,5	39,0
November 1924 . . .	118,7	80,5	38,2
December 1924 . . .	131,6	81,4	50,2
The whole year, 1924	1280,5	935,5	345,0

The deficit of 345 million pounds is due to the extensive purchases of food and raw materials during the second half of 1924.

Compared with 1923, the following increases are to be noted:

	Mill. £
Imports of food increased by . . . . .	64
Import of raw materials by . . . . .	75
Import of industrial goods (!) . . . . .	43

Exports, on the other hand, shows the following:

	Mill. £
Increase, foodstuffs . . . . .	12
Increase, industrial goods . . . . .	38
Decrease, raw materials . . . . .	24

The main result is therefore: the net exports of industrial goods have decreased by 5 million pounds sterling as compared with 1923. The net imports of food and raw materials have increased by 158 million pounds.

The crisis in English economics cannot be brought to an end in this manner.

Consolation is sought in the fact ("Economist", 17. January 1925) that the increased imports have led to the accumulation of a large reserve of raw materials in the country, and that this will have a favourable effect upon the trade balance later on. A question being widely discussed at the present

time is whether England's payment balance has not actually become unfavourable, and whether the "invisible exports" suffices to cover the adverse trade balance. Opinions differ. The "Economist" thinks that it suffices, whilst the "Manchester Guardian" (Com.) is of the contrary opinion. The latter states in its issue of January 15, that this year's adverse trade balance is the greatest the country has ever had, and that if the "Invisible Exports" are not considerably greater than they have been estimated hitherto, then the year 1924 — leaving out the war years will be the first year since half a century in which there has been an actual adverse trade balance.

#### The Restoration of the Gold Currency.

The Conservative victory was followed by a rapid upward movement in the rate of exchange of the pound; at the present time the rate of exchange is less than 2% below the mint par of exchange with the dollar.

The reasons for this improvement in the value of the pound are chiefly political, for there has been no change in England's economic position which would be sufficient to account for the improvement. On the contrary, the unfavourable trade balance just described would rather tend to retard any improvement in the rate of exchange of the pound.

The English newspapers and periodicals express themselves very vaguely as to the causes of the improvement. The following are some of the reasons put forward:

The return stream of capital which took flight to America when the Labour government came into office.

The temporary investment of American loan capital in England, owing to the higher rate of interest.

The report made in New York in January 1925 by Montagu Norman, the manager of the Bank of England, was at first kept secret; it need not be said that it dealt with this question. Now that a number of the English dominions: Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, have decided to return to free gold traffic, England can scarcely hold back. For this purpose she is likely to need the support of the Federal Reserve Bank, in case the rate of interest in England and in New York should become uniform, and American loan capital thus begin to return to America<sup>4</sup>) The pound will probably be able to return to par without encountering any great difficulty; if Germany and Poland can maintain the value of their currencies, England will be able to do so too.

#### The Victory of Protection.

We have already commented on the fact that nobody has any reasonable suggestion to make for rescuing England from the economic crisis in which she is involved. It seems, however, as if fresh attempts are going to be made with the aid of protective duties. Baldwin, in his great speech held on 18. January 1925, expressed himself approximately to the following effect:

England cannot be restored to economic health unless real peace is established in Europe. Apart from various smaller measures: aid for the shipbuilding trade, road making, afforestation, electrification, cultivation of bet sugar, etc., the safeguarding of industries is an imperative necessity.

The conditions under which, according to Mr. Baldwin, protective duties are to be considered as justified are so general that every industry comes under the classification. And when the conditions in one country are such that a protective tariff is to be employed against it, this tariff is to apply to all other countries as well.

Again, the decisions made by the Imperial Conference in the autumn of 1923, rejected in Parliament after the election of the Labour government, are to be submitted to Parliament again. Besides this, there is to be a repetition of the swindle practised in the case of the industrial duties. That is, duties on food are not proposed, but the colonies are to be accorded preferential terms in some other manner.

It goes without saying that this attempt will lead to no results, any more than other attempts, for the part played by exports in the great English industries is so important that the

<sup>4</sup>) From 22. January onwards the pound sterling is calculated at par in postal intercourse between England and the United States. This appears to be one of the successes attained by Montagu Norman in America.

securing of the home market offers no solution unless export possibilities improve at the same time. But there is no prospect of this within a calculable time.

### The United States.

It may be stated in general that the improvement in the economic situation which set in about June was maintained until December. After the Presidential Elections the improvement accelerated, and was chiefly expressed by a powerful upward tendency on the Exchange. Production however did not by any means reach the level of the corresponding months of the previous year. The index figures issued by the Federal Reserve Board are as follows — newer data not being yet obtainable:

	October 1923	October 1924
Production index . . .	101	91
Employment index . . .	118	109

Industrial production has sunk by 8%, the number of workers in employment by a full 10% as compared with last year.

Private reports indicate that business showed a tendency to slacken towards the end of the year, and fears are entertained that economic conditions will worsen rapidly in the new year. The following figures relating to the most important branches of industry characterise the improved conditions obtaining in the autumn:

	Soft coals Million tons	Anthracite Million tons	Crude oil Million tons	Iron Million tons	Steel Million tons	Motor cars 1000	Cotton con- sumption 1000 bales
July 1924 . . .	32,3	7,8	61,1	1785	1869	—	347
August 1924 . . .	34,8	7,1	61,7	1891	2542	—	357
September 1924 . . .	41,0	7,6	59,6	2053	2815	288	435
October 1924 . . .	46,8	7,7	59,8	2447	3111	288	533
November 1924 . . .	40,7	6,8	—	2510	3107	—	492
December 1924 . . .	—	—	—	2960	—	—	532

In the steel industry production was estimated at 83% in December; the current orders are said to exceed by far the production.

At the end of the month the steel trust had orders on hand to the following amounts:

	1000 tons <sup>1)</sup>
July 1924 . . . . .	3187
August 1924 . . . . .	3290
September 1924 . . . . .	3479
October 1924 . . . . .	3585
November 1924 . . . . .	4032
December 1924 . . . . .	4817

The orders are much fewer than those of the previous year. The competition of European heavy industry, rendered more keen by the lack of markets, is acutely felt. Large quantities of rails have, for instance, been imported into the United States during the past few weeks, one consignment of 10,000 tons, another of 5000. ("Times". 20. January 1925.) And this in spite of the high duties, the steel trust having raised prices considerably during the last few months: from 19.25 to 23.75 per ton.

During the autumn months the Labour Market appeared to improve to a not inconsiderable extent, but there is still widespread unemployment. An article published by the "Daily Herald" on 23. October stated that at that time there were no fewer than 5 million unemployed in the United States.

In October the "Daily Worker" reported that the number of unemployed in the mines had increased by 200,000 during the year, the number in industry itself by 1,500,000. The "New York Times" of 1. October reports that the manager of the New York municipal labour exchange declared the number of unemployed men and women in New York to be 300,000. "We have not experienced so great unemployment since the autumn of 1921."

<sup>1)</sup> Slight differences frequently occur in American statements, some sources employing the metrical ton = 1000 kgs, and others the "long" ton = 1016 kgs.

We see that what is a period of prosperity for the Exchange and the capitalists is a period of severe unemployment for the workers. The situation has improved since then, but there must still be 2 to 3 million unemployed in the United States.

### Foreign Trade.

Foreign trade has developed along unique lines: in the month of July, at the lowest point of the crisis, exports were also at their worst, whilst imports already showed a tendency to increase; this was the only month in the year with a surplus of imports. After this the value of the exports rose rapidly, obviously as result of the high prices for agricultural products. The following gives a survey of foreign trade<sup>2)</sup>:

	Import Million dollars	Export Million dollars	Import surplus	Export surplus
July 1924 . . . . .	278,6	276,6	2,0	—
August 1924 . . . . .	254,5	330,7	—	76,2
September 1924 . . . . .	287,1	427,6	—	140,5
October 1924 . . . . .	310,0	527,0	—	217,0
November 1924 . . . . .	296,0	494,0	—	198,0
December 1924 . . . . .	334,0	443,0	—	109,0

The favourable trade balance for the whole of 1924 was just on one milliard dollars, which is a very considerable amount.

The import of gold has therefore continued, in spite of the credits granted on such a magnificent scale. During the first ten months the net import amounted to 274 million dollars<sup>3)</sup> as compared with 223 millions in the like period of 1923. No official data have as yet been published for the last two months. In November the excess import amounted to 10 million dollars. In December large sums were exported, especially to Germany (Dawes loan), and in this month the net export of gold was considerable, being estimated at 34 million dollars<sup>4)</sup>. The net gold import for the whole year is estimated at 300 million dollars.

The American Finance Ministry issued the following statement with regard to the gold reserve ("Berliner Börsen Courier". 26. October 1924):

"According to a statement on the gold movement published by the Treasury (data up to 1. October), the total reserves of gold coins and bullion, exclusive of the bullion and foreign gold coins not deposited in the safes of the Treasury, of the Federal Reserve Banks and of the federal reserve agents, amounted to 4548 million dollars as compared with 4135 million dollars at the same time last year. On the 1. September the corresponding figure was stated to be 4531 million dollars. During one month, from 1. September to 1. October, 15 million dollars have again flowed into the country. Of the amounts calculated to be in the country on 1. October, 3828 million dollars were in the hands of the Treasury. The remaining 720 million dollars were in part deposited in the banks and in part in circulation, 292 million dollars being in the banks, and 428 million dollars in circulation.

The higher officials of the Treasury estimate the world's supply of gold coins and gold bullion at something more than 9 milliard dollars. Of this about one half is in the United States."

Since the system of carrying out money transactions without actual cash payments has so widely developed, this enormous reserve of gold is superfluous for the United States. The Federal Reserve Banks have no opportunity to rediscount bills, the various banks having enough available cash to render them independent of passing on bills of exchange. The Federal Banks are obliged to invest their money in State securities, in order to earn any interest whatever. In November the total sum of rediscounted bills did not amount to more than 234 million dollars. The notes in circulation per head of the population amount in value, in round figures, to 42,8 as compared with 34,4 in 1914. This denotes a considerable falling off when the 50% rise in prices is taken into consideration. The Federal Reserve Banks are in a difficult position; they are supposed to prevent an inflation, but

<sup>2)</sup> Last month, provisional figures.

<sup>3)</sup> "Federal Reserve Bulletin". December. p. 983.

<sup>4)</sup> Bulletin issued by the National City Bank. January 1925.



are being automatically deprived of activity, since nobody is dependent on their money.

Little has changed during the period covered by this report, as regards economic policy. The farmers' question has become less acute owing to the continued rapid rise in the price of grain (2.22 dollars were paid for a bushel of wheat on 21. January in New York), although the greater part of the profits obtained on this rise is naturally pocketed by the speculators, and benefits the farmer only to a small extent. The victory of the Republicans, that is, of trustified big capital, means that American economic policy continues to develop along the old lines:

**High protective tariffs for all industrial goods**, in order to reserve home markets entirely for American industry.

**Extensive investment of capital abroad**, involving a continually increasing amount of political interference in the affairs of the whole world. The wealth of the United States is employed to kill European competition by the granting of extensive credits.

**An increasing antagonism between the United States and the other two great imperialist powers: England and Japan!** (Despite protestations of friendship for England.) Here the United States look to the English settlement colonies: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which are also antagonistic to Japan. The impending recognition of the Soviet Union signifies nothing more nor less than the wish to participate in the economic possibilities of the vast Soviet Union.

With regard to further developments, there are many indications that the economic situation is more likely to worsen than to continue to improve. The "Journal of Commerce" of 6. December 1924 states in a remarkable article that the increased activity in various branches of industry is based more on the hope of future demand than upon actual sales to final consumers, and that with all the talk about approaching prosperity there is no improvement, for example, in many branches of the Textile Industry.

Great excitement was created by the decline in building plans in November. The sums involved in proposed new buildings in New York only amounted to 41 million dollars in November, as compared with 78 million in November 1923.

The Federal Reserve Board further reports for December ("The Times" 30. December 1924) that enormous supplies of stock are accumulating with the retail dealers, the accumulation being greater than it has been for four years!

All this goes to show that the present prosperity in the United States is not based on any firm foundation.

Under these circumstances, Hoover's extremely optimistic New Year's speech is scarcely justified. He referred in particular to the stability of prices at a point about 50% above pre-war prices, costs of living stable at 172%, and working wages 100% higher than before the war. A higher standard of living has been attained, the general use of motor cars enables the population to live in the villages and work in the towns, etc. ("Times". 1. January 1925.)

## E. C. C. I.

### The Agenda of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I.

#### Preparatory Sitting of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

On the 14th of March there took place in the Kremlin in Moscow, under the chairmanship of comrade Zinoviev, a sitting of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to make the final preparations for the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Delegations from 25 sections of the C. I. from the various countries have already arrived; further delegations are on their way to Moscow. The opening of the Enlarged Plenum has been fixed for the 20th March in order to be able to prepare thoroughly all the items of the agenda and to render the session more fruitful.

The agenda for the Enlarged Plenum has been fixed as follows:

1. Report of Comrade Zinoviev on the next tasks of the Comintern for bolshevizing the Parties. (Supplementary reports will be given by a comrade from each of the following sections: the German, French, Italian, Czechish section, as well as by a comrade representing the Youth.)

2. The fight for the unity of the trade union movement. (Report by comrade Lozovsky, further reporters as for No. 1 and a Polish comrade.)

3. The Peasant Question,  
a) theoretical analysis of the peasant question in the various countries. (Speaker *Bucharin*);

b) the relations of the Communist Parties to the peasant movements in the various countries.

4. Report on the discussion in the C. P. of Russia.

5. Informatory report on the Lenin Institute and the Marx Engels Institute.

Commissions have been set up for the purpose of clearing the situation in various national sections — as in the Czechish, Yugoslavian, and American sections.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The German Railway Workers Strike.

By A. Enderle (Berlin).

Railway Workers' Strike! Once again these words are terrifying all the bourgeois who are so eagerly longing for "law and order" in Germany which will assure them their profits. It is true that as yet only a relatively small group of railway workers have struck work, in the first place the workers at the goods' stations in Berlin, and in all Saxony (about 11,000), and at a few railway stations in Halle and in Silesia. But a general strike of the 430,000 railway workers in Germany can break out at any moment; it is unanimously demanded by all railway workers, regardless of political tendency.

What is the reason for this strike? The main demands of the railway workers are: restoration of the eight hour day, abolition of the new regulations regarding working hours, no further cutting down of the staff, increase of wages and salaries from 25 to 40%, abolition of piece work, increase of pensions etc.

The railway workers have always been paid very badly. They suffered more than any other category of workers during the period of inflation. At the same time they were always the first victims of the various attempts at «santitation» on the part of the bourgeois Ebert Republic.

Nevertheless, the railway workers had hoped that with the final stabilising of the Mark (December 1923 — January 1924) their lot would at least become bearable. The exact contrary has been the case. The first action which the former Marx government carried out on the strength of the Emergency Powers' Act was the "stabilising" of the wages and salaries of the railwaymen at two thirds of the nominal pre-war wage and the announcement and the ruthless carrying out within a few months, of the dismissal of over 300,000 railway workers. For those workers who were retained the hours were prolonged to 9, 10 and even up to 12, 14 and 16 per day. A terrible speeding-up system was introduced. For booking clerks, ticket collectors etc., who according to the constitution were assured of employment for life, the dismissals meant a flagrant breach of the constitution.

The railwaymen, who were bound hand and foot by the Emergency Powers' Act, the military dictatorship and the State of siege and intimidated by the mass discharges, were not in a position to offer resistance to these brutal measures. As the railway workers who were still in work simply could not live on the starvation wages, the government was compelled to do something, however trifling, to remedy the tremendous disparity between cost of food and wages. But the government created great bitterness when it made use of this occasion to increase the remuneration of the workers and lower officials by a mere 17% while the higher officials received an increase of 71%.

Since then there has prevailed a growing unrest among the lower railway officials and workers. There followed the Dawes Plan. This plan of international capital is mainly based upon the handing over of the State railways to private capital, the dictatorial management of the railways by a few Dawes agents and the ruthless exploitation of the railway workers.

Immediately after the taking over of the railways by the administrative council provided by the Dawes Plan, the latter issued fresh regulations according to which all officials were deprived of all their privileges as state employees, reduced to

the level of private employees and threatened with fresh wholesale dismissals. The railwaymen's unions, with the exception of the small revolutionary Free Railwaymen's Union, passively accepted all these discharges and sought to divert indignation by submitting new wage demands. But the Railway Administration systematically delayed all wage negotiations, until finally, on the 1st of February, the railway workers' unions, under the pressure of the masses, were compelled to give notice that from the 1st of March they would no longer recognise the paragraphs in the tariff agreements regarding wages and working time. It was not until the 5th of March that negotiations took place. But they were further postponed till the 7th of March, and at these negotiations the management declared that they were not in a position to grant a penny increase in wages. As regards working hours they absolutely refused to consider the matter.

This answer constituted the last straw. The more so as in the meantime it had become known that the railways had not only made a big financial surplus, but that they had also paid out enormous sums as bonuses to the highest and the most "loyal" officials. For example, the directors, who apart from this draw enormous salaries of 60,000 marks a year, received up to 12,000 marks a quarter from this corruption fund. If one compares this with the salaries of the lower officials, which are as follows: Group I. from 75,50 Mk. up to 109,— Mk. per month, Group II. from 82,— Mk. up to 119,50 Mk. per month, Group III. from 90,— Mk. up to 129,50 Mk. per month, Group IV. from 103,50 Mk. up to 147,50 Mk. per month, and when one remembers that an adult, unskilled railway worker in Berlin receives only 21 to 24 Marks a week, and a highly skilled mechanic at the very most only 40 Marks a week, one can imagine the indignation of the railway workers. The general strike would have been without doubt the immediate reply to the blunt refusal at the last negotiations, if the trade unions had not done everything in order to prevent a general strike. The D.E.V. (the social democratic railway workers' union) preferred to adopt its old treacherous tactics. It caused the workers of the goods stations in Saxony and Berlin to enter the strike in order to "support their negotiations", while it endeavoured with all possible means to prevent the extension of the strike. The D.E.V. executive officially declared, that the strike had not been sanctioned by them, but they had instructed the local officials to support the strike and to take part in its leadership in order to prevent it from coming under the leadership of the communists."

That is very clear and is perfectly consistent with the attitude of the D.E.V. at the negotiations with the railway management. There it was too cowardly even to mention the demands put forward by the railway workers at all meetings for the immediate introduction of the eight hour day for all railway workers and for wage increases of 25 to 40%. After the rejection of any increase of wages and the refusal to discuss the question of hours on the part of the management, the D.E.V. executive made the miserable proposal of an increase of 3 Pfennigs (a little over a farthing!) in wages and the setting up of a commission to investigate the question of working hours. The latter means the flat surrender of the eight hour day, while the suggestion of a wage increase of 3 Pfennigs is a direct insult to the railways workers.

It is over these pitiable demands that the D.E.V. now wishes to take up a sham fight along the whole line. But the whole of the railway workers are furiously indignant and it is possible that the movement will prove too big for the reformists. Even the railway officials have everywhere decided on a solidarity strike in the event of the workers going on strike.

It is impossible to predict at the present moment whether we shall witness a general railway strike. The mood of the railway men is entirely in favour of it; nevertheless the railwaymen's leaders, who are all members of the Dawes parties, will do everything to prevent a general strike. In view of the Dawes Plan the greatest international political importance attaches to this railway workers' strike, which far exceeds the political importance of the strike of 1922. For, according to the Dawes Plan, the German railways are to yield a yearly surplus of 1 milliard and 70 million Marks. A strike, even if it were only to last a short time, would wreck the whole plan and would constitute the most effective attack upon the Dawes Plan in general. From this it can be seen that not only German capital, the German Luther government and the German Dawes Parties, including the social democrats, but the whole international capital will feel themselves threatened by the strike

of the railway workers and will bring all their enormous forces into the field against it. This is reason enough why the whole proletariat, not only in Germany but in the whole world, should support the struggle of the German workers with all their means. A victory of the German railway workers would mean a severe defeat of international capital.

## The Importance of the Textile Workers Strike in Shanghai.

By Tang Shin She.

Shanghai is not only an important harbour town but also a great industrial centre, especially of the textile industry. In this town alone there are 58 cotton factories with nearly 2,000,000 spindles, in which 113,000 working men and women are employed. In the whole of Shanghai there are over 500,000 proletarians. Although this town contains such a great number of workers and although throughout the whole of China in the last years great strikes have broken out — strikes directed against native militarism and foreign imperialism, bloody strikes where many workers have been killed — Shanghai apart from a few small strikes, has remained relatively peaceful. In Shanghai there are numerous yellow trade unions for the proletariat in which any communist propaganda is out of the question. This has greatly pleased the labour office in Geneva, which last year sent a representative, Pierre Herri, to Shanghai in order to view the great progress made in China.

Why are the Shanghai workers so badly off? Because Shanghai is an international town and because the administration lies in the hands of the imperialists. The modern industrial works are for the greater part in the hands of foreigners, chiefly Japanese and English. These brought with them great experiences from their own countries and handled the young Chinese working class according to their cleverest methods. In addition to this there are in Shanghai numerous vagabonds, who are organised in secret organisations and who are connected with the foreign police and spies. Such vagabond organisations are nothing else but white guards of the imperialists; they constitute a direct tool of the capitalists for suppressing the working class. They have already on several occasions appeared in Shanghai as strike breakers, or sowed dissension among the strikers, so that the strike collapsed, or on the order of the police they brutally attacked the strikers. Thus it happened that the strike of the 4000 workers of the South Ocean Tobacco factory in October last year was throttled and 200 workers were discharged who are still without employment.

Now a huge strike has begun in Shanghai in the Japanese undertakings. It is worth noting that the strike leadership is in the hands of our communists. The strike began already on the 9th of February and grew every day. According to the latest reports — End of February — 22 factories, all Japanese, with 404,000 workers are involved in the strike. The rest of the workers of Shanghai and the workers of many other towns are sympathising with the strikers and arranging collections for them. The international working class is also practising solidarity. Thus the Red International of Labour Unions sent 30,000 Roubles to the Strike Committee. The origin of the strike was the dismissal without notice of numerous workers. On the 11th of February the strikers put forward the following demands:

1. Re-instatement of the discharged workers.
2. Liberation of the workers arrested by the English police (up to the 11th of February 40 strike leaders had already been arrested.)
3. Abolition of corporal punishment and other means of torture.
4. Reduction of work time to eight hours a day.
5. Increase of wages.

The employers rejected the demands and caused further numerous strike leaders to be arrested. Two workers were shot by the police.

This strike is playing a great role in the policy of Japan towards China. The Japanese Embassy in Peking on the 19th February despatched the following note to the Peking government:

"The Chinese government must immediately arrest those who are behind the strike, otherwise great unrest could finally break out."

On the same day, 19th February, the Japanese Foreign Minister declared in the Upper House:

"All foreign powers must meet in Shanghai in order to put an end to this strike. The Chinese government must also take drastic measures against the strikers."

The press in Japan is strongly denouncing the strike.

We therefore see that the imperialists are apprehensive as to how the thing will end. No means is too sharp for them to proceed against the workers. We communists however have a great victory to record. We have now succeeded in achieving in Shanghai what up to now has been impossible, i. e. to get into close touch with the working masses.

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### Unity without Victors or Vanquished.

Speech of Edo Fimmen.

Some days ago Edo Fimmen delivered a great speech at a workers' meeting in Leeuwarden, from which we give below the most important passages.

Ed.

In all countries the workers are exposed to the most brutal reaction: white terror in the Balkans, in Poland and in the Baltic countries, military dictatorship in Hungary and in Spain, fascism in Italy.

Is the fate of the workers under "democracy" any better?

In Germany in 1918 there was welcomed the dawn of a new era. To-day, however, the working class has fewer rights under the Republic than under the Kaiser. The regime which prevails to-day is the most pitiless that history has ever known. The nationalists have nothing to fear, but the workers are skinned and 7000 to 8000 of them are languishing in prison.

England has had a Labour government. It is now under the rule of the Conservatives, who are preparing to deliver a severe blow to the trade unions.

There is a lot of talk about "nationalising production". But in spite of the fact that there are factory councils in Germany and Austria, the workers have less say in the matter than before the war.

Wages rose during the war. Since then they have only been reduced. The cost of living is not falling to the same extent. After wages, the eight hour day is being attacked. Bit by bit everything is being taken away from the working class.

I shall be accused of pessimism. But it is a long time since I sounded the tocsin and demanded that trade union activity should adopt a new course. I challenge anybody to prove that I painted things too black. We must see the practical results of the situation. There are leaders who wish to return to the old pre-war tactics, to the policy of letting things drift.

After the war, connections were finally re-established in the International Trade Union Federation. At the Washington Congress one witnessed to a certain extent a new spirit. At no time previously had the International Trade Union Federation dealt with political questions. This time protest was made against the blockade against Soviet Russia by the Entente. But in spite of everything collaboration with the bourgeoisie was continued. If one wishes to fight effectively against war, one must ruthlessly break with the bourgeoisie. No compromise with capitalism!

Things would undoubtedly have made better progress if we had not gone to Washington in order to deal with the German reparations. What does it matter to us from whom the Entente takes money, if it only does not take it from the pockets of the workers. At this Congress we were an instrument in the hands of capitalism. The proletariat will not emancipate itself so long we get our orders from government offices.

When the International Federation of Trade Unions had the opportunity of making a powerful protest against the occupation of the Ruhr, several delegates refused to do this. There is no doubt this was because it would have displeased their governments. I believe that the working class is farther from its goal than it was before the war. All "socialist" governments, in

Germany in England, in Belgium etc., may they be entirely, three quarters or half socialist, are nothing else than screens behind which capitalism exploits the working class.

Whether the Ministers are Socialists or Conservative is a matter of indifference to the capitalists, if they only continue to receive their coupons and retain possession of the factories. So long as there is any dirty work to be done they gladly make use of Social Democracy; when however the job has been finished, they give it the kick-out. I repeat once more: we are weaker than before the war.

If the proletariat is at present an easy object of exploitation, the reason for this is the splitting of the ranks of the workers. Both sides reproach each other with betrayal. We have lost sight of our class interests, of the irreconcilable fight against capitalism. Our movement experienced how much weaker its real social action has become. Then there took place the founding of the Red International of Labour Unions in Moscow. Since then there has developed a real fight between two proletarian groups. In all countries one group has sided with Amsterdam, another group has turned to Moscow. Thus we have helped the capitalists who acquired greater freedom to exploit the workers.

Already before the war capitalism was internationally united. And it remained so during the great slaughter.

Where however is our unity? We have not even yet built the bridge which will unite us, but we must do so. It seems as if our hate is greater against those workers who are not of the same political opinion as us than it is against our common exploiters. And this situation will become even worse if we do not find the way to greater unity on a national and an international scale.

In various countries two groups of workers of equal importance confront each other. This leads to the weakening of the one as much as of the other.

For the workers it is of enormous importance that unity be realised. The first attempt which was made at the time of the Conference at Berlin failed. The differences were still too great.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has now, after an exchange of letters, adopted a resolution of Steenhuis. It declares that we are ready to admit the Russians, if they express the desire to be admitted; then negotiations will be entered into. Personally I was against this: negotiations should be entered into first in order then to determine our attitude.

In my opinion, in the struggle between Amsterdam and Moscow there must be neither victors nor vanquished. There must no longer be any talk of Amsterdam or Moscow, but only of a united International which shall embrace all peoples and all countries, of a great trade union movement which must stand on the basis of irreconcilable class war.

In our ranks it is thought that the Russians did not play an open game. Of course the Russians place the revolutionary class struggle in the foreground, and I entirely agree with them. There is a lot of talk about Russia; but I who had the good sense to go to Russia in order to see things myself, am profoundly convinced that the Russians sincerely desire unity.

On this basis a way can be found for a new advance by the proletariat and for the victory over the exploiters. I am therefore not pessimistic. I firmly believe in the power of the oppressed proletariat.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### America and the Recognition of Soviet Russia.

Statement by the C. E. C. of the Workers (Communist) Party.

The resignation of Secretary of State Hughes has been followed by an official announcement that the Coolidge administration will open negotiations with Soviet Russia to determine the conditions on which a trade agreement and treaty will be made.

The United States is the only government of importance that has not yet recognized the government of the Russian workers and peasants. The United States is the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world and impending recognition of Soviet Russia by its strongest and most bitter antagonist has the greatest

significance for the American working class and the international revolutionary movement.

1. What are the reasons for this change of front by American imperialism?

2. What must the attitude of the American working class be towards the negotiations?

1a. Hughes, who carried over the Wilson policy of rabid hatred of the workers and peasants government into the Harding-Coolidge administrations, has suffered a political defeat at the hands of Senator Borah. Borah is the progressive fig-leaf of the Coolidge administration and his middle class following demands and forces recognition for itself. The Coolidge forces cannot afford to aliente this group which Borah leads.

1b. Russian trade has shown the falsity of the Hughes contention that it is of no consequence in the world markets. The utterly reactionary Southern cotton plantation owners are now competitors for the Russian markets. They alone are a powerful economic group and their need for markets is great, due to the dislocation of the American textile industry because of increasing Chinese and Indian competition.

1c. The success of Soviet diplomacy in China and the Far East, the acquisition of the Chinese railway by the Soviet government the powerful and increasing influence of Soviet Russia among the peoples of the orient.

1d. The Russo-Japanese treaty and the rights to the development of the oil, coal and iron on the lower half of Saghalian Island given Japan.

1e. The change in the policy of the Standard Oil interests from that of encouragement of counter-revolution to a policy of trade with Soviet Russia — a change forced by the successful military resistance of the Soviet Union, by the increasing rivalry between American and British oil interests and the necessity for buying additional oil reserves from the rich stores of the Baku region.

1f. The entry of the American capitalists into European affairs on a scale hitherto unknown — the Dawes plan, the huge loans to France, financial and economic penetration of the vassal states, etc.

1g. The absolute impasse reached in the question of allied debts to America — a question to which no answer can be framed until formal relations are established with Soviet Russia.

2. The Coolidge government will try to assume an aggressive rôle in the coming negotiations. It will lay down as conditions that the Czarist debts to America must be paid, it will try to insist on changes in the Soviet government, it will demand that Communist propaganda be prohibited.

It will try to save its face before the masses of the American workers to whom it has said a thousand times that it would recognize no government that warred on capitalism.

All the hoary lies of the counter-revolutionary blackguards will be resurrected, dusted off and used. It is not improbable that a new attack on the Workers Communist Party of America will be launched. Already the American capitalist press is trying to discredit Zinoviev and drive a wedge into the sections of the Communist International. American capitalism will try to deprive the Soviet government of all popular support in the United States while the negotiations are in progress.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America calls upon the workers of the United States to demand unconditional recognition of the workers and peasants government of Russia.

It calls upon the workers to hold mass meetings, demonstrations, and send strong messages to the president, congressmen and senators, demanding unconditional recognition for the first workers and farmers government in the world.

It calls upon the American workers to show by their words and actions that they see in Soviet Russia the greatest friend of the toiling millions in industry and agriculture, that no matter what the capitalist rulers of America may do, the American workers recognise Soviet Russia as the leader of the workers' struggle, the first fortress of the world revolution, a power for the working class and against their oppressors in every land.

**Workers (Communist) Party of America Central Executive Committee.**

**Wm. Z. Foster, Chairman.**

**C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.**

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Down with the White Terror in Indonesia!

To the Workers of all Countries.

Events are taking place in Indonesia to which it is necessary to draw the attention of the international proletariat.

After the brutal repression of the past year, news is pouring in concerning more punitive measures by the Dutch bourgeoisie against the national-revolutionary and communist movement in Indonesia. At the bidding of the Dutch colonisers the police have closed down the schools opened by the revolutionary nationalists for the workers and peasants. These private schools were opened because the Indonesian Government takes not the least interest in the education of the local population. The school teachers were subjected to various forms of persecution.

The indignant population organised protest meetings against the action of the colonial authorities. In the town of Randung alone, 50 meetings were held at the initiative of the Communist Party. At these meetings the native population gave vent to their feelings of hatred towards the ruling foreign capitalists. The police endeavoured to disperse these peaceful meetings and by the use of methods of provocation, at which they are such adepts, incited the more revolutionary elements of the general population and of the workers to sanguinary conflicts. As a result of this provocative action of the police, in the Western part of Java, 107 participators in these meetings were wounded and many were brutally beaten. Thirty people were wounded and several were killed in Central Java.

Communists are more relentlessly persecuted than any other section of the population. The Dutch colonisers apprehend, and justly so, that the greatest danger to them comes from this side.

They are therefore doing their utmost to weaken the young but rapidly growing Communist Party of Indonesia and to deprive it of their leaders. Communists are arrested by the hundred and are either sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, or deported in batches to the distant islands of Indonesia.

This recrudescence of repressive measures directed against the growth of the national revolutionary and communist movement in Indonesia, forms part of the general offensive of the imperialists in the East. The recent action of the big commercial bourgeoisie of Canton, which was subsidised by the imperialists, against the revolutionary government of Sum-Yat-Sen, the rising of the sheikh Heisal in South Persia and the counter-revolutionary rising against the Kemalist Government in Turkey which has not yet subsided — are parts of the general plan of covetous world imperialists in their big fight against the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. By its campaign of white terror in Indonesia, the little Dutch bourgeoisie is only following in the footsteps of its more important colleagues. It does not only defend its own profits and interests, but also the oil interests of the other imperialist powers.

But by increasing their pressure on the oppressed people of Indonesia and making the economic position of the masses even more unbearable than before, the foreign colonisers are driving the latter into the revolutionary struggle. The oppressed masses of Indonesia are boldly and heroically resisting the police, they offer energetic opposition to the arrest of speakers and refuse to be intimidated. The Dutch bourgeois press is making a hypocritical attempt to whitewash the Government and the governor general, by placing the entire blame on the police. This attempt is utterly futile. Not only the police or the governor general, but the Government as a whole and the entire Dutch bourgeoisie are responsible for the cruel terrorist colonial regime.

**Workers of all countries, turn your attention to the brutal oppression and persecution to which the revolutionary population of the Dutch Indies is subjected. Turn your attention to the true character of these Dutch capitalist robbers who pretend to be God-fearing democrats and pacifists.**

You workers of Holland, show your solidarity with the oppressed colonial slaves of Indonesia and their struggle against your common enemy — the Dutch Government and bourgeoisie. The Communist International welcomes the protest campaign

initiated by the Dutch Communist Party and urges that it be extended and intensified. We must rouse the workers of Holland to a supreme effort against this unheard-of colonial terrorism.

With the support of the workers of all countries the struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Indonesia against their exploiters is bound to be victorious in the end.

Long live the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples for their national liberation!

Down with white terror in Indonesia!

Eastern Bureau of The Comintern:

Katayama.

Roy.

Katz.

Brown.

## Polish Police kill two Workers with Poison Gas.

At the end of February there was murdered in Dombrowa in Poland, Kamenski, a police spy, who had managed to smuggle into the Communist Party. The police attempted to arrest two workers named Valczik and Piarski on suspicion of having committed the murder. The workers barricaded themselves in their house, offered resistance and opened fire. The fight lasted for several hours without result, although the attack was supported by a military division of the police. The police then had recourse to poison gas, as a result of which the workers, who were already wounded, were killed. This is the first instance in which poison gas has been employed on the front of the class war.

## WORKERS INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

### The Famine in Ireland and the Workers International Relief.

Ever since 1689, when William of Orange as a nominee of the allied English feudal lords and of the English bourgeoisie subjugated the Irish peasants, Ireland has been an exploitation colony for English capitalism. Every exploitation colony must become a starvation colony. Starvation is a conscious means employed by the exploiters in order to keep down the broad masses, and before all the revolutionary elements.

Since its subjugation Ireland has never ceased to be a centre of revolutionary upheavals and struggles. This is a further reason why the exploiting class never thinks of doing anything to relieve the chronic starvation. And thus even now prominent persons in the Church and in the State assert that the inhabitants of the western districts of Ireland — regarding whose sufferings resulting from the destruction of the potato and peat crop (the latter being their sole means of fuel) in consequence of unceasing rain, reports are appearing in the press — it is true are living in misery, but that their present condition differs very little from their normal standard of existence. Robert Stewart who has visited the famine area on behalf of the Workers International Relief, reports of this "normal standard" as follows:

"If that which I saw in West-Downegal, in Kilbar and Teelin (places which are neither better nor worse than hundreds of other villages) is the normal standard, or approximates to the normal standard, then a crime has been committed here which should cause every responsible body and every responsible man in Ireland to go in sack and ashes... I have been used to poverty ever since I can remember, and I have often seen it in all its nakedness with us at home and in other countries. I have experienced times of severe industrial crisis and worked on many relief committees. I have participated in long strikes and know the hungry days of unemployment, — but at no times did I see more miserable scenes, more hellish sufferings than in West-Downegal."

Another cause of the Irish famine is the ruin of the small fisheries in consequence of the operations of the big fishing syndicates.

Following the appeal of the Central Committee of the Workers International Relief, which was directed to the workers of all the big countries and which followed an appeal of the English Committee of the W.I.R., a national committee was formed in Ireland including Jim Larkin, John Lawlor, member of the Dublin Trades Council, Vincent S. Atkinson of the Irish Labour League, Robert Stewart (Communist Party) and Mrs. Skeffington.

Meetings have been arranged in the big industrial centres of England on behalf of the Irish Relief Work of the W.I.R. 350 Pounds, which have already been collected, have been distributed in the form of food and fuel. Collections have already been commenced in Holland. The United States have also promised assistance.

The gift of the Saxon district conference of the W.I.R. made a great impression upon the British workers, although this was very small as the industrial workers and the small peasants who contributed have very limited means. It was, however, the first proof of international solidarity which arrived in Dublin.

The German national committee and the Berlin Committee of the W.I.R. have sent 500 and 200 Marks respectively to the Irish W.I.R. committee as a proof of their solidarity.

May the workers in all countries follow these first examples of brotherly solidarity!

## INTERNATIONAL RED AID

### Appeal of the International Red Aid Regarding the Trial of Comrade Lancucki.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has sent the following telegram to the Central Committees of the I. R. A. of Germany, France and England:

"On the 16th of March there begins before the Court of the Polish big landowners the trial of comrade Lancucki. He is charged with high treason which is punishable by the death sentence. The whole accusation is based upon a speech in which comrade Lancucki called upon the striking railwaymen to hold out in their struggle.

Comrade Lancucki belongs to the proletariat, he is a railwayman and was for many years a member of the Polish Social Democratic party. The baseness and the treachery of the Polish Social Democratic Party during the Russo-Polish war induced him to join the Communist Party. As the only Communist member of the Polish Sejm he persistently maintained the fight for communist principles and inspired the working masses by his eloquence.

In the newly-elected Sejm he, along with Krulikovsky, continued to carry on the revolutionary struggle — in spite of all the persecutions and hindrances and although he was continually followed by police spies. After the four Ukrainian members of the Sejm had joined the Communist fraction the bourgeoisie commenced their persecutions. Against Krulikovsky there was brought a monstrous, false accusation of indecent assault.

The workers of Poland protested in great mass demonstrations in Warsaw, Dombrowa, Lodz, Drohobycz and Bialostock against the persecutions. This prevented the arrest of further members of the Sejm, but did not prevent the court proceedings against Lancucki, who truly merited the love and veneration of the working and peasant masses, as he had proclaimed the truth in the revolutionary fight.

The working class of all countries must raise its voice for the liberation of Lancucki!

Down with the farce of the bourgeois trial instigated against working class members of parliament!"



## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Results of the Frankfort Session of the Executive of the International Co-Operative Alliance.

By L. M. Chintchuk (Moscow).

The meetings of the Executive of the International Co-operative Alliance which usually take place once in three months, have hitherto passed unnoticed. Recently, however, the character of these sessions has undergone a radical alteration. The rôle which the Soviet co-operatives are beginning to play in the international co-operative movement, the strengthening of the position of the communist co-operators in the movement in Germany, Czechoslovakia and also in England, have shaken the representatives of the West-European co-operatives out of the usual rut.

The co-operative press instigated a furious campaign against the Centrozoyus and demanded the expulsion of the Centrozoyus and other Soviet co-operative organisations from the alliance. In this atmosphere there was opened the recent session of the Executive of the I. C. A. in Frankfort-on-Main.

With regard to the question of the future relations of the Alliance to the Amsterdam Trade Union International it was decided, in spite of the fact that the majority of the members of the Executive were in favour of postponing the question for an indefinite time, that the resolution of the Ghent Congress, which called for the establishment of connections with both Internationals, i. e. the Amsterdam and the Moscow Trade Union Internationals, should be communicated to both these Trade Union Internationals.

As regards the future activity of the alliance, I had brought forward a motion to form a joint committee with the trade union organisations, which should take up the struggle against high prices and for promoting international peace upon the basis of the resolution which was submitted by our Soviet delegation at the Hague Peace Conference. No decision was taken on this motion and it was postponed to the next session of the Executive.

My attitude to the question of participation in the Economic Council of the League of Nations led to a very lively exchange of opinions. The Alliance has for a long time sought to enter into closer connection with the League of Nations. I maintained that the establishment of closer relations with the League of Nations is futile, because this does not interest the masses of the workers. After a long discussion the Executive decided not to participate in the organisation of the Economic Council of the League of Nations.

The question of sending a delegation to investigate the position of the Italian co-operative movement also led to a long discussion. Mussolini had sent a representative to the Ghent Congress, who proposed that the Alliance should send a delegation to Italy which should be able to convince itself on the spot of the incorrectness of the reports as to the destruction of co-operatives by the fascists. When, however, it was decided to send the delegation, Mussolini graciously granted permission to it to remain in Italy only for four weeks and only to visit four towns; Rome, Turin, Milan and Palermo. I urged that a delegation should be sent, and only demanded that it should include a representative of the Soviet co-operatives. It was, however, decided for the time being to give up the idea of sending a delegation and merely to send questionnaires to the co-operatives in Italy.

The next question was that of the attitude of the Alliance towards the attacks of the co-operative section of the Comintern. An article published in the official organ of the co-operative section, which appears in Berlin, and which contained a sharp criticism of the Alliance, was used as a pretext for submitting a motion for the expulsion of the Centrozoyus from the Alliance. The chairman put forward the proposal to reject all the submitted motions and, if need be, to raise this question again at the next sitting of the Executive. The proposal of the presidium was adopted.

When dealing with the financial situation of the Executive the representative of Germany declared that the co-operative centres of the Ukraine, Georgia and Aserbeidjan had no right to send a representative to the Central Committee, as the Union of Soviet Republics in reality constituted one country. When I had made clear the real relations which exist between the National Republics and the Union of Soviet Republics, a resolution was

adopted instructing me to submit a memorandum regarding this question at the next session of the Executive. It must be mentioned, that according to the statutes of the Alliance the Soviet Republics cannot be deprived of their representation on the Central Committee. These representatives are elected by the Congress and only the Congress possesses the right to recall them from the Central Committee.

Some members of the Executive, it appears, have returned home disappointed from the session. They did not succeed in creating a split in the Alliance as they had intended. They also failed to postpone the question of the relations with the two International Trade Union Centres. But in spite of the fact that the efforts of the Germans and the French were not crowned with success this time, we must still remain on the alert, for our opponents will certainly not be satisfied with the decisions which have been adopted.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Zinoviev: "The War and the Crisis of Socialism" \*).

By Eugen Paul (Reichenberg).

Although the above work by Comrade Zinoviev has not yet been published in English we think the following review of an edition which has recently appeared in German will be of interest to our readers. Under the heading of "Book Reviews" we shall from time to time give reviews and notices of books published by the Continental Parties and possessing an international interest. Ed.

In this work, certainly one of the most important publications of its kind in the post-war period, comrade Zinoviev reveals the international mechanism of our imperialist era. War, unavoidable eternal war, as a phenomenon of the capitalist collapse, and the deadly crisis of social democracy, entering on an acute stage as a direct result of the war problems, as the expression of the rapid revolutionising of the world proletariat approaching its historical tasks — these are actually the characteristics of our epoch. They are the certain and recognisable signs that this capitalist order is approaching its end. Regarded from a Marxian view point, the war and the crisis of socialism are not things in themselves, but phenomena of a changing historical process affecting all spheres of social life, and from this follows naturally that the war and the crisis of socialism are not the only things dealt with in this book. This is only, as Zinoviev says in his foreword to the first edition, the "general title". In reality this book is an historical-materialist representation not only of the war and the crisis of socialism, but of the capitalist-imperialist development in the last decade, a Marxian analysis of the powerful mechanism which produced the last imperialist war, this instrument of self-destruction, this bloody monster which is gradually devouring not only capitalism but also its most valuable defence troop, the social democracy.

This book is divided into two sections. Zinoviev himself characterises the first in his foreword as having a "chiefly historical significance". After a short introduction he deals immediately with the distinction between national and imperialist wars, both of which possess a different social and historical character, and which must be valued differently from the standpoint of historical progress. A clear example of the nature of national war is provided by the wars which the victorious French Revolution had to carry on with the absolutist powers of Europe. "In order that the victory of the French Revolution should be complete it was necessary to drag down absolutism outside of France also..." Either the bourgeois republic set up by revolutionary means would be introduced into the other states, or it would break down in France. This dilemma was not only the cause of the revolutionary struggles of the French, but it stamped them as a national affair, as a national war. In the victory of the French Revolution, through which the bourgeoisie achieved power, the efforts to form an independent national state

\* „Der Krieg und die Krise des Sozialismus“, by Gregory Zinoviev. Verlag für Literatur und Politik, Vienna.

found their expression. The state which capitalism needs for its successful development. And the special needs of the capitalist method of production lead to efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie not only to establish a simple national state, but a national great state.

Comrade Zinoviev then occupies himself with the national wars and national revolutions which upon the whole fill the period from 1789 to 1871. "Each great change, each European revolution, each great war in this period inevitably raises national questions and causes national movements..." The national unity of Italy and of Germany were characteristic examples of national revolutions and national wars. In both cases, let the methods and the course be as fundamentally different as they may, the same line of historical development was followed because they both aimed at creating the preliminary conditions for the historically due rise of capitalism. In order to bring about the national unity of Italy, which equally meant its liberation from all foreign yoke, it was not sufficient to smash only the actual oppressor — Austria, but amongst others, Napoleon had also to be beaten.

The national unity of Germany pursued a different course from that in Italy where "a revolution from below upwards played a great rôle". Germany was extremely split up, "even in 1806, 67 different custom tariffs existed". The powerful advancing capitalism set the territorial unity of Germany as its urgent aim. It was necessary to dispose of the numerous kings and princes either through a revolution (as in Italy) or through a war. As under the existing circumstances, a revolution could not be thought of, so only war was considered as a means of unity, and actually war had to decide whether the unity should come about under the leadership of Prussia or Austria. The wars came: in 1864 against Denmark for Schleswig-Holstein, in 1866 against Austria which was beaten and forced to leave the German alliance, and in 1870—71 against France from which Alsace-Lorraine was robbed. In a historical sense all these wars were progressive wars.

Zinoviev then draws a parallel between the German social democracy in 1871 and to-day (Zinoviev wrote this book in the years 1915—17). He describes the patriotism of the "imperial Prussian social democracy" with Schweitzer at the head and sets Bebel, Liebknecht and the other Eisenachers up against them. These latter, despite the fact that they clearly recognised the historical significance of the national unity of Germany, never drew the conclusion from that they should place themselves at the disposal of Bismarck, as Schweitzer and his colleagues did on their part. Bebel and Liebknecht have shown us how socialists have to act when their "Fatherland" carries on war.

Zinoviev deals in particular with the attitude of Marx and Engels regarding the various national wars. The distortion of the real opinions of Marx and Engels upon this field were and are well known and they form the chief political source for the reformists of all shades.

Zinoviev clearly characterises the attitude of Marx and Engels in 1848 towards the various slavic peoples, then their standpoint in the Crimean war (1854—56) and in the Austro-Franco-Italian war (1859). Marx and Engels remained, no matter what was the matter in question, always internationalists who judged war from the point of view of historical progress and its effect upon the general revolutionary development. Despite this, the Scheidemanns used and still use these letters of Marx and Engels to justify their social-patriotic standpoint in 1914 and later. Marx and Engels judged the Franco-Prussian war of 1870—71 from the higher level of the international revolutionary also, and despite the fact that in the beginning and in consequence of the deceiving manoeuvres of Bismarck they considered Napoleon III to be the aggressor, their really socialist and revolutionary view point preserved them from falling into a line with Bismarck. The appeals of the International Workingmen's Association in relation to this war are brilliant documents to show what sort of an attitude real socialists must take to war, without consideration of their "own" Fatherland or of the "enemy".

After a short description of the standpoint of Marx in the Irish question Zinoviev proceeds to draw the general conclusions from the "attitude of Marxism to the national question" and then goes on to an explanation of the difference between defensive and aggressive wars. This distinction, which was proper during the epoch of national wars, has been incorrectly applied to the wars of the imperialist epoch and is the source of the gravest mistakes, mistakes to which even such splendid

pioneers of socialism like Bebel and Liebknecht, fell victims. Zinoviev quotes the Italian war of 1859 as an example of a defensive war in the historical but not in the diplomatic sense, and then the Franco-German war 1870—71 as an example of a defensive war from the historical and an aggressive war from the diplomatic standpoint, and finally the war of 1877—78 as the transition to a new epoch, to the epoch of imperialist war, in which wars are carried on "by a number of legal thieves and robbers over the division of the wealth (and lives) of third persons". Zinoviev reviews the whole gamut of imperialist wars and conflicts and shows clearly, upon the basis of a rich supply of facts, the real motives of these wars.

The second part of this work deals specially with imperialism and the Second International. First comes an extensive and thorough treatment of the nature of imperialism which is elucidated from all angles. A great number of quotations are given from the various representatives of political economy and world politics and striking commentaries are made upon them, the Marxist (Leninist) definitions being set side by side with them. Then the "division of the world" is discussed. This chapter is a short summary and review supported by extensive material of the history of the colonial policy of the imperialist powers. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente are then subjected to a thorough historical examination and the imperialist roots of these groupings are shown. Bismarck made efforts to live in peace with Russia. His efforts were brought to nothing by the Austro-Russian antagonisms on the one hand and the Franco-German antagonisms on the other. A few years after the war of 1870—71 Germany was by no means unwilling to make a new attack upon France which was rapidly recovering. It did not dare to do so however on account of the jealousy of Russia to which a too-strong Germany could be dangerous. In the Balkans the Russian and Austrian policy opposed each other in a hostile manner (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

When in 1879 the Austro-German alliance was founded it laid the basis for the Triple Alliance to come later. Just as the Austro-German Alliance arose from imperialist motives so later the Triple Alliance formed upon the entry of Italy in 1882, was also founded as a result of imperialist considerations. England which had promised Tunis to the Italians, promised it also to the French who actually received it as compensation for their agreeing to the seizure of Cyprus by the English in 1878. Italy which had been so grievously disappointed in its expectations, shortly after plunged into the Triple Alliance. It is well known that Italy turned its back upon the Triple Alliance during the world war from purely imperialist motives and for the same motives joined the Triple Entente. The dependence of Italy upon England, the wish to annex Istria and certain parts of Albania, Dalmatia, Asia Minor and Africa were decisive for Italy's change of front. As is known, the Triple Entente arose from the alliance of the French and Russians. This alliance was caused by the Franco-German antagonism on the one hand and the Franco-English antagonism on the other and these antagonisms drove France into the arms of Russia. For France the alliance with Russia was from the very beginning directed against Germany.

In the year 1890 the Anglo-German agreement arose from the Anglo-French antagonism. By this agreement England wished to draw Germany, at that time yet harmless, over to her side. Gradually, this agreement produced a certain tension between Germany and Russia and a still closer relation of France and Russia. England joined the Franco-Russian alliance as the third party only later when the weakening of France (through the successful policy of England in the question of the Suez Canal and in Egypt etc.) and the weakening of Russia (Russo-Japanese War) had created the preliminary conditions for the hegemony of England in the Triple Entente. What is the characteristic feature of this system of alliances? Zinoviev presents this in the following way: "Who offers the most? That is the chief principle of the whole policy of the imperialist governments. Both the formation of these alliances and their destruction take place in the name of imperialism. To-day this combination is favourable, to-morrow that. This is exactly the characteristic feature of imperialism".

Zinoviev then describes the situation of England and Germany before the war and their development. He shows us clearly by quotations from the various leading statesmen and economists that the Anglo-German antagonism arose from the economic needs of these two great powers, how it became continually more acute until finally the resort to war as the last means was unavoidable. By an interesting historical analysis of the Turkish

question, which was one of the chief points of contention between England and Germany, and the imperialist world problems in connection with it, Zinoviev affords us a view into the powerful interconnection of the international relations of the capitalist powers, and makes it possible for the reader to recognise the urgent necessity which led to war.

One of the most valuable chapters of the book is entitled: "Imperialism and National Economy". It is a real source of information for everyone who wishes to study the economic basis of imperialism. The questions of national wealth and income, the export of capital, the railways, the mercantile marine, heavy industry, foreign and world markets, the rôle of the colonies in foreign trade, the relation of economy and war etc., are elucidated here with extensive and clear statistics.

The next chapter is: "Internationalism and the German Social Democracy from the Nineties to the present time." In this chapter Zinoviev gives us a slice of the history of the German social democracy viewed from the point of view of the war problems. As is known, the treachery of the German social democracy in the world war is based upon the distortions of the opinions of Marx and Engels and upon the opinions of Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel who upheld the difference between aggressive and defensive wars to the end of their lives. However, that the attitude of Bebel and Liebknecht during the Franco-Prussian war, despite this error, was an absolutely different one from that of the Scheidemanns in the world war, this fact the latter are not prepared to admit. Zinoviev now gives a description of the whole struggle between the ever growing reformist wing and the Marxist wing of the German social democracy. It sounds to us like a legend of olden times when we read in a speech of Kautsky: "We must not allow ourselves to act from the point of view that a war is an aggressive or defensive war, but from the point of view: is a democratic or proletarian interest in danger..." And Kautsky delivered this speech to the party conference in Essen in 1907! The result of the Jena and Chemnitz party conferences already showed that the development to the August of 1914 could not be prevented.

The development in France, where the chief tendencies were embodied in Jaurès, Sembart and Guesdes, adopted an essentially similar direction.

Comrade Zinoviev then proceeds to examine the **social roots of opportunism**. He finds them in the hangers-on and in the labour aristocracy. On the basis of extremely interesting statistical material he shows the growing influence of the hangers-on in the German Social Democratic Party which, under the effect of this influence, gradually became a petty bourgeois social reformist party and even eliminated the word "worker" from its name. It even went so far that in 1911, on the occasion of the Morocco conflict, Molkenbuhr proposed that "no alarm should be sounded" because the national elections were about to take place in Germany and a discussion of the Morocco question might influence the election results of the social democrats. Zinoviev submits the influence of the labour bureaucracy upon the growth of opportunism inside the social democratic movement to the same careful examination. Upon the basis of authentic statistical material Zinoviev shows that in 1914 the number of party and trade union officials was over 4000, who, as most of them held several offices at the same time, were active in at least 12,000 important party and trade union posts. "In this way the power in the party and in the trade unions accumulates in the hands of these upper 4000..." And it must be added that the real power does not lie with this, comparatively speaking, broad section but with the much smaller circle of the "higher bureaucracy". It is only natural that this well paid bureaucracy with peaceful and secure jobs, is not prepared to struggle against capitalism for a revolution; it is only natural that it works against every radicalisation of the labour movement with all the means at its disposal. The paragraphs upon the internal connection between opportunism and the labour aristocracy, despite the fact that they are known in general outline, impress one like revelations in a thrilling detective novel, thanks to the richness of the material and the statements of incontestable witnesses.

Comrade Zinoviev then discusses the question of **pacifism and social pacifism**. He follows the development of pacifism from its English beginning, from "Utopian" to "Scientific" or "Revolutionary" pacifism. We make the acquaintance of the comic opera pacifist Fried and enjoy ourselves over the touching naivety which

shows itself in his pacifist works. Then we are introduced to that "socialist" type of pacifism, with social pacifism, which "differs very little from simple bourgeois philanthropic pacifism". Zinoviev hits the nail upon the head when he declares: "Before the war the social pacifists stood for peace, after the outbreak of war — for the defence of the fatherland..." From the excellently presented social pacifist careers of Jaurès, Renner etc. we learn the whole fulfily and the objectively counter-revolutionary character of social pacifism.

The last chapter is devoted to a treatment of the Second International, and in connection with it of the war problems. For the sake of greater clarity Zinoviev divides the history of the Second International into two periods. The first (1889 to 1904) regarded from the stand point of the war problem, is characterised by the slogan "Against Czarism!" The question of how the German social democracy should act in a possible war of Russia and France against Germany, and all the other war problems were judged chiefly from the standpoint of the struggle against Czarism. In the second period of the development, where the imperialist character of the new war is already obvious, the struggle against imperialism is the most important slogan of the International. Zinoviev leads us to the various international congresses and shows us how the various tendencies tackled the problem of the struggle against the war, how they deprived themselves of the possibility of adopting a clear and decisive attitude by maintaining the distinction, quite out of place in the epoch of imperialism, between aggressive and defensive wars, and how by this error, from which only a minority represented by Rosa Luxemburg, held itself free, they became entangled in the contradictions from which, as 1914 proves, there was no way out. The debates which were carried on upon the question of the general strike and the armed insurrection in the case of war, only showed that the Second International could not proceed beyond definite historical limits, and when the world war broke out, all the socialists of the Second International — with very few exceptions, remained spell-bound behind these barriers and tumbled into the national-chauvinist abyss.

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This book contains only the first two parts, the third part which is now in preparation, and which was similarly written during the first years of the war, as Zinoviev states in his foreword, will deal with the collapse of the Second International and the attitude of the social democratic parties during the first few years of the war. This work of Zinoviev is more than a valuable contribution to socialist communist literature, it is a monumental work which deals with the most important problems of our time and our working class movement, the problem of the imperialist war in connection with the decomposition of the social reformist movement. This is done broadly with the acute eye of the Marxist dialectician, with the basic thoroughness and the unflinching logic of a Leninist, schooled in the practical revolutionary struggle. The individual chapters are mostly small complete studies in themselves. They contain an extraordinary abundance of facts, obviously selected and grouped according to the intended aim, which deals with the questions from all sides and exposes the most secret corners of the subject.

The book maintains its liveliness from the beginning to the end, despite its great extent (650 pages Large Octavo). It is not interesting and instructive "in parts" but grips the reader from the first to the last page. It has always something to say and often something new, but even what is already known is presented in a new and stimulating manner providing food for thought. The book has been written in the first years of the war, that is in a time when the political, one could say socialist, collapse of the Second International was already a fact, but when all the historical consequences of this collapse had only been recognised by a small group of revolutionaries with Lenin at their head. Only if one considers this fact, can one estimate the real value of this work of Zinoviev. The book has been completed from chapter to chapter by a short description of the development up to the present by Comrade Eugen Varga. The book which will obtain a special significance in relation to the threat of new wars, and which has been made more practical by the edition of an index, must be read by every worker who wishes to learn and grasp the problems of the imperialist war with all its consequences.