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The Masterpiece of the Sofia Criminals.

By V. Kolarov.

Not long ago it was revealed that thousands of forms for the production of false "Comintern documents" had been printed by a printing works in Berlin, at the order of a person who was in touch with the Russian monarchists. As we were informed, these forms had the following heading: at the left top corner "E. C. C. I.", illustration of sickle and hammer, below this "Central Section of the Department for Foreign Relations", space for date and number and "Moscow". Besides this, as is proper, at the right top corner "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" A few weeks ago the Bulgarian telegraph agency trumpeted throughout the world that the Bulgarian Government had got hold of a "command of the III. Communist International" to the Bulgarian Communist Party, according to which the C. P. of Bulgaria was to start an armed insurrection in Bulgaria on April 15th. No more and no less! As is well known, the enlarged Executive of the Comintern detected the Sofia murderers and their forgers as early as April 6th.

The Bulgarian papers of April 4th, which are before us, contain the whole text of this "document", even in "facsimile", and we thus have the opportunity of being edified at the same time by the refined Jesuitism and the stupidity of the Balkan criminals. This is how the "document" is arranged:

E. C. C. I.
(Illustration of sickle and hammer.)
Central Section of the Department for Foreign Relations.
March 12th, 1925.
No. 2960.
Moscow.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Absolutely private!

Destroy after carrying out instructions!

We herewith communicate to you that, in accordance with a resolution of the Communist Balkan Federation of the ECCI. of March 12th 1925, you are, immediately on the receipt of this letter, to get into direct touch with the Comrade who is chairman of the Supervising Committee of your Section in the Macedonian "Oueua Ojuka Taueb" and to let him know that the Communist Balkan Federation, through the above resolution, confirmed the resolution of the Macedonian "Oueua Ojuka Taueb" with regard to carrying out the verdict against Russinow and Garschitsch and agreed to entrust the execution of the resolution to Comrades Motjko and Kaschemirow as approved functionaries of the operative terrorist department.

Further you must, on the basis of the same resolution, initiate all the comrades of the Suervising Committee of the Balkan Centre who are at your immediate disposal, into the following:

1. From April 15th of this year, all the functionaries of the Supervising Committee of the Balkan Centre will be regarded as mobilised.

2. Those of you who are organised in groups of threes, fives and tens must, at the latest by midday of April 15th, communicate the order of mobilisation to the comrades under your direction, and must pass on to them the order regarding the distribution of work according to instruction No. 27,001 of the ECCI. of May 10th, 1924.

3. The directors of the centres for the distribution of arms must, by 1 p. m. on April 15th, prepare the distribution of munitions in the quantities necessary for each district according to the statements of the district directors.

4. The arms will be distributed in the night of April 15--16, and must then be in the keeping of the leaders of groups of ten, on their personal responsibility.

In points 5, 6, 7 and 8, detailed instructions are given as to the tasks of the individual fighting subdivisions in the carrying out of this plan.

9. The members of the workers' and peasants' organisations, with whose action the action of the Macedonian "Oueua Ojuka Taueb" will be brought into line, are to be informed that the slightest breach of the fighting orders will be punished on the spot by execution.

Point 10 is devoted to the connection between the individual bodies of troops.

This decree is to be communicated at once to the provincial department, and that with the use of code Al. Z. and while pointing out that the communication is to be destroyed as soon as read.

By order of the Executive of the Comintern

A. Dorot,

General Secretary of the Department for Foreign Relations.
At the end of the document is the following postscript:

ECCI.

(Illustration of sickle and hammer.)

Central Section of the Department for Foreign Relations.

No. 2960
Moscow.

To Comrade Sotow!

Communicate the verdict at once to comrade Jantschew, translate the instructions in code Al. Z. and pass it on in the necessary numbers to the Department for secret Exp. To be preserved in my personal archives.

19. III. 1925. S. Buschalek
Recd. No. 346a.

19. III. 1925 Dept. for general supervision of the depts. for Foreign Relations.

As we see, the international forgers were quite indifferent to the fact that their plan was exposed from the beginning. They used the forged forms without reflecting that the Comintern, as an international organisation can have no "Department for Foreign Relations", since the Communist parties are for it no "foreign" organisations, but their own sections. At the end of this monstrous "document" they put the signature of some imaginary A. Dorot. Without turning a hair, they, in this "document", passed a sentence of death on some unknown persons and "fixed on the executioners who were to carry out this verdict." And, to prove the genuineness of their production, they even added the mysterious words "Oueua Ojuka Taueb" and go so far as to mention the "code Al. Z." etc. The "Central Section" instructs the "Balkan Section" to pass on the decree — naturally in full — coded. At the same time however they write this decree in pure Russian! — obviously with the intention of making it possible for the band of forgers to read it, should it "fall" into their hands. Otherwise of course it could not be exposed.

The rulers of Sofia have, as is well known, declared war on their people: martial law, court martials, persecution of the "Illegals" in the villages and in the towns, street fighting, daily murders and "suicides", persons disappearing without leaving a trace behind them, individuals jumping from the building of the secret police in Sofia, the houses of suspected persons being set on fire, wholesale arrests, barbaric tortures etc. As however, the Government includes not only generals but also professors who appreciate the significance of the "moral element" in warfare, the above — more or less crudely Balkan measures — are not the

only methods of fighting used, for they might rouse the indignation of "public opinion among the democratic powers". Other, finer, intellectual methods of fighting, i. e. "Zinoviev letters" are added which, as experience has shown, are not condemned even in countries possessing all the virtues, such as England. To do them justice, we must acknowledge that the Sofia strategists made use of this kind of weapon as early as during the preparations for their September attack in 1923, that is to say, a year earlier than the English Conservatives; it is only now however, that they have learned to handle this weapon in an accomplished and cold-blooded manner. The "Moscow order" published in Sofia is indeed their masterpiece.

At the very moment when the Government has mobilised all its repressive and provocative forces, when, in the towns, in the villages and in the woods, thousands of workers and peasants are being chased to death under the pretext that they are "conspiring", when every day workers and peasants are being shot down in the streets like mangy dogs — at this very moment the Government publishes "the order of the E. C. C. I." with regard to the declaration of the insurrection, which had been written on an exposed Berlin form. The moment has indeed been well chosen and the effect is tremendous. How is the Bulgarian petty bourgeois to know anything about the forged forms from Berlin? How could he, since not only the communist, but every more or less independent Press was suppressed long ago. No one in the country can write anything which is contrary to the orders of the Zankov police. And if, at any time, the forgery is exposed, it will be too late, as by that time, the Government will have attained its ends.

The fact remains that the whole Press has, with great eagerness, published this "document". With the exception of two papers which express a certain doubt as to its genuineness, all the rest of the papers among them the Social Democratic Organ, represent it as a genuine document. The foreign correspondents who are well paid by the Government, have communicated it to the foreign Press. Bulgaria is represented as an unfortunate victim of the devilish plans of the Comintern, at the back of which of course, is the Soviet Government. The latter is said to have no less an object than that of wiping the Bulgarian people from the face of the earth. But the Zankov Government stands like a guardian angel at its post and prevents the collapse of Bulgaria. Thus the band of murderers who, in the interests of a handful of bankers and speculators is terrorising a whole people and physically exterminating the most self-conscious and active part of the people, are trying in the light of this "document" to represent themselves as a group of self-sacrificing "heroes" and "saviours of their country". In this way they obtain: exculpation of the crimes they have committed, a free hand for further shedding of blood, the concession to increase their army and, as the result of all this — a temporary strengthening of their power. Is not the political success of this "Zinoviev letter" sufficient to encourage the Zankov band to manufacture similar "documents" in future?

However important this "success" may be, it will not enable the Sofia leeches to establish their power for long. A large dose is not always the most helpful. When the Government resorted to this monstrous forgery, it was only because its situation was desperate, hopeless and that heroic means were needed to save it.

We are firmly convinced that the masses and the Communist Party will preserve their self-control in the face of the devilish attempts of the bands of provocative agents, whose power is shaken to its foundations. In the atmosphere of blood and forgery which the Government creates and the general discontent, to which it gives rise, as well as in the defensive of the working masses, the bands of murderers will soon be exterminated.

THE BALKANS

Against the Brutalities of Zankow — For the Defence of the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants!

Declaration of the Balkan Communist Federation.

The Balkan Communist Federation expresses its profound horror of and protests most emphatically against the fearful cruelties to which the flower of the Bulgarian working and peasant masses are again exposed by the Zankov band of bankers and generals.

It categorically declares that the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral is the result of the unexampled government terror

and is an act of self-defence on the part of the oppositional elements, who are cruelly persecuted and slaughtered like cattle, against the regime of the Sofia hangmen. The ruthless terror and the systematic political murders organised from above was bound inevitably to lead to terrorists acts from below. The Federation, which, on principle, rejects individual terror and has always called upon the workers and peasants to take up the mass struggle against the regime of white guardist terror, had nothing to do with this explosion, but its sympathies are, of course, on the side of those who defend themselves against the government hangmen.

The Federation also declares that the immediate way out of the present unbearable situation in Bulgaria consists in the speediest removal of the terrorist Zankov government, the restoration of the right and the possibility of legal struggle for the workers, and in the amnesty of the politically persecuted workers and peasants who have been thrown into prison, have fled to the hills or are in emigration.

The Federation is of the opinion that the responsibility for the illtreatment and mass slaughter of the best section of the Bulgarian working people, for the unavoidable partisan war which is arising and for the bloody anarchy in the country rests not only upon the ruling Zankov band but also upon all other factors and parties who, directly or indirectly, support this band and their unheard of cruelties.

The Balkan Communist Federation appeals to the working masses, to the in the proletariat in France, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia and in other countries, to raise their powerful protest against the misdeeds of the Sofia hangmen and to defend the bestially maltreated and slaughtered Bulgarian workers and peasants.

It must not be allowed that a brutalised band of bankers and generals, who seized power in Bulgaria by a coup d'etat, choke a whole people in blood and tears.

Moscow, 23rd of April 1925.

For the Executive of the
Balkan Communist Federation:
G. Dimitrov.

Declaration of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

The present bloody rulers of Bulgaria have found in the bomb outrage which took place in Sofia on the 16th April, their long-sought pretext for fresh bestial mass-slaughters of workers and peasants, against whom they already at the commencement of their rule proclaimed relentless war.

Who bears the responsibility for this outrage? It is in vain that the rulers and their entire press issue lies and cast the blame upon the Communist Party and the Peasants League — nobody in the country any longer believes their lies, which are intended on the one hand to justify the slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants, and on the other hand to win the support of the great powers for their sinister policy against the people.

The system of terror, which at the commencement of this year again took the form of an attempt to annihilate the workers and their leaders, arrests, beatings mishandlings, internments, shootings, and hangings, which are represented as being suicides, annihilation of the political party of the workers, of the trade union organisations and co-operatives, prohibition of their press, assassination of communist members of parliament, removal of their elected representatives from representative bodies, which does not even occur in fascist Italy, the base and inhuman annihilation of all sincere people — that is the political basis of this stifling atmosphere, of conspiracies and murders.

The responsibility for this falls wholly and entirely upon the present government.

Depriving the masses of every possibility of fighting for their vital interests, the government made use and continues to make use of individual and mass murder of their political opponents and trod under foot the last remnants of bourgeois legality and evoked the demand for revenge. If individual persons, who have been driven to desperation by the outrages and murders on the part of the government during the past two years, have recourse to assassination, it is the government which is whole and entirely responsible for this and not the Communist Party, which everywhere and at all times summoned

the masses, not to individual acts of terror, not to follow the path of conspiracy and assassinations — for that is not the way of our party but of the rulers who are isolated from the masses — but to organised political mass struggle.

It is not the fault of the Communist Party that there are emigrants living abroad, but the Zankov government, which by its terrorist regime has driven the sons of the people from their native homes and only grants an amnesty to common criminals, to its own organs, which, for the past two years, have inhumanly tortured the people. For the fighters for the rights and liberties of the people it issues an amnesty which only constitutes a trap, and those who return it causes to be killed.

It is not the C. P. of Bulgaria but the government which is responsible for the fact that the mass of the sons of the people who have succeeded in escaping the daggers of the cultured rulers, have fled to the mountains and are fighting against suppression and tyranny by forming Tcheten bands.

It is not the C. P., which never was and never will be an instrument in the hands of a foreign government, but the present bloody ruling clique that has by constantly calling attention to the "bolshevik danger", rendered possible the intervention of the neighbouring States and of the great imperialist robbers. The intervention, which will put an end to the political independence of the country, is a betrayal of the highest interests of the people. It is none other than the Zankov government which is always making a parade of its patriotism, which is committing this act of betrayal.

The C. P. of Bulgaria, which has never hesitated to bear the responsibility for its acts, categorically declares that it never fixed a date for the revolt, as is stated in fabricated government documents, and never decided to commit outrages and to call for foreign intervention. Its fight is before all the fight for the restoration of the elementary rights and liberties of the mass of the people, the fight for the defence of their vital interests by political mass struggles. The only way in order to normalise the political struggles in the country is to create the possibility for carrying on these fights.

But the Zankov government cannot do this.

The C. P. of Bulgaria sees the way out of this situation in the removal of the Zankov government, in the abolition of all restrictive laws, in the liberation of all those arrested, in the granting of a full amnesty for those who participated in the fights against the Zankov government and punishment of those guilty for the bloodshed of the people on the 9th of June 1923 right up to the present day.

Unless these demands are fulfilled, the emigrants will not be able to return home nor will the Tcheta bands cease to exist; neither will the possibility of intervention be removed nor will the atmosphere of conspiracies and assassinations be dispelled.

In these bloody days the C. P. of Bulgaria stands at its post and summons the workers and peasants and the entire working population to political mass struggles for the realisation of these demands.

Sofia, April 1925.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party
of Bulgaria.

THE GERMAN "TCHEKA" TRIAL

The Leipzig "Tcheka" Trial.

By Karl Radek.

Whilst the campaign of the West European press against the Soviet Union as being responsible for the events in Bulgaria is gradually abating, the German Court of Justice is adopting the role of fighter against "the interference of the Comintern and of the Soviet Republic in the affairs of the German Republic".

The trial of the German "Tcheka" has lasted over a month. The main argument of the prosecution broke down under the weight of facts, and the statements of the witnesses one after another collapsed. A number of the accused, who, at the police station under the influence of "arguments" of the police, made false statements, have since withdrawn them. The only witness who remained to the prosecution was a neurotic subject, who had either already joined the Communist Party as an agent provocateur, or who first after the attempt which he had made on the life of a spy and out of fear of the death penalty, admitted everything demanded of him by the police.

The police required from him the accusation of the Russians in general and of the Soviet Embassy in particular. In the capacity of the Russian devil who stirred up the innocent German angel, there was placed in the dock a Russian emigrant who had been seized in the street. The German police at once promoted him to the rank of a Russian General, of the victor over the Cronstadt mutiny. Of course, Neumann, the only witness of the prosecution, ratified this promotion of the emigrant Skobelevsky to the chief of the terrorist organisation.

All the other witnesses declared that they knew nothing of Skobelevsky. The handwriting experts denied the identity of Skobelevsky with the person whose handwriting lay before the court, and who is supposed to be the leader of the terrorist organisation. But there are still judges in Germany! Herr Niedner (a fascist) the president of this Court which has to send to prison and the gallows those revolutionary workers who fight against fascism, is of the opinion that the statements of a spy constitute sufficient proof not only to bring anybody to the gallows, but also to condemn the Soviet Embassy on account of terrorist activity in Germany.

The accusations made by the new "Doctor Guillotine" found a strong echo in the German reactionary press. It protested pathetically against the interference of the Soviet Union in the affairs of Germany, and asked whether the German people must calmly wait until the intrigues of the Soviet government have reduced Germany to the position of Bulgaria.

We advise these gentlemen not to be so proud and not to set themselves up above Bulgaria. As far as the rule of murderers is concerned, the German Republic is in this respect the teacher of Bulgaria. In the year 1919 alone, more than 20,000 workers were murdered in the German Republic with the assistance of the same Court of Justice. And the murders of Erzberger and Rathenau — does all this count for nothing? But the Russians had nothing to do with any of these murders. The assertion of Heine that Germany is not an asylum for murderers is no longer in accordance with the facts. Germany even created an excellent murder organisation, the notorious "Consul organisation", not to mention those amateurs who work on their own account.

And when the proud German patriots smite their breasts and say: "We tolerate no interference" then we reply: Gentlemen, read your own press! A few days ago you stood before the great event of the Presidential elections. What was the chief object of the election struggle? Your Democrats declared: "The German people have to choose between Hindenburg and the dollar. Should they elect the "saviour of the country", Hindenburg, then Uncle Sam will not give them a single cent. Therefore: "Up with the Republic and the Dollar!"

What was the reply of the proud patriots to this? Did they, perchance, unfurl the flag of the Kaiser, the victorious banner of the army, the banner of the old guard, who prefer to die rather than to surrender? No, they asserted: Uncle Sam does not care a brass button whether the Republic and the Democracy is victorious or not, they insisted that if the German people pronounced in favour of Hindenburg, they must not give up hope of receiving money from America and becoming a colony of the Financiers of Wall Street. The proud German nationalists ordered for the election day a telegram from New York, according to which Stinnes will receive a loan of 5 million dollars from America. Therefore, boldly forwards, German people, for Hindenburg, as he has not been rejected by the New York Stock Exchange.

In Bulgaria, the great Powers impart their advice to M. Zankov only on the quiet, behind the scenes. The German presidential candidates, however, have allowed themselves to be openly quoted on the American stock exchange. If the American stock exchange had declared: "Not a cent for Hindenburg!", then all the leaders of the German Right block would have been ready, not only to unfurl the banner of the German Republic, but if necessary, even to sing the "International".

The Soviet Union did not and does not wish to interfere in German affairs. The Russian working class is united with the German working class and they will not sever this bond of unity. The Soviet government, however, concluded the Rapallo Treaty with the bourgeois government of Germany, as it saw in this treaty the way to consolidate both countries. As a government of the working class it never concealed the fact that it would have preferred to establish connections with a German workers' government, but it has a realist policy. This

realist policy means in the first place that only that government is strong which stands on its own feet. Hence, a workers' government artificially set up in Germany with the aid of the Soviet Union would be a weak government. The Soviet Union has never pursued such fatuous aim, as this would only mean a burden to the Russian Revolution.

The Soviet government is not only prepared to develop good neighbourly relations with Germany, but it most sincerely regrets that there are circles in Germany, which, in the interest of Party struggle, prevent the rapprochement of the two countries to one another. May Germany blame herself if such actions as the speech of the high German official Niedner, worsen the relations of the two countries.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Mass Lockout in Denmark.

By Karl V. Jensen (Copenhagen).

Six weeks ago 50,000 workers were locked out. On the 22nd of April the struggle was extended by the addition of 100,000 fresh workers. Practically all the factories are at a standstill. This is the greatest struggle in the history of the Danish working class. And this situation has arisen in spite of the fact that the trade union bureaucrats and the social democratic ministers did everything possible in order to avoid the struggle, in spite of the government arbitration commission, which did its utmost to maintain peace, and in spite of the fact that the arbitration proposals on the part of the highest authorities in the Central Trade Union Federation and the Employers' Federation were accepted.

The first negotiations regarding the prolongation of the Collective Treaty were commenced last Autumn. The policy followed by the employers was that of waiting in order to see the effects of the Dawes Plan, in order thereby to be able better to judge the competitive capacity of Danish industry, and then to take a definite attitude in the Spring on the expiration of the treaty, but at the same time to make use of the preliminary negotiations in order to judge the attitude of the Trade Union leaders.

From the secret minutes of the sittings of the Executive Committee of the Employers' Federation, which fell into the hands of the Communist Party of Denmark, it was to be seen that the employers were not inclined to enter upon a decisive struggle in order to reduce wages, as they very much feared "meeting with resistance on the part of the workers which they would not be capable of overcoming".

The Communist Party immediately called the attention of the workers to this favourable situation, and called upon the Trade Unions to put forward their demands accordingly. In spite of this the president of the Metal Workers' Union, I. A. Hansen, at the first negotiations intimated that he was prepared to accept a prolongation of the old Treaty on the basis of a wage regulation according to the index of prices and an increase of the minimum wages which are too low for the metal workers.

The Communist Party put forward the following demands: a considerable increase of wages beyond the price index, factory councils, summer vacation, and securing of the eight hour day by increased rates of pay for overtime.

A number of Trade Unions adopted these demands. The Executive of the Trade Union Federation, however, did not put forward any joint demands on the part of the workers nor lay down any common fighting tactics, but left this to individual Trade Unions. This of course, could only lead to shameful compromises.

This lack of fighting spirit on the part of the Trade Union leaders, these strenuous attempts on the part of the social democrats to maintain peace at any price, rendered the employers arrogant, and this arrogance was still further increased by the fact that at the decisive moment the Trade Union Federation put forward as a basis for negotiations the demand that wages be increased according to the price index and, in addition, a further increase of the lowest rates of wages only. In order to compel the workers to drop their wage demands, the employers put forward the demand for a general reduction of wages by 10%, accompanied by the threat of a wholesale lockout.

After weeks of negotiations, an arbitration proposal was submitted as regards the union of unskilled workers, which numbers about 80,000 members, according to which they would be granted a 30% increase of wages on account of high prices, whilst the workers in the metal industry would not receive a penny increase. When the Federation demanded time in order to convene a congress, this was declared to mean non-acceptance of the arbitration proposal, and 50,000 workers were locked out, among them being members of Trade Unions who had already concluded new treaties. Fresh wholesale lockouts were contemplated, with the result that insulated sympathetic strikes were declared as counter-measures.

In this situation the Communist Party called upon the workers to take up a common struggle and demanded the convocation of the Trade Union Congress in order to organise the struggle by the general strike, and in addition demanded unconditional support on the part of the social democratic government. These demands were immediately and unanimously accepted by the workers in a number of Trade Unions and met with enthusiastic approval in many workers' meetings in all parts of the country.

Instead of the Congress, however, a conference of so-called "representatives" was convened, which rejected the communist proposal regarding the convening of the Congress and the calling of a general strike and constituted a tragi-comedy, as the conference was only intended to cover a new manoeuvre of the Trade Union leaders. Behind the backs of the workers, the Executive of the Trade Union Federation negotiated with the employers and the arbitration committee, with the result that a new arbitration proposal was worked out.

This proposal was at first rejected by the employers, whereupon the Executive of the Trade Union Federation recommended the Conference to accept the proposal for tactical reasons in order to demonstrate the will to peace of the workers. This was done. The employers thereupon calmly accepted the proposal, but with the provision that if the proposal should be rejected by even one Trade Union, the lockout of all the workers would come into force and the 50,000 workers already locked out would continue to starve until everything was settled.

The proposal, however, made no provision for high prices, either for the unskilled or the skilled workers in the metal industry. Whilst the proposal was recommended by the president of the metal workers' union, it was very energetically opposed by the president of the "Workers' Union" (Union of unskilled workers) Lyngsie. It is worth remarking that although Lyngsie is an old social democrat and out and out reformist, he still retains some of his proletarian class feeling.

On a ballot being taken, the metal workers rejected the proposal by a small majority, and this was only due to the very energetic agitation on the part of the communists. In spite of the fact that Lyngsie was in the minority on the executive of his union, he nevertheless succeeded, supported by a fairly strong communist fraction, in rejecting the proposal with an overwhelming majority at the Congress of his Trade Union. Five smaller Trade Unions rejected the proposal, whilst 17 Trade Unions, who had received a 3% increase on account of high prices, accepted the proposal. The 7 Trade Unions which rejected the proposal represented about 110,000 workers, whilst the 17 Trade Unions accepting it represented only about 30,000 members. Thus the majority of the workers, refused to accept defeat, and the C.P. has started a renewed campaign for the extension of the demands and for the fight.

The tremendous increase in prices and the growing unemployment forced the Danish workers to put forward their demands for higher wages, and the workers believed — and the majority of them still believe — that "their own government", the Stauning Ministry, could be an important point of support in the struggle. But the workers are being disappointed. The most important task of the social democratic government up to now has been to stabilise the Danish valuta, that means, to stabilise the capitalist order of society at the expense of the workers. For this purpose a law was passed in January which imposes fresh burdens of taxation, both direct and indirect, while a pre-requisite for the carrying through of the stabilisation of the valuta was the limitation of the purchasing powers of the workers, in other words wage reductions, and that "law and order" be maintained.

It was for these reasons that the Trade Union bureaucrats did not wish to fight and that the social democrats did everything possible in order to preserve "law and order". It was

for these reasons that the Social Democratic Ministers every day urged the workers to have regard for the interests of the whole community. There must be no disturbance of the economic life of the country; there must be no difficulties placed in the way of the government. In order not to disturb the peace of the Stauning Ministry it is the duty of the workers to continue peacefully at work even if they only receive starvation wages. The social democratic ministers who are so much concerned with the interests of the whole of the community, are greatly excited because their party comrade, Lyngsie, threatened a transport strike, which would hit the export of agricultural products and shake the whole economic life of the country.

The fighting spirit of the workers, however, is increasing every day. At a full meeting of the Executives of the Copenhagen Trade Unions — comprising about 2000 workers — the communist speakers met with applause and a fighting speech by Lyngsie received an ovation. The meeting declared that the demands must now be extended and that the workers cannot show regard for the community, but only for their own class interests. The Communist demand: Trade Union Congress and the general strike, extracted the promise from the president of the Trade Union Federation that the Trade Union Congress will be called in the first week in May.

The Communist Party of Denmark is confronted with the enormous task of convincing the Danish workers that the social democratic policy leads to defeat on the trade union front and that the victory of the workers is only possible if they abandon this policy. The Danish workers during the last few weeks have begun to think over this.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Results of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

Extract from the Speech of Comrade Zinoviev at the Party Conference of the R. C. P.

Moscow, 29th April 1925.

The Plenum bore the character of a congress and the resolutions of the Plenum are extremely important for the R. C. P., not only as a section of the Communist International, but as a Party which is ruling a great country. The Plenum formulated the attitude of the Comintern with regard to the retarded pace of the revolution and recorded the fact of a partial stabilisation of capitalism. This was seized upon by the II. International and falsely interpreted as meaning that the Executive had admitted a complete stabilisation.

Some facts which have occurred since the conclusion of the session of the Plenum indicate the character of this stabilisation. Bulgaria and Germany are examples for the character of the economic stabilisation.

The French Ministerial crisis was no ordinary crisis, for it arose out of a crisis of French financial policy. The danger of an inflation in France suddenly called to mind the social crisis of Germany in 1923. The crisis was overcome by a bank combination which covered a four milliard deficit, nevertheless a deficit of 20 milliards still remains uncovered. This character of the stabilisation of France is specially important, as France is a victor State.

The situation in Bulgaria is characteristic of the political stabilisation. The monstrous lies which the Bulgarian government spread immediately after the explosion in Sofia concerning the Soviet Government, have already been completely exposed. The fact remains, however, that one cannot rule a country against the will of the masses of workers and peasants, and that the class struggle in Bulgaria is permeated with elements of civil war.

A second example of the political stabilisation is furnished by the Presidential Elections in Germany. The Executive proposed to the German delegation that an election compromise should be concluded with the German social democrats, according to which the Communist Party would not put forward a candidate in the second ballot, but, under certain conditions, would support Braun, the candidate of the social democratic Party of Germany. The majority of the German delegation agreed to this, but the Executive only indicated the general line to be followed and left it to the Central of the C. P. of Germany to work out the practical details. In the meantime the social democrats withdrew their own candidate and decided to support

Marx, the republican candidate, in return for which Braun was to be given the post of Prime Minister of Prussia. In Saxony, several thousand social democratic workers voted for **Thaelmann**, as they did not wish to vote for the bourgeois candidate, which proves that no psychological pre-conditions existed which would have caused the workers to vote for Marx.

The election of **Hindenburg** is the first historical illustration of the stabilisation. Stabilisation is a fact which will exist for a certain time, but the character of this stabilisation is indicated by the above facts. Many votes were cast for Hindenburg on account of the hate against the Versailles Peace Treaty. The immediate result of the election in Germany will be the growth of revolutionary feeling. The social democrats will soon reconcile themselves with Hindenburg, but not so the working class. Very serious international results are to be expected from the elections. The relations of Germany with France and Poland will not be stabilised, but will eventually become more acute.

The situation is pregnant with unrest and dangers. Among other things there exists the danger of a change in the policy of Germany towards the Soviet Union.

Stabilisation prevails, but a number of facts indicate that stabilisation is becoming shaky. One after the other, the countries of Europe are becoming more reactionary. Stabilisation has given rise to a number of right deviations and also ultra-left dangers. The somewhat vague formulation of the Enlarged Executive must be clearly interpreted that one must distinguish simple revolutionary situations from immediate revolutionary situations. The charlatans of the II. International declare that the Plenum has not recorded the existence of any revolutionary situation whatever. This is false. The Plenum only declared that there exists no immediate revolutionary situation. But the bourgeoisie is not capable of adjusting, the conflicts from above, and therefore the situation remains revolutionary. We are only standing at the commencement of an epoch of wars and revolutions, the antagonisms at present are more acute than before the war. It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of stabilisation: the capitalist stabilisation and the stabilisation of the Soviet Union.

As regards the rapprochement of the English trade unions to the Russian, it can be said that in England there exists for the first time a general revolutionary situation. The rapprochement is proceeding upon the line of historical development: the application of the tactics of the united front is therefore of enormous importance.

Those who hold the view that the stabilisation means that **Trotsky** was right because the pace of the revolutionary development has slowed down, are mistaken. It was not this which constituted the question in dispute, but the question as to what tactics a workers' party should follow in such a situation.

With regard to the question of the **Czechoslovakian Party**, it can be said that the crisis has been overcome and that the withdrawal of the **Brunn** members only contributes to the correct development of the Party.

The Plenum dealt with the **Peasant** question and the policy of the **Comintern**.

Events have proved the correctness of the line of the **C.P. of Russia** in the **Comintern**. The next task of the **C.P. of Russia** is to connect the daily work with the work on an international scale. The **Comintern** is particularly in need at present of the moral support of the **C.P. of Russia**, which is and remains the Party of the international proletarian revolution. (Applause.)

IN THE COLONIES

A Labour Party for India.

By Evelyn Roy.

Responding slowly to the pressure of events and the spirit of our age, a Labour Party has been launched in India and formally announced during the session recently concluded of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Its sponsors are Messrs. **Lajpat Rai**, **Sankaran Nair**, **Chaman Lal**, **D. P. Sinha**, **M. N. Joshi** and other well-known leaders of the Indian labour world. Reference has been made to the nature of the declarations made by these leaders in the preliminary conferences which led to the formation of the Labour Party. The prevailing spirit was that of opportunistic nationalism seeking a new outlet and a new instru-

ment to further its own purposes, rather than the creation of a truly working-class party which would reflect the genuine interests and aspirations of the Indian proletariat. Moderatism and excessive caution marked the speeches of these pioneers of an Indian Labour Party. The sentiment was expressed by one of them that "an Indian capitalist was preferable to a British one," and it was further declared by another that the newly-formed Party should not over-emphasize the Labour point of view! It is considered undesirable by these new-found champions of the Indian working class to introduce into India the doctrine of the class-struggle, or to create such a party which will in any way jeopardise the interests and ambitions of Indian capitalism.

In such hands, the new Labour Party will not go very far. The birth of a political organisation of the Indian workers is a still-birth, and no amount of theoretical schemes on paper will succeed in breathing the breath of life into this defunct embryo.

Yet the growth of an Indian Labour Party is a historical necessity, already long overdue. The position of India as the seventh on the list of industrialized countries of the world, and her aggregate total of 20,000,000 proletarian workers prove that some organisation to express the economic and political needs of this vast mass of workers must come into being sooner or later. The divagations of Indian Nationalism have so far hindered rather than helped the growth of labour conceptions and labour ideals, for the masses have obediently followed those self-appointed leaders who have been drawn invariably from the educated middle-class, and who are linked closely in sympathy and interest with the Indian bourgeoisie. It is the Indian bourgeoisie, in conflict with the inordinate monopoly of British capitalism, which has been the backbone of the Indian nationalist movement, furnishing both its ideological direction and the sinews of war in the shape of necessary funds. It is but natural therefore, that the programme of Indian nationalism was subordinated to the needs and interests of the Indian bourgeoisie.

But the Non-Cooperation Movement succeeded in one thing, in diffusing the idea of emancipation with all its manifold implications, among the masses of the Indian people. An expression was provided for an unrest which had hitherto remained dormant and unself-conscious among the ignorant and illiterate workers and peasants. Strikes and hartals, adopted as the instruments of the Non-Cooperation campaign, taught the dumb millions of India their potential strength and the power that lies in coordinated action on a large scale. The nationalist movement, from being confined to a small sect of the rich and propertied class, or to the revolutionary student groups of different provinces, became for the first time a nation-wide movement of the toiling masses.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to lull to sleep those forces once awakened to consciousness. But it is very easy to mislead those forces by false programmes and tactics. **Mr. Gandhi**, once the undisputed leader of one of the mightiest movements known to history, abdicated ignominiously before the battle-ary of British Imperialism and the prospects of meeting force with force, and now heads a small faction which seeks to lead the Indian movement along the channels of social reform on a programme of the boycott of foreign cloth, Hindu-Muslim unity, the production and use of homespun **Khadar**, and the abolition of untouchability and the drink-evil. The sole message which he gives to the demoralised and dispirited country is that of the **Charka** (spinning-wheel).

Mr. C. R. Das, head of the **Swaraj** faction which succeeded to the control of the Indian National Congress at **Belgaum** in December of 1924, has given another slogan to the nation, — that of council-entry "for the purpose of mending or ending" the present system of government. He has led his own particular faction back to the folds of safe and sane constitutionalism, away from the stormy seas of mass-action envisaged in the original programme of Non-cooperation. Both he and **Mr. Gandhi** have repudiated all forms of direct action, including civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes, and thus they have automatically cut off from themselves the very backbone of the great mass-movement that shook the country from 1919 to 1922, — the Indian workers and peasants.

The inevitable slump and disintegration of the militant nationalist movement since the abandonment of mass-action in favour of the "Constructive Programme" and Council-entry, has become patent to all. The consequent policy of repression, launched upon by the Indian Government, with the consent of the Labour Government in Britain as well as of its successor, the present

Tory administration, has become bolder and more far-reaching. The incipient reversion to terrorism on the part of the young revolutionaries, who had held themselves in check during the course of the Non-Cooperation campaign, was anticipated by the Government with unerring prescience, and measures were taken to check it before it could get under way. The employment of Agents Provocateurs to push the rash and inexperienced youth of the country to acts of terrorism, previously unmasked to the police by their vile hirelings; the publications of false documents inciting the country to violence, and the organisation of "inspired" parties of terrorism, led by government spies, are but a few of the methods employed by the most unscrupulous and cunning police-system in existence. These provocative measures were taken and broad-casted throughout the world in order to justify the policy of unrestricted repression launched upon since the collapse of the Non-Cooperation movement.

The only reply to such methods is the reorganisation of the national forces along new lines, conforming to the interests and desires of the Indian masses. But so strong is the spirit of class-interest, and so selfish the leadership of the movement, that the prospects of freedom are deliberately jeopardised by a policy of compromise and concession. The Indian bourgeoisie is selling the birthright of the Indian people for a mass of pottage secured to themselves by bargaining with the Imperial overlord. Both the Indian upper classes and the British rulers have combined to prevent and stifle the growth of a united national movement based upon a programme of social and economic liberation for the toiling masses, along with political freedom. The movement is divided, disintegrated and moribund, for lack of that programme and those tactics which correspond to the crying needs of the overwhelming majority of the population, — the abolition of landlordism, reduction of taxation, an eight-hour day and a minimum wage for labour protective social legislation, the nationalisation of public utilities and profit-sharing in large industries. Instead of rallying the nation to the cry of political independence and the establishment of a democratic federated republic based upon universal suffrage Mr. Das and the Swarajists join with Mr. Gandhi and his followers in repudiating national independence, and accepting „Home Rule within the Empire“.

Meanwhile, the economic condition of the Indian working-class grows steadily worse, as wages are forced down and hours of work increased to enable Indian capitalism to compete with its British rival. The deadly competition of Indian sweated labour with British labour in the metropolis is becoming a real fact; wages in Great Britain are being forced down to the level of "coolie labour" in the colonies, before the constant threat of unemployment and "the dole". Hence the new cry in British labour circles for the organisation of Indian labour to protect itself and its British confrere from extermination between the upper and nether millstones of British and Indian capitalism. Hence the new alliance between the British Labour Party and certain leaders of Indian nationalism who pretend to see farther than the rest.

But what is needed in India is a real party of the working-class and peasantry, which will reflect the vital needs and interests of their class, irrespective of the complex and often conflicting interests of Indian nationalism, and of certain privileged sections of the British Labour Bureaucracy. Until such a party is formed, under leadership which unhesitatingly places itself in the service of the Indian proletariat, upon a programme which corresponds with their fundamental needs and desires, no mass-movement is possible in India, and without a mass-movement, no success can be achieved in the realisation of the demands put forward.

The new Labour Party under its present leadership will be a pale reflection of British Labour at its most reactionary and conservative stage, strongly adulterated by the questionable influences of Indian bourgeois nationalism. It may be the herald of the dawn; it cannot usher in the splendid day of the birth of Indian labour to its heritage of power as an organised and revolutionary factor in Indian national life. What is needed is a **Peoples' Party**, embracing the vast masses of India, led by men and women with a revolutionary vision, who can bring the Indian movement for social, economic and political emancipation into line with the world movement for Social Revolution.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The III. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union.

By M. Kalinin.

I.

During the first half of May the regular Soviet Congresses will meet: first the Russian (R. S. F. S. R.) and afterwards that of the Soviet Union.

The main question on the agenda of the Soviet Congress of the R. S. F. S. R. is the Report of the People's Commissar for Health. It is the first time since the existence of the Soviet Republic that this question is on the agenda of the Soviet Congress.

I believe that the Congress will support the policy of the People's Commissar for Health, which consists in promoting as much as possible the public health in the villages. In spite of our relative poverty, the public health service in the towns is more or less satisfactory; in the village, however, it is very much open to criticism. I believe that the Congress will point out the necessity of finding some means in order to enable a number of peasants to visit the sanatoriums in the health resorts. Many comrades will here make the objection that we are not even able to supply the peasants with the necessary quantity of castor oil — how then, can we talk of health resorts. It is true that in many cases the drugs and medicines are sold so dearly that they are almost unobtainable for the peasants. But it is the same case with the workers; nevertheless, the health insurance authorities find it useful to send sick workers to health resorts, and I believe that the Trade Unions, which determine the line of policy of the workers' health service, are acting rightly.

It is clear that in this connection it will be only possible to provide accommodation for about two to three thousand peasants, but it is not a matter of indifference whether these 2000 to 3000 places are occupied by the privileged sections of the population, who are able to visit the health resorts almost every year, or by those peasants who are most in need of a stay at a convalescent home.

The question of the **seed campaign** will have an informative character at the Congress. It was necessary to place it on the agenda, because the unusual Winter gave rise to some doubts among the population regarding the results of the Autumn sowing. According to the declarations of the specialists, the present condition of the crops sown in the Autumn is rather middling. An authoritative declaration regarding the results of the Autumn and Spring sowing certainly would be of great importance.

In addition to the questions mentioned above there stand on the agenda certain **constitutional questions** in connection with the establishment of the Union of Soviet Republics, of which the R. S. F. S. R. (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic) forms a constituent part.

II.

The agenda of the **III. Soviet Congress of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics**, which will meet on the 8th of May, is fairly large.

The first question to be discussed will be the question of the **inclusion of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in the Soviet Union**. This question, therefore, — contrary to the traditions of the Congress hitherto — constitutes the first item on the agenda, in order thereby to enable the people of these two Republics to participate in the work of the Congress and, further, in order to emphasise the enormous importance of the fact that **two Eastern Republics have freely joined our Union**.

The second question is the **Report of the Government**, which will probably furnish occasion for a debate on the general policy of the Government.

The third question which will be discussed is the **position of industry**. This item was deleted from the Agenda of the II. Soviet Congress owing to the death of comrade Lenin. During the two years that have elapsed since the I. Soviet Congress, our industry has made great headway. Two years ago the main problem for our industry consisted in keeping the factories employed. The general slogan of our industry at that time was "Give orders!". To-day, our undertakings are receiving orders

at a much quicker rate than we had anticipated. The time is not distant when our industry will not know what to do with all the numerous orders. Already to-day we see a change of roles between the People's Commissar for Traffic and the Supreme People's Economic Council. The People's Economic Council, which formerly almost had to beg for orders from the People's Commissar for Traffic, has now become an organ that executes the orders of the Commissar for Traffic as if they were the merest trifles.

And in the next few years we shall see the same thing happening along the whole industrial front. This development of industry brings to the forefront quite a number of extremely important problems with which our industry was quite unacquainted even a year ago. I will only mention, for example, the necessity of furnishing our industrial undertakings with new plant and machinery. It was obvious that so long as our industry had only to meet a minimum demand, it was able to carry on with the old technical equipment. At present, however, when the output of the undertakings in many places has reached a hundred per cent of the pre-war output, they cannot, of course, cope with the demand with the old worn out equipment.

The fourth item on the agenda is the question of rendering assistance to agriculture. The Congress will probably adopt a whole number of measures in order to improve the situation in agriculture. These measures will not be confined to measures for improving the soil, but measures will be adopted in the sphere of taxation, co-operative activity, the consolidation of agricultural credits, the encouraging of home industry etc. A great number of these measures have already been introduced by the government, regarding which a report will be submitted and which will be discussed from all sides by the Congress.

The question of the Soviet construction work constitutes the fifth item on the agenda. This question, which formerly had a purely organisatory character, has recently received a profound social and political import. In all probability instructions will be issued with regard to the duties of the higher officials, for the improvement of the Soviet apparatus and for bringing it into touch with the masses.

The sixth item is the Report of the People's Commissar for Finance. Finance constitutes today the blood vessels of industry. Nevertheless, I believe that the discussion of this question at the III. Soviet Congress will not bring anything new or unexpected. If anything new is decided upon this will be in the direction of lightening taxation, and in no way in imposing fresh burdens of taxation.

The seventh item will be the Report on the Red Army. Formerly, these reports contained statements regarding the conditions on our fronts, which rendered them of very great interest. The Red Army is now leading a more or less peaceful life. During the past year the activity of the Red Army has consisted in developing and strengthening our powers of resistance against our enemies. In spite of our continual efforts for peace, and our desire that the time may soon come when armies will be superfluous, the Soviet Union is at present compelled to follow attentively the development of the military power of the capitalist countries and to make its preparations accordingly.

Since the last report our Red Army has made very great progress in the sphere of organisation, of discipline, and in learning the art of war. Of course, like other important branches in the life of our State, it needs a considerable supply of material means. There is no doubt that the Congress of the Soviet Union will support our Red Army with the whole of its authority; it will give expression to the love and gratitude of the workers, the peasants and of all honest citizens of the Soviet Republic towards the defenders of Soviet Russia.

Wages and Productivity of Labour in the Soviet Union.

By Dm. Antoschkin.

Since 1922 the average real wage of the manual and office workers of Soviet Russia has been steadily increasing. This was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the productivity of labour, the latter increasing even a little more rapidly than the former. At the end of 1923 the position was as follows: individual productivity of labour in the main branches of State industry was 66.4% of the pre-war level (gross production per

head per day, 5 rbls. 31 kop., and in 1912 — 8 rbls. at pre-war prices). Towards the end of 1923 wages were on the average 60% of the pre-war wage. In the middle of 1924, the productivity of labour was 75% and wages on an average 72.5% of the pre-war level. In the following months the increase in labour productivity was somewhat slower and the discrepancy between it and the increase of wages was greater.

The slowing down of labour productivity was a considerable danger for the further development of our industries and for the economic development of the U. S. S. R. in general. The revival of our agriculture and the growing requirements of our towns have resulted in an increased demand for manufactured articles. Our industries must keep pace with the demand, and it is not only a question of extending industrial production, but also of making production cheaper by bringing prices for manufactured goods into closer proximity with prices for agricultural produce. This can only be achieved by improving the methods of production and by increasing the productivity of labour for the purpose of making the process of mass production cheaper. The raising of individual productivity of labour is of particular importance in the U. S. S. R. in view of the fact that our industries have comparatively little reserved capital at their disposal and that we cannot introduce the necessary technical improvements rapidly enough.

Under such conditions increase of wages cannot be thought of unless there is a corresponding increase in the productivity of labour. Therefore all the efforts of our workers organised in the trade unions and of our economists were concentrated on this starting with the last quarter of 1924.

The measures adopted to achieve this aim consisted in the introduction of unlimited piece rates together with a revision of possible output, and in the adoption of a number of organisational measures aiming at the improvement of the methods of production. In connection with the revision of the output figure the condition of the equipment of the enterprise and all other conditions affecting productivity of labour are taken into consideration. It has been ascertained that when the revision of the output standard is accompanied by technical organisational measures for the improvement of working methods, positive results have been attained; both, productivity of labour and wages have increased; a more rational use is made of the working hours; there is less waste of time and less malingering.

The fact that all the measures introduced were accompanied by the workers' increased interest in the raising of labour productivity resulted in a considerable increase in production. For instance, the total value of articles produced in the main branches of industry during October-January 1924-25 increased 50% as compared with the same period in 1923-24, and 35% as compared with June-September 1924. The gross output per head day in the first quarter of the business year of 1924-25 increased 30% as compared with the first quarter of the business year of 1923-24 and 6.1% as compared with the fourth quarter of the same year, the maximum increase in output being observed in the metal, electro-technical, chemical and food industries. The average real wage also increased: in the first quarter of the business year 1924-25 it amounted to 78.4% of pre-war rates, having increased 5-6% as compared with the fourth quarter of 1923-24. The increase of the daily real wage in some branches of industry was as follows: 9% in the metal industry, 1.7% in the textile, 7.2% in the chemical, 12% in the leather, 17% in the food, and 9.3% in the printing industries. There was no change in the mining industry.

The following table shows the changes in monthly wages in 1924 as compared with 1913 (percentage to 1913 wages):

Industries	months: VII-IX	X-XII
Mining	48.6	52.8
Metal	55.5	64.6
Textile	86.5	96.2
Chemical	90.8	100.9
Printing	93.0	106.1
Cotton	100.3	111.5
Leather	73.6	112.7
Food	124.8	143.8

We will give a few more figures concerning Leningrad industry. In July 1924 the average daily wage in commodity (real) roubles was 1 roub. 21 kop., whilst the output per head per day at pre-war prices amounted to 8 roub. 55 kop.; in December the wage was 1 roub. 45 kop. and the output 10 roub. 15 kop., namely the increase in wages and output during the

half year was 20% in round figures, whilst for the whole year — from January to December 1924, wages increased 40% and productivity of labour 35%. These figures show very graphically the positive results of unlimited piece rates and of the revision of the output standard.

We will give a few more figures to show how Leningrad wages compare with wages throughout the entire industry. According to latest statistics the average real wage of Leningrad workers is at present 94% of the pre-war wage in the same town (in 1913 the average wage in the Petersburg industries was 35 roub. 35 kop. whilst at present it is 33 roub. 65 kop.). In the various industries wages in Leningrad exceed pre-war rates as follows: in the food and tobacco industries 35%, in the chemical industry, 20%, in the cotton industry 19%, in the leather industry 16% and in the textile industry 8%. The wage of Leningrad metal workers is now 80% of the pre-war wage and the wage of the wood workers 85%.

On the whole, the above statistics show that the efforts of the trade unions and of our economists are attaining good results: productivity of labour increases, and with it wages also. If the rise in wages during the current business year is not as considerable as before, we have every reason to believe that the development and extension of our industries and increase of productivity of labour will enable us to improve considerably the material conditions of the workers in the near future. Mention must also be made of the fact that wages are not the only indication of improvement in the material and cultural conditions of the workers of the U. S. S. R., for besides wages, there are a number of State and municipal measures which benefit the workers and give them considerable privileges either free of charge or at a very low cost (housing policy, communal services, educational institutions, etc.).

The Soviet Power and Private Capital in Russia.

By Leo (Moscow).

A short time ago there was held in Moscow an extremely interesting meeting. One of the biggest halls in Moscow was almost entirely filled with so-called Nep people, as the new bourgeoisie in Russia are called, who have ventured to make their appearance after the introduction of the New Economic Policy, or "Nep". A discussion took place as to the role of private capital in Russia and the ways and means in order to attract it to commerce. The chairmanship of this meeting was in the hands of representatives of economic institutions of the Soviet government.

For Moscow, the capital of the country of the proletarian dictatorship, such a meeting, consisting for the greater part of representatives of private capital, is quite a unique phenomenon. The subject of the meeting, the role which private capital has to play under the present conditions in Russia, where, on the one hand, the central and most important positions of economy are in the hands of the proletarian State and, on the other hand, the forms of money and goods economy are still retained, touches one of the most interesting questions regarding the economic construction and economic future of Russia. This is all the more so as the bourgeois press abroad and its social democratic allies are deliberately spreading all kinds of stories regarding the role of private capital and of the new bourgeoisie in Russia. A favourite method of theirs is to represent things as if Communism and the commencement of a socialist organisation of economy are nothing more than a mere screen behind which the economic life is rapidly developing in private capitalist forms and in the interest of private capital.

The outward appearance of the meeting, where one saw more private capitalists than one ever sees in Moscow at one gathering, gave a quite different impression. The new bourgeoisie have a quite different appearance from that which one usually associates with the ordinary type of bourgeoisie.

Some prominent representatives of the economic institutions of the Soviet power delivered speeches, in which they sketched the problem which is implied when one speaks of the role of private capital in Russia. Comrades **Smilga**, the Vice Chairman of the State Commission for Planned Economy, **Scheinmann**, the People's Commissar for Home Trade, **Kaganovitch**, the Vice Chairman of the All-Russian Exchange Congress, **Schleifer**, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance, and **Syromolotov**, Deputy People's Commissar for Home Trade drew attention to the following facts:

The development of Russian industry is proceeding at a pace which, compared with the pre-war development, can be described as rapid. In the pre-war period an annual increase of production by 3 to 5% was regarded as very considerable, whilst the increase of industrial production in the past economic year already amounted to over 30%, and in the past half of the new economic year 25%, and in various branches of industry even to 40 to 50%. At the same time we observe, in consequence of the development of peasant agriculture, an increased purchasing power and an increased demand for goods in the villages. It is evident that these two factors render necessary an extension of trade, and in particular an increase of the commercial apparatus and of the capital invested in trade. The apparatus of the State and co-operative trade, in spite of the considerable progress they have already made in recent times, does not suffice for this rapid growth. The Soviet State is, therefore, faced with the question whether it will invest the net profits which it receives from industry in order to extend the industrial apparatus and renew machinery, or whether it will invest it as trading capital.

The second method is less advantageous for the general development of economy. The Soviet government will, therefore, to a certain extent, admit private capital in trade, in order to guarantee the turn-over of the industrial products, and thereby the development of industry, and to promote the exchange between town and country and, as a result, the alliance between the peasants and the workers.

Private capital, which is again, to a certain extent, making its appearance as a result of the situation created by the new economic policy, prefers to indulge in all kinds of shady business speculations which promise a high profit, which however attempt to evade the control of the State and of the State economy and disturb and hamper the general economic construction of the country. It is therefore in the interest of the Soviet State to indicate a definite field of activity for private capital, in order to have the possibility of constantly controlling its activity.

The various comrades who spoke pointed out that if private capital would abandon its shady backstairs speculations and develop its activity in the sphere indicated by the State, there would take place a certain alteration in the policy of the State towards trade-capital. The necessity of stabilising the valuta involved an extremely sharp struggle against private capital, as the latter's speculative tendencies, which were specially directed towards forcing up prices, were calculated to endanger the whole stabilisation reform, which is still the most important prerequisite for economic construction. Comrade **Scheinmann** stated at the same time, however, that the pre-condition for another regulation of the taxation of private capital is that private capital keeps its books correctly. The pre-requisite for the discounting of private trade bills by the State bank is that these bills are genuine. Some speakers who came forward as representatives of private capital, emphasised the political loyalty of the private business people, whereupon a comrade pointed out that it was not a question of political loyalty, but mainly a question of business loyalty and the exclusion of those jobbing and speculating methods which are mentioned in the penal code.

Some other representatives of private capital attempted in speeches and questions to complain that in proletarian Russia they had to take second place to the workers as being "non-working elements". It is difficult for them to obtain housing accommodation etc. This called forth a sharp reply on the part of various comrades. Comrade **Scheinmann** declared: there can be no talk of the government concerning itself with such questions. It is known to all that the government is conducting a proletarian class policy, that it will continue to do so and that it will give preference to the workers in everything. There can be no talk that the government is calling for private capital. In the first place it does not need it. It can live without private capital, and if private capital does not agree to the proposals which are made to it, then the government will draw the necessary conclusions. Secondly, it is here a question of business. Capital does not come when one asks for it, but only when it is assured of certain advantages. And if it does not come, it is only because it believes it can gain more by shady speculations.

The above is a picture of a meeting of private capitalists in Moscow. And this is how the representatives of the Soviet government talk to private capital. If private capital still exists today in Soviet Russia, and if it has certain economic functions, this is **only on condition that the economic power of the proletarian State is not touched.**

It is a different matter when, for example, Social Democratic ministers "attract" Barmat and his capital, and when the Soviet-government permits private capital under definite limitations and under a firm control, while at the same time, as was repeatedly stated at the meeting, the State and co-operative trade is given preference and support by all means. If private capital, however, indulges in shady speculations, then there exists for it the proletarian class justice and that terror of all terrors of the West European philistines, the G. P. U., or better known under the name of the Tcheka. It suffices to read the reports of the Law Court proceedings in the Russian papers in order to see how energetically and with what severity the profiteers are dealt with in Russia, while at the time it must be remembered that what is regarded as profiteering in Russia, would in other countries receive the euphemistic title of "a good stroke of business".

In addition, and that is the chief thing, the ruling class is and remains the working class. This is not only expressed in the political life of the country, but in all the affairs of daily life, in all spheres of social policy, housing policy, educational policy etc. That is the Alpha and Omega of the entire policy in Russia.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Results of the Plenary Meeting of the International Peasant Council.

By N. Orlov (Moscow).

On April 17th, the Plenary Meeting of the International Peasant Council, which met on April 9th and sat for a week, completed its work.

The International Peasant Council is still a very young organisation; it has only existed for a year and a half. During this short time it has by no means been able completely to develop its work. As yet the IPC. is far from having its own organisations in every country. There are still many countries in which it has no organising groups. In these circumstances, a numerous attendance at the Plenary Meeting was hardly to be reckoned with.

Nevertheless the actual attendance at the Plenary Meeting surpassed all expectations. Seventy-eight delegates from 38 countries were present at the Plenary Meeting, 49 with power to vote and 29 with only consultative power. All the most important countries of Europe were represented (Germany, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ireland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Lithuania, Esthonia and Carpathian Russia). There were also representatives from America (United States, Mexico, Canada), from Asia (India, Indonesia, Japan, Turkey, Persia, China, Korea), and from North Africa (Algeria and Egypt).

The most important work of the Plenary Meeting was done in its commissions. In a series of reports which the delegates laid before these commissions, they gave one another information as to the position of the peasant movement, and worked out a platform for the demands of the peasantry and a series of questions of organisation corresponding to the conditions in each individual country.

The chief merit of the Plenary Meeting consists in the fact that it exactly determines the character of the work which the IPC. and its adherents are to carry on among the peasantry. Up to the time of the Plenary Meeting, there was no unanimity in this question. There were comrades who wanted to construct the peasant organisations as a kind of party organisations and to give them a clearly pronounced political character.

Other comrades endeavoured to group the peasantry chiefly on the basis of economic needs and to give their organisations rather an economic character. The Plenary Meeting struck out on the only correct middle line: it resolved that the "peasants' unions" to be called into being by the IPC. should have no firmly pronounced political character as this would render it more difficult to embrace in the ranks of the IPC. all the fairly manifold groups of the peasantry which could join a more elastic organisation after the manner of a non-party peasant union. It was easy enough to come to an agreement on this platform; the experiences of a year and a half of the movement carried enough powers of conviction.

Among the resolutions of the Plenary Meeting another important one must be noted. The IPC. does not lay particular stress on

the formation of organisations and associations of its own, but chiefly on encouraging work within the already existing peasant parties and groups. The chief object should be, not to split these organisations nor to create new organisations which would necessarily be weak at first, but to capture, if not the whole movement, at least its most important part, and to impart to this section of the movement as revolutionary a character as possible.

As a young and therefore still weak organisation, the IPC. did not wish to split up its work into too many directions at first. It has therefore in its early days deliberately refrained from work in the colonial countries, as it was anxious first of all to consolidate its position in the European countries, where it can much more easily find co-workers. Now it can already register some successes in this field of action, some positions have been conquered, and therefore the Plenary Meeting considered it possible to extend its work to the more distant countries of Asia, Africa and America.

On the other hand, because of the necessity of economising its forces, the IPC. did not, during the first year and a half, concern itself with work among the women in the villages and among the peasant youth. At its last session, the Plenary Meeting considered it possible to make a start now on these two kinds of work and to carry them on energetically, and it addressed itself to the peasant women and to the youth of the villages in special proclamations.

In general it can be maintained that the Plenary Meeting achieved some very important work, the results of which will be evident in a very short time in the activities of all the organisations affiliated to the IPC.

INTERNATIONAL RED AID

The Results of the Conference of the International Red Aid.

By M. A. Kuschner (Moscow).

At the same time as the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive met, there took place in Moscow a conference of the representatives of the sections of the International Red Aid of the capitalist countries. The Conference had been convened by the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid. Responsible functionaries of the I. R. A. from 32 countries were present. Thanks to this fact the E. C. of the I. R. A. has obtained a more or less detailed survey of the work in the whole world. After the International Conference of the I. R. A. in July last year, this Conference was the first attempt, and it must be admitted a successful attempt, to have the representatives of the I. R. A. of the whole world gathered for the purpose of discussing the questions of the White Terror and the support given to the revolutionary fighters.

The representatives of the various sections emphasised that, thanks to the moral and material support of the I. R. A., the lives and the fighting spirit of the revolutionary fighters are being saved.

In analysing the work of the I. R. A. and emphasising the importance of supporting the prisoners of Capital, the participants at the Conference were unanimous as to the correctness of the slogans of the I. R. A. and the responsible role of their daily work and their written and verbal propaganda, which is based upon the description and the exposure of the horrors of the white terror. It was the unanimous opinion of all the representatives that the I. R. A. has become a powerful mass organisation of the working class.

The bourgeoisie has become aware of the fact that the slogans of the I. R. A. are easily understood by the masses. It has therefore declared war on the strongest sections of the I. R. A.

In Yugoslavia the I. R. A. organisations are being persecuted. The co-workers of the I. R. A. are arrested. The work of supporting those who are imprisoned and their families is extremely hampered by the bourgeois government. Under these circumstances it is very difficult for the I. R. A. to carry on activity on behalf of the revolutionary fighters in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the comrades do not lose courage and do not abandon their work.

In Poland the government not only persecutes the co-workers of the I. R. A. in order to punish them for the support they render the victims of the Polish torture chambers, but it also persecutes the members of the families who receive support

from the I. R. A. The I. R. A. in Poland is therefore compelled to conduct its work underground.

The Austrian section is forbidden by the bourgeois government. The Austrian bourgeoisie considers the activity of the I. R. A. as dangerous to the State.

The I. R. A. has won popularity even in such countries as Mexico and South Africa. We even have our organisations in these countries.

The Conference of the I. R. A. laid down a number of daily tasks which arise from the continually growing white terror.

One of the most important questions in the sphere of organisations was the question of the active cadres of the I. R. A. sections in the capitalist countries. A practical solution of this question will be able to secure us further successes in the development and consolidation of our maintenance work on an international scale. One of the most important principles of organisation in the work of the I. R. A. is the greatest possible creative initiative and self activity of the masses, both as regards the discovering of the best forms for rendering material and moral support to the revolutionary fighters, as well as regards the propaganda of the idea of proletarian solidarity. In this connection the Conference has approved the line of activity of the I. R. A. in the Soviet Union. The I. R. A. has succeeded in achieving considerable successes as regards supporting the revolutionary fighters, without increasing the paid staff, but by evoking a maximum of self-activity among the lower organisations.

In regard to the work of the I. R. A. in the capitalist countries, it was shown that considerable achievements have been made since the first International I. R. A. Conference, particularly in the sphere of extending the scope of the work, as well as in regard to the growth in the number of organisations, the strength of their membership, the increasing publishing activity the successful carrying out of campaigns etc.

At the same time the Conference pointed to a number of shortcomings in the work of individual sections: this applies before all to the failure to keep proper records as regards the number of those imprisoned and of the families requiring help, further, the belated information regarding the white terror; in some sections there is a tendency towards philanthropy and an inadequate development of the self-activity of the lower organisations etc.

The Conference expressed the view that it is necessary, in those countries where the I. R. A. is already a social mass organisation, to extend the work and, with the help of the I. R. A. nuclei, to transfer the centre of the work to the factories, the villages, the clubs, etc. The main slogans of the I. R. A. in this sphere must be: "not breadth but depth", further the selection and the consolidation of active cadres, the creation of a small but adaptable apparatus, along with the maintenance of a line of work directed towards public initiative and broad self-activity of the masses. This applies before all to the I. R. A. sections of the Soviet Union.

All the I. R. A. sections in the capitalist countries must devote their chief attention to strengthening the organisations, to the building up of the work of all the nuclei and committees upon the basis of an open mass organisation. Efforts must be made to carry out mass recruiting of new members of the I. R. A., to extend the educational importance of the I. R. A. and to place the whole maintenance work upon a broader basis. One of the most serious tasks of the organisation is presented by the decisions as to a broader and systematic organisation of the work of defending political prisoners at their trials.

As the Conference attached great importance to the work of maintaining the children of revolutionary fighters, it approved the proposal of the Executive Committee as to the organisation of a number of I. R. A. children's homes. In these homes the children of the imprisoned and fallen revolutionaries shall not only find shelter, but also receive education in the revolutionary class spirit.

The Conference also devoted attention to political emigrants and pointed out to the I. R. A. sections in the capitalist countries that it is necessary to regulate the stream of political emigrants and to extend the support of the political emigrants.

The Conference considered it necessary to transfer the experiences of the I. R. A. sections of the Soviet Union to all the other sections and to lay down for all sections the principle of minimum membership fees.

„The lowest possible membership fees for every individual worker and peasant, and at the same time the embracing of the broadest possible circles by the work of the I. R. A. — this must be the fundamental line of the work of the sections in this important question.“ (From the resolution of the Conference.)

These are in brief outline, the most important decisions of the Conference. We are firmly convinced that the workers and peasants of all countries will know how to strengthen the I. R. A. still further, in order to promote the work of supporting the revolutionary fighters. In this way they will prove by deeds that they are true to the slogans of international solidarity.

OUR MARTYRS

Kosta Jankov.

Among the latest victims to be claimed by the white terror in Bulgaria is our comrade Kosta Jankov, a son of the well-known Macedonian revolutionary Colonel Jankov, who in the year 1903, at the head of a division of insurgents fell while fighting against the troops of the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid, for the liberation of Macedonia. Comrade Jankov, on his father's side, was a distant cousin of the old leader and founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party, comrade Dimitri Blagoyev.

During his whole life comrade Jankov lived amidst revolutionary surroundings. Twenty years ago he entered the party of the Bulgarian Social Democrats (orthodox). During the war he served as a Major on the General Staff of one of the Bulgarian armies. After the war he wrote a book in which he sharply criticised those responsible for the military disaster at Dobro Polje, and exposed the whole criminal policy of conquest of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

During the September events of 1923 the Zankov government had him arrested, but soon set him free. Comrade Jankov was arrested in connection with the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia and at once shot by the Zankov fascists.

In Comrade Jankov the Bulgarian Communist Party and the revolutionary movement have lost one of their best workers.

Minkov.

On the 16th April 1925 Comrade Minkov, at the age of 35, fell at his post as a fighting revolutionary.

Comrade Minkov was the son of a Bulgarian officer with whom he took part in the world war. As an ensign in a technical corps he distinguished himself by extraordinary courage and bravery. After the war comrade Minkov, along with many young and enthusiastic officers who had perceived the predatory aims of the imperialist slaughter, joined the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, to which he remained true right up to the end of his life.

The Bulgarian government denounced him as being one of the organisers of the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia, and the fascist militia therefore surrounded the house in which he lived and fired upon it for several hours. Comrade Minkov, along with five other comrades who did not wish to be taken alive by the Zankov hangmen, courageously resisted up to the last.

Simeonov-Georgiev.

Comrade Simeonov-Georgiev, a young student, has been killed in Losence by the Zankov murder bands after the house in which he lived had been fired upon. The Young Communist League and the revolutionary movement of the working class and the peasantry of Bulgaria have lost in him one of the best, most courageous and self-sacrificing young revolutionaries.

Only 22 years old when he died, he had, while still a scolar, joined the communist movement. In 1920 he entered the Bulgarian Young Communist League. The outbreak of the revolt in September found him in Plevna, where he actively participated in the struggle.

After the suppression of the revolt he unwaveringly continued to work in the Young Communist League. At the end of March police agents surrounded the house in which he lived along with two members of the Young Communist League. In order not to fall alive into the hands of the police he defended himself heroically right up to the last.

DOCUMENTS

The First of May, a Day of Struggle against the Bourgeoisie and for Unity.

The following has already been communicated to the Press. Ed.

To the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

On the First of May the international proletariat must by strikes and demonstrations give expression to its will for further struggles. The First of May has always been a day when accounts have been settled and demands put forward. On this day the workers of all countries forsake the factories, come forward with the same demands, sum up the results of the past and map out the road for the future.

The year that has passed since May 1924 has been a year of democratic and pacifist illusions — which illusions faded before they had time to blossom. The era of democratic-pacifist pacifism, as a whole, has come to an end. The Labour Party Government in England has given place to the Conservatives. The Left Bloc in France has finally capitulated. In all countries the reins of government are being taken over from the petty bourgeois democrats by the representatives of the ruling classes. Throughout the whole world Reaction has grown stronger during the last year. Thanks to the pressure exerted upon the working class, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in achieving a temporary stabilisation at the cost of the further reduction of the standard of living and the enslavement of the working masses.

It appears as if a period of relative peace has been ushered in for the world, but this peace is only illusory. The old antagonisms have not only not been done away with, but have become more acute; the rivalry between the United States and Japan has increased, the desorganisation of the British Empire is increasing daily, the antagonisms in Central Europe and in the Near East and also between England and France are becoming more acute, the struggle of the colonies for their emancipation has made considerable progress in this year.

The whole capitalist world is being shaken at its foundations and is making desperate attempts to carry on the development of humanity in the old capitalist channels. But a permanent stabilisation is impossible for the capitalist world, whose balance has been shaken by the war and the great October Revolution. In the whole world struggles are increasing, not only between the various States and the nationalities, but between the classes. One conflict is followed by another. The efforts of the employers to reduce the cost of production at the expense of the workers, is met by a marked resistance on the part of the broadest masses, who frequently commence action against the will of the reformist leaders.

The effects of the notorious Dawes Plan, which was supposed to rescue not only Central Europe but the whole of humanity, are already being felt. The German proletariat, bound hand and foot by its own and by the foreign bourgeoisie, degraded to the level of coolies, with the participation and co-operation of the German and the international Social Democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, is endangering by the lengthening of the working day the position of the workers in the other countries, and affords to the bourgeoisie of the countries competing with Germany the possibility of robbing the workers of the Eight Hour Day and other concessions obtained by them immediately after the war.

Behind the growing reaction and the temporary and extremely insecure stabilisation, there is taking place an embittered struggle of the revolutionary workers of all countries for the establishment of the united front and the setting up of the unity of the trade union movement in order to check the offensive of capital. The idea of the united front which was promulgated some years ago is making ever greater progress. The slogan of the unity of the trade union movement put forward by the III. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions met with a great response among the workers organised in the Amsterdam International. During the last year there has taken place a profound change among the masses of a number of countries, especially in England and Belgium, that is, precisely where the masses have been for the greater part imbued with the old ideology and the old tactics.

In England, owing to a number of objective circumstances (Loss of the hegemony on the world market, unemployment, in-

capability of the English bourgeoisie to grant to the workers that which it was able to grant to them before etc.), the discontent among the broad masses is growing and they are seeking for new forms and methods of struggle. This discontent found expression in the endeavour to set up a united front and to meet the desire of the Soviet trade unions to bring about the unity of the trade union movement of the whole world.

The visit of the English Delegation to the Soviet Union, the Report of this delegation regarding their journey, the coming forward of the II. International and of the Right wing of the Amsterdam Trade Union International as opponents of unity, the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference which was concluded recently, the hostile attitude of the whole bourgeois press towards this Conference — all these are facts which go to show that the idea of unity is gaining ground, that it is attracting ever fresh millions of workers, and that Unity is an object of horror for the international bourgeoisie and the international Social Democracy. The more reason we have, therefore, to strive for the unity of the trade union movement which is divided in hostile sections.

The 1st of May 1925 must not only be a day of protest and fight against capitalist exploitation, but also a day of demonstration for unity. On this day the workers of all tendencies must give public expression to their will to set up united trade union organisations and to bring about the unity of the trade union movement on a national and an international scale. On this day the revolutionary organisation of all countries must do all in their power to organise joint actions with the workers affiliated to the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The united front and the unity of the trade unions is established and consolidated by joint actions and by common struggles.

Let us do everything which lies in our power to get the broadest masses to protest by strikes on this 1st of May:

Against the fascist reaction!

Against the reduction of the standard of life of the masses!

Against the danger of war!

Against the Dawes Plan!

and to demonstrate in a firm united front:

For the Eight Hour Day!

For the Independence of the Colonies and the Semi-Colonies!

For the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee!

For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement of the World!
Working men and Women!

The years of war, and especially the post-war period, go to show how the ruling classes are keeping their promises. Everything that the workers have obtained from the bourgeoisie has been wrested from it by struggle and by force. At the present time the bourgeoisie, which can no more rely upon its regular forces is beginning to set up in many countries special organisations, strike-breaking organisations, in the endeavour to organise ex service-men, and especially the sons of the bourgeoisie, for the fight against the workers.

If the broad masses of the workers allow the ruling classes the possibility of setting up their own organisations in the near future, of strengthening their forces and increasing the compulsory means of the State by the work of these voluntary strike-breakers and white guardist bands, if the workers do not respond to it by the re-establishment of the unity of the trade unions and the rallying of their forces, then the workers will for years to come be incapable of capturing power and of establishing a new society free from all exploitation.

The only way out for the working class is the welding together of all their forces into a single firmly clenched fist. Trade union unity is the most vital demand, it is the most urgent requirement of the working class.

May the working men and women of all tendencies, on the 1st of May, lay a firm and unshakable foundation stone for unity by their joint demonstration against the ruling classes. May this 1st of May be characterised in the whole world by the slogan of the unity of the national and international trade union movement.

Moscow, 15th April 1925.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.