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The Events in Spain.

By R. Albert

When fourteen months ago, the General commander of Catalonia, Primo de Rivera, seized power after Mexican methods trampled underfoot with his spurred boots the two old Political Parties of bourgeois Spain, he appealed to the three necessities of creating order: First, on account of the collapse in Morocco; secondly, because of the financial bankruptcy, and thirdly on account of the anarchy in the administration. He even succeeded, in a true military off-hand manner, to settle everything in three months.

It appears now that general Rivera was completely out in his reckoning. At no times was the collapse in Morocco so complete and so serious as today, at no time was the deficit in the finances so great as today, at no time was the inner anarchy so menacing as today. The last "pronunciamento" of Primo de Rivera has converted a chronic evil into an acute crisis. This is a proof that there is no magical power in dictatorship in itself. In the hands of a powerful uprising class it is effective, but in the hands of a decaying ruling class, which is incapable of leading a revolution, it can only be harmful.

The whole Spanish problem can be expressed in the following words: how can one emerge from an unbearable dictatorship to a general revolution?

The collapse of Primo de Rivera is all the more miserable because he did not encounter any resistance, as he possessed unlimited absolute power, as the king—the idiot-king a Castiglion poet called him—committed the enormous blunder of throwing the remains of the dynastic authority into the scale upon which Primo de Rivera had already placed his jack boot. We will let the facts speak for themselves.

In Morocco one defeat is followed by another. After Primo de Rivera had, for a whole year, vainly confronted the brave Riffians, he brought forward a very modest plan of a "strategical retreat". This retreat was converted in the course of its execu-

tion by the revolt of the last loyal tribes from the neighbourhood of Tetuan into such a defeat, that it has placed the memory of last year's defeat completely in the shade. It is a very significant symptom of a war situation when generals allow themselves to be killed. It is also very significant that recently one of the leaders of the Spanish army in Morocco was mortally wounded, and this by a "stray" bullet which was astonishingly well aimed.

The Spaniards have, in the course of the present uninterrupted retreat, made the most humiliating offers of capitulation to the Riff people and even offered to pay them enormous sums as indemnity (in one case 300,000 Pesetas for 200 people) and handed over to them enormous stores of weapons. The final result is, that the independence of the Riff tribes is a fact, which raises the Morocco problem, that is therefore the problem of North Africa, in its fullest extent before European imperialism. After the victory of Kemal Pasha the victory of Abd-el-Krim constitutes the second indisputable victory of a Mohammedan colonial people.

Let us now turn to the financial situation in Spain! The last figures published are those relating to the months of April to June 1924. The revenues amounted to about 228 million Pesetas, the outgoings to 606 million Pesetas; the net deficit is 322 million Pesetas. Of these outgoings 114 million are attributable to the army and navy, while the Moroccan campaign accounts for 94 million. In view of these figures and of the falling off in the revenues from direct taxation (in August of this year this was 35 million less than in August 1923),—these are the taxes to which the possessing classes contribute something—it will be impossible to conceal the fact that the deficit in this year's budget will approach a million Pesetas.

The directory was the government of the military caste, which was supported by some big agrarians as well as by the

backward industrial circles which are jealous of the Catalonian industry. Under the pretext of subduing Catalonian separatism, which in reality is not in the least dangerous, it has destroyed Catalonian industry; and this to such an extent that the employers of Barcelona, who, as a matter of fact, are a gang of murderers and reactionaries the like of which it is impossible to find in Europe, have gone so far as to speak softly, but audibly, of a "Federative Republic".

The difficulty of the question of power which is now raised by the defeat in Morocco, lies in the solidarity of the dynasty with the staff of the generals, and still more in the weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie has not succeeded in obtaining political maturity within the frame of the old monarchy. Theoretically, neither the monarchy nor the military dictatorship can continue, but nevertheless they still exist because they have no successor.

In this drama the proletariat plays the role of the great absent. It is only present in the prisons and at the places of execution. Whether one reads the anarchist organs, which declaim about "freedom" and "human love" and contain anti-bolshevist articles, or whether one reads the social reformist newspapers, which support the blood-thirsty military dictators according to the approved method of Noske—one obtains the same depressing picture. The revolutionary elements of the Spanish proletariat are struggling in a desperate manner. Only recently a number of people, who were innocently condemned to death as a result of falling into a trap arranged by police provocators, boldly and proudly mounted the scaffold. To-morrow, this proletariat will serve the "advanced" bourgeoisie as cannon-fodder in the street fights. It will obtain for them the victory and will then be again shot down as was the case in Portugal.

Thus the proletariat of Spain is passing through a terrible school. Within the last five years a young labour movement has arisen in Spain which, numerically, does not yet play a great role, but which, owing to the ripeness of its proletarian consciousness and the successes it has obtained, is of undoubted importance. These are the Spanish Communists, whose organs "La Antorcha" in Madrid and "La Batalla" in Barcelona are true fighting organs, and which before all number the elite of the socialist youths in their ranks. These revolutionaries will derive a great lesson in the interest of the "great absent", the Spanish proletariat, from the present and immediately approaching events. The Communist Party of Spain is destined to be the leader of the Spanish proletariat in the coming struggles.

POLITICS

British Imperialism and the National Emancipation Struggle in Egypt.

By A. R. (Cairo).

The situation created by the recent events is by no means of a temporary character, but signifies a new stage in the development of the nationalist movement.

Let us consider the events in their chronological order. Soon after the reopening of Parliament, Zaglul Pasha resigned on account of his differences with King Fuad of Egypt. This, of course, was only a pretext. The real reason for his resignation was the constantly growing power of the opposition and its attacks, which proved the incapability of Zaglul Pasha to fulfil the tasks which he—it is true, against his will—took upon himself, i. e. the solution of the Sudan question.

There is not the least doubt that Zaglul Pasha never seriously meant that the Sudan should be completely liberated from the clutches of the English, but he nevertheless expected certain concessions in this direction and—was completely disappointed. The King's Speech at the reopening of Parliament, as well as the speech of Zaglul Pasha at the official banquet, rendered it clear that either something extraordinary must happen—or the whole policy of the Wafd (the leading party of the Egyptian nationalist movement), with all its "achievements", would go to the dogs. This something "extraordinary" was a sly and cunning calculation upon the feelings of the people, which did not fail to dip the scales in favour of the government party. The effect was really great. The resignation was refused by Parliament (95 per cent of which consisted of supporters of Zaglul), by the people and, in consequence thereof, by the terrified king. It is clear that the whole thing was a piece of cheap demagogy.

That was the situation before the recent and completely unexpected events. Zaglul and his Party were more than convinced that nothing would prevent them from retaining power firmly in their hands. But here there intervened one of the forgotten parties, who upset the whole game. It can be said that the new policy of Zaglul, after the victory over the opposition bore a very moderate character. It is a fact that he sought, and was morally prepared, for a very close understanding with the English government in order to relinquish the wearisome struggle under "honourable" conditions. The "modus vivendi", which was indirectly proposed to England, furnishes the best proof for the truth of this statement. It was a clear indication for the enemy that Zaglul was prepared to cease fire if he were allowed to retain his rifle. Then came the heavy blow. It was delivered at the right time and at the right place, and resulted in the complete crushing of the unfortunate recipient.

The murder of General Lee Stack, the English commander of the Egyptian army, was a splendid opportunity for some people. Of course, no one can prove that this murder had been prepared long before-hand. But when one compares the crime with the demands which England submitted immediately after the death of the general, the thing looks very suspicious. The demand for 300,000 feddans of land in Gesyra, and moreover the demand for the handing over of further land in the future deserves special attention. Equally interesting is the fact that Egypt is to abandon all resistance against the demand of England to control all foreign interests in this country; not to speak of the evacuation of the Sudan by the Egyptian military forces. Thus, the suspicion that in the murder of General Lee Stack we have a case of provocation on the part of English imperialism is only a logical conclusion from the whole situation.

The most remarkable fact is, that never in the history of the occupation of Egypt by England did the latter, even under the most favourable conditions, venture to demand what she is now demanding. This is due to the following two facts:

First, the constant decline of the leading Party of the Egyptian nationalist movement (Wafd). The Wafd, as an organisation which is more and more inclined to represent the interests of the middle city bourgeoisie, had not the power which it was supposed to possess. It is a fact that this Party, during the whole period of its apparently great activity, never succeeded in drawing into the struggle the most important factor in the country, the peasantry, as it had nothing to give them, in spite of all the talk of being the Party of the people.

Secondly, the extraordinary favourable situation which assured England that no other power would interfere in her Egyptian affairs. The present troubles of France in Morocco are the best guarantee for England that she has nothing to fear from this quarter.

The comical gesture with which the Egyptian parliament protested against the "unlawful" action of England to the League of Nations, England's vassal, was of course taken with stoical calm by British imperialism.

Are Zaglul and his Party already played out? By no means. There are a great number of questions of secondary importance upon which the Wafd will build up a new programme of action, which will serve to create considerable popularity for the Wafd. Among these questions are the following:

- 1) The question of the customs duties, in other words, the fight against the practical control by England over exports and imports.
- 2) Fight against the high taxation of the young textile industry.
- 3) Limitation of privileges for foreign undertakings etc.

In order not to lose the confidence of the broad masses, the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, the Wafd must, of course, make use of some of its old slogans, but nevertheless very cautiously, as Zaglul says "moderation and constitutional legality."

What further development can be foreseen? Of course, if a general depression prevails, and even the extremest elements among the nationalists are terrorised by the undisguised brutality of English imperialism, Nevertheless it would be a great mistake to assume that the last word has been said. It is only a temporary calm which prevails, during which the social forces will be regrouped and more strongly consolidated, so that a new commencing struggle, which is unavoidable, will be conducted on new lines and with stronger means. A new force will arise—this will be the Egyptian peasantry, which has to fight for bare existence. If there is anybody who doubts this, they should study the statistics regarding agriculture and the irrigation

soil, and the question of the Gesyra district, which was expropriated by the English cotton planting syndicate of Sudan. These studies will clearly show that this is a question of life and death for the Egyptian peasantry, as this means that the soil of Egypt, the supply of water to which is already very short, is to be deprived of a great quantity of water.

The question now arises, who will take over the leadership of the peasantry. This is a question of the greatest importance. As regards the new government, it is not taken seriously either in Egypt or in England.

A few words must be said in conclusion regarding the prospects of the Egyptian labour movement in connection with the recent events. The Confederation of Labour which was set up by the Zaglul government after the cruel destruction of the revolutionary labour organisations, will now, of course, lose a great deal of its influence. It is now the task of the revolutionary elements to enter into this organisation and to reconstruct it in a revolutionary sense. There are at present some very influential unions, as the Union of the Suez Canal workers, the dock workers union and others, who hitherto have refrained from entering the "Confederation", because the latter is only a tool of the government of Zaglul. An agreement will certainly take place between these unions which will lead to a mass entry into the confederation, under the condition that its programme, as well as its tactics, shall be subject to a thorough revision.

With regard to the Communist Party, one of course cannot expect that any new government will be more favourably inclined towards its activity. The Party is sure to make the best use of this new situation as being the only Party which knows no compromise with English imperialism. At present the Party is engaged in restoring the destroyed local organisations and selecting an experienced leadership which will lead the Party and the working class of Egypt to the revolutionary struggle.

The Situation in Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

By A. Neurath (Prague)

The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and the coalition government are making all preparations in order to cope with the economic and political crisis with which they have to reckon after the German Reichstag elections. During the recent budget discussion the coalition ministry submitted their programme of action against the state officials and employees and against the whole working population. In the near future about 120,000 civil servants are to be discharged; 40,000 to 50,000 of them can reckon upon being thrown on the streets within the next administrative year. This action enables the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie to increase the national hatred among the working masses to an unbearable degree. The cutting down of the staffs of government officials is for the benefit of the higher interests of the bourgeoisie of the ruling nation and is chiefly directed against the national minorities. For this purpose the coalition government makes use of the so-called language examination committees, which have no difficulty in disqualifying thousands of employees on the ground of their insufficient knowledge of the official state language. In this way the government, so to speak, kills three birds with one stone. First it plays off those officials who have kept their job against that unfortunate section who have been deprived of their bread. The government, as it has already announced, will make one or another material concession to the officials who have been retained. It will thereby, in the second place, create a docile staff of officials who will allow themselves to be used even better than hitherto against the whole working class of Czechoslovakia. And in the third place, these measures, as already said, lead to further national hatred among the working classes.

The coalition government, to which of course the honourable social democrats belong, is directing a concentrated attack against the unemployed.

Unemployment has decreased during the last year. But nevertheless there are still today, according to official estimates, 1,000,000 unemployed, which is no small matter when regard is had to the number of the total population of Czechoslovakia (12 million). What is more remarkable is that during the last few weeks the number of unemployed has tended to increase and that all economic circles, and in the first place the government, reckon upon a considerable increase in unemployment in the near future. The financial policy of the coalition government constitutes a brutal challenge to the Czechoslovakian working

class. Let us in the first place take the figures of the budget relating to unemployed maintenance. In 1923 the budget provided 440 million Crowns for the purpose of unemployed maintenance. In the financial year 1924, only 150 million was devoted to the same purpose. In the budget for the financial year 1925, only 41 million is provided for the maintenance of the unemployed. The social stupidity of all the social-political measures of the government is most clearly expressed when we consider separately the items devoted to the Bohemian countries and to Carpathian Russia. In Carpathian Russia unemployment is very great; here the greatest Party is the Communist Party. Under the ordinary expenses of the last budget there appeared 68 million Crowns for unemployed maintenance for the Bohemian countries with Slovakia, while only 2,900,000 Crowns were allotted to Podkarpatska Rus. These outgoings, were exceeded by 80 millions. In the budget for the year 1925, there is provided for unemployed maintenance for the Bohemian countries, with Slovakia, 40 million Crowns, and for Carpathian Russia, 960,000 Crowns. The unemployed are not only to be handed over to the greatest misery, in Carpathian Russia they are to be subjected to special ill treatment because they have dared to follow the Communist Party. There are other items in the Czechoslovakian state budget which are not without interest. This little state expends 142 million on the police, for the gendarmerie 249 millions, and for military purposes the round sum of 1815 million, which sums amount altogether to no less than 2206 million, while on the other hand the unemployed receive a total of 41 million. As is to be seen, the enormous apparatus which is directed against the whole working class, against the "enemy at home" is in inverse proportion to the size and to the political importance of this state.

It is not merely a question of the interests of Czechoslovakia, but of the higher commands of French imperialism. Of course, unaided, it is impossible for this state to conduct any war, in the European war-concert it can only dance according to the tune of the French imperialists. And for this dance the Czechoslovakian coalition government has, at the cost of the broad masses, to continue its insane policy of armaments.

The Czechish bourgeoisie (which in this question is entirely at one with the bourgeoisie of the remaining nations of this state) is organising a comprehensive economic struggle against the whole working class. As always, the first attack is directed against the workers in the most decisive industry, against the mining proletariat. In order to judge the economic conditions of Czechoslovakia and the situation of the proletariat, a criterion is furnished by the investigation of the conditions of the mining workers. The successful offensive of capital from 1920 to 1924 has led to the following results. The average output of the miner has increased from 14.2 zentner (zentner = about 1 cwt.) in 1921 to 19.4 ztr. in 1924, that is, by 23%. The wage of the coal hewer has, on the other hand, sunk from 90 Crowns in 1921 to 48 Cr. in 1924. The average wage of the miner has fallen from 68 Cr. in 1921 to 38 Cr. in 1924. During the same time, but particularly during the last year, there has been an increase in the price of all food stuffs and articles of necessity. In the last few weeks, for example, there has been an increase in the index figure for such articles as fuel, petroleum, soap etc. of 19 points, that is, 2%. These figures yield the following result: The output of the miner has increased by at least 23%, while his wages have been reduced by 40-45% and the prices of food and articles of necessity has risen from 5-10% and more.

The situation of the proletariat in the other groups of industry corresponds to the situation of the mining proletariat, that is to say, the standard of living of the rest of the working class has become even worse than that of the miners. Since 1921 the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie has been conducting a policy of economically subduing the broad masses of the working class. And now, according to the plans of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and of the coalition government, things are to be rendered even worse.

The mining barons, who are whole-heartedly supported by the social democrats, are working according to the following plan: First, the mining proletarians in the Ostrau-Karvine mining area are to be forced into a struggle and beaten, then will come the turn of the other mining districts, and finally of the other groups of industry. It is certain that the bourgeoisie, and before all the Right socialists, speculated upon the weakening of the Communist Party immediately after the Party Conference and the lively discussion. But they have been profoundly mistaken. The ball was opened by the central organ of the Czechish Social

Democracy, the "Právo Lidu", which threw aside its pacifist sheep-skin and donned the costume of a violent revolutionary. The "Právo Lidu" called upon the Communists to open the fight in Moravian-Ostrau. The political bureau of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, had, immediately after the Party Conference, established the closest connections with the Trade Union leaders, and as a result of common discussion had agreed upon the tactics which are to be employed in the economic struggle. At the most important district conferences in Ostrau Karvine and in Kladno, the workers demanded the convening of the national conference of the miners' union and the preparation of the struggle on a national scale. At the same time it was decided to convene a national conference of all central Trade Union organisations, which should make the necessary preparations for the purpose of rendering practical support to the miners. While the miners (both social democratic and communist) were working in this sense, their work was immediately destroyed by the reformist leaders, who approached the government and agreed with it that the negotiations with the miners should not be conducted on a national scale, but that each district should negotiate separately. The resistance of the mining workers is growing and our agitation will result in the practical solidarity of the workers in the most important industries with their fighting brothers in the mining works.

At the same time the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is carrying on a great campaign against high prices for increased wages, in the interest of the unemployed, and against the discharge of the civil servants. The meetings of the Party are exceedingly well attended, a fighting spirit prevails such as has not been observed for a long time. Our fraction in parliament has refused to take any part in the opposition comedy which is being carried on by the German bourgeoisie and the social democrats. It has, on the other hand, attacked the policy of the government in the sharpest manner and exposed the latest corruption affairs of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie. Finally, our fraction has brought forward a great number of urgent demands of the working class and made use of parliament as a public tribune. In order to promote the carrying out of these demands, the Party is now conducting the above mentioned large-scale action which aims at mobilising the broad masses of the workers for a determined fight against the exploiters and against the coalition government.

The bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the reformists, are surprised to find, that not only is there no weakening of the Communist Party whatever, and no disunity in the leadership, but that, on the other hand, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, under a completely united leadership, is more capable and ready for the fight than at any previous time in its history. The Party is marching with the proletariat of this state.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Policy of the Gompers Trade Unions.

By John Pepper

The American Federation of Labour has decided that, under certain conditions, it is prepared to affiliate to the Amsterdam International. The "Vorwärts" and the German Trade Union bureaucracy, which today are part of the right wing of the I.L. and of the Amsterdam International, have joyfully welcomed this unexpected change of tactics. **This decision of the American trade unions, precisely at the present moment, is nothing else than a manoeuvre against the struggle of the Communist International and the R.I.L.U. for the international unity of the trade unions.** In this struggle the 6 million organised workers of the Russian trade unions are acting as shock troops. The Anglo-Russian Committee which has been set up in Moscow is the first step towards the realisation of the international unity of the trade unions. The German social democratic trade union bureaucracy, which today in every respect plays the role of rear-guard, now wishes to throw into the front against the Russian advance-guard, the 3 million workers organised in the American Federation of Labour.

The American Federation of Labour was already at one time affiliated to the Amsterdam International. But its dictator, Gompers, at that time declared Amsterdam to be too revolutionary and socialistic, and therefore the American trade unions left the Amsterdam International. This, of course, was not a mere chance but is due to the social structure of the Gompers trade unions. The Communist International and the Profintern are the represen-

tatives of the interests of the proletariat as a class. The I.L. International and Amsterdam (although they have many millions of good proletarians in their ranks) are, in the last resort, the representatives of the interests of the European labour aristocracy. The American Federation of Labour (although a good half of its members are unskilled workers) represents, in its structure, leadership and policy, the interests of the American labour aristocracy, that is, of the aristocracy of the labour aristocracies of the world. The European labour aristocracy obtains its privileges at the cost of the European proletariat and of the exploited peasant population of the colonies. The American labour aristocracy, however, owes its celebrated "American standard of living", not only to its participation in the intensified exploitation of the American unskilled workers and poor farmers, but also to its participation in the exploitation of the whole European working class by American finance capital.

The American Federation of Labour is the most cunning agency of the capitalists for dominating the organised working class of America. The whole organisation is based upon the sole principle of depriving the membership of all influence and handing over the same to a small clique of capitalist agents. The congresses of the American Federation of Labour are only congresses of the highest trade union officials, of the "fat guys" as the American workers call them. One cannot imagine a more bourgeois assembly than a congress of the "15,000 dollars a year labour leaders". At least 80% of the 30,000 votes of the congress are cast, at the most, by two dozen officials. The 5,000 votes of the miners' union (that is a sixth of the congress) are represented at the highest by 8 officials of the union. **In no labour organisation in the world does there exist such an unlimited dictatorship of the leading section as in the American Federation of Labour.** And for 40 years the absolute tsar of this trade union apparatus was Samuel Gompers.

Gompers was a strange figure. He was an immigrant Jew but was nevertheless the most ardent representative of 100% American patriotism. Originally he was a cigar worker, but he finally belonged to the mighty ones of American society. Forty years ago he was even a "socialist" and pacifist, but for the last decades he was the truest servant of American capital and of jingo-imperialism. He was a capable organiser and a cunning bargainer, but he was entirely devoid of any ideological training and during the whole forty years produced only five ideas, which he again and again repeated in every one of his articles and speeches and which were the main pillars of his whole policy during his forty years rule.

What were, in fact the ideas of Gompers, which ruled the American trade unions?

The first Gompsonian idea is that of the **craft unions and the labour aristocracy.** The skilled workers must be organised in order to obtain higher wages and shorter hours, but they must not be organised in industrial unions. The unskilled workers can of course also be organised, so far as this is absolutely necessary in order to preserve the position of the skilled workers, but the labour aristocracy must in all circumstances retain the leadership in the trade unions.

The second Gompsonian idea is **the workers shall bother much about the government,** and the government and the legislature shall interfere as little as possible with industry and the workers.

The third Gompsonian idea is: **The working class does not require any political Party independent of the capitalist Parties.** Politics kill trade unionism. The workers shall gain their influence by "non-party" methods. They shall make use of the democratic right to vote in order "to punish their enemies and reward their friends"—within the two old capitalist Parties.

No international connections for the American working class—this is the fourth Gompsonian idea. The American workers have their special "American standard of living" (houses for each family, Ford motor cars, meat twice a day, coffee and cream and gramophones) and every attempt at international solidarity would only endanger this American standard of living.

And the fifth, the most fundamental of the Gompsonian ideas, demands the closest **co-operation with the capitalists.** One must of course fight against "bad" capitalists, but capitalism itself is of benefit to the workers, as it maintains the working class. If individual workers are no longer able to become capitalists, it is nevertheless possible for them to realise industrial democracy collectively, by their trade unions, by their labour banks, by wholesale purchases of shares of the great trusts.

It would of course be naive to believe that Gompers could have preached these ideas for forty years if the fundamental material conditions had not rendered it possible. The five Gompsonian ideas were for forty years a true reflection of the actual

of affairs in America. Today they stand in sharp contradiction to the actual state of affairs in America and are therefore condemned to death.

The isolated craft unions were sufficiently strong weapons in the hands of the workers during the time of small industry. In the preponderance of skilled workers and of single capitalists in the epoch of the machine, of the finest division of labour and of the Taylor system, they must be united in industrial unions. The small undertakings have become great factories, the great factories have become huge industrial concerns, in place of the individual capitalist, there has for long been the Trust. But Gompers only took the small step from isolated craft unions to the federation, and was unable to take the big step from the federation to the industrial union.

The slogan, "stand clear of the government and of the legislature", was adapted to a period when the United States of America had no real centralised government, no state bureaucracy in the European sense of the word, when the state administration refrained, on principle, from interfering in economic affairs. In the last decades, however, the central government in the United States has acquired enormous powers. It regulates the whole economic life and interferes in every conflict between labour and Capital. (The number of civil service employees amounted in the year 1884 to only 13,780, while in the year 1918 they numbered no less than 917,760.)

The tactics of the "non-Party" policy could only be maintained in a period when class antagonisms were as yet undeveloped. The two old capitalist Parties of America, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, were created at a time when class conflicts, and even class distinctions, were in an embryonic state. The capitalists, farmers and workers could therefore be united in one Party. The enormous accumulation and concentration of capital in the last decades in America, the ever-growing power of big industry, of the banks and the railways, has annihilated the petty-bourgeoisie, ruined the farmers and has more and more crystallised the industrial workers into a special class. Against the non-Party policy of Gompers the idea of an independent class Party of the working class is coming more boldly to the front.

The world war has irrevocably bound up the United States with European affairs. Gompers' idea, which was directed against any international connection of the American working class, was ruthlessly annihilated by the new development. The lowering of the standard of living of the European working class has had its counter-effects in America. The present crisis is bringing with it a tremendous worsening of the conditions of labour and depression of wages for millions of American workers.

Gompers' idea of a fraternisation of the workers with the capitalists arose at a time when every American worker still carried a field marshal's baton in his knapsack. Today this idea is shattered by the offensive of the capitalists against the trade unions themselves.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Europe is not the World.

By M. N. Roy.

Led by Lenin, the Communist International became a real international proletarian organization by including the countries outside Europe and America in the realm of its activities. The necessity of union between the proletariat of the advanced imperialist countries and the colonial toiling masses was never realized by the Second International. The failure to appreciate the effect of colonial plunder upon the capitalist structure in the metropolis contributed largely to Social Democratic Revisionism. Bernstein and Kautsky found flaws in the theory of continual impoverishment, because their limited outlook applied to Europe. The calculation made by Marx on a world-wide scale. They did not understand that the apparent rise of the standard of living of the European proletariat was at the cost of the colonial toiling masses, many times larger in number. Spread over the working masses as a whole (throughout the world), the slight improvement noticed in the imperialist countries would vanish, and the standard of living of the proletariat on the world-wide scale would be found to be sinking, as predicted by Marx.

Lenin rescued Marxism from the revisionist patronage, which inadvertently was more imperialist than Marxist, by emphasizing its truly international character, the practical expression to which was given by making the liberation of the subject peoples one of the cardinal points of the programme of

the Communist International. This practical application of the programme of international proletarian unity was too realistic for the Social Democratic theoreticians to grasp. On his return from Russia in 1920, Crispin cut stupid jokes about Bolshevik relations with the Khans of Khiva. The pure proletarian conscience of Crispin and his kind was evidently shocked by the sacrilege of throwing the doors of the International open to the toiling masses of the subject countries who have not been properly proletarianized — have not directly received the baptism of the hell-fire of industrialism. Corrupted by their contact with the bourgeoisie, which for a century has grown fat by colonial plunder, the leaders of the Second International failed to see that the Chinese coolie, the worker in the Javanese Sugar industry, the Malay toiling as slave in the Rubber Plantations, the Indian peasant producing food and raw materials, the Egyptian fellah growing cotton, not to mention millions of industrial, transport and marine workers of those countries, form as vital parts of the world capitalist economy as does the European proletariat. The continued existence of the capitalist system largely depends upon the ability to prevent the union of all these forces of production into a world wide organization. For the first time in the history of the working class movement, the importance of the union of the proletariat in the advanced countries with the colonial toiling masses has been emphasised by the Communist International.

This should be clearly kept in mind at this moment, when the question of "Proletarian Unity" is on the order of the day. It should not be forgotten that, to be effective, the unity sought should not be European unity, but truly international unity—World Unity. For the Russian Unions, and the Unions affiliated with the R.I.L.U., it is obvious. They fully appreciate the necessity of drawing the organized workers outside of Europe (America included) into the International, and of organizing the unorganized. The reminder is meant particularly for those other partisans of unity. In Hamburg as well as in Hull, the question was mentioned. It was indeed a happy augury. But all the practical work remains to be done. This applies also to a great extent to the R.I.L.U.

Leaving aside the masses of agricultural workers and artisans in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which constitute a powerful prop to world capitalism, the relation with the industrial workers can be immediately taken up.

This has a direct bearing upon the situation in the metropolitan Marine transport, Mining, Metallurgy, and Textile are of particular interest. Until all the Chinese, Malay, Indian, Arab and Negro workers are organized and the same wages and labour-conditions as enjoyed by the White workers, are secured for them, the employers will stand on a vantage-ground, because of their ability to draw upon the unlimited reserve of cheap and unorganized labour. Over 200,000 men, women and children are employed in the Indian mines, mostly coal. The conditions under which they work and the wages they get are simply incredible for the European proletariat. Strenuous efforts are being made to develop coal-mining in India with state subsidy. If the International fails to help the Indian miners to organize and raise their standard of living to the European level, disastrous effects will be felt in Britain. British capitalists are losing ground in the Mediterranean and Asiatic markets, because they cannot compete with German coal, mined by cheap labour. If this situation continues, they will retaliate by falling back upon the ten times cheaper labour and the practically untouched coal-deposits in India. In consequence, unemployment and wage-reductions will take place in the British coal mining industry. Even the German, Belgian and French miners will not go unscathed, because the present Indian wages are very much lower than the depressed continental wages. Coal raised by such cheap labour and transported in bottoms manned by equally cheap lascars will sweep the Asiatic and Mediterranean markets.

As regards the metallurgical industry, it is again from India that the danger of immediate rivalry comes; although the potentiality of China is very great. Nearly 250,000 hands are employed in this industry in India, apart from dockyards and railway workshops. The Indian steel and iron industry has been granted the protection of a high tariff, as well as of a bounty. English imports cannot compete in the Indian market with Belgian and German manufactures. Therefore, attempts are made to throw out the cheap continental import by still cheaper native production. The starvation wages of the Indian metal workers will thus serve as a weapon to beat down the wages not only in Britain, but on the continent as well. The only retaliation is to accentuate the struggle to bring up the Indian wages to the European level. This can be done by organizing the Indian workers as a part of an International Union.

By means of cheap and unorganized labour, the textile industry of China, India and Egypt has already cut sufficiently deep into the economic conditions of the Lancashire workers. There is a steadily growing export of capital from England to be invested in the textile industry in those countries, particularly India. In jute-textile, Calcutta has already become a deadly rival for Dundee. The organization of the textile workers in China, India and Egypt is the only means of resistance to the capitalist scheme of reducing the British workers to submission by the threat of continued unemployment. The Lancashire Unions, under the leadership of Mr. Tom Shaw, have hitherto supported the imperialist policy of obstructing the growth of the Indian textile industry by imposing a heavy excise duty on native produce while the import from Britain was free. The argument was that cheap produce in India would under-cut English wages. It was simply to help the British bourgeoisie to exploit India, in consideration of secure wages for the Lancashire cotton operatives. Nevertheless, Bombay has become a menace to Lancashire, then there is also the Japanese competition to meet. British capitalism has found it necessary to change its imperialist policy. It proposes to avail itself of the cheap labour of India. It will not be grateful to Mr. Tom Shaw for the prolonged services which were a violation of working-class solidarity.

The necessity for a World Proletarian Unity can thus be added to ad infinitum. Not only the final overthrow of Capitalism, but the immediate necessity of an effective resistance to the capitalist offensive demand that this Proletarian Unity must transcend European limits, and become a World Unity. The partisans and pioneers of proletarian unity should liberate themselves from the quasi-imperialist traditions of the Second International, and organize themselves into a true International, giving real significance to the historic slogan "Workers of the World, Unite".

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The 500,000 Circulation of the "Pravda" and the Workers Correspondents' Movement.

By G. Zinoviev.

When, twelve years ago, comrade Lenin and his pupils drew up the first notice for the first number of the little "Pravda", and revised this notice three times in order that it might pass the censor, hardly any one of them dreamed that our "Pravda" would have such a "career" as it has had. A circulation of half a million is not a bad beginning. But it is only a beginning. In the present state of affairs in our country and the present influence of our Party in the Soviet Union, the "Pravda" can and must attain a circulation of a million, and in time a circulation of several millions.

The Lenin recruitment, the movement of the workers' and peasants' correspondents, the powerful growth in the circulation of our press—all these are links in one and the same chain. All these are phenomena which go to prove that our Party—the Party of Lenin—is penetrating deeper and deeper into the masses of the people.

The 500,000 circulation of the "Pravda" and the Second Conference of the Workers' Correspondence (of which there are not less than 50,000 in the country) and the peasant correspondents, which is now being held—this is worth quite as much as a *de-jure* recognition.

The movement of the workers' correspondents (and of the peasants' correspondents) constitutes something new, which has arisen in the last one or two years, indicating the appearance of champions from the inner depths of the working masses. Therefore this movement is specially dear to us. It is a guarantee that the Party will find dozens of new ways in order to draw into active work, in all spheres of the reconstruction of the new life of the republic, fresh sections of thousands and thousands of workers and peasants. Our Party knows how to gain knowledge of everything that is going on among the masses, it knows how to see at the right time the new forms of organisation and the spontaneous activity which is arising from the masses themselves. The movement of the workers and peasants correspondents is the best proof of this.

The "Pravda" has rendered a very great service in founding the workers correspondents movement; this is especially due to the irreplaceable secretary of the "Pravda" comrade N. I. Ulanova (sister of comrade Lenin, Ed.). The fine perception of the "Pravda" in this respect is the best guarantee that our

central organ will penetrate still deeper and deeper into the working masses than it has done hitherto. The workers' correspondents not only illuminate the life of the masses in the chief newspaper of our Party, but they carry this paper into the deepest sections of the masses.

What the "classical" freedom of the press means for the bourgeoisie is best shown to us by the recent elections in England, in connection with the famous forged "letter" of the Comintern. The richest, most educated and, as many affirm, the most freedom-loving bourgeoisie, the English, have proved in the most striking manner what "freedom of the press" means in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It is the best means for deceiving the people, for throwing dust in their eyes.

What, however, real freedom of the press for the workers and peasants means, is best shown by our workers and peasants correspondents' movement which has a great future before it.

Eleven years ago, on the first anniversary of the "Pravda" Lenin wrote

"The test of life is the best test for every political tendency. Today we are glad to say: our "Pravda" has stood this test."

The "Pravda" was at that time still a very small paper with a very small circulation, persecuted and attacked. Nobody at that time believed that the "Pravda" was assured of an existence. It was scarcely credible that the "Pravda", the Bolshevik "Pravda" had already had a year of legal existence. A considerable time has passed since then. The history of the "Pravda" is the history of bolshevism in the last twelve years. The history of the "Pravda" in these years is to a considerable extent the history of the revolution.

"When the old "Iskra" (the Spark) was founded in 1900, hardly a dozen revolutionaries took part in it. When bolshevism arose, scarcely forty revolutionaries took part in the illegal party conferences in Brussels and London in 1903.

In the years 1912 till 1915, when the legal bolshevik "Pravda" was founded, there stood behind it ten thousands and hundred thousands of workers who, by means of their kopek contributions, had overcome the yoke of tsarism as well as the competition of the petty-bourgeois betrayers of socialism, the mensheviks.

In November 1917, at the elections to the Constituent Assembly, nine millions out of 36 millions voted for the Bolsheviks. As a matter of fact, however, it was not in the voting but in the fighting that the majority of the proletariat and of the class-conscious peasantry—as seen in the majority of the delegates to the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress, and the majority of the most active and class-conscious portion of the working people, namely, the twelve million army which existed at that time—was for the Bolsheviks at the end of October and November 1917.

This furnishes a little picture of the "acceleration" of the international revolutionary movement in the last twenty years. A very small, a very incomplete picture, in which the history of a people numbering 150 million is given in very rough outline, while in these years the revolution in countries with a total population of a milliard and more (the whole of Asia, not to mention even South Africa, the inhabitants of which recently remembered their right to be men and not slaves) has begun and grown to an unvanquishable strength.

This wrote comrade Lenin in an article on the tenth anniversary of the "Pravda".

Yes, the course of history has been accelerated to a considerable extent. From Japan to Esthonia, from Egypt to Germany, everywhere there is now being carried on the fight for communism. Workers throughout the whole world are ready for the greatest sacrifices for the triumph of our cause.

"The bourgeoisie can torture, martyr and kill as it wills. But it cannot check the unavoidable and—from the world-historical standpoint—not far-off complete victory of the revolutionary proletariat."

This wrote Vladimir Ilyitch in the above-quoted article.

Our "Pravda" is the most important daily organ of international communism. It is becoming more and more a pattern for the communist newspapers of the whole world. The places upon it a very honourable but very responsible task. Our press organs must now become more than ever the fighting organs of militant Leninism. Everyone of our papers, commencing with the "Pravda" and ending with the small district newspaper, must learn how to explain to the broadest sections of workers the real nature of Leninism, and must not hesitate to attack when we are threatened with the least distortion of the principles of bolshevism, the least deviation from the teaching of V. I. Lenin.

A true Bolshevik Party and a true bolshevist press must be popular with the masses in the best sense of the word. To become a bolshevist paper means before all to penetrate into the deepest sections of the workers. Into the masses! That is the chief, the fundamental, the "everlasting" cry of bolshevism. To be a bolshevik means before all to be for the masses.

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The Growth of the "Pravda".

Circulation figures

December 1923	89,663
January 1924	126,334
February 1924	152,408
March 1924	170,445
April 1924	224,992
May 1924	267,486
June 1924	307,443
July 1924	326,028
August 1924	356,165
September 1924	379,135
October 1924	422,068
November 1924	460,510
December 1924	507,745

IN THE COLONIES

The Situation in Persia.

By Tcheshmiran.

Already for a number of months past, civil war has been raging in the country. The feudal chiefs in **Luristan, Khorasan, the Turcomans, Bachtiani and Arabistan**, supported and egged on by the imperialists, have declared war against the government. The flames of revolt are again rising in the country. The imperialists are attacking the Persian government also on the front of the civil war. The national government of **Sardar Sepech (Rosa Khan)** is in need of money. It is endeavouring to grant concessions of the oil fields in North Persia and to obtain a loan. But the Anglo-American block is awaiting the result of the frontal attack of the allied feudal chiefs, and the question of concessions and of a loan is therefore put aside for the time being.

"Long live the Shah" is the cry raised from the camp of the feudal chiefs. "Long live the dismemberment of Persia!" is the cry of the imperialists.

Sardar Sepech had begun to create the young national Persia and in doing so made use of the whole apparatus of power of the feudal chiefs. The result is that the slogans of national emancipation, which are given out by the Prime Minister **Rosa Khan**, and also his national policy are, owing to their having fallen into the hands of the executive power, besmirched with the black colour of reaction. The reaction distorts the intentions and the decrees of the Prime Minister.

In consequence of the difficult situation, the peasantry is fleeing from **Maku** to Turkish territory, the peasants of **Ispahan** are fleeing to Arabistan, in certain districts—in **Chamadan**, in **Ardabil**—isolated disturbances have broken out among the peasants. The situation which has arisen has attracted the attention even of the reactionary pro-English members of parliament. Thus the member of parliament, **Dawer**, delivered an exhaustive speech in the sitting of 27th September regarding the disastrous situation of agriculture, and as to the necessity of an alteration in the existing system of the sharing of the great landowners and the peasants in the harvest, in order to improve the position of the peasants. Of course, the meaningless speeches of Dawer have been evoked by the losses caused to the estates of the big landowners by the flight of the peasants and will not effect anything for the peasants.

But the government of **Sardar Sepech** could at least have done something to improve the situation of the peasantry and thereby obtained the support of the peasant masses. In fact the military authorities have confiscated and are confiscating dozens of villages from the insurgent feudal chiefs. But instead of the confiscated lands being handed over to the peasants, they are being leased to new big landowners who are taking more from the peasantry than the former feudal chiefs. And instead of close collaboration between the government and the peasantry, the chasm between them is becoming continually wider. The peasants insist upon a reduction of the burdens imposed upon them by the landowners, but instead of this the great landowners have succeeded in inciting the equally reactionary officials against the peasants.

The weavers of **Kerman** (about 12,000 persons) are wearing out their eyes for the profit of the American carpet exporters in return for two Krans a day (about 2 francs). More than 22,000 workers in the oil fields of Southern Persia, who receive 2½ Krans a day, live the lives of starving dogs while creating surplus profit in the interests of the English capitalists. The attempts of the artisans to organise trade unions encounter bitterest resistance from the police.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Handing over of the Communist Member of Parliament **Lanzuski** and Three Ukrainian Members of Parliament to the Polish Law Court.

Warsaw, 21st December 1924.

The Polish Sejm decided yesterday to hand over the Communist member of parliament **Lanzuski** and the Ukrainian members of parliament **Wassyshuk, Tshutshumal and Kosicki** to the law court. Whilst the Ukrainians members of parliament were assured of their liberty, every measure was taken in order to arrest comrade **Lanzuski**. The Sejm was surrounded by police troops.

The decision to hand over our comrade was preceded by a stormy sitting of the Sejm, in the course of which the Communist deputy **Skirpa** declared.

"Polish reaction, supported by the Polish social traitors, is instituting an unexampled campaign against the Communist movement. It now wishes to get rid of comrade **Lanzuski**, who is so beloved by the working class and against whom the charge of high treason is based solely upon the report by a spy of a speech which our comrade delivered at a legal sitting of the railway workers union."

Comrade **Lanzuski** declared

"I protest least against the charges of high treason, which involve the death sentence against me. I know that here it is only a case of the revenge of the capitalist class against workers' representatives. You will never succeed in strangling the communist movement by force and repression.

Now, when I speak from the tribune of parliament for the last time, I say to you: communism is growing in breadth and depth. The day is approaching when it will sweep you off the face of the earth."

In the same bold manner spoke the Ukrainian member of parliament **Wassyntshuk**. He declared:

"Repression cannot annihilate the increasing indignation of the national minorities."

The speeches of the communists were interrupted by noisy interjections and exchanges of blows. The bourgeois deputies attacked the communists. Before the vote was taken the communists left the chamber singing the "International".

After the vote the Ukrainian, White-Russian members of parliament, the Independent Peasant Party and the Communists carried on obstruction. They sang Ukrainian, and white-Russian songs and the "International".

Comrade **Lanzuski** declared to press representatives that the charge of high treason was based upon the denunciation of the social democratic members of parliament **Beljuk and Schelsel**.

Comrade **Lanzuski** succeeded in leaving the Sejm unobserved. He was, however, arrested today and taken to the prison in **Przemysl**.

White Terror Raging in the Border States.

Mass Murder in Esthonia. — Death Sentences in Lithuania.

Moscow, 23rd December 1924.

Following on the insurrection in **Reval**, an enormous wave of White Terror has set in in the Border States.

The Esthonian Government, in which the Social Democrats are taking part, have caused more workers to be shot than the total number of those who participated in the insurrection. Whole families of Communists, including the women and children and the old folk, have been wiped out. The oppositional members of the Trade Unions and the former strike leaders have, with the help of the Social Democrats, been placed upon the black list and handed over to a court martial.

In **Letland**, mass arrests are being carried out.

In Lithuania, four workers have been sentenced to death on a charge of having distributed communist appeals in the barracks, while a girl of seventeen has been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for life. The death sentences are to be carried out within the next few days.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

The Scandinavian Party Conference on the Recent Relapse of Comrade Trotsky.

With reference to the dispute which comrade Trotsky has again sought to arouse in our Russian brother Party and in the C.I. by his new book "1917", the joint Conference of the Scandinavian Communist Parties declares:

The work of comrade Trotsky is a direct continuation, in literary form, of the liquidation policy of the Russian Party opposition which was unanimously condemned at the 13th. Party Conference of the Russian C.P. and at the V. Congress of the Comintern.

Wherein consists the great error of comrade Trotsky? It consists in that he wishes to limit the leading role of the Communist Party in the class war to the "great moments" when the Party overthrows the rule of the bourgeoisie and seizes power at the head of the revolutionary masses.

The Communist Party can only lead the working class and the great suppressed masses to victory over the capitalist state and the bourgeoisie, if it follows the bolshevist line in the every-day struggle of the working class, that is to say, if it pursues a policy which at the same time expresses and promotes the revolutionary will to power of the broad masses, and develops the Communist Party into a real disciplined Party embracing the most class-conscious and self-sacrificing elements of the working class.

If comrade Trotsky in his book over the Russian October severs the bolshevik period of preparation from the revolutionary upheaval and the setting up of the proletarian state power, and even puts this forward as the "Lessons of the October Revolution", then we see in this a relapse on the part of comrade Trotsky into his old semi-menshevist failing, against which comrade Lenin himself was the sharpest and most inexorable opponent.

Especially harmful is the criticism by comrade Trotsky of the leaders of the Comintern, and in the first place of comrade Zinoviev. What has such a criticism to do with the Lessons of the October revolution? No one has more openly and honestly confessed his mistakes than comrade Zinoviev. Comrade Zinoviev has thereby drawn lessons from the October Revolution which have strengthened and pushed forward the Communist International, and it is precisely therefore that comrade Zinoviev is at present more hated by the international bourgeoisie than any other leader of the Comintern.

The Conference of the four Communist Parties of Scandinavia condemns the action of comrade Trotsky, which will be taken advantage of by all enemies of the Communist International in order to confuse the working class and to weaken the Communist Party.

We say to comrade Trotsky, that the lessons of the Russian October Revolution do not permit of any kind of criticism which strengthens the semi-menshevist liquidatory tendencies in the Comintern, and could thereby weaken the international fighting organisation of the working class. On the contrary! The October revolution and our own experiences have taught us that these tendencies constitute the greatest danger to communism, and that the victory of the revolutionary working class is impossible without the ruthless combatting of these tendencies in the ranks of the Communist Parties themselves.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

To the Workers in the Heavy Industries.

Dear Comrades,

Permit me to relate to you how we live and work now that the power is in the hands of the workers, and to compare our life with what it was before the Revolution. I will speak only of the work in the rolling mills and of the life of the workers of our factory (formerly the "Houson", now the "Sickle

and Hammer"), because our life and work are characteristic of the industries throughout the Union of Republics. In former times we used to work in our mills in two shifts of 12 hours each. We used to work because we were goaded by fear, not from any love for the work. For every mistake the worker was punished either by a blow, or at best by a fine, loosing about five roubles or more in fines every month. The manager and the foreman were the gods and tzars of the mill. Any worker who displayed intelligence of any degree was mercilessly driven out and thrown into prison. At the close of a hard working day we had no facilities for sensible recreation. We had no clubs of our own; the theatres were too expensive for us, and the secondary schools were only for the intelligentsia, not for the workers' children. In the same way the sporting clubs were in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and the only thing left to us were the beer-shops, the government vodka shops, card gambling and fist fights. Many of us succumbed either to these pleasures or to the dope of the priests, who told us to await the kingdom of heaven.

After the October Revolution of 1917, we began to lead quite a different life.

It is true that at first, harassed by the white guards who were aided by your bourgeoisie, we experienced great hardships. We starved while our transport was in a state of chaos. Our factories were at a standstill and most of us fought at the front. Our own factory, which employs 4,000 people, had hardly 400 at that time, and any kind of production was out of the question. As you know, we have smashed the white guards and attacked a new front, the front of useful toil, and here, comrades, we have won one victory after another. To quote an example: in the year 1913-14, our record year of production, we turned out on the average 102,300 poods of wire in a month, working 24 hours a day. Now we work in two shifts of 8 hours, that is only 16 hours a day, and we have already produced 102,170 poods, and in view of our constant increase and expansion of production, we may confidently expect a much larger output when we start working 24 hours, i. e. in 3 shifts. All this is done without any compulsion, but by our own good will and efforts. I feel that to produce in 8 hours upon an old bench the quantity that used to be turned out in 12 hours on a new one, is quite a big victory, and you will surely share in our jubilation.

A roll-worker in our mill used to earn from 70 to 75 roubles a month, now he earns from 130 to 150 roubles.

You are told all manner of horrid tales about our Bolsheviks, which are nothing but lies. Our communists, our teachers, do nothing without our consent. We support them all the way through and we shall always follow their lead, because they protect our own and only our own interests. Not all are in the Party, we do not think ourselves sufficiently developed, but in spirit we are all communists.

We now have our own club, with an endless variety of circles: dramatic, choral, musical, art, radio and sport. There are scores of members in every circle, but in the sporting circle we have 9 football teams alone, whereas in the past we had only 5 footballers in the whole factory, and even those played in the bourgeois club.

Our sporting grounds are full of children during the day, and in the evening, after work, the adult workers engage in physical culture. Our youngsters are all pioneers and communards, robust and happy fellows, growing up under good conditions and in health of body and mind—they are some-day to take our place.

Our entire life, our production, our failures and our tasks, are reflected in the columns of the newspapers. Since the newspapers cannot possibly give us all the space we need, we run our wall newspapers in every factory. The news to the newspapers is communicated by ourselves, so that there can be no garbling as is done by bourgeois reporters. You may rest assured, comrades, that we shall never allow any evil designs of our enemies to escape our timely attention and exposure.

There is no need for us to tell you that the schools, the theatres, the clubs, the physical culture establishments, everything is now thrown open to us. This goes without saying, because the power is in our own hands, in the hands of the working class.

Therefore, dear comrades, we wish you to get the same as we have, i. e. all power in the hands of the workers.

With fraternal greetings,

Non-Party workers' correspondent

A. G. Pogoshnikov.

Moscow, the "Sickle and Hammer" Works.