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Down with Capitalist Class Justice!

To the Workers and Peasants throughout the World.

Comrades:

We are at present experiencing a period of most brutal bourgeois counter-revolution. In all countries with a bourgeois régime the prisons are filled to overflowing with workers and peasants who are fighting for the emancipation of the working classes from the predatory yoke of capitalism.

In round figures, there are a hundred thousand prisoners in capitalist dungeons.

Bourgeois courts of justice are doing their worst, and voluntary fascist bands are exterminating the working class under the protection of the army and police.

Bourgeois rulers throughout the world suppress the fight for independence of the people by the iron heel of imperialism — as were it a heinous crime. This crime is punished as brutally as the fight for the emancipation of the working class.

What are the people who call themselves the champions of the workers... what are Social Democrats and other so-called Socialists doing in the present difficult situation...

Are they organising the workers and peasants against the monstrous tyranny of bankers and speculators? Are they demanding from the bourgeoisie the liberation of the captive vanguard of the army of labour? Are they giving help to the hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans, whose bread-winners laid down their lives in the fight for the sacred cause of the liberation of the working and peasant masses.

Nothing of the kind.

They merely demand... the liberation of "political prisoners" in Soviet Russia.

The leader of these traitors, the yellow Second International, is carrying on at present a campaign for the liberation of the Russian social-traitors who worked against the Russian workers and peasants together with Poincaré, Lloyd George, Pilsudsky, Zankov and other international bandits. "The peace lovers" of the Second International are demanding the liberation of the rearguard heroes who, together with Poincaré shouted: "War to a victorious end".

Such hypocrisy is unprecedented in the world.

The Second International is fighting "heroically" for the liberation of the fifteen hundred counter-revolutionaries incarcerated in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, while they allow their own bourgeoisie to torture tens of thousands of fighters for Socialism.

It is only natural that the ruling bourgeoisie of all countries should praise the Second International for this. How could it be otherwise, for is not this an enormous service rendered by the Second International to the bourgeoisie?

To detract the attention of the world from the brutalities of the bourgeoisie, the yellow social-traitors are raising a hue and cry about the bolshevik atrocities perpetrated against prisoners in Soviet Russia. But facts speak for themselves.

What is happening now in Capitalist Countries?

Let us begin with Germany where the German social democrats, the mainstay of the Second International, crushed the workers' rising in 1919 and 1921 with the help of the bourgeoisie, supported the bourgeoisie against the workers in 1923, and bear the whole responsibility for the present situation... There are at present in German prisons more than 7,000 fighters for the revolution. 95% of them are actual workers. For what are they being tried and punished?

We will deal only with recent events:

1. On June 4, 1924, the court under the presidency of the social-democrat, Wolfgang Heine, sentenced 6 Berlin workers for purchase of arms to 14 1/2 years imprisonment.

(It would be interesting to know what punishment is meted out in Germany to members of the bourgeoisie who buy arms.)

2. On July 10, 1924, the Stuttgart Court sentenced 6 workers to 30 years penal servitude for "high treason".

(And what punishment was meted out to the Rhenish capitalists for negotiations with the French occupation authorities.)

3. In May and June 1924, the total of the sentences passed against German workers, not including short sentences, amounted to 210 years penal servitude, 560 years imprisonment and 150 years incarceration in a fortress.

(And how many "years" were German fascists sentenced to in that period.)

4. After the October fights in 1923, the juridical bureau of the International Red Relief in Germany conducted 8,448 lawsuits (from January 1 to April 1, 1924). By the end of August the International Red Relief had given legal assistance to 18,000 people. These figures do not include sentences for minor offences, when it was impossible for financial considerations to provide the defendants with counsel.

What are the conditions of the German workers while in prison...

1. In August 1924 the commission of the Prussian Landtag visited at the peremptory demand of the communists, the prisons in Zelle, Lüneburg, Rensburg, and Fuhlsbitte and made shocking discoveries there. Thus for instance, the prisoners in the Zelle jail were kept in punishment cells with no lavatory accommodation whatever. In the same prison there was another kind of punishment cell where a ten pound iron pole is tied from the waist to the hands of the prisoner, keeping his arms stretched all the time. Prisoners are kept in this position for three weeks. Beating and torturing is the order of the day.

2. In the Rensburg Prison, prisoners are allowed to see their relations only once every three months. In the Gleivitz prison in Silesia there are 40 workers undergoing sentence for "high treason". The treason consisted in belonging to the local trade unions since they worked in Polish Silesia. All these comrades were savagely beaten because they went on hunger strike.

3. In the fortress of Lukach, prisoners protested in September 1923 against putrid food, saying that it was not even fit for pigs. For this they were beaten with the butt ends of rifles, and many of them received bayonet wounds.

4. Comrade Sauber, a communist and member of the Bavarian Landtag, is incarcerated in the Bavarian fortress of Niederschönenfeld. He was subjected to repressions and was thrown into the punishment cell where he was brutally beaten because he refused to be insulted by Hoffmann, the governor of the prison.

Prisoners are beaten not only in prison, but also at the time of arrest.

1. The Düsseldorf court confirmed the following facts: Comrade Petrovskaya who was arrested in the night from November 18 to 19, 1923, and who had a 13 months old baby in her care, was beaten in the police station with rubber whips, and was hit on head and stomach with the butt end of a rifle... and was subsequently released by the court for want of evidence.

2. Comrades Fischer and Bach were arrested on the accusation of an agent provocateur. To make them confess, they were beaten until blood flowed. Their hair was pulled out by the roots and they were kicked and trampled. Driven to despair they made fantastic statements, and on the following day they had to be released for want of evidence.

3. In June 1924, Comrade Gari was arrested in Neubrandenburg. He was wounded by his guard who asserted that he was trying to escape. Thereupon the wounded man was beaten and tortured in order to extort his name from him. He died under the ill-treatment without divulging anything.

Intolerable conditions drive prisoners to suicide.

1. Two prisoners committed suicide in the Schwerin Prison in July 1924.

2. Comrade Reich died from the effects of the treatment meted out to him in the Ulm fortress in June 1924.

3. Comrade Agagemeister, who was sentenced to 10 years in a fortress, died in the fortress of Niederschönenfeld.

It should be stated that in many of the above-mentioned localities the prisons, the police and the courts are under the administration of German Social Democrats.

German prisons bear the device: "God with us", and the French prisons: "Liberty, equality and fraternity". Perhaps things are a little better in French prisons and dungeons.

Let us see:

1. On March 6, 1924, Comrade Gok was tortured to death in the prison of Strasseberg.

2. In Wiesbaden, where during the French occupation the French were in charge of the top floor of the prison, while the lower floor was under the administration of the German — prison conditions are perfectly appalling. It is true that the social democratic organ "Vorwärts", the source of our information, is silent on conditions in the German section of the prison. To make up for it, it has a great deal to say about the French part of the prison. This is what "Vorwärts" says:

"Overcrowding. Filth. Lice. Systematic ill-treatment of prisoners. Sick people not allowed to notify the doctor of their illness. Should they do so, they are beaten instead of being given medical treatment. In addition to open ill-treatment, there is a form of disguised ill-treatment. It frequently happens that people parading as "ghosts" burst into the cells in the middle of the night. They throw a blanket over the head of the prisoner and beat him until he loses consciousness... Lieutenant Darmeni set wolf hounds at one of the prisoners who was torn to pieces by them."

3. In Mayence workers arrested by the French occupation authorities with the assistance of the German police, were ill-treated in order to make them confess their guilt. The police seized Comrade Achtenberg by the feet and bumped his head on the ground until he said what they wanted him to say. Comrades Kecksleit, Schulthof and Ohlbrick were several times beaten senseless, Comrade Joseph Ditzke was dragged by the hair from his bed and beaten. This was done every night to him.

But it is in the Colonies that the greatest brutalities are perpetrated by the agents of French capitalism. Comrades from Anam have been telling us what summary methods are used against natives arrested for "political offences": they are taken on board some man-of-war, are sewn into sacks and thrown alive to the sharks. His own and his family's property is confiscated.

But perhaps the British "Labour" Government — that strong prop of the Second International, is innocent of crushing the Labour Movement and the Revolutionary Peasant Movement by brutal measures...

Nothing of the kind.

1. In the spring of 1924, four weeks after MacDonald's advent to power, the British authorities in Bombay fired on the locked-out textile workers. Several persons were killed and many wounded. The leaders of the textile workers' movement were arrested.

2. In July, 1924, 13 people were arrested for adherence to communism in Palestine, which is under British administration. They were placed in irons and taken to the Akufortress, they were beaten till they were senseless.

Not only in its own colonies, but even in China, the British authorities consider it their duty to suppress the revolutionary movement.

a) The case of the Chinese soldier Li-Yuan is well-known. The British court in Peking sentenced him to 4 years and 10 days imprisonment. His crime consisted in having given a beating to 3 foreigners because he himself had been beaten with bamboo sticks as an "extraordinary criminal"; he dared to walk on his native soil in a spot prohibited to the natives by the British.

b) The captain of the British gun-boat Vanziane executed, without trial, two members of the local boatmen's union.

c) By orders of the British consul in Shanghai, three members of the Chinese Communist Party were arrested for distributing a paper containing articles against intervention.

Up till now the British "Labour" Government serves the interests of British capitalists by its policy.

In Poland the persecution of the workers and peasants movement beggars description. Everyone knows of it, and much has been written about it. There are too many details of assassinations, ill-treatment and tortures to be enumerated here in full.

In the spring of the current year, even Herriot and Painlevé, the present rulers of France, who were then in the opposition, affixed their signatures to the protest of the bourgeois "League of the Rights of Man" against the ill-treatment of prisoners in Poland. This should be sufficient proof.

And what should be said of the abominable role of the Polish Socialist Party, affiliated to the Second International. By its participation in the betrayal of the workers, in the suppression of the labour movement and by its assistance to the police organs in the capture of communists, this party has become so obnoxious to the Polish working class that the workers would not let them speak at their own meetings. This same party — the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) organised at one of its recent meetings the assassination of those who dared to protest. Several people were wounded and Comrade Victor Belyi was killed.

In the Balkan countries and in Hungary conditions are as bad as in Poland. The prisons are everywhere filled to overflowing with workers and peasants, everywhere the followers of the Second International are zealously engaged in helping the bourgeoisie to torture and let rot workers and peasants in capitalist dungeons.

The American bourgeoisie is not far behind its European colleague. In addition to bourgeois class justice and to the terrible prison régime, free play is given in the U. S. A. to the fascists, "the Jeunesse Dorée" of American plutocrat society. The world-famed writers Jack London and Upton Sinclair have in their works given a graphic picture of the bourgeois dictatorship over the American working class.

The emergency legislation against negroes, the U. S. A. expedition for the conquest of Haiti and San Domingo, complete the picture of the brutalities of the American bourgeoisie under whose orders the Second International is working.

Such is the state of affairs in the capitalist countries. Such is "the social order" championed by the Second International.

What about the state of affairs in the Union of Soviet Republics?

In the prisons and concentration camps of the Soviet power there are about 15 hundred "political prisoners". Among them are monarchists, four white guard generals, and also Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries and scores of anarchists.

During the most acute fight of the workers and peasants against the white armies of landowners, tsarist generals and the bourgeoisie, which were supported by European and American capitalists, these gentlemen endeavoured by means of putsches, terrorist acts and espionage (see B. Savinkov's evidence) to make our fight nugatory and to weaken the power of resistance of the workers and peasants.

We are not surprised that people of this kind are championed by the social-traitors of the Second International. They are their friends and allies. We are sure to voice the opinion of many who are now in capitalist prisons because of the social traitors, when we say that it is a consolation to comrades incarcerated now in bourgeois dungeons to know that the friends of their executioners, the Russian social traitors, are under lock and key in the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

We are addressing ourselves now to French anarchists and syndicalists still outside the precincts of bourgeois politics, who are outraged by the fact that some scores of anarchists are detained in the concentration camps of the Union of Soviet Republics. Everyone knows that the overwhelming majority of our anarchists are supporting the Soviet power. But we also have anarchists who in the height of civil war stabbed the revolution in the back.

As an illustration we mention the explosion in Moscow in the Leontievsky pereulok in the autumn of 1919, which was organised by anarchists during Denikin's advance on Moscow. Seven prominent communist comrades lost their lives in this explosion, and scores were wounded. Was not this a counter-revolutionary act? What would you, French anarchists, have said if you had read in the annals of the Paris Commune that during the Versailles army's march on Paris, the anarchists had disorganised the rear of the Communards?

You surely would have denounced them as traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

Comrade Pestagnier, the leader of the Spanish syndicalists, declared at the Comintern Congress in Moscow in 1920 that, while not in full agreement with the Russian communists, he recognises that to oppose them is tantamount to opposing the revolution. If you, French anarchist-syndicalists were engaged in a decisive fight against your French bourgeoisie for the establishment of a new form of life and society, you would certainly condemn those of your comrades who at a time of deadly peril endeavoured to

disorganise the proletarian ranks. And those of you who are now championing the Russian Counter-Revolutionaries, are by this very fact supporting and strengthening the French bourgeoisie, and are helping the bourgeois cause.

Perhaps the fate of the social traitors who are now in the places of detention or the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is as hard as that of the workers' and peasants' incarcerated in capitalist prisons?

This is not the case.

Most of the political prisoners in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are kept in the Suzdalsk and Solovetsk concentration camps.

What are the prison conditions in the Suzdalsk camp? Let the prisoners speak for themselves.

From letters addressed to the families of Danilin, (Social Democrat), Dorozhkov (Social Democrat), Zaritsky (Social Democrat), Chaikin (Social Revolutionary), Block (Social Democrat), Svetitsky, Krasnanskaya, Tzirulnikov and others, we can see that:

- The climate in the camp is dry and healthy.
- The rooms do not give the impression of prison cells. They are spacious and light.
- Catering is satisfactory, meat twice a day, tea, sugar, cigarettes, etc. In addition every prisoner receives 43 copecks per day for extras.
- Letters can be sent every week (and not once in three months as in the Rensburg prison in Germany).

Prisoners are feeling well and their main care is their concern about their families and relations, many of whom do not feed as well as they in the concentration camp.

When one of the prisoners in this camp, the well known Rostok Menshevik and member of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, B. Vassiliev, proposed to the other prisoners to agitate for the purpose of a political demonstration, for a "betterment of the regime", the majority of the prisoners refused to have anything to do with his proposal. For instance, the group of Georgian Mensheviks replied to this proposal as follows:

"Re the general regime, we reiterate that no one could declare it bad enough to justify a demonstration... If in answer to our hunger strike the Soviet Government were to consent to have an investigation and inspection, even an ultra-anti-soviet commission, of European socialists would declare that although the Soviet system and Soviet justice are very bad, the regime in the Suzdalsk prison is satisfactory."

At one time many European social-traitors, as well as some French syndicalists and anarchists, raised a hue and cry about the so-called Solovetsk mutiny and about the conditions of the prison regime in the Solovetsk camp.

In the meantime in the same correspondence between the prisoners of the Suzdalsk camp, which is evidently in close contact with the Solovetsk camp, we find the following extracts: 1. "Our aim must be to obtain here (in Suzdal) the Solovetsk regime" (from a letter by the above mentioned Vassiliev). 2. "We are endeavouring to obtain here in Suzdal all or most of the rights and privileges to which we are entitled, but we are prepared to go to Solovetsk, if these rights and privileges can be obtained there."

Apparently, the regime in the Solovetsk camp is even better than the regime in Suzdal, and evidently, the "Solovetsk mutiny" was not caused by the regime but by political considerations.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Relief is convinced that the Soviet Government, knowing full well that genuine revolutionary fighters are undergoing very hard and painful prison conditions in capitalist countries, would gladly respond to a proposal to liberate fighters in the workers' and peasants' cause incarcerated in bourgeois dungeons, even at the cost of the liberation of some counter-revolutionary prisoners from the prisons of the U. S. S. R.

Thus, these facts expose the abominable and treacherous role of the yellow Second International which is now carrying on a frantic campaign for the liberation of Russian social traitors and counter-revolutionaries, the enemies of the Russian workers and peasants who fought together with the International capitalists against the Russian Revolution.

These facts will explain to the revolutionary workers and peasants throughout the world the true meaning of the demonstra-

ions and tactics of the yellow Second International: In order to divert the attention of the World Proletariat from the brutalities of the capitalists, and thereby give a free hand to the world bourgeoisie in its attack on the working class, the yellow social-traitors are raising a hue and cry about fictitious bolshevik atrocities perpetrated against the prisoners in the U. S. S. R.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Relief calls upon the revolutionary workers and peasants throughout the world never to cease exposing the hypocrisy sanctimoniousness and abominable role of the socialists of the Second International, who are carrying on a frantic campaign of incitement and calumny against the Russian workers and peasants.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Relief calls upon its millions of members to explain to the workers and peasants throughout the world the magnitude of the treachery towards the workers' cause of the Second International.

Workers and Peasants of the world, be on the alert.

To please the bourgeoisie, the social traitors of the Second yellow International are endeavouring to keep you in the dark and make you an obedient tool in the hands of the world robbers and imperialists, of the "civilised" jailers and executioners of the working class.

Protest against the violence of the capitalist governments and fascist bands, which are supported by the false social traitors of the Second Yellow International.

Down with the bigots and hypocrites of the Second Yellow International, who have formed an alliance with the world bourgeoisie for a campaign against the Soviet Russia of the Workers and Peasants.

Down with the sworn enemies of the Russian Workers and Peasants, who help the capitalist governments to fill the prisons and to torture in them tens of thousands of fighters in the cause of the World Proletarian Revolution.

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which has the support of the treacherous socialists of the Second Yellow International.

Long live the fraternal solidarity of the Workers of the World.

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution.

Long live the International Red Relief Organisation.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Relief.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Sun-Yat-Sen to the Chairman of the Session of the League of Nations.

Imperialist Intervention in China and the League of Nations Intervention in Georgia.

27th September 1924.

Sun-Yat-Sen, the President of the Southern Chinese Republic has sent the following telegram to M. Motta, the chairman of the Session of the League of Nations:

In view of the question raised by Ramsay MacDonald in the course of the recent sittings of the League of Nations, regarding the independence of Georgia, and the setting up of international peace and of international justice, it may perhaps be of interest for the League of Nations to learn that on the 1st of September I sent a protest to MacDonald against the ultimatum which he submitted to my government, and in which he threatened hostile action by the British Fleet in the event of my government adopting the necessary measures to repress the revolt in Canton instigated by the imperialists and reactionaries.

MacDonald has let this protest remain unanswered.

I interpret his silence as indicating that the British policy in China prevailing hitherto, of imperialist interventions and of support of counter-revolutionary actions against the national movement, which is endeavouring to create a strong and independent China, will still be continued.

It is very characteristic that MacDonald after supporting the reactionary rebels in their fight, betakes himself to Geneva in order to appear there as the protector of the counter-revolution against the Georgian Soviet Republic in the capacity of "sincere mediator", who has sniffed Caucasian naphtha.

Sun-Yat-Sen.

He who Excuses, Accuses!

"Why was't I told about it?" Lloyd George.

"I make no doubt that not a single member of the present Government has the least idea of what is being done by British officials in China, for China is considered unimportant since its population is only about the same as that of Europe. It is impossible for any one in England, even the Prime Minister, to know the truth about any event in China until six weeks after it has happened..."

"Unless some special effort is made to check the information derived from British banks, British merchants, and British officials, our Government is bound to serve the interests of capitalism in China, however little Ministers may wish to do so."

Bertrand Russell in "The New Leader" September 19, 1924.

Against Imperialist Intervention in China!

Appeal of the International Peasants' Council to the Working Peasantry of Europe, America and of the Oriental Countries!

Comrades, Peasants and Peasant Women!

The imperialists are preparing to give China, which during the last thirty years has already been dismembered by the world robbers, the final death stroke by which it will lose its independence.

The greatest sufferers from the civil war in China, from the armed struggles between the governments of the different Chinese provinces — which have been instigated and financed by the imperialists — are the Chinese peasants, who are robbed by the soldiery and are terrorised beyond measure by the reign of military violence.

The disaster which has overtaken the Chinese peasants during the struggle between the militarists, far exceeds that resulting from any kind of natural catastrophe. In addition to hunger, privation and lack of shelter, they are plagued by armed robbers who deprive them of the last remnants of their food and shelter and force the peasants to perform compulsory labour.

Such was the case in spring 1920, when millions of Chinese were dying from starvation as a result of the bad harvest, whilst the war lords of China, supported by the imperialists, totally ruined and slaughtered the peasants. The same thing is now going on in the present autumn of 1924, when, to the sufferings of the Chinese peasantry resulting from the floods which have destroyed millions of peasants undertakings, there is added the terror and plundering by the Chinese generals who are acting on the orders of the English, American, French and Japanese imperialists.

Comrades, Working Peasants of the whole World!

We cannot permit that the blood of the working peasantry of China should be shed in the interests of English and American bankers and robbers, in the interests of French speculators and of the ruling Japanese war clique. We cannot tolerate that the only province in China, where, thanks to a persistent struggle and great sacrifices on the part of the working masses, the power of the revolutionary government, with Sun-Yat-Sen at the head, has been consolidated, that this province shall be destroyed by the guns of the imperialists. If the government of Canton falls beneath the blows of the imperialists, there disappears with it the last remnants of the political independence of the Chinese people.

The subjugation of the Chinese workers and peasants by world capital means throughout the whole world the consolidation of its position in the struggle against the suppressed and exploited mass of the people. It means the creation of further millions of slaves by world capital, which will form an inexhaustible source for the exploitation of the cheapest labour power in the world, and will thereby strengthen the attack of capital upon the proletariat and peasantry in Europe and America.

But apart from this it constitutes a terrible threat against peace, a new danger of war between the European, American and Japanese imperialists over the division of the booty, the natural riches of China and the power over the working and peasant masses of China.

The first to perceive this have been the workers and peasants of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The movement and the organisation of a "Hands off China" League is spread

ding more and more over the vast territory of the Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

The International Peasants' Council, the organisation of the revolutionary peasantry of forty nationalities of all parts of the earth, calls upon the working peasantry of the whole world to join in this movement. It appeals to all organisations of the working peasantry, all peasant parties and parliamentary peasant representatives to raise their protest against the armed violation of the Chinese people on the part of those democrats and pacifists, as MacDonald, Herriot and Coolidge, as well as on the part of the militarist, monarchist government of the Mikado.

Hands off China!

Long live independent China!

Long live the struggle of the peasants and workers against the imperialists of the whole world.

The Presidium of the International Peasants' Council:

Smirnov (Soviet Russia), Dombal (Poland), Bürgi (Germany), Vazeilles (France), Rydlo (Czecho-Slovakia), Gorov (Bulgaria), Herro (Scandinavia), Green (America), Galvan (Mexico), S. Hajaschi (Japan), Ai-Quac (Indo-China).

POLITICS

International Menshevism and the Georgian Revolt.

By Bela Kun.

The Mensheviks are not confining themselves to merely issuing bulletins announcing victories in the struggle in Georgia. Menshevism has two faces. This war-like mood emanates from one side of Menshevism, i. e. its fascist side. In accordance with the other, the Menshevik press appeals to democratic-pacifist sentiments in denying that the Georgian Mensheviks participated in the recent Putsch. In accordance with their "rational", "real-political" and pacifist views, they deny that the Mensheviks took up arms against the power of the workers and peasants. They only speak of bolshevik terror.

The documents, however, not only prove that the Mensheviks have resorted to acts of individual terror, but they have conducted a real putsch policy in Georgia. Even such a moderate, counter-revolutionary, real politician as Jordania acquiesced in a putschist policy. In a recently published letter which he addressed to the Central Committee of the Georgian Mensheviks for the purpose of preparing a putsch, he desires the Georgian question to be solved independently from the Russian question.

"The course which we must adopt consist in liberating Georgia independently from the Russian crisis. Of course our aim cannot be realised through an armed struggle in Georgia alone. This would only be a hare-brained adventure and would end in our annihilation... On the other hand an action on a larger scale (together with Dagestan) will lead to victory, if this action is carried out with united forces. The Russian Tsars were engaged in war for over 30 years with Dagestan alone. One can therefore easily imagine how many years years the Bolsheviks would require to carry out a war, not only with Dagestan, but with the whole of Transcaucasia. To transfer the military basis into the Caucasian mountains and to hold on there — that is the guarantee of our victory. Only in this case will Europe give serious attention to us and render us help."

For this purpose the democratic-pacifist Menshevik Jordania gives the following piece of advice to his adherents in Georgia:

"... Right from the beginning there must be set up in Aserbeidjan a military centre, which will transform this peaceful territory into an active element for the common fight. Our best fighters are the mountaineers, to whom we must pay special attention. Armenia will not side with us, at least not at the beginning, but will be compelled in the course of events to join in the light. So that the original combination would consist of Georgia, Aserbeidjan and the mountaineers."

We find all this in a letter which only deals with the plan in general outline. "As for the rest", — he writes at the conclusion of this letter — "this will be communicated to you by

the comrades sent to you". One can easily guess what advice this true follower of the II. International imparted to his comrades regarding the tactical details. The horrible murders committed, the blood bath carried out by the bands of the Georgian prince Andronikov among the Georgian peasants, give a pretty correct idea of the nature of this advice.

* * *

The shameful putsch which was organised in Georgia, was prepared, if not from a military at least from a political standpoint, on the largest scale. The II. International took part in it and was informed of the preparations.

We give below an extract from a letter written by Renaudel, which fell into the hands of the Georgian Soviet authorities. The letter was probably addressed to Zeretelli:

"Will you please inform our Georgian friends that what you have sent has made a deep impression upon me. Oh, if I could only say, that my and my party's electoral victory proclaimed the end of your sufferings! Of course, everything does not depend upon us alone. We can only make use of the parliamentary tribune in order to denounce your oppressors.

I hope that the recognition of Russia, which must necessarily involve such problems as the question of the independence of Georgia, will give us the opportunity of intervening in this affair.

... Please accept my greetings and the expression of my thanks to the Central Committee of the Georgian Social Democratic Party. Tell them that I remain their true friend in bad and good times alike.

Pierre Renaudel."

When we bear in mind the fact that the putsch synchronised with the sitting of the League of Nations, and that the whole press apparatus stood ready in order to boost this revolt, it is perfectly clear that:

1. the Georgian Menshevik emigrants in the first place did not count upon success of the revolt, but

2. intended to rouse the democratic-pacifist European public, as they had no prospect of rousing the Georgian peasants and workers, and, finally,

3. that the II. International, as is to be seen from the letter of Renaudel, was endeavouring by means of a revolt in Georgia to find a pretext, consistent with the era of democratic-pacifism, for intervention.

There have been instances of futile revolutionary and counter-revolutionary attempts, but neither the history of revolutions nor of counter-revolutions furnishes a case of such a criminal putsch as that of the Menshevik revolt in Georgia.

The New Reichstag Elections in Upper Silesia.

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

The new elections in Upper Silesia were of great political importance in so far as they constituted the first appeal to the people after the acceptance of the London Slave Pact. The government parties and the social democrats had placed great hopes upon these elections. In fact it was according to their results they intended to decide the question whether to plunge immediately into a general election or to postpone it.

We may remark at the outset that the expectations of the fulfilment-at-all-cost politicians have been greatly disappointed by the elections in Upper Silesia. There is no indication of any great mass of electors going over to the Centre, to the great coalition of Stresemann and Scheidemann. All the coalition parties have sustained great losses in the elections. Only the Centre has been able to maintain its position.

But the opposition parties, the communists, German Nationalists and fascists have also to record a considerable falling off of votes. But the reason for this loss sustained by the Communists is, as we shall see, due to other causes than those responsible for the loss suffered by other parties.

Why was it that fresh elections had to be held in Upper Silesia? The ostensible reason was a minor infringement of the election laws on the part of the returning officer in Oppeln. As a matter of fact, it was on account of the 130,000 votes which were cast for revolutionary communism on the 4th of May last. The communist front, in which the capitalists saw a serious threat

against their rule in Upper Silesia, had to be destroyed at any price. This was openly admitted by the leading candidate of the Centre, the notorious Canonius Ulitzka at his election meetings, and was put forward as the highest aim of the united bourgeoisie.

In the vile campaign against the communists, the social democratic leaders and the catholic parsons have undoubtedly carried off the palm. The Social Democratic Party suffered a disastrous defeat in Upper Silesia on the 4th of May. It was reduced to complete impotence and insignificance in the political life of the province. With the utmost efforts they then only succeeded in polling 26,000 votes, or 4.6% of the total vote polled. And their organisation also is completely broken. Proof of this is to be seen in the coming over to the Communist Party of Germany of 24 local groups of the Socialist Party on the 14th of September. Enraged by this swing to the left on the part of the working masses in Upper Silesia, and greedy for the comfortable benches in the Reichstag, the social democratic leaders in Upper Silesia in the last election campaign flung aside the last shreds of their proletarian cloak. Their meeting halls were deserted except when the communists were present, and dominated them, in spite of the strong forces of the social democratic voluntary troops who were always at hand, and who drove about from one place to the other in brand new motor wagons supplied by the capitalists.

The worst election terror against the communists, however, was exercised by the catholic clergy. In his pastoral letter of the 16th of August the catholic cardinal Bertram urged it upon all the clergy under him as their duty to conduct from the pulpit a ruthless campaign against the Communists, and to threaten all catholics who espouse communism with the refusal of the sacraments and of absolution. In sharp contrast to this anti-communist incitement was the second clause of this same pastoral letter which strictly forbade the clergy in any way to attack the capitalist parties. For many weeks no church service was held in which the clergy did not pronounce the greatest curses against any catholic who in any way supported communism. And on the election day the incitement by the parsons against the communists reached a perfect orgy.

As the result of the election shows, the clerical anti-communist campaign has not been without effect. But the Centre has no occasion to rejoice over its result. All that the church has been able to achieve has been to keep large masses of workers who sympathise with communism from going to the poll. But the masses of catholic voters, who this time preferred not to vote at all, as they were forbidden to vote for the communists, will, under the pressure of the further capitalist offensive against the whole working class, very soon get rid of their religious stumbling blocks, which have this time prevented them from openly avowing their support of communism.

The German Nationalists carried on a very energetic propaganda in Upper Silesia. But this has not prevented them from losing 23,000 votes.

The belief that the Fascists would profit from the vacillating policy of the German Nationalists has proved to be false. They have not only not captured any German Nationalist votes, but they have lost more than 7000 votes as compared with the 4th of May last.

The Democrats have experienced a further decline. They have lost a further, 4100 votes and only polled 1.7% of the total votes recorded.

The same applies to the Social Democrats, who have lost 6870 votes and only received 4.3% of the votes cast. That is a just recompense for their shameless campaign against the communists.

The Communists have conducted their campaign with determined revolutionary energy and clearness. They made the London Slave Pact and the world offensive of capital against communism the central point of their election propaganda, and thereby raised the election campaign to a high political level. They refrained on principle from making any election promises and placed before the mass of the electors the unavoidable alternative — either to perish without resistance, or, under the leadership of the communists, to fight for the rule of the working class and for communism.

Numerically considered the Communist Party in Upper Silesia has suffered a set-back. But this set-back belongs to those historical defeats which form the basis of future victories. In

spite of the general attack of the whole bourgeoisie and the social democrats, in spite of the unexampled anti-communist campaign of the catholic parsons, the Communist Party of Germany has succeeded in polling 76,000 votes. These 76,000 men and women voters are determined and true soldiers of the communist revolutionary army, who in the approaching struggles between capital and labour will be found at the post of duty. They constitute the guarantee for the uninterrupted further growth of communism in Upper Silesia.

A Fresh Police Offensive in Austria.

Austria is the seat of the Police International. In Vienna are held its congresses, in Vienna there was worked out the idea of legalising the international spy system, the institution of the extra-territorial police attachés.

The old Habsburg state police, whose brutal monarchist leaders have been superseded by a more adaptable "democratic" monarchist, is exercising the old methods of old Austria, is clinging fast to the Metternich traditions, refined by the scientific gains of modern technique. The state police is a state within the state, an undisturbed relic of feudal absolutism. Even if its office functions "in the name of the republic" and for its protection, it is always accompanied by monarchist ceremony.

It was not a mere chance that during the overthrow of the Habsburg Dynasty the social democratic secretaries of state allowed the monarchist police functionaries to retain their office and dignities, as the latter have always acted against the spread of bolshevism. The setting up of a body of former monarchist officers and non-commissioned officers, the disciples of reaction, was carried out with the approval of Social Democracy. The blood bath of 15th of June 1919 was the result. It is true that later the close relations between the "revolutionary" Social Democracy and the "most dutiful official of the Republic", as the police president used to be called, were often strained. But there was always found the common unifying platform — the combating of the bolshevist danger.

When Zankoff's murder-bandits, after the defeat of the peasant revolution, hastened to Vienna, they were not only tolerated by the police, but also the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" had not a word of criticism against this action, whilst at the same time it printed sentimental articles against fascism in Bulgaria. The police chicaneries against the Hungarian emigrants, the persecution of Yugoslavian "democratically" elected representatives of the people, are still fresh in memory. Already at that time the defence of the right of asylum by Social Democracy was greatly relaxed by its love for its comrades of the II. International, against whose betrayal of the workers the communists had taken action. On the other hand the "red" municipality of Linz gave hospitality to Erhardt, the organiser of the "Consul" murder organisation, until he left of his own accord after organising a branch of the same in Upper-Austria. It was perfectly — democratic.

During the recent metal workers' strike, which constituted the first spontaneous mass revolt against the prevailing "sanitation" system, the "Arbeiterzeitung" called out for protection against the German agitators. That the strike was due to the wretched situation of the workers and was therefore bound to spread to all other undertakings, was not recognised. "Foreigners and aliens are the cause of all the trouble" ... As at the same time the Zankoff government opened a press campaign it provided the occasion, consequent on diplomatic intervention, to begin futile domiciliary searches at the residences of Balkan emigrants. The police arrested, under absurd pretexts, two German refugees who lived in Vienna under the protection of the right of asylum and were not actively engaged in Austria. The arrest of these two comrades is in striking contrast to the toleration shown to the white guardist, Rossbach, in Salzburg. Rossbach, as his predecessor Lechner, has taken active part in the formation of fascist troops in Austria.

The Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung", that organ of Austrian Social Democracy which is proving itself more and more a worthy companion of Noske Social Democracy, has not only initiated a campaign of incitement against German communists who have fled to Vienna, but has not said a word against the arrests of communists; it has merely printed without any comment the misleading police reports. The same applies to the rest of the press which claims to be "left" and democratic. These proceedings are quite in keeping with the international methods of combating bolshevism in the era of democratic pacifist policy.

Just as the last metal workers' strike, these proceedings will also help to disillusion the Austrian workers in their belief in their "trustworthy" social democratic leaders.

The Mass Murders and the Latest Happenings in Bulgaria.

(Letter from Sofia.)

At the same moment at which the representatives of the Bulgarian Fascist government, the generals and professors, are spreading statements everywhere abroad regarding the peace and order prevailing in the country, at the moment when Prof. Molloff at the League of Nations sitting represents the Bulgarian government as the "most democratic government" that ever existed in Bulgaria, there is rising over the whole country a new wave of political mass murders. Not a day passes without fresh murders, and whenever the government and its press speak of peace and order one knows that new bloody deeds are meditated.

The new tactics of the Bulgarian government in these mass murders consist in continually spreading lies through its press regarding approaching revolts and conspiracies, in order in this manner to justify all its bloody deeds in the eyes of the European public, that is to say, in the eyes of the capitalist governments of Europe. Hundreds of peaceable workers and peasants are, under suspicion of being members of the Peasants' League or Communists, arrested, expelled from their native villages, and interned in other provinces, where they are never heard of again. Neither the relatives of the interned nor any one else ever learns anything regarding the fate of these internees. The families of these unfortunate people enquire through the newspapers and telegraph direct to the Minister of the Interior, the notorious blood-hound general Russeff, to know what has become of their interned fathers, husbands or sons. The Minister of the Interior, along with the whole government and its press, maintain silence regarding this. It is quite clear that all these bloody deeds are carried out by the murder organisation of the government and upon its orders. The best proof of this is the fact that most of the murderers, when the murder is committed in the open street, place themselves in the hands of the police, because they know that they are quite safe there, not a hair of their head will be touched and that the police, whose orders they are carrying out, will protect them from the indignation of the people.

On the 13th of September fresh mass murders were committed throughout the whole country, the number of which has not yet been ascertained. Reports vary from 300 to 500 persons. On this day in the capital town of Sofia there was murdered, Slavcho Kovatcheff, a Macedonian revolutionary, and H. Dimoff, a Communist member of parliament. The murderer of Dimoff has proved to be a member of the criminal police. Comrade Dimoff was very inconvenient to and hated by the government as a courageous communist member of parliament. Just as the government of Zankoff could not tolerate the left peasants' leader Petkoff and had him put out of the way, so by means of its murder organisation, they got rid of the communist member of parliament Dimoff, who had succeeded to the place left vacant by Petkoff. Not content with this they had the shamelessness to insult the corpse of this idealist. The public and solemn funeral of Comrade Dimoff was forbidden by the police. On the eve of the day appointed for the funeral, the police removed the corpse of comrade Dimoff from his home and brought it to the cemetery. The government knew quite well how tremendously popular comrade Dimoff was among the workers and peasants, and particularly among the Macedonian emigrants, and therefore prevented the working population from demonstrating, by a mass attendance at the funeral, against the bloody regime of Zankoff.

The government is endeavouring to explain the murder of comrade Dimoff as being due to the conflicts which are breaking out every day in the Macedonian revolutionary organisations. These conflicts are, however, instigated by the government itself. It thereby intended to get rid of inconvenient persons in the organisation, which up to now has been its chief support.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie has always made use of the Macedonian revolutionary movement for its nationalist and imperialist policy and for the purpose of its interior policy. It has always kept the Macedonian movement under its control by retaining the leadership of this movement in its own hands.

Theodor Alexandroff and General Protogeroff were recently the leaders of the Macedonian movement, through whom the Bulgarian bourgeoisie made use of this movement for the purpose of its reactionary home policy. It was only in consequence of the active support of the well-armed Macedonian organisation that the fascist coup d'état of the 9th of June last year was successfully carried out.

The treacherous policy of the leaders of the Macedonian movement, Theodor Alexandroff, Protogeroff and their companions, created great dissatisfaction among the mass of the Macedonian emigrants and in the ranks of the Macedonian revolutionary movement itself. The sincere Macedonian revolutionaries demanded from the leaders of their organisations that they break with the Bulgarian government and that the Macedonian movement be freed from the control of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. Theodor Alexandroff and the other leaders of the Macedonian movement were compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to adopt a new policy. The result was a stirring manifesto of the central committee of the Inner Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation, signed by Th. Alexandroff, General Protogeroff, and Tchaleff. By this manifesto the Macedonian revolutionary movement proclaimed the bitterest struggle against the Bulgarian fascist Zankoff government. This created great indignation in the ranks of the Bulgarian fascists. The Zankoff government perceived how its strongest support was slipping from its hands. It knows that without this support its days are numbered. It therefore made the greatest efforts in order to retain the Macedonian organisation in its hands. It compelled Th. Alexandroff and Protogeroff to repudiate and deny the manifesto. This resulted in completing the split in the ranks of I. R. M. O. (Inner Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation). The greater portion of the Macedonian organisation was in favour of the theses contained in the manifesto and only a small portion, corrupt tools of the Bulgarian government such as Theodor Alexandroff and General Protogeroff, was against them. On the instructions of the Bulgarian government and with its most active support, Theodor Alexandroff and General Protogeroff proceeded to root out from the Macedonian organisation all prominent and experienced opponents of the government, in order to retain control of this organisation in their own hands, that is in the hands of the government.

A few weeks ago, Th. Alexandroff convened a conference of the vojvods at Gorma-Djumaja. The conference was to deal with the situation created in the organisation since the publication of the manifesto. The participants in the conference were divided into two camps — the greater portion stood by the Manifesto, among these were Aleko Pascha and other vojvods. Aleko Pascha was shot at the conference by the followers of Alexandroff at the moment when he was setting forth his reasons for supporting the manifesto. That was the signal for a bloody struggle. On the next day Alexandroff was himself killed. Many other followers of Aleko Pascha were shot. The I. M. R. O. issued a statement which declared that Th. Alexandroff was already shot on the 31st of August. This is not true. This statement was signed by Protogeroff; it is asserted, however, that Protogeroff also has been killed, as a certain Michailow had signed in the name of Protogeroff.

The bloody fight is still proceeding, with the apparent passive neutrality of the Zankoff government. In reality everything is carried out on its orders and with its active participation. The Bulgarian government declared in a statement to the press, that this struggle is an "internal" affair of the Macedonian organisation and that it remains neutral regarding this struggle. As a matter of fact it is highly pleased that the majority of its leading opponents in the Macedonian organisation, the sincere Macedonian revolutionaries who can stand in the way of its home and foreign policy, are being got out of the way. It has even sent a whole crowd of agents of its murder organisation abroad (to Vienna, Rome, Prague, Paris etc.) in order to murder the left Macedonian leaders who are residing abroad.

The Bulgarian government has found the latest justification for its bloody deeds in the lie that the Communists in Petrich and other places intended, with the help of the Macedonians, to set up a Soviet Republic. It knows that if it raises the Bolshevist bogey all the capitalist governments will approve of its bloody deeds. It must be said here that the bloody Zankoff government enjoys the good-will of the MacDonald government and of the leaders of the II. International. Vanderelde has been most favourably impressed by democratic Bul-

garia. He was received by the authorities with military bands and other marks of honour. Military autos were placed at the disposal of him and his friends in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian social traitors. Meetings were held in all the big towns of Bulgaria, at which he denounced communism and Soviet Russia. But his attempt to save the bankrupt Bulgarian Social Democracy, which took part in the fascist coup d'état and in bloody suppression of the popular rising of September last year, was in vain. Bulgarian Social Democracy is equally guilty as the Bulgarian governments for all the bloody deeds.

The recent happenings in Bulgaria show that the Bulgarian fascist government has lost every basis and is now making its last efforts, with the help of military conspirators and mass murder, to prolong the days of its regime.

The Martyrdom of the Negro.

American Lynch-Justice.

By Nguyen-ai-Quac.

It is generally known that the black race is the most suppressed and exploited of all the races of mankind. It is also generally known that the extension of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as its immediate consequence the birth of slavery, which for centuries was the scourge of the Negroes and the bloody shame of humanity.

But perhaps it is not known to everybody that the Negroes of America, in the 65 years since their alleged emancipation, are still exposed to fearful moral and physical suffering, of which the most cruel and horrible is the so-called Lynch Justice.

The words "lynching" and "lynch justice" come from the word "Lynch", the name of a Virginian planter. This American was a landowner and at the same time a Justice of the Peace. He made use of the confusion of the American War of Independence to get all the official functions of his district in his own hands. He imposed in a completely arbitrary manner the most severe and cruel punishments, without trial, and without any proper legal sentence.

This illegal and barbarous practice has, thanks to the supporters of slavery, spread further in the United States and is continued even to-day, thanks to the Ku-Klux-Klan and other secret societies.

A Typical Scene.

Imagine a threatening crowd of about 1000, 3000 or 10,000 persons, all of them, men, women and even children, filled with the maddest fury. Clenched fists, blood-shot eyes, cursing and abusing — all these are bent upon a lustful, almost mad anticipation of an approaching crime. The crowd is armed with sticks, torches, revolvers, brooms, ropes, knives, shears, umbrellas, vitrol, in short, with every possible and conceivable kind of weapon with which one can wound or kill.

In the midst of this unbridled and ever-growing crowd, one sees a black figure, who is abused, pushed now to the right, now to the left, beaten, trodden on, scratched, covered with blood and almost dead.

That is a crowd of lynchers. They drag their victim, a Negro, along with them. The latter, surrounded by a wave of hatred and bestiality, is dragged by this white tormentors into a wood or to an open place. There he is tied to a tree, smothered with petroleum or some other inflammable material. Before the fire is lit and wraps his body in flames, one after another his teeth are knocked out, his eyes are gauged out, his hair is torn from his head in handfuls, tearing the skin along with it, leaving his skull one bleeding mass. The body is beaten until small pieces of flesh fly from it.

The Negro still breathes, but he no longer cries; for his tongue has been burnt out with a hot iron. The whole body is twisted and contorted like a snake which has been half frodden upon, where he has been burned on two or three sides with hot irons. An ear is cut off with a knife. "Oh, how black he is! How ugly he is!" exclaim the ladies, who tear the flesh from his face.

"We should burn him" cries one. "Not so fast" adds another. "Let him roast nice and slowly, so that he does not die too quickly, else there is no fun in it!"

The Negro is roasted and burned till his body is almost completely charred. But one death is not enough. Therefore the body is hung up, or to speak more correctly, they hang up what

remains of his corpse and all the spectators clap their applause and cry "hurrah!"

When the crowd has had enough of this spectacle, the corpse is allowed to fall to the earth. They cut the ropes with which the negro was bound and hung, into small pieces, each of which is sold for three or five dollars. These are mementos which bring luck and over which the women haggle with one another.

This "people's justice", as it is called, is over. The crowd is satisfied and leaves the place as if leaving a festival. Upon the smoking and stinking place there remains a mutilated, torn, black head, with a fearful almost questioning expression: "Is this civilisation?"

Some Statistical Data.

In the period between 1889 and 1919 there were, so far as it is possible to ascertain from available statistics, 2600 Negroes lynched, among them 51 women and young girls, as well 10 ex-soldiers who had served in the Great War for Right.

Of the 78 Negroes who were lynched in the year 1919, 11 were burned alive, 3 were burned after they had been killed, 31 were killed by shooting, 2 were tortured to death, 1 cut to pieces alive, 1 drowned, 11 were killed by various methods. The means by which the others were put to death is not known.

Among the various states of North America, Georgia heads the list with 22 victims. This is followed by Mississippi with 12 victims. In each state 3 of the victims were soldiers who were lynched while on active service.

As regards the accusations which were brought against the unfortunate victims, we quote the following:

One was killed because he was a member of the Non-Partisan League, another because he had distributed revolutionary literature;

another because he had openly expressed his opinion regarding the shameful lynch-justice;

another because he commented upon an encounter which had taken place in Chicago between Blacks and Whites;

another because he was known to be a speaker for the cause of the Negro;

yet another because he did not get out of the road along which he was walking and thereby frightened a white child who was in a motor-car.

In the year 1920 there were 50 cases of death through lynching, in the year 1923, 28 cases, the latter corroborated by statistics.

Who is responsible for the Lynch Justice?

These crimes have always been "explained" as due to economic jealousy and to economic causes in general. It may be that the Negroes of a certain district are alleged to be better off than the whites, it may be that the black workers opposed the incredible exploitation to which they are subjected. But in no case has anyone troubled about those who are really responsible. This is for the simple reason that they are always shielded by politicians, financiers, officials, and in particularly by the reactionary press.

When a case of lynch justice has taken place or is about to take place the press regards it as a rare opportunity in order to increase their circulation, they make a great show of it and relate the incident with such a gusto and with the description of every detail, as if it were a world-shaping event or a splendid popular festival. There is not the slightest reproach against the murderers, not a word of sympathy for the victims. Not a word of disgust against the whole proceedings.

White Victims of Lynch Justice.

But it is not only Blacks but also Whites, who venture to defend them, as for instance Mrs. Harriet Becher Stowe, the immortal authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin", and her friends who have had to suffer greatly,

Elijah Lovejoy was killed. John Brown was hanged. Thomas Beach and Stephen Foster were persecuted. Attempts were made upon their lives, and they suffered imprisonment.

During the course of 30 years, 708 Whites, among them 11 women, have been lynched. Some of them because they have organised strikes, others because they had stood up for the cause of the Negro.

This is one of the fearful pictures of American "civilisation".

ECONOMICS

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

By Eugen Varga.

V.

Poland.

The course taken by Polish economics during the period dealt with in this report is very similar to that of Germany. As in Germany, a stabilisation of the currency was accomplished. This was, however, combined in Poland with the transition to a new currency unit; this difference is, however, purely formal. The old Polish mark has been replaced by a new money unit, the gold franc, known in Poland as the Zloti. The transition was made by calculating 1.8 million Polish marks to the zloti. As in Germany, the stabilisation was carried out by means of a special powers act. The stabilisation action began in January. Since that time, the Polish currency has remained stable, like the German, and is quoted abroad at gold parity, so that it has a constant ratio with relation to the English pound.

As in Germany, the stabilisation was accompanied by a great increase in the amount of gold in circulation. According to the calculations published by the "Economist", the sum total of the notes in circulation before the stabilisation did not amount to more than 75 million gold francs. This rose in May to 374 million gold francs, and by 30. June to 439 million. The stabilisation of the currency was carried out in combination with the establishment of a new central note bank. It is a characteristic fact that the shares of this bank, 100 million gold francs, were raised for the most part by inland capitalists, although the payments had to be made in gold or foreign bills. This shows that, as in Germany, foreign currencies were widely used as circulating mediums during the depreciation period.

The stabilisation of the currency has also been accompanied by an attempt at regulating state finances, to at least reducing the deficit to a minimum, even if finances cannot be completely balanced. Grabski, the minister of finance, issued a normal budget for the first time, estimating 1422 million gold francs as revenue and 1582 million gold francs expenditure. Although the deficit remaining is still 160 millions, this is a mere trifle compared with the deficits of the inflation period. This comparative regulation of state finances has been rendered possible by a capital levy to the amount of 1000 million gold francs, to be paid within three years in three annual instalments.

In spite of the increase of money in circulation, a great shortage of money set in, as was the case in Germany, accompanied by a credit crisis and an attendant severe industrial crisis. At the present time the rate of interest for loan capital is 8 to 12% monthly, according to the "Manchester Guardian" Commercial Supplement of 12 June even 15%.

As in Germany, the stabilisation has been accompanied by much unemployment, and by a crisis in almost every branch of industry in Poland. There are general complaints that the costs of production are substantially higher than in other countries, and than before the war. It is calculated, for instance, that the wages cost of 1 ton of coal, which was \$ 0.9 before the war, is now \$ 2.5. As in Germany, reductions of wages and lengthening of working hours are the order of the day.

The crisis is particularly acute in agriculture, in the heavy industry of Upper Silesia, and in the Lodz textile industry. The scissors and their resultant agrarian crisis, have been felt in Poland as in Germany since the stabilisation of the currency. According to an article published by the Industrial and Commercial Review on 21. February, the prices of corn per 100 kgs were as follows, in gold marks:

Wheat	15.42
Rye	11.20
Oats	11.60

These prices are much below pre-war prices, and are also below the world's market prices in February. One unit of rye was only capable of purchasing at most 50 to 75% of the industrial products which it could have bought before the war.

The situation is particularly critical in the Upper Silesian heavy industry, for the reason that this region has always been dependent on exports to Germany. So long as production in the Ruhr was at a standstill, and Germany was economically more prosperous than now, there was a sufficient market for Upper

Silesian coal in Germany. 60.40% of the semi-manufactured iron production forming the greater part of Upper Silesian industry goes to Germany, German Upper Silesia receives 25%, whilst Polish Upper Silesia consumes 9.1%, and only 2.2% is absorbed by Poland itself. The products of the iron working industry are also consumed for the most part in the same districts: only 15% goes to Poland. (Vossische Zeitung, 21. May 1924.)

Similar difficulties exist with regard to coal. The German coal commissioners recently limited the import of Polish Upper Silesian coal to Germany to 500,000 tons monthly. Before the war the import from this area was over 1 million tons monthly.

The state of the markets in Germany at the present time is such that it is questionable if even this amount will find a sale, especially if the high prices of Upper Silesian coal are taken into consideration. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the Upper Silesian German capitalists are oppressing their workers by reductions of wages and longer working hours, and are provoking mighty labour struggles.

The Lodz textile industry is also severely hit by the crisis. It is in fact in a chronic state of crisis, like the English cotton trade, a crisis only temporarily interrupted by the inflation. This industry formerly found its chief market in Russia. The diminished requirements, and the development of the Russian textile industry, have closed this market; under the present conditions of international economic crisis it is almost impossible to find new markets. "The catastrophic shortage of money at home renders the home markets equally incapable taking up goods. Lodz goods are again being sold to middlemen at less than cost price, so acute is the lack of money. The commission businesses, which pay 12% monthly and more for money sell to the equally financially embarrassed retail dealer, who screws the prices higher from day to day, so that we see everywhere rapidly sinking wholesale prices, and at the same time rising retail prices. . . . At the present time the situation in Lodz is as follows: The majority of the factories working in the clothing and hosiery industries are only working two to three days a week; some of them, including the largest, have closed down altogether. . . . Innumerable bills are being protested." (Frankfurter Zeitung, 24. June 1924.)

Prices have risen enormously all over the country, despite the agrarian crisis and the low prices for grain. At the present time Warsaw is said to be the most expensive city in the world. Industry is protected from any foreign competition by extraordinarily high duties. These amount to 65% of their value for textile articles, 43% for shoes, 75% for soap, etc.

There are no reliable figures to be had on unemployment. The official Polish data referring to unemployed in receipt of benefit do not appear to be very trustworthy: for March they place the number of unemployed at 110,000, for June 95,000, a ridiculously small number when we remember the reports on the closing down of factories and dismissal of workers in the two most important industrial areas, Upper Silesia and Lodz.

The attempt has been made to attract foreign capital to counteract the shortage of capital in the country. The attempt has only been partially successful, and exorbitant rates of interest have been paid. Thus a loan of 100 million zloti was received from Italy, through the intermediation of the Banca Commerciale. The loan was put up for subscription at the rate of 80, the interest being 7%. The Polish tobacco monopoly was pledged as security, and the obligation was undertaken to cover foreign tobacco requirements through the bank. Taking it all in all, the actual rate of interest for this loan must have been considerably over 12%.

All this shows that Polish economics are undergoing a severe crisis, resembling in its main features the German economic crisis. It is a crisis which again can solely be overcome in combination with the recovery of the international economic situation, for it is only when the world's economics become sound that the products of the heavy industry of Upper Silesia, and of the textile industry of Lodz, will find a sale in the world. If this does not take place, the deficit in foreign trade is bound to grow from month to month, leading, as in Germany, to the danger of a fresh depreciation of Polish currency.

England.

The Labour Government and the Capitalist Class.

The chief event occurring during the period of this report has been the formation of the Labour Government. We can already register the fact that the hopes placed by the working

people on the Labour Party government have not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the capitalist class has made as good friends with the Labour Government as with any other previous government. The Labour Government is carrying on the business of the English capitalist class as efficiently as any of its predecessors. In order that this may not appear to be merely the phrase of an agitator, we shall here give a few brief extracts from characteristic utterances made by leaders of English capitalism.

Even before the Labour Party took office, Sir Eric Geddes declared at the annual meeting of the mightiest English capitalist organisation, the F. B. I. (Federation of British Industries), held on 18. January: "He hoped that, should a Labour Government come into power, this would seek advice from the Federation to an even greater degree than the other governments which had been in office since the founding of the Federation, for the Labour Party does not possess within its own ranks, like the older parties, people possessing experience in the leadership of great industrial enterprises or in governmental affairs... The sky is not black with pound notes seeking their way across the Atlantic Ocean, but a certain amount of invested capital would leave the country, probably for the most part foreign capital. Capital leaves the country. If our political situation renders the risk of capital investment here too great, then people will invest their capital somewhere else. Industry would suffer from this, the working class would suffer at the same time, and the buying powers of the home markets would decrease. This is a time when we need cautious and thoughtful statesmen, when every action and every word must be carefully weighed, when great courage or great patience is required."

Only a month later the "Times" was already writing: "The cautious tone adopted by the Prime Minister in his opening speech exercised a favourable influence upon the capital investment market, although it was observed that the essential character of this speech did not appear to harmonise with his electoral speech."

Three months later we find the capitalists adopting a much more friendly tone. At the sixty fourth general meeting of the Association of English Chambers of Commerce, its influential president, A. Balfour, spoke as follows: "He desired to greet the Labour Government on behalf of the Association. He was of the opinion that it was a cause of satisfaction to the members to see that the present Ministers were acting in a manner worthy of their positions. As usual, the Association had not hesitated to place its services at the disposal of the new government as adviser and helper, and these services had been called upon most extensively. The Association has become accustomed to go to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to inform him of its opinion on the financial situation on behalf of trade and industry."

The speech delivered by Lord Derby at the annual meeting of the chambers of commerce of the British Empire is perhaps even more characteristic. In his speech in reply to the welcoming address of the Colonial Minister, J. H. Thomas, Lord Derby observed: "Until he had heard Mr. Thomas' address, he had been of the opinion that he was a political opponent of Thomas. But after hearing his speech he had come to the conclusion that Thomas had seen daylight at last, and had gone over to his side. Nobody could have made a speech containing more sound common sense. Mr. Thomas was an imperialist in the best sense of the word, he recognised that we are a great world empire; not a great state, but a number of states, united under one king and under one common flag." ("Times", 2. June 1924.) The speech delivered by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Olivier, on 1. February, as also Mr. MacDonald's utterances with reference to his Indian policy, afforded the same satisfaction to the capitalists.

On the other hand, the Labour Government has not succeeded in solving to any extent the great problem of English economics — Unemployment. And we had the unique situation of Baldwin, the leader of the conservatives, reproaching the Labour Government in a great Parliamentary speech for being incapable of doing anything whatever for the working people.

The Problem of the English Economic Situation.

England's economic position has improved slowly during the period covered by this report. It is only within the last month or so that a certain decline has been observable, as in France, and this is expressed by the increased number of unemployed.

The question of how England's economics are going to emerge from their state of chronic crisis is one with which the English bourgeois political economists are profoundly occupied.

One of them, Lord Weir, sums up the matter in the following manner: "The present production of values in the country is about 16% less than in the year 1913. We have about 1 1/4 million more people to feed." Various calculations have been made in this direction, all varying between 85 and 95%. Up to the present no bourgeois political economist has discovered any likely means of escape from the situation.

The state of perplexity into which the English economic authorities have been plunged is characterised by a series of articles commencing in the "Nation" of 12. April. In the introductory article Lloyd George points out that the population of England has increased by 2 millions since before the war. Production should thus be 5% higher than at that time. But as a matter of fact production, according to the calculation made by the famous Professor Bowley, was only 87% of pre-war in the year 1923 (the best of the last three years), or, according to the calculation of the "Economist", 95%. In any case production is less by 10 to 18%! Lloyd George considers the restoration of pre-war conditions to be still fairly remote. He can find no better advice to give than an improvement of the productive apparatus, with a view to the proper utilisation of the improved conditions which are to come later on.

W. Beveridge, the most famous expert on the English unemployment question, reckons on a large number of unemployed for about ten years to come. "The easily acquired wealth of the Victorian era will never return again... We had prosperity, and we became a great people, in the time of Queen Victoria, simply because we were the first to utilise properly our coal and iron. But now we have lost this passing advantage gained by the first utilisation of our natural wealth. — In the future prosperity can only be secured by working harder than the others, or at least more efficiently, more scientifically, and more harmoniously... It will not fall into our lap as it did in other times..."

Professor Bowley calculates that the decrease of births during the war will lighten the labour market from 1930 onwards. At the present time the number of unemployed is not greater than in 1909. It will gradually lessen. Lord Weir emphasises the necessity of an improvement of English industry, etc.

Taken on the whole, we find a good deal of perplexity and pessimism among the leading English political economists. The cause of this profound pessimism is that the old foundations of the expansion of English economics cannot be restored. English economics were founded on the following bases:

1. The great stores of coal which made it possible for the ships arriving at English ports laden with foodstuffs and raw materials, to be freighted with coal, a bulk article, as return cargo. No less than nine tenths of the total tonnage of British exports consisted of the products of the English coal mines. This made it possible to utilise the cargo space of the English mercantile marine to its fullest extent, both in incoming and outgoing ships. At the present time this advantage is disappearing, as a result of the rapid transition to oil fuel for shipping, partly as a result of the severe competition offered to English coal by the United States, especially in Canada and South America.

2. Navigation itself, which constitutes a great part of England's "invisible exports". This is now involved in a serious crisis, not likely to end within any measurable time.

3. The export of iron ware and machinery, now seriously damaged by the industrialisation of the overseas countries. It is characteristic that the fact of the Indian government having given an order to Germany for five railway engines occupied whole columns of the English newspapers for weeks.

4. The English cotton industry, one of England's most important export industries, has been in a chronic state of crisis for years, and there is no prospect that it will ever regain its dominant position in the world. The attack on its position is being carried on from two sides. In the first place the American textile industry is developing rapidly; ever-increasing quantities of American cotton are being worked up in America itself, so that the main source of raw material is drying up. Energetic attempts are being made to cultivate cotton in the English colonies, as substitute for the American, but expert opinion considers that several decades will pass before the amount required can be supplied from colonial countries.

On the other hand, the industrialisation of overseas countries, and especially the development of the cotton industry in India, China, and Japan, which is proceeding at a very rapid pace, is endangering the markets of the English textile industry.

At the present time the greatest hopes are being set upon the solution of the reparations question. But even these hopes are

not general. Whilst commerce and banks are hopeful, industrial capital is haunted by fears of Germany's reappearance on the scene as an industrial competitor. It is exceedingly characteristic that the Federation of British Industries recently applied to the English government with the request, or demand, that the government should ask the opinion of the Federation, which has serious objections to the transaction, before the former agrees to the German reparations loan of 800 million gold marks.

Under these circumstances it required a certain amount of brass for Webb, the President of the Board of Trade to claim the slightly better conditions obtaining at the beginning of the current year as due to the efforts of the Labour Government. He bases this statement chiefly on the higher foreign trade figures of the month of May. Among other statements we find the following: "In the year 1923 the average monthly imports amounted to 91 million pounds sterling, but by May of this year these amounted to 122 millions. A truly wonderful increase as compared with the preceding year. Exports which amounted to a monthly average of 64 millions in 1923, had reached 70 millions by May. Exports in May considerably exceeded the exports at this time since 1920... Whilst the May exports were due to the execution of earlier orders, the unusually extensive import of raw materials in this month leads us to suppose that we are at the commencement of an upward tendency, one which we must not over-estimate, but which none the less furnishes a good basis for a hopeful future." (Parliamentary speech, 19 June.)

Mr. Webb's demagoguery was demonstrated as false within a month, for the foreign trade figures for June show a sudden drop.

The Unemployment Problem.

The percentages of unemployment in England have already been stated in our introduction. During the first five months the number of unemployed decreased steadily, but showed a tendency to increase again in the month of June. The figures are:

1. January	1,250,100
28. "	1,284,000 (Railwaymen's strike)
25. February	1,120,000
24. March	1,063,500
2. June	1,002,900
16. June	1,051,000

Since this time the number has remained at approximately the same level of over a million, with only slight fluctuations.

We have often drawn attention to the fact that the actual number is much greater. In an article dated 2. March, Lloyd George writes as follows:

"The unemployment lists do not by any means comprise all the capable working men who are vainly endeavoring to find the means to enable themselves and their relations to lead respectable lives. The figures published do not include the non-insured professions, and the army of respectable people who are out of work can merely be guessed. Up to now these people have not obtained any support from the state, and they themselves are too proud to apply for poor relief. If we were to include all these persons, we should not go far wrong in estimating the number of capable unemployed at 1,500,000.

In order to grasp the full significance of this problem, it must not be forgotten that at the present time there are 700,000 men living in this country who, before the war, took their place as competitors in the labour market, but who are now war-disabled. All these are supported out of the taxes obtained from industry. Thus the total of unemployed in England actually amounts to 2,200,000 human beings entirely dependent for their support on the rates and taxes. The savings banks have long since been emptied, and the trade union funds for the support of the unemployed are exhausted. If trade does not expand to an extent that these masses can be absorbed, then the statesmen of Britain are confronted by a new and very difficult problem. A million men, in full possession of their working capacities, condemned to the sole occupation of applying once a week at the Labour Exchanges for the money necessary to support a bare existence, are inevitably bound to become a source of evil. What are the prospects for the absorption of the forces which are now running to waste?"

Baldwin was perfectly right in his criticism that the Labour Government had brought forward nothing new whatever towards combatting unemployment. The appearance of such an

article as that published by Lansbury in the "Daily Herald" of 24. May, in which he recommends, as a sole efficient means against unemployment, the nationalisation of industry, beginning with the mines, docks, means of transport, agriculture, and other great industries, are but rare occurrences and have no practical effect.

Production.

Heavy industrial production has developed as follows during the last few months:

	(Weekly average)		Steel
	Production of coal	Iron	
	(in 1000 tons per month)		
January	5,197	637	694
February	5,688	613	708
March	5,751	669	825
April	5,210	618	712
May	5,462	651	810
June	4,675	608	652

To this must be observed that during the second quarter the production of iron and steel was permanently less than in the corresponding months of 1923; this applies equally to coal production in the month of June.

With regard to the industries producing and working up iron, these have suffered from the increased dearthness of coal. Whilst the price index figure for coal, 1913 being taken at 100, reached approximately 180, the index figure for iron and steel has not even reached 150. In consideration of the great importance of coal in the production of iron, and of the fact that in England the iron works are amalgamated with coal mines in common undertakings to a far less extent than is the case in America or Germany, the high price of coal plays an important part.

We already mentioned above that tremendous sensation was caused by the fact that the Indian government ordered five railway engines from Germany. To this the "Times" observes: "The fact that a German firm has succeeded in carrying off an order for five engines in competition with British manufacturers... has been a source of profound regret in the machine industry... we hear that the German tender was about 40% cheaper than the English". A similar case occurred in Egypt, where 30 locomotives were ordered from an Italian firm. The fact that foreign competitors can get orders from English colonial possessions was the subject of a very lively discussion in the English press, and gave rise to an attack on the alleged high wages of the English workman as compared to the German. It was pointed out that the normal working week in England is 44 to 48 hours, whilst in Germany 57 to 60 hours are worked.

This revived a certain amount of feeling in favour of the tariff reform movement which was defeated at the elections. In our last report we discussed this question in detail, and demonstrated that protective industrial duties would make no essential difference to the critical position of English industry, as unemployment is most rife in export industries, and is comparatively slight in inland industry. The so-called McKenna duties on motor cars and some other articles have actually been done away with by the labour government. The resolutions passed by the British Imperial Conference in the autumn of 1923, providing for the introduction of preference duties for the products of the English colonies imported into England, will doubtlessly be submitted to Parliament, but it may be assumed with certainty that they will be rejected.

The crisis in the English textile industry continues unchanged. On February 22. it was decided that the organised part-time work in the spinning mills, which had been given up for a short time, should be re-introduced. Only 26 1/2 hours may be worked weekly, instead of 48. The critical situation of the English textile industry is further evidenced by the fact that the majority of the enterprises are paying no dividends, and there is a possibility that the assertion made by the undertakings themselves, that they are working at a constant loss, is an actual fact.

We have already described the situation in the shipping world. English economics naturally suffer greatly under the crisis in the freight markets, almost half of the world's tonnage being in English possession.

At the annual meeting of ship-owners, held in Liverpool, attention was drawn to the interesting fact that loss is not only being incurred by ships having to lie up, but by those in use not carrying full cargoes. Whilst in the year 1913, 114 tons of

cargo were freighted to every 100 net tons of cargo space, by the year 1923 the average cargo had sunk to 104 tons. This signifies that in comparison with 1913, five million tons weight were not properly utilised.

English agriculture is suffering from the agrarian crisis, which here chiefly finds its expression in hard times for the tenant farmer and agricultural labourer. The crisis has led to extensive reduction of the area cultivated. The new government made the attempt to secure the wages of the agricultural labourers again by means of a state regulation of wages, but has attained no success. The landowners and tenant farmers both defended their own standpoint, and demanded that if the wages of the agricultural labourer are to be fixed by the state, this should be done in combination with grain prices guaranteed by the state, or by the introduction of corn duties. Both of these methods would injure the interests of the industrial workers.

The unfavourable position of English economics gives rise to the ever-recurring idea of resorting to a consciously induced inflation. Although open propaganda is seldom made for an inflation policy the impossibility of raising the pound sterling to gold parity again is frequently maintained. Much sensation was created by a speech delivered on 25. January 1924 by McKenna, chairman of the Midland Bank, and former Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he took a determined attitude against a deflationist policy:

"Money, with the exception of ordinary pocket money, is never idle. It constantly tends to utilisation. If there is much money on hand, business is good; if little, business is bad. It might be said that money can be multiplied indefinitely, and business kept going. But this would make prices rise indefinitely. The first consequence would be social derangements, finally followed by such a depreciation in the value of money that business would suffer. It would then be suggested that money be diminished, and the prices reduced to pre-war level again. All very well, but then business would be bad again and there would be unemployment as well. The national debt would become more oppressive when money was higher in value, and no statesman would be able to balance the budget. Inflation on one side, deflation on the other. We are between the devil and the deep sea, and if we are to escape shipwreck, we must steer a middle course . . .

New organisations and new processes of production, given a diligent people, will always lead to recuperation when the path is left free, but trade can never thrive where buying powers are constantly diminishing. Scarcity of money signifies low prices or low production, or both; nobody gives orders if he believes that prices are going to fall. If we want to remove unemployment, we must have money to absorb the increased production. If we decrease the present amount of money, we shall not be able to escape continued unemployment."

On the other hand, there are capitalist groups in England in favour of the pound sterling regaining its par value. These argue that England will not be able to maintain her position as world banker, as opposed to America, until the pound sterling has reached par value again. At the same time it is pointed out that the annual debt payments to America would thereby be automatically reduced by about 10%. To all appearance the latter standpoint is gaining the upper hand. Much has been said of late about raising the bank rate, and this is already higher than in America. The question whether England or America is to lead the money markets of the world is the subject of lively discussion at the present time, especially in connection with the note bank which is to be newly established, as already mentioned above. This is one of the points considerably disturbing the harmony of the English and American big bourgeoisies.

English Foreign Trade.

English foreign trade developed as follows during the first half year of 1924:

	Exports (million £)	Imports (less re-export)
January	64,2	87,9
February	68,0	83,5
March	61,1	91,0
April	62,9	74,4
May	70,3	109,0
June	62,0	78,5
	388,5	524,3

In the "Economist" for July 19. we find a comparison of foreign trade in 1924 and 1923. From this we see that the total exports in the first half year of 1924 were scarcely six millions more than in 1923, that is, 1,6%. Imports, it is true, increased in the same time by 60 millions, or 11%. The "Economist" points out, however, that more than half of this increase is due to raw cotton and raw wool, and is to be chiefly attributed to the increased prices, not to increased quantities. Thus, for instance, the value of the imported wool had increased by 12 millions, although the quantity had decreased by 40,000 cwts. The quantity of cotton actually imported increased by 20%, but the price increased by 60%. With regard to exports it must be specially mentioned that the exports of coal have fallen from approximately 40 million tons to approximately 31 million tons. We thus see that Webb's optimistic views on the improvement of foreign trade are entirely unfounded.

The last few weeks have brought a decided worsening of the English economic situation, especially in heavy industry; as in France, this is the result of the increased production of the Ruhr area, and of the crisis in the United States.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Miners in Belgium.

35,000 miners of the Borinage District have already been on strike for seven weeks. In spite of all difficulties they are still maintaining their fighting spirit. Whilst on the 13th of August scarcely 12,000 miners took part in the ballot regarding the strike, although even at that time 25,000 miners had already downed tools, on the 17th of September there took part in the ballot on the question of the continuance of the strike 19,643, that is 7572 more than at the first ballot. No less than 16,962, that is over 80%, voted for the continuance of the strike and only 2512 against.

The support which the strikers are receiving throughout the country is quite spontaneous. Miners in other districts, metal workers and other workers in various parts of Belgium, a section of the co-operatives in the districts affected, are supporting the strike, not only with expressions of sympathy, but also with collections of money and food. Another significant fact is the enthusiastic manner in which the mining women are supporting their men folk in their struggle. They are taking their place in the picket line and do not shrink back from participating in the conflicts with strike breakers.

There is also no lack of international solidarity. The Russian co-operatives have decided to hand over a contribution of 1000 Pound Sterling, the International Workers Relief have undertaken the supply of food.

This is in contrast to the sabotage and the systematic policy of isolation and disruption, which has been regularly practised by the trade union bureaucracy and the Social Democratic Party, in order to prevent the extension of the strike to other mining districts in Belgium and to other industries in the country.

The social democratic leaders issue the slogan to strive for legal arbitration. The former Minister for Industry and Labour, Joseph Wauters, one of the shining lights of Belgian social reformism, has nominated as members of the arbitration court the social democratic president of the chamber, Emile Brunet, the former liberal Minister, Mahaim, the representative of the Metal Industrials and to crown it all, the former catholic prime minister, Cooreman, regarding whom the "Drapeau Rouge", the daily organ of the C. P. of Belgium, points out that he occupies more than twenty positions as president and director in banks, and industrial undertakings, including a whole number of mining companies.

This unheard-of proposal is naturally meeting with the sharpest resistance among the striking miners, and the demand of the miners of the Borinage district that a congress be convened to decide upon a general strike throughout the whole country is meeting with a continually greater response, not only among the miners in the other districts, but also among the workers in other trades in the affected districts.

The international proletariat must follow with the greatest attention and give every possible support to the out-post struggle which the miners of the Borinage district are conducting in the interest of the whole of the Belgian, and with it in the interest of the whole of the international working class against the attempted reduction of wages.

To the Miners of all Countries!

In all countries of the world there is to be seen a superfluity of coal. Everywhere great supplies of coal are being stored up. In many of the mines in Germany work is being reduced by as much as three shifts in the week, on account of lack of demand for coal. In the month of August in the Ruhr district alone the number of shifts not worked amounted to 850,000. In Czecho-Slovakia the mines are only being worked four days a week, because there is no demand for coal. In addition to this short time, there is an enormous army of miners entirely out of work. In Germany there are 100,000 miners unemployed, in the Ruhr district alone 80,000. Every ninth miner therefore is, along with his family, delivered over to starvation. In addition to this, on the 1st of September the mine owners issued further notices. All the elderly and invalid miners are to be thrust into the army of the unemployed. In Czecho-Slovakia the unemployment figures are growing from week to week. In England, where in May 3 per cent of the miners were unemployed, the number increased to 6 per cent in June, to 8 per cent in July, and in August there numbered in England out of 1,150,000 miners 125,000 unemployed. That is 11 per cent. In France and in Belgium, the supplies of coal which are accumulating there will, in the next few weeks, have the same results.

This coal crisis is a characteristic symptom of the collapse of the capitalist system of production. The capitalists of all countries see no other way out of the coal crisis but that of undercutting each other in prices on the world coal market. This policy compels them to proceed against the miners in all countries with further wage cuts and lengthening of working hours.

In Germany in May last the work day was, with the help of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, again increased by an hour. The results of this are to be seen in the 100,000 unemployed miners. If the hours had not been prolonged and the miners had retained the seven hour shift, there would be no need to-day for any German miner to remain idle on the streets.

The German capitalists and the reformist trade union bureaucracy have told the miners that the lengthening of the work-time in Germany is necessary in order to be able to carry out the deliveries of coal provided by the Dawes Plan.

The coal deliveries by Germany to the Entente countries provided by the Dawes Plan are to serve no other purpose than to give the capitalists of these countries the possibility of starting an offensive against the miners.

The effects of the German coal deliveries on the Entente countries are already to be seen in Belgium. The Belgian mine owners would never have had the audacity to reduce the wages of the miners by 10 per cent unless they had received sufficient coal from Germany. The strike of the Belgian miners against the wage reduction is the first fight against the Dawes Plan, against the enslavement of the international mining proletariat. It is therefore the duty of the miners of all countries to support this fight with all possible means.

The Belgian mine owners have already announced that they are not yet satisfied with the 10 per cent wage cut which they now intend to carry out, but that they will shortly reduce wages by another 15 per cent.

In Holland, where in recent years wages have been continually reduced, there is to be a further cut of 10 per cent carried out, and the working time is to be increased by 2 hours a week. In England and Czecho-Slovakia the cost of living is rising rapidly. The mine owners however absolutely refuse any wage increase. At the English Trade Union Congress in Hull the secretary of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, A. J. Cook, stated in his speech that poverty and misery among the English miners are growing enormously, that the mining magnates are not observing the collective agreements, but are endeavouring to break them.

All this shows that the miners are faced with hard times, that the capitalists will employ every means to overcome the crisis at the cost of the mine workers by wage cuts and lengthening of hours.

The carrying out of this capitalist plan means, however, the death from starvation of a 100,000 miners, enormous misery and unspeakable poverty.

In order to prevent this the miners of all countries must immediately adopt every measure.

In the first place there must be organised in every country a fight against the Dawes Plan. The reformist trade union

bureaucracy, which in every country has approved the Dawes Plan, must be compelled by the broad masses of the miners to take up the struggle against the Dawes Plan, against the German coal deliveries.

The fight against the Dawes Plan is also the fight against wage reduction, against lengthening of work time, against unemployment.

The enormous army of unemployed must be abolished, they must all be re-absorbed in production. This can only be brought about by a shortening of the work time. Therefore the slogan of the miners in all countries must be: "Shortening of the work time to 6 hours!" Not a minute longer must be worked.

International resistance must be organised against any attempt at wage reductions. The miners must not be content to allow the production of coal to be carried on in the interests of capitalist profit. Rather there must be raised and carried out the demand for a systematic production of coal, in accordance with the actual demands, on an international scale, with appropriate regulations regarding work time, the absorption of all unemployed and the abolition of all capitalist competition on the world market.

Once capitalist competition is abolished, six hours a day will suffice to meet the coal demands of the whole world.

All these demands have already been raised by the Amsterdam Miners International at their 20th and 27th Congresses. But nothing has yet been done in order to carry them out. The Conference of revolutionary miners therefore calls upon all miners:

Do not permit these demands to remain merely on paper, compel the reformist leaders to organise the fight for these demands. The capitalists are not afraid of resolutions or revolutionary speeches. Only power, the organised power of the mining proletariat will compel them to submit.

Miners of all countries! Reply at once to the scandalous plans of the mine owners and put forward your demands. March forth in powerful demonstrations and let your voices resound over the frontiers of all countries:

For shortening of work time!
For increase of wages!
For abolition of the coal deliveries provided by the Dawes Plan!
For introduction of an international systematic coal production!
For the abolition of capitalist profits!
For the absorption of all unemployed miners!
Berlin, 14th September 1924.

International Conference of revolutionary Miners:
Chevaliers du Travail Belgique. (Knights of Labour, Belgium.)
Revolutionary Minority of the Belgian Miners.
Unitarian Miners' Federation of France
International General Labour Federation, Miners Section, Czecho-Slovakia.
Miners' Section, Union of Hand and Brain Workers Germany.
Revolutionary Minority in the German Miners Federation.
Revolutionary Minority of the Miners of England.
Revolutionary Minority of the Miners of Poland.
National Labour Secretariat, Miners' Federation of Holland.
All-Russian Miners' Union.

The Events in Georgia — An English Menshevik View.

"It would be rash to dogmatise about the news from Georgia, but we give rather less faith to the telegrams of the indistinct American journalist in Trebizond than to those of the romantic school in Riga. From Riga at least there runs a railway line to Moscow; there is none from Turkish Trebizond to Georgia. There clearly was a revolt, and it has been suppressed. It may well be that the peasants acted against it, for under the present system they enjoy the land. It is probable that the rising (and above all the news of the rising) was timed to play its part against the Russian Treaty. Without crediting the tales of bloody repression, we would say plainly that the more mercifully the Bolsheviks act, the better will they stand in the opinion of the European workers' movement."

"The New Leader", September 19, 1924.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

International Conference of Communist Members of Parliament.

Against the Dawes Plan.

On the 9th of October the members of parliament of the German, French, English, Czechish, and other Communist Parties will meet in Cologne for consultation. The purpose of the Cologne Conference is the linking up of action in the various countries against the Dawes Plan in order to carry on an international campaign.

Publications on the 60th Anniversary of the First International.

Collection by the Marx-Engels Institute.

The Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, in accordance with the decisions of the V. World Congress of the Communist International, requests all communist parties, party publishers and party organs to send all books, newspaper articles, appeals, leaflets, announcements of meetings, and posters which have appeared in their respective countries on the occasion of the celebration of the foundation of the I. International.

Comrades are specially requested, not only to collect the material published by our parties, but everything that has been published on this occasion on the part of our opponents, by the bourgeoisie, social democrats and anarchists over the I. International. The consignments should be addressed to Prof. D. Rjasanov, Marx-Engels Institute, Moscow, Maly Snamenski per. 5.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

A New Two and a Half International.

By John Pepper.

A new Viking expedition is about to set out from Norway and Sweden to conquer the world. Tranmael and Höglund are planning the formation of a "Scandinavian International", which they wish to extend as soon as possible into a real "International". Tranmael proudly declares that this new International will neither acknowledge allegiance to Moscow nor Amsterdam. The hole-and-a-corner congress of the Höglund group which was held at Stockholm declared, however, that the new International shall unite all "communist and other revolutionary parties which stand outside of the Communist International". It is therefore a question of the appearance of a new edition of the Two and a half International. The first appearance of the Two and a half International in the labour movement might possibly have been called a tragedy; the second appearance, however, is an indubitable farce.

The initiative for the formation of this new Two and a half International has come from the Norwegian Labour Party. On the 28th August there was published in its Christiania organ, "Arbeiderbladet", an article entitled: "The International". In this Tranmael rang the death-knell of the Communist International. He wrote: "It is now clear that the communist movement cannot be saved by the III. International. It must remain outside this International. The independent communist parties have now a great task." The Communist International must inevitably become bankrupt because "organisatory practice, centralism, jesuitism, the fault-finding attitude, occupy too big a place in this International and have killed its vitalising and rallying idea". Even the Soviet system in Russia has perished: "It has become an empty institution". Capitalism is again raising its head in Russia. "There is every indication that a new revolution is necessary even in Russia." The Executive of the Comintern has pushed the best comrades, as Trotzky and Radek, in to the background, it proceeds by means of "putches", splitting of parties, it "pulverises" all the mass parties of the Comintern and converts them into insignificant sects. Only the "independent" Communist Parties standing outside of the Comintern can save the situation: "They must get into connection with each other, and create an international collaboration and the prerequisites for rallying all the workers of the world upon a broad communist foundation".

The Norwegian Labour Party has already seized the initiative for the establishment of the new International: "Our Party will now enter into connection with the Communist Party of Sweden. There also exists the possibility for establishing connections with comrades in Denmark and Finland. It is certain that in the course of this autumn an International Conference will take place. Many big parties and groups will take part in this. And their number is continually growing. These parties and groups must establish organisatory connections and set up an international bureau."

Co-operation between Tranmael and Höglund is already an therefore been conceived at the petty-bourgeois congress of the Höglund group in Stockholm as the representative of the Norwegian Labour Party. He even had the good fortune to be prevented by the Stockholm police from delivering a speech in public. The embryo of the Two and a half International has therefore been conceived at the petty-bourgeois congress of the Höglund group. But from conception to birth is a long road; and for the new Vikings of Stockholm and Christiania it is a long march to the big cities of the international proletariat, to Berlin, Paris, London etc. One does not need to be a great prophet in order to be able to predict that when this feeble offspring of a new 2½ International sees the light of this wicked world it will, like its inglorious predecessor the first 2½ International, return as quickly as possible into the womb of Social Democracy.

Upon what are the makers of the new 2½ International actually basing their calculations? In the first place upon the waste products of the Communist movement in all countries. Those who have split off from, as well those who have been expelled from the Communist International, are to serve as the centre of crystallization for the new International.

Who do the heroes of this International of the "throw-outs" prove to be on closer inspection? Really they form a fine collection of "has-beens":

Tranmael, the labour leader, who in the name of the trade-union tradition of Norway betrayed the Comintern, and who, however, after breaking from the Comintern felt free to leave the striking metal-workers of Norway shamefully in the lurch in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Tranmael who still calls himself a communist, but who, on the day of his breach with the Third International, abandoned the fundamental slogan of the arming of the proletariat and reverted to the stale pacifism of refusal of military service. Falk, who for a long time hovered between communism and fascism. Haakon Meyer who can unite his consistent Marxism, anti-semitism and communism into a complete synthesis. The dozen or so "clear heads" of Danish students, who sympathise with the fascist Falk, but at the same time approve of Höglund's expulsion from the Communist International. Edward Huttunen, who could not tolerate the discipline of the parliamentary fraction of the Socialist Labour Party of Finland, as it was too narrow for his broad-minded social democratic policy and as it would pledge him, as chairman of the trade union federation to real revolutionary action. Federick Stroem, the Swedish Tacitus of the Russian Revolution who, as a Bolshevik and as party secretary of the Communist Party of Sweden could not exactly detect the difference between the Russian Menshevik and the Russian Bolshevik, and who, in the name of the peculiar Scandinavian psychology of the workers opposed the centralism of the Communist International. Ledebour, the most confused of all the middle-heads of Europe. Steinberg, the Social-Revolutionary, the former S. R. member of the Russian Soviet Government and later the organiser of the attempts upon the lives of leaders of the Russian Revolution, and who is now the Berlin secretary of the Committee for establishing a new International. Höglund, who once joined the Communist International as a pacifist and who now ends as a pacifist in the camp of the counter-revolution. Höglund, who, as recently as May last agreed to all the decisions of the V. World Congress of the C. I. for bolshevising the communist parties, and who has now become the most prominent Bolshevik-slayer in Sweden. Höglund, who at one time opposed Branting in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat and who has now shamelessly struck out of his election programme the idea of the soviets, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the arming of the working class and the criticism of parliamentarism.

These are the leaders and heroes of the future 2½ International. A hotch-potch company, who have nothing in common but their various deviations from the idea of communism. A group whose only claim to found the new International is their equal clinging to all their respective national prejudices and traditions. Tranmael broke with the Comintern, because he

was "Norwegian". Höglund broke with the Comintern because the Executive was not "Swedish" enough for him. They now therefore wish to form a common International for the one and only purpose — not to be "too international". This sentence sums up the whole history of this new International. The first 2½ International was at any rate a mass organisation comprising large sections of the proletariat which shrank back from civil war. This second 2½ International, however, is, at the very best, a sect of petty bourgeois, who not only shrink back from civil war, but from the elementary duties of the class struggle.

Another Penitent Social-Revolutionary.

Hardly is the ink dry on the newspaper columns which described Savinkov's confessions and repentance, when our attention is drawn to the repentance of the well known bandit Fomitchov, an old social revolutionary who assassinated admiral Chukhin-Akimov. And now we also see posters on the hoardings in Moscow with the announcement that citizen Zarudny, Minister of Justice under Kerensky, will deliver a lecture entitled "Confession of a former Minister of the Provisional Government".

It seems that soon, special hours will have to be fixed for the reception of repentant sinners. Soviet society is not particularly interested in the repentance of these individuals, but the disclosures made by the repentant sinners are highly interesting. In this respect Fomitchov's statements are of particular interest, for he is by origin a peasant of the Moscow government (gubernia), he was a member of the social-revolutionary party since 1905 and has been an active opponent of the Soviet Power since 1917. These disclosures show once more who was masquerading under the label of the one and indivisible Russia and whose interests would have been served by the overthrow of the Bolsheviks "who were selling Russia to the foreigners". We give below extracts from Fomitchov's statement.

"Isvestia", September 17, 1924.

"...When the 'Russian Evacuation Committee' began its activity in Warsaw under the guidance of Savinkov (instructed by Pilsudsky), it instructed me to carry on agitational work among Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian soldiers and officers interned in Polish camps for the purpose of recruiting them for the Savinkov military detachments and organisations. Towards the end of September 1921, I was sent to Vilna for the purpose of organising there a branch of the Savinkov 'People's Union for the Defence of Freedom and Fatherland'. After this branch had been organised by me, it worked for four years to establish nuclei of the above mentioned union on Soviet territory. Through these nuclei this union carried on military, political and economic espionage. Through them it sent bands of bandits into Soviet Russia for the purpose of organising there terrorist acts on a large scale.

During all this time until the middle of 1924 I was the executor of the shameful plans and instructions of the Polish staff and police.

As chief of the Vilna branch of the 'people's union for the defence of freedom and fatherland' I carried out the instructions of the second department of the Polish general staff concerning recruiting of Russian soldiers and officers for espionage work in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Acting upon the same instructions, I organised at that time bandit detachments on Polish territory, and received for them arms, money and the necessary documents from the Polish military authorities. On the instructions of the Polish staffs I despatched these bandits into various districts in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

When these spies and detachments returned after the murders and robberies which they had been sent to perpetrate, I was the intermediary between them and the Polish authorities, for it was I who handed over to the latter the stolen documents and espionage material. This is how the detachments of Sergey Pavlovsky, Trubnikov, Monitch, Daniel Ivanov and other smaller detachments, as well as single spies and terrorists, were sent to Soviet Russia. Among other things, I well remember how colonel Svezhevsky was sent to Russia in 1922 with the injunction to kill Lenin. The two big detachments under Pavlovsky and Ivanov were sent to Russia in August 1923, and in April 1924, and I was instrumental in bringing this about. Since 1920 I lived and worked in Poland among former soldiers and officers of the white armies who were defeated in open battle by the

Red Army. Under my own eyes these people, who had been the dupes of their generals, became the dupes of Polish politicians and officers who used them for their own ends.

Since that time, Poland did its utmost to organise these Russians into regiments subservient to herself for an eventual predatory attack on the peoples of Soviet Russia.

For this purpose the Poles established a whole series of Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian white organisations. Up till now there is an active counter-revolutionary group in Warsaw which calls itself the 'Warsaw regional committee of the people's union for the defence of freedom and fatherland'. This group is in close contact with the Polish general staff. The second department of this staff provides the counter-revolutionary group with money for the publication of its organ 'for freedom'. The members of this group, especially Philosophov and Shevchenko are directly connected with highly placed officials of the Polish general staff, including the chief of the second department, colonel Baier, captain Takikovsky, captain Bratkovsky and others, also with the Polish political police department. Through these organisations the counter-revolutionary group obtains passports and visas for the members of their organisation, for travel throughout Europe, and these members carry on their nefarious work in Soviet Russia by order of the Polish general staff. It is this Polish general staff and also the French Military Mission in Warsaw which receive information about the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics from the members of this counter-revolutionary group who provide them with espionage material and reports concerning the destruction wrought on Soviet territory.

The said group always helps the Polish general staff and political police in the provocative acts with relation to the political mission of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. I know all the details of the Maslovsky affair and many other abortive attempts.

The same thing is to be found in the frontier departments of the Polish secret police. All the espionage and other work against Soviet Russia is carried on there by Russians, either members or ex-members of counter-revolutionary organisations...

This shows the degradation of Russian counter-revolutionaries and of the unfortunate peasants who were deceived by them and are now at the mercy of the Polish bourgeoisie. Fomitchov's disclosures leave no doubt whatever as to who wants counter-revolution in Russia and with whose money disturbances and disorders are organised.

APPEALS

The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the I. International.

(Arrived late. Ed.)

To the Workers of all Countries!

Sixty years have elapsed since the International Workers' Association, the first fighting organisation of the proletariat, was founded.

Over the cradle of the I. International the slogans were written in flaming letters which Karl Marx formulated in his Inaugural Address to the world proletariat as the highest aim and purpose of all its struggles:

"The conquest of political power is the highest duty of the working class. The liberation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself."

Since the foundation of this first International revolutionary fighting organisation, the proletariat has succeeded in realising in one land the slogan of the International, to conquer political power and to lay the foundation stone for the structure of socialism. Under the leadership of the heir of the First International, the Communist International, the proletariat is continuing the fight for this liberation in all the countries of the universe.

But it is not fighting only against its old class enemy, the bourgeoisie. It is faced with another bitter foe, the II. International. This International has reversed the slogan of the I. International. The liberation of the working class is not to be the work of the working class itself but that of a coalition

with the possessing class, the deadly enemy of the proletariat. This is its theory. In practice, however, the II. International is in no way fighting for the conquest of political power; on the contrary, it is fighting with all its methods of calumny and of bloody terror against every revolutionary movement of the working class striving for power. Its path is paved with the blood of untold numbers of proletarians, including the very best: Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. They helped the bourgeoisie in Germany, in Italy, in Hungary, in Finland, and in the Balkans to cast thousands upon thousands of the most courageous revolutionaries into their dungeons. They will also try to dishonour the anniversary of the I. International, the International of the Paris Commune of 1871, with a campaign of lies and hate against the proletarian revolution and its strongholds. This campaign will be wrecked on the indomitable wall of love and confidence of the world proletariat for the Russian revolution and the desire in its own land to tread the path trodden by the Russian Revolution.

When the I. International was founded, capitalism was flourishing; the foundation stone for its power had already been laid. On the graves of the victims of the revolution of 1848 the capitalists erected their shining palaces of exploitation and the new bastilles of bloody oppression of the working slaves. During this period the I. International said: "During the intoxicating epoch of economic development, starvation practically becomes a social institution."

Now capitalism has reached its greatest height which is at the same time the beginning of its period of decline. It has developed into imperialism. Rotten and shaken to its very foundations, it is steering for self-destruction. But now the imperialist states no longer wait until the workers die of starvation. Fascism, and its left wing, social democracy, are the weapons in every country with which the ranks of the working class are being decimated through murder and terror.

This betrayal of the II. International, its alliance with the bourgeoisie, has torn the working class into two camps. Even the unity of the trade union movement was sacrificed for the bourgeoisie.

On the anniversary of the I. International, its heir, the Communist International, says to you:

"Never before was the unity of the working class so indispensable as now.

The era of democratic pacifism is serving merely as a mask for the preparation of new wars, and for the plundering of the colonies and of the vanquished peoples. The difference between former times and now is that in future the world wars will be prepared at the international meetings of the League of Nations.

The international solidarity of the working class is the watchword of the hour.

The unity of the international trade union movement against a new capitalist offensive is the rallying ground for revolutionary attacks against murderous imperialism.

Above all revolutionary unity!

Remember the words of the I. International!

... Neglect of the bonds of brotherhood, which bind together the workers of the various countries and which should inspire them to stand shoulder to shoulder in all their struggles for liberation, will be punished by a general frustration of all their sporadic efforts.

The German workers, who are fighting in the front line trenches against the mighty offensive of international imperialism, the Dawes Report, call upon you to take your place in the international line of defence. Their fight is your fight. Close up our ranks!

The Communist International and its parties, whose life aim and life purpose is the fight for socialism, have realised the organisational principle of the I. International:

"The balance will only weigh in favour of the masses if they are organised and if knowledge guides them."

The Communist Parties are now in the process of bolshevisation, they are forging the last weapons which will lead them, as they have led the Russian proletariat, to victory, filled with the spirit of the I. International, of revolutionary Marxism, and its sequel in the epoch of imperialism, Leninism.

Under the leadership of this Communist International and its parties, the working class, in its fight against the treacherous and social-imperialistic coalition policy of the II. International, will reach its goal — the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Organise the fight against those who are splitting the trade union movement and for international trade union unity!

Close your ranks around the fortress of international revolution, Soviet Russia. Unmask the calumniations and lies of the agents of the bourgeoisie.

Proletarians of Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia, of America and Belgium!

Join hands behind the advance guard of the international fight against predatory finance capital — the Russian and German proletariat.

Protect the proletariat of Germany and of the Balkans who are groaning under the White Terror.

Long live the International of Action!

Rally round the banner of the heir of the I. International, the Communist International!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

The Executive of the Communist International.
Moscow, Sept. 16, 1924.

Please Note, New Address!

The new address of the Inprecorr. to which all communications should be sent is:

Vienna IX., Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213.