

question, the labour question, was dealt with. And how the nationality matters were edged in.

Besides this, a program had been drawn up by an old Owenite — Weston, now himself a manufacturer, a most agreeable and well meaning man full of the utmost confusion and of unspeakable breadth.

The general committee session following this had commissioned the subcommittee to remodel Weston's program and Wolf's statutes. Wolf himself left for Naples, to attend the conference of the London union of Italian workers there, and to induce this union to join the London Labour Association.

The subcommittee held another meeting, at which I was again not present, as I got to know of the rendezvous too late. Here Le Lubez had submitted a declaration of principles and a revision of the Wolf statutes; these had been accepted by the subcommittee for submitting to the general committee. The general committee met on 18th October. As Eccarius had written me that danger was to be expected, I attended, and was truly horrified to hear the good Le Lubez read an introduction, in frightful phraseology, badly written, and entirely immature, claiming to be a declaration of principles. Mazzini peeped through everywhere, overlaid with the vaguest shreds of French socialism. Besides this, the Italian statutes had been almost completely accepted, although, apart from their other faults, they actually aim at something entirely impossible, a sort of central government (with Mazzini in the background of course) of the European working classes. I opposed mildly, and after much discussion Eccarius proposed that the subcommittee should once more submit the matter to a fresh "editing" contained in the Lubez declaration were however accepted.

Two days later, on 20th October, there was a meeting at my house; Cremer for the English, Fontana (Italy), and Le Lubez. (Weston was unable to come). I had not had the papers in my hands up to then (Wolf's and Le Lubez's) and was unable to prepare anything, but was fully determined that not one line of the stuff was to be allowed to stand. In order to gain time, I suggested that we should discuss the "statutes" before beginning to "edit". This was done. It was one o'clock in the morning before the first of 40 statutes was accepted. Cremer said (and

this is what I had been aiming at): we have nothing to submit to the committee meeting on 25th October. We must postpone this meeting until 1st November. The subcommittee, on the other hand, can meet on 27th October, and try to come to a definite result. This was agreed to, and the "papers" left behind with me for me to look through.

I saw that it was impossible to make anything of the stuff. In order to justify the extremely peculiar way in which I intended to "edit" the "accepted principles", I wrote an address to the working class (though this was not in the original plan): a sort of review of the development of the working class since 1845. On the pretext that all essentials were contained in this address, and that we must not repeat the same things three times, I altered the whole introduction, threw out the declaration of principles, and finally replaced the 40 statutes by 10. In so far as international politics are mentioned in the address, I speak of countries, not of nationalities, and denounce Russia, not the smaller states. My proposals were all accepted by the subcommittee. I was however obliged to take up two "duty" and "right" phrases, and one on "truth, morality, and justice" in the introduction to the statutes, but they are so placed that they cannot do any damage.

My address, etc. was accepted with great enthusiasm (unanimously) at the session of the general committee. The debate on the manner in which it is to be printed, etc., takes place on Tuesday. Le Lubez has received a copy for translation into French, Fontana one for translation into Italian. I myself have to translate the stuff into English.

It has been very difficult to manage the matter so that our views can appear in a form acceptable to the present standpoint of the labour movement. These same people will be holding meetings within a few weeks for suffrage, with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the reawakened movement permits of the old boldness of speech. We must hold firmly to the cause itself, but be moderate in form. As soon as the thing is printed you shall have it.

Salut.

Yours,
K. M.

(Correspondence. Vol. III p. 186.)

"The working class can only carry on its struggle for emancipation by constituting itself as a political party, which differs from all parties of the possessing classes and adopts a hostile attitude to them. This constitution of the working class into a political class is unavoidable in order to bring about the triumph of the social revolution. The rallying of the forces which the working class already possesses for its economic struggles, shall also serve as a lever against the political power of the landowners and capitalists. In the condition of war in which the working class finds itself, the economic movement and political action are inseparably united."

Resolution of the Hague Congress of the I. International 1872.

Workers of the World, unite!
(Inaugural Address.)

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POLITICS

Leave it to the Americans.

By I. Amter.

The United States Government has invented a new term in diplomacy: the "unofficial observer." This unofficial observer binds nobody, merely expresses opinions and good wishes. Nobody is compromised if nothing is attained — and above all, the people at home, the good American people, do not believe that America is getting mixed up in "European entanglements". The American people has expressly stated that it will have nothing to do with European affairs, having enough of its own to take care of. So the "unofficial observer" goes to all international conferences, does the bidding of his masters in Wall Street, and everything is correct, as it should be, in international diplomacy.

The election campaign is on in the United States, and the Manchester Guardian reports that it has "developed neither incident nor interest". In fact, the Guardian declares that in many ways "there has never been a more apathetic campaign". The only topic of interest to the three parties — the Republican, Democratic and La Follette's party — is the Ku Klux Klan, which is practically the "only issue". The Berliner Tageblatt on September 18, reported something more of interest than even the Ku Klux Klan. Coolidge has suddenly discovered that "economy" is the watchword of the hour. He had been accused of effecting a curtailment in the budget only at the expense of minor items and of the workers. Now Coolidge intends to make a further cut, this time at the expense of the navy. He is being attacked by Secretary of the Navy Wilbur, but declares with all insistence that he will not relent. Fifty million dollars are to

come off the naval budget, if Coolidge has his way and is supported by the "people" at the coming election. This will tickle the "little man", who does not want the government to spend so much money; and it will cut into the support that La Follette might get from the pacifists and all "peace-loving" people. Coolidge is assailed as the agent of Wall Street, which is openly waging imperialist campaigns, which must result in imperialist wars. Coolidge, the agent of Wall Street, is now trying to prove the contrary. Fifty millions from the marine budget at one strike — when the world is peppered with wars; when the Dawes reparation plan threatens new complications; when China and Morocco are ablaze; when revolution menaces in Bulgaria; when Mussolini is falling; de Rivera about to be succeeded; Ireland flaring up; strikes in every country. Yes, Coolidge, the peace-loving agent of Wall Street, will have peace at any price — even at the price of fifty millions.

But let us examine this a little closer. In 1922, at the Disarmament Conference in Washington, the ratio of 5:5:3 was fixed for battleships. Both England and America knew that if one country began the race for the erection of battleships, it would be answered by the other. Hence there was a restriction in the building of this type of man-killer. This was accomplished with no chagrin, but with loud hurrahs as the dawning of a "new era" of peace. Armaments were limited: this would lead — eventually, but not now — to complete disarmament. The Washington Conference was another of the farces and lies that the international imperialists foist on the workers, diverting them away from the main issue. Of course, the building of battleships was limited. It paid the governments to arrange the conference for that purpose, for battleships were obsolete, as the last war demonstrated and the experiments with aeroplanes and aerial bombs showed quite conclusively. At any rate the Republican administration of the United States had a feather in its cap: it had brought about and carried to a successful conclusion the farcical "disarmament" conference.

Did this mean further plans for disarmament in America? Not at all. During the World War and immediately after, plans were drafted for the conscription of 17,000,000 men for the front and for the factory in "case of a new war." The full plans were evolved and approved — openly. Plans were made for the militarization of the railroads — the arteries of a new war. Everything was done openly, for as America had proven that she was a "peaceful" nation, these plans were only in case of a "defensive war."

On September 12, there took place "Mobilization Day", or as Coolidge in protest against the assertions of the pacifists and women's leagues, called it, "Defense Day." On this day, 400,000 regular soldiers, militia and reserve officers paraded before the admiring populace. The civil population was called upon by Coolidge to participate in the celebration, attesting their support of the government in its "love of peace". Pershing, the "fire-eater" and outspoken enemy of the working class, was the chief of the day. Pershing has been touring the country demanding preparedness, and a doing away with all vacillating policies. America must not be caught napping — she must be prepared to meet the strongest foe or group of foes. This propaganda was the appropriate sequel to the Washington conference. Neither partial nor complete disarmament was contemplated nor intended — only a change in the manner of armament.

Coolidge stated this quite frankly on September 17. In the past few years, far-reaching experiments have been made in aerial navigation. The successful trip of the American air pilots round the world; the experiments in air bombing; but especially the discovery of deadly explosives and gases, have given a new turn to warfare. Of what use are unwieldy battleships, that can be destroyed by a bomb from an aeroplane? Hence Coolidge preaches "economy". Learn to spend your money on something worth while, young man. America has decided to plunge into the construction of an air fleet superior to that of any other nation. The trip of the aeroplane across the country from New York to San Francisco in 21 hours (attaining an average speed of about 180 km an hour) proves that aeroplanes stationed anywhere in the country can be mobilised for service at any point within 24 hours. This means, for use on the eastern or western coast. The trip round the world demonstrated that American aeroplanes can easily be despatched to the Far East for service in a few days' time. This means conquest of the air and of time — and also of such enticing colonies as China, etc.

This explains in part the attachment of Edward Baker, formerly in the American oriental department and consul-general in Mukden, to the staff of Tshang Tso Lin who is now battling in China. According to reports, Lin's troops are excellently equipped with all modern war machinery, in the procurement of which Baker has acted as worthy "advisor". A big fleet of aeroplanes — and perhaps of Zeppelin dirigibles, which are now to be tried out — will put American in the foremost place in the race for armaments — and for WAR!

All this talk of economy and peace on the part of America is sheerest humbug. No nation is pushing war as is America. America has the economic means; the country did not suffer from the last war; the workers learned very little; an economic crisis is at hand and must be averted in some manner or other. Rebellion is raising up its head in Chile, Honduras. Europe is aflame. The Near and the Far East are in unrest. Coolidge preaches economy — to blind the voters — but Wall Street demands armaments and preparedness — to push its plans of imperialist conquest. The next president of the United States, no matter if his name be Coolidge, Davis, La Follette or Bryan, will be forced by Wall Street — through the press, patriotic leagues, manufacturers' associations, schools etc. — to adopt the "more economic" programme of a mighty air fleet — to be followed by a mighty, devastating imperialist war.

What are the imperialist plans of the American bourgeoisie? Its foremost plan is the encircling of Soviet Russia. The trickery being played in China is not only for "rights" in China by the imperialists, especially America, but to get a point of vantage against Soviet Russia in the East. The Chinese Railway, regarding which Soviet Russia has come to an arrangement with China, is disputed by America and Japan. The attempted rebellion in Georgia, which was instigated by the imperialists and was speedily put down by the Soviet Government was to give the imperialists a point in the South. Poland openly manifests animosity against Soviet Russia. The recent granting of part of the port of Danzig to Poland for the erection of a munition depot

is part of the same encircling plan. Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Bulgaria are being fomented against Soviet Russia. Bulgaria's recent demand that she be allowed to enlarge her army in order to put down the growing opposition of the revolutionary workers and deceived peasants will unquestionably be acceded to by the League of Nations.

The next move of the imperialists is the forcing of the Dawes plan upon the German workers. German industrialists are participating in this crushing process. German workers are to be made to eat the dust: they have not yet paid in full. When they have been reduced, the process will begin in the imperialist countries, which otherwise will not be able to "compete" with Germany which has a working class "accepting lower wages and willing to work longer hours." These plans, however, cannot be forced through without some bloodshed. Whoever is first prepared is prepared best.

This is Coolidge's "glorious economy". It is practical, just as the "unofficial observers" are. Leave it to the Americans. That is the way to do business and make war today!

The Imperialist Powers and China.

By Nguyen-ai-Quac.

The Colonisation of China.

Since 1895, China has raised 16 loans amounting to about 902 million Francs, 61½ million Pounds Sterling, 64,368,000 Dollars, 115 Million Yen, and 1,763,000 Dutch Gulden.

The customs, the revenues from the markets, the income from the railways and post-office, the profits from industry, the taxes on alcohol, tobacco, salt etc. have all been pledged as a guarantee for the loans.

An examination of the map of this ancient country reveals the fact that all commercial ports, all the strategical points and centres of production are in the hands of foreign powers.

In spite of its weakness, in spite of its inner dismemberment, this vast territory of 11,138,000 km² is too large a morsel to be devoured by colonial imperialism at one gulp. And it is impossible to bring about in one day the brutal subjection of 489,500,000 Chinese under the yoke of colonial slavery. China is therefore being devoured piece-meal, which is a cleverer if even a slower method.

The other reason why the conversion of China into an international colony must be accomplished by stages, is the rivalry of the bandits among themselves on account of their antagonistic interests.

France, who already possesses Indo-China, is ready at any moment to reach out her claws after South China. The costly construction of the Tonking-Yunnan railway line is a striking proof of this.

But this would hinder the plans of England. England would for the moment be content with the economic colonisation of China, using Hongkong as the chief base of support. She still has the control of nearly all the sources of production in her hands. She has no object in "guarding" such a vast tract of territory, which would entail an enormous expenditure. Besides this, Great Britain will in no circumstances permit France to become too great a colonial power in Asia. And as the re-awakening in India has commenced, and she is beginning to revolt against economic subjection, it is necessary for British commerce to seek a market in China.

Japan with its teeming population would very much like to get hold of a slice of China. But this would be a danger for America, not only from a military but also from a strategical standpoint. The United States would naturally much prefer that the Chinese should become the debtors of America, the consumers of American goods, and, in the event of a Japanese-American conflict, they should also become the allies of the Americans.

The Meaning of the Present Intervention.

The aim of the imperialists in the present intervention is a two-fold one. In the first place they want to obtain new concessions; then they desire to overthrow Sun-Yat-Sen. We know that the various governments which have succeeded one another in Peking have always followed the same policy: corruption at home, and passivity towards foreign imperialists.

Sun-Yat-Sen, this father of the Chinese revolution, has, in contradistinction to all this, remained true to his principles even under the most difficult circumstances. The programme of his party, the Koumintang party is a reform programme. It is purely anti-imperialist and anti-militarist. This party openly proclaims its solidarity with the suppressed peoples of the Colonies and with the exploited masses of the proletariat. It sympathises with the Russian revolution, which is regarded as a crime by the reactionary bands. If the Party of Sun-Yat-Sen could realise its whole programme, it would mean a general revolt in Asia and the grave of colonial capitalism. French imperialism, the oppressor of the people in Indo-China, is trembling beside this uncomfortable neighbour. It fears that the insurrectionary ideas of this party will soon find their way over the frontiers and find acceptance among the enslaved population of Anam. This constitutes a constant danger to its domination. China also borders on India and Korea. A united, free and powerful China would soon be followed by an independent Korea and a liberated India. This is a source of constant anxiety for the imperialists of England and Japan.

It is for this reason that attempts are now being made with every means to crush Sun-Yat-Sen and his party.

Possibilities of an Armed Intervention.

One ultimatum of the imperialist powers follows the other. They mobilise their fleets, they assemble the warships in Shanghai harbour and on the Yang-tse-Kiang. All this appears very threatening. But it is questionable whether it will come to a direct intervention. In these new designs against the Chinese people, England is again, as usual, the leader of the band. MacDonald, however, in spite of all his social treachery and hypocrisy, would not venture upon an open armed intervention. Not perchance because he has no desire, and not from mere love of peace, but because he fears for his position and his cabinet and because he is afraid of the opinion of the working class. He will therefore content himself with secretly helping the enemies of Sun-Yat-Sen. Thus we see once more the traditional British policy, which consists in letting other people pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

Results of Intervention.

International capitalism is possessed by the greed for accumulation. The proletariat is threatened with relapse into slavery: in the West by the Experts' Plan, and in the Orient by the policy of intervention which is preparing for the enslavement of the Chinese workers. The colonising of China would supply cheap labour power, which would depress wages in Europe and America and secure further wealth to capital. This is an indirect attack upon the working class.

The proletariat has energetically expressed its opposition to the Experts' Plan. It is its duty to oppose with equal energy the plans for plundering China.

Egypt and the Sudan.

By P. Kitaigorodsky.

Several conflicts have broken out in various parts of Upper Egypt and the Sudan. In Khartoum the Students in the Egyptian military school have revolted. At Atbara, a demonstration against the occupation of the Sudan by the English besieged the barracks of the Egyptian railway troops who fired upon the crowd. At Port Sudan great anti-British demonstrations took place. British troops and steamers arrived. The population of Alexandria and Cairo are giving strong expression to their sympathy with the Sudanese who, they hope, will succeed in ridding themselves of the English occupation. These nationalist outbreaks are occurring precisely at the moment when the Premier of independent Egypt, Zaglul Pasha, is negotiating in London with Ramsay MacDonald regarding the Sudan and various other disputed questions: the defence of Egypt against any attack, the interests of foreigners in Egypt, the control of the Suez Canal.

On the occasion of the proclamation of the "Independence of Egypt" the English government postponed the solution of these four questions. But after his return from exile, Zaglul Pasha did not fail to claim the Sudan as an integral part of Egypt.

The Sudan is of vital importance to Egypt. The Nile traverses the Sudan before reaching Egypt. The English regime in

the Sudan could, at any moment, transform the Egyptian valley of the Nile into a desert.

The English have invested capital to the amount of 40,000 pound sterling in irrigation works and cotton planting. The firm of Asquith & Co. (of the leader of the Liberal Party) last year received concessions from the government for the development of cotton plantations. In addition to the strategical interest English imperialism has the greatest economic interest in the possession of the Sudan.

The Egyptian nationalist movement is led by the bourgeois party of Zaglul Pasha, a pronounced opponent of the armed uprising against the English occupation, who has succeeded in obtaining, by means of negotiations and pressure, the apparent "independence" of Egypt. The party of Zaglul is prepared for every compromise: abroad with London, at home with the feudal aristocracy and the reactionary elements. They are coquetting with the leader of the landowners, Adly Pasha, and are persecuting the communists and the revolutionary nationalists of Hisb-el-Vatani. Zaglul Pasha has lost the sympathy of the workers and the intellectuals by his accommodating attitude towards the enemies of Egypt. Three months ago an attempt was made upon his life by a student.

In less than a year the Zaglulists, who had been returned by the people to the Constituent Assembly by an enormous majority, have thoroughly discredited themselves in the eyes of the workers. "Ever since the days of the ancient Pharaoh Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid, the Egyptian people have always been a model of docility", wrote the *Egyptian Gazette* on the 24th of July. But a new spirit is revealing itself. The Egyptian workers have occupied the factories of Alexandria. Zaglul Pasha has dissolved their trade unions, arrested their leaders, expelled suspected foreigners and announced that he will deal ruthlessly with those who foment trouble and with the enemies of private property.

During this time, England maintains garrisons at all strategic points in "independent" Egypt, in the Sudan and in Suez. What does Zaglul Pasha and his national government oppose to this? Diplomacy. Instead of relying upon the support of the active forces of the country, upon the people, his reactionary policy is dividing Egypt into rich and poor, the former allied with foreign imperialism.

Zaglul Pasha on his way to London paid a visit to Paris. The French Foreign Office is not disinterested in the fate of Suez and is not indifferent to any diplomatic intrigue. Of this the Egyptian Premier is quite aware. Zaglul Pasha has right on his side in the Sudan affair; but he suppresses the popular forces which are prepared to take action. Nevertheless they furnish him with a weapon of extortion.

The organ of the Kemalists of Constantinople, "Hevi" published in March of this year a characteristic appreciation of the situation in Egypt. "The independence of Egypt", it wrote, "has not yet come to life. Egypt must first free herself from her king. Then drive the English into the sea. She will not succeed by means of mere demonstrations. In order to establish a real independence it is necessary that she learns how to shed her blood and to die."

The Defeat of Primo de Rivera in Morocco.

By R. A.

The Spanish adventure in Morocco is collapsing. What secret support has Abd-el-Krim and the natives of the Rif received in their revolt? He himself is only ruler of a small district, which is surrounded on every side by French territory, and yet he is well supplied with arms and ammunition. According to reports from French sources, a group of London financiers is behind him, who, it is alleged, have purchased from him for the price of nine million francs the exploitation rights of the mines, which previously belonged to the firm of Mannesmann.

Spain, who has been beaten in Morocco, cannot hope for any revenge. Already the campaign which has been conducted up to now in Morocco, has greatly discredited the king, the dictatorship of De Rivera and its instrument, the army. The budget deficit becomes greater every year: 480 million Pesetas in 1919/20, 782 million in 1920/21, 1321 million in 1921/22. Already for the current year the minimum deficit which will certainly be far exceeded, is estimated at 340 million. The expenditure for the

army, the navy and the moroccan campaign amount to at least 700 million Pesetas out of a budget of about 2½ milliard. In addition to this Spain has an unfavourable trade balance which in 1922 amounted to 583 millions and which will not be less in 1923. The economic and financial situation of Spain does not allow of any new undertakings.

Not only king Alfonso, who sought for "conquests" but also the dictator Primo de Rivera is seriously compromised. Primo de Rivera who is aping Mussolini in every respect, in no way possesses the support among the Spanish population as Mussolini still possesses. Primo de Rivera gave instructions to the prefects and military governors of the Spanish provinces to set up a great national party on the 15th of September. The 15th of September is the anniversary of the seizure of power on the part of Primo de Rivera. For this day he arranged great national festivals in his own honour. And now just at this time there comes the news of the humiliating defeat which he has suffered at the hands of Ad-el-Krim.

The superiority of the insurgent natives in Morocco and of their leader Abd-el-Krim was already to be seen in the summer of this year. On the 15th of July he received an ultimatum from the Spanish government calling upon him to surrender in 48 hours. On the 24th of July, 9 days later, the government of the Riff republic sent as a reply the demand for absolute independence and declared they would not negotiate on any other basis.

Will the military dictatorship survive the victory of Abd-el-Krim? Will the monarchy survive the overthrow of the military dictatorship? These are the questions which are now being raised. In any rate the defeat of Spain in her colonies means a weakening of the brutal oppressors of the Spanish proletariat. The Spanish working class will now have to take advantage of this.

The victory of the natives of Morocco is of enormous importance to the struggle of the colonial peoples against their rulers. One of the agreements between the imperialists, regarding the dividing up of Morocco, has been torn to pieces. In the present situation the victory of the Riff population is at any rate an event of far more than mere local importance. This is very clearly recognised by the Parties of the Communist International.

We will point to the remarkable fact that the party executive of the French Communist Party and of the French Youth Organisation, as well as the parliamentary fraction, sent a telegram on the 10th of September to the victorious Riff people and their leader Abd-el-Krim, congratulating him on his magnificent victory over the Spanish imperialists and expressing the hope, that Abd-el-Krim will, together with the French and European proletariat, carry on the fight against all imperialists, including the French up to the complete liberation of Morocco from foreign oppressors.

* * *

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the Spanish campaign in Morocco by the news as to the treatment accorded to German workers who have enlisted in the Spanish Foreign Legion. Driven by unemployment and the terrible economic conditions prevailing in Germany, many German workers have, as a last and desperate resource, joined the Spanish forces for service in Morocco. The treatment they are there receiving at the hands of Spanish militarism is of the most brutal character. They are severely punished and tortured for the most trifling offences against military discipline. Deserters report that in July of this year there were many Germans court-martialled. The Communist Party of Germany has raised this question in the Reichstag, but the German authorities have only given very evasive replies. This goes to show that, with the decay of capitalism, accompanied by chronic crises in Europe, the European proletariat is entirely losing what little status it ever possessed, so that workers are now not only called upon to act as cannon-fodder in the interests of the imperialists of their own country, but are driven by the lash of starvation to sell themselves as mercenaries for miserable pay and revolting conditions to foreign imperialist states, to be used in suppressing those struggles for freedom on the part of the colonial peoples which also symptomise the breaking up of capitalism. Ed.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the First Half Year of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

IV.

France.

France's economic situation during the period covered by this report is most characteristically indicated by the violent fluctuations in the rate of exchange of the franc. France's economic life was seized for the first time by that panic which has so often been a decisive factor in the economic life of Central Europe. As we already mentioned in the general section, the fall of the franc was arrested by the aid of the Anglo-American banks. The rate of exchange fluctuated as follows during the half year:

Quotations of the English pound:

Monthly average: January	87,85 francs
February	91,95 "
March	102,30 "
11. March highest rate of exchange	120,00 "
Monthly average: April	74,95 "
May	69,70 "
June	85,75 "

The curve described by the course of the rate of exchange of the French franc is thus extraordinarily abrupt; after having reached the highest point of 120, it falls by almost one half within one month. The derangement of economic life brought about in France by these fluctuations were not so profound as might have been supposed. The depreciation of the franc only lasted for a short time, and prices did not adapt themselves fully to the change. This may be seen by a comparison of the rate of exchange with the price index figures.

Average monthly prices:

	Wholesale index figure	Retail index figure Paris
Last quarter 1923		345
First quarter 1924		365
January	405	
February	544	
March	409	
April	449	
May	458	

We see that the price fluctuations have been comparatively slight. The damaging effects of the depreciation of the currency were thus not felt in their full force. Undoubtedly there were reports of the extensive purchases made in France by foreign buyers, above all by German and English buyers, during the weeks when the franc was at its lowest. French iron, flour, textile articles, shoes, etc., found their way into Germany. But the whole incident did not last long enough to have any permanent effect upon French economic life.

After the stabilisation and rapid improvement of the French franc, the phenomena so well known in Germany's economic experience put in an appearance: difficulties in finding export markets, stagnation of export. But this too lasted but a short time, and at the present time the rate of exchange of the franc, and the price levels, are almost entirely the same as they were six months ago.

The Causes of the Depreciation of the Franc.

We have already expressed the opinion that the French franc is bound to share the fate of the German and Polish marks, unless it is supported by international action. This proved true in the first quarter of 1924. But the fact the depreciation of the franc could be so easily arrested, and even transformed into a sharp upward movement, proves that French economic life possesses powerful internal powers of resistance. These are based upon France's excellent agrarian foundation, on the large

income derived from foreign visitors, and on a number of other circumstances.

The weakest point in French economics, as we have so often emphasised, is the financial situation of the state. When the German payments failed to flow in, despite the occupation of the Ruhr, France had to take up the work of restoration in the devastated districts at her own expense.

This was done at the expense of the middle class, which was slowly expropriated during the process of depreciation of the franc. The whole of the savings laid by by the French people, the enormous sums invested by them in state securities, annuities, etc., were expropriated to the extent of four fifths of their value during the period following the war. When forming a judgment on this process, we must take care not to fall into the delusion that the expropriation of the middle class cannot take place without such a complete collapse of the currency as occurred in Germany and Poland. On the contrary: if the currency depreciates in value by 80%, as was the case in France, this signifies the loss of four fifths of the savings of the middle class saver. A further depreciation of the currency, down to the zero level, is perhaps externally more dramatic in effect, but does not signify more in reality than the engulfment of the remaining fifth.

Formally, however, the work of restoration was financed by the issue of new paper money of various descriptions, to the value of hundreds of milliards. The last wave of depreciation suffered by the French franc was caused by the fact that the French people, the broad masses of the French petty citizens and farmers, were no longer inclined or able to absorb the latest issues of paper securities. This obliged the government to make a radical change in its financial policy, and to attempt to balance budget and restoration expenditure by means of raising taxation by one fifth. At the same time the sums granted for restoration were greatly reduced. These measures, in combination with the stabilisation loan given by the Americans, enabled the franc to be restored to the level it stood at the end of 1923.

Unfortunately, the information afforded by the press does not permit of any certain knowledge of the conditions on which this American loan, granted through the agency of the Morgan banking house, was given. On 2 June an official communiqué was issued on the loan by the Herriot government. This states that on the 11. March the Poincaré government applied to the bank of France with the request that action should be taken for the support of the franc, and considerable sums in dollars be thrown upon the market. The bank of France agreed to this, and entered into communication with the Morgan banking house in New York for the purpose of obtaining a credit of 100 million dollars, under the condition that this sum was either to be paid back in dollars within six months, or covered by gold remittances. The American banking house pointed out that an action of this nature would only be temporary in effect, unless the measures planned by the government were finally accepted, so that the whole world would receive the impression that the improvement in the franc was consolidated by a financial policy increasing France's credit. M. Lasteurie, Minister of Finance at that time, agreed to these conditions, and authorised the bank of France to send the following telegram to New York: "After consultation with the government, I am in a position to assure you that measures are being taken towards the improvement of the financial position. The government will exercise pressure upon the Senate (the Chamber has already expressed its agreement to this), in order to accelerate the acceptance of the raising of taxation which will balance the budget as a whole, and to ratify the policy of cancelling all expenditure not covered by corresponding revenues. Until the financial situation has actually improved, the government will not approach the market for the purpose of consolidating the floating debts, and it will not issue any further loan, not even for the completion of the restoration of the devastated areas, without providing for the service of such loan from the revenues furnished by the normal budget. The bank of France, for its part, will continue to support the endeavours of the government by all the means at its disposal, and will take all measures falling within its sphere of activity." (Quoted from the "Times" of 3. June 1924.)

It may at least be regarded as certain that freedom of political movement was much hampered by the necessity of appealing to Anglo-American financial aid. According to the official communiqué cited above, the loan raised from the Morgan group would become due in September. French newspapers maintain that the full amount of this loan has not been used. There are

even reports that during the period of the recovery of the franc large sums in dollars (more than required to cover the credit) accumulated in the bank of France.

One thing is certain, and that is that those English and American financiers who were "in the know", have been able to gain enormous sums by the speculation in connection with the fall and recovery of the franc. The greatest loss was borne by the speculators calculating on the depreciation. The Berlin and Vienna exchanges were involved in the most difficult complications by the support action, whilst the better informed French politicians and bankers gained enormous sums. The rapid rise of the franc immediately after the support action is mostly due to the fact that the speculators utilised the opportunity to squeeze the utmost possible out of their opponents.

The Future of the Franc.

The future of the franc depends mainly on the manner in which France succeeds in arranging her finances, upon the courses taken by the world's economic crisis, and the solution found for the reparation question. It is extremely difficult to form a judgment upon French financial affairs. It must be taken into consideration that the national debt is bound to increase in one form or another if the work of restoration is to be completed. Besides this, nobody in the world knows the actual amount of the French national debt. The famous Sorbonne professor, Gide, estimates it at approximately 400 milliard francs, and calculates that this sum will have increased to 500 milliard by the time the restoration is completed. This calculation assumes that the franc, and thus the amount of foreign debt, remains at its present level. The interest and sinking fund on this debt would demand a sum of 25 to 30 milliard paper francs annually.

The Dawes plan provides for annual payments of 2500 milliard gold marks after the lapse of five years. The reparations agreement apportions 52% of this to France, that is, approximately 1300 million gold marks. At the present rate of exchange of 21 paper francs to the dollar this would make 5½ milliard paper francs. This sum would thus barely suffice to pay the interest on the fifth part of the French national debt, assuming of course that the rate of exchange of the franc does not improve to any great extent, and thus reduce the amount of reparations payments in paper francs.

We have, however, already shown that the execution of the Dawes plan, with respect to the possibility of extracting reparations payments from Germany to the extent reckoned upon, is extremely unlikely, and depends on a radical liquidation of the international economic crisis. A radical economic improvement would alone create the conditions enabling markets to be found for German industrial products to the value of 6 milliard gold marks yearly. The experts themselves are very doubtful about the possibility, and the real object of the Experts' Report is not the obtaining of full reparation payments, but to hinder the economic development of Germany to the extent required by the interests of the French and English bourgeoisies. If this be the case, then France will not receive full reparations payments. She will try to cover this loss by raising the share of reparations due to her, and by the annulment of the inter-allied debts. We see that the stability of the franc is still threatened by very great dangers during the next few years.

Economic Conditions.

Economic conditions in France were fairly good up to the month of June. The fluctuations in the value of the franc naturally gave rise to certain hindrances, but these did not take any far-reaching effect, for the reasons already mentioned. The working people have been almost fully employed until recently, and the influx of Belgian, Polish, Hungarian, and other workers was further continued during the past half year. Heavy industrial production has continued to increase, as follows:

	Coal	Iron	Steel
	(1000 double cwts.)		
Average 1913	3981	443	415
December	4303	555	526
January	4928	586	541
February	4807	590	555
March	5017	640	573
April	3342	651	567
May	3692	658	598
June	—	638	554

These figures show that production has not suffered through the currency crisis. It is only quite recently, in the month of July, that reports have been heard to the effect that in France — as in England — heavy industry is suffering through the expansion of production in the Ruhr area, and through the crisis in the United States. How far this is likely to proceed cannot be foreseen at present. But we think it probable that France will be involved in the general decline of economic prosperity which we anticipate for Europe.

The other branches of industry carried on in France have also had little cause for complaint during the period of this report. Many of these; mills, textile factories, manufacturers of fancy articles, etc., profited by the fall of the franc, and were able for a time to beat every competitor out of the market. During the period when the franc rose again to 65 to the pound sterling, there was a temporary difficulty in finding markets, but this passed over when the franc depreciated in value again.

Economic conditions for the coming period will be greatly influenced by the success of the crops. Here it must be remembered that France is dependent on imports for wheat, even if not to any great extent. Thus the increased prices for grain in the world's markets will tend to increase the adverse trade balance during the coming economic year.

Foreign Trade.

The chief data referring to French foreign trade are as follows (in thousands of francs):

	Import	Export	Activity (+), or passivity (-) of trade balance
December	3,863,382	3,113,874	- 749,508
January	2,887,921	2,669,833	- 218,088
February	3,713,800	3,918,279	+ 204,479
March	3,622,604	4,354,695	+ 732,091
April	3,292,151	4,027,041	+ 731,890
May	3,177,313	3,360,148	+ 182,835
June	3,178,867	2,922,304	- 256,563

These data reflect with tolerable clearness the effects of the fluctuations of the franc. In the months of March and April exports increased considerably, and the trade balance shows great activity. The months of May and June bring a great reduction in exports: in June the trade balance is passive again. (Conclusions drawn from these figures must, however, be influenced by the reservations which we have frequently pointed out to be necessary with regard to the reliability of French foreign trade statistics.)

In conclusion, we may cite a few observations on the decline of economic conditions at the present time ("Frankfurter Zeitung", 25. July 1924):

"The business slump being felt in other countries is also having its effect on French economic life . . .

. . . This is, for instance, observable in the iron industry, whose foreign markets have been reduced by foreign competition, whilst not even the fits of weakness undergone by the French franc have been able to prevent this. Inland buyers are equally unimpressed by the technical reasons given by the markets, or by the sinking prices; the uncertainty of the political situation makes them prefer to await events. Some works have already dismissed workmen. In the textile industry conditions are if possible even more unfavourable. In the North, factories are reducing their production almost everywhere. Many of them are now working for stock, although during the first quarter of the year they were not able to work fast enough to supply the excessive demand (franc depreciation). The coal mines still form an exception to these unfavourable conditions, and are fully occupied. The building industry, concentrated as it is almost entirely upon the devastated areas, has been rendered almost entirely inactive by the lack of credit. Notices of bankruptcy are being given in daily by the firms entrusted with the work, and the restoration is making no progress whatever. The branches of industry connected with the building trade are naturally equally involved. In view of these facts, the decrease in the income derived from the railways, especially in the industrial areas, is easily comprehensible."

These appear to be the first indications that France is also being involved in the general crisis affecting European economies. The retrograde movement in France is likely to be further

accelerated by the fact that the work of restoration in the devastated areas, which has ensured for French industry a market free from all competition ever since the war, has now almost entirely ceased in consequence of the unfortunate financial situation of the country.

Italy.

In Italy the economic situation has perhaps been the steadiest and quietest among all the great European countries dealt with in this report. The currency remained stable during the whole period. The fluctuations did not exceed 2 to 3%, so that they exercised but little influence on the course of economics. If we peruse the reports issued by Fascist political economists, we receive the impression that economically everything in Italy is in perfect order. Thus for instance, the Fascist minister of finance, de Stefani, in a speech held in the Senate at the time of the Matteotti incident, commented somewhat as follows on the Italian economic situation:

"Agriculture has regained and exceeded its pre-war production. Increased sums are being invested in industry, 300 to 400 millions on an average monthly. Railway traffic and transport are growing. The savings being placed in the banks are increasing by 50 millions monthly. Exports are growing steadily, and the adverse balance of our trade is decreasing. Wages have maintained their standard, prices are retreating slowly, the buying of the lire is on the increase. This general recovery in economics should be accorded consideration when judging of the financial policy pursued by the government. The current economic year closes with a deficit of between 700 and 800 million lire, which is more than compensated by the simultaneous reduction in the national debt. The fiscal year 1925/26 will be able to close without a deficit." ("Börsen-Courier", 17. July 1924.)

But there are other more impartial reports which go to show that Italy's economic position is not quite so brilliant as the Fascisti try to represent it. It is true that the good crops of the year 1923 certainly contributed to increasing the buying power of the home markets. Besides this, the earthquake catastrophe in Japan lent a temporary revival, combined with high profits, to the Italian silk and artificial silk industry. But the internal weaknesses of Italian economic life have not been overcome. Such weaknesses are the lack of coal, iron ores, and petroleum, and the low productivity of agriculture, resultant on the low standard of culture among the population. To this must be added the militarist imperialist policy of the Fascist regime, casting great unproductive burdens upon the country.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" publishes the report of an Italian correspondent (February), which is more likely to be nearer the truth: "Agriculture has not been able to gain the advantage it had hoped for from the record crops of 1923, but suffers from difficulty in finding markets. The high prices of Italian agricultural products hamper export, whilst the great economy practised at home has resulted in decreased inland consumption. (This general economy is chiefly the result of the low wages and inevitable reduction of the buying power of the working class.) Considerable stores of wire are lying unbought, especially in Southern Italy; the textile industry is weakened by the reduced consumption; the iron and metal industries are still in the midst of a crisis. The shipyards complain of lack of orders, etc. Some few branches of industry, as the machine industry, the artificial silk industry, and the electric industry, show signs of improvement during the last few months."

The Italian banks have developed a somewhat extensive activity in Eastern Europe. We already have mentioned the great usurious credit business done by the Banca Commerciale in Poland. In such transactions the money institutions are accorded the support of the Fascist government, which favors the expansion of Italian banking power as an aid to Italian imperialist policy. On the other hand, American capital is at the same time finding its way into Italy. Thus the Sinclair group has made a contract with the Italian government for the prospecting and possible exploitation of petroleum in South Italy and Sicily.

The Banca Commerciale serves to carry out the imperialist banking policy, and at the same time acts as intermediary for American capital. It possesses a branch in New York, now working independently; it has another branch establishment working in South America, and is further extending its activities to Egypt, Asia Minor, and the succession states of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. American capital, unwilling to come in direct contact with the unsettled social, political, and

currency conditions obtaining in these areas, prefers to extend its sphere of influence through the intermediation of the Italian banks. Italian capital is now attempting, in combination with the great loan granted to Poland, to gain a foothold in the heavy industry of Upper Silesia.

Italy's foreign trade shows a rising tendency in the four months for which we have the data. The amounts were as follows, in million lire:

	Net imports	Exports
December	184	161
January	117	84
February	156	110
March	152	122
April	156	120
May	—	—
June	—	—

Compared with the like period of last year, the adverse trade balance has decreased. Here the most conspicuous items are the increased export of silk and artificial silk, fruit, and various agricultural products.

We can say but little here on the situation of the working class. The official statistics on unemployment show very little alteration. The registered unemployed were as follows:

End of December	259,000
" " January	281,000
" " February	259,000
In May	177,000

The decrease in unemployment is of course to be ascribed to the increased demand for agricultural labour. Unemployment is certainly much greater actually than here stated. It must also be recollected that a large number of Italian workers are permanently abroad, at the present time mainly in France and in North and South America. Emigration to North America has been made almost entirely impossible by the new emigration laws. Only some few thousand Italians are permitted to immigrate annually. This will have a detrimental effect upon the situation of the Italian labour market.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Results of the Austrian Metal Workers' Strike.

By Karl Frank (Vienna).

The strike of the 150,000 metal workers marks a turning point in the development of the Austrian Labour Movement. The strike was entered upon against the will of the Trade Union bureaucracy and was ended, as a result of the pressure of the whole apparatus of the Austrian Social Democracy, against the will of the majority of the workers in the largest factories. Having regard to the sacrifices made, and the tremendous number participating in this strike, its result, in spite of the partial success in the wage question, is a trade union defeat.

Regarded from the political standpoint, this strike introduces a new phase in the Austrian Labour Movement. In a mood of bitter rebellion, the Austrian workers have for the first time spontaneously entered into the struggle against the consequences of the "sanitation". Hitherto they had accepted the "sanitation" almost without a struggle. The overwhelming majority of the Austrian workers, who are organised in the Social Democratic Party and in the trade unions which are under social democratic leadership, have up to now been held back from every serious struggle against the Geneva sanitation by the policy of the Austrian Social Democracy; whose sham opposition rendered the Geneva sanitation possible. Even at the end of July, Otto Bauer at the Metal Workers' Congress formulated almost without opposition the latest menshevik theory: that at present it is impossible to carry on wage struggle with any success, because at the present time the banks, in the form of high interest, are taking the greater portion of the surplus value from the employers and the workers, and "the workers and employers are left to quarrel over the remaining fragments". In addition to this, continues Otto Bauer, the Austrian Metal Industry has become an export industry, which, owing to the high tariffs of the surrounding countries, cannot compete with the foreign industries,

and therefore trade union successes which are always dependent upon the relation of the cost of production at home to the cost of production abroad, are hopeless from the outset. "Only to the extent to which the excessive costs of the post-war period and the effects of the war upon the cost of production are gradually abolished — only to this extent will we be gradually able to raise wages." The workers can only gradually hope to improve their position to the extent that interest is reduced and foreign tariffs are removed. Till then, according to his opinion — which for the broadest masses of the workers is as good as holy Scripture — no wage struggles must be entered upon. The workers should rather fight along with the employers for protective tariffs. By this he expected to achieve great progress on the road to power by means of the ballot box, for he announced that "whilst we shall make slow progress on the economic field, we shall advance much more rapidly on the political field."

This theory has been very quickly refuted by hard facts. Scarcely had the protective tariffs which were supported by the party of Otto Bauer, come into effect, when the situation of the working class, and in particular of the metal workers, became unbearable. Even according to bourgeois statistics the actual wages of the metal workers only amounted to 65% of the pre-war level. The leaders of the trade union thought it sufficient to demand an increase of 15%. Even this modest demand was brutally rejected by the Metal industrialists. The latter demanded, moreover, nothing more nor less than the abandonment of the eight hour day. Thereupon a strike broke out, which has resulted in completely repelling the attack on the eight hour day.

Any other strike leadership would have been able, with this army of strikers, to win back pre-war wages. The Austrian trade union leaders, even with this army of strikers, managed to encounter a defeat. They refused to make use of any effective weapon which would have converted the retreat of the employers into complete capitulation. The reformists, according to their own confession, were compelled "to use all their powers" in order to hold back the working class. Special use was made of the "Ordnerschaft" (Defence units) of the Austrian workers, which are completely under the command of the Social Democrats. These prevented and broke up demonstrations of the strikers and also protected the premises of the Social Democratic strike leaders against hundreds and thousands demonstrating strikers.

The leaders of the metal workers induced the menshevik leaders of the printers' organisation to prevent the printing of placards and leaflets of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union groups demanding the extension of the strike. They compelled the apprentices to act as strike breakers in the factories. Several firms thereby had a reserve staff of more than 100 employees. The trade union leaders prevented the electrical workers from joining in the strike, although the latter had enthusiastically decided to join immediately in the strike and continually insisted upon bringing the electrical works to a standstill. The trade union leaders, who allowed scarcely any strike benefit to be paid out, refused an offer of the International Workers Relief to supply the strikers with bread and bacon, stating this would be a dangerous and harmful thing. They began negotiations with the employers after the Vienna workers had been on strike a week, and refused to issue the slogan of a general strike, which they had themselves, with a great show of words, promised to put into use at this time. They prevented the extension of the strike, although it can be seen from the published report of the negotiations that the employers, acting after the manner of horse dealers, opened the "negotiations" with an offer of not even 5% increase of wages, although the Social Democratic municipal authorities and the state had promised them a reduction of taxes. The result of these strike tactics can now be seen: the strike was broken off, to the great disappointment of the strikers, with a wage increase of 10%. At the present moment the groups in the Austrian provinces are still carrying on negotiations; but as they have been isolated by the breaking off of the strike in Vienna and as they are not included in the negotiations they have been completely betrayed.

The scenes which took place after the vote at the conference of the representatives of the Vienna factory councils regarding the acceptance of the compromise were indescribable. The members of the factory council who had submitted were, on leaving the premises, hooted at and spat upon by a crowd numbering some thousands. Only an enormous body of stewards were able to protect them from the acts of desperation of the betrayed workers. The workers in numerous factories decided to remain on strike. The Communist Party also called for the removal of the officials who voted against this strike and their

replacement by revolutionary factory councillors, the setting up of a new strike leadership and the continuation of the struggle.

The Social Democratic report which states that nine tenths of the Conference were for the abandonment of the strike, is an absolute falsehood. As a matter of fact the overwhelming majority of the metal workers will not accept the result. The revolutionary trade union block and the Communist Party are, however, not yet strong enough to rally the scattered forces for the continuation of the united struggle in the face of the vile campaign of the Social Democrats.

On the other hand, the conclusion of the metal workers struggle will mark the beginning of a wide-spread process of disintegration in the social democratic organisation. It means the exposure of the Austrian menshevik theory of gaining power by peaceful means. The bitterness and indignation of the workers must now be used for building up a revolutionary organisation. The next strike of the metal workers will not be long in coming. The collective agreement which has been "gained" will expire in two months. There is no abatement in the wave of high prices. This first symptom of the bankruptcy of Austrian sanitation, which can be understood by the broadest masses of the proletariat, will also be the signal for rallying the revolutionary forces for the next task, for building up a revolutionary Communist mass party.

The Miners' Strike in Belgium.

To all Miners!

Comrades, Miners!

The Belgian capitalists are conducting a bitter campaign against the Miners. The miners of the Borinage district in Belgium have already been on strike for three weeks*) because the employers, in spite of the existing agreements, are seeking, quite arbitrarily, to reduce their wages by 10 per cent.

Why have the Belgian capitalists taken up the offensive? Because, as a result of the German reparation deliveries, they have been able to accumulate huge stocks. The Belgian mine owners, relying upon these supplies and using the pretext of German competition, are now endeavouring to dictate their will to the miners of Borinage.

The miners of other countries will soon be compelled to conduct the same struggle as that which the miners of the Borinage are now conducting. For the Dawes Plan, which was agreed to at the London Conference, compelled Germany to increase her production and throw more goods upon the world-market. It therefore follows that in France and Belgium further stocks of coal are being accumulated and that in view of this the capitalists of these countries, as well as the capitalists of England, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries will endeavour to lower the wages and prolong the hours of labour of the miners in order to be better able to compete against German coal.

The carrying out of the Dawes Plan has only just begun, and it has already resulted in the German mine owners compelling the German miners to work 8, 8½ and 9 hours under ground and 10 hours above ground. The German capitalists are now demanding a reduction in the miners' wages of about 20%. In Belgium, the coal barons are already imposing upon the miners a 5 to 10% wage cut. The mine owners of France declare that the French miners must also work longer hours, if the longer working hours continue to exist in Germany.

The Dawes Plan, which is supported by all social traitors and reformists and which can only be realised thanks to their shameful betrayal of the interests of the workers, will therefore bring to us, the workers of all countries, a terrible worsening of our position, the effects of which cannot yet be foreseen. The plan is an actual conspiracy on the part of the capitalists of the whole world against our interests. It is being carried out with active support of the social traitors of all countries.

Our Belgian comrades are the first victims of the realisation of this conspiracy.

All of us, no matter where we work, in Germany, France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland or other countries, are threatened by it.

Therefore, comrades, miners of all countries, hasten to the aid of the miners of Borinage. Support their fight against the results of the London Treaty.

*) The strike of the miners in the Borinage district has already lasted five weeks. Ed.

Fight against the carrying out of the Dawes Plan!
See to it that the reparation deliveries are stopped!
Long live the miners of Borinage!
Long live the international struggle of the proletariat against capital!

Moscow, 8th September 1924.

International Action and Propaganda-Committee
of the Revolutionary Miners.

SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Reflections of a Second Internationalist on the Sixtieth Anniversary.

By W. N. Clark.

In the August number of the English "Socialist Review" there appears an article from the pen of Mr. R. C. Wallhead, M. P. the treasurer of the Second International on the "International", written presumably in view of the approaching sixtieth anniversary*).

It is certainly no easy task for a member of the Second International, which still considers itself to be the direct successor of that revolutionary institution founded by Marx and Engels, to write anything like an authentic account of the origin of the "International" and its subsequent development without exposing its shameful betrayal of all those principles which the founders of Scientific Socialism stood for. It is not surprising therefore, that Wallhead's article betrays a considerable degree of circumspection, and that it is more remarkable for what it omits to mention as for what it contains. When dealing with the recent history of the Second International and its future prospects, his attitude somewhat resembles that of a fond nurse who is endeavouring to give as favourable a report as possible of a very sickly and unpromising child. It is only at the commencement of his article that he is guilty of a bold flight of imagination when he writes (italics ours):

"It may be admitted at once that the 'International' has always sought to establish unanimity of aims and objective amongst its affiliated National parties, particularly with regard to industrial legislation affecting hours of labour and working conditions." This probably has reference to the unanimous acceptance of the Dawes Plan by all Social Democratic Parties! "*Its attitude towards militarism and war has always been one of intense hostility, and its endeavour has always been the noble one of attempting by all possible means to break down national and racial antagonism which have perpetually been used by rulers to assist them in wars of aggrandisement and plunder.*"

This of course was particularly noticeable during the period from 1914 to 1918! For the rest however he adopts a more modest, not to say an apologetic tone when speaking of his protégé.

It is significant that never once does Wallhead mention in his article the existence of the III. International, except when referring to the formation of the 2½ International when he writes: "one of its (the Vienna Union's) objects was, if possible to find a basis for the formation of a new International which should combine the three organisations then in existence viz, the Vienna Union, the Second International and the Third International, having its headquarters in Moscow". Dealing with the events which led to the re-union of the Vienna and II. International he states: "Meanwhile events in Europe were moving fast. The new German Republic appeared to be in danger of overthrow, and the German Majority and Minority Parties became united in defence of the Republic." It is a remarkable fact that ever since the war the cry of the "Republic is in danger"

*) To this article the editor of the "Socialist Review" makes the following introductory note, with the last sentence of which we thoroughly agree:

"The Tories have shown themselves to be very interested in the 'Socialistische Arbeiterinternationale'. Here the treasurer gives an interesting account of the organisation, its origin and its possibilities. Possibly the old women of both sexes in country houses will now be able to sleep quietly in their beds." W. N. C. and

has served German Social Democracy the same purpose as did the cry of the "Fatherland in danger" during the war: it has been used as a pretext on almost every occasion of its betrayal of the workers.

As to the results of the union of the 2 and 2½ Internationals, which was hailed as such an achievement by those who engineered it, the writer says: "It is too early to say whether the result is entirely satisfactory. War develops a psychology that is not always easy to overcome. The various treaties that have been drawn up between the various governments (and signed by members of the Second International! Ed.) have not brought solutions of European problems, and it does not appear as though they will. They have created more intricacies and created problems of an entirely different character to those previously existing. Economic problems have arisen by the breaking up of the old Austrian Empire and by the operations of the Versailles Treaty. Militarism is rampant and in some of the countries, new and old alike, re-action is in the saddle." All of which of course constitutes a splendid testimonial as to what the Second International has been able to accomplish up to date. Mr. Wallhead has, however, something to record upon the credit-side of the account. He states: "This much at least can be claimed for the 'International'. It has shown a grasp and appreciation of European problems not equalled by any of the capitalist governments in power."

Hence, Mr. Wallhead is by no means discouraged. In fact he considers "there is the possibility of a great future before the Labour and Socialist International". Further he states: "I believe in the future of the 'International'. By the steps it is taking to organise the anti-militarist forces of Europe in particular it is doing magnificent work. It lacks a press; it lacks finance (as its treasurer I speak very feelingly and with full knowledge) its organisation is by no means as complete as it ought to be..." It may be an oversight on Mr. Wallhead's part, but while mentioning the lack of a press he does not mention the II. International's lack of a programme. This lack is probably less due to financial poverty than to poverty of ideas and also to the natural hesitation of the Second International leaders to commit themselves to any definite statement of aims and principles. It would certainly tax the diplomatic ingenuity even of Fritz Adler to draft a formula which would reconcile the aims and aspirations of those revolutionary workers who are still to be found in the ranks of the Second International, with its counter-revolutionary leaders who have abandoned their faith in socialism.

As regards the lack of an international press, this also may be anything but a source of weakness to the London International. In fact perhaps there is nothing which would accelerate the process of disintegration of this body than if it were to set up its own international press organ, which would render it possible for the various sections to have some insight into the doings and activities of the other sections. At present the chief concern of the various Social Democratic Party editors seems to be to keep their respective readers quite in the dark in this respect and to exercise a very careful censorship even when quoting from their "brother" party organs of other countries. For example, it is probable that few Social Democratic workers outside of Germany have any notion as to the policy pursued in recent years by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. It would be a revelation to some of these workers were the contents of the German Social Democratic "Vorwärts" brought to their notice. This is what party editors in other countries are very careful to avoid. The scriptural exhortation, "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth", is interpreted by International Social Democracy as "Let not thy left-wing know what thy right wing doeth"

There is one question, however, which Mr. Wallhead's article leaves unanswered, and that is: why the parties of the Vienna Union, and particularly his own party, the English "Independent Labour Party", brought themselves to re-unite with the II. International, which only a year or two previously they had turned from in disgust. In the interim it had shown no "change of heart", but it is and remains essentially the international of the great betrayal of August 1914 and the repeated acts of treachery which followed. Why then at Hamburg did the quasi-International of Otto Bauer and Fritz Adler return to the International of Noske almost like a home-coming prodigal son? To answer this question is to furnish the real reason for the formation of the Vienna Working Union. When the shameful record of the Second International was still fresh in the memory of the workers, and there was threatening a general exodus from its ranks into the ranks

of the Third International, there was opportunely set up — under the pretext of seeking to establish international socialist unity — this half-way-house in which the discontented elements among the ranks of Social Democracy could find a temporary home. This institution was kept in existence until such time when it was thought the workers had forgotten the jingoism of Henderson, the treachery of Vandervelde and the brutality of Noske, when — carefully shepherded by the "left wing" Social Democratic leaders — the Parties comprising the Vienna Union could be brought back into the International from which they had turned with loathing and disgust. Thus have the words of Scripture again been fulfilled: "The dog hath returned to his vomit, and the sow that had been washed to her wallowing in the mire."

But the process of infusing the young blood of the 2½ International into the decrepit veins of the Second, is proving to be just as futile as the much-vaunted Steinach-process of grafting monkey glands on to senile old men with the object of restoring their youthful physical and mental vigour. That decrepit organism, the Labour and Socialist International, is beyond the help of even the cleverest political quacks of either London or Vienna.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Declaration of the British Minority Movement.

We give below in full the reply of the Executive Committee of the British "Minority Movement" to the recent attack made upon it by the Executive Bureau of the Amsterdam International. Ed.

It is not surprising to the Executive Committee of the National Minority Movement to read the statement issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions, accusing our organisation of being created by "our Moscow friends and their followers"; of "trying to split the British Trade Union Movement", and finally, to falsely accuse us by inference of receiving "Russian Gold", they state "this detail has been left to Moscow to settle".

It would appear that the I. F. T. U. has just discovered that there was a Minority Movement in Britain. As a matter of fact, there has been a Minority Movement in the Miners, the Transport and the Metal industries for some considerable time. The Miners have held five district conferences and one National Conference since they formed Minority Groups almost two years ago. The Metal workers have held several district conferences.

The following is part of the resolution of the Minority Conference:

"This National Minority Conference, therefore, pledges the National Minority Movement and all its supporters throughout the country to work unceasingly in the respective Trade Union organisations for the concentration of Trade Union executive power in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress..."

The influence of our Minority Movement can be measured by the vote for Mr. A. J. Cook as secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and his election on the programme of the Miners' Minority Movement; the vote for affiliation to the R. I. L. U. of the South Wales Miners' Federation at two congresses, and the same decision was taken by the Ayrshire Miners, together with many other Trade Union bodies. Yet with all this influence we have gained, not a split has taken place where our adherents were influential. On the contrary, we published manifestoes against the splits that have taken place. We countenanced against them before they took place, and on the most recent split, the formation of the new Signalmen's Union on the railways, we have instructed all our members to stay in the National Union of Railwaymen and fight against the split. But the splits are occurring because of the policy pursued by our trade union bureaucrats, the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U.

A review of our press and literature stands as a monument of constructive work in the trade union movement. Our comrades are for revitalising the whole Movement, the re-organisation of the Unions into Industrial Unions, one organisation for

each industry, a militant leadership and the control of industry. The National Conference was only a gathering together of all our forces into a National Minority Movement.

It is true that the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions was instrumental in helping, advising, and assisting the workers in organising these minorities. But these minorities are working men and women who wish to see a move forward. It was these minorities and the R. I. L. U. who initiated, nearly three years ago, the campaign for "All Power to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress". The Hull Congress gave more power to the General Council, after rejecting it at two previous congresses. If we were splitters (and we charge Oudegeest and his German, French, and Belgian adherents of splitting the unions in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc.), we should not have been so persevering in our agitation for centralised power. We were also responsible for initiating the "Back to the Unions" campaign, which was taken up by the Trade Union Congress. Our actions disprove these slanderous statements of the officials of the I. F. T. U.

That "the complete programme for the British Minority Conference" was made at the third congress of the R. I. L. U. is absolutely false. It is true that the R. I. L. U. congress dealt with British conditions as well as conditions of 38 other countries, and we know of no other who could deal more ably with the British workers than Comrade Tom Mann. And it is sufficient for the British workers to know that Tom Mann (even though "Kalinin, the Russian" also had something to say in presenting proposals) was the chief speaker, to be convinced of the progressive nature of those proposals. But the resolutions were drafted by members of our own Minority Movement. As to the "closest relations to the British Communist Party", we merely state that our organisation is made up of members of the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and Communist Party, and workers adhering to no political party. But if the Communist Party gives a clear political lead to working-class forces then we welcome it. But our Minority Conference was an open one. It was convened by an open call to trade union branches, trades councils, district committees and unemployed committees to send delegates. The 270 delegates representing 200,000 trade unionists were elected by legitimate and proper methods. They adopted the decisions and resolutions. The Executive Committee was elected; five from the floor of the conference, and three from each industrial section. And this reflects the desire of these trade unionists. Further, these trade unionists finance our movement, and all the inference of the officials of the I. F. T. U. to the contrary, will only excite more opposition to them and their policy of division and class collaboration.

We see in this attack another attempt to delay international Unity. This is deliberately written by those in the I. F. T. U. who seek to keep the International Labour Movement divided. They have timed their attack upon us to coincide with the meeting of the International Unity Commission which takes place at Berlin on September 10th, elected by the R. I. L. U. The welcome given the Russian delegation at the Hull congress worries the I. F. T. U. officials. They accuse us of attempting to split the unions, but are using these methods to cause a split in the ranks of the British Trade Unionists who were so eager for International Unity at Hull. But the British workers, and also the world's workers, can rest contented; we shall have no splitting in Britain, and will continue our fight with increased vigour for International Unity. We are aware of the intentions of those who issue such statements. They are doing it to divide and maintain splits internationally.

*The Executive Committee of the
National Minority Movement.*

Edo Fimmen exposes Anti-Soviet Lies.

(Extract from a speech delivered by Edo Fimmen on the 12th of September at a Sitting of the Presidium of the Railwaymen's Union in Moscow.)

I should have been very pleased had I been able to appear officially in the name of the Transport Workers' International at the negotiations with the R. I. L. U. But unfortunately there still exists in the International of Transport Workers a very strong section which is of the opinion that connections with the Russian organisations can only be set up under certain definite conditions. I am glad to have the opportunity of being in Moscow in order to

become acquainted with the achievements of the Russian proletariat. I cannot at present give a definite opinion as to the impression which Moscow and Soviet Russia have made upon me. In spite of this I must say that everything which I have seen up to now has made a very great impression upon me. The first thing which came to my mind, was that the silly gossip one hears in Europe, that in Soviet Russia there exists not a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship over the proletariat, is a brazen lie. The European workers would be very glad if they could enjoy the same freedom as the workers in Soviet Russia.

I hope that the European workers, including the non-party and even the social democratic workers, will become more and more convinced that the bourgeois press and even a portion of the labour press is deceiving them regarding life in Soviet Russia. The broad masses of the workers will sooner or later learn the true state of affairs, and when these masses have learnt the truth regarding Soviet Russia the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement will receive a great stimulus.

You know that two years ago I was still, like all other leaders of the European trade union movement, an opponent of the Russian Trade Unions and of the Russian Revolution. Now, however, I am personally convinced that this was a great mistake. I will not say that everything which has been said in Soviet Russia regarding the West-European trade union movement, and everything which you have undertaken in relation to the European trade union movement, was right in every detail. Many mistakes were also committed on our side. Your impatience is quite understandable. The workers in the West have not shown so much courage, they have not made so many sacrifices as the Russian proletariat. There the trade unions are partly bound by tradition and partly by their leaders. There they still seriously believe that it is possible to achieve something by negotiations, by going cap in hand to the bourgeoisie. Therein lies the greatest mistake of the European trade union movement.

I understand therefore why the Russian proletariat so sharply criticise the leaders of the West-European trade unions. They have a right to criticise them so sharply. I myself became convinced of this in 1922, when I began to follow events in Germany. The bourgeoisie replied to the Hague Trade Union Peace Congress with the occupation of the Ruhr, and the European proletariat not only failed to take up the struggle for the liberation of the German proletariat, but it did not even make a single attempt to do so.

On the whole, I maintain that the Russian tactics were correct. It will only be possible to achieve anything when all sections of the trade union movement are working hand in hand. Only then will it be possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish communism. When I arrived at this conviction I commenced the fight for unity. I set myself a definite aim and to this aim I will devote all my powers. I am convinced that unity must come, or else the labour movement is lost.

Two or three years ago there was in the Amsterdam International a united front against the Russian trade unions. To-day the situation is otherwise. To-day there exists in the Amsterdam International a revolutionary minority which considers it necessary to unite with the Russian Trade Unions. This minority varies from 10 to 40% in the different organisations. But whatever it may be it is still a minority, and so long as it is only a minority, the Russian Trade-Unions cannot be accepted.

With us in the Transport Workers International the situation is as follows: The question regarding admission of the Russian Unions to the International Congress of the Transport Workers was dealt with at the sitting of the Executive. The minority fought for admission, but the decision rested with the majority. This minority, however, is growing continually stronger and will soon be the majority; the International Transport Workers will then be pleased to admit the Russian Unions into their ranks. I have devoted myself entirely to this struggle, I have entirely broken with the past and am convinced that we, along with the Russian organisations will be able to make a step forward on the road to world revolution. (Stormy applause.)

Dawes Plan a Triumph for Socialism!

"Thanks to the Dawes Plan, socialism will triumph. The Expert's Plan would never have been adopted but for the socialists. It would never have become the basic law of European economy with Poincare, Lloyd George or Ludendorff in power."

"Milwaukee Leader" (American Socialist Organ).

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Liquidation of Menshevism in Georgia.

(Interview with the Deputy Chairman of the People's Commissariat of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republics, Comrade Mirsa-Daut-Gusseinov.)

After his arrival in Moscow, Comrade Mirsa-Daut-Gusseinov gave the following details of the recently attempted revolt of the Mensheviks in Georgia:

The chief aim of the revolt was, according to the declaration of the leaders of the Menshevik gang of bandits, to show to the Entente countries that unrest prevailed in Georgia and that the mass of the Georgian people were against the Soviet power. In the event of the revolt being a success, its leaders had intended to induce the Western European countries to intervene in our affairs. According to the declaration of Dshugeli and other members of the "Committee of the Independence of Georgia" (the English, and in particular the French, imperialists exercised pressure upon the Foreign Bureau of the Mensheviks to organise a revolt in Georgia. And in this connection the leaders of the revolt apparently hoped for timely support for the rebels, chiefly on the part of France. It is characteristic that everywhere where sporadic revolts broke out, the menshevik leaders based their propaganda among the population upon the rumour that the French fleet was approaching the coast of Batum with landing forces, and also that mass revolts had taken place in North Caucasia.

It was therefore, I repeat, the chief aim of the Mensheviks to create the appearance of a powerful revolt of the whole population and then to raise the question of the necessity of the intervention of West Europe.

The working class of Georgia has remained quite unaffected by the revolt, of course with the exception of those isolated workers who are members of the Menshevik Party.

With regard to the peasantry, the whole of East Georgia and a whole number of other provinces of the Republic were quite undisturbed and only a few bandit-like assaults by the detachment of Tscholokashvili gave evidence as to the events which were proceeding. It might be mentioned by the way, that this Tscholokashvili did not succeed in rallying a group of more than 15 men and the rumours he spread abroad regarding an army of 20,000 insurgents, proved, as was to be expected, mere empty talk. In West Georgia the mass of the peasants likewise refrained from taking part in the revolt.

It must be pointed out that everywhere where the Mensheviks temporarily gained the upper hand they immediately restored the land to the landowners and transferred the municipal and state property back into private hands. All this served to expose to the peasantry the true features of the leaders of the revolt. The peasants could not help seeing that the movement was led exclusively by nobles, landowners and generals.

The Red Army of Georgia has shown that it is thoroughly worthy of the designation of a revolutionary Red Army.

The fundamental importance of the Declaration of the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia" consists in the fact that the Mensheviks have admitted their complete bankruptcy and the loss of every particle of influence among the broad circles of the workers and peasant population of the country. As regards the remaining sections of the Republic, the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie of Georgia, contrary to the expectations of the leaders of the revolt, have remained loyal. In addition to this we have in our possession, declarations by professors, teachers and physicians, which strongly condemn this adventure of the Mensheviks, as it threatened the economic and cultural prosperity of Georgia with very harmful results.

The revolt has now been finally crushed and the Mensheviks, who have taken to the mountains, are handing over their arms and delivering up the prisoners they made during the attacks of the bandits. By these acts they wish to some extent to atone for their serious crime against the workers of Georgia.

*) See the Declaration in Inprecorr. No. 66, page 714.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Solovetzsk, the "Red Hell".

By Ludwig Magyar (Moscow).

The Delegation of Menshevik and Social-(counter) revolutionary emigres have recently instituted a great campaign against the Soviet Union. They wish to arouse the public opinion of the working class and of the bourgeoisie against the Soviet power and, as a pretext, they make use of the alleged heart-rending, terrible fate of political prisoners in the Soviet Union. They are supplying the parties of the Second International with propaganda material over this question and these cronies of the Russian Mensheviks are, in the French Chamber of Deputies and in the columns of the "Vorwärts" and the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" shedding crocodiles' tears over the martyred, tortured Russian Socialists, who — alas! — are languishing in the terrible dungeons of the Tcheka, and are being shot several times every day. The Social-Counter-Revolutionary Suchomlinov is pestering comrades Anatole France and Severin with tedious letters of complaint, while the London and Amsterdam Internationals issue appeals and protests. The anti-Soviet campaign is in full swing. Let us examine the facts a little more closely.

* * *

How many political prisoners are there in the Soviet-Union? We will not make comparisons. We will not point out how many revolutionary workers and peasants the Bulgarian Social Democrats, as members of the murderous Zankoff government, have caused to be slaughtered. We will not ask why the Social Democrats in the Bavarian Diet voted against an amnesty for the Niederschönenfeld prisoners. We do not ask how it comes about that, with the consent of Social Democracy, over 7000 Communists are eating their hearts out in the prisons of Germany. We do not ask how many Indian revolutionaries are expiating their revolutionary deeds in the prisons of the Labour Government of Ramsay MacDonald. We will not call attention to how many Communists have been arrested and murdered with the consent of the Polish Socialist Party. We also leave aside the question as to how the Social Democrats in Finland, Lettland, Estonia, Hungary and Yugoslavia have acted. We would only state that in the Soviet Union — which embraces one sixth of the earth and which has a population of 150 millions — there are only five hundred political prisoners. Mensheviks, Socialist-Counter-Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Monarchists, Fascists are doing their utmost to set up illegal organisations in the Soviet Union. And in spite of everything there are only — let us repeat it — five-hundred political prisoners. This number includes Mensheviks, Socialist-Counter-Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Monarchists, Fascists and all enemies of the proletarian revolution, whatever they may choose to call themselves.

* * *

How are the political prisoners treated? What life do they lead in the "Red Hell" as the appeals of the Mensheviks so "mildly" describe it.

On the Solovetzsk Peninsula, where "the Bolsheviks, these hangmen of innocent Socialists, act with the greatest cruelty", and over which the greatest outcry has been raised, the political prisoners have complete self-administration. They have absolute freedom of movement the whole day, and the system prevailing in Solovetzsk is the wish and the demand of all political prisoners in Russia. Wassiliev, a member of the Central Bureau of the Mensheviks, who is confined at the Susdal Camp, proposed to the political prisoners in Susdal to commence a struggle for the improvement of the prison regulations.

"Our general demand is clear: We want the system obtaining in Solovetzsk be introduced in Susdal", he writes to one of his comrades.

And the brother of Martov, Zederbaum-Levitzky, stated, that the demand for the introduction of the Solovetzsk system was a too far-reaching demand. "This demand can only be regarded as a maximum aim" he writes.

And this is how all prisoners in Susdal write. Their slogan is: The Solovetzsk regime in Susdal.

The administration at Solovetzsk have allowed the members of the prisoners' families who visit them, to live with the pri-

RED RELIEF

Protest against the Brutal Acts of the White Dictatorship in Bulgaria.

The first world conference of the International Red Relief has adopted the following protest resolution:

After hearing the report of Comrade Kolaroff over the new brutal acts of fascism in Bulgaria, the First International Conference of the I. R. R. which unites millions of proletarians and peasants of the world, expresses its execration against the fascist government of Bulgaria, which is preparing new blood baths for the gallant revolutionary peasants and workers of Bulgaria who are fighting for their freedom.

The blood of the thousands of workers and peasants who have been shot, slaughtered and tortured to death after the September revolt is not yet dry. Hundreds of workers and peasants are still languishing in the prisons of Bulgaria, whose groans of pain cry to the international proletariat for revenge, and already a new wave of fascist terror is sweeping over Bulgaria, which recently claimed the leader of the peasant party Petkoff and a whole number of other leaders as victims. Executions, mass arrests, torturings are practically every-day occurrences in the democratic Bulgaria of Zankoff.

The Conference sends its fraternal greetings and support to the staunch fighters for the revolution, to the workers and peasants of Bulgaria, who bravely repel the attacks of reaction and fascism and who, regardless of the reprisals and acts of terror directed against them, hold aloft the flag of the class war.

The Conference appeals to the millions of workers and peasants of the world to raise their protest against the terror and the fury of fascism in Bulgaria and to protect the fighting peasants and workers in Bulgaria.

Long live the brave workers and peasants of Bulgaria!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

Down with the bloody regime of fascism and terror in Bulgaria and throughout the whole world!

First Conference of International Red Relief.

soners a whole week. Nowhere in the world do prisoners enjoy such privileges. It is easily understood that this regime is desired by the prisoners in other places. Complete self-government, a whole week in company with the members of their families, a prison diet at which the prisoners themselves never complain; this is the picture furnished by the "Red Hell".

The prison group of the Georgian Mensheviki writes to Wassiliev, member of the Central Bureau of the Mensheviki:

"Regarding the general regime we can only repeat that nobody can consider it a crying evil. If in reply to our hunger-strike there would be admitted, to investigate the conditions, an anti-Soviet minded commission, even including European socialists, they would only be able to report that the Soviet system and its justice are not the pleasantest institutions, but that there is nothing to complain about regarding the prison regime in Susdal."

In Susdal therefore the prison regime is quite satisfactory. In Solovetzki it is still better and therefore prisoners at the former wish to obtain the Solovetzki regime.

We could publish hundreds of quotations from, or facsimiles of such letters.

There are therefore only five hundred prisoners in the Soviet Union. These are given humane treatment, as the prison regulations in the Soviet Union are of a remarkably mild character. The prisoners themselves recognise that even the sworn enemies of the Soviet power would have to admit them to be thoroughly satisfactory. And the mensheviki and the Social counter-Revolutionaries in emigration, who during the civil war have rivalled the bands of Koltchak and Denekin in acts of bestial cruelty, work up a spurious indignation over this regime. And the heroes of the II. International, who persecute revolutionary workers, issue appeals, pass resolutions of protest and relate lying stories to the workers as to the "Red Hell".

A gang of hypocrites and calumniators seek by means of this spurious indignation to mobilise honest workers against the Soviet Union. The workers must spurn these lies and calumnies with loathing and disgust.

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PROGRAMME

of the

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Draft adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.)