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## The Agenda of the V. World Congress of the Communist International.

1. Lenin and the Communist International.  
 On the basis and propagation of Leninism.  
 Speakers will be appointed by the Central Committees of the following Parties: Russia, Germany, France, India and Bulgaria.
2. The World Economic Situation. Reporter: Comrade Varga.
3. Report on the Activity and Tactics of the Communist International. Chief Reporter: Comrade Zinoviev, eventually Co-reporters from the Sections.
4. The Question of the Program. Reporters: Comrades Bucharin, Thalheimer and eventually a third Comrade to be appointed by the Program Commission.
5. Trade Unions Tactics.
6. The National Problems
  - a) Attitude of the Communist Parties to the National Question (Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkans). Reporters: Comrade Stalin, a Polish, a Czechish and a Yugoslavian Comrade.
  - b) The revolutionary movement in the East and in the Colonies, (India and other countries). Reporters: Katayama, Roy and others.
  - c) The Negro Question. Reporters will be appointed by the French and American Parties.
7. The Problems of Organization.
  - a) The organizatory structure of the Parties (Factory Nuclei etc.).
  - b) Statutes of the Communist International.
  - c) The work of the Communist Parties among the masses of the women.
  - d) Illegal Work.
  - e) Work in the Army. Reporter: Comrade Piatnitzly, Mixkevitch-Kapsukos and a German Comrade.
8. Propaganda Work.
9. Fascism. Reporters: an Italian and a German Comrade.
10. The Question of the Intellectuals. Reporters: Comrade Zetkin, a French Comrade and a representative of the Colonies.
11. The Peasants' International.
12. The Youth Movement.
13. The International Red Relief.
14. Problems of the Individual Sections.
  - a) Russia,
  - b) Germany,
  - c) Italy,
  - d) Bulgaria,
  - e) England,
  - f) The United States,
  - g) Japan.
 Reporters: Co-reporters will eventually be appointed by the Sections concerned.
15. The Co-operative Question.
16. Election of the Executive Committee and of the President of the Communist International.

## POLITICS

### The Electoral Struggle in France.

The Mustering of the Parties.

By Charles Rappoport (Strasbourg).

*André Tardieu: "Liar! Miserable wretch!"*

*Franklin-Bouillon: "You should be the last one to talk!"*

Electoral Meeting at Sèvres.

This is only a beginning. The electoral exchange of compliments is to be continued in the same tone between the hostile brethren of the bourgeois block, who, at bottom, have the same ideas, the same hate of revolution and of Communism, but who possess divergent electoral appetites and interests.

For the Communist Party the task is not only to take note of these blows and to derive profit from them. It must, in the first place, unmask all the bourgeois parties and their conceptions, setting out with full details a faithful record of their stupidities and of their crimes.

First let us cast a general glance over the political chess-board and the large parties engaged in the fight. For the moment we will pass over the parties "standing outside" and all kinds of malcontents of the latest fashion, seeking for social position and parliamentary seats.

There then remain three large parties, representing three large social classes, striving with their utmost means to attain power.

1. The Party of the Bloc National representing a nondescript coalition of capitalist greed and interests.

2. The democratic party (Radical-Socialists) represents the middle and petty bourgeoisie (non-socialist peasants, small annuitants, small shop-keepers, all kinds of brokers, and those members of the liberal professions who have not abandoned themselves to the reaction). This middle and petty bourgeoisie is menaced with irreparable ruin. And during critical moments flies to the opposition in the full hope of reestablishing itself with the aid of parliamentary power and of credits.

3. The Party of the Working and Peasant Class. While waiting for the full development of class consciousness, we are — unfortunately — obliged to consider as one of the parties of the working class, the socialist "Party" (S. F. I. O.) which still has in its ranks misled proletarians, credulous peasants and exasperated petty bourgeois. To-morrow, it will confound itself with the Radical-Socialist Party, which is neither radical nor socialist. The day after to-morrow, all the elements of the left will assume the socialist label, omitting the prefix "radical" which, since it extends from Perchot to the editors of the "Lanterne" and of the "Rappel", has lost all serious significance. At such time, the socialist party, section of the "International of the Royal Ministers", as stated by the citizen Barthélémy Mayeras, one of the distinguished members of this same quasi-International, will lay all its cards on the table, will throw off its mask and proclaim itself a party of the counter-revolutionary order.

The situation will become clear and definite. The workers and peasants class will be represented solely by the Communist Party, Section of the Communist International.

The three parties (Bloc National, Radical Party, Socialist Party), whatever they may be saying and doing, have common features, common interests and even a common mentality.

First of all, they have a common foe: the Revolution, and its Party: Communism. Beginning with M. Poincaré, including M. Herriot, right up to Blum-Paul Faure, they have a horror of the revolution, not of the word, but of the thing itself. For these three parties, the revolution is an accomplished fact, or, according to the classic formula of reformism, is accomplishing itself every day, by means of reforms. For these three parties the question is how to seize power by means of the parliamentary, of the legal method.

The socialist party having once attained power in France, will repeat the same acts, the same gestures, as were performed by its "brother parties" of Germany with Ebert-Noske-Scheide-

mann, of Sweden with Branting, of Belgium with Vandervelde, of England with Ramsay Mac Donald. This is not a hypothesis, a supposition, a polemical slogan. These are facts which strike the eye. The Hamburg Socialists have been governing, are governing and will be governing the capitalist Society on behalf of and for the profit of the capitalist Order.

The bourgeoisie, particularly the stupid, ignorant and terrified French bourgeoisie, will need a bit of time before it can grasp the fact that it is to its interest to clear out the Bloc National which is ruining and rendering ridiculous the capitalist regime in itself, and that the radical party in itself is without backbone. As instinct of self-preservation opens the eyes of the blindest, so even that great baby, the French bourgeoisie, will realize in time, that its best game-keeper is the party which calls itself socialist, which at one time played the rôle of poacher in the struggle between the propertied and non-propertied classes.

There is still another fact welding together these three parties and making of them a block of capitalist conservation, in spite of temporary divisions. This is the so-called national interest, the so-called national defense. Anyone listening to Paul Boncour or Varenne when speaking on vital questions, would think he was hearing an oration by M. Poincaré. One must not give heed to Blum, or to Longuet, because these citizens, being the mouth-pieces of another phraseology, will speak of other things, while voting in war-time for war credits.

Organized Communism must therefore fight to the bitter end against these three parties of different origin, but of identical counter-revolutionary import. This is not altered by the fact, that each of these three parties has its own particular character, its political apparatus, its own methods.

We must thoroughly understand their real nature in order the better to fight against them.

### The Labour Government and the French Communists.

By A Treint.

Lenin and the English Labour Party.

*"I shall speak in a more concrete manner. The English Communists according to my opinion, must amalgamate their four parties and groups, all of which are very weak, some even remarkably so, into one single Communist Party on the basis of the principles of the Third International and of unconditional participation in Parliament. The Communist Party should propose to the Hendersons and the Snowdens a "compromise", an electoral agreement: We shall proceed together against the coalition of Lloyd George and Churchill, we shall share the Parliamentary seats in proportion to the number of votes given by the workers to the Labour Party or to the Communists (not in the general elections, but according to a special vote), we shall preserve the fullest liberty of agitation, of propaganda, of political action. Without the last condition, it is impossible to form a block, because this would be a betrayal; the English Communists must claim for themselves and maintain, in spite of everything, the fullest liberty to denounce the Hendersons and the Snowdens in the same absolute manner in which for fifteen years, from 1903—1917, the Russian Bolsheviks did regarding the Hendersons and the Snowdens of Russia, i. e. the Mensheviks.*

*If Henderson and Snowden accept the block under these conditions, it will be a gain for us, because the important thing for us is not the number of seats in Parliament, it is not that which we are seeking; we shall be prepared to make concessions in this respect (the Hendersons however and in the first place their new friends — or better still their new masters — the Liberals who have gone over to the Independent Labour Party, make this their chief aim). We shall have gained, because we shall have carried our agitation into the masses, at the very moment, when they have been stirred up by Lloyd George personally, and we will not only aid the Labour Party to form its Government more quickly, but also help the masses in understanding more quickly our Communist propaganda, which we shall conduct against the Hendersons and Snowdens quite openly and without hesitation."*

*..... "In the event of a refusal on the part of the Hendersons and Snowdens to form a block with the Communists, the latter, by this very fact, will gain an enormous advantage: the sympathies of the masses for themselves, the discrediting of the*

*Hendersons and Snowdens, and if by this we lose some Parliamentary seats, this will be of no importance. We should not put forward our candidates, except in a very limited number of absolutely sure constituencies, i. e. where the fact of our running a candidate would not bring about the victory of a Liberal against a member of the Labour Party. We would conduct our electoral campaign by the distribution of leaflets in favour of Communism calling on the electors to vote for the Labour Party candidate against the bourgeois, Sylvia Pankhurst and Gallacher make the mistake of seeing in this a betrayal of Communism or an abandonment of fight against social traitors. On the contrary, the cause of the Communist Revolution without doubt only stands to gain thereby.*

*The English Communists at present often find it very hard to get into contact with the masses, even to get the masses to listen to them. But if I present myself as a Communist and at the same time declare that I call on the electors to vote for Henderson against Lloyd George, it is certain I shall gain a hearing. And I shall not only be able to explain to a popular audience, why the Soviets are to be preferred to Parliament, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be preferred to the dictatorship of Churchill, (concealed by the screen of bourgeois "democracy"), but also that it is my intention that, by acquiring votes for Henderson, to support him in the same manner in which the hangman's rope supports its victim.*

*The formation of the government of the Hendersons, which is continually approaching nearer, will prove that I am right, will draw the masses to my side, will hasten the political death of the Hendersons and the Snowdens, just as was the case with their like-minded brethren in Russia and in Germany.*

*And if one objects: These are too clever or too complicated tactics, they will not be understood by the masses, they will split our forces, they will prevent them from becoming concentrated for the Soviet revolution, etc. . . . I shall reply to my left opponents: Do not throw back upon the masses your own faults of doctrinarism. It is certain, that in Russia the masses are not more educated, but on the contrary, are on a lower cultural level than in England; notwithstanding the masses have understood the Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks, far from being hindered, were aided by the fact, that on the eve before the Soviet Revolution, in September 1917, they had formulated their own lists of candidates for the bourgeois Parliament (the Constituent Assembly) and that on the morning after the Soviet Revolution, in November 1917, they participated in the election to the very Constituent Assembly which, on the 5th of January 1918, was dispersed by them."*

*N. Lenin (Infantile Malady of Communism).*

#### British Imperialism and Labourism.

Lenin, some years ago, in its great main outlines, predicted the political development of England. He had formulated in a very clear manner the tactics to be followed by the Communists, in order to aid the proletariat and the working masses of England, to reject the Labourite illusion and to range themselves behind the Communist banner for engaging in the decisive battle of class against class with the maximum of chance for victory.

The outline traced by Lenin is exactly that adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, and, as is shown in the "Infantile Malady of Communism", it is in conformity with the entire traditional line of Bolshevism.

At the end of 1923 the English elections resulted in a great success for the Labour Party and the latter, by the normal play of Parliamentarism, has taken over power within the traditional frames of the old English Constitution.

Does the French Party, in its attitude towards the problems of the Labour Party and the Labour Party Government follow the course traced out by Lenin, by Bolshevism, by the Communist International? This is the first question which must be examined and which must be answered.

On the 24th January, the "Humanité" wrote:

"It was probably not a question of unfurling the banner of British Imperialism, of setting it up in face of that of France, as happened in 1898 in the territory of Bar-el-Gazal, but of conducting a separate policy which was to be uncontaminated by any recollections of the Old Alliance. From this it can be foreseen that, as regards the execution of the Peace Treaty, the Cabinet of Poincaré has to reckon with the MacDonald Cabinet."

It is true that the Government of MacDonald will probably not unfurl the banner of British Imperialism; but that it will limit itself to a separate policy, without very skillfully maintaining the interests of British Imperialism, this, in my opinion, is entirely erroneous.

Let us examine the facts.

On the 16th August — I must apologise for quoting myself — I wrote in the "Humanité", speaking of the relations of French Imperialism and British Imperialism regarding the Ruhr:

"At present, there can be no rupture... At present there can be no agreement... One sole solution remains possible. After mutual pressure and attempts at deceiving one another, and after having been driven to the very verge of a rupture (as the result of the importance of the question at stake, i. e. the Ruhr) a Franco-Anglo-German inter-capitalist compromise will be finally established in a manner enabling neither French nor England to maintain industrial hegemony.

Within the limit of political provisions and compromises and on the bases of this compromise, there will proceed the development of Anglo-French capitalist rivalry."

After the former C. C. of the Party had rejected this thesis, the "Humanité" of the 16th or 17th November, announced that Poincaré had announced the rupture with England which was applauded by the Bloc National.

But the facts were fated to confirm the thesis which I had upheld along with several comrades.

On the 20th November, the "Humanité" published an article headed "Awaiting the Rupture". But the rupture had been announced some days before.

On the 7th December, the "Humanité" mentioned the offer of the 30th November of Poincaré to England. It is known that this was an offer regarding the economic distribution of the Ruhr between the two Imperialisms.

On the 6th January, the "Humanité" speaks of the intervention of the French industrialists in London undertaken "in the hope of persuading the British industrialists and others to concur in the idea of an Anglo-French Co-operation aiming at the exploitation of the Ruhr and of the Rhenish industries or, in other terms, at productive 'engagements'."

It is probable, that the coming to power of the Labour Party in England and the possible entry into power of the Left Bloc in France, signifies an attempt on the part of French and British Imperialism to conclude the compromise of the Ruhr behind the screen of parties adhering to the Hamburg International.

The capitalist papers, which regard the situation objectively, express this very clearly.

The "Information Financière" of the 25th January writes on this subject: "As far as immediate circumstances are concerned, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will certainly be of this opinion. As regards the future development, the intervention of the League of Nations in the final settlement of the reparations and the security of the Rhine, there will be time enough to speak of these things later on. France is far from being hostile to the strengthening of the League of Nations, but it is still necessary to proceed cautiously and not to smash it under the weight of too heavy burdens."

And the "Information Financière" adds that: "...MacDonald, it seems, must act with moderation towards France and must not commit the blunder of directly attacking our Ruhr policy..."

Neither the Bloc National nor the Conservatives and the Liberals in England can easily conclude the Ruhr compromise, in view of their former intransigent attitude.

The Left Bloc and the Labour Government objectively appear as the attorneys of the bourgeoisie for the conclusion of this compromise at the cost of the workers of the Rhine and the Ruhr, and finally at the cost of the workers in Europe.

It is regrettable, that the Party, instead of calling attention to the danger and appealing to the French and English workers to respond thereto and to exert pressure upon their Socialist and Labour parties for realizing with the French and English Communists the united front in order to conduct an agitation common to both proletariats, instead of making practical proposals for this agitation, — holds up these good members of the Labour Party as being only desiring of conducting a separate policy.

### Labourism and Class Struggle.

The "Humanité" of the 24th January calls to mind the good services of certain members of the English Cabinet on behalf of Pacifism during the War. This refers to Lord Haldane, MacDonald and Snowden; but the "Humanité" forgets to point out that the humanitarian and petty-bourgeois pacifism of these gentlemen has nothing in common with the utmost defense of the true interests of the working class.

Finally, in the same number of the "Humanité" we find the following quotation:

"However, it seems that the arrival of the Labour Party to Power has already had a favourable result upon the conflict of the workers, because the Executive of the Union of Locomotive Drivers and Firemen has decided to negotiate with the Directors of the Railway Companies."

Thus the benefits derived from the formation of a government by the Labour Party are alleged to consist of the fact that the direct struggle could be substituted by the practise of industrial diplomacy. There is not a word used in denunciation of the deceitful character of these practices which can only lead to compromises with results which are very temporary and soon come to nothing. There is no word used to point out to the working class that it cannot make use of these compromises as a starting point for extorting fresh concessions, unless it compels those who claim to represent it, to destroy the framework of the Constitution and of the existing regime.

(Conclusion follows.)

## ECONOMICS

### The International Economic Situation.

By Eugen Varga.

IV.

#### The Depreciation of the Franc and the Financial Position of France.

The most important event which has taken place in European economics during the period covered by this report is the repeated acute depreciation of the franc, which also continued into the month of January 1924. After the rate of exchange of the pound sterling had risen from 70 to 79 at the beginning of January 1923, a stabilization set in, so that the rate of exchange of the franc, with the exception of slight fluctuations, maintained this level approximately until the end of August. During the last three months of 1923 the franc depreciated to almost 90 to the English pound. During the first half of January 1924 the rate of exchange touched 100 in Paris, and then stabilized at a somewhat lower level. The depreciation shows itself even more acute in relation to the dollar. Whilst 7.42 cents were quoted for the franc in New York on 2. January 1923, the quotation fell to 4.97 on 2. January 1924, reaching the lowest rate of 4.29 cents by the middle of January. The rate of exchange thus sunk by 40% within a year. If we examine into the causes of this severe depreciation, we may sum these up in the statement that it is the expression of the policy of "productive pledges". The process and cause of the depreciation of the franc are more complicated than those of the depreciation of the mark,

The depreciation is not brought about by the simple inflation of the banknotes in circulation. The amount in banknotes has but slightly increased, as follows:

(In milliards of francs)	
on 18. January 1923	37.08
on 17. January 1924	38.68

Thus the increase is not even 5%. As economic activity was greater in January 1924 than in January 1923, and more currency was required for transacting business, the depreciation of the franc cannot be simply ascribed to the increased amount of notes in circulation.

The balance of foreign trade affords as little reason for the depreciation of the franc. It is true that France's foreign trade balance is a debit balance but this is not considerable. The imports amounted to 32,61 and the exports to 30,43 milliard francs. The total passivity is something over 2 milliards, a sum of no particular significance.

There remains therefore as a possible cause of the depreciation of the franc the unfavorable position of French state finance. Here it must be repeated that it is almost impossible to form a really correct idea of the real state of affairs in French finance. Since the beginning of the war no statement has been issued as to the actual revenues received, nor of the actual expenditure. The whole of the statements issued refer to budget estimates or to temporary sources of state revenue. Nobody knows how many short term debts the French state really has <sup>1)</sup>, France's national debts are compiled as follows by the Parisian university professor Charles Gide, in the Franco-German economic correspondence of 12. January 1924:

(In milliards of francs.)

1. Pre-war debts	25
2. Six war loans.	133
3. Short term debts <sup>2)</sup>	70
4. Loan from the Bank of France	23
5. Foreign loans, at a rate of exchange of 19 francs to the dollar	120

making together 371 milliard francs. In addition to this Gide reckons: first the 30 milliards guaranteed by the state to the Credit National for the restoration of the freed territory; secondly the 4 milliards for loans transacted with allied countries through the Bank of France, again guaranteed by the state; and thirdly the increase of the foreign debt in consequence of the non-payment of interest: 5 to 6 milliard francs yearly. In this manner Gide calculates a total amount of over 400 milliard francs, which will have swelled to 500 milliard francs by 1930, when the work of restoration will be completed.

To this national debt are to be opposed, France's demands on Germany and on her allies. We have already mentioned that France's minimum demand consists of the payment of 26 milliard gold marks and the annulment of her debts to the allies. At present it appears exceedingly doubtful whether this demand will be met, as the United States are by no means agreed to drop their demands, and it is equally doubtful whether the 26 milliard gold marks will be received from Germany. But even should this minimum demand on France's part be fulfilled, her financial situation would still be very difficult. At the present rate of exchange 26 milliard gold marks mean about 120 milliard paper francs. The extremely doubtful annulment of the interallied debt would further relieve France to the extent of another 120 milliard paper francs. France's national debt would thus still be 260 milliard francs in 1930; more than tenfold the sum it amounted to before the war.

These facts have, however, been known to the whole world, and cannot be the cause of the sudden depreciation of the franc. State revenues and expenses have also not changed much of late, to judge by such statistics as have been published. In 1923 the revenue of the state was as follows:

(In milliards of francs)	
Indirect taxes and monopolies	17,15
Direct taxes	4,14
State property	0,23
	<hr/>
	21,52
Extraordinary revenues	1,53
	<hr/>
Total revenue	23,05

The regular revenues are 3.2% higher than in 1922, and France's regular budget is fully covered by the revenues.

But now comes the great gap: the budget of the expenditure to be reimbursed by Germany. This expenditure has amounted to over 20 milliard francs annually during the past few years. And the improbability that these sums will ever be able to be covered by Germany, an improbability which has

<sup>1)</sup> We mentioned in one of our former reports that the French minister of finance one day informed the parliament that France's debts amounted to 6 milliards less than he had heretofore stated. This remarkable piece of information made no impression whatever in France. There were only two or three newspapers which took any notice of it at all.

<sup>2)</sup> To this Gide observes: This figure is only approximate; there is no official document which enables the exact figures to be ascertained.

become increasingly apparent during the course of the Ruhr occupation, appears to be the principal cause of the continual sinking of the franc.

The movement seems to have started abroad. According to French estimates, there are franc notes and franc credits to the amount of 15 to 20 milliard francs in foreign countries. Besides this, French private capitalists owe large sums to foreigners, who have permitted these amounts to remain in France in the hope that the rate of exchange of the franc would improve. Now that the fact of Germany's non-payment of the sums required by France to pay her uncovered outlay has become apparent the confidence placed in the franc appears to be shaken.

The French newspapers, and even the French minister of finance, accuse enemy foreign countries, above all Germany, of having brought about the fall of the franc by their manoeuvres. The French minister of finance spoke in parliament of a conference alleged to have been held in France by bankers from the occupied territory, in which united action for the fall of the franc was resolved upon. The kernel of this assertion appears to be as follows: Until the stabilization of the German mark the French franc was used more and more in the occupied territory as currency. After the stabilization of the mark, and the simultaneous depreciation of the franc, this latter was supplanted as a general medium of circulation in this territory. No one wanted to take French francs in payment any longer, and the francs thus liberated in the occupied territory streamed back to France, or sought investment in pounds and dollars. It is an actual fact that on some days French francs could be purchased in the occupied territory for German money, at half the price paid in Berlin.

The depreciation of the franc once begun, that process has been repeated which we already know too well from the history of the currencies of Germany, Austria, and Poland: the alarmed foreign owners of French money speedily converted this into pounds or dollars, the French capitalists sought to provide themselves with an adequate supply of foreign currency, so that the demand for foreign bills far exceeded the normal requirements of the economic process. It is of course impossible to say whether — as maintained in some French circles — the English from political motives have exercised pressure for the fall of the franc. The French press asserts that English capitalists have converted their francs into dollars to a wide extent.

The depreciation of the franc has naturally been accompanied by a parallel depreciation in the value of interest-bearing French bonds. This means that the French investors who put their savings at the disposal of the state until the year 1923 for the purpose of the restoration of the devastated districts and covering of the state deficit, by their purchase of state bonds, became equally distrustful. Short term state loans have become harder to place of late, along with increasingly high rate of interest. It goes without saying that a movement for the sale of French state bonds set in. According to calculation, published by the "Ere Nouvelle", French investors have suffered a loss of 19 milliards in state bonds since November 1919, as the result of the rate of exchange.

If we regard the fact of the failure of French loan operations in the inland market not only from the financial standpoint, but from the economic point of view, we see that it means that the saving powers of the French people are exhausted; that is, France is no longer able to obtain, from the annual production of values of her own economics, the sums required for the restoration of the devastated territories.

#### The Attempt to save the Franc.

It must be admitted that the French government and the French parliament have recognized the danger, and are endeavoring to prevent the further fall of the franc by means of energetic measures. The new financial law at present under debate in the French parliament appears to be likely to be passed, and signifies an entire break with the budget measures hitherto practised by France. The "repayable budget" is to be done away with, and all expenses, including those repayable by Germany, are to be covered by the current tax revenues of the state. The sum in question for the year 1924 is about 6 milliard francs. This is to be covered by the following fresh revenues:

(in milliards of francs.)	
20 % increase of almost all taxes . . . . .	3.630
Increase of various levies . . . . .	354
Measures against tax defraudation . . . . .	1.000
From former tax liabilities . . . . .	250
Economy in outlay . . . . .	1.000
Total . . . . .	6.234

In this manner a surplus of 174 million francs would be attained for the whole budget. The proclamation and acceptance of such a fresh load of taxation a few months before the elections is certainly a considerable performance on the part of the Bloc National. The only question is whether it will lead to the desired goal.

Here there appears to be every reason for doubt. Confidence in French policy has been shaken, and in consequence the stability of the franc unfavorably influenced by France's uncertain foreign political position, the continual worsening of relations with England, the failure of the policy of "productive pledges" and the extensive expenditure for military purposes, especially the armament credits granted to the states of the Little Entente despite the unfavorable financial situation. To this must be added, from a financial technical standpoint, that the quantity of paper money in circulation is comparatively great. Even at the present rate of exchange 22 to the dollar, 38.5 milliard francs mean a circulation of 1.7 milliard dollars, in round figures, equivalent to 8.5 milliard gold francs, a sum exceeding the amount of money in circulation before the war. If the process of depreciation once begins, if the owners of money begin to get rid of it by purchasing foreign bills or goods, then we are at once confronted by the well known process of the increased rapidity of money circulation, giving rise to the phenomenon of inflation, even though fresh quantities of paper money become superfluous and cause an increased but economically unfounded demand for goods, industrial shares, and foreign bills. This again leads to an increase in the price of goods and in the rate of exchange of securities, etc. As soon as this process has got under way, the taxation revenues of the state diminish in proportion to the depreciation in the value of money. And since the French state has put the utmost strain upon the confidence of the savers, it will not be able to cover the deficit in state finance, should the depreciation of the franc continue, by means of home or foreign loans. It will be forced to resort to the printing of notes, and the money inflation arising from the increased speed of circulation will be replaced by a real inflation.

This appears to be the probable course which events will take, unless Germany and France alike are placed on a sounder international basis by the annulment of interallied depots and the granting of foreign loans. We see that France's fate is entirely bound up with that of Germany. The depreciation of the franc shows that the contradiction between the weak economic basis of France and its enormous superstructure of political power can no longer be cloaked. France must either renounce her strivings for dominance over the continent of Europe, and submit to Anglo-Saxon rule, or she will share the fate of Germany and Poland, unless she prefers, at the last moment, to rid herself of economic and financial difficulties by war.

#### V.

#### Conditions in the United States.

The question of the direction likely to be assumed by conditions in the United States was not decisively answered during the period covered by this report. It may be said in recapitulation that on the whole, production has maintained its hitherto fairly high level, certain branches of production having improved, and others deteriorated.

The abrupt diminution of the number of trucks loaded weekly since the beginning of November is conspicuous. Whilst in the months of September—October the number of loaded wagons exceeded a million weekly, this number fell to 615,000 by the end of December, and was considerably less than the number for the corresponding week in 1922.

With reference to the influence exercised by the state of the American markets upon the markets of the world, the trade balance has shown increased activity during the period treated of in this report. The figures are as follows:



(In millions of dollars.)

	Export	Import	Export surplus
July . . . . .	302 . . . . .	287 . . . . .	15
August . . . . .	311 . . . . .	275 . . . . .	36
September . . . . .	381 . . . . .	254 . . . . .	127
October . . . . .	401 . . . . .	308 . . . . .	93
November . . . . .	404 . . . . .	292 . . . . .	112
December . . . . .	425 . . . . .	285 . . . . .	140

Here we observe increasing exports, decreasing imports, and a great increase of export surplus. In this manner the year 1923 is divided into two distinct halves with respect to foreign trade: the first half showing an import surplus of about 140 million dollars, the second an export surplus of 524 millions. This great increase in exports is to be ascribed mainly to the high prices for cotton. But the falling tendency of the imports show that economic life in the United States is tending downwards, and, what is of greater importance, that an improvement of the world's economic conditions, especially in Europe, is not to be hoped for as result of increased import of goods into the United States.

The accumulation of gold in the United States proceeds parallel with the active trade balance. The report issued by the American Treasury Department gives the following figures for the gold reserves and federal banknotes for the 1. January since the end of the war:

Year	Gold	Banknotes
1919 . . . . .	3081 . . . . .	2860
1920 . . . . .	2788 . . . . .	3296
1921 . . . . .	3785 . . . . .	3736
1922 . . . . .	3657 . . . . .	2782
1923 . . . . .	3933 . . . . .	2817
1924 . . . . .	4247 . . . . .	2822

These figures show the growing preponderance of gold reserve over federal banknotes.

As regards prospects for the year 1924, the prophecies of the various economic experts are, in general, extremely optimistic. The labour office issued a special report stating that the building industry stands on a high level in 1924, and that the labour market will be favorable in general. The report on New York is to the following effect:

"The prospects regarding industrial and labour conditions for 1924 are regarded as excellent. It is highly probable that during the first half of the year the demand for every description of labour will be approximately the same as in the corresponding period in 1923, with a certain increase in some branches of economics.

Reports from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and other states, are to the same effect. None of the reports received (dealing with 44 states) are pessimistic. The least favorable reports have been received from the mining districts of Colorado and Nevada, where the production of silver plays a considerable role". (New York Times. 10. January 1924.)

John Moody, the well known American economic statistician, declares that there is every sign of an essential renewal of the prosperity, beginning about the middle of the year 1924. (New York Times. 15. January 1924.)

Hoover, the secretary of state, expresses himself with similar optimism, especially with reference to the prospects for the coming economic year.

The weakest point in the economic situation in the United States is the position of agriculture. We once before drew attention to the important fact that the area under cultivation for winter corn is this year 14% less than in the year 1922. To this must be added the great difficulties encountered by the cotton planter. An interesting calculation made by an American cotton planter maintains that the American South will never again attain its former production of 10 million bales. He calculates that under present conditions the costs of production amount to 33 cents, so that cotton cultivation can only be profitable if the price rises to 50 cents a pound.

"The banks of the southern states will not finance the cotton plantations much longer; they lose their money from year to year. Under these circumstances cultivation cannot be extended".

As economic conditions in American are greatly dependent on the agricultural situation, we doubt the correctness of the optimistic prophecies for the year 1924.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Women's Movement in the Near East.

By V. Kasparova (Moscow).

#### Turkey.

Since the world war the Women's Movement not only exists in Turkey, but gets stronger as time goes on. It no longer consists in such timid attempts as were made in 1908 by a few Turkish women intellectuals, among others, by the famous Turkish woman writer Hialide-Khanum, for the extension of educational facilities for Turkish women and for the abolition of the custom of making women cover their faces with a veil in public.

The world war drew Turkish women into social activities and production. This applies to women of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who went to the front as sisters of mercy, as well as to the proletarian women of Constantinople in search of a living to be able to keep themselves and their children, and to the peasant women of Anatolia on whose shoulders rested the burden of agricultural work during the war.

During the recent war the women intellectuals of Turkey for the first time took an active part in the national movement of the country, and were encouraged in this by the young Turkish bourgeoisie. The women's question has at present become the order of the day in Turkey. The feminist movement among Turkish women intellectuals and women of the middle class aims at women's admission to general education, at the right of political, social and family emancipation and at electoral rights to the Medjliss (Parliament). The movement receives the support of the vanguard of the Turkish bourgeoisie and of Kemal Pasha himself. The emancipation of women (if only partial) from Moslem customs is essential for the development of modern industry in Turkey and for the transition from the despotic-feudal to the modern capitalist order. The Turkish liberal bourgeois press of Constantinople is conducting, especially since January of the current year, a campaign regarding the necessity of women's participation in social life and for women's political rights. The papers "Bakyt" and "Imory" make a special feature of the women's question, and have published biographies of the heroines of the nationalist front: Aita-Efe, Khaliedo-Edib and others. The Constantinople cinemas show films from the works of the famous woman writer Khaliedo-Edib-Khanom.

The bill on compulsory marriage, introduced into the Medjliss by the Erzerum deputy Salik-Afendi, was strongly criticised in the Constantinople press.

In Angora this bill led to a hostile demonstration on the part of the Turkish women students of the teachers' seminary. According to the Turkish press, Kemal Pasha spoke at many meetings, especially in Smyrna, attended by women on the absolute necessity of giving women political rights. He has recently introduced a bill on this subject into the Turkish national assembly.\*) The feminist movement for equality of rights is stronger in Constantinople than in Anatolia, where Turkish women as yet dare not come out without a veil, as is done in Constantinople.

In connection with the demand for political rights, the Turkish women intellectuals initiated a wide educational propaganda among women. Men and women teachers' trade unions are beginning to be organised throughout Turkey. In Smyrna, Angora, and in other towns women have been elected to the administrative bodies of the trade unions. The Anatolian papers are full of announcements of the establishment of schools for women. Public meetings and lectures for women are being organised.

According to communications which appeared during the last few months in the papers "Vakyr" and "Aktum", a regular political women's party has come into being in Turkey. In addition to the conquest of political rights for women, this party pursues educational and social aims. The party was formed in Anatolia from the former Women's Section of the League of National Defence in the town of Khivas, founded by the Turkish woman Mak-bule-Khanum. The women's political organization assumed the name of the Women's National Party, but it has not yet received official recognition by the government.

\*) Since the above was written, Women's Suffrage Law has come into operation. Ed.

It has over two thousand members. One of the most active members of this Party is the authoress Nezi-Khem-Mukhedin. The program of the party includes the struggle for women's electoral rights, struggle against polygamy and prostitution and for amendment of marriage laws, as well as wide educational and charitable activities.

The Turkish bourgeoisie hopes to bring over to its side, together with the women, the Turkish peasant and working class. This is shown by the fact that, in addition to the establishment of an official people's party, a so-called economic conference was convened in Smyrna which was attended by representatives of traders, bankers, intellectuals, as well as by representatives of peasants, artisans, and of worker's organizations. This conference was also attended by five women, one of whom was of the peasant class and four working women from Smyrna tobacco factories. It goes without saying that this conference was organised in such a way as to give preponderance to the representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Turkish women's participation in production is growing rapidly of late, not only in agriculture but also on the industrial field. In the tobacco factories 75% of the workers are women. In Constantinople there are 3,500 women in the tobacco factories. Women are employed in textile, carpet and other factories. The conditions of Turkish working women are certainly far from satisfactory. Their earnings are from one fourth to one half of men's earnings. In the Constantinople municipality women are working under terrible conditions. A strike broke out among them last year, but ended in failure. In a few industrial centres of Turkey, but mainly in Constantinople, Turkish women are beginning to participate in the growing workers' class movement. In Constantinople working women are joining the tobacco workers' trade unions. It should be stated however, that the purely working class women's movement in Turkey is as yet weak and not independent of the bourgeois feminist movement.

On the other hand, owing to historic circumstances, the influence of the great Russian revolution, sympathy for Soviet Russia and Communist have certainly a strong hold on the feminist movement of the Turkish intellectuals. At present the first cadres of communist women workers are being formed from the rank and file of these intellectuals.

The Turkish Communist Party was established in Angora in 1920. In 1921 the Party began its work among women. The Women's Section of the Turkish Communist Party participated in 1921 in the press organs "Imen" and "Ikaz". But work on a large scale was out of the question owing to the weakness of the Angora Communist Party. In 1921 the Party had only three women members and ten women candidates. Among women communists the majority came from the teaching profession, but there was also one peasant woman and two or three working class women in their ranks.

Even at the Congress of the Turkish Communist Party in 1922 there was a total absence of women.

In Constantinople, in the Youth League and in the circle of the marxist organ "Aidanlyk" there is a group of women communists who carry on propaganda among working women.

The campaign for Women's Day (March 8th) was carried on in the current year for the first time in Turkey by means of a press propaganda in the organs "Aidanlyk" and "Ziya", the latter being published in Bulgaria.

## Syria.

Syria is one of the centres of Asia Minor where industrial development has reached a fairly high standard. It always had a high reputation for its silk industry, and in ancient times it was famed for a special weaving process and for silk dyeing. The silk industry provides employment for the Syrian population, including thousands of working women. In Libanon, in Beirut and Aleppo this industry has reached a high state of development.

Up to the middle of the last century the Syrian silk industry was a purely handicraft industry. The first factory was established in Libanon by a French manufacturer in 1840. In Libanon there were nine spinning mills, out of which only 2 belonged to natives, and in 1912 there were already 200 factories, 3 of them being French. French capital is greatly responsible for the introduction of women's labour in the factories of Syria. In 1914 out of 14,000 workers in the silk spinning and weaving mills of Libanon, 12,000 were women. The gradual impoverishment of the present silkworm breeders of Syria is the cause of the

disintegration of handicraft industry and of the establishment of big factories. Women's labour is greatly exploited in Syria, and the Syrian working women are working under conditions similar to those of the working women in France in the last century. Their earnings are ridiculously small, and the working day extremely long. But Syria, while being a centre of capitalist industrial development, is also the country of the most ancient trade capitalism. Women's growing participation in production has made Syria the heart of the Arabian women's movement. Already the 19th century saw in Syria the advent of Arabian women writers, for instance: The Arabian poetess Varda-al-Yazyjy. Since 1892 women's journals in the Arabian language began to make their appearance "Ali-Fatat", "Alis-Alojali", and "Fata-Alishark" (The Eastern Girl) published by the women writers Khind-Nadhal, Alex-Avenino and others. Since 1908 a woman's journal "Alzasna" has been published in Beirut by Zhirzh Nikyliabaz. The Women's Movement in Syria coincides with the revival of the Arabian Nationalist movement (supported by Great Britain in opposition to the Pan-Turkoman movement) and is more in the nature of an educational movement. Cairo has been for some time the centre of this movement, and has thus a great influence on the Women's Movement in Egypt.

The proletarian Women's Movement in Syria has not yet taken a definite form. Recently there has been a beginning of the communist movement which is hitherto confined to the University students of Beirut.

## Persia.

In spite of the recent attempts at a revolutionary movement, Persia is still more feudal than capitalist and is as dependent on Western capital as a colony. The population of Persia consists of 70% of impoverished peasants, crushed by taxes and oppressed by usurers, big landowners and government officials. Ten per cent of the population are nomadic and twenty per cent town dwellers, including artisans and people engaged in handicrafts. Owing to the feudal-patriarchal customs and the strict application of Shariat laws, the Persian women are hitherto among the most oppressed and backward sections of the female population of the East.

As in Afghanistan, the women of the nomadic tribes in Persia are the freest.

The women in the towns, the wives of artisans and traders lead a secluded life like all Moslem women and do not take part in production. The female proletariat in the towns consists almost entirely of domestic servants. Persian peasant women are afflicted with a twelve hour working day on the rice, tea and tobacco plantations, and have not the alternative of factory work, as the latter does not exist. Prostitution is flourishing in Persia especially in Teheran.

However, since the Russian revolution, an awakening has been perceptible even among the backward female population of Persia. Persia too is going through a period of economic changes, the cost of living is rising, the peasantry is becoming more and more proletarianised, while the moral and ideological influence of the neighbouring Soviet Republics is beginning to permeate the women masses of Persia. Up to the present the organised women's movement has a purely educational character and embraces only a small section of the native women intellectuals. Beginning in 1921, a women's journal "Women's World" was published in Teheran, but was subsequently closed down. In 1922 a new journal "Lissane Zenon" ("Woman's Voice") made its appearance.

The Communist movement in Iran, which two years ago resolved itself into the "Adaliat" Party, is too weak to attract large numbers of women, but nevertheless there are a few women communists in Persia.

## Egypt.

Since 1919 there has been a pronounced Women's Movement in Egypt, which took the form of active participation in the national-revolutionary struggle of the Egyptian people directed against British Imperialism.

Towards the end of the XIX and in the beginning of the XX century, much attention was paid in Arabian publications to the position of Egyptian women. The most prominent theorist of the emancipation of Egyptian women was the Arabian writer Kassim Emin. His chief works "Takjair-al-Mara" (Women's Emancipation) and the "New Woman" had a very great influence in Egypt. It should be stated that Egyptian women take a prominent part in production. According to the census of 1897, there

were 63,731 women artisans in Egypt. Nevertheless, peasant women (Fellaheens) constitute the largest section of the Egyptian female population. The Fellaheens, Egyptian peasant women on the banks of the Nile, perform the heaviest agricultural work. They are to their husbands mere labour power, to the same extent as cattle is labour power. Moreover, they bear the whole burden of exploitation by the State and by foreign capital.

During recent years a large number of women in Egypt have begun to work in the big industries, in cotton cleaning, sugar and tobacco factories. Handicraft and small industries also employ many women. It goes without saying that Egyptian working women are still more exploited than Egyptian working men. Their wages are just half of men's wages. British capital in Egypt manages even to exploit the labour of the nomadic Bedouin women in carpet making, these carpets fetching high prices in Cairo.

Contrary to Persia and even Turkey, polygamy and harem life (attributes of the Moslem world) hardly exist in Egypt.

The Women's Movement was initiated in Egypt in the beginning of the XX century by Syrian women writers in Cairo. Before the war it was a purely feminist movement of nationalist tendency, and embraced only the Egyptian women intellectuals. But during recent years, especially in 1919—20, the period of development of the Egyptian national-liberation movement, the Women's Movement fused with the latter and attracted not only women of the upper and middle classes, but also proletarian and peasant women.

In the big strikes of 1919 and 1920, in collisions between the masses and British troops, women took a very active part. They picketed at the gates of factories on strikes, helped to erect barricades in the streets and were subject to rough treatment and arrests.

Women's demonstrations were frequently more numerous than men's. In the villages women assisted their husbands in damaging railway lines and telegraph wires to impede the transport of troops. Women's demonstrations took place daily in which women carrying national banners demanded Egyptian independence from British rule.

The nationalist women's movement was under the leadership of women intellectuals.

The most prominent women intellectuals engaged in the political movement of Egypt are: Sophia Zaglul, the wife of the Egyptian nationalist Zaglul Pasha, who was arrested by the British, Hannan, the wife of another politician, and others.

Women's influence in a nationalist movement of Egypt became more prominent in 1922. Women agitators worked in towns and villages. But Egyptian women are not only fighting for national emancipation, but also for their own enfranchisement. In Alexandria the "Committee of the Society of Egyptian Women" demands of the Committee for the elaboration of the constitution the introduction of clauses re women's political rights.

The national-revolutionary movement of the Egyptian women masses is only a prelude to the social class movement. A Communist Party is already in existence in Egypt, and the transition of proletarian as well as other working women masses from the struggle against foreign capitalism to social struggle, is only a question of time.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Communist Party of France and the English Labour Government.

Thesis adopted by the C. C. of the C. P. of France, at its Session on the 18th March 1924.

The coming to power of the Labour Party in England constitutes an enormous step forward for the International Workers Movement to the extent to which the English proletariat, aided by the Communists, will show itself able to derive profit from its own experience in order, in fighting against British Capitalism and Imperialism, to get rid of its Labour illusions.

At the moment, when the Revolution has just experienced a defeat in Germany, the coming to power of the Labour Party is apt to revive or to accentuate within the working masses the illusions of Reformism. The fight between the methods of the Second and the Third International is strikingly illustrated by comparing the Labour Government in London, which has issued out of bourgeois Parliamentarism, with the Bolshevik Govern-

ment which has been brought to power by the victorious Proletarian Revolution.

It is the duty of all Communist parties to demonstrate the miserable bankruptcy of the reformist and Parliamentary methods, basing themselves on every one of the bankrupt actions of the Labour Government.

For the Communist parties there exists the danger of interpreting in an erroneous manner the tactics of the united front as applied to the Labour Party in power.

Labour Government in London, Left Block with the participation of the Socialists in Paris, — all this constitutes an attempt on the part of the rival imperialisms of France and England, which, at present, can neither arrive at an agreement nor a rupture, at concluding the compromise of the Ruhr, under the screen and with the responsibility of the parties of the Second International, at the same time reserving for themselves for a later period the fullest liberty of action.

The French Party, by its central press, has not shown — either with sufficient clearness or promptitude — that the Labour Party in power, supported in Parliament by the elements of both bourgeois parties, cannot conduct a proletarian policy.

This is becoming more and more evident to all the workers as a result of the Dockers' strike and the order for the construction of new warships.

Unemployment, the crisis of the currencies, the lack of markets, the development of the imperialist rivalry between England and France (especially as regards the Ruhr) render new armaments necessary; all these difficulties cannot be solved by reformist methods, in the frame of the capitalist regime and within the limits of the Parliamentary and constitutional play.

The Communist Party must show that the collapse of the Labour Party, if the English Communists fail to derive any benefits by it, involves the risk of provoking the disappointment of the workers and thereby opening up the way to Fascism in England.

The open letter addressed to the Labour Party did not sufficiently reveal the spirit of this necessary criticism. It would have been better if our Party formulated in it the program of common action of the two proletariats.

The Communists in England, and in the whole International, must unmercifully criticise the Labour Party, at the same time pushing it into the proletarian fight, and supporting the English working class and the British Communist Party in their fight.

### Resolutions of the Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation.

*It was in the unfortunate Balkan Peninsula, divided into six rival states and comprising, in addition, stretches of territory contested for or coveted by great and small powers alike, that the first imperialist world-war of the century broke out. As on the Rhine, so in the Balkans, this war has not been followed by a real peace. Greece and Turkey have continued to fight. Turkey and England only just escaped a fresh war with each other. Bessarabia, Albania, Macedonia, Thrace, Dobrudja, Adrianople, Salonica, the islands of the Aegean, the Dardanelles — all these are today the object of the same rivalries as existed before the first great slaughter of peoples.*

*To the questions of nationality, so very urgent in the Balkans, there can be no other solution than the revolutionary solution. This alone is capable of extinguishing the fire, which in every country continues to glow under the ashes and is always ready to burst out into flames. The Communist solution of the Balkan problem is clear and precise. One can inform oneself on the matter in the Resolutions of the Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation the publication of which we begin in this number.*

#### I.

##### The Future of Macedonia and of Thrace.

1. The possession of Macedonia, by reason of the geographical position of the country, assures domination over the whole Balkan Peninsula. That is why the country always roused the cupidity of the interested imperialist states, as well as of the neighbouring Balkan states. The varied ethnographical composition of its population has always served as a pretext for the



interference of the outsiders. All the nationalities which dominate in the neighbouring states, are represented in Macedonia, but in such proportions, that not one of them attains an absolute majority. Consequently the domination of any one of the Balkan states over Macedonia means national oppression of the majority of the Macedonia population and stirs up national struggles which are exploited by the other interested states for their schemes of conquest. The treaties concluded in 1912 between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece ostensibly aimed at the liberation of the population from the Turkish yoke, while, in reality, they prepared the way for the conquest and the partition of Macedonia among the allies. The two Balkan wars were conducted by the Balkan states for the purpose of the getting hold of the greatest possible part of Macedonia.

The Serbian and Greek hegemony over this country which was divided between them after the Balkan war, signifies national oppression for the majority of the population. The discontent which this called forth, served as a pretext for the entry of Bulgaria in the imperialistic world war on the side of the Central Powers, who promised her the whole of Macedonia.

2. The Macedonian population has for years carried on an heroic and bitter struggle for national freedom. The rivalries stirred up by the bourgeoisie of the neighbouring states and the hatred between the various Macedonian nationalities have often led to mutually destructive wars, have weakened the struggle against the common enemy, the Sultan and the Turkish Beks, but have never been able to destroy the conviction among the Macedonian slaves, that only an autonomous and united Macedonia could assure right and liberty to all its nationalities.

The Macedonian revolutionary organization, the real organizer and leader of the revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian slaves, regardless of nationality, is working to strengthen this conviction. This conviction was manifested in the revolt of Ilyinden (1903), which was the first attempt towards the attainment of Macedonian autonomy.

The wars of 1912—1913 and 1915—1918 which ended in the partition and economic ruin of Macedonia, and in a new political slavery, have only strengthened the aspirations of the population towards national and political independence.

A united and autonomous Macedonia is the slogan now of the Macedonians in all corners of their Fatherland which is now covered with ruins. It is under this slogan that they are organizing and conducting the struggle.

The duped Bulgarian bourgeoisie, which has only received the very least share of the spoils of Macedonia, is trying afresh to take advantage of the Macedonian revolutionary movement, and to take it under its control. But in spite of all the efforts of its agents among the Macedonian revolutionary organizations, it has not succeeded in winning the sympathies of the working masses of the Macedonian regions, and causing them to deviate from an "independent struggle". The Macedonian people have been so severely tried in the past, that they no longer have any desire to submit to the influence of their "friends" and "patrons" either near or far.

3. Thrace, which during the Balkan war, during the imperialistic war and during the last Greco-Turkish war, has been the object of struggles between Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece, is also inhabited by a very mixed population. The Thracians have been subjected successively to the domination of Turkey, of Bulgaria and of Greece, and are still partitioned among these different peoples, continue to serve as stakes for the three rivals, who are ready to engage in armed conflict with one another for the possession of the whole of Thrace. The Thracian population, following the example of the Macedonians have long fought for their political and national independence, a struggle which great and small states have tried to take advantage of for their plans of conquest.

The prolonged wars have covered this flourishing country with ruins, and the nationalities who inhabit it, have been plunged into a new political and national slavery; the greater parts of the nationalities have been forced to abandon all their goods and to take refuge in other countries. Hence the population sees no other way out than the creation of an autonomous Thrace.

4. The Macedonian and Thracian people, in their fight for national and political freedom, can only reckon upon the sympathy and help of the workers and peasants of all countries. The revolution of the Russian workers and peasants which has created the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, has proclaimed the right of every people to independence, which includes the right of

separation and of the formation of independent states. Under the standard of the communist parties united in the Communist International, the militant workers of all countries are now leading the fight against all national, political and economic subjection. It is quite natural, that they support the Macedonians and Thracians in their struggle. But the workers and peasants of the Balkan countries are immediately interested in the result of the struggle of the Macedonians and Thracians, because it is only by the creation of an autonomous Macedonia and an autonomous Thrace, and by their confederation with the other Balkan countries in a Federative Balkan Republic, that peace will be permanently established among the Balkan peoples, and that favourable conditions will be created for their economic development, and their existence and their political independence will be firmly assured.

The Communist Parties of the Balkan states, united into the Communist Balkan Federation point out to the Macedonian and Thracian peoples the dangers which threaten them from the bourgeoisie of other lands, and call upon them no longer to shed their blood for the realization of foreign plans. At the same time, they explain to the different nationalities that they will only realize their aims by relying on the working masses of all the Balkan countries. The danger of becoming an instrument in the hands of outsiders is very great for Macedonian and Thracian emigrants. Thus for example, a section of the Macedonian emigrants has been made use of by the Bulgarian counter-revolutionary movement, to repress the revolt of the Bulgarian workers and peasants. The conduct of the duped Macedonians, who, in the guise of Macedonian revolutionaries, became the mercenaries of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the executioners of the Bulgarian working people, is a deliberate attack against the very cause of Macedonian liberation itself. The Macedonian workers must emphatically condemn this attack.

5. The Macedonian and Thracian population, regardless of nationality, is everywhere the victim of an intolerable oppression. The bourgeoisie of the Balkan countries knows of no other method for the solution of the Macedonian and Thracian problems, than pillage, terror, exile and violent denationalisation. This was the method of the Bulgarian nationalists, while they were masters in Macedonia and Thrace. The Serbian and Greek bourgeoisie follow precisely the same way. The Serbian bourgeoisie maintains in Macedonia a cruel terrorist régime, destroys or forces into exile the conscious part of the Bulgarian, Turkish and Albanian population, and substitutes for it settlers from other parts of Yugoslavia, it oppresses all the non-Serb nationalities, closes their churches and their schools, prohibits their press and suppresses their languages. Every revolt, every protestation of the peoples, reduced to despair, is followed by bloody repression on the part of the Serbian government. We witness the same spectacle in the other part of Macedonia and Thrace, subject to Greek domination. The Turkish government also violently expelled from Eastern Thrace the Greek and Bulgarian peoples, and the Bulgarian nationalists have plundered the Bulgarians holding the Mohameddan faith (Pomacks) forced them to embrace Christianity and compelled them to emigrate. The Greek government expels with particular zeal the Bulgarian and Turkish population of Thrace and Macedonia, in order to instal in their place Greek fugitives from Asia Minor.

The Communist Parties of the Balkan consider it their duty to intervene with the greatest energy in favour of national and cultural rights and of the independence of the oppressed peoples of Macedonia and Thrace. They will openly stigmatize all the acts of violence of the authorities against the oppressed peoples and will form a compact front with them and their organizations in the fight against nationalist terror and the denial of rights.

6. The working masses of Macedonia and Thrace, besides their political and national subjection, are still subject to the exploitation of big land-owners and capitalists, of speculators and other parasites. A great part of the poor peasants are virtually the slaves of the Beks (big proprietors) and of the speculators. The proletarians are without even the usual protection in their work; petty artisans and small tradesmen, like the labouring mass in general, are implacably exploited by heavy taxes and all kinds of speculative manoeuvres. It follows that in Macedonia and Thrace the class struggle between the producers and their exploiters is in full swing. In this struggle, the Communist parties are on the side of the exploited and demand the expropriation of the land property of the Beks with all appurtenances and their gratuitous partition among the small

holders and poor peasants; the abolition of speculation and other forms of exploitation of the working population, the limitation of capitalist profits, the guarantee of the right of combination, of assembly and strike for the workers and the protection of their labour; the transference of taxes on to the backs of the property-owners etc. To attain these ends, the working masses are organizing themselves without regard to nationality, in party groups, in trade unions and co-operatives. The communists do not at all repulse the national Macedonian and Thracian organisations which group the working population around them in the name of their national and cultural interests. On the contrary, they maintain the closest relations with them, exert themselves in their leadership and activity to insure to the working masses a predominant position which is energetically opposed to the big agrarian bourgeois and adventurous elements, which would make use of the organizations to serve their class interests and which are always ready to betray the interests of the great working masses. The tactics of united front with these organizations and even of the participation of the communists in the same will render easier this task of the communist parties.

7. The national, political and economic emancipation of the Balkan peoples can only be obtained by the common action of the workers and peasants of every Balkan country for the establishment of a workers and peasants government and by the means of the alliance of all the working masses of all the Balkan countries for the creation of a Balkan Federal Republic. The struggle for the independence of Macedonia and Thrace must be maintained in the first plan by the Macedonian and Thracian workers and peasants: these should take over the direction of the struggle, declare themselves solid with their brothers, the workers and peasants of the other Balkan countries, and secure the creation of a workers and peasants government in an independent Macedonia and Thrace.

In setting up the ideal of a workers and peasants government, the Communist parties and the Communist Federation of the Balkans declare that the Federative Republic of the Balkans will assure peace, independence and liberty of development of all the peoples of the Peninsula, that it will be a voluntary Union of independent Balkan republics, including the Republics of Macedonia and Thrace.

## A Lenin Library in America.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party of America has decided to publish a Lenin Library. This is to comprise ten volumes, making in all about 1600 pages. Each volume will contain an explanatory preface and notes. Seven of these volumes have never been published before in the English language, and three exist only in incomplete editions.

The ten volumes of the Lenin Library will consist of the following: 1. Marx and Marxism. 2. Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism. 3. The Agrarian Question in America. 4. State and Revolution. 5. The Shaping of Bolshevism. 6. The Struggle against the Second International. 7. "Leftism" — an Infantile Malady of Communism. 8. The Organization of the Revolution. 9. The Working Class and the Farmers. 10. The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution.

The chief aim of the Lenin Library is to provide a complete picture of Leninism for intelligent working men. In order to understand Leninism it is necessary to learn to know Lenin's interpretation of the Marxist method of enquiry. The first volume will therefore comprise Lenin's essays and articles on Marx and the Marxist method. Three volumes will give Lenin's concrete analysis of the basis facts of our period. The volume "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism" will be the first complete edition of this work in English. The volume "The Agrarian Question in America" is particularly opportune in view of the agricultural crisis in the United States. The volume "State and Revolution" will comprise the most important studies of Lenin on this theme: The State and Revolution, The Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky, and Material on the Question of the Proletarian Dictatorship. Volume 5 will contain what Lenin has written and spoken concerning the role of the Communist Party, while volume 6 will present selections from these brilliant essays and articles of his which appeared under the title: "Against the Stream". The volume on the "Organization of the Revolution" will give those writings of Lenin which he wrote during the period of masterly manoeuvring from March to November 1917 and his analysis of the lessons of the armed

uprising in 1905. The volume "The Working Class and the Farmers" will give the most important writings of Lenin on this theme, such as "The Attitude of the Communists to the Middle Farmers", "The Working Class and the Farmers", the "New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia (The Tax in Kind)". The last volume, "The Suppressed Peoples and the Social Revolution" will contain those pioneer essays of "Against the Stream" on the self-determination of nations and Lenin's other studies on the question of nationalities.

The Lenin Library will prove a valuable means of Communist education and should have a wide circulation among the English-speaking working class.

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### The Convocation of the III. World Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU. has decided to convoke the Third World Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions for the 25th June 1924 in Moscow.

The following provisional agenda has been drawn up:

1. Report of the Red International of Labour Unions.
2. Next Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement.
3. International Struggle for the Eight Hour Working Day.
4. Trade Unions and Factory Councils.
5. Attitude of the Revolutionary Trade Unions towards the Professional Internationals.
6. Strategy of Strikes.
7. Organizational Structure (Forms of Organization of the Opposition, Mutual Relations between Independent Unions and Oppositional Minorities, One Big Union etc.).
8. Tasks of the Adherents of the RILU. in England.
9. Tasks of the RILU. in the Colonial and semi-Colonial Countries. (British India, Egypt, Algeria, Dutch Indies, China, Indochina, Korea, etc.)
10. Peasants International and Unions of Agricultural Labourers.
11. Trade Unionism and Co-operation.
12. Elections.

All affiliated organizations and the revolutionary minorities, in view of the importance of the questions placed on the agenda of the World Congress, are requested to deal with them as quickly and thoroughly as possible and to submit their proposals not later the 1st. of June. They are also requested to submit to the Executive Bureau their reports on the situation of the Trade Union Movement in their countries, and their reports on their activity for the period since the II. World Congress.

Having regard to the length of the agenda and the importance of the questions, it is desirable that all the problems in dispute within the International Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement be gone into thoroughly at the present time, so that by the time the Congress meets, the entire international experience may be brought together.

The conditions of representation are in accordance with the statutes confirmed at the II. World Congress of the RILU.

With revolutionary Trade Unions greetings:

(signed) A. Lozovsky  
General Secretary.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Labour Government in Action.

By M. N. Roy.

The London "Times" published on the 19th March last the following telegram:

**Bolshevist Plot in India.**

**Trial at Cawnpore.**

(From our correspondent).

ALLAHABAD, March 18.

*Yesterday the Magistrates' Court at Cawnpore heard the charge of conspiracy against the sovereignty of the King-Emporer preferred by Colonel Kaye, Director of the Central Intelligence, on behalf of the Government of India, against Manabendra Nath Roy and seven others—namely, Maula Baksh, Muzaffar Ahmad,*

*Ghulam Hussain, Tias Gupta, Sharma, Dange and Chettiar.*

According to Colonel Kaye, the Third International determined in 1921 to establish a branch organization in India under the control of Roy, then believed to be resident in Berlin, the object being to "complete the separation of India from Imperialistic Britain by violent revolution." In furtherance of these ends a party of peasants and workmen was to be formed; an attempt was also to be made to secure control of the National Congress. The conspiracy was to be financed by the Third International. An agreement constituting a conspiracy was arrived at by means, *inter alia*, of letters written by the accused to each other. Roy and Sarma who reside outside British India, could not be brought before the Court, and four of the others were already interned under Regulation III. of 1818.

Colonel Kaye, who was examined by Mr. Ross Alston, a barrister, produced correspondence from Roy at Moscow to others of the accused. Roy stated that, as the Government would not tolerate an organization with a Communist name, it must have a dual organization, one legal and the other illegal. A revolutionary mass party, which would be illegal, must be created as part of the National Congress "under the control of our own organization," as the bourgeoisie would not accept a Communist programme. Another letter referred to Gandhi's "shameful retreat at Bardoli." He had to choose, it said, between the financial support of the landlords and capitalists and the revolutionary energy of the masses.

A manifesto signed by Roy for the Communist Party of India, and addressed to the Indian labour unions, was also read in which the men convicted of the Chauri-Chaura massacre were described as poor cultivators driven to revolt by the unbearable exploitation of the Government and the landlords. The Chauri-Chaura affair was, it declared, a revolt not only against the Government, but against the established order and the sacred right of property. It denounced the National Congress for its inactivity in the matter and urged a general strike to save these soldiers of freedom.

The hearing was adjourned until to-morrow.

The above telegram shows that the Labour Government has taken up the task of defending the Empire in downright earnest. The evidence produced by the government prosecutor shows that the "crime" the accused persons and their unknown and unapprehended associates are alleged to have committed, is that of organizing a socialist movement in a country wherein capitalist exploitation takes the most brutal form. The Government, headed by a socialist, is accusing a number of Indians who headed a movement for the organization of a political party of the workers and peasants of India! A Labour Government is condemning those defending the interests of the Indian Labouring class as conspirators against the state!

The most significant part of the whole episode is that four out of the eight accused persons were arrested before the Labour Government came to office in England. According to the statement of the Indian authorities, the latter had been in possession of evidence proving the connection of these men with the Communist International. The letters, which have been produced as evidence, were written long ago; so they must have been in the possession of the Indian Government before the advent of Labour into office. But the prosecution was not undertaken. What does it mean? It means that MacDonald is doing what Baldwin and Curzon did not do. From the evidence produced to prove the existence of a conspiracy, it is clear that the object of the "conspiracy" was to liberate the working masses of India from the domination of Landlordism and Capitalism and the realization of National Independence. If we are to take the British Labour Party on its words, this object is not criminal. Besides this, there is absolutely no conspiracy in the matter; because the documents relating to the organization of a Workers and Peasants Party were open political documents. Their contents were given wide publicity in books, brochures and journals, as well as written to individuals in the form of letters. Much is made out of the projected illegal party. But the Indian Socialist and Communists would be the first to carry on their works openly if they were not deprived of the right of legal existence as a political party. The Government, which today rules the British Empire in the name of the British proletariat, instead of removing this serious disability imposed upon the spokesmen of the Indian working class, prosecutes the latter as conspirators. If we are "conspirators", it is because Imperialism has forced us to be so.

There is, however, a method in this madness of MacDonald. The life of the Indian authorities has been made miserable by

the persistent demand for the release of the prisoners held indefinitely without trial. It has been demanded that they should be at least brought to trial before a court. On the other hand, a letter has been addressed to the Labour Government by me requesting the legalization of Socialist propaganda and the existence of a socialist-party in India. In the same letter it is also requested that I should be permitted to return to India. In short, from various sides forces have been put into motion to pin the Labour government to some definite attitude towards a revolutionary working class movement in India. It would be rather embarrassing to refuse legalization of Socialism in India when the British Empire is being governed by a Socialist government. In view of this the Labour Government has found it advisable to take the offensive. By instituting a legal process on evidence that must have been in possession of the Indian government for some time, it is sought to hold up the vanguard of the Indian working class as "criminal conspirators" and as such not constituting a bona fide political party. But the very evidence will prove the contrary. The issue is very far-reaching. MacDonald is doing what Bismarck did in Germany, and what Curzon did not do in India. It is possible that the Labour Government will find an excuse. It will say that it is the concern of the Government of India. This excuse is inadmissible in view of the fact that the Government of India did not undertake the process before, although it was in possession of the evidence. The process, therefore, has been started if not under instructions, at least with the sanction of the Labour Government.

But in case Mr. MacDonald desires to disassociate himself from this action, there is only one way left for him. He should intervene, stop the trial, free the accused persons and recognize the legality of Socialist and Communist propaganda in India. If he does not do it, he will go down to history as no less responsible for the massacre of Indian masses than General Dyer of Amritsar fame.

## There is not a Moment to lose, if Shum is to be saved!

An Appeal to the Workers.

A Question to the Intellectuals.

The whole of Spain — this is no exaggeration — is filled with excitement. The whole of Spain is waiting in expectation of a solution of the sinister drama of justice which is proceeding in Barcelona.

The solution can arrive any morning — with the entry of the Hangman.

The gallows for Shum!

Juan Baptista Acher, who signs his wonderful drawings with the name of Shum and whom the Spanish proletariat simply calls the "Poet", satirist and anarchist, but in the first place a great artist, who is deeply devoted to the proletariat, is sentenced to death.

This youth of 22 years has been sentenced to death for political crimes which he in no wise committed. The death sentence was pronounced by a Court Martial, after Shum had been tortured in every possible manner.

Night after night in Spain millions of brains think: this night is perhaps the last for the Poet.

There is in the whole of Spain no greater and no more original talent than that of Shum. Among the young artists, he is the strongest.

Even the bourgeois press of Madrid and Barcelona un-animously calls for pardon for Shum. This says very much. This press has permitted all the acts of murder against the Spanish workers to be carried out, without uttering any opposition, this press grovels before the brutal military dictatorship and wallows in the bloody mire of a degenerate monarchy which is defended by means of murder and violence. And even this press declares the execution of Shum to be too great a crime.

University Professors, authors of all parties, the Spanish League for Human rights demand pardon for Shum. Among the many signatures to this demand, we find Concha Espino, known throughout the whole of Spain, and the famous philosopher Santiago Ramon y Cajal.

One can in fact say, that, while the Spanish bourgeoisie has shed streams of workers blood since the execution of Ferrer, the execution of Shum which constitutes a legal and long pre-meditated murder in the face of the whole public opinion, would be perfectly on a par with the infamy of the crime of 1909.

One can expect everything from the military dictators who are exercising power in Spain.

Therefore, in the last hour, a mighty imperative international protest must be raised for the saving of Shum.

All Socialist and progressive bourgeois papers throughout Europe with Romain Rolland, Aulard, Gide, Richet, D'Annunzio, Otto Bauer, Schnitzler, Freud and many other intellectuals of reputation have protested against the deportation of Miguel de Unamuno. Can the deportation of Unamuno be compared with the intended murder of Shum?

Why do Socialist, Radicals, pacifist Intellectuals and all the others remain silent concerning this crime, the carrying out of which is imminent? Will they perhaps arise in "noble" protest only after the great artist Shum has been sent to the death by the hangman?

The revolutionary workers put this question. The revolutionary workers only reckon upon their force and will fulfil their task. It is necessary in the last hour, to do everything in order to save Shum.

The rage in the Spanish military dictators is further illustrated by the following news from Spain. Our comrade Gonzalez, Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, is to be transported to the terrible prison of Morocco. There our comrade, who has been sentenced solely in his capacity as an active communist, is doomed to drag out several years of severe prison life. Against this, neither within nor outside of Spain, has any protest been raised.

And still the prison of Gonzalez is more removed from human life than the Canary Islands, where at least no prison guard will control Miguel de Unamuno with the law of the club, as will be the case with Gonzalez.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### A Notable Proclamation of the Second International.

By Alois Neurath (Prague).

With dog-like fidelity the Bulgarian Social Democracy participated in the counter-revolutionary rising on the part of the Zankov government, it has screened all the political scoundrelism of this government, and has taken special part in the infamous persecution of the Communist Party, in precisely the same way as Peidl, the Hungarian Social Democrat, supported the murderous Hungarian government in the struggle against the Hungarian proletariat.

At the Hamburg Conference, the Second International had to deal almost exclusively with naughty children. First of all, there were the Czech Social Democrats, who had not only taken part in the counterrevolutionary action of the government against the proletariat, but who were also the intellectual originators of the Emergency Powers Act which was adopted by Parliament about a year ago. Then at Hamburg there also appeared the German Social Democrats of Czecho-Slovakia, who, it is true, combat their Czech brothers most violently, but themselves worship the idea of national separation in the field of the trade unions and are usually the most sturdy champions of nationalism. The glorious deeds of the Ebert and Noske crowd were passed over in silence. Only the political crimes of the Bulgarian branch of this delightful Socialist International were still too fresh to be ignored. The Hamburg Conference therefore acted as if it were still a matter for consideration as to whether the Bulgarian accomplices should be accepted into the ranks of their German, Czech etc. colleagues or not. The Hamburg International appointed a so-called special commission to examine into the Czech, the Bulgarian and some other questions. A Commission of reconciliation was even sent to Prague. The business of this last was to unite the German and Czech National Socialists. Another commission, with Fritz Adler at the head, had to convince itself in Bukarest that the Bulgarian comrades, who had been invited there to a conference, were innocent young fellows and well-behaved fighters for the revolution. After long conferences and, as the "Sozialdemokrat" of Prague solemnly adds, thorough discussions, the Bulgarian delegation presented a declaration which one can really characterise as a prize piece of political deception:

"Finally the Stambulisky Government, which had made more and more enemies among the mass of the people, for-

sook the path of Democracy, and in place of the proportional electoral system, introduced an election law which leaves success in the election decidedly under the influence of the government."

Just imagine it! Stambulisky had not respected democracy, whereas Zankov of course esteemed it very highly, which fact found expression in that he drove out the Stambulisky Government with the aid of monarchist war-mongers and by means of cannons and machine guns. And the most terrible thing is: that as this awful Stambulisky did not respect the proportional electoral system, Zankov in his haste knew of no better course than to issue writs for a new election, which likewise showed the same disregard for the system of proportional representation. But just listen to what this noble specimen of socialism relates further:

"The oppression of the city population and the abandonment of Democracy by Stambulisky were the root causes of the coup d'Etat of Zankov appearing to the great mass of the population as a liberation from depressing impotence."

Thus the Zankov bandits, who suppressed the rising of the poor peasants and workers who supported it in a sea of blood, were greeted by the population as liberators. That a Social Democrat was a member of this worker-murdering government is of small account, because:

"... a few members of the party were, it is true, initiated into the plan as individuals. However, when the coup d'Etat had been accomplished, the Central Committee of the party was not in a position to call them to account for these acts which they had undertaken at the risk of their own lives, but on the contrary, saw itself compelled to accept the responsibility along with the new government in order to localise the civil war and to meet the danger of occupation by foreign powers."

One cannot trust his own eyes and is forced to read this passage again and again, before it is possible to grasp that a fellow who calls himself a socialist can commit such contemptable stuff to writing. So long as Zankov was busy murdering peasants and Communist workers, the Bulgarian Social Democrats were only allied to the Zankov bandits, as individuals. Later, however, when the Communists had been beaten down and enough workers' blood had been shed, that is, as this scoundrel expresses it, when the situation had been "consolidated", the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party accepted full responsibility for the deeds of the government which had been murdering workers. Now, however, the Bulgarian Social Democrats declare in their statement that they are firmly determined to lead a furious struggle against the Bulgarian government and its reactionary policy. However, in order to convince the working class of the whole world that they are thoroughly in earnest in their struggle against the government, they announce the most important planks in their platform. They demand nothing less than the restoration of proportional representation, further, the carrying out of the municipal elections, amnesty for all who took part in the civil war, freedom of the press and a guarantee for the political activity of the parties.

One can imagine how Zankov turned suddenly pale when he was informed of the program and the determination of his supine household slaves who had rendered him the best service in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat.

After Fritz Adler had rehabilitated the Bulgarian Socialist murderers of workers in this entertaining and original way, it was not difficult for him to unite the Social Democrats of Bulgaria, Roumania and Yugoslavia upon a united platform. In the proclamation which is signed by the Social Democratic leaders it is stated:

"In the victorious countries, in Yugoslavia and Roumania, the Socialists will not only unmask all publications which aim at the deliberate creation of war-fever and the awakening of hostile feelings, but they will oppose imperialism itself with all the means at their disposal and will endeavour to arrive at a peaceful understanding in all disputed questions..."

"The representatives of the three Socialist parties are convinced that if they succeed in compelling their governments to observe these principles and to follow this policy, the war which is once more threatening can be avoided."

And there are actually still workers in all lands who take these political clowns seriously, and who cannot yet make up their minds to give them the point of the boot on that spot where they have so richly deserved it.