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The Death of Sun Yat Sen.

By G. Zinoviev.

The death of the leader of the Chinese revolution compels every class-conscious proletarian once again to ponder over the fate of the great national revolutionary movements which are growing and spreading before our eyes.

"Four hundred million backward Asiatics have attained freedom and awakened to political life. A fourth of the population of the globe has, so to speak, awakened from its torpor and is going forward to the light, to movement and to struggle." So wrote Lenin in November 1912. Nevertheless, these four hundred million Asiatics have had, and still have, to do not a little fighting for their freedom and independence which is threatened in an increasingly brutal manner by western imperialism.

Sun Yat Sen will go down to history as the greatest figure of a leader of the national revolutionary movements of the East in the first quarter of the twentieth century. He was neither a communist nor a Marxist. His programme — "nationalism, democracy, socialism" — bore all the signs of the backwardness of the social conditions of China. He tentatively sought his way, but he hated with a righteous hate the imperialists who had subjugated his native country. He devoted his life fully and entirely to his people, and what is most important, in the last years of his life he perceived more and more clearly that the suppressed peoples can only emancipate themselves and create the pre-conditions for a new life in close alliance with the world proletariat.

Sun Yat Sen was not a Ghandi, the leader of the moderate wing of the nationalists of India. Ghandi, during the last few years, has developed more and more along a descending line. To the brutalities of the English imperialists, Ghandi replied with — a thirty days fast. The incapacity of those groups which are led by Ghandi will unavoidably lead to their coming to an understanding with the imperialist suppressors, which is tantamount to a surrender.

Not so Sun Yat Sen. During the last years of his life in particular he developed along an ascending line. A few months ago the Kuomintang Party, which was led by Sun Yat Sen, found itself at the cross roads, in connection with the new attack against Southern China. Sun Yat Sen showed sufficient strength to break decisively and ruthlessly with the counter-revolutionary fascist groups (the so-called tigers). He succeeded in encouraging his followers to take up a decisive defensive struggle against the hirelings of imperialism and against the hesitating elements in their own ranks. He thereby saved the honour of the Kuomintang Party and showed to what heights the national revolutionary movement in China had already risen.

"In Asia a powerful democratic movement is growing and spreading. There the bourgeoisie still sides with the people against reaction. Hundreds of millions of men are awakening to life, to light, and to freedom. What joy this world movement awakes in the hearts of all class-conscious workers... And "advanced" Europe? It is plundering China and helping the enemies of democracy, the enemies of freedom in China."

So wrote Lenin in an article in May 1913, entitled: "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia".

This title of the article by comrade Lenin is highly characteristic. In advanced Europe there appears as the advanced class only the proletariat, said comrade Lenin, but the bourgeoisie is prepared for all cruelties, crimes and bestialities in order to maintain declining capitalist slavery.

A few weeks ago there died Friedrich Ebert, the President of the German Republic, a former worker and a leader of German social democracy. Involuntarily, one is led to draw a comparison between Sun Yat Sen and Ebert. Ebert was characteristic of that upper section of the European working class which has

come completely under the influence of the bourgeoisie. To compare the names of Sun Yat Sen and Ebert is to confirm the words of comrade Lenin regarding the backwardness of Europe and the advanced state of Asia at the present time. In our time, throughout the whole of Europe, there is not only the bourgeoisie which is the most reactionary force, but also the upper section of the aristocracy of labour which runs in harness with the bourgeoisie. Ebert came from the party which was at one time the most advanced party of the advanced working class of Europe. He claimed to be a social democrat and even a Marxist. He was a disciple of and afterwards succeeded August Bebel, the really great tribune of the German working class. This did not prevent him from becoming a counter-revolutionary and the mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

At the same time the social development in such a backward country as China, where the working class is only just arising and where Marxism has yet to make its first conquests, resulted in Sun Yat Sen gradually developing from pacifism and nationalism to the rôle of the real leader of the national revolutionary movement, which allied itself with the international proletarian movement which is marching under the banner of the Communist International.

The Russian Revolution can be proud of the great influence it has had upon the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East. "World capitalism and the Russian movement of 1905 have finally awakened Asia. Hundreds of millions of the intimidated peoples living under medieval conditions, are awakening to new life... The awakening of Asia and the commencement of the struggle for power characterises the period of world history opening at the commencement of the twentieth century." These are the words of comrade Lenin. If our revolution of 1905, which did not even immediately vanquish Tsarism and not by any means the bourgeoisie, exercised such a powerful influence upon the awakening of the East, what a far greater influence the great victorious October Revolution of 1917 must have exercised! And this it did in fact! If our Revolution had succeeded in doing nothing else than fulfilling the task of awakening hundreds of millions of peoples in the East, it would thereby alone have fulfilled a world-historical mission.

The views of Bolshevism regarding the great significance of the national revolutionary movement of the suppressed peoples as one of the most important constituent parts of the proletarian world revolution, are one of the most important contributions of Leninism to the total teachings of Marx. The life and activity of such people as Sun Yat Sen are a brilliant illustration of the correctness of the views of Leninism on this question.

The advanced workers of the whole world, who are organised under the banner of the Communist International, are perfectly clear as to what great importance such men as Sun Yat Sen are for the world revolution and what a great future awaits the movement which has been created by Sun Yat Sen.

The Communist International does not hide from itself or from others the weak sides, the vagueness of the programme, the deviations, the tendency to compromise which exist in the camp of even the most revolutionary representatives of the national liberation movements of the East. But at the same time it is clear to the Communist International that the national liberation movement of the East is a desirable and powerful ally of the advance-guard of the world proletariat.

The advanced workers of all countries who belong to the Communist International will revere the memory of Sun Yat Sen as one of the greatest representatives of that movement of the suppressed nationalities which is marching side by side with the advanced sections of the world proletariat to the fight against imperialism. "The place of the bourgeoisie, which is decomposing while it still lives, will be taken by the proletariat of the European countries and by the young democracy of the Asiatic countries which is filled with belief in its own powers and trust in the masses." These words which Lenin wrote a year before the outbreak of the imperialist world war are of special import at the present time, when the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is now in its eighth year and when the great national liberation movement throughout the whole East is ripening so rapidly. The difference between Chamberlain and Ebert is considerably less than the difference between Ebert and Sun Yat Sen. The Eberts are the allies of the world bourgeoisie, the Sun Yat SENS the allies of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that the final victory belongs to the world proletariat and to the armies of the national revolutionary movements of the East which are marching forwards to unite with it. This victory is no longer distant.

The Communist International on the Death of Sun Yat Sen.

To the Workers of all Countries!

The many millions comprising the working masses of China have suffered an irreparable loss. The great Leader who devoted his whole life to the cause of the emancipation of the Chinese people from the heavy yoke of imperialism is dead. Sun Yat Sen, who fought unweariedly against the enslavement of the working masses of China, is no more.

The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world sinks its flags before the open grave of the fighter for the independence of his people, whose fate is closely bound up with the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat.

Although not a communist, Sun Yat Sen realised the common interests of the suppressed working masses of China and of the working class of the world, and had the profoundest sympathy with the revolutionary ideas of emancipation which inspired the advance-guard of the world proletariat.

Sun Yat Sen was not only a friend of the Chinese people: he remained right up to the end of his life a friend of the workers of the West and of the toiling masses of the East. This love for suppressed humanity was confirmed by Sun Yat Sen in the farewell messages he sent immediately before his death, in which he charged the Kuomintang Party to carry on the fight against imperialism and warned it against making any compromise with the imperialist oppressors.

Comrades, working men and women! In view of the death of the courageous fighter for the freedom of the suppressed, close your ranks and render support to the national liberation movement of the workers of China. Do not permit your bourgeoisie to rend and tear the Chinese people. Be united in the defence of the 400 million toiling people of China who are suffering under the foreign yoke!

Long live the relentless fight of the working masses against world imperialism!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers and peasants of the West and of the East!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. to the People of China.

Comrades, Workers, Peasants and Toilers of China!

On the day of your national mourning the Communist International bemoans with you the death of the leader of the revolutionary people's party of China, Sun Yat Sen. The name of Sun Yat Sen, who during his whole life fought for the emancipation of the masses of the people of China from world imperialism, is dear to the whole of the world proletariat and to all the suppressed peoples of the East who are conducting the fight against world imperialism.

Comrades! The way followed by Sun Yat Sen was the way of revolutionary struggle against those who suppressed the Chinese people; this was the way of struggle, first against the monarchy of the Manchu dynasty, then against the counter-revolutionary Chinese militarists who endeavoured to restore the monarchy (Yuan Shia Kai), and finally, against the world imperialists who dismembered your country after the revolution of 1911.

Sun Yat Sen embodied the whole East which has taken the road of struggle against the colonial slavery of the imperialist countries of Europe and America. An ardent fighter who warmly loved the working people of his country and hated every form of oppression, Sun Yat Sen, many years ago when he was still a youth, joined the organisation of the best sons of the Chinese people for the fight against the monarchist Manchu dynasty, which served as the tool of imperialist robbery.

The bloody settlement by the imperialists of the whole world with the Chinese people a quarter of a century ago, on the occasion of the Boxer rising, made Sun Yat Sen an irreconcilable enemy of imperialism for the rest of his life.

The revolution of the year 1911, which overthrew the power of the Chinese monarchy, is indissolubly bound up with the name of Sun Yat Sen, who, while still in exile, gathered into the ranks of his revolutionary organisation "Ton Mun Fui" all the best

revolutionary elements devoted to the fight against the oppressors of the Chinese people.

In spite of the heroic struggle of the Chinese revolutionaries, who were organised by Sun Yat Sen, the revolution of 1911 was not brought to such an end as would have been in accordance with the interests of the Chinese people; it was taken advantage of by the capitalist powers who divided up China into spheres of influence; the reason for this was that in China at that time there existed no real proletariat, while the peasantry were not drawn into the struggle against the monarchy by the revolutionary groups of Sun Yat Sen. But Sun Yat Sen did not give up the struggle. He collected the revolutionary groups afresh and **organised the revolutionary People's party, the Kuomintang**, which made it its task to defend the Republic as the sole achievement of the revolution.

The Southern Province of China, Kwantung, where Sun Yat Sen was born, was during the whole period following the revolutionary basis, the centre of the revolutionary movement of the whole of China. It was therefore the object of attack of the British, American and other imperialisms.

Especially great was the service which Sun Yat Sen rendered the Chinese people in the last years of his life. In spite of his advanced age Sun Yat Sen learned in his later years through the experiences of the great Russian Revolution to grasp the importance of a political party; he learned the methods of attracting the broad masses of the people to the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the importance of Sun Yat Sen as the champion, as the organiser and as the leader of the revolutionary groups of China, his importance as a constant leader of the struggle against the reactionary forces in the country, is really great for the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and of the peoples of the East.

Without being a communist Sun Yat Sen clearly understood the necessity of the common struggle of the colonial peoples along with the world proletariat.

Comrades, workers and peasants of China!

On the sad day of the death of your leader Sun Yat Sen, the Communist International appeals to you to close more firmly your ranks in the revolutionary people's party, the Kuomintang, and the Communist Party of China and to continue the fight which was taken up decades ago by the various leaders of the Kuomintang party.

The Communist International appeals to you to fight just as steadfastly as your leaders against those who are endeavouring to distort the attitude of Sun Yat Sen and his party and to compromise with the imperialists.

The Communist International, which is following with unrelaxed attention the struggle of the Chinese people against world imperialism, which appeals to the working class of the whole world to support the working masses of China, is firmly convinced that the revolutionary Kuomintang Party, along with the Communist Party of China, will, after the death of Sun Yat Sen, close its ranks more firmly and, supported by the masses of the people, will continue to follow the glorious way of struggle against imperialism which the departed leader Sun Yat Sen followed with such resolution.

Long live the Revolutionary Struggle of the Chinese People!

Long live the Emancipation of China!

Long live the Socialist Revolution, the Liberator of the working masses from the Slavery of Imperialism!

The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.

POLITICS

The Murder of Proletarians in Halle.

A Prelude to the Presidential Elections in Germany.

By Peter Maslovsky.

The C. P. of Germany arranged its first meeting in the presidential election campaign for Friday 15th of March in the "red heart of Germany", in Halle. The meeting was held in the "Volkspark", this historical place where in 1921 the majority of the Independent Socialist Party, after hearing the speech of comrade Zinoviev, decided for Moscow. Huge masses such as had never been seen before in the Volkspark attended the meeting: workers, clerks, officials, even members of the bourgeoisie, who were obviously present in order to enjoy the sensation of hearing the "Red President" speak. In addition to this there was an

enormous overflow meeting in the garden of the Volkspark. At least 10,000 people were present.

The social democratic police president Runge had, right from the commencement, handed over the leadership of the police action against the C. P. of Germany, which had obviously been planned beforehand, to the notorious police blood-hound Lieutenant Pietzker. Although foreigners have spoken at all sorts of demonstrations on the part of the black-red-gold parties, the police, as they could not very well forbid the election meeting, used the announcement of a French and an English speaker as a pretext in order, in addition to placing a strong guard at the entrances of the meeting, to send a heavily armed force into the meeting hall itself. The two foreign comrades, who spoke in the name of the French and English proletariat respectively, were allowed to express sympathy with the red candidate for the Presidential Election, Thälmann, in their own language without interference.

It was only when the chairman of the meeting announced comrade Thälmann, — who was greeted with loud cries of "Long live our red President" — as the speaker, and even before the speeches of our two foreign comrades had been translated, that Lieutenant Pietzker suddenly sprang on to the table and forbade the meeting, but which in the noise of the meeting was not understood, while at the same time he flourished a revolver in the air like one possessed. The chairman immediately endeavoured to calm the meeting. He offered to close the meeting in perfect order if the chief of the police would withdraw his men, who were already standing with drawn truncheons, revolvers and machine-pistols ready to attack. The chief of the police, who according to sworn witnesses already before the commencement of the meeting spoke of "breaking up the meeting" and also said that "something will happen to-day", threatened to shoot the chairman straight away! And as the crowd which was tremendously excited naturally broke out into cries of protest, he gave the order to fire.

About fifty to sixty shots from machine-pistols and revolvers were fired into the dense crowd of people who were trying to escape. Immediately about sixty people were wallowing in their blood. A fearful panic arose. The masses made for the exits which were two narrow for such a crowd. The rail of a staircase proved too weak to stand the pressure of such a weight of fleeing humanity. Although made of iron it bent like lead and broke. Men and women, one after another came crashing down below.

Ten deaths are to be recorded up to the present, among them being two women. A bourgeois is among the dead, while some members of the bourgeois parties are among the wounded, a circumstance which has aroused enormous excitement even among the most reactionary sections of the population.

Twenty five severely wounded had to be taken to the hospital. The great number of the slightly wounded cannot yet be ascertained.

After the shooting the police behaved like beasts. People who came to inquire after their wounded relatives were driven from the hall with truncheons. Members of the Workers First Aid Corps were also beaten. Only two policemen broke into tears when proletarian women called after them "murderers". They asserted that they had not taken part in the shooting. For this one of them has already been discharged by the social democratic police president Runge.

* * *

The indignation in Halle and throughout all Germany is enormous. Several factories have already entered into a protest strike. On Sunday, twenty four hours after the outrage, demonstrations were arranged by the C. P. of Germany in all parts of the country. In Halle this protest demonstration was more strongly attended than the Thälmann meeting at which the massacre took place. At least 12,000 people attended. Three meetings were overcrowded. At the conclusion of the meetings the masses demonstrated before the police presidium crying: "Down with the murderers!" In view of the enormous masses, the tremendous excitement and the revolutionary mood the police did not venture to disturb these meetings.

Meanwhile a factory council meeting in Halle has arrived at a decision with regard to the murder. In a resolution unanimously adopted by the communists, some social democratic and non-party factory councils, there is demanded the removal of the Police President Runge*), the arrest and punishment of the murderer Pietzker, the maintenance of the dependents of the victims, the burial of the victims from public funds, ample com-

*) In the meantime Runge has been dismissed.

compensation for the wounded and the complete withdrawal of the police from all workers' meetings. A committee consisting of five members of factory councils of the five greatest factories in Halle, among them a social democratic worker, has constituted itself as a workers' committee of investigation. It has been decided to carry out a general strike and a mass demonstration by the workers of the Halle district on the day of the funeral of the victims.

* * *

Even in the bloody post-revolutionary history of Germany the Halle massacre is unique as regards its brutality, baseness and cynical blood-lust. That workers are shot down at demonstrations or in open struggles, that has up to now been part of the order of the day. But that unarmed working men and women who attend a perfectly legal election meeting, should be shot down like dogs in a closed meeting room, that exceeds even the Noske terror.

But the brutality of the massacre is surpassed by the profound baseness with which the bourgeois and before all the social democratic press are seeking to deceive the public regarding the massacre of Halle. According to these lying reports, it was the participants at the meeting who fired first. This lie is so absurd that it can only be attributed to the bad conscience and the fear of the murderers and of their social democratic supporters. For it would never occur to anybody to come provided with fire arms at a perfectly legal meeting. Besides this the ten dead and 25 severely wounded were all participants at the meeting. If however, as the bourgeois and social democratic press report, there was shooting on both sides, then it is very remarkable that not a single police officer received any injury.

This palpable fraud on the part of the enemies of labour is having an effect favourable to the communist upon the indifferent masses as well as upon the social democratic workers, many of whom were present at the Thälmann meeting and saw with their own eyes what took place.

* * *

It is not a mere chance that the murderers selected the first demonstration on behalf of the communist candidate in order to carry out a massacre. The social democratic police president Runge and the social democratic provincial governor of Halle, Grützner, wished to furnish a fresh testimonial as to their reliability for the bourgeoisie in view of their threatened "dismissal". But this time the case is too monstrous. The murder will recoil on their own heads: the German workers recognise in the murders of Halle all the more clearly the nature of the fascist republic which is draped with the black-red-gold colours. The murder gang have shown to the proletarians the necessity of the united class front.

The Insurrection in Kurdistan.

By A. d. (Jerusalem).

The revolt which has suddenly broken out among the Kurds in Turkey has assumed a serious form. The Turks have been compelled to mobilise an army of 40,000 men. The Angora government has had to expend a considerable sum for the purpose of suppressing the revolt, but has not up to the present achieved satisfactory results.

At the head of the insurgents is Sheik Said. Religious and national grounds are put forward as the cause of the revolt. On the one hand the Kurds have entered into the revolt for the restoration of the Kalifat, which was abolished by the Kemalists on the 2nd March 1924, and on the other hand for the setting up of an independent Kurdistan.

The Kurds are a small nation comprising about three million people, divided among three States: Turkey, Iraq and Persia. The cultural and material situation of the Kurdish people is on a very low level; the majority of the Kurds lead nomadic or semi-nomadic lives carrying on cattle breeding. In the towns the Kurds are employed as porters and for similar work.

In old Turkey the Kurds played the same rôle as did the Cossacks in Tsarist Russia. They were organised in special cavalry divisions which were named "Hamidi", after their founder, the sultan Abdul Hamid.

The Kurds are constantly at war with the neighbouring nomadic tribes, as well as with the government which places heavy taxes upon their flocks. They are also continually fighting over the question of right of pasturage.

Now, after the world war, the Kurds find themselves between the devil and the deep sea. As they comprise a considerable

portion of the population of the Mossul district, they have become the object of imperialist policy and at the same time a weapon of the imperialists. The young Turkish imperialism based its historical rights to Mossul on the fact that it is inhabited by the Kurds. The English, on the other hand, maintain that the Kurds and the Turks have nothing in common, and that Mossul should therefore fall to the capitalists. As is known, the struggle for Mossul has dragged on through the whole post-war period, and neither the Treaty of Sevres nor the Treaty of Lausanne, which took its place, nor the numerous Anglo-Turkish conferences commissions etc. have been capable of bringing about any solution of this much disputed question.

Meanwhile, however, the above-mentioned rivals attempted to bring about a de facto solution of the Mossul question. The Turkish frontier guards have repeatedly attempted simply to overrun Mossul and thereby bring it into their possession. The government of Mesopotamia (Iraq) with the help of the English air fleet, replied to the Turkish attacks with regular bombardments. In the conflict between the English and Turkish imperialists the Mossul question takes an important place.

The mineral oil of Mossul has become not only in the physical sense, but also in the political sense a highly inflammable material. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company has laid down in the district of Mossul more than 300 kilometres of Oil pipes, which convey in a month more than 32 million litres of Petrol. Already in 1919 the English had inserted a clause in the Treaty of Sevres providing the formation of an independent Kurdish State. An independent Kurdistan, however, means the end of all Turkish claims to Mossul.

After numerous collisions and mutual attacks the League of Nations finally undertook the solution of the Mossul question. For a long time the Turks refused to trust the "honest" judgment of the League of Nations. They dreamed that they could somehow solve the question with the help of their own army. But now the French, intervened, who had already for a long time looked askance towards Mesopotamia and the activity of the Anglo-Persian oil Company in Mossul, and very eagerly desired to stab their English Ally in the back. For this purpose they wished to play the part of "neutral" judges.

The League of Nations, in which France plays a great rôle, pointed out that it must reckon with the facts. The Turks accepted this hint and endeavoured to wait upon the session of the League of Nations with facts, that is, they wished to seize actual possession of Mossul. France of course shut her eyes for a time. French generals and diplomats began to visit the Turkish capital, Angora, in short, the Mossul frontiers began to get lively.

At the moment, however, when the French began to make eyes at the Turks, the noble lords and politicians undertook a tour through Mesopotamia and caused delegations from Mossul to come to Mesopotamia.

The result is the revolt in Kurdistan, which was made to break out punctually before the decision in the Mossul question. When the League of Nations demands facts, both sides take pains to supply facts. If the Turks cannot manage the Kurds in their own territory, then this is a proof that they would not be able to manage the Kurds in the district of Mossul. Hence the necessity for instigating the revolt of the Kurds within the territory of the Turkish republic. Of course English money and English weapons play a great rôle in this revolt.

As a counter-thrust, France has given the Turkish government permission to send its troops through Syria. England immediately protested, giving as a reason that it is not permissible to interfere in the quarrel between the Kurds and the Turks (!).

The revolt of the Kurds is a new offensive manoeuvre of English imperialism in the Near East.

The Results of the Spanish Dictatorship.

By José Bujes (Barcelona).

The *Coup d'état* of the 13th September 1923, by means of which Primo de Rivera came to power, marked the highest point of the political crisis in Spain. A simple analysis of the programmatic manifesto of the Directorium suffices to show that the cause of this event is to be sought less in the trial of those responsible for the defeat in Morocco, than in the collapse of the State. The military dictatorship was the necessary consequence of the changes in the political life of the country.

The industrial development of Spain has — thanks to foreign capital — created a proletariat which, as a class, was politically more advanced and mature than the bourgeoisie. One can assert that the political consciousness of the Spanish proletariat, as a class, preceded that of the bourgeoisie. This very revolutionary fact determined the collapse of a constitutional democratic regime, which did not have time to arrive at maturity. The relations of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat forced the possessing class into a permanent alliance with the remnants of the old feudal caste.

The proletariat has hardly appeared on the political scene when the bourgeoisie, its power threatened, sees itself compelled to have recourse to extreme governmental measures. Facts which in other countries are without importance constitute serious dangers in the impotent Spanish State. During the last decade, Spain has shown all the symptoms of a State which is in a complete process of decay. No reliable political forces; constant government crises; government without a firm centre; finally, permanent anti-constitutional regime; drastic suppressive measures; white terror.

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera secures — to some extent — the right of existence to the prevailing anarchy.

It was proclaimed as a consequence of the confusion and thereby renders obvious the decline of the bourgeois State. From the height of its power it announces that the bourgeoisie, the leading class, has had its day.

The men responsible for the *coup d'etat* desired before all to form a powerful governmental party. Primo de Rivera had to learn by experience that a declining class cannot produce any new political power and that when a regime is collapsing, only its end can set a limit to the confusion.

The Directorium began its policy of "fulfilment" with the alleged extermination of "kazikism" — corruption among the highest officials —, a demagogic measure, the purpose of which was to gain the sympathy of the rural population. Of course it left undisturbed the great "kaziks", the big landowners, and only adopted police measures against their underlings. Half a dozen officials and municipal secretaries who have been too open to bribery have been arrested. Even the socialists pretended to be so naive as to believe an end would be put to the "Kazikism". But as it is here a question of the political expression of the rule of the big landowners, it can be neither suppressed nor altered without destroying its economic basis. The power of the great landowners, and the absolute dependence of the small peasants upon them, have their economic roots which can be easily distinguished. So long as the small peasant can be deprived of his means existence by the big landowner, so long will "kazikism" continue to exist.

The second step of the "fulfilment" police of the Directorium was to have been the "normalising" of economic life. But it turned out otherwise. The deficit still exists. The inner situation still remains highly critical.

The Directorium has shown "satisfactory" results in regard to its policy of suppression. There can be placed to its credit a dozen executions, some hundred arrests and the closing down of the premises of the labour organisations.

The employers' federation of Catalonia, it will be remembered, immediately supported the *coup d'etat*. During the first phase of the activity of the Directorium the industrial bourgeoisie of Barcelona and Biscaya rendered it help without limit. Then a change took place. Primo de Rivera showed himself in favour of the investment of German and American capital in Spain. The magnates of the German metal industry wished to establish a Spanish branch industry. Capitalism at home, especially that of Biscaya, reacted very perceptibly to this. Primo de Rivera handed over the whole telephone service of Spain to a company in which American capital was invested. The effect of this measure could be seen at once: the bourgeoisie changed from its sympathetic attitude into a masked opposition. "El Sol" and "La Vos", the organs of the rulers of Biscaya, immediately changed their tone. The Spanish Socialist Party also made a change of front. The doughty Indalecio Prieto, the representative of the industrial towns of Biscaya, refused to support the Directorium any longer.

Finally, as the result of a stupid food policy and of measures which were contrary to the interests of the big landowners, great discontent arose in the country.

Things have developed so far that we can now believe in the coming to power in Spain of the parties of the extreme Left.

The old political parties are played out, without Primo de Rivera having succeeded in consolidating his own party. The "Patriotic Union" will not be able to form a government. The bourgeoisie will be faced with the necessity of having recourse to the services of the Socialist Party. And this party, which for eighteen months has shown itself to be complaisant and docile towards the military dictatorship, will prove to be no less when it is called upon to govern.

But a democratic government and the summoning of a constitutional parliament will be no more capable than the *Coup d'etat* of preventing the development of events of an outspoken revolutionary character; the result of which will be that the masses will turn to communism. The appearance in the political arena of Spain of a mass Communist Party will synchronise with the complete discrediting of the Socialist Party, whose alliance with the bourgeoisie will become apparent, as well as with the collapse of anarcho-sindicalism.

THE BALKANS

Declaration of the Foreign Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

The Zankov government is spreading in the Bulgarian and in the foreign press the most phantastic reports as to the activity of the Bulgarian communists. They are made responsible for the raid by partisan bands on the Yugoslavian frontier. In a communication alleged to come from Prague and which has been published in all the Bulgarian papers, monstrous decisions in regard to Bulgaria are ascribed to the "Balkan Section of the Communist International". For this reason the foreign committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria makes the following declaration:

1. The Communist Party of Bulgaria and its foreign committee have nothing whatever to do with the raid by partisan bands on the Yugoslavian frontier. They declare that the masses of the people of Bulgaria are capable themselves of carrying on to the end the fight against the Zankov regime and definitely oppose all armed intervention on the part of any other State.

2. The communication "from Prague" regarding a "Conference of the Balkan Section of the Comintern", which is alleged to have taken place in Vienna from the 29th of December 1924 to the 2nd of January last, is one of the usual inventions of the Bulgarian government in order to justify the fresh bloody campaign against the Communist Party. Its false character is to be seen in every line of this communication. The forgers did not even know that there exists no "Balkan Section of the Comintern" but only the "Balkan Communist Federation". The latter has held two conferences since 1923 (in November 1923 and July 1924), the decisions of which were made public in its official "Bulletin". They were also unaware that Mac Manus is not a Moscow communist but a member of the Communist Party of England, that the Peasant Party of Raditch is affiliated to the "International Peasant Council" and not to the "Communist International". Finally, they did not know that V. Kolarov, who according to this report played such an important role at this alleged conference, was from the 28th November 1924 up to 28th January last in the Lenin Sanatorium in Kislovodsk (Caucasus), and therefore could not have been in Vienna at the same time.

3. After the campaign of base calumnies and forgeries, the Zankov government is already proceeding literally to annihilate the "traitors". We assert that on the orders of a decree of the Ministerial Council, about a hundred Macedonians, selected by the pseudo-revolutionaries Protogerov and Co. were brought together in Sofia and, under the leadership of Durkov, placed at the disposal of the Minister of the Interior General Russev. The last named made use of these Macedonians in order to murder in a bestial manner the late Communist Party functionary Ivanov and the Communist members of parliament Strachimirov and Stoyanov. The object of these foul murders is as in September 1923, to provoke the masses and bloodily to crush them again. By this means the Zankov government hopes to strengthen its position which is considerably shaken and to postpone its inevitable overthrow.

Moscow 9th March 1925.

The Foreign Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria:
V. Kolarov. G. Dimitrov.

Japanese newspaper which states that unemployment was 50% greater this autumn than a year ago.

Especial importance is attached to the extensive unemployment among non-manual workers. Ex-officers and civil servants are among the chief victims of unemployment. More than 20,000 civil servants were discharged in the course of 1924.

The unfavourable conditions obtaining in Japanese economics has led to a depreciation of Japanese currency, which continues to lose value in a manner causing the utmost anxiety to Japanese economists. Immediately after the war, the Japanese yen was 5 to 6% above the mint par of exchange as compared with the dollar and was at par as a general rule from 1910 till 1923. In 1924 there was a sharp depreciation. The Exchange quotations for 100 yen in American dollars were:

Average 1923	49
January 1924	45
June 1924	41
January 1925	38.5

The yen has thus lost 23% of its nominal value. In this connection we find in the Japanese press the same discussion which inevitably arises in countries with depreciating currency. On the one hand there is talk of the detrimental effects of the adverse trade balance, on the other hand the inflation is ascribed to a too extensive money circulation. This last can, however, scarcely be accordance with the facts, for the present amount of bank notes in circulation in Japan is considerably less than it was a year ago. In 1923 the average amount in circulation was 1698 million yen, in November 1924 1214 million. As in every case of inflation, many people are to be found who reap huge profits through the depreciation, and who declare it to be advantageous to the country. Thus, for instance, a Japanese economist writes in the "Japan Chronicle" of 12, November 1924.

"The depreciation of the currency will prevent the import of finished goods, but not of raw materials, such as pig iron, coarse ground corn, wool, etc. The result will be the revival of home industries, and more trade will be carried on with other materials."

The general impression gained of Japanese economics is somewhat pessimistic, although the data at our disposal by no means suffice for arriving at a well-founded judgment on the actual conditions.

The Over-Seas Agrarian Countries.

The economic position of the overseas agrarian countries: Australia, Argentina, Canada, New Zealand, etc., has greatly improved during the period of this report, thanks to the great rise in the prices of agrarian products. The improvement is correspondingly greater in the districts devoted to the production of wool, grain, or fodder, whilst the districts chiefly devoted to cattle rearing participate less in the improvement, the prices for cattle not having risen with the grain prices. New Zealand and Australia have profited greatly by the tremendous increase in the price of wool. It is estimated that Australia's profit on this year's sheep shearing amounts to 80 million pounds. Australia's wheat areas have also participated in the wave of prosperity, thanks to good crops and high grain prices. The same applies to Argentina.

Here it must be remembered that these countries of the southern hemisphere have the advantage in being able to place their corn on the market at the present moment, at a time when prices are generally high all round, and the high prices are of direct benefit to the farmers.

Canada's economic position is somewhat more complicated. Here the situation of the farmers in the western territory does not appear to have improved, the crops being poor both in quantity and quality. The early frosts did extensive damage, and in many cases prevented the possibility of placing the grain on the market at the proper time. The realisation of the agricultural products of the Canadian West is rendered exceedingly difficult by the agrarian tariff imposed by the United States. The cattle breeders in particular are placed in a very difficult position, shortage of fodder preventing them from fattening up their animals.

The situation of the Canadian industries is no better. The "Economist" of 27. December 1924 states that serious unemployment is appearing in practically all the great industrial

centres and will be increased by two factors: the lessened demand for workers in the United States and the lessened demand in the lumber industry. It adds that the unemployed problem is particularly serious in Montreal and that the heads of the various charitable organisations have recently stated that they are not in a position to cope with it.

In this connection the desire has arisen in Canada for the imposition of duties as high as those of the United States tariff. On the other hand, various difficulties arise in the commercial intercourse between the separate sections of the British Empire. Australia and New Zealand demand, for instance, that the preferential tariff shall only be applied to Canadian goods if it can be demonstrably proved that 75% of the labour embodied in them is Canadian labour. This would signify a new difficulty thrown in the way of trade within the British empire, and furnishes fresh evidence of the tendency towards disintegration in the empire itself.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Mass Lock-Out and the Situation in Sweden.

By Arvid F. Vretling (Stockholm).

The present situation in Sweden is characterised by the fact that the capitalists have commenced a wholesale offensive against the working class. The lock-out, which affects 130,000 workers in the most important branches of industry, is the signal for great social struggles. But in its struggle the bourgeoisie is not only aiming at economic ends, but is making a political attack upon the social democratic government and the Communist Party.

The elections in Sweden which took place in the Autumn led to the overthrow of the Right bourgeois Tryggen government. The social democracy succeeded again in getting the governmental power into its hands. But the taking over of the government by the social democracy does not imply a parliamentary victory, based upon a majority in parliament, for the present government is now, as formerly, dependent upon the favour of the bourgeoisie. The capitalists have understood how to adapt their policy and their tactics to the existing situation. They were perfectly aware that a conflict with the working class would be unavoidable, that the increase in the prices of food was bound to worsen the position of the working class, and that it would therefore be better to form a so-called Labour government in order to feed the workers on illusions and thereby keep them quiet. It is much easier to carry out the enslavement of the workers behind the screen of bourgeois democracy and with the help of the social democratic leaders. And in fact the social democratic government has very ably played its rôle as lackey of the bourgeoisie. The capitalists have made use of the bourgeois slogan of the social democrats, "peace within the country", in order to launch an offensive against the unprepared workers. The effects of the Dawes Plan are compelling the Swedish employers to cheapen their industrial products by reducing wages. When the capitalists raised a cry over the necessity of rendering their industry capable of competing in the world market, the trade union bureaucrats, in alliance with the government, agreed with it and thereby warned the workers against taking up the struggle.

When at the commencement of the New Year the collective treaties were concluded between the employers and the workers in the textile and metal industries, the defeat of the workers was obvious. These agreements have resulted in real wages remaining at the same level, as the price of food is rapidly rising.

Some groups of the workers have for long been carrying on an isolated struggle against the exploiters. This is the case with the coal transport workers in Stockholm, the electrical engineers, the workers in the pottery industry etc. In these struggles, as well as in the strike of the agricultural labourers and forest workers, strike-breakers and fascist organisations were made use of on a large scale. In North Sweden it came to regular battles between the workers and the strike-breakers. This fact provided an occasion for the leader of the financial capitalists in the Reichstag, Admiral Lindman, to submit an interpellation, as to whether the government was prepared to protect those who were willing to work. i. e. the strike-breakers.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Fourth Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

VI.

China.

The effects of the civil war have been detrimental to the economic development of China. But it would be quite a mistake to draw any comparison between this detriment and the damage caused by the great war. Compared with the gigantic population of China, the armies engaged in the war are very small. Material damage is therefore also slight in comparison with that done by the great war.

Nevertheless China's economic life is of course considerably hampered through the civil war. Thus we read, for instance, ("Japan Chronicle", 22. October 1924) that the civil war has rendered it impossible for Chinese coal to be transported to Japan, and that in consequence Japan and a number of Chinese cities are suffering from lack of coal.

On the other hand it is very remarkable that China's foreign trade has greatly increased, despite the civil war. Direct data referring to foreign trade are not obtainable, but the strictly controlled customs revenues show the total proceeds from import and export duties in 1924 to have amounted to 69½ million taels: 6 millions more than has ever before been the case since the customs administration passed into the hands of the imperialist powers. This sum represents a foreign trade of approximately 200 million pounds sterling (about 40% of this falls to English territory). ("Times", 3. January 1925.)

But if the war has not exercised any very disastrous effects upon economics, there are no other causes at work for the worsening of the economic situation.

Conditions are said to be becoming more unfavourable in the cotton industry, and it is reported that a number of the newly established Chinese spinning mills, with 267,000 spindles, built during the period of prosperity following the war, have now had to be closed down. The difficulties encountered by the textile industry are partly attributed to the fact that the machinery was bought at a time when prices were extremely high in the world's markets. At the present time the whole plant has greatly depreciated in value in consequence of the subsequent fall in prices, and as the capital involved has of course not yet been fully paid off, these enterprises are at a great disadvantage compared with older undertakings, or with quite recent undertakings equipped with cheaper machinery.

The capitalist development of China is naturally accompanied by those changes in agriculture which are typical of capitalist development. On the one hand agricultural labour streams into city industry, being able to earn higher wages here. On the other hand China's lack of railways renders it difficult to provide the rapidly increasing population of the industrial centres with food. This leads to rapid rises in the price of food in the towns, accompanied by comparatively low prices in remote districts.

The consequence is that large quantities of foreign food are being imported into the coast districts. "The marine customs statistics show that 660,000 tons of rice, in round figures, were imported in 1924, besides considerable quantities of beans, wheat, barley, and buckwheat." ("Industrie und Handelszeitung", 11. October 1924.) This same newspaper states the area under rice cultivation to be steadily decreasing.

"The cause of this is, on the one hand, the influx of the rural population into the towns, where they can earn higher wages in the workshops and factories, and on the other hand, the utilisation of the land for the cultivation of more profitable commodities. Thus a statement issued by the agricultural school in Nanking shows that while in 1914 the amount of land under cotton cultivation amounted to 15 million square kilometres, by 1918 it had increased to 43 million square kilometres, and had further increased considerably since then. In the same period the cultivation of tobacco more than doubled, and is stated by reliable sources to have increased sixfold up to the present time."

In China the situation is of course greatly complicated by China's financial and economic dependence on the imperialist powers. China's endeavours to free herself from this dependence encounter the greatest opposition both in America and in France and England. The unfavourable condition of state finances is pointed out in order to prepare the way for possible fresh interventions.

Japan.

Japan's economic situation shows a further deterioration during the period covered by this report. Official circles in Japan continue to represent this as the consequence of the great earthquake. But in actual fact it appears to us to be Japan's share in the universal state of crisis resultant on the over-industrialisation of the whole world. And it must here be emphasised that Japan's present dense population is absolutely dependent on the export of industrial articles, since she is obliged to import large quantities of necessities: food, wood, coal, iron-ore and iron, wool, etc.

It seems that Japanese industry, not possessing any high degree of technical competence, has now been rendered incapable of successful competition in the world's markets by the rise in workers' wages. A correspondent to the "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" of 21. November 1924, writes as follows:

"Japan's foreign trade is passing through a severe crisis. The situation appears to be desperate. The banks refuse to grant the customary credits for export, at least to the middle and small export firms..."

The main reason for the decline (of exports) has been ascertained by exhaustive investigations to be the inferiority of the goods produced by Japanese middle and small industries. So long as the great war prevented supplies being obtained from Europe and America, the inferior Japanese goods found a market in the countries of the East. The goods were accepted as good enough for an emergency, and it was hoped that times would change and better goods be available again. This has already been the case for some years. The firms which have ordered Japanese goods refuse to accept the consignments. The complaints made generally prove justified. The advances made by the banks on the goods are not always satisfactorily reimbursed... The consequence is that the banks refuse to grant further advances to the export firms."

Here the greatest importance is attached to the qualitative aspect of the question. It is, however, not necessary to emphasise that it is the price which really plays the decisive rôle, for even goods of inferior quality find a market if they are cheap enough. Prices in Japan show a tendency to rise. The following are the index figures:

November 1923	209
June 1924	199
August 1924	200
September 1924	206
October 1924	213

It is naturally difficult to find markets for inferior goods at rising prices. A certain degree of improvement was observable in the autumn months. The silk industry, so important for Japan, is involved in special difficulties. During the summer it suffered considerably under the economic depression in the United States, Japan's best customer for silk goods. Besides this, the silk industry of the whole world is threatened by the extremely rapid development of the production of artificial silk.

Foreign trade.

Import and exports figures:

	In million yen	
	Imports	Exports
Monthly average 1. quarter 1924	271	109
Monthly average 2. quarter 1924	217	157
July 1924	156	137
August 1924	142	176
September 1924	141	158

During the first half year the import surplus amounted to 660 million yen, about 300 millions being employed for the restoration work rendered necessary by the earthquake.

The industrial crisis is accompanied by extensive unemployment. The "Japan Chronicle" of 16. October 1924 quotes a

This interpellation, in connection with the new army discipline bill, is the testing stone for the government. In regard to the military question, the social democrats have already approached very near to the proposal of the Liberal Party and thereby completely ignored their own election pledges. According to the proposal of the social democrats, the military budget will amount to 120 million Crowns. Against this proposal the communists are putting forward the slogan of the "workers' and peasants' militia". But the bourgeoisie is not satisfied with the proposal of the social democrats and the liberals. It wishes to lay more millions upon the altar of bourgeois militarism. The object of this agitation for armaments is an alliance with Finland and the Baltic countries against the Soviet Union, and the arming of the bourgeois State and its fascist organisations against the workers' and small peasants.

At the same time there has set in an unexampled campaign against the "adherents of Moscow". The so-called Communist Party of the renegade Hoeglund and the social democrats are good allies of the bourgeoisie when it is a question of supporting this campaign. The renegade Hoeglund has already landed in the stinking swamp of social democracy and has set himself one task: to do as much damage to our Party as possible. For this purpose he employs the basest and most mendacious means. But Hoeglund has no influence upon the masses and is only a gramophone of the revolutionary phrases of Paul Levi and other stranded politicians.

The bourgeoisie, of course, makes good use of this treacherous policy of the Hoeglunders and the social democrats in order to proceed more sharply against the dangerous Bolsheviks. Many workers have been condemned by the court for having fought against the strike-breakers; among these is the secretary of the Young Communist League and two other comrades who have received six months and one month imprisonment respectively.

All this shows quite clearly enough that the bourgeoisie has made all preparations in order to undertake a wholesale offensive against the workers. The lock-out by the employers' federations has caused great excitement among the masses. The government immediately intervened — not to support the workers, but instead appointed an arbitration committee consisting entirely of bourgeois people. The chairman is the present ambassador in Helsingfors, Elmkvist. The first result of this arbitration committee was the postponement of the lock-out until the 16th of March. Now, as previously, the government and the trade union bureaucrats will do everything possible to arrive at a compromise and thereby preserve "law and order in the country".

The Communist Party of Sweden has issued the slogan of the general strike, and this slogan has been received with great enthusiasm at mass meetings held in many places. The social democrats are furious and are attempting by demagogic means to hold back the workers from the fight. In spite of the continually increasing cost of living, the slogan of the social democrats is the maintenance of the status quo. The syndicalists have issued the demonstration slogan: occupation of the factories, which however is disregarded by the masses.

The workers wish to take up the struggle now, while the government, with the approval of the trade union bureaucrats, wishes to evade the struggle. This objective and even direct help to the capitalists and their State will destroy the democratic illusions of the working class. Every act of the bourgeoisie will tend to increase the influence of the C. P. of Sweden upon the masses. The approaching struggles in Sweden and the present position of the workers and small peasants confronts the C. P. of Sweden with great tasks. The splitting off of the Hoeglund sect with its petty bourgeois and pseudo-revolutionary phraseology was the first step towards the bolshevizing of the Party. The struggles which are approaching will be a fiery test for it. The bourgeoisie and their lackeys fear the spectre of bolshevism, but the workers will recognise more clearly that the C. P. of Sweden is their Party and will fight for its slogans.

Moscow, 23rd March 1925.

The Red International of Labour Unions has sent the following telegram to the locked out workers of Sweden:

The capitalists, strong through their class solidarity and class consciousness, have declared war on you. It is the duty of every labour organisation to render help to their class comrades who are being attacked by Capital.

The Red International of Labour Unions and the General Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union send you their

fraternal greetings and are ready to support you to the utmost of their powers.

We hope that, thanks to the discipline and the fighting spirit of the bloc of the Scandinavian workers, the attack of the bloc of the employers will be shattered.

Up with the united front against the attack of Capital!

Up with the unity of the Trtde Union movement!

The Struggle of the Working^{er} Class in Norway.

By Christian Hilt (Oslo).

At the national conference for industrial peace in Oslo at the end of January, the director of the Norwegian State Bank, Arne Rygh, described the results of the wholesale lockout in 1924 in the blackest colours and sharply opposed a repetition of the industrial conflict in the present year, maintaining that a fresh prolonged conflict would render in vain any attempt to stabilise prices and to raise the value of the currency. In view of the unceasing rise in prices the bank director could not deny that higher wages were justified.

The national debt of Norway to the foreign and native capitalists has actually attained such enormous dimensions that a real increase of wages cannot be granted without a considerable reduction of profits. Of the State budget, which amounts to about 350 millions Norwegian crowns, 130 millions crowns are devoted to payment of interest. The government has only granted the sum of 4.5 millions crowns for bonuses to civil servants on account of high prices. An all-round increase of wages of the civil servants would completely wreck the State budget, which for several years has shown a huge deficit. Private industry, which is not on a high level of development in Norway, is working under great difficulties which have been reflected in a number of great bank failures during the last few years. The situation is so serious that a sudden fluctuation in the value of the currency — be it either up or down — would involve disastrous consequences for the State finances and for the whole of the capitalist economic life.

These facts must be borne in mind when judging the present political situation in Norway. For the capitalists and their government the sole question is "restoration of financial life", and therefore the interest of the country is at present concentrated upon the course of the negotiations between the employers and the trade unions regarding the new wage regulations in the collective treaties.

On the day before the commencement of the wage negotiations the chairman of the Norwegian General Federation of Trade Unions, Ole O. Lian, suddenly died. His successor as the representative of the workers in the negotiations, the chairman of the metal workers union, Halvard Olsen, has already in a speech declared himself in favour of the prolongation of the collective treaty without wage increases.

The negotiations, after proceeding for a week, were broken off. The national arbitrator will now make his attempts to arbitrate as prescribed by law. And should they also fail, the liberal government is prepared to prevent a strike by an arbitration law. Probably a majority of liberals, agrarians, conservatives and social democrats will pass the law in the Storting. The workers will thus be palmed off with trifling wage increases and the trades union bureaucrats' as well as the capitalists, will be able to breathe again.

The communist members of the trade unions have attempted to force the discussion of the trades union tactics for the fight against high prices, unemployment and class justice by a national conference until Easter — after the conclusion of the negotiations.

The Communist Party of Norway thereupon applied to the General Trades Union Federation of Norway with the suggestion that the latter should convene a general workers' Conference to deal with these questions. This demand was rejected by the reformists. Such serious questions must not be dealt with by unqualified bodies! Instead of this the executives of the trade unions have been called together and when the thing is finally settled, the Trades Union Congress, which would not in the ordinary way be held until 1926, will probably be convened in the course of the summer or autumn in order to endorse the activity of the secretariat and to elect a successor to Ole O. Lian as chairman of the General Trades Union Federation.

The death of the reformist leader of the Trades Union Federation, Ole O. Lian, has caused equally profound regret in capitalist circles in Norway as did the death of the Swedish social democratic State Minister Branting and the death of the German President Ebert. The whole bourgeois press recognised in him a gifted leader. The President of the Storting, Lykke, delivered a memorial speech in parliament, on the day of his funeral the employers allowed the workers to cease work at 12 o'clock, the bourgeois State Minister Mowinckel was present in person at the funeral celebrations at the workers' headquarters, and even the King sent a wreath. The chief organ of the Norwegian Labour Party, "Arbeiderbladet" in spite of its well-known "leninist" attitude, took part with the bourgeoisie in lauding Lian. The editor, Tranmael, who as leader of the trade union opposition had for years bitterly opposed the bureaucrat Lian, now fiercely attacked the chief organ of the Communist Party of Norway, "Norges Kommunistblad" because it had ventured in its obituary article to express the truth that the course followed by the reformist Lian could only result in the ruin of the Norwegian labour movement.

The storting decided some days ago to forbid speeches and demonstrations in the neighbourhood of the Storting. The occasion for this was that comrade Mauseth, at the end of January as the leader of a deputation of unemployed, after the demands of the unemployed were rejected by the government, in a speech delivered outside the storting referred to the first President as the "scoundrel Lykke" and called out: "Long live the Soviet Republic of Norway!" This characterisation of President Lykke was quite correct. President Lykke is the chairman of the enlarged board of directors of the Norwegian Commercial Bank, and as such has violated his obligations as President of the Storting in concealing from the Storting the former secret gifts of millions to this bank when the Storting proceeded to grant it further millions.

When this "insult" of the President by the "seditious" comrade Mauseth was dealt with in the Storting, the members of the labour Party and the social democrats, along with the bourgeois parties, sharply condemned this "rude" and "coarse" abuse, and four representatives of the social democratic group even voted for the prohibition of speeches in the neighbourhood of the Storting as mentioned above.

The workers of Norway have only one choice: either they must follow the lead of the reformists and help the capitalists "to restore economic life", which means increased exploitation and robbery, or they must follow the communists and overthrow the capitalists dictatorship. The latter means irreconcilable fight against the capitalists State, against the armed white guards, and before all fight against the reformist trade union bureaucrats, whose task it is to avoid this struggle by every possible means.

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal of the International Red Aid against the Bestialities of the Bourgeoisie in the Baltic Countries.

To the Workers of all Countries and to all Members of the International Red Aid!

Comrades,

Savage and unbridled white terror is raging in the little Baltic countries of Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland. The ruling cliques of these countries are filled with fear for their fate: they are faced the whole time with the danger of a revolt of the working masses. And after the events of Reval this fear of the indignation of the workers has exceeded all limits.

In the last two or three months wholesale domiciliary searches and arrests have been carried out in all the Baltic countries. More than 3500 workers and peasants have been arrested. In all countries those arrested are subjected to torment and torture.

In Esthonia, after the December revolt, 500 workers were shot, over 600 house-searches carried out and over 2500 workers and peasants thrown into prison.

In Lithuania, in the course of two months, about 1000 house-searches have been carried out and over 300 workers, employees

and peasants arrested. Over 100 persons have been subjected to torture.

The Latvian and Finnish bourgeoisie is conducting a furious press campaign against the class organisations of the workers and is preparing "public opinion" for a brutal suppression of the labour movement.

Drunken Latvian fascists have thrown bombs into the editorial office of the trade union journal "Lajkmets" and set fire to the premises of the workers sick club in Volmar.

But the heroes of the white terror regard these persecutions as inadequate. Medieval torturings and torments are the means now constantly employed by the bourgeoisie of the Baltic countries against its working class prisoners.

The secret police of the Baltic "democratic" governments require at all costs proofs which will confirm the "bolshhevik danger" needed by them in their fight against the working class. These experienced inquisitors extort the confessions required by them by means of the most frightful torture, and also by means of torture compel the prisoners to sign written declarations that these confessions have been made voluntarily.

In their use of torture the police have had recourse to the most diabolical methods. The "electric bath" is the means of torture most frequently used. In Esthonia, prisoners when undergoing examination are compelled to grasp two metal rods through which an electric current is passed. In Lithuania, torture is likewise employed by means of electricity but in another form. The electric current is directed into the body, causing violent action to the heart, crippling the brain and tearing the muscles. The current distends all the veins, convulses the whole body and causes muscular cramps which last some days after the torture. In Esthonia and Lithuania the prisoners undergoing examination, before being subjected to the electric bath, are beaten with sticks, rifle butts and barbed-wire knouts.

In Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia, new methods of torture have begun to be employed recently. By means of sudden and strong pressure upon the stomach, frightful pains are caused to the interior organs. The victims are kicked in the genital organs while portions off their flesh are torn off with pincers.

In Latvia the old tradition of the chief of the Czarist police in Riga, the infamous Gregus, is being restored. The chief of the Latvian secret police, Martinson, at the beginning of the examination acts very gently and behaves in a friendly manner towards his victim. But then, with a wild cry he seizes the prisoner by the hair, lifts him up and flings him with all his force to the ground. In the local prison of, Go'dingen (Latvia), as a result of the tortures, two political prisoners have committed suicide.

The chief of Police in Finland, Sarep, makes a practice of giving his victims not less than fifty blows on each ear. The chief of the secret police in Volkovich in Lithuania, Beshis, beats the prisoners brutally and even bites them.

The bourgeoisie of the Baltic countries have made use of the services of the most degenerate secret police whose cruelty reaches the point of sadism.

The names of the arrested and of the tortured are kept secret. The mutilated victims are hidden away. In order to stifle the cries of the tortured, a rubber sack is placed over the head, and so that no trace of the torture shall remain, the body is wrapped in wet sacks.

The white terror raging in Esthonia has reached a terrible pitch of fury. In Reval there is not a worker's home in which at least one member of the family has not been arrested or shot. Among those arrested or shot are very few who took part in the revolt. The arrests were and still are carried out according to the lists of the subscribers to the legal labour newspaper, which appeared up to the time of the revolt and according to the membership lists of the trade unions, which up till then were legal but have since been prohibited.

The bourgeois governments of the Baltic countries seek to justify the white terror by alleging the preparation of a revolt. But in Lithuania, Finland and Latvia there was no revolt whatever, nor are there any signs of an organised preparation for such. In Esthonia itself, according to the statements of even the bourgeois newspapers, the revolt in Reval was only participated in by 300 people, while in Reval alone more than 500 people have been shot.

The working masses of the unfortunate Baltic countries who are plunged into hopeless misery are seeking — and can do nothing else than seek — a way out of this situation. Have they

perchance no right to life and work? Their savage torturers and murderers, who are maintained by the subsidies and the constant support of the fascist European capitalists, know no limit in their bloody orgies, in the horrible bestialities with which they torment the advance-guard of the working class in Esthonia, Lithuania and Finland.

The international proletariat must no longer tolerate these horrors. It must say to these vilest of the vile fascists:

Hands off the workers of the Baltic countries!

Workers and peasants of all countries, protest against the monstrous bestialities and the white terror of the bourgeois rulers against the workers and peasants in the Baltic countries!

Demand the cessation of the tortures, beatings and brutalities!

Do not permit the mutilation and killing of the best sons of the workers in the dungeons of the Baltic inquisitors!

Down with the hangmen! Long live the solidarity of the workers of the whole world! Long live the Red Aid for the fighters for the Revolution!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

The Trial of Comrade Lancucki.

Protest Meetings in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 20th March 1925.

Numerous mass protest demonstrations against the trial of comrade Lancucki are reported from the various parts of the Soviet Union.

To-day there took place in Moscow a protest meeting attended by thousands which after hearing the report of comrade Dombal over the Polish murder-justice, adopted a resolution calling upon the workers of all countries to do everything possible in order to save Lancucki from the danger of death with which he is threatened.

Comrade Vaillant Couturier visited to-day for the second time the Polish Embassy in Moscow for the purpose of urging that he be admitted as defender to the trial in Przemysl. He was received by the Polish Ambassador Kentschinsky, who stated that the reply of the Polish government to his request had been sent to Paris. He declared himself to be certain that Vaillant Couturier would not be admitted to the trial as he is not registered in Poland as a lawyer.

Przemysl, 22nd March 1925.

On the 20th of March there began before the Przemysl court the trial of comrade Lancucki, member of the Sejm.

Comrade Lancucki was brought into the court under escort.

The Public Prosecutor moved that the proceedings be held behind closed doors, stating as his reason that the trial has aroused great interest in Poland and abroad. If journalists were present they could make use of the trial and certain elements could create unrest.

In spite of the protest of the defence, the court complied and declared that the proceedings should be held in secret.

The court was cleared. There only remained, besides the official functionaries, three friends of Lancucki.

A great crowd, numbering some thousands, had assembled before the court buildings.

The police in Przemysl have been reinforced.

Great protest meetings have taken place. Leaflets were distributed. Apart from this perfect order reigns.

After the reading of the indictment comrade Lancucki spoke for three hours.

Przemysl, 23rd March 1925.

The Przemysl Court heard behind closed doors the statements of seven witnesses, among them being five agents of the Police.

The Police Agent Pavlovski, whose report had led the authorities to institute the proceedings, admitted that he was not present at the meeting at which Lancucki delivered the incriminating speech, but had received reports from other Police spies.

Another witness named Chanietchi, withdraw the statements he had made at the preliminary examination, as he had only made these statements under the pressure of terror.

The Public Prosecutor and the Police Agents assert that Lancucki has a splendidly furnished house. The Defence demanded that the house be inspected. The Court, the jury and the representatives of the accused inspected the house and found that Lancucki along with his wife, child and his mother-in-law, occupies an extremely modest dwelling, the furnishing of which he purchased eighteen years ago for one hundred Austrian crowns.

The Public Prosecutor has sought to impress the jury by declaring that the Communists seek to abolish private property and religion, which "would convert mankind into beasts".

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Third Session of the Central Executive Council of the U. S. S. R.

By A. Prigradov-Kudrin.

The Soviet Federation embraces many Soviet Republics of national minorities on which the October Revolution has bestowed the right of self-determination and which have voluntarily joined the Union.

This desire of the various national republics to unite with all the other Soviet Republics into one Federation is but natural, for it means the uniting together of all workers and peasants. At the same time this unity makes the Union of Republics very powerful and enables it to contribute to the successful development of the various backward nationalities by giving them the help they require.

Thus for instance, the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee decreed that a special 5,000,000 fund be created for national education and health, for the development of agriculture and for the consolidation of the lower Soviet apparatus. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee has put this decree into practice by distributing this sum among the autonomous republics and regions of the Union which stand mostly in need of help.

Thus, these republics and regions reap direct benefit from the linking up of all the republics into one powerful Federation.

At the same time the Central Soviet Power, which studies carefully the interests of all the republics within the Federation, is doing its utmost to bring them also territorially nearer to the supreme government organ of the U. S. S. R. With this object in view it was decided that the Sessions of the Central Executive Committee take place alternately in this or that independent republic.

Thus the forthcoming Third Session will be held in Tiflis, the following in the Ukraine and the next in White Russia.

This procedure is of enormous political importance; by holding the Sessions in the midst of the workers and peasants of the various republics, the working class population of these republics is given an opportunity to get to know the representatives of the Central Government as well as their sessional work. At the same time the representatives of the Central Committee are given an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the life of the various republics and with the needs of their populations.

By such means the population of the various republics is made to realise the close contact which exists between them and the Central Government and the possibility to develop its economic and cultural assets with the help of the supreme government organs. For instance a prominent place will be given at the Third Session to the report of the Transcaucasian S. F. S. R. on conditions in Transcaucasia.

The population of Transcaucasia will be able to hear on the spot the report of its government to the Central Government and to get to know the prospects of the republic. By bringing the centre of the Federated Republic into such close contact with the border republics and regions the workers of the entire U. S. S. R. will stand all the more strongly welded together before the eyes of the whole world. By such means the practical application of the principle of self-determination and the recognition of these national republics and regions as full pledged members of the Federation, receive further confirmation.

And this practical, and not only theoretical familiarisation of the members of the Supreme U. S. S. R. organs with the life of the population of the various republics, in this case the Transcaucasian republic, will be the central government's best

guide on the way to the further economic and cultural development of the federated republics.

This cannot be fully appreciated by the nationalities whose economic and cultural development was deliberately retarded previous to the October Revolution by the czarist government, and which were only subsequently enabled to use the right of self-determination and to develop their economic and cultural forces.

Therefore, the forthcoming Tiflis session of the Central Executive Committee will bring the Transcaucasian republics into still closer contact with the other republics within the U. S. S. R. which is the first and only workers' State in the world where power is entirely in the hands of the workers and peasants.

ORGANISATION

Distribution of Party Functions among Nucleus Members.

By Ossip Piatnitsky.

In an article "Nuclei and Local Party Organisations"*) I dealt with the necessity of continuing the organisation of nuclei in factories and of putting before the already existing nuclei all questions connected with the political Party and trade union life of the country and all questions appertaining to large sections of workers and peasants.

But here I want to deal only with the work of the nuclei in the factories and with the distribution of functions among nuclei members, which among other things should give an impetus to the activity of all Party members, thereby providing an opportunity to draw the best elements of the working class into our Communist Parties.

Let us take for example a medium nucleus of 20 to 30 members in any factory.

At the first meeting, which generally takes place in the presence of the representative of the district or town (in a little town) leading organ of the Party, the leading organ of the nucleus (bureau or presidium) is elected. It generally consists of three to five comrades. The latter after getting to know the members of the nucleus, distribute the work among them, taking into consideration the capacities and inclinations of the nuclei members for this or that kind of Party work. At its meetings, the nucleus as a whole lays down the lines of work, it draws up the plan of Party campaigns, makes decisions on contentious questions which are binding for the nucleus, receives reports from the nucleus bureau and from comrades entrusted with definite functions and defines its relation to them. All the decisions of the general meeting of the nucleus, and the entire work are carried out by the nucleus bureaus and by various nucleus members. I will therefore deal very fully with the distribution of work among nucleus members.

It seems to us that the distribution of work within the nucleus should be as follows:

1. If there is a factory committee in the factory including nucleus members, it should carry out the instructions of the Party in the course of its work; these are at the same time the instructions of the nucleus. In the factory committee they form the communist fraction which is connected with the nucleus bureaus. But in the event of the factory committee not including any communists, the nucleus bureau should instruct some of the nucleus members to keep systematically in touch with the work of the factory committee, to elaborate various proposals on questions of interest to the factory workers and to place these proposals before the factory committee and the general meetings of the factory, which proposals should be submitted by the members to the nucleus bureau for approval.

As these comrades become familiar with the work of the factory committee and with the questions it deals with, they can be put up as candidates to the factory committee when the time for re-election comes, their candidature being promoted either by the nucleus or by a group of factory workers in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the country (in accordance with the legality or illegality of the Communist Party) and in the factory.

2. Abroad there are in factories and works members of various trade unions (for instance in the railway workshops, carpenters and joiners belong to the woodworkers' union, the locksmiths and turners to the metal workers' union and the unskilled workers to the general workers' unions). It frequently happens that there are in the same factory members of metal workers, wood workers and other unions adhering to the Amsterdam Federation, to the Profintern, to Catholic and other federations. The nucleus bureau of such a factory should appoint one or several nucleus members for work among the adherents of the various trade unions and also among workers of the same trade who have not yet joined a trade union.

Party members entrusted with trade union work must study very thoroughly all questions concerning the respective trade union conditions of labour, wages, working hours, etc. They should watch the work of the administration of the local trade union branch, as well as the work of the national and international administrative bodies. They must be regular readers of the trade union press, etc.

It is only by familiarising themselves with all questions connected with the respective union that they will be able to agitate among the workers in favour of adherence to the union, to criticise the activity of the leadership of the unions and to introduce at the trade union meetings of this or that undertaking proposals concerning the unity of the trade union movement and the introduction of necessary changes in the personnel of the administration should the latter be unsatisfactory.

I have dealt in such detail with the work of the nucleus members entrusted with trade union work in the factories, because it is of the utmost importance at the present juncture to draw all unorganised workers into the trade unions and to agitate among trade union members for trade union unity. We must realise that these are the two necessary conditions for a successful struggle against capitalism, as the experience of the last few years has shown.

It goes without saying that agitation for trade union unity must be the concern of all the members of the nucleus, but the comrades specially entrusted with this work must make a deeper study of this question in order to provide the other nucleus members with the material necessary for agitation.

During elections to trade union conferences the above-mentioned comrades, as trade union experts, can be put up as candidates from the nucleus. These comrades should, and in fact, must be connected with the Communist members of the administration of the respective local trade union who will give them information and instructions concerning trade union work.

The work of the Communist fraction in the trade union administration will also be much easier if it can depend on comrades doing systematic work among trade union members, in the factories where the nucleus functions. The comrades should of course work in the factory under the guidance of the nucleus bureau, and if the latter deems it necessary, periodical reports on the results and the methods of work should be presented by these comrades at the nuclei meetings.

3. The idea prevails in some of our sections that election work is not the business of factory nuclei, but is mainly the business of street nuclei in the residential districts of the workers. But this is not so, for work connected with municipal, state and national elections will also require the continuous attention of several comrades. It is essential to ascertain in good time where workers live, to have them entered in the lists of voters, to provide them with election literature, to gather information concerning the opponents and to place this information before the members of the nucleus in order to give them material for agitation and to organise mass attendance of workers at the election meetings of our Party, etc. etc.

4. If the said factory has different shops, the nucleus bureau is to appoint a responsible nucleus member for work in each one of the shops. These comrades will have to be in charge of the entire many-sided Party work in the shops.

5. If women are employed in the factory, one or several nucleus members should be instructed to work among them in accordance with a plan elaborated by the department of the local or district committee for work among women. Even if the factory does not employ women, efforts should be made through the workers of that factory to draw their wives and daughters into the communist movement.

*) Inprecorr. No. 18, vol. 5.

Working women and housewives (workmen's wives) can play, and are playing an important rôle in the labour movement: in the movement against high cost of living, during strikes and election campaigns. At the recent elections in Great Britain and Germany a considerable number of workmen's wives voted for the conservatives in Great Britain and for the Catholic centre, the social democrats and the nationalists in Germany.

Working women and workingmen's wives must be drawn into the working class movement, and the best way of getting at them is in the factories and workshops and through their husbands and fathers. This work is of the utmost importance and our nuclei must pay due attention to it.

6. Several nucleus members should be entrusted with keeping up a connection with the nucleus of the Young Communist League. If there is none in the factory, they should proceed to establish such a nucleus. Party members appointed for this work should work jointly with the youth nucleus among the young workers according to a plan drawn up by their Party committee, paying special attention to the young workers of military age.

This work is of the utmost importance, and factories and works are the best ground for work among army recruits as they provide an opportunity to establish close contact with these young men for the time when they will be already in the army.

7. One of the nucleus members should concentrate on the cooperative question which plays a fairly important rôle in the life of the worker. He should find out to what cooperatives the workers belong, he should collect information concerning these cooperatives and also get into touch with the Communist fractions of the administrative bodies of these cooperatives.

8. One or more comrades should work among workers who have not yet lost touch with their villages. Through them relations could be established with the agricultural labourers and poorest peasants. They can also be the means of supplying the latter with literature.

Relations established in this manner could be handed over through the proper Party organs to the Party organisations working in the district where relations with the agricultural labourers and poorest peasants must be maintained.

9. In many factories foreign workers, not knowing the local language, or workers belonging to the national minorities of that country play an important rôle. The nucleus bureau should appoint several comrades with a knowledge of the languages of these workers for work among them. The local committee will probably be able to procure literature in the desired language and agitators and propagandists for these workers. In America, France and Czechoslovakia, such workers play a very important rôle in the labour movement.

10. One nucleus member should keep in touch with former workers of the respective factory now unemployed. He should help them to organise, agitate among them, provide them with literature etc.

11. One or several nucleus members should be entrusted with work among men and women factory workers belonging to various sporting, choral and musical organisations. The said comrades should collect material concerning these working class organisations and get into touch through the nucleus bureau and the local leading Party organ with the Communist members of the administrative bodies of sporting, choral and musical organisations and societies.

12. One or more comrades should take up the work in connection with the protection of labour and various forms of social insurance.

13. Comrades should be allotted to tasks of distributing literature, collecting correspondence for the Party press and for the factory newspaper of the nucleus. Several comrades will also be required for the printing and editing of the paper.

14. The same applies to the organisation of political education circles and of circles for the study of Leninism.

15. A couple of nucleus members will also have to be spared for International Red Aid work — collection of information about arrested persons, etc.

It is a matter of course that all nucleus members take part in all agitational campaigns, in the recruiting of new members etc., but all the same every nucleus member must concentrate his or her attention especially on the work which the bureau assigns to them.

It would be preferable to distribute the work in such a way that every member should have only one kind of work to do. But if circumstances demand, and when it is useful, several kinds of work may be assigned to one person.

Many more kinds of works could be enumerated which nucleus members could perform. With a rational distribution of Party duties all Party members will have definite work to do, and this will bring them into contact with the factory workers. In this way the factory nucleus will not be isolated from the workers, it will be easy to draw the best elements among them into the Party and finally it will be possible to agitate systematically in the works and factories against the social democrats and other opportunist "labour" parties.

In carrying out party duties the Party members will be drawn into party life and will become active members. This, of course, will be achieved only if the nucleus bureau itself is active, if it will give instructions and indicate how the work is to be carried out and if it will supervise the execution of the tasks given to the respective members of the nucleus. The nucleus bureau should receive reports from the various comrades on their Party work already carried out, or in the course of achievement. The most important of these reports should be also placed before the general meetings of the Party nucleus. The nucleus bureau has to prepare the agenda for the nucleus meetings very carefully. It must secure reporters on the questions on the agenda and must prepare its own proposals in regard to these questions. The nucleus bureau has to carry out promptly all the decisions of the nucleus, for if these decisions remain on paper the interest of the members in the nucleus meetings will flag.

On the other hand, nuclei and those in charge of them (the bureau) will work well and systematically if the district or town leading organ of the Party keeps proper control over its work, and provides the nuclei bureaus with the necessary information and directions.

Not to give sceptics occasion to say that my statement concerning the possibilities connected with the distribution of work among nucleus members and with making them participators in Party work is exaggerated, I will give a few quotations from the central organ of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party "Rude Pravo" of 5/2/25. The letter from the nucleus of a sugar factory in Central Bohemia contains the following statement:

"When the Party decided to organise nuclei in the factories, I selected three comrades to whom I gave a general outline of the tasks of the nucleus during dinner. We decided that everyone of us four would have to bring one comrade in the next three days. And thus we were eight. Our factory employs 150 workers, 32 of whom are already members of the nucleus. But this did not satisfy us, and we therefore decided that by the end of January every nucleus member was to secure one new member for whom he would make himself responsible. We have elected a bureau and have elaborated a series of proposals for the general meeting of the factory. We instructed six comrades to pass on our Party and trade union papers to workers who belong to other Parties and trade unions in order to show them how untruthful their own Party papers are.

Four comrades were instructed to make up a list by the end of January of all those wishing to subscribe to our press. At present we are engaged in collecting material for the publication of the first number of our factory paper.

Work in the factory nucleus presents some practical difficulties because comrades are accustomed to the old forms of organisation. But the importance of factory nuclei consists in the fact that they give an opportunity to bring all comrades into the work. Moreover, the nucleus itself works systematically and everyone of its members does a definite branch of Party work under the control of the nucleus."

In the same number of "Rude Pravo" we find the following statement in a letter from a tobacco factory: "Nucleus work has the advantage that the entire Party work does not devolve as before on one or two comrades, but is distributed among every member of the nucleus, each one of them doing a definite task, which is very valuable from the point of view of Party education."

It cannot be otherwise. As soon as nuclei come into being in the works and factories, their members immediately realise the superiority of this kind of organisation over the old form of organisation. Once adopted, they will not relinquish it. On the contrary, they do their utmost to make nuclei live active organs, capable of attracting and absorbing the best elements of the factory. In order to achieve this, they distribute the Party work among all their members. Our slogan should be: "No Party members without duties or outside Party nuclei."