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C O N T E N T S

- A. Habaru: The Elections in Belgium.**
- Politics**
O. Rjastas: On the Resources of the White Terror in the Baltic States.
- The Balkans**
Bojan: The Provocateurs in Bulgaria at Work.
Declaration of the Bessarabian Emigrants' Organisations.
Dj: The Situation in Albania.
- In the Colonies**
Against the English-Zionist Occupation! Appeal of the C.P. of Palestine on the Occasion of Lord Balfour's Visit.
- In the International**
L. Domski: The III. Party Conference of the C.P. of Poland.
- In the Camp of Our Enemies**
Edmondo Peluso: Noskeism as the New Banner of the Italian Social Democrats.
- Appeals**
Hasten to the Aid of the Starving Peasants of Ireland!
- Our Martyrs**
Janko Dorossiev.
- Book Reviews**
Hermann Duncker: Rosa Luxemburg: Introduction to National Economy.

The Elections in Belgium.

By A. Habaru (Brussels).

The elections in Belgium, which took place on the 5th of April, have resulted in a great victory for the Socialist Party and a defeat for the Liberal Party, and have also given the Communist Party of Belgium the opportunity of sending its first representatives to parliament. The Labour Party has become the strongest group in the Chamber, in which no party possesses an absolute majority. The government which will be formed will necessarily be a coalition government. It can already be seen that this government will meet with great difficulties in the Chamber itself.

Belgium has three great traditional parties:

1) **The Catholic Party.** This conservative party finds its support in the rural districts, where the influence of the clergy and of the big landowners is very great among the small peasants. It is also supported by the Catholic sections of the middle classes and the workers in the Christian trade unions, which latter comprise 200,000 organised workers. Before the war, when a system of plural voting prevailed, it wielded power alone.

2) **The Liberal Party.** This party is the party of the industrial and commercial big bourgeoisie, as well as of the petty bourgeoisie of the industrial centres. After having for many years fought along with the Belgian Labour (Socialist) Party against the Catholic domination, it abandoned its anti-clericalism in order, after the war, to form a catholic-liberal bloc.

3) **The Labour Party.** Founded forty years ago the Belgian Labour Party is not a purely political party but comprises

political, educational, convalescent, co-operative, trade-union and provident organisations, which are closely allied with one another. This is the sole explanation of its strength (more than 600,000 members) and its cohesion.

In addition to these three great parties there exist the **Communist Party**, whose influence, while still weak, is growing from day to day, and the **Front Party**, a nationalist Flemish Party which demands complete autonomy for the Flemish provinces of the country.

In November 1921 the parliamentary elections gave the following result:

	Votes	Seats
Catholic Party	774,132	80
Labour Party	672,474	68
Liberal Party	346,419	33
Front Party	58,790	4
Ex-Service Men	19,401	1
Communist Party (in Brussels and Verviers)	3,165	—
total		186

This time, as a result of the annexation of the Eupen-Malmedy district, 187 deputies had to be elected. With the exception of the ex-service men whose representative had joined the Labour Party, the same parties took part as in the 1921 election. The results are as follows:

	Votes	Seats
Labour Party	820,685	79
Catholic Party	787,379	78
Liberal Party	304,735	22
Front Party	84,133	6
Communist Party (in 12 electoral districts)	34,147	2
total		187

It should be noted that the system of proportional representation is in force, under which the superfluous votes are taken into account, which renders impossible any great change over in the distribution of seats. The socialists have therefore a great victory to record with their gain of 11 seats. And the Liberals, who have lost the same number of seats, have suffered a very severe defeat. The Catholic Party also suffers a severe reverse in the loss of two seats. In posing as the only party of Law and Order it endeavoured to rally round it all the patriotic elements in order to obtain the absolute majority. In Brussels it concluded an election alliance with the fascists, whose leader ran on the Catholic ticket.

The defeat of the bourgeois parties is partly to be accounted for by the impotence of the last coalition governments who were unable to do anything to prevent the fall of the Belgian Franc and the increase in prices. The Belgian Labour Party, which was the great opposition party, reaps the benefit of this defeat, which constituted a condemnation of the incapacity of the bourgeois parties. This, however, is not the sole explanation of the socialist victory.

The Belgian Labour Party, by retaining the form of its organisation upon a centralised basis, preserves its influence upon the great masses of the proletariat and at the same time wins the support of the backward sections of the working class and is also beginning to penetrate into the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. For years its tactics have consisted in repudiating even the appearance of being a class war party. In every situation it subordinates the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the capitalist state. Excluded from participation in the Ministry, it works with the bourgeoisie in a great number of committees. It is the collaborator with the industrial magnates on the National Committee for Industrial production. It nips in the bud any inclination to fight on the part of the proletariat, and when strikes break out it sabotages them "in the interests of the community". It poses as the great party of the Left, which respects the firmly established order, is loyal to the monarchy and is hostile to any revolutionary action. The christian workers, the petty bourgeois and the intellectuals are gradually coming over to it.

The Communist Party is capturing the elite of the class-conscious section of the proletariat. In spite of the reformist and democratic traditions which prevail among the Belgian workers, in spite of the weak resources it had in the election campaign, which met with resistance on all sides, in spite of the terror organised against its supporters by the socialists of the Borinage district and of the Flemish provinces, the Communist Party of Belgium received 34,000 votes and captured two seats: Jacquemotte in Brussels and Von Overstraeten in Liege. The Communist Party only met which a failure in Charleroi, where it obtained 6,000 votes. In Seraing it obtained just as many votes as the Belgian Labour Party. The Communist Party of Belgium showed itself to be a party of the workers which from now on must be reckoned with, and which will know how to win the confidence of an ever increasing number of workers.

At the moment of writing it is impossible to predict to which party will fall the task of forming the government. A new Catholic-Liberal coalition? But the Liberals appear to be determined to remain in the opposition. Coalition of the three parties? This idea finds no supporters and seems only to be possible in the form of a cabinet of experts. There remains the possibility of a Catholic government supported by the Liberals. And finally, there is a possibility of a very questionable Left government, a "democratic government" which will be formed by Vandervelde with the support of a group of Flemish Catholics, democratic Liberals and Christian democrats.

The hopes of the socialists are directed to this solution, the realisation of which depends upon the attitude which the Flemish Catholics will take. Vandervelde, who is an astute manoeuvrer, has already laid down the programme of such a government.

POLITICS

On the Resources of the White Terror in the Baltic States.

By O. Rjastas.

Miss Susan Lawrence, a representative of the English Labour Party, paid a visit to Esthonia in December last in order to investigate on the spot the causes which gave rise to the workers' revolt in Esthonia and to test the correctness of the reports which had been published regarding the white terror. The results of this visit are known: Miss Lawrence received a staggering impression of the state of affairs prevailing in Esthonia. She had to admit that nobody in England would believe that in Europe there was such a democracy, which constituted a "dark spot" in the whole world of culture.

Yes, many of the things which are happening in the Baltic States cannot be believed not only by the members of the English Labour Party, but also by the honest workers of England and France. In fact it appears monstrous to the cultivated and to those who have been brought up under the legal conditions of the labour movement, that membership of a political party or of a trade union organisation should be treated as a crime for the workers of other countries.

Nevertheless facts are obstinate things. The workers and peasants of these small countries have never experienced anything else than extreme poverty, lack of rights and persecution. Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania do not lead an independent existence, but have to fulfil this or that "sinister" behest of Austen Chamberlain on behalf of the imperialist stranglers.

A casual glance at the economic situation of Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia completely confirms what has been said above.

Every independent State requires its own economic basis for the development of its national economy. Do the Baltic States possess such a basis? No, historically as well as geographically, these States are linked up with Russia. The lack of natural resources renders this economic dependence upon Russia still more perceptible.

Before the Russian revolution all the factories were working at full swing and produced manufactures for the Russian market.

At present they are at a complete standstill.

In Esthonia the well-equipped machine factories are being converted into rubbish heaps where — as the bourgeoisie admits — not even repairs can be carried out. In the whole Esthonian metal industry there are 5449 workers employed, in the textile industry 6,000 and in the wood industry 4,097. That is all that is left of the industry of this country. In another six months even this remnant will disappear.

In Latvia the metal industry is in the same position. In Libau there is only one factory at work, the Libau wire works. In addition to this the saw-mills are still at work and two or three factories in the wood industry.

In Lithuania the brush industry has been completely destroyed. Only the saw mills are still at work, as all three "States" are only living by the sale of timber.

Commerce can contribute practically nothing towards raising the national economy. In Latvia in 1924 the adverse foreign trade balance amounted to 110,424,202 Latvian Gold Francs. The increase in the adverse trade balance is giving rise to great anxiety in financial circles. It is feared that any further increase will threaten the reserves of foreign valuta.

In Lithuania there is a favourable trade balance. In spite of this an acute money crisis is making itself felt in the country. All commercial operations are carried out by Bills of Exchange. These bills are now being dishonoured, a fact which has caused many bankruptcies. Another negative side of the economic life of Latvia is the unequal system of taxation. The taxes fall most heavily upon the middle and poor peasantry.

The liquidation of the money crisis in Lithuania is no easy task for the bourgeoisie. The further issue of paper money would jeopardise the stability of the valuta, which would again have an unfavourable effect upon foreign trade. On the other hand a reduction in taxation would lead to a deficit in the State budget.

In Esthonia the trade balance for the last year was unfavourable. For the first half year of 1924 the adverse balance amounted to 985,869,910 Esthonian Marks. During the last months of

1924 there was a favourable balance, which was only achieved by the government introducing a number of draconic laws. Nevertheless the bourgeoisie itself admits that all these measures are "temporary", and do not lead to an improvement of the financial system.

Agriculture is at present passing through a serious crisis. In Latvia and Estonia the results of the "land reform" are obvious: in the village the class antagonisms are becoming more acute, which can have fatal results for the ruling group. The peasantry, as a whole, does not constitute a support for the bourgeoisie and its power. The burden of taxation has ruined the peasantry. The new peasants who have settled on the parcelled out lands have only increased the army of poor peasants; poverty and indebtedness are increasing the number of peasant bankruptcies, which in turn are undermining agriculture and reducing its production.

The economic helplessness of the Baltic countries is increasing under the government of the bourgeois dictatorship; hence, reaction is also increasing simultaneously with the development of the revolutionary movement. The rulers of these "independent democratic" States besiege the doors of the English and French Foreign Offices in order to beg for help and support, and offer in return their services in the fight against the "bolshevik" danger.

Thereupon the English "humanists" submit to their little "allies" as a first condition: first get rid of your own bolsheviks and then we will talk about helping you.

Behind the cruel terror and the revolting inquisition of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian bourgeoisie, one perceives the iron hand of English and French imperialism. In order to wipe out the "dark spots" in cultivated Europe one must combat with all energy the white terror in England and France.

THE BALKANS

The Provocateurs in Bulgaria at Work.

By Boyan.

After the political mass murders in Bulgaria, which were carried out in such a horrible and treacherous manner according to a previously prepared plan, steps are now being taken to carry out provocations in order bloodily to suppress the movement for freedom of the Bulgarian workers and peasants.

The wholesale political murders, the whole system of terrible punitive measures which the government has employed for the last eighteen months, the curtailment of all liberties, the dissolution of the political and economic organisations of the workers and peasants, the draconic Exceptional Laws for the defence of the State — all these have failed to dam the revolutionary wave which is rising against the fascist government. It is in vain that the Professors and Generals in Bulgaria are endeavouring to throttle this movement by getting rid of the leaders of the workers and peasants.

The events in September 1923 were the result of provocations, just as were also those of September 1924. The government is compelled to resort to these provocations in order to annihilate everything that stands in its way. And just as in September 1923, when the rulers in Bulgaria proclaimed to the world that a revolt was being prepared, and on this account had thousands of workers and peasants arrested, so are they proceeding now. The corrupt press is regularly supplied with communications from the political police which are spread everywhere abroad: groups of three and five are "discovered", reports are circulated as to the proclamation of the Soviet Republic in various villages. Under such pretexts **hundreds of workers and peasants are brutally ill-treated, strangled, or hung.** Some of the communist prisoners are thrown from the upper storeys of the police prisons, while hundreds of others are shot. The police are working with a wide-spread spy apparatus, with the aid of which they "discover" "plots" and purchases of arms from the state depot, but without giving the names of the persons involved because, as a matter of fact, they do not exist.

Mass arrests are again taking place throughout the country. Thus in Schumen 300 people have been arrested, in Stara-Zagora 150, in Russe 60, in Sevlievo 50, in Ferdinand 50, Samokov 30, not to mention many other places.

At the end of March last there were again about a 1000 workers and peasants cast into prison. The government caused it to be reported in the press that it had "discovered" a "plan" for a revolt which, it was alleged, was to take place on the 15th of April. The names of well-known leaders of the workers and peasants were mentioned as being connected with the matter, along with a full description of them, so that they are forced to live illegally and can therefore be shot as being the "wirepullers" in this alleged revolt.

In spite of the fact that up to the present no serious charge has been brought against the Central Committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria, the members of the Committee who were arrested after the September 1923 events are still kept in prison without being brought to trial. At the present moment the Bulgarian government requires, first to carry out a new provocation, and by this means by fresh bloodshed to beat back the rising revolutionary wave; and secondly, should the provocation fail, to be able at least to conduct a diplomatic action in order to obtain permission from the Entente powers to increase the army. It is now demanding an increase in the army by 4000 men, with the aid of which it intends to defend its position.

The Bulgarian regents, the professors and generals, will do everything possible in order to achieve the above-mentioned aim. The country will again be drenched with the blood of the bravest sons of the people. They know of no other means with which they can proceed against the people than that of murder. One of the leaders of the present government party had the cynical frankness to declare in parliament: If the State sacrificed 200,000 men in the wars, why should not 20,000 communists and members of the Peasants' League be sacrificed in order "to rescue" Bulgaria, that is the fascist bourgeoisie.

The provocation of the bloody generals and professors will not succeed this time. The Bulgarian workers and peasants and the C. P. of Bulgaria have had sufficient experiences. Nevertheless, the sacrifices which the Bulgarian workers and peasants will have to undergo will be enormous.

We appeal to the workers and peasants of the whole world, to the revolutionary organisations of the suppressed nations, to lend their moral and political support to the Bulgarian workers and peasants in their severe struggle. With their help the Bulgarian workers and peasants will, in spite of everything, carry on their struggle to victory.

Declaration of the Bessarabian Emigrants' Organisations.

On the 9th of April there was opened in Moscow the I. Congress of the Bessarabian Emigrants' Organisations. It was attended by representatives from over 30 cities in the Soviet Union. The Bessarabian Foreign Organisations sent the Congress the following declaration:

Seven years ago, on the 27th of March 1918, the self-constituted parliament of Bessarabia — "Sfatul Zery" — proclaimed the inclusion of the Moldavian Republic in Roumania. The occupation of Bessarabia by the Roumanian army was thereby given an apparently legal character, and the following events, including the unconditional subjugation of 24th November 1918, form only the logical consequence of the events of 28th of March.

At a moment when the forces of the Russian Revolution were being strained to the utmost, during the October upheaval, the political adventurers Inkuletz, Erhan, Pyntia and others, who had been bought by the Roumanian government, as well as such scoundrels as the agent of the Roumanian police, the spy and provocateur Ilja Katarreu, making use of the most unfavourable situation, formed a self-appointed "representative organ" of Bessarabia, the "Sfatul Zery" consisting of elements who were not elected by anybody and who are foreigners to Bessarabia.

Roumania, which had been defeated and humiliated by the great powers and has become bankrupt in its imperialist speculations, sees the only possibility of saving itself in seizing the rich and fruitful country of Bessarabia, and at the beginning of January 1918 sent its troops over the frontier of the allied Russian Republics.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Roumanian army, General Presan declared in his speech to the population of Bessarabia the following: "Rumours are being spread that the Roumanians have come in order to take possession of your country, to take

away your property and that they think of nothing else but of restoring your old rulers" and further: "I declare that the Roumanian troops desire nothing else than to restore law and order, in order to give you the possibility of consolidating your autonomy and your liberties as you yourselves shall decide" ... "Immediately after restoration of law and order the Roumanian troops will return home".

On the 27th March 1918 the "Sfatul Zery", under the presidency of the one-time social democrat I. Inkuletz, against the will of the population of Bessarabia and after he had refused the right to vote to the whole of the numerous opposition, proclaimed the inclusion of Bessarabia in Roumania, with some reservations as to autonomy. But this autonomy was only a sham, and on the 25th of November 1918, at half past two in the morning in the presence of 48 deputies out of 162 and without any vote being taken, there was proclaimed the final and unconditional inclusion of Bessarabia in Roumania.

Even the deputies of the "Sfatul Zery" who were rendered indignant by the impudence of the band of adventurers, declared in their written protest:

"We, the undersigned deputies of the "Sfatul Zery" have agreed, in order to set forth the unheard-of and inadmissible political crime and forgery, to make the following statement: ... All the declarations of the "Sfatul Zery" in the sitting of the 25th November 1918 are to be regarded as not valid and contrary to law, in view of the obvious irregularities which border on forgery, and we protest with all our energy against the renunciation of self-determination, as well as against the omission to consult the people living in Bessarabia."

It was in this manner that the annexation was brought about. Since the Roumanians, by means of fraud and violence, made themselves masters of this rich province, they have in the course of the last seven years continued their policy of terror and destruction.

The invasion of Bessarabia by the Roumanian troops was signalled in Kishenev by the shooting of the soldiers of the Doldavsky Regiment, as well as by the execution of the Presidium of the Peasants' Congress, the shooting of the socialists, Grinfeld, Kavsan and others while being banished beyond the Dniester, the shooting of the soldiers of the Russian Red Army who had been made prisoners etc.

The Roumanian banks which have been set up throughout the whole of Bessarabia have taken possession of all the public property and have impoverished the entire population, without exception. Unemployment prevails in all the industrial centres. The country is suffering from an unheard of economic crisis.

Even the Allies, who handed over Bessarabia to Roumania without consulting the Soviet Union, cannot decide to recognise this annexation, and up to the present the Paris Treaty of 28th October 1920 has not yet come into force, as it has not yet been sanctioned by Italy and Japan.

Thus has there lasted for seven years the monstrous rule of Roumania, in all its arrogance, cruelty and crime, over the unhappy province of Bessarabia.

And on the seventh anniversary of this infamous day we, the political emigrants from Bessarabia, who have fled from the horrors of the Roumanian rule, appeal to the whole world and protest against the unlawful occupation of Bessarabia by the Roumanian landowners who have taken possession of our country by means of fraud and violence and have ruled it for seven years by means of unheard of terror and acts of violence.

We demand that the population of Bessarabia be given the opportunity of deciding the fate of their country by the free expression of their will.

Down with the government in Bessarabia!
Long live the Plebiscite!
Long live free Bessarabia!
Hands off Bessarabia!

"Union of Bessarabian Emigrants, Paris."

"Bessarabian Union, Berlin."

"Bessarabian Society, Prague."

"Hands off Bessarabian" Union, Vienna and Graz.

"League of Bessarabians", Liege.

The Situation in Albania.

By D j.

The Albanian reaction, which seized power by means of the support of international reaction and with the aid of the bayonets of the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie, has placed Achmed Zogu at the head of the government and also had him elected as president.

In order to concentrate power into his hands, the reaction has done away with the former system of administration which consisted of the parliament and the Upper Council, the latter consisting of four members elected by parliament, and has set up a Senate, the 18 members of which consist mainly of big landowners. Of these 18 members of the Senate, 6 were nominated by the President of the Republic.

The government has handed over to Yugoslavia the strategically important district of St. Naum and granted a *naphtha* concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The government can only rely upon the feudal big landowners, and is therefore exercising the greatest terror, which even exceeds that experienced by the country during the occupation.

Several political personalities have been murdered in the country. Many murderers have been released from prison and sent abroad in order to carry out political murders among the emigrants. In Bari they have already assassinated, Guarki the former Finance Minister in the Fan Noli cabinet.

Throughout the whole of Albania mass arrests and expulsions are taking place. The discontent of the population is growing daily. Many have fled to the mountains where they are organising armed "Tchetes". Such Tchetes exist throughout the whole country.

One of these Tchetes bands, 150 strong, recently had a collision with the government troops who were driven out of a mountain district in Ardugo Kastro. This district is now in the hands of the Tchetes.

The Tchetes movement is supported by the discontented peasantry throughout the whole country.

IN THE COLONIES

Against the English-Zionist Occupation of Palestine.

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine on the Occasion of Lord Balfour's Visit.

To all Workers and Fellahin!

English imperialism is becoming continually more insolent and unashamed, and the history of English rule in the colonies is on a level with that of the sea pirates who have robbed hundreds of countries and thousands of people.

During the war English imperialism stirred up the Arabian masses against the Turks, and now the war has ended with the victory of English imperialism, it has rewarded the Jewish financial magnates with the "Balfour Declaration", which promised the founding of a Zionist State in Palestine. At the same time, however, the imperialist robbers concluded three contradictory treaties: 1) with Hussein against the French and the Zionists; 2) with the French against the Arabs, and finally 3) with the Zionists against the French and the Arabs. It is this imperialist chaos which is the cause of the continuous hostilities, of the hate and the discontent and the successful suppression in the Arabian countries.

In order to secure their power and to justify themselves before all three parties, the English imperialists sought by every means to divert the attention of the masses from their true enemy — imperialism; they set one portion of the population against the other, organised revolts, incited wars and plotted pogroms. As a result, innocent blood is being shed on the altar of European imperialism.

In Palestine an attempt is being made to wipe out the revolutionary movement. By means of betrayers of the people the nationalist movement has been split up. Communists are arrested, brutally beaten, and condemned and expelled from the country. Workers' clubs are closed and prohibited and meetings of workers dispersed.

There remained only one thing for English imperialism to do in order to show to the world that "England is mighty" and

that "imperialism pays no heed to the opinion and the feelings of the native population". And for this purpose it decided to send Lord Balfour to Palestine. Balfour, the symbol of imperialist fraud, the symbol of the occupation of Palestine by the English, was sent to Palestine.

The visit of Balfour to Palestine means a blow in the face of the whole of the population of the country in general and of the Arab nationalist movement in particular. But who rejoices at the arrival of Balfour? Nobody but a handful of Zionist bourgeois, who are arranging such a big set out that one could really believe that the whole of the Jewish population was celebrating the visit of the "great Lord".

But this is a mistake!

In the name of the class-conscious Jewish workers we raise the sharpest protest against the handful of Zionists who wish to connect the fate of the Jewish masses with the name of the blood-thirsty imperialist bands of robbers. The Jewish working masses of all countries, as well as those of Palestine, have nothing in common with the corrupt imperialist world and its representatives. The Jewish people, which for centuries suffered under the double yoke of suppression and slavery, fully realises that its emancipation cannot come through the enslavement of others, whoever they may be, and certainly not through the English-Zionist occupation of Palestine.

The Jewish working masses know that for them as well as for all other working masses, there is only one way out, that of self-emancipation, which can only be realised by the international proletarian revolution which will break the capitalist chains, shatter the imperialist rule, annihilate the robber bands and, in brotherly union with all the suppressed masses, will establish a new free society — the communist society, in which there will be neither masters nor slaves, neither despots nor the victims of despotism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine protests in the name of the class-conscious Arabian and Jewish comrades against the sinister designs of the Arabian Executive Committee of the nationalist movement, indicated in their decisions regarding Lord Balfour's visit to Palestine, which can be regarded as a threat of a pogrom. This blind fanatical incitement of one people against another must be put a stop to once for all! Pogroms must not be tolerated! It is not pogroms against the Jews which will liberate the country, but the revolt of the whole of the oppressed against the rulers.

The Communist Party of Palestine regards Lord Balfour's visit as the symbol of imperialism and declares this arrival of Balfour to be a provocation on the part of the English government, which wishes to challenge the population of Palestine in order to create the possibility of finally settling with the people of Palestine, who dare to cry out when they are beaten.

The Communist Party of Palestine appeals to all Jewish workers: beware of the new English-Zionist adventure! Do not be blind tools in the hands of the chauvinists! Do not take any part in the celebrations in connection with the visit of the imperialist lord. Do not take part in the Zionist demonstrations! Imperialism is the cause of war, pogroms, suppression and bloodshed, but it brings no salvation.

Arab Workers, Fellahin and honest Citizens!

The English wish to provoke you to pogroms in order to show to the world that the Arabs are savages who organise pogroms and therefore need education — the English mandate.

Do not let yourselves be led astray by blind chauvinist incitement! Every conflict with the police, every collision with the English government weakens the authority of imperialism in Europe as well as in the colonies, but every pogrom, every dispute among the population of our country only strengthens the power, consolidates the authority of and the confidence in the foreign imperialist "protectors". Every class-conscious worker should bear this in mind!

Demonstrate for the unity of the broad masses of Arab and Jewish working masses. The Jewish and Arab workers should march, not with the Zionist bourgeoisie against the poor masses, not with the fanatical feudals, but in brotherly unity hand in hand in a common fight against their class enemies, under the banner of the Communist Party.

Down with imperialism!

Down with the Balfour Declaration!

Down with the fanatical Feudals!

Down with the Zionist adventurers!

Long live the united proletariat of Palestine!

Long live the free, united, independent workers and Fellahin Federation of all Arabian countries!

Long live the international proletarian revolution and its leader, the Communist International!

Long live the Communist Party of Palestine!

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Palestine
(Section of the Communist International).

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The III. Party Conference of the C. P. of Poland.

By L. Domski.

In March last there took place the III. Party Conference of the Communist Party of Poland.

The outward and obvious feature of this party Conference was the fight against the Right. The Right group which already had been removed from the Party leadership at the V. World Congress, suffered a final defeat at the III. Party Conference. Not a single delegate supported their standpoint. The resolution which condemned the former leading group of the Party, as well as the resolution which expressed confidence in the new Party leadership set up at the V. World Congress, was unanimously accepted.

The task of the III. Party Conference, however would have been a very easy one if it had only been a question of rectifying these mistakes of the Right and of declaring that they would not be repeated in the future. The task of the III. Party Conference was a far more difficult one, it consisted in the reorganisation of the Party, in its bolshevisation.

What have the right leaders made of the Polish Party? They made it a Party of propaganda and agitation.

The II. Party Conference of our Party which took place in 1923, made a great step forwards with regard to the bolshevist slogans in the national and in the peasant question. But this proved to be insufficient in order to render our Party a party of revolution and of the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat; for the Party Conference placed the bolshevist slogans in the national and in the peasant question in the frame of the general opportunist tactics, whereby they were deprived in practice of their bolshevist character. The slogan of the united front as conceived by the Right Central Committee was to serve as a means for our Party not only to approach the social compromisers, but also the peasant compromisers and the petty bourgeois leaders of the parties of the suppressed nationalities, to provide the C. P. of Poland with a means of pressure upon these parties and to compel these parties to fight.

The disastrous results of this conception of the tasks of the Party made themselves apparent at the time of the October and November fights of 1923. Whilst the movement of the masses underwent an enormous advance, our Party contented itself with exerting pressure upon the P. P. S. (Polish social-democratic Party) and supporting those actions which the P. P. S. people were "forced" to take up. Our Party did not succeed in leading the masses into the struggle and it did not make use of the fighting mood of the masses for decisive revolutionary actions.

It was the task of the III. Party Conference to liquidate this situation and to convert the Party from a Party with bolshevist slogans and menshevist practice, into a Party with bolshevist ideology and tactics.

One of the forms in which this transformation was expressed was the renaming of the Party. The Communist Labour Party was in fact a party which organised the workers for the fight merely for their immediate interests. The Communist Party of Poland must become a Party of the social revolution, which gathers round and under the leadership of the proletariat the huge masses of the peasantry and of the suppressed nationalities for the carrying out of the overthrow of the social order.

The combining of the three main factors of the socialist revolution — the proletariat, the peasantry and the suppressed nationalities — is the basis of all the decisions of the III. Party Conference.

The resolutions of the Party Conference spread no illusions that it would be an easy matter to carry out the revolution. The resolution on the political situation and the tasks of the proletariat lays it down that the Polish bourgeoisie has consolidated

itself compared with the epoch of the inflation crisis (the period of the increased issue of paper money); that the parties of compromise have not yet lost their entire influence upon the proletariat and are capable of weakening its struggle; that the general political situation at present is characterised by the "peaceable" encirclement of Europe by Anglo-American capital and that there is no prospect in the near future of any international convulsion; that the campaign of reaction which is proceeding throughout the whole world is not assuming the violent forms of genuine fascism, and expresses itself for the time being more in the parliamentary liquidation of the democratic era; that under these conditions the government of Grabski is able to conceal its policy of terror towards the working masses and its support of the capitalist offensive by means of promises of reforms and pacifist ideology.

At the same time however, the resolution declares that the strengthening of the bourgeoisie is taking place at the cost of the working masses; that the financial reform, which appears as the newest stage of this consolidation, promotes the rise of a severe economic crisis; that this crisis before all falls upon the shoulders of the workers, of whom hundreds of thousands are unemployed; that the situation of the peasantry has greatly deteriorated and that the misery of the white Russian and Ukrainian masses has specially increased; that based upon the offensive of capital, a huge strike movement is developing and that a ferment is going on among the peasants, which is leading to the break-up of the peasant Party; that finally, in the Ukrainian and White Russian districts, the revolutionary ferment has already reached the stage of an armed insurrectionary movement.

The theses on the political situation and the theses on the tasks of the Party in the trade unions formulate before all the task of the party among the working masses. They call attention to the fact that the main task of the Party consists in organising the revolutionary united front of the masses on the basis of organising and centralising the factory councils, the attraction of the masses into the trade union organisations and the revolutionising of the trade unions, the centralising of all mass actions of the proletariat, which must be linked up with the actions of the proletariat in other countries.

The theses on the work in the village and the theses on the national question point out the way by which the proletariat becomes the leader of all suppressed classes in the fight for their class and national emancipation. The theses on the work in the village strive to realise the alliance of the workers and peasants.

In regard to the national question, the Communist Party, in opposing the predatory designs of Polish imperialism by the slogan of the right of self-determination of nationalities, fights for the uniting of the White Russian and Ukrainian districts with the adjoining Soviet Republics. The Party participates in the daily struggles of these masses, supports their individual actions, such as the boycott of the taxes, the boycott of the officials, the fight against colonising and against the buying up of the land by the big land owners etc., conducts a fight for use of the mother language in the schools and in the government offices, and strives to give the partisan movement an organised form and to deepen it politically.

The decisions of the Party Conference, therefore, aim at bringing together all the revolutionary forces in Poland into one army of the revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The decisions, however, constitute only the commencement of the work. The second and decisive step is the creation of a bolshevist Leninist fighting Party, which shall be capable of giving to the proletariat a powerful advance-guard which is really conscious of its aims. The theses on the bolshevism of the party are devoted to this question.

The bolshevism of the Party is before all a political task. It demands the deepening of political knowledge among the broad circles of the party comrades and educating them accordingly in the spirit of Marxism and Leninism. The Party must have before it the broad perspective of the future and must learn the tendencies of development in bourgeois economics and politics. It must acquaint itself with the past by studying the history of the labour movement in Poland, in Russia and in other countries.

In creating in this manner a kernel of politically tried communists, the Party must at the same time bolshevise itself organically by basing its whole organisation upon the factory nuclei, by fighting against bureaucratism, strengthening the self-activity of the party masses and working out an iron discipline and fighting capacity.

All the theses of the III. Party Conference were the result of long debates and intensive work. They were all adopted unanimously. As in the Communist Parties of Germany and France, the C. P. of Poland also proved that the victory of the real revolutionary line of the Party leads to the disappearance of fractions. If the abolition of the fractions in the Party is one of the main conditions for its bolshevism, then the Communist Party of Poland has in this respect completely stood the test.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Noskeism as the New Banner of the Italian Social Democrats.

By Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

Periods of great reaction are at the same time periods of the liquidation of certain parties or certain persons. The Unitarian socialists, as the group of reformists like to call themselves, who for many years led the Socialist Party of Italy and among whom are Turati, one of the founders of the Socialist Party, Modigliani, Treves, and the present leader of the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (General Labour Federation) D'Arona, Buozzi etc., decided at their recent Party Conference which took place in Rome to consign socialism to the scrap heap and to take up as a new banner — Noskeism.

It will be remembered that at the Party Conference in October 1922, which was also held in Rome, the last banner-bearers of the "glorious Party" split into two groups: the Maximalists and the Unitarians.

The Unitarians now claim to have 30,000 members (there has been a certain influx of young intellectuals who have recently gone over from fascism into the camp of reformism), 24 members of parliament and 423,000 electors.

Their secretary, Professor Basso, who took Matteotti's place after the latter has been murdered by the bands of Mussolini, at least has the advantage that he goes straight to his aim. When he delivered his report on behalf of the Party, he declared it to be necessary to revise the judgment which the Italian social democrats, at the moment when the masses still possessed the possibility of expressing their views, had passed upon Noske. Professor Basso is of the opinion that today one should not continue to abuse Noske, but to render him the highest praise as he "saved the gains of the German Republic". He further expressed the demand for "a strong State" (of course against the proletariat), and when he ventured to admit that it is necessary that the trade unions should have liberty, he proposed to erect a dam against strikes and opposed strikes in public undertakings. Our Professor declared himself in favour of the army, which assures the protection of all (of course, all bourgeois).

Thus the development which the Party of the Italian social democrats commenced some years ago, has finally reached its climax. In the midst of the fury of the fascist regime, they openly proclaim themselves to be in favour of supporting the bourgeoisie. As they cannot overcome the fascists, they try to compete with them. Is it necessary for the Italian bourgeoisie that the Italian social democrats practise Noskeism? Or have we not already had our Noske period in Italy? If the role of the Italian social democrats is the same as that of the social democrats of all countries, that is to prepare the way for reaction, for the defeat of the proletariat and even for fascism, then did not the Italian social democrats already play out their role in 1920 — already at the time when the factories which were occupied by the proletariat were given back again, or in August 1922 when they deliberately sabotaged the strike and thereby let loose the fascist storm?

At any rate the Italian bourgeoisie is content to learn officially (what it has long known in fact) that the social democratic party has become a useful tool for the maintenance of the existing social order.

"Gradualism" and "opposition to violence", these are beautiful words for a whole programme. The professors and lawyers within the social democratic party are taking pains to interpret this programme. "The abolition of private property and the capture of power is proceeding step by step, by obtaining one reform after another, without destroying the powerful machinery of the bourgeois democratic state". If any doubts

had existed, the declaration of our social democrats, that for them Kerensky is the true representative of liberty in Russia, as were Noske and Ebert in Germany, will certainly serve to dispel these doubts.

It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the **Liberals** declare in their daily paper "Corriere della Sera" that this conversion before all the public does honour to the social democrats. The **Monarchists** say in their "Giornale d'Italia" that "Communist extremism remains isolated. The moderate forces of socialism are coming more and more into line with constitutional democracy."

The only people who are not satisfied with this are the fascists. "Good luck" says the "Idea Nazionale", "but the fascists have the power and are convinced of the historical mission they have in the political life of Italy. Fascism, therefore, has the right to defend itself and defends itself with those means with which the law provides it, so long as these suffice, and when they no longer suffice, it makes use of ultra-legal means". This is a plain warning to their would be competitors.

The proletariat has almost entirely turned from the social democrats. On the other hand the latter have received a new influx of petty bourgeois elements, who are always vacillating, and at one time hang on to the coat-tails of reaction and at another time cling to those of social democracy. The masses of the workers after innumerable painful experiences, are now finding, the way to their Party. The beginning of the end of the Italian social democrats will be their participation in the bourgeois power and their gradual absorption by the parties of law and order.

APPEALS

Hasten to the Aid of the Starving Peasants of Ireland!

Support the Workers' International Relief!

The Peasant International to the Peasants of the whole World!

Last year's harvest in Ireland was almost completely destroyed by a natural catastrophe. Our brothers, the Irish peasants, have reaped from the fields which they have tilled with the sweat of their brow, only bitter misery. Poverty and privation have visited them in their wretched cabins. In the Northern districts of Ireland there has been reigning for many months a cruel and merciless foe — Hunger. Without distinction Death is snatching away the old and the young, the big and the little.

And "good old England" of his Majesty the King and the "noble" Lords, bourgeois England of the refined stock-exchange speculators is celebrating a joyous funeral feast over the graves of the Irish peasants.

Plutocratic England — the England of the Bankers, the England of the business people, who "mint" gold out of the bloody sweat of the slaves in their subjected colonies, this England, of course, does not move a finger in order to alleviate the suffering of the Irish peasants and their children who are perishing from starvation.

The terrible starvation of the thousands Irish peasants is only a welcome ally for the English stock-exchange sharks, for the hypocrites, for the preachers of "christian brotherhood", for the "enlightened" civilised landowners.

It has always been their highest "statesmanship" and is still now the policy of their Great Britain, to spread slavery everywhere with fire and sword, and based upon this to be the mistress over lands and seas.

In spite of this the iron heel of English capital has not succeeded in suppressing the national revolutionary movement of the Irish peasants and workers. Under no circumstances must it be permitted that this revolutionary spirit be crushed by the pitiless ally of the ruling classes — Hunger.

The corrupt press of the English bankers is endeavouring to maintain silence regarding the horrors of the famine whilst thousands of our Irish brothers are perishing. But in this it will not succeed. We will not remain silent, we cannot keep silent!

Peasants and agricultural workers of the world!

The Peasant International which unites many millions of peasants of the world and which, hand in hand with the work-

ing class, is fighting for the emancipation of the peasants from the century-old yoke of suppression and exploitation by the international bourgeoisie and landowners — the International Peasant Council calls upon the peasants of all countries to come with all their forces to the aid of the peasants and workers of Ireland who are engaged in a death struggle with starvation. This help will be the best support to them in their heroic struggle for the emancipation of Ireland, for the common cause of the workers and peasants.

Peasants and workers of all countries!

The whole of the working class of the world has already responded to the desperate cry for help of your suffering brothers, the Irish peasants. The **Workers' International Relief** (W.I.R.), this thoroughly proletarian and powerful workers' organisation, has already come to the aid of the starving rural population of Ireland and is organising through its committees in all countries of the world a wide-spread campaign for the collection of money, food etc. The first kitchen and feeding centres of the W.I.R. are already at work in the districts of Ireland affected by the famine.

But the need is still great. The relief action of the W.I.R. on behalf of the Irish peasants and land workers must be supported by all peasants, as well by all the workers of the world.

Do not allow hundreds of thousands of your brothers, tried fighters for the cause of the emancipation of all peasants and workers, to perish. May every peasant, every land worker hasten to contribute his share, be it ever so little. Many poor can feed a starving man. May the peasantry of all countries support and further extend the relief action initiated by the W.I.R.

The workers have already hastened to render help. Therefore, come also to the aid of your starving Irish brothers.

Support by your contributions the relief action which is being carried on by the W.I.R.

Denounce the shameful policy of the English landowners and financiers!

Long live the brotherly solidarity of the peasants and workers of the whole world!

Long live the victory of the cause of the workers and peasants throughout the whole world!

Long live the Workers' International Relief!

Long live the Peasant International!

Peasants and workers of all countries unite!

On behalf of the Presidium of the International Peasant Council:

Dombal (Poland), **Renaud Jean, Marius Vazeilles** (France), **Otto Rydlo** (Czechoslovakia), **Gorov** (Bulgaria), **Richard Birgi** (Germany), **Orlov** (Soviet Union), **Gero** (Scandinavia), **Alonso** (Spain), **Odinez** (Ukraine), **Chudaikulov** (Uzbekistan, central Asia), **Nguyen-Ai-Quac** (Indo-China), **Ursulio Galvan** (Mexico), **Green** (America), **Ken Chaijaschi** (Japan), **Teng** (Esthonia), **Ruggero Rossi** (Italy).

Moscow, 28th March 1925.

OUR MARTYRS

Janko Dorossiev

To the innumerable losses which the Bulgarian proletariat has to undergo daily, there is added yet another: Comrade **Janko Dorossiev** has been shot down in broad day-light in the streets of Sofia by agents of the government's murder organisation.

A teacher by profession, comrade Dorossiev had already as a student devoted himself with the greatest enthusiasm and self-sacrifice to the cause of the working class. As a teacher he was persecuted on account of his opinions and his propagandist activity, and finally discharged. Since 1922 he was the secretary of one of the district organisations of Sofia. After the dissolution of the Communist Party of Bulgaria by the fascist government he worked in the illegal C.P. of Bulgaria. The Party has suffered a severe loss by his death.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rosa Luxemburg: "Introduction to National Economy"*)

By Dr. Hermann Duncker (Berlin).

Rosa Luxemburg's textbook on national economy, awaited with intense interest for years, has at last been published. But unfortunately in a form which only serves to further intensify the tragedy surrounding Rosa Luxemburg's life work. For the book, published from posthumous papers, is unfinished. The murderers, aided, by the Ebert Republic, struck the pen out of Rosa Luxemburg's hand, and probably carried away or destroyed parts of her manuscripts. And the work is published by Paul Levi, a man from whom Rosa Luxemburg would have turned in contempt after he had fled, beneath a cloak of abuse and denunciation, from the Communist Party which Rosa Luxemburg helped to found, to the party of those who profited by the murder of Rosa Luxemburg. A man who has already made use of the publication of other posthumous works of Rosa Luxemburg with the deliberate intention of playing off Rosa Luxemburg against Bolshevism.

The present work comprises about 300 pages, and furnishes an introduction to the idea of national economy, an exposition of the stages of economic development, and a theoretical discussion on commodities, value, money, and wages. The questions of surplus values and of the tendency of capitalist economics are then touched upon in a few words only. It is to be regretted that the problems of average rates of profit, of the accumulation of capital, and of the specific questions involved in imperialism, are not dealt with at all. Would it not be possible to obtain valuable supplementary material on these questions from the notes made by the students who attended Rosa Luxemburg's Party courses of instruction — since the present work originates from the material which she employed for the Party school?

What is national economy and what is political economy? The reply to these questions takes up almost one third of the whole work. The definitions supplied by the bourgeois savants Roscher, Schmoller, Bücher, Sombart, etc. are plucked to pieces with masterly sarcasm**). Rosa Luxemburg opposes these definitions by demonstrating that national economy is the science dealing with the laws of anarchist capitalist methods of production.

"In the Marxian theory national economy finds not only its completion, but at the same time its consummation as a science. All that can now follow — apart from the further development of Marxian teachings — is the conversion of these teachings into action, that is, into the struggle carried on by the international proletariat for the realisation of the socialist system of economics" (page 77).

The importance of Rosa Luxemburg's introduction to national economy lies however less in the theoretical conclusions — these are the fundamental ideas of Marxian economics — than in the manner in which these ideas are developed and rendered accessible to all. And how efficiently this is done! This easily comprehensible and yet intellectual and admirably worded representation, this plenitude of economic-historical data, unfolding before us in dramatic mobility the evolution of mankind! The result is the creation of a unique piece of work, possessing its equal in the German language in Marx's writings only. Where do we possess, among the many popularisations of Marx's theory of value, one which renders the theoretical principles so clear to the reader that it seems to him as if he

*) Rosa Luxemburg: "Einführung in die Nationalökonomie." Published by Paul Levi. Berlin. E. Laubsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1925.

***) In the correspondence between Rosa Luxemburg and Luise Kautsky it may be seen that on 14. May 1909 Rosa Luxemburg asked for copies to be sent her of the definitions criticised by her in the present book (Roscher and Schmoller "for her work"). According to this, we must assume that the beginning of the work must have been drafted at that time. The later sections of the book make reference to the great war of 1914.

were only realising things which are really a matter of course, and at the same time maintains a literary style so classic, as this work of Rosa Luxemburg's?

Rosa Luxemburg takes the utmost care to avoid confusing her readers with unnecessary subtleties and with scientific ballast. She aims at giving the reader a clear and graphic idea of theoretical conceptions by means of a masterly command of the widest spheres of the history of cultures and economics, and possesses the gift of bringing even the remotest periods of history so humanly near to the reader that he is enabled to make a comprehensive survey of their actualities, and to observe the economic laws which have ruled them. As Rosa Luxemburg herself writes in one passage:

"He who thinks clearly, and has himself thoroughly mastered the matter of which he speaks, expresses himself clearly and comprehensibly." (page 3.)

Rosa Luxemburg criticises with severest irony the vague and confusing language affected by the bourgeois national economists. Scientific mystification of this description is not only a product of incapacity, but of resentment at the threatened victory of communism. As early as 1844 Engels remarked:

"The nearer the economists approach to the present, the further do they retreat from honesty."

We might almost be of the opinion that Rosa Luxemburg devoted too much pains to the critical refutation of the monstrous foolishnesses of bourgeois scientists. Today — ten years since this work was written — but few of the rostrum heroes so severely dealt with here are still alive. But Rosa did not criticise merely for the sake of criticism, but made use of the occasion to simultaneously uproot the erroneous opinions which have found their way into the minds of the naive proletarian readers. She thus dialectically develops the truth out of the refutation of the error. In this sense it is even possible to learn something from the quotations from Schmoller, Bücher, Sombart, and others.

In the second third of the book Rosa Luxemburg gives a survey of primitive agrarian communism and its disintegration, drawing her material from the data supplied by German, Greek, Russian, Indian, Arabian, and Peruvian history. In this part we find the prestige of the sociologist Morgan defended against the attacks of Ernst Grosse, Lippert, and Starke. This defence is the more appropriate in this place as the lasting achievements gained for scientific socialism by Morgan have been wrongly buried beneath the erroneous conclusions and mistakes of his detailed delineations. The editor has however comprised this whole section under the insufficiently concrete title of: "History of Economics I and II".

The last third of the book is chiefly devoted to the theory of value, the discussion of which Levi, strangely enough, mentions in his preface as being lacking in Rosa Luxemburg's book. The development of the simple production of goods and of money economy, as also the essential character of the value of goods, are dealt with unsurpassable clearness. The capitalist law of wages follows, the confrontation of absolute and relative wages. Unfortunately the delineation breaks off in the chapter dealing with origin of the proletariat. The last section on "The tendencies of capitalist economics" also appears to be a preliminary draft, and though it merges directly into Rosa Luxemburg's "Accumulation of Capital", still it entirely omits all mention of the essentially economic phenomena of monopolism and imperialism.

The extent of the loss involved by the absence of the missing parts can only be realised when we appreciate the skill with which Rosa Luxemburg made the theoretical sections of the book clearly comprehensible. For instance, we see that she did not deal with the theory of value in the customary manner of starting with the separate goods, but dealt with the subject at once in its social connection, thus permitting the social nature of exchange values to evolve before our minds as self-evident phenomenal form.

How much we could have learnt from an exposition from the pen of Rosa Luxemburg on the problem of the rate of profits! We only find a slight compensation for the loss in the chapter written by Rosa Luxemburg on the 2. and 3. volumes of Marx's capital, in Mehring's biography of Marx.

Taken all in all, this book of Rosa Luxemburg's is a work which we may hope will contribute to the energetic revival of the theoretical study of Marxian economics in our ranks, and which will form an unequalled basis for such a study.