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CONTENTS

- G. Dimitrov: The Anti-Bolshevik United Front in the Balkans.
- Politics**
Vladetic: The Precursors of Civil War in Yugoslavia.
Ruggiero Grieco: Mussolini Restores "Normal" Conditions.
- In the International**
Lenin Week of the C. P. of Russia.
Comrade Zinoviev on the Situation and the Tasks of the C. P. of France.
The C. P. of France to the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.
The Organisatory Development of the C. P. of France.
- In the Colonies**
J. B.: Zionist Terror in Palestine.
- In the Camp of our Enemies**
The Brussels Session of the Executive of the II. International and of the Amsterdam International.
Karl Radek: Mr. Pickwick on Communism.
- The White Terror**
John Pepper: Fifteen Years Penal Servitude for Ruthenberg.
- Union of Soviet Republics**
Workers' Housing in Moscow.
- For Leninism**
Explanatory Remarks Re Syllabus of Elementary Party Courses.
- Book Reviews**
W. N. C.: "The Politics of Oil."

The Anti-Bolshevik United Front in the Balkans.

By G. Dimitrov (Moscow).

Never since the war was the situation in the Balkans so serious and so uncertain as it is at the present moment. The present governments in the Balkan countries rely solely upon brute force against the masses of the people and upon the support of European imperialism of which they are the true and obedient agents in the Balkans. By their fascist methods of government the Balkan governments are intensifying the economic crisis still further, increasing unproductive expenditure (for police, army, fascist organisations etc.), completely disorganising production, transport and commerce, giving a free hand to profiteers and speculators in food, throwing the colossal burden of taxes, war and reparations solely upon the shoulders of the mass of the people and increasing their misery beyond all limits.

The few gains won by the working class during the first years after the war (Eight Hour Day etc.) and those won by the peasant masses (the distribution of a part of the land) have been abolished. The workers are exposed to unlimited exploitation; in many localities the land which had been distributed has been given back to the big landowners. The workers' and peasants' organisations are the object of constant and cruel persecution, while the prisons are filled with the leaders and functionaries of these organisations. Hundreds have been and will be murdered by the government organs and by the fascist bands; this is particularly the case in Bulgaria.

At the same time the national minorities are subjected to unbearable suppression. The Balkan governments know no other means for solving the complicated national problems than the

most cruel denationalising, driving out of the alien elements from house and home, and the colonising of these districts with peasants of the ruling nation. In Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey there are hundreds of thousands of refugees who are left without land, without lodging and are lacking the barest necessities. These refugees act as unfortunate competitors with the native workers and peasants; they are made use of by the capitalists in order to worsen the position of the working masses and by the Balkan governments for their reactionary and fascist policy.

As a result of this, the discontent called forth by the reactionary regime in the Balkan countries is increasing daily among the masses of workers and peasants and among the suppressed nationalities. It is reaching bursting point and will finally find expression in a furious, irresistible movement for liquidating the reactionary regime.

In Bulgaria a powerful wave of popular feeling is rising against the Zankov regime, which the more it is debarred from legal means of expression the more inevitably will it find an outlet in an uprising on the part of the mass of the people against the governing oppressors and hangmen.

The attempt of the Serbian bourgeoisie and of the monarchy in Yugoslavia to retain their hegemony over the other nations and over the working and peasant masses at all cost by the bankrupt regime of Pasic-Pribicevic is driving the country into civil war. The government has already dissolved the Croatian Peasants Party and arrested its leaders.

The government of bankers and Boyars in Roumania, with Bratianu at the head, has not only aroused the antagonism of the population of Bessarabia, of Dobrudsha and Transsylvania, but also the masses of people in the old territory of Roumania. The revolt which recently took place in Bessarabia, the increased national movement in Dobrudsha, the national fermentation in Transylvania, the revival of the labour movement and the growing peasants' movement against the Boyars, are the precursors of the inevitable overthrow of the regime of the bankers and Boyars in Roumania.

The incompetence of the present Greek government to consolidate the Republican regime, to ameliorate the misery of the working masses, and particularly its inability to solve the problem of the refugees (in Greece there are at present 1,200,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor), is creating deep disappointment among the working masses; this is encouraging the monarchists and opens the prospect of fresh severe inner struggles in Greece in the near future.

At the same moment the spectre of war is again appearing in the Balkans. As a matter of fact this war has already begun in Albania over the question of its division between Yugoslavia and Italy. For this purpose an armed invasion was organised — the bourgeois press calls this revolution — upon Serbian soil and with Serbian arms and soldiers, as well as with members of the Wrangels Army, by the former Albanian Prime Minister Achmed Zogu, who had been driven out by the Albanian people. The Albanian government of Fan Noli itself facilitated the realisation of the devilish plans of the foreign conqueror of Albania in failing to fulfil the hopes of the Albanian peasants regarding a solution of the agrarian problem and to grant them land, and thereby in this manner alienating the Albanian peasants.

The bourgeois Balkan governments are carrying on their rule, although they are sitting on a volcano, and at the same time are playing the rôle of agents of Entente imperialism. They are now realising the hopelessness of their situation and are therefore stretching out their hands for mutual help. They seek salvation from the indignation and the revenge of their peoples by engaging in fresh military adventures, in order to divert the attention and the forces of the mass of the people and to continue their rule. The imperialist states on their side are taking advantage of this difficult situation of the Balkan governments, not only to consolidate their control in the Balkans and to exploit it all the better, but also to make use of the Balkans as a basis for their imperialist world policy and particularly for a war against the Union of Soviet Republics, in which the peoples of the Balkans are to serve as cannon-fodder.

It is quite evident that a temporary understanding between England, France and Italy regarding the Balkans has recently been arrived at. The Conferences which Mussolini and Chamberlain recently had with the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister Nintchitch, the journey of the Yugoslavian monarch, Alexander, to Paris and the visit of the chief of the murderers ruling in Bulgaria, Zankov, to Belgrade and Bucarest have also the same purpose.

In order to conceal from the Balkan peoples the real intentions which the Entente imperialists and the Balkan governments are pursuing, a noisy campaign against the Bolshevik propaganda of Moscow, which is endangering "peace and order" in the Balkans, has been instituted. Under cover of this noisy campaign, secret treaties and military agreements have been concluded in the last few days behind the back and at the cost of the Balkan population.

It is characteristic that whilst, officially, Serbia up till yesterday was an irreconcilable enemy of the Bulgarian government of Zankov, and looked for the slightest pretext for military intervention in Bulgaria, today — when Pasic wishes to break the resistance of the Croatian and Macedonian peoples, as well as of the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, and is being compelled by Paris and London to a reconciliation with Sofia — the Bulgarian blood-hound Zankov is solemnly received by the government circles in Belgrade, in spite of the aversion of the mass of the people which was expressed by a demonstration on the arrival of Zankov in Belgrade.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie on their part conducted a furious campaign against the government of Stambulisky, when the latter made the attempt to establish an agreement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, by accusing Stambulisky of betraying the interests of the Macedonian people. It was by this means that it succeeded in inciting the Macedonian organisation against

Stambulisky and prepared the political success of the overthrow of the 9th June of 1923. The Zankov government, the representative of this same patriotic bourgeoisie, crushed the Macedonian organisation and murdered hundreds of its best leaders in the most cruel manner in order to free the way for Zankov to Belgrade and Bucharest.

The so-called anti-bolshevist united front in the Balkans is directed before all against the movement for freedom of the working and peasant masses and of the suppressed nations in the Balkan countries. It constitutes the desperate attempt of the bourgeois-monarchist cliques in the Balkans to continue their bloody rule. This attempt is closely connected with the imperialist acts of violence in Egypt, in the Sudan, in Morocco, India and China. It is the work of Entente imperialism and its vassals in the Balkans. It constitutes an integral part of the preparations for a new imperialist war, which will be directed against the movement for liberty of the working peoples of the world, at whose head there stands the Communist International, and which has as its basis one sixth of the globe as represented in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

It is clear to everyone with a knowledge of the situation in the Balkans that a permanent agreement among the governing cliques in the Balkan countries is impossible. Irreconcilable antagonisms still divide them further. The rivalry for hegemony in the Balkans renders the chasm between them still deeper. They will not be able to solve a single one of the great national problems of the Balkans. As a result, the anti-bolshevik front in the Balkans will therefore soon collapse at the first collision between the bourgeoisie of the Balkan countries over the division of the booty and at the first fresh sharpening of the differences between France, England and Italy regarding the Balkans. The new predatory union of the Balkan governments and dynasties against the "bolshevik" danger will experience no better fate than the Balkan League against Turkey in 1912 which, as is known, ended in a war among the allies when the latter came to divide the spoil they had robbed from Turkey.

The present eager attempts to create an anti-bolshevik united front in the Balkans, the new dangers which arise therefrom for the Balkan peoples, the constant treachery which the Balkan governments practise against their own people in order to save their reactionary rule, all this will finally open the eyes of the working and peasant masses and of the suppressed nations in the Balkan countries. It will show them more clearly the necessity of a general revolutionary united front of the workers and peasants and of the suppressed nationalities for the overthrow of the present reactionary regime of bankers, big landowners and profiteurs, and for the creation of workers' and peasants' republics and their union in a Balkan Federation. Only such a federation like the Union of Russian Workers and Peasants Republics, will create the necessary conditions for the final solution of the national problems and of the agrarian question in the Balkans, for the emancipation of the working class and for securing the peace, freedom and independence of the Balkan Peninsula.

POLITICS

The Precursors of Civil War in Yugoslavia.

By Vladetic (Belgrade).

At the present moment, a few weeks before the elections which have been fixed for the 8th of February next, the whole of Yugoslavia which comprises various nationalities, resembles a great armed camp. As a matter of fact the country is in a state of martial law, although this has not yet been formally announced. The ruling great Serbian bourgeoisie and its militarist monarchy are already making preparations — in expectation of the spontaneous outbreak of popular indignation which may result as an answer to the unheard-of crimes which have been committed against the enormous majority of the population of Yugoslavia. Therefore, day and night the cities are patrolled by troops and are filled with hundreds of spies. Therefore, in Belgrade and Zagreb, nobody can walk the streets without being stopped and compelled to produce his permit. Therefore, the entire military forces are being held in readiness in the barracks and as a symbol of this regime, the yawning mouths of the guns of the fortress are trained on the city.

It is in such an atmosphere that the ruling absolutist regime practises its crimes and prepares, through the elections, from

which hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants voters will be forcibly prevented from going to the polls, the parliamentary sanction for these crimes and its whole rule which is shaken to its foundations.

The furious attacks of the Pasic-Pribicevic regime are directed against the working class, which is endeavouring to place itself at the head of the struggle of the working and peasant masses, who are still divided, and of the suppressed nationalities against this regime. The former semi-legal party of the revolutionary party of Yugoslavia, the Independent Labour Party, was already a month ago deprived of the last remnants of its legality and its press has been suppressed.

In the course of the last month, three labour newspapers were established in Belgrade, but they have been forcibly suppressed in violation of the law and decisions of the court. The liberating word of irreconcilable class struggle can only reach the working and peasant masses through the illegal leaflets of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which in spite of the Draconic law for the defence of the realm which provides a penalty up to 20 years hard labour and also capital punishment for communist propaganda, is proving to be more capable of resistance, more active and unvanquishable, the more the white terror of the Belgrade rulers increases.

The blow against the working class, which was already terribly weakened by the four years pressure of this anti-communist law and the final dissolution of the Independent Labour Party of Yugoslavia, constitutes only the commencement of the attack upon the Croatian peasantry and the dissolution of the Croatia Republican Peasant Party, the Party of Stefan Radic.

This attack upon the Croatian peasantry was being prepared for over a month by a furious campaign and publication of forged agreements between the C. R. P. P. and the Comintern. Although the idiotic falsifier of the alleged agreement had only copied out the 21 points of the conditions for acceptance into the Comintern, and even this failed its purpose among the backward elements, nevertheless the ruling class on New-Years Day — exactly four years after it had, by placing the C. P. of Yugoslavia outside the law, deprived the working class of all political rights — by virtue of the law of the defence of the realm against the C. R. P. P. deprived the whole Croatian nation of all political rights.

The application of this law against the second strongest Party, which numbered 70 deputies out of 313 and which in the present elections, if it were free, would receive about a third of all the mandates, is justified by the government on the ground that the C. R. P. P., by its entry into the Peasant International, has become a constituent portion of the Comintern and has set itself communist aims. As a matter of fact, however, the leadership of the C. R. P. P. had conducted a campaign against the Communist movement, and after its entry into the Peasant International did not change the main basis of its policy. During the seven months after its entry into the Peasant International the C. R. P. P. was not only not proceeded against under this law, but the political circles of Yugoslavia discussed for two months the question of an eventual entry of its leaders into the monarchist government.

The government clearly reveals the meaning of the outlawing of the C. R. P. P. by emphasising in its "proclamation" that it will energetically make use of clause 18 of the law for the defence of the realm, according to which "no person can be elected as deputy who belongs to the Communist Party or any other organisation forbidden by this law. This clause clearly shows the intentions of the government to gain in this manner the majority in the elections by preventing, on the basis of this famous law, not only the election of any deputy belonging to the Communist Party, but also of followers of the C. R. P. P.

The government is now showing this intention by having arrested those who signed the nomination papers, by their fascist bands, by abolishing the independence of the courts in so far as they do not appear reliable, as well as not only arresting the candidates of the Republican Workers and Peasants Bloc. Radic and the other leaders of the C. R. P. P., but also by the arrest of the Vice-President of parliament and member of the Chief Election Committee who was to conduct the elections, thereby preventing the handing in of the lists of candidates.

The dissolution of the C. R. P. P., the final dissolution of the Independent Labour Party, the persecution of all the opposition Parties, especially of the Parties of the national minorities — which the government attempted with some measure of success to split by terror and corruption —, as well as the

fearful terror in Macedonia, where almost every candidate or agitator of the opposition is arrested and beaten, if he is not threatened with death — these are the conditions under which the elections are being prepared in Yugoslavia. The fact that the governing regime has robbed more than a third of the worker and peasant electors of their right to vote, but at the same time has granted this right to 40,000 Wrangel bandits —, this fact deprives the elections of 8th of February of every legal character and every parliamentary significance.

The peasant masses will now perceive that there is no other way to their national and social emancipation than that which the Peasant International has shown them: united and ruthless fight of the workers and peasants of all nations of Yugoslavia. The world-platform of the republican workers and peasants' bloc, which the Independent Labour Party of Yugoslavia submitted to all peasant parties of Yugoslavia immediately after the announcement of the elections, will only now meet with full understanding on the part of the peasant masses. The masses of the working people of Yugoslavia will now fully understand that all the blows inflicted by the Regime, as well as the dissolution of the C. R. P. P., must be replied to with the establishment of the united front for the decisive struggle against this regime, against capitalism and imperialism, and for the right of self-determination of the nations, for the republican workers and peasants' power of every Balkan nation, and for their voluntary union in the Balkan Federation.

Mussolini Restores "Normal" Conditions.

By Ruggiero Grieco (Rome).

The publication of the "Memorandum of Rossi" which appeared in the democratic newspaper "Il Mondo" (The World), rendered the fascists particularly furious. It is stated that Mussolini, on glancing at this memorandum, exclaimed: "let it be circulated as widely as possible; it is of such a character that its falsity is to be seen at once. It is the document of an accused person who wishes to save himself from prison at all costs". That is obvious, but nobody has given the memorandum of Rossi this characterisation which Mussolini gave it. All have read the truth between the lines, as it only confirmed that which everybody knew; that Mussolini was the inciter and the principal in a whole series of crimes and attacks which have been committed after the "March on Rome" of October 1922.

The members of the *Viminale* gang, that is those who carried out the crimes, were furnished with travelling permits and proper passports by the police authorities and were rewarded with considerable sums of money. (The chief of the band, Dumini, some days before the murder of Matteotti, bought a house in Florence.) The bands were connected with the general director of public security, De Bono, with the chief of the press department of the Prime Minister, Cesare Rossi, and indirectly with Mussolini. The document of Rossi tells of various episodes which prove the responsibility of Mussolini for all crimes which have occurred in the last three years, Rossi recognises the share of responsibility which falls upon himself but claims to have been acting on orders.

On the occasion of the attack upon the democratic parliamentary deputy Giovanni Amendola, Mussolini conveyed to the leaders of the bands his ideas regarding the exercise of vengeance, which consisted in attacking and causing to disappear the opponents of the regime who are most to be feared. This method was certainly exercised on the occasion of the murder of Matteotti. As a matter of fact, the corpse of Matteotti was not found for two months, and even today the identity of the corpse which was found near Rome in August is seriously disputed.

The publication of the Memorandum of Rossi had a great effect, but not in the sense which Mussolini had predicted. And as this publication took place during an anti-fascist journalistic campaign of the opposition press, it had its repercussion upon the stock-exchange and the rate of exchange of the Italian currency. Italian bonds sank by several points, and in London the value of the Italian Lira fell to 114 to the pound. Some terrorist acts took place at some railway junctions in the North and caused tremendous damage. On the 31st December last Mussolini hastily summoned the Ministerial Council and decided to adopt drastic measures in order to dam the "anti-fascist wave". The national militia was mobilised and the whole of the fascist bands were again paraded in the streets. In Florence and in

Bologna, the strongest centres of fascism, the Black Shirts were mustered. In Florence some private houses, the Free Masons Lodges, the premises of the Republican Party and the premises of the anti-fascist ex-service men were attacked, and the premises of the moderate liberal newspaper "Nuovo Giornale" were set on fire.

The recently enacted law regarding the press was employed in a most ruthless manner. The opposition press was completely suppressed. For the last two weeks only fascist newspapers and a few liberal papers which have refrained from discussing the political situation have been able to appear. On the 3rd January Mussolini spoke in the chamber. After having observed that no opponents were present, he exclaimed: "If there is anybody here who has a complaint to make against me, let him come forward". Of course, nobody came forward. But the press which raised the accusations has been suppressed. The speech of Mussolini ended with the sentence: "Within 48 hours the situation will in every respect be clear again". The fascists gave Mussolini an ovation.

After the speech of Mussolini the liberal friends of the Ministry broke away from him. Salandra has resigned his position as chairman of the Finance Commission and as chairman of the Italian delegation to the League of Nations; the right liberal ministers Casati and Sarrocchi have abandoned their posts and have been replaced by two fascist ministers. The fascist minister of justice, Oviglio, has also resigned, perhaps because he would have been compelled to respond to the challenge of Mussolini ("If anybody has a complaint to make against me, let him come forward"), and on the other hand did not wish to engage in any anti-national action.

It is a comic situation into which the fascist regime has been driven, in which every moment appeal is made to the right of revolution which shall justify the crimes by the fascist organisations and their press in order to save the revolution, but which has left unchanged the old written democratic laws and the old apparatus of justice which, on many occasions would have had to take action against fascism, that is against the so-called fascist revolution. The criminal Cesare Rossi was right in accusing Mussolini: for if the murder of Matteotti is a crime which was organised by the fascist government in order to protect the revolution, it is unintelligible why those who carried it out are handed over to the court because they have violated the old democratic laws. If, however, it is a question of a common crime, then all those responsible must be handed over to the court.

What are the measures which the government adopted in the 48 hours which were fixed in the ultimatum speech of 3rd of January? Effective suppression of the opposition press and some arrests. The Minister of the Interior reported that 95 suspected clubs and club premises have been closed down, 25 seditious organisations have been dissolved, as well as 120 groups of the anti-fascist ex-service men's organisation; 111 dangerous "agitators" have been arrested, 150 taverns have been closed and 655 house-searches have taken place. Although the greater portion of these measures has been directed against workers and workers' organisations, one cannot yet say whether this is only a beginning. Mussolini probably intends to intimidate the opposition parties, and to a certain extent he has achieved his object.

Of course it is our press which has suffered the most. In spite of this the mood of the masses is not depressed as was the case in 1923 up to the eve of the elections of 6th April 1924. The masses here and there are reacting to the fascist provocations. The workers have suffered in killed and wounded, but similar losses have been suffered by the fascisti.

What will be the immediate outcome of the situation? Fascism will attempt to arrive at a compromise with the other bourgeois forces. Mussolini hopes to-day to escape from the cul-de-sac in which he finds himself, by announcing elections for April or May. The new election law will be discussed shortly. If the previous law was democratic, the future law will be ridiculously anti-democratic. And after the elections? There is a strong orientation, sometimes hesitant, sometimes more decided, in the direction of our movement. The situation is not such that the revolutionary Party of the working class can immediately inter into the struggle as the third factor in the situation; but it must already to-day appear as the sole factor which is capable of solving the Italian crisis. The workers and peasants will only finally destroy fascism when they have vanquished the bourgeois class.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Lenin Week of the C. P. of Russia.

Moscow 10th January 1925.

The Communist Party of Russia is holding a Lenin Week on the occasion of the first anniversary of Lenin's death.

Since the 9th January the life and importance of Lenin is being taught in the schools and in the Youth and Pioneer organisations.

From the 9th to 25th January the Lenin Week will be celebrated in the Party organisations by meetings, demonstrations and lectures.

The Central Committee, in view of the urgent desire of masses of non-party workers to enter the Party, has decided to open the door of the Party to workers during the Lenin Week.

Delegations from Moscow factories and from sections of the Red Army will visit the Lenin Mausoleum. The Museum of the Revolution and the Lenin Museum will be open during the Lenin Week to workers, peasants and members of the Red Army. The Cinemas are preparing Lenin films. The state publishers are issuing 250 books and pamphlets, totalling altogether 25 million printed pages.

In the provinces great preparations are also being made for the Lenin Week, in which the masses are eagerly participating.

Comrade Zinoviev on the Situation and the Tasks of the C. P. of France.

At the session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International Comrade Zinoviev made the following statement regarding the situation and tasks of the C. P. of France.

The C. P. of France must carry on the main fight against social fascism. The French socialists who, without participating immediately in the government, are supporting the Herriot government in every respect, are rapidly developing into a fascist or semi-fascist organisation, which must be exposed before the French workers.

The C. P. of France is at present conducting a defensive struggle. It has to defend its legality against the government, and even itself against the attacks of fascism. The demonstration of the Party on the day of the conveying of the corpse of Jaurès to the Pantheon was the first beginning of a mass movement; the Party must, however, still conduct the struggle as a defensive struggle. This is not opportunism but an adaptation of bolshevism to the concrete conditions in France.

The second main slogan must be: 50,000 Party members in Paris. The C. P. of France must create a firm political organisation, although the tradition for this is lacking in France.

Thirdly, in the municipal elections in May the greatest energy must be employed in the suburbs of Paris for winning the suburbs. The propaganda against militarism must mainly be conducted by agitation and propaganda among the peasants and the youths.

Fourthly, the Party must exert all its forces in order to capture the provinces, chiefly the industrial districts of the North. The Paris Commune fell because it remained isolated; the appropriate lessons must be drawn from this.

The "Humanité" must gain new proletarian readers. Proletarian defence organisations must be formed to meet the fascist attacks. These defence organisations of the workers have to serve for the purpose of defence. The Party must show the working class how the French socialists have acted, both inside and outside of parliament, against the workers, peasants and civil servants, and in general what they have done in the national and international sphere.

With regard to the relations of the C. P. of France to the C. G. T. U., great progress has been made in this connection, and the Party is working well together with the C. G. T. U. The Party must at present proceed very cautiously in the trade union question, otherwise it can meet with a set-back.

The campaign for the unity of the trade unions must be carried out with all energy and be better organised than hitherto. The Brussels session of the II. International with the Amsterdam International has shown that the English delegation is holding the front and preventing a campaign against the Soviet Union.

The campaign for national and international unity will be victorious. The chief slogan is the winning of the masses in town and country.

The peasants' question is also a question of propaganda against militarism and a question of fascism. Organisation against organisation! There is a danger that events will find the Party unprepared.

With regard to the inner Party situation, the chief task is "normalising the Party". One must say to the Party: the period of crisis is at an end, the purging process has been carried out, steady work, feverish organisatory activity, steady continuation of agitation and propaganda work is necessary. The whole Party supports the Central Committee and the left Central can, after having defeated the right, guarantee peace and normal development. The Party needs a solid Party apparatus. The campaign for the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei must be carried out with the greatest energy.

Hitherto the development in France has been fairly slow, now the pace is becoming more rapid and there exists a danger that events will find the Party unprepared. Now there is necessary a bolshevist Central Committee with a good staff. It is true that fascism is threatening, but fascism cannot break the traditions of the bourgeois parliament in France as easily as it did in Italy.

If the approaching Party Conference fulfils these tasks then it will have made a great step forwards.

The C. P. of France to the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Necessity of a closer connection between the two Parties.

(The following is an extract of a Resolution adopted by the Polit Bureau of the C. P. of France.)

The C. P. of France welcomes the new leadership of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia and hopes that they will exert all the energies of the Party for the carrying out of the decisions of the V. World Congress and of the Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

The C. P. of France will support all those in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia and in its leadership who, not only in theory but also in the practical daily work, are unconditionally adopting the position of the Communist International and are working for the bolshevising of the Party. The C. P. of France is of the opinion that every deviation and every hesitation must be ruthlessly combated.

Not only the new Central as a whole, but also each one of its members must establish closer connections with the trade union movement, with the factory council movement, with the peasants' movement, as well as with the various national branches of the workers and peasants' movement of Czechoslovakia.

* * *

The C. P. of France fully approves the decisions which were adopted by the Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

It considers it necessary to call the attention of its brother-Party to the necessity of a closer connection than hitherto, not only with regard to questions of general politics such as the fight against the Dawes Plan, but also as regards the question of the emigration of Czechoslovakian workers to France and to the common struggle of the French and Czechoslovakian proletariat against the enslavement of the Czechoslovakian workers and peasants by French imperialism and French finance capital.

The C. P. of France takes the opportunity of saying that it the working masses of Czechoslovakia and France must unite against French imperialism, the Czechish, German, Slovakian, Hungarian and Carpatho-Russian working masses must likewise unite against the rule of the Czechish bourgeoisie.

The government of the Czechish bourgeoisie is delivering over the proletariat and the suppressed nationalities of Czechoslovakia to French imperialism and militarism, of which it is the ally and tool. One of our first slogans must be: Immediate withdrawal of the French military mission from Czechoslovakia!

In order to discuss these questions in detail, the C. P. of France invites the C. P. of Czechoslovakia to send as soon as possible its delegation to Paris to the approaching Party Conference of the C. P. of France which will be held from 17th to 21st of January 1925.

The Polit Bureau of the C. P. of France.

The Organisatory Development of the C. P. of France.

The Party Conference of the C. P. of France, which will be held from the 17th to 21st January next, will find a strong Party which is undergoing the process of development and bolshevisation.

In the period from June 1924 to December 1924 the Party has succeeded in gaining 19,116 new members, as a result of which the membership has reached 76,076, which is an increase of no less than a third.

The Party has succeeded in collecting 1,168,246 francs and obtaining 788,716 francs as loans from its members. The Paris district heads the list in this respect with an average of 12 francs from every member.

The re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei is in full swing and is being systematically carried out. In the first place the most important industrial districts of Paris, Lyons and the North are being dealt with first. But the work has also made considerable progress in a number of other districts. A whole number of district federations have been re-organised.

The Central daily organ of the Party, "Humanité", has increased its circulation by 11,000. The paper has undergone a thorough improvement and achieved great success, especially with regard to devoting its columns to life in the factories, to Party questions and to political and economic campaigns.

The C. P. of France is now considering the question of removing the daily provincial paper "Humanité du Midi" to the more important industrial districts of the North.

The scientific organ of the Party, "Bulletin Communiste", was converted some weeks ago into the "Cahiers du Bolshevisme".

IN THE COLONIES

Zionist Terror in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

For some time past the Zionist organisation in Palestine has been enjoying a condition of "prosperity" in consequence of the sharp anti-Arabian policy which the English imperialists have been following in the last months, far-reaching concessions have been granted to the Zionists, particularly in regard to the immigration of a great number of Jewish immigrants and as to various political privileges in preference to the native population; and now the Zionist organisation considers the moment to have arrived to realise Zionism quickly and thoroughly.

The realisation of Zionism means however, before all the transference of further areas of land from Arabian into Jewish hands. Realisation of Zionism means buying land — this is the slogan with which Zionist missionaries travel from country to country, collecting money for the national funds for the purchase of land, forming land purchasing societies and seeking to interest various capitalist groups in the purchase of further tracts of land in Palestine.

But at present the arable land in Palestine (and this is what the Zionists seek in the first place, as they wish to avoid the great costs of irrigating and rendering the sterile soil fit for agriculture) is for the greater part in the hands of rich Arabian big landowners, whose estates often embrace thousands of square kilometers. The land of these rich "Effendis" is cultivated by peasants, who rent little plots and in return must give to the landowners a considerable portion of the yield. These peasants live in indescribable poverty. As in addition to this they have to bear heavy burdens of taxation and have not long since recovered from the devastation caused by the war, these peasants must again and again have recourse to rich usurers, out of whose hands they can never escape. If one considers on the other hand that the towns, in view of the great unemployment, do not offer the peasants any better prospects, one can understand that for him the soil is the most precious thing, to which he clings in spite of the greatest poverty.

The Zionists are buying the land from the Effendi — but with vacant possession. The pioneers of the renascent Jewish people must be settled on the soil, therefore the poor, miserable "Fellach" must make room for them. The driving of the Arabs

from the soil, which follows upon every big purchase of land, is one of the most tragic things in the history of the "cultivation of the country". Whilst in the camp of the young immigrants expression is given to wildest nationalist enthusiasm with dancing and song, a few steps further off the evicted peasants is packing together his humble possessions to wander forth with wife and child to the city, where starvation and misery are awaiting him.

It often happens, however, that the Arabian peasant will not allow himself to be driven from the soil without resistance. All attempts at persuasion and even bribery avail nothing; the peasant lays himself at full length upon the ground and prevents the stranger from taking possession of his land, to which the latter has no other right than that which is based on the bargain between the capitalist and the big landowner. Fights sometimes occur between the peasants and the colonists, in which there are killed and wounded; the English police intervene and carry out arrests among the resisters, the peasant is driven away by force — and on the next day the land is in the sure possession of the settler for the realisation of the sublime ideals of Zionism.

In this colonising activity of the Zionist organisation, it is especially regrettable that the Jewish immigrants, who are themselves workers for the greater part, allow themselves to be employed as bailiffs against the Arabian peasants. As, however, the Arabs are much more numerous in Palestine than the Jews, it continually happens that, as a reaction to the Zionist robber-policy against the Arabs, there occur elementary outbreaks of the Arabs against the Jews, the victims of which again are Jewish workers. England then plays the rôle of judge and preserver of public law and order. The pogroms which irresponsible elements of Jewish nationality arrange against Arab villages for the sake of Zionist capitalist ambitions, are also fatal in their results for the Jews themselves: they incite in turn pogroms against the Jews.

The Communist Party of Palestine sees through the plot, by means of which English imperialism, the Jewish Zionist bourgeoisie and the Arabian big landowners are entangling the working masses of Palestine. It is opposing nationalistic madness (which leads to the enrichment of the Arabian big landowners, to the increase of the power of the Jewish capitalist and their institutions, but before all to the consolidation of imperialist rule in Palestine) with the slogans: fraternisation of the Jewish workers with the Arabian peasants; the soil for those who till it; no worker shall help to evict Arab peasants; no Arab peasant shall leave the soil which belongs to him by his labour.

This attitude of the Communists is regarded by the Zionists as "national betrayal". The Zionists know very well that the truth as to the Zionist colonisation of Palestine, which exposes the cruelties of the evictions of the Arabs, means a moral death sentence for Zionism, which is still concealed behind idealistic phrases. In this respect they are demanding the national united front, behind which they wish to conceal their rascally conduct. The Jewish Communists, who have the courage to break away from this united front and to expose the class character of Zionism, are therefore regard as the most dangerous enemies of the Jewish bourgeoisie and by the leaders of the social traitorous Parties which are in their service (before all of the **Ahduth Haavodah**); as there is no other means of silencing the Communists, the Zionists are resorting to terror.

American Zionists have recently purchased land in the neighbourhood of **Afuleh**. The Arabian village, consisting of poor peasant families, was to be evicted. The Communists very energetically opposed the brutal acts of the Zionists, and before all called upon the Jewish workers not to take part in the evictions. But there were still national heroes to be found who took on the job of conquest. At the end of November, when the newly acquired land was to be ploughed for the first time by the new settlers, a fight broke out between the latter and the Arab peasants, which resulted in one dead (on the Arabian side) and many wounded on both sides. The police intervened and the evictions of the Arabs were carried out.

The C. P. of Palestine again appealed to the Jewish and Arabian working masses by reproaching the Zionists and English imperialists with the responsibility for the fresh bloodshed, and concluded with a fresh summons to set up a united international class front against the nationalist incitement.

This appeal was the signal for an unprecedented anti-communist campaign. The **Ahduth Haavodah** organised bands, armed with clubs, which attacked and beat communist workers in the streets. Communists were refused admission to the workers

refreshment rooms. Members of the **Ahduth Haavodah** made the round of Jewish employers who employed workers suspected of communism and called upon them immediately to dismiss the "traitors". Finally, the help of the police was called in and the police patrolled the streets accompanied by leaders of the **Ahduth Haavodah** and arrested communists on the basis of evidence given by the latter.

In **Tel-Aviv** (near **Joppa**) 13 comrades were arrested on one day and terribly mishandled in prison: they were beaten and tortured by the police officers, and were forced to lie in damp cellars along with ordinary criminals; they were not even allowed a blanket. Some days afterwards the trial of the arrested took place before a Zionist judge, which resulted — although it was impossible to bring any charge against them than that of agitating against Zionist brutality — in their receiving sentences from one week to a year's imprisonment as well as deportation. At the same time the workers clubs were closed.

But even this was not sufficient for the Zionists. The so-called **labour councils**, in which the **Ahduth Haavodah** and the **Paole Zion** have the majority, adopted special resolutions declaring a boycott against all workers who are in any way connected with the Communist Party; it was further decided to refuse to admit communists to the workers refreshment rooms, to the labour exchanges, to workers' meetings, and even letters addressed to communist workers which arrive at the labour institutions are not to be handed over to the addressee.

The Communist Party has not been daunted either by the fascist terror or the violent acts of the police. Jewish and Arabian members of the Party are united in the struggle against nationalistic incitement; and among the Jewish working class itself the number of those is increasing who are turning away in disgust from the terrorist methods of the Zionists and are endorsing the Communist standpoint.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Brussels Session of the Executive of the II. International and of the Amsterdam International.

Against the Soviet Union, against the Unity of the Trade Union Movement, against the Proletariat.

The Brussels Session of the bureau the "Socialist" "Labour" International, as well as the joint session of the bureau with the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, as was to be expected, did not devote itself to the fight against the offensive of international capital, against intensified reaction, the white terror in all countries, the Dawes Plan and the Morgans in the West and in the East, but to a furious campaign against Soviet Russia and against the unity of the trade union movement as the prerequisite of a successful fight against the offensive of capitalism.

This time the campaign was specially directed against the delinquents in their own camp, that is, against the English Trade Union Delegation which has visited Russia, which included **Purcell**, **Bramley**, **Ben Tillet** and others, and whose championship of Soviet Russia and the unity of the Trade union movement was, to the great joy of the Morgans of all countries, stigmatised by the Brussels Internationalists. Thus the capitalists of all countries can look back with satisfaction to this session, as it has been a fresh, striking symptom of the preparedness of their lackeys to fight in the interests of capitalist rule.

Already at the session of the bureau of the II. International the **Menshevik Dan** led off with furious and malicious speech against the declaration of **Bramley** and the other members of the English delegation regarding **Georgia**, whose unanimous attitude in favour of the Soviet Union has been confirmed by the visitors in the plainest terms. The rest of the crowd followed in the same strain.

Tseretelli stated at an open meeting which these internationalists of capital held on Sunday the 4th of January in Brussels the following:

"The Georgian and Russian people have common interests. The fight for the independence of Georgia is at the same time a fight for the liberation of Russia from the yoke of bolshevism".

We can only thank Tseretelli for this pronouncement. It means nothing else than that the heads of the so-called socialist and Amsterdam Internationals wish to lead the peoples of the Soviet Union out of the bondage of the Workers and Peasants Republic into the liberty of a Morgan-Romanov-Tseretelli State.

The joint session of the International Bureau with the Executive of the Trade Unions International was given up to polemics against Purcell and his comrades who were not present. Vandervelde and Tom Shaw gave expression to the unanimous opinion of the international bureau, while Jouhaux expressed that of the trade union bureaucrats of the Amsterdam International. We quote a number of their utterances which require no comment:

Vandervelde:

"We wish to tell our friends of the Trade Union International how very much we are upset regarding the attitude of the English labour delegation, or at least some of its members, with reference to their report as to the Soviet government and the II. International..."

It is true, the delegation has not yet given its final report. But their declarations, especially that of Purcell and Bramley, were given the broadest publicity by the bolshevist press...

Among the conclusions and certain speeches of the delegation, we find a declaration which has an outspokenly political character, which necessarily must have a very bad, not to say fatal influence from the point of view of its political effects...

Two examples: The delegation booked to the credit of the Soviet government the fact that it has carried out or recognised freedom of culture. Very well, our friends will easily understand that when one speaks of such credit being due to the Soviet government, there will be no socialist who is not greatly astonished that the delegation has not said a word of regret as to the political intolerance of the Soviets!...

Georgia... (Vandervelde here read the declaration of the delegation regarding Georgia which was published at the time in the *Inprecorr*, and then continued): You will again understand, dear comrades of the trade union International, that when social democratic members of our Parties, and when the International itself hear a declaration by the comrades of the English trade unions, according to which the small countries have no right to independence and are inevitably absorbed by the great powers, that such comrades are shortsighted and are unable to see clearly...

Bromley stated at a meeting that the rule of the Bolsheviks in Georgia corresponded to the wishes of the Georgian people. We cannot allow such declaration by a member of the English Labour Party to pass without the protest of the Georgian socialists and of the International to which they belong...

As regards the united front... They (The bolsheviks) are again shouldering their rifles. They have despaired of destroying the Amsterdam International, but are attempting to penetrate into it... We know quite well that you are decided to defend yourselves. But the danger which threatens you is a danger for the whole of the Labour movement... And in the general interest we have submitted our cares to you..."

Jouhaux:

"The English Trade Union delegation was in no way a delegation of the Trade Union International... They only spoke in their own name... We will do everything in our power to bring about a clear situation and Vandervelde need have no worry so far as the International is concerned..."

As regards the manoeuvre of the united front, we have been in correspondence with the Russian trade unions for over a year. We absolutely refuse to enter into discussion with the Red Trade Union International (Jouhaux's ignorance is so vast that he said: with the "III" Red Trade Union International. Ed.)... With regard to ourselves, we will never agree to establish unity without examining the conditions under which it can be brought about... We are opposed to the manoeuvre of the united front. Our doors are wide open for discussions, but the bolsheviks must leave the Red Trade Union International outside..."

Tom Shaw (Secretary of the II. International):

"I declare the complete unanimity of all present with the statements of Vandervelde. The arguments which Jouhaux has given are perfectly convincing for us... We are quite flabbergasted by the declarations of the English trade union delegation..."

Oudgeest then spoke in a still sharper manner against the Soviet government, against the unity of the trade union movement, and against the report of the English trade union delegation.

This attitude of the two International Executives is in perfect harmony with the fact that they not only did not oppose the Dawes Plan, but that they lauded that notorious protocol of the recent glorious Geneva session of the League of Nations, which constitutes nothing else but a mask for the imperialist interests, before all of Great Britain, and in a solemn resolution have demanded its ratification by the governments. (It is characteristic that the English, who are beginning to become doubtful of the Geneva master-piece of their MacDonald, abstained from voting.)

Thus the Brussels session against the International proletariat concluded in a manner worthy of itself.

Mr. Pickwick on Communism.

A Brilliant Satire by Bernard Shaw on English Socialism.

By Karl Radek.

"Whenever I speak seriously, people think I am joking; whenever I am joking, people take me to be serious."
Bernard Shaw.

The Editor of the "*Izvestia*" after the overthrow of the Labour government, asked Bernard Shaw for a pronouncement regarding Anglo-Russian relations. The result was an answer which is valuable both from a political and a literary point of view. Bernard Shaw is a first rate satirist — and not only when he directs his shafts against the philistinism of the English bourgeoisie. He has proved himself to be a splendid satirist in his answer, wherein he gives a grandiose picture of the poverty of thought, of the philistinism, and of the national limitedness of the best people of the English bourgeoisie.

When publishing his satire in the "*Daily Herald*", Bernard Shaw sought to mask it thoroughly by expressing the fear that the "*Izvestia*" would not find it possible to publish his "article". The "*Daily Herald*", by publishing it in full, showed that the author fully understands how to "pull the leg" of his readers, including also that of the Editor of the "*Daily Herald*". But we are convinced that the first copy of this issue of the "*Daily Herald*" which fell into the hands of the more intelligent reader must at once have unmasked the real purport of the splendid satire, and compelled the public to have a good laugh at the expense of Mr. Hamilton. Fyfe.

Mr. Bernard Shaw on the Comedy of the Labour Government of MacDonald.

Bernard Shaw begins his satire with a consolation for Soviet Russia: "Have no fear of Baldwin and Chamberlain, these are only business chaps. MacDonald did not even dare to look over a hedge, the business man Baldwin can steal a horse. MacDonald did not resolve to grant a loan to Soviet Russia; if economic facts exert a pressure on Baldwin, he will be 'Marxist' enough to draw all the political conclusions."

Can one imagine a wittier satire upon the English Labour government than this which has emanated from Bernard Shaw? Just imagine: Bernard Shaw, a member of the Labour Party, a friend of MacDonald, declares to the English workers: the rapprochement to Soviet Russia is one of the central questions of the world and of the international proletariat. Fortunately, the economic interests of the English bourgeoisie demand a strengthening of the relations with the Soviet Union. MacDonald and the Labour government would have been able to take up the fight on this question if they had only had the courage to do so. But they feared the camarilla of the officials of the Foreign Office and of those professional poisoners of public opinion, the yellow press. Baldwin will perhaps venture to steal the horse, these cowards did not even dare to look over the hedge; how will they be able to lead you in the fight for emancipation from the yoke of capitalism? Because then one must not merely look over a hedge but over barricades.

On Marx, Wells and English Cranks.

Mr. Bernard Shaw tries to give us an idea of how English Socialists (pardon the word) view the world. He says to us: "You Russian bolsheviks have educated yourselves on Marx and Engels who lived in England in the pre-imperialist era. Poor old Marx, who had no money for postage stamps or for buying

newspapers, was compelled to learn in the British Museum the whole history of capitalism, of England and of English foreign policy. But Engels, who was compelled to engage in commerce, not only learned the biology, but also the anatomy of capitalist England, and helped his great friend in gaining a knowledge of all the details of the mechanism of that huge apparatus for the exploitation of the world — the British Empire.

What, however, did the so-called Socialists, the so-called Intellectuals understand of Marx and Engels? Hyndman tried to make out of the teachings of Marx a text book of dead recipes, a cookery book of revolution; but he was unable to connect himself with the living mass of workers.

And the MacDonalds and Snowdens? They felt the fresh breeze of the English workers' movement, but what could they bring to it beside bourgeois confusionism? Though having behind them the life work of Marx, they took their economics from Marshall and John Stuart Mill, the last-named of whom predicted that competition would destroy monopoly; they took their sociology from Spencer, the last offspring of Robinson Crusoe, and they derived their philosophy from the parsons. To-day, Mr. Wells is regarded by these people as a great thinker because he has scraped together a history of Mankind from the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* to Ramsay MacDonald. But what sort of science is given to mankind by this historian who has concocted a lovely mixture of red herrings, whipped cream and Scotch whiskey? The "small" **Communist Manifesto** gave in twenty pages the history of mankind, not only in the past, but in the future. It gave a slogan to mankind and illuminated like a search-light its whole future history.

And these "socialists" don't understand anything. They laugh at Marx as an obsolete Victorian crank and don't understand that they are only laughing at themselves. Mr. Wells wrote a book, "Mr. Britling Sees it Through", but he could have written a still better book: "Mr. Pickwick, Socialism and the War". And these cowards of thought and heroes of the phrase, laugh at the young English communists who want to seize hold of the only weapon which can slay the English bourgeoisie, and call them mere pupils of Moscow. Fools, who do not perceive that all their lives they have only been pupils in the Sunday schools of the English bourgeoisie."

All this is said by Bernard Shaw in an inimitable piece of Art. The author makes himself the hero of a petty bourgeois socialist Comedy of Errors. He speaks in the name of the English intellectual philistine in order to express his thought as strikingly as it can ever be formulated by MacDonald, Snowden, Webb or Wells, who are cowards even when they express their cowardish thoughts.

Facts which exist and Facts which should not exist.

For the English there exist two kinds of facts — those which exist in England and those regarding which it is known that they exist somewhere abroad. Before English facts, foolish as they may be, one must bow oneself, and other facts must be regarded as non-existent, and if they want to exist they must fall on their knees before the most honoured English facts, and then perhaps they will be gracefully accorded recognition. Bernard Shaw all his life has scourged and satirised this English slave-holders' attitude, which has been bred for centuries. In his letter to the "Izvestia" he wants to show that both the English so-called socialist intellectuals and the whole English bourgeoisie are infected with an imperialist haughtiness and dullness. How interestingly he unmasks this haughtiness!

Shaw, in the name of this haughtiness, says to the Soviet Union and the Comintern: "Messrs Russian Communists, drop the Comintern, as this is mere cinematographic nonsense. What kind of world revolution is possible in general? It is true you have made a revolution in a very large country, but this fact is of less importance than the annoyance which your revolution provokes among the English Lords. You say that the Comintern has nothing to do with the Soviet government? Well, but why do you have private connections with the Comintern, since world revolution is not a serious affair? Drop the tales of the old romantic pamphlets and sensational cinema dramas.

You speak of a revolution in China. You say that four hundred million people are entering on a broad historical path and are shaking the world. Yes, there has been some talk about this, even on the part of our scientific Bertrand Russell and of our sage, H. G. Wells, but the writer writes and the reader reads. Do we not hold 300 million Indians in subjection? When the time comes we shall also forbid a Chinese revolution. You saw

that the Egyptians wanted to demonstrate that there existed an Egyptian revolution. What became of it? For one English officer who was killed they had to pay £ 500,000, although this officer was not even a Lord. Moreover, they lost the Sudan. This is all they got from the revolution.

There exist only English facts, the fact of English power, all the rest is mere romancing and cinematographic nonsense. A realist politician takes no account of the latter but grovels before English imperialism."

The reader will think that here the satirist Bernard Shaw has exaggerated a bit. There is no exaggeration at all. The whole English so-called "socialist" intelligenzia is trained up in the idea of adoration of English imperialism. It honours it even when it believes itself to be fighting against it. I had to fight against the friend of Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. MacDonald, at the celebrated conference of the three Internationals. When he there put forward the programme of the emancipation of the Russian border states as a socialist programme, and I asked him why he had forgotten Egypt and India, he did not answer publicly, but during the dinner he admitted that it is very difficult for an Englishman to free himself from the idea that that which is lying in the English stomach is, of course, lying comfortably. Having come into office Mr. MacDonald began to increase the food for the English stomach by casting a bait into Southern Persia and preparing an intervention in China. No, Bernard Shaw did not by any means exaggerate. His satire hits off exactly the English socialist intelligenzia which is educating the English proletariat in the deepest veneration of English imperialism.

Communism for Millionaires.

Bernhard Shaw once wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Socialism for Millionaires". Now he repeats it in his most witty answer to the "Izvestia". Speaking in the name of the English socialist intelligenzia, he declares: either the Russian revolution will bow before English imperialism and renounce world revolution, or the Russian revolution will have as much influence on its "Western European friends" as Madagascar has on the Russian revolution.

The reader can see in what a splendid manner he imitates the whole humbug of the English bourgeoisie. What is the value of his satirical idea of communism for millionaires, the idea that one can create such a communism and such a Soviet Russia as would be agreeable to Lord Curzon?

Bernard Shaw could not say to his dull petty bourgeois friends: the Russian workers and peasants have made the first step towards the rule of Labour; English imperialism is exerting pressure upon them, but in the whole world the forces of the working class are growing slowly but steadily. The advanced workers will learn from the Russians the A. B. C. of their emancipation. First they will imitate the Russian and then they will learn to achieve their own revolution. English imperialism, the bulwark of world capital, is shaken to its foundations. Even the peoples of Asia and Africa are seized by the movement. The Russian communists have an eye to the realities of to-day, but they also have to have an eye to the realities of tomorrow. English imperialism wants to strangle them, we shall help them, and for this purpose one must fight against the betrayal, the dullness and the flunkeyism of the MacDonalds, Snowdens and Webbs Shaw could not speak in such language, his appeals would not have been printed by the "Daily Herald". He therefore has recourse to satire, and in his own person he presented the figure of the dull English intellectual socialist in order to say: just see how they look, these people who claim to be the leaders of the English proletariat.

* * *

P. S. The social democratic press of all countries, forgetting that here they are dealing with a genius at satire, have regarded Bernard Shaw's letter as a perfectly serious expression of the writers' actual opinions: a thing which I do not believe for one moment. But if this were the case, this would only increase the value of this work of Bernard Shaw. The best wits are the involuntary wits; the most ingenious satire is self-satire, when the author himself does not realise that he is writing a terrible satire. Such cases are rare in literature, but perhaps they constitute the most valuable description of the particular epoch. It would be a pity for Shaw, the politician, if the assumption of the social democratic press should prove to be correct, but as a satirical document Bernard Shaw's letter would only gain thereby.

THE WHITE TERROR

Fifteen Years Penal Servitude for Ruthenberg.

By John Pepper.

A cable message from New York informs us that the High Court of Justice of Michigan has sentenced Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, the leader of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, to 15 years penal servitude.

It was evident to all who know American conditions, that the electoral victory of Coolidge, the reactionary, "the strike breaker", created the preliminary political conditions for a general offensive of American capital against the working class.

The verdict of penal servitude against Ruthenberg, the communist in the United States who is best known and best hated by the capitalists, is merely the prelude to a general regime of penal servitude for the American working class.

History repeats itself. When in the Summer of 1922, no less than a million workers were on strike against capital, the capitalist government first persecuted the communists as the most active elements of the working class, and then turned with their troops and warrants against the masses. The prosecution of comrade Ruthenberg and 71 other American communists began in the Summer of 1922. The Communist Party of America, which at that time was still illegal, held an illegal party congress in Bridgeman, Michigan. The police discovered the congress through an informer. Some of the comrades were not able to escape, some of them were arrested immediately. The whole of the American Press at that time raged for weeks on end against the communists who "were conspiring in the woods against the American Constitution".

The public prosecutor brought against us, against all the 72 members of the party congress, a charge of "criminal syndicalism". Of course we had absolutely nothing to do with syndicalism, but the "Anti-Syndicalist Law" was the handiest weapon for the bourgeoisie to strike the whole leadership of the communist party at one blow.

Comrade Foster was the first accused. They were unable to sentence him. The jury could not arrive at the necessary unanimous verdict, as Foster, who naturally confessed to wholehearted communism, could prove that he was not a member of the illegal communist party. The Court, while gnashing its teeth, was obliged to acquit him.

The Ruthenberg process was enacted under quite different circumstances. Ruthenberg was one of the founders and leaders of the illegal communist party. The bourgeoisie had long hated him. Even during the war he had been the leader of the left opposition within the Socialist Party. He led the fight against Hillquit. He was the leader of the split in the Socialist Party which, in 1919, led to the formation of the Communist Party. Ruthenberg carried on a truly heroic fight before the Court. Both Foster and Ruthenberg adopted a fundamentally clear, uncompromising communist attitude, but the wrath of the Court and of the whole pack was concentrated especially on Ruthenberg, as he not only defended the communist idea in general but also, as the recognised leader of the Communist Party, defended the right of existence and of freedom of movement of his party.

Ruthenberg's fight before the Court gained for the communist organisation in America the recognition of its legality. The bourgeoisie has revenged itself with 15 years penal servitude. The punishment is unexpectedly severe. The only accusation against Ruthenberg is that he took part in the illegal party congress and that he pronounced himself theoretically in favour of "the forcible overthrow of the American Government". The reason for such a monstrous verdict however is, that the "100% American patriots" hate Ruthenberg particularly because, in spite of his being a "pure bred American", he nevertheless fights for the "foreign-born, anti-American" idea of communism.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Workers' Housing in Moscow.

Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Government, a great deal has been done during 1924 with regard to the building of houses, especially for the workers. One of the most important points is that the existing houses have been prevented from falling into disrepair. It is indeed marvellous what was achieved during the Summer of 1924 in the matter of restoring buildings placed under the care of the housing co-operatives, which were formed chiefly of members of the working class. During the past building season, altogether 43 million roubles were spent for this purpose in Moscow. This figure appears small when compared with the sums to which one is accustomed in the Western countries, but it is very large in view of our situation and of the ruin resulting from the imperialistic and the subsequent civil war. The housing co-operatives procure the means for the reconstruction of dilapidated houses and the preservation of existing buildings, chiefly from the Moscow Municipal Bank, which grants considerable credits for such purposes.

After having arrested the delapidation, Red Moscow began to construct new houses.

In the Summer of 1924 the construction of workers' dwellings was started. The mass of workers began to build new houses with an elementary zeal.

The incentive for the development of this movement was given chiefly by the decree of the central executive and the Council of the People's Commissioners of May 16th. By this decree the foundation for the formation of a fund for workers' housing was laid, and at the same time a series of important privileges granted to the workers' building co-operative, which greatly helped the position of the latter, which is a new institution in our country.

The first part of this decree entitles the local Soviets to tax any dwelling not occupied by members of the working class, with a housing tax of 10 roubles per sq. meter of ground, in addition to the usual taxes. The decree, moreover, provides for an increase of income tax for all whose incomes exceed 1200 roubles per half year. In this way the class principles which the workers' and peasant government follows in the construction of workers' houses, is preserved; the second part of the decree provides, as already mentioned, special advantages in order to make the difficult tasks of the workers' building co-operative easier. Thus, for instance, plots of building ground and of forest land are put at its disposal for building purposes on moderate terms; building material is transported by the railways at specially favourable rates, and all taxes are remitted. These privileges reduce the cost of building by about 20%.

Our growing industry, which renders the erection of new dwellings for the working class so urgent, is also participating in the housing scheme. Our industry is obliged to deduct 10—20% of its profits in favour of the development of the workers' building co-operative. These measures of the Soviet Government meet with the warm approval of the mass of workers. On Dec. 1st. there were already, in Moscow and the surrounding district, 275 workers' building co-operatives with 60,000 members. Although the decree regarding the support of the workers' housing was only issued on May 16th, and most of the organised co-operatives only developed their activities towards the end of the building season, we can nevertheless report important results.

The workers' building co-operatives receive the means for their activities from the Moscow Municipal Bank, in the form of long credits for 15 years. Those who take advantage of the credit, need not pay back anything to the bank in the first year. The repayments only begin in the second year. The interest for the building loan for the first three years is 1%; for the next three years 2%; from the 7th—10th 3%; and from the 11th—15th 4%. At present a large communal bank, which includes the whole Soviet Union, is being organised, the original stock of which amounts to 40 million roubles. This bank is to grant the workers' housing scheme credits for 40 years.

The workers' housing scheme is occupying itself mainly with the building of garden cities. Plots of land are allotted for this purpose near the works, preferably where there is forest. The local government provides the workers' settlements with all necessary installations. How much attention is paid to this, is shown by the fact that water supply and drainage are not

found in all parts of the centre of Moscow, whereas both are being laid year by year in the environs, at a distance of some versts from the centre. The Moscow Soviet regulates the building of new houses. During the building season of 1924, the workers' building co-operatives have mainly built small houses, containing four flats each. It must be emphasised that the plans of these houses are very carefully thought out, and that everything is considered with a view to good lighting. In the settlements, space is also provided for the construction of public buildings, which are to be begun quite shortly. Simultaneously with the activities of the workers' building co-operatives, the joint-stock company „Moscow Workers' Housing“ is developing its work. There are already many workers amongst the shareholders of this company, but it is building chiefly with the help of State capital. In the season of 1924 this company built, in Moscow and district, 130 workers' houses, each to house 4 families. At the present time it is preparing for its building programme for 1925. Its improved financial situation allows of its building 7 houses with 4-5 stories, also 200 brick houses of lighter construction, and 250 houses with a combined — thermolite system, carcass system, etc.

In addition, the construction of 200 houses in the district is planned. The houses in Moscow will be as well fitted up as circumstances permit — electricity, gas, water-supply and drainage must unconditionally be installed in the houses built by the Moscow Soviet.

The programme for 1925 clearly proves that the working class is being rapidly provided with dwellings. The number of workers' building co-operatives which have been organised within 2-3 months, shows that the working class energetically and actively supports its Workers' Government, and that the housing problem under which Red Moscow is at present suffering, will soon be solved.

FOR LENINISM

Explanatory Remarks Re Syllabus of Elementary Party Courses.

By Bela Kun.

The Bolshevisation of Communist Parties which is now proceeding is based on the one hand on an ideological welding together, and on the other hand on a reorganisation and consolidation of the organisational foundations of Communist Parties.

For this purpose, all our Parties should immediately proceed with the systematic propaganda of Leninism on a very large scale. This propaganda must permeate the entire membership of the Party. Our task must be to teach every Party member the ABC of Leninism. Such a task presents great difficulties, and cannot be solved all at once. But it is high time to approach the solution of this question with all seriousness and determination, intensifying and extending this work step by step.

But what does studying the ABC of Leninism mean? Leninism can on no account be opposed to Marxism. Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and of the development of the socialist revolution. Leninism, based on Marxism, explains this new epoch of the world's history and lays down the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to study Leninism means, on the one hand to investigate the fundamental character and the legitimacy of the new historical epoch, and on the other hand, to assimilate and understand the strategy, tactics and organisation of the proletarian revolution.

The programme drawn up for the propaganda of Leninism among the rank and file of the Party begins with an analysis of the economic essence of the new phase of capitalism. The new phase is not treated as a chance episode, but as a historically necessary phase of the development of capitalism. Such an analysis of imperialist capitalism must show to the Party members that the economic substance of imperialism, by intensifying enormously all the differences within the capitalist system, brings into being the driving forces necessary for the transition from capitalism to socialism. But imperialism has not only brought into being these "driving forces", for the

processes of the socialisation of production and labour connected with monopolist capitalism have also created the material premises for the introduction of socialism.

Such a presentation of the question of imperialism will be able to explain to our Party members the character of our epoch and to show that with the development of monopolist capitalism the world has entered upon the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and of the development of the socialist revolution.

It must be the task of the instructor to show how the erroneous historical perspective of social democracy is an outcome of its failure to understand that imperialism is a necessary phase of capitalism, and not a chance phenomenon, and also how the social democrats through their failure to understand the fundamental contradictions of the imperialist epoch, have become the lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The proposed syllabus presents an analysis of the fundamental differences in the imperialist epoch. The basic contradiction, which by grouping around itself all the other differences will be the decisive factor in the transition from capitalism to socialism, is the growth of differences between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But during the imperialist epoch we observe "an economic shifting" of the upper strata of the working class, the so-called workers' aristocracy, towards the bourgeoisie. This fact, which finds its political expression, leads to the final split between revisionist and revolutionary socialism.

For a correct appreciation of the imperialist nature of the social democratic parties it is absolutely necessary to understand these contradictions which are being intensified and extended by the imperialist epoch. Stress must be laid on this in the classes, in order to show why it was impossible simply to reorganise the Second International, but was absolutely essential to advocate the organisation of the Third International to declare a relentless war on opportunism. It is essential to show that the historic meaning of the struggle between the Second and Third Internationals is a class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The syllabus also deals with differences between the colonies and the metropolis. It is of the greatest importance to explain as clearly as possible the rôle which the colonial-liberation movement has to play in the proletarian revolution. It is also equally important to explain the significance and meaning of agrarian-peasant and national movements. A correct appreciation of the development of the proletarian revolution demands a correct appreciation of the differences between the imperialist States, between their various groupings, as well as a correct appreciation of the specific newly arisen difference between imperialism and the first proletarian State — the USSR.

The subject "Theory of Revolution" should include a summary of the foregoing subjects. It must also deal with the question of the rôle of the Party. It is essential to show how only a monolithic, centralised and active Communist Party is capable of taking the lead in an elemental mass movement and to connect the struggle of the proletariat with the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples, oppressed nationalities and agrarian-peasant movements.

Questions concerning proletarian dictatorship, strategy, tactics and organisation of the proletarian revolution must be dealt with from the viewpoint of the everyday events of the proletarian revolution in our historical epoch.

Instruction should be given in the form of questions and answers. The instructor must select concrete material comprehensible to the workers, and basing himself on this material must endeavour to make rank and file Party members understand these most important questions of the present historical epoch.

The chief aim of this propaganda of Leninism must be, to get rid of all social democratic ideological relics, which still prevail in some of our Communist Parties. This syllabus is of course subject to alterations by the various Parties. For instance, parties in whose countries the agrarian question is of paramount importance can group all other subjects around this question. Parties whose main interest lies in the colonial question, can make the latter the centre of their studies, etc. The proposed syllabus includes chiefly all the questions which every Party member must study in order to be able to understand the fundamental trend of the development of the present historical epoch, and in order to overcome social democratic ideas which are such an impediment to truly revolutionary communist activity.

The Propaganda Sub-Department of the Agitprop of the E. C. C. I. intends to issue shortly in connection with this syllabus a manual which will include surveys of various subjects and information specially selected for these subjects.

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SYLLABUS FOR ELEMENTARY PARTY COURSES.

Preliminary remarks.

The main task before the elementary Party courses is to give members of the nuclei a clear picture of the present historical epoch and to prepare them for action. Therefore the main subjects to be dealt with at these courses must be, in addition to the introductory subject on capitalism, **The Theory of Imperialism**, explaining the structure of the last stage of capitalism, as well as strategical and tactical questions bearing on direct action.

SUBJECTS:

I. Capitalism.

1. Capitalist Society.

a) The bourgeoisie and the proletariat during the development of capitalism.

b) The urban petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry within the capitalist order.

2. Capitalist production.

a) Labour power as commodity.

b) Production of surplus value.

c) Anarchy of capitalist production.

3. Some fundamental conception of capitalist economy.

a) Commodities, value and price.

b) Wages.

c) Distribution of surplus value.

II. Theory of Imperialism.

1. Imperialism as the last stage of capitalism.

a) The reign of finance capital; concentration and monopoly.

b) Investment of capital in colonial countries and dependencies.

c) Struggle for the redistribution of world markets.

d) International monopolist capitalist combines.

e) Parasitical imperialism.

2. Unequal development of capitalism as the fundamental law of the imperialist epoch.

3. Impossibility of ultra-imperialism on such a basis.

4. This same inequality excludes the possibility of a harmonically proportionate transition of all countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat and creates conditions for a socialist revolution in some countries (Russia).

Literature.

Lenin: "Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism." — "Resumé of the Discussions on National Self-Determination." — "The Place of the Third International in History."

III. Motive force of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

a) The imperialist epoch does not only create material-industrial premises for socialism (socialisation of Labour, monopoly), but contributes also to the enormous growth of social and national differences which constitute the driving power of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

b) Growth of class differences between capitalists and workers.

1. It is absolutely necessary to analyse the special conditions and the internal differences within the working class which in our epoch accompany the growth of fundamental

Note: The first subject will necessitate the reading and analysis of parts of the "Communist Manifesto" bearing on it, of "Wage Labour and Capital", "Value, Price and Profit". In connection with this it is of the utmost importance to adapt oneself to the workers' viewpoint and to analyse first of all questions of particular interest to them, after which one can gradually proceed to give a general picture of capitalism.

differences between the capitalists and the workers. Imperialism and the socialist split: the privileged section of the proletariat of imperialist countries. "The Bourgeois Labour Party" (Engels).

2. Transformation of reformism and opportunism into social chauvinism and pacifism.

c) The nature of social democratic parties and their rôle as the Left bourgeois flank: "Bearers of Bourgeois Influences over the Working Class" (Lenin).

Literature.

Lenin: "The Collapse of the Second International." — "Imperialism and the Socialist Split."

Zinoviev: "The War and the Socialist Crisis."

Stalin: "Lenin and Leninism."

IV. The colonial-liberation movement.

a) Industrialisation of the East. Growth of differences between the progressive Eastern capitalism and the decaying imperialist capitalism of the West.

b) This must be made the occasion for analysing the relations between the working class and the peasantry.

Literature.

Lenin's speech at the Second Congress on the tasks of the Communist International.

Lenin's theses at the Second Congress on the colonial and national questions.

Stalin: "Lenin and Leninism."

V. International contradictions of Capitalism.

a) The basis of these differences. Inequality of the development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism.

b) The Anglo-French, Japanese-American, and Anglo-American antagonisms etc. Inevitability of new wars.

c) A breach in the monopoly of capitalist States. Differences between imperialism and Soviet Russia.

d) Specific rôle of the First Proletarian State in the process of development of imperialist contradictions.

Literature.

Radek: "Liquidation of the Versailles Treaty."

Stalin: "Lenin and Leninism."

Lenin's speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern.

Lenin's theses on the Brest-Litovsk Peace.

Varga: "The Decline of Capitalism."

VI. Theory of Revolution.

a) This subject must be in the form of a resumé of the foregoing subjects and should summarise them: Imperialism completes the chain of world capitalist economy. National and colonial questions should be connected with the proletarian revolution.

b) Analysis of objective and subjective premises of socialist revolution. Question of the starting point of world proletarian revolution.

c) Criticism of the difference between socialist and bourgeois revolution propounded by the opportunists. There is no "Chinese wall" between the bourgeois and the proletarian revolution.

d) Analysis of the existing difference between the proletarian and bourgeois revolution including the difference between capitalist development under feudalism on the one hand and the development of socialism under capitalism on the other hand.

e) The main question in revolution is the question of power. The illusions of the petty bourgeoisie during the revolutionary epoch. Sign of true revolution — transference of power from the hands of one class to the hands of another class.

f) Role of militarism and bonapartism in revolution (the Korniov episode in Russia, the Zankow episode in Bulgaria, the Seeckt episode in Germany).

g) Correlation between conscious and elemental action in revolution. The rôle of the Party in revolution. Lenin's views and Rosa Luxemburg's views on the correlation between conscious and elemental action in the process of revolution.

Literature.

In addition to publications already mentioned:

Lenin's speech at the VII Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

Bukharin: "Bourgeois and Proletarian Revolution."

Lenin: "What is to be Done?" — "Two Tactics."

R. Luxemburg: "General Strike and the German Social Democracy."

VII. Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

- a) Imperialist degeneration of democracy.
- b) The necessity of smashing the old State machinery.
- c) Proletarian and bourgeois democracy.
- d) The Soviet Power as a form of proletarian dictatorship.
- e) Exposé of the experiences of the Russian Revolution, especially of the correlation between military communism and NEP.

Literature.

Lenin: "State and Revolution." — "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky."

Trotsky: "Terrorism and Communism."

Lenin's theses on proletarian and bourgeois democracy at the First Congress of the Comintern.

Trotsky: Report at the IV. Congress.

VIII. Strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution.

- a) The rôle of armed rising in the epoch of imperialism.
- b) Struggle against Right and Centrist tendencies.
- c) Struggle against the infantile sickness of Leftism and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies.
- d) Struggle against sectarianism and separation from the masses.
- e) The essence of united front tactics as a means to capture the masses and to prepare for the decisive struggle.
- f) Rôle and place of the slogan "Workers' and Peasants' Government".
- g) Party tactics during the period of armed rising.

Literature.

Lenin: "Infantile Sickness of Leftism." — "Letters on Tactics." — "Letter to a Comrade." — "Marxism and Armed Rising." — "Elections to the Constituent Assembly and Dictatorship of Proletariat."

Stalin: "Lenin and Leninism."

(For the above see "The proletarian revolution in Russia", New-York, Communist Press — 1918.)

IX. Organisation of the Communist International and of the various national parties.

- a) The type of organisation is dictated by the conditions prevailing during the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and of the development of the socialist revolution.
- b) In connection with this subject the nature of the past epoch and the historical rôle of the Second International should be analysed.
- c) The organisational principles of the Second International should be compared with those of the Third International.

Literature.

The 21 conditions adopted at the Second Congress.

Resolution of the Second Congress on the rôle of the Communist Party.

Zinoviev's speech at the Second Congress on the rôle of the Party.

Lenin: "What is to be Done?" and the above-mentioned literature by Lenin.

Statutes of the Comintern.

Anyone wanting to find fault with this syllabus could say that it ignores the specific requirements and tasks of each individual country, and places in the forefront only subjects

dealing with general questions of our historical epoch and of the strategy of proletarian revolution. It could also be said that this syllabus requires eight courses instead of six. But both these accusations are unfounded. Firstly, because the specific tasks of every separate Party and the class and economic structure of every separate country could be included and dealt with in connection with the general subjects included in the syllabus. For instance, the economic and class structure of a country could be analysed in connection with Section II. Such a plan would, of course, require further elaboration, and the drawing up of surveys of the various subjects. In the same manner, if it were utterly impossible to increase the number of lectures, several analogous subjects could be easily combined. This syllabus in its general form includes all those important questions which must be studied if the Party education work of the factory and workshop nuclei is to fulfil its main task: to educate the members of the Party, and make them workers capable of understanding the various phases of the development of the present imperialist epoch and fit for revolutionary action.

BOOK REVIEWS

"The Politics of Oil".

By W. N. C.

Within recent years "Oil" has come to occupy a position of front rank importance in international politics. The scramble for oil-fields is perceived to be one of the underlying causes of the intensified imperialist rivalries and groupings which have been one of the marked features of the post-war period, while it has been possible to detect the "smell of oil" in nearly every first class political scandal within recent years, whether it be the Teapot Dome or the Matteotti murder.

In spite of this, few possess more than the vaguest knowledge of the various financial groups engaged in exploiting the world's oil supplies and the extent and scope of their operations. This excellent little book*) is therefore to be welcomed as providing that knowledge which has hitherto been beyond the reach of the average worker. The author gives within the compass of less than one hundred pages an interesting account of the development of the oil industry, the growth of the trusts, their spheres of operation, the capital sums involved etc. One gains a knowledge of what is really represented by such familiar names as the "Standard Oil Group", "Royal Dutch Shell", "Anglo Persian Oil Co." and others which figure in the financial columns of the papers.

The author does not, like the Fat Boy in "Pickwick", seek to make our flesh creep, but gives a sober record of the growth of the oil combines and their activities in recent years. Nevertheless, as one turns the pages one derives the impression of powerful groups of oligarchs, wielding enormous power and influence, dictating the foreign policies of governments, financing "revolutions" in Mexico and bribing labour leaders in the inexorable pursuit of their ends.

The book should find many readers among the workers on both sides of the Atlantic; American and English capital being the chief competitors in that struggle for the control of the world's oil supplies which can lead to the outbreak of fresh imperialist wars. In fact, to get an insight into the politics of oil, is to get an insight into the politics of imperialism in general. As the author states in his concluding chapter, the oil industry does not stand alone. "It is typical of the whole of the present stage of capitalist development, the stage that is marked by the growth of trusts, ... that portioning out of the world into colonial areas in which the trusts secure new markets, new sources of raw material and new sources of cheap labour."

*) "The Politics of Oil, an Example of Imperialist Monopoly", by R. Page Arnot, The Labour Publishing Co. Ltd. London. Cloth, 2s. 6d., paper, 1s.