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Speech by Comrade Zinoviev at a Meeting in Moscow on June 11th 1925.

Comrades,

In certain parts of the world events are now developing which constitute, although for the time being on a relatively small scale, the precursors of those great upheavals which will undoubtedly take place on a huge scale in the future. One of these is the war in Morocco. In Morocco there is proceeding a typical colonial war which affects only two of the great powers. But in this struggle there are to be seen, as the sun in a drop of water, the outlines of great events which await humanity in the next few years.

In one of his writings just before his death, comrade Lenin stated that, in about the years 1925 or 1928 a new great world war was to be expected which would cost humanity five to ten times more victims than the war of 1914 to 1918.

The events which we are now observing show that this prediction is undoubtedly proving correct. In fact the French Republic, in which the Mensheviks who defeated Poincaré are in power, a government which calls itself a democratic and a left government, the government of the Left Bloc, is now carrying on a typical colonial war of plunder and robbery

against a little people. One would have expected, after the lessons which the workers of the whole world received in the war of 1914—1918, that even the Party of the Mensheviks would have shown in this whole affair at least some vestige of shame. Meantime, the whole tragedy of the situation consists in the fact that in the year 1925 the French Party of the Mensheviks, who constitute a considerable power in France, have the brazenness to repeat word for word that which international Menshevism declared at the beginning of the war in the year 1914. The same deception, the same speeches regarding "defending the fatherland", the same false phrases and in reality the same help for the bourgeoisie of their own country.

If in the war of 1914 the state of affairs, at least at the commencement, was somewhat confused, if at that time it was not at once quite clear who was the aggressor and what was the question at stake, if at that time there was a whole tangle of complicated relations, in the present affair in Morocco everything is perfectly clear. Here there can be no two different opinions regarding the causes and the character of the war. On the one side there is a small people, on the other side a

great imperialist power, which is attacking a weaker country and is twisting a fresh knot of international conflicts through which it will be exceedingly difficult to cut. And if in the war of 1914 one still spoke of defending civilisation and democracy from the attacks of Russian Tsarism and such like, we have before us now a perfectly naked example of open robbery. Here no mention whatever is made of defending "culture", of rescuing Europe from Tsarism and the Cossacks. Here the only fact is that French imperialism is lusting for conquests; it is endeavouring to wrest from a small people, the Riff Kabyles, fresh stretches of territory. And therefore, in the summer of 1925, after the victory of the Left Bloc over Poincaré, after the victory of so-called Democracy, which has introduced a new era of pacifism etc., the French bourgeoisie sends its troops to Morocco and begins a new war.

Within the last few days the most prominent representatives of the French Parties have, in the press and in parliament, expressed their opinion regarding the events in Morocco. Renaudel states: "With what means does the government hope to end the military operations and to restore peace in Morocco? Right from the first commencement of the occupation of Morocco the Socialist Party pointed out the danger. Who is responsible for the present conflict, **We have been attacked** (just fancy, France has been attacked!) but who has provoked this attack? My criticism does not give you the right to believe that we are defeatists. The Socialist Party does not by any means demand the evacuation of Morocco (!) but it will not agree to a war for the sake of fame, a war in which the flower of the manhood of France would perish.

Renaudel asks, what is the number of the French troops in Morocco and what losses has France suffered there. He states that the hospitals of Casablanca are overcrowded with wounded and that there will soon be no place for further wounded. Renaudel further states that he is pleased to hear the declaration of Painlevé, that as soon as the French have won back their former positions they will cease military operations. Finally, he has found the most important argument against the war: "It is a question of the interests of France. Now, when in France there is a shortage of workers, we shall not agree to fresh victims in Morocco."

If there were no lack of workers, then the evil would only be half so great, then the hospitals could be filled with fresh wounded. But as (just think) there exists no unemployment in France, but on the contrary a lack of workers, the representatives of the French Mensheviks will not agree to permit fresh victims. That is the attitude of the representative of the French "Socialist" Party. Is this fellow not a traitor, a social chauvinist?

No less interesting is the attitude of Jouhaux. Jouhaux is the President of the French menshevik trade unions, even though he calls himself a syndicalist. The syndicalists at one time constituted a left wing element, but since the beginning of the war of 1914 they have, just as the Mensheviks, gone right over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Before all Jouhaux is overflowing with criticism. Against whom, do you think? the Imperialists? Oh no. The Communists! "The so-called internationalism of the leaders of the III. International is, in fact, only an appeal to the narrowest nationalism. The workers do not support it, in the same way as they are not minded to follow those who wish to extend an adventure and those who dream of fresh conquests. The workers of our country pronounce themselves categorically against any extension of military operations which would have as their aim, to penetrate to the Spanish zone." ("Le Peuple" of 23rd of May 1925.)

As you know, a struggle is proceeding in Morocco between the Riff people on the one side, the Spanish bourgeoisie on the other side and the French bourgeoisie on the third side. When the war between the Riff Kabyles and the Spaniards had come to complete standstill, the representative of the Left Bloc, Malvy, a member of parliament, who had been sent to Spain, endeavoured to kindle the war afresh. Now, when a bold word requires to be spoken against the capitalist plunderers who have attacked a small people and who are prepared to kindle a new European war for the sake of their predatory interests, the so-called representatives of the proletariat, the French Mensheviks, attack the III. International and issue the slogan: "We do not want any extension of military operations which would have as their aim to penetrate to the Spanish Zone".

Ten years have passed since the outbreak of the first world war. In this war the imperialists sacrificed ten million human lives. One of the greatest sufferers was France, where

to-day there is hardly a village which has been able to maintain anything approaching an appropriate proportion between the number of the male and female population. As a result of the first imperialist war, the French village has been devastated and destroyed. And now, at the very first attempt of the capitalists to inaugurate fresh slaughter, these mensheviks literally repeat what they said in the year 1914. You have here a sample of what the II. International would do tomorrow if a new war were to break out. From this example it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie and the social democracy now represent one camp as regards main questions, and that one cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie without having to defeat the treacherous leaders of the II. International.

But the Morocco war has served at the same time as a certain testing of those new forces which have grown up in the past few years. When the war of 1914 broke out, in France, in the first period, there was hardly a single man who ventured to oppose it. The first protests in France against the war were made in the year 1915. And then people came forward with a confused and vague programme. In Germany at that time Liebknecht stood alone in his opposition to the war. The events in France have shown that should the bourgeoisie now attempt to resort to a fresh war, we would not see one but thousands and thousands of Liebknechts in all the prominent countries of Europe. (Applause.)

I am happy to be able to say that the Communist Party of France, a Party which has grown strong in the last few years, has in this matter proved itself a Party worthy of the Communist International. There have been found people in this Party who succeeded in the French parliament in flinging a protest, full of contempt and indignation, in the face of the bourgeoisie, as well as of their lackeys in the menshevik camp. Especially worthy of note is the fact that, in the name of the Communist Party, a young comrade came forward, who only recently emerged from the ranks of the Young Communist League, a typical representative of the new generation of revolutionary leaders, Comrade Doriot, (applause) who delivered a splendid speech in parliament. After the speech of comrade Doriot, the Central organ of the Communist Party of Germany quite rightly published an article under the title: "Liebknecht lives"; yes, he lives in the new generation of workers!

The attitude of comrade Doriot is, so to speak, a small example of how the new forces which are ripening among the working masses would speak and act if events should develop and the bourgeoisie decide to kindle a new imperialist war on a large scale. French Democracy, supported by the Mensheviks, has carried out hundreds of arrests throughout the whole country. Communist workers who post up bills and leaflets against the war are being arrested, fresh proceedings are being brought against them. It would be a good thing if we were to send from this meeting brotherly greetings to all who have been arrested on account of the fight against war. (Applause.)

HANDS OFF CHINA

Appeal of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions to the Second International and the I. F. T. U. for Common Action.

Moscow, 18th June 1925.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has sent the following telegram to the Second International and to the Central Bureau of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation:

The events in China are assuming more and more a gigantic character. The Chinese labour organisations have, by means of numerous telegrams, requested help from all labour organisations of the world, without distinction. Regardless of all the differences existing between you and ourselves, we consider it our duty at this moment to submit to you the proposal to **organise joint moral and material aid for the Chinese workers.**

Among the class-conscious workers there can only be one opinion regarding the cruel acts of violence which are now being committed against the Chinese workers, students and the whole of the Chinese people by the military forces of the imperialist powers. There exists no doubt regarding the predatory

character of the imperialist action in China. With such a policy on the part of the imperialist powers the danger of world conflicts has again drawn nearer.

It is the most elementary duty of the European and American workers, regardless of tendency, to hasten as rapidly as possible to the aid of the Chinese people. We propose that you organise along with us meetings and collections on behalf of the striking Chinese workers and the families of the killed and wounded Chinese. It is necessary to organise permanent relief.

We likewise propose to convene an international Conference for the purpose of fully discussing the question as to other forms of aid for the Chinese people. In view of the urgent nature of the matter we request an immediate telegraphic reply.

(Signed):

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Kuusinen.

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Nin.

The Struggle of the Imperialists against the Chinese Labour Movement.

By G. Voitinsky (Moscow).

The working class in China is at present passing through the most difficult period of its development.

In the peculiar circumstances of China, a semi-colony, an object of interference on the part of world imperialism, the path of the struggle of the working class is very difficult and complicated. At its very inception, at its very first steps on the path to emancipation from slavery, the Chinese proletariat is met by a powerful enemy in the form of the imperialistic groups of Europe, America and Asia, and by their tool, the Chinese militarists.

The most recent development of events during the strike of the textile workers in Shanghai and Tsingtao must be viewed in this light.

Why do the foreign imperialists, in spite of their conflicting interests in every branch of industry and trade in China and in every part of this enormous country, form a united front to attack the Chinese proletariat? Why is it that on Chinese soil the foreign police meet the most elementary demands for the right to exist on the part of the Chinese proletariat, by firing into the unarmed crowds of men, women and children?

Why on the other hand, do the students, the offspring of the Chinese bourgeoisie, join with the working class and likewise sacrifice themselves in the struggle against the foreign capitalists? Why, finally, are even the Chinese chambers of commerce compelled to support the demand of the workers that foreign troops be withdrawn from the most important Chinese ports?

All these questions can be answered by the following formula: **The Chinese proletariat is inevitably taking up the position of an outpost in the war of liberation of the Chinese people, and therefore, in the nature of things, assumes more and more the hegemony of the national movement for the liberation of the Chinese people as a whole.**

When for the first time, in the beginning of 1922, a part of the working class of China, which was organised not on the model of class trade unions, but in a large guild, the Seamen's Union of Hongkong, declared war on the English shipowners, it was regarded both by the foreign capitalists and the Chinese public as a duel between the Chinese workers and the foreign oppressors.

At that time, England played the leading role in the political oppression of China. This happened two years after the destruction of the Japanese apparatus in China, the Anfu Club, with the president Siu-Shi-Tsan and his nephew, the younger Siu, the dictator of Mongolia. In the period between the Summer of 1920 and the Autumn of 1922 the English apparatus of colonisation in China had been extraordinarily strengthened.

The Sun Yat Sen Government which had only been formed at the beginning of 1922 in Shantung after Tshen Tsiun Min had been driven out, was a thorn in the flesh of the British imperialists and seemed to cloud their bright prospects of a further enslavement of China. The opposition of the seamen of Hongkong to the English shipowners and bankers at that time, an opposition which paralysed traffic in the Pacific Ocean and the Yellow

Sea, which left some hundreds of thousands of tons of goods lying in the docks and on shipboard, which drew the whole of the urban working population of South China into the anti-British movement, was a serious blow to the prestige of the English colonisation apparatus in China and a great help to the revolutionary government of South China.

With gnashing of teeth, the proud Britons had to yield to the Union of Chinese seamen and to comply with its demands, which were, it is true, modest enough. For the first time organised Chinese workers succeeded by means of a six weeks' strike in obtaining recognition of their Union and compensation for lost working time. Then as now, the whole English Press, was filled with lies and calumnies regarding the seamen on strike, then as now, the press hacks declared the influence of Bolshevik agitation to be the cause of the strike.

In order better to understand the significance of present events in China, it must be remarked that the representatives of American capital, at whose instigation the conference at Washington (end of 1921 and beginning of 1922) was called, with the object of procuring better entry and security for American capital into China, "sympathised" with the opposition of the workers to England and, in their semi-official organ in China, the "Weekly Review", reported as follows:

"The strike movement in China is growing slowly but surely... strikes in China are at present just as inevitable as floods and epidemics... China is not yet threatened with strikes involving the whole country, but the time will come when the masses will more clearly understand the significance of the Labour movement."

The prophecies of the ideologists of American imperialism are perhaps beginning to come true sooner than they expected. This is the chief reason for their hatred of the Chinese proletariat.

A second characteristic feature of the struggle of the Hongkong seamen was, that even on this first occasion of Chinese workers opposing the imperialists, the treacherous role played by the upper strata of the Chinese bourgeoisie, became evident. The Chinese Comprador (wholesale dealer) and banker Robert Hotun, well-known in Hongkong, who had been knighted by the king of England, cheated the Seamen's Union in his capacity as negotiator with the striking seamen, in that he first of all delayed payment of the sums agreed upon, and then refused to keep his promise.

* * *

As a result of the strike of the Hongkong seamen, a wave of strikes passed over the whole of China. The Labour movement began to take economic shape. So far the workers had not given expression to any political demands, neither had the students demonstrated in sympathy with the movement. This is explained by the fact that during the whole of 1922, the Chinese bourgeoisie and the intelligenzia still cherished hopes that the promises of the Conference at Washington would be fulfilled, i. e. that the Japanese troops would be withdrawn from the province of Shantung with its magnificent harbour of Tsingtao, and that the customs duties would be raised in favour of China.

After the Conference at Washington the reactionary movement in the country grew stronger. Wu Pei Fu carried out the wishes of Anglo-American capital. Partly in fulfilment of their wish, he entered into war against his former ally and party comrade (of the Tshili clique) Csang-Tso-Lin. The conflict between these two generals expressed the endeavours of the Anglo-American imperialists to make sure of an actual influence in China, which had been formally achieved at the Conference of Washington. And the victory of Wu Pei Fu over Chang Tso-Lin did, as a matter of fact, establish an extraordinary influence of the Anglo-American imperialists in Central and North China. The end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923 were characterised in China by the growing political reaction which threatened to spread through the whole country and to overthrow Sun Yat Sen's government in the South.

In the atmosphere of tense political reaction in the country, at the moment when Wu Pei Fu was, with the aid the Anglo-American imperialists, preparing military measures for the destruction of the nationalist revolutionary base in the province of Kwantung and for uniting the country, when he was stilling every appearance of social thought and preparing a new government, the strike of the railwaymen on the main line from Peking to Hankow broke out, in the chief sphere of influence of English

imperialism, on the line on which Wu Pei Fu had to transport his troops to the South.

The Workers suffered cruel defeat; they defended their trade unions and their flags, but the armed bands of Wu Pei Fu shot down the workers and their leaders and threw many into prison. The workers' unions, or rather the embryos of unions, were compelled to become strictly illegal.

But the rise of the railwaymen of the line Peking to Honkow in February 1923 had immense political consequences. Wu Pei Fu was revealed in his true character to the whole of the Chinese people. The students revolted. Wu Pei Fu began openly to place Chinese policy on the same level with the English apparatus of colonisation. And, regardless of the fact that reaction continued to rage throughout the country, a change took place in the political life of the land; Wu Pei Fu had to abandon his expedition to the South and to pay close attention to events in Central and North China. The heroic behaviour of the Chinese railwaymen in 1923 was a blow to the most reactionary part of imperialism in China, to the apparatus of the Anglo-American imperialists.

There is no doubt that the attitude of the railwaymen of Hankow, which rendered it impossible for Wu Pei Fu to rely on the hinterland, stimulated Chan Tso-Lin to fight against Wu Pei Fu, and was to a certain extent a factor in the overthrow of Wu Pei Fu's power in the autumn of last year.

Wu Pei Fu's fall set the nationalist revolutionary emancipation movement in action throughout the country, extended the base of the Kuomintang party and made it possible openly to carry on an anti-imperialist campaign in the whole country for several months.

Of course this process was not systematically organised, nevertheless the Chinese proletariat, when fighting its own battle in its own interests, is, in the nature of things, the most consistent and irreconcilable fighter against the colonial yoke of imperialism, and thus becomes the leader of the whole national movement.

This and this alone explains that unprecedented wrath and cruelty with which the headmen of Anglo-Japanese imperialism are using their whole apparatus of brigandage in the suppression of the workers' strikes in Shanghai and Tsingtao. This also explains the other fact that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people is siding with the Chinese proletariat in its present fight. The struggle of the masses indeed in its totality has now a more consistent and revolutionary character than was the case a few years ago, thanks to the circumstance that the class war of the Chinese proletariat is more and more becoming the backbone of the national emancipation movement.

What then is the most distinguishing feature of recent events in China? That the proletariat of Shanghai and Tsingtao, in the course of their struggle against the Japanese employers, are again striking out at the most dangerous group of imperialists in the country. Japan has in fact in the course of the past ten months, i. e. since the October revolution in Peking, once more become the most important imperialistic power in China, the most important in that the power of the State in China, in the form of Tuan Tsi Tshui and partly in the person of Chang Tso Lin, is on the side of the Japanese imperialists.

To the extent that its influence grew, Japanese imperialism became more and more an aggressive power against the liberation movement in the country, which grew irresistibly in consequence of the victory over Wu Pei Fu and over the Anglo-American colonisation apparatus.

The elementary outbreak of the workers of Shanghai and Tsingtao, which drew the broadest masses of the urban population of China into the fight against the imperialists, can only be explained by the unspeakable insolence of the Japanese imperialists who were convinced that they held a position of supremacy in the suppression of China. The struggle against the Japanese imperialists and the English imperialists who came to their help, is now part of the most dangerous and most important front of the anti-imperialist movement in the country.

All the slogans raised by Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the national revolutionary party, Kuomintang, have now, thanks to the struggle of the proletariat, become essential demands of the whole Chinese people.

The fight in all the great towns of China is being fought round these slogans; it was for them that the general strike

in Shanghai, which may in a few days spread to other industrial towns in the country, was declared.

The fight of the Chinese proletariat in these days is a new stage in the emancipation movement of this vast country, a stage which will call forth new, decisive battles against imperialism at its most vulnerable spot.

Manifesto of the Communist Party of China.

Moscow, 17. June 1925.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has issued a Manifesto in which it states its attitude to the Protest Movement in China:

The blood bath in Shanghai is not a chance occurrence but is the inevitable consequence of the imperialist policy in China and the result of its enslavement. The history of China since the Nanking Treaty is a history of bloody suppression. But the tragedy of Shanghai has led to the result that a fresh page has been opened in the history of the development of the Chinese national consciousness.

The imperialists are united in their hostility to the Chinese national movement, but this does not prevent conflict between the imperialists themselves, who are now endeavouring to cast upon each other the responsibility for the events in Shanghai. This is expressed in Japan's attitude towards England and in the hypocritical declaration of sympathy on the part of Germany for the Chinese students.

The movement which has arisen out of the strike in Shanghai must set itself wider aims than the punishment of the guilty and compensation for the victims; it must pursue not juridical, but political aims, before all the annulment of the unjust treaties of the foreign powers with China and the privileges for foreigners, otherwise there will exist no guarantee for the security of the lives of the Chinese.

The Communist Party has the following tasks:

First, to convert the present movement into a permanent process, the aim of which will be the abolition of foreign domination.

Secondly, to rally together all classes in Chinas by their participation in the national revolution and by attracting the broadest masses of the people into the struggle.

The Communist Party must warn the Chinese people against relying upon diplomatic negotiations and attempts at adjustment, and not to forget that the present Chinese government of Tuan She Sui, is the tool of the imperialists, just as Chang Tso-Lin is a paid agent of Japanese imperialism. A compromise is absolutely impossible. It is better to suffer a defeat than to make use of the enemy as a protector and mediator.

The imperialists are endeavouring to split the movement by asserting that the movement proceeds from the Communists and the Soviet Union. If it be true that the Communists are the originators of the movement, the Chinese people ought to rally all the more to the Communists who represent the interests of the whole of the Chinese people. If it be true that the Soviet Union is supporting the movement, this would only serve to prove that the Soviet Union is the sole friend of China. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union is unable to help China immediately to shake off the imperialist yoke.

The events in Shanghai have shown that all sections of the Chinese people recognise the necessity of supporting the workers and peasants against imperialism. Hundreds and thousands of Chinese heroically faced the guns and rifles of the foreign imperialists which were aimed at them. In spite of Martial Law, in spite of threats and acts of violence, the whole population of Shanghai is unanimously supporting the strikers. The sacrifices will not be in vain. The Chinese people will carry on the cause of liberation to a victorious end.

Appeal of the Chinese Trade Union Federation

Moscow, 17th June 1925.

The Chinese Trade Union Federation has issued an appeal to the labour organisations of all countries which states:

The events in Shanghai have vividly illuminated the true situation in China. The success of the Chinese movement for emancipation, the victorious struggle in Canton, the development of the students' movement, the strike in Shanghai, Tsingtao and Hankow, the strengthening of the Trade Unions, the founding of the Chinese Trade Union Federation — all this is beginning to render world imperialism uneasy, which has been wont for decades to enslave, plunder and destroy our country with impunity.

The workers of Tsingtao and Shanghai put forward modest economic demands, but were shot down in the most brutal manner by the hirelings of the Japanese factory owners. The students of Shanghai arranged a peaceful demonstration to express their solidarity, but the demonstration was drowned in blood by the English police. The mass murder and man-hunting in Shanghai, which were carried out by the imperialist police as a form of sport, lasted for a week. The imperialist forces were strengthened every day by fresh warships.

Yet mass murder, armoured cars and naval forces will not intimidate the working masses, but will weld them more firmly together. The imperialist challenge was replied to with the General Strike which has already lasted sixteen days. The masses of Chinese people are fighting for freedom, independence and a human existence.

In this historical hour, we, the organised workers of China, appeal to you, the organised workers of all countries, to grant us powerful support by means of brotherly help. In serried ranks we must march forward against the common enemy; therein lies the pre-requisite for our emancipation.

Down with bloody imperialism!

Hands off China!

Up with the United Front of the world proletariat!

Up with the national emancipation movement of the peoples of the East!

Invitation of a British Trade Union Delegation to China.

Moscow, 22nd of June 1925.

The Chinese Railway Workers' Federation has sent the following telegram to the General Council of the British Trade Unions:

"The Chinese Railway Workers' Federation expresses its thanks to the organised workers of England for the moral support which they have received from England in this critical moment of a bitter struggle of the working masses of China for their class interests and for the emancipation of the people of China.

We attach the greatest importance to a visit to China by a delegation of the British Trade Unions, which will become acquainted on the spot with the fearful slavish conditions of the Chinese workers. The whole working class of China would enthusiastically welcome the arrival of your delegation.

The delegation would be the best means of establishing brotherly relations between the British and the Chinese working class, at the moment when British imperialism, along with Japanese and other imperialisms, is attempting to fasten fresh chains upon the people of China. Your arrival would suffice to expose the lies and the calumnies of the imperialist press, which is attempting to represent the revolutionary and the anti-imperialist movement in China as a fight against foreigners.

We await your answer whether a delegation will be sent."

(Signed): The Chairman of the Federation: Teng Pe.

The Secretary: Lo Tchang Luen.

THE BALKANS

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. against the Hangmen of the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants.

For the Revival of the Bulgarian Labour Movement!

To the Workers of all Countries!

Millions of workers are still full of indignation about the bestial ill-treatment of our Bulgarian brothers by the Zankov bandits.

Since the slaughter of the Paris Communards, there has been nothing in the international labour movement to equal this inhuman cruelty.

The vanguard of the working class throughout the world salutes the open grave of Marco Friedmann and his comrades:

"You are enshrined in the hearts and minds of the working class. The memory of your heroism and your steadfastness before your brutal judges will give new strength to the proletarian International to carry to an end the struggle which you have sealed with your life".

The Bulgarian blood-bath is a black page in the history of the Second International. In the days when the heart's blood of the Bulgarian workers and peasants flowed in streams, the Bulgarian Social Democrats assured Zankov of their solidarity. There was not a word of protest from the leading organ of the Second International. A whole nation is being murdered. Their cry for help does not reach the ears of those who pretend to be the defenders of the interests of the working class.

Summon all the leaders of the Second International — Vandervelde and Friedrich Adler, Wels and Tom Shaw before the Court of Proletarian Conscience.

Workers of the Second International,

Ask your leaders!

What have you done to save your Bulgarian brothers from Zankov's guillotine and gallows?

You 20 million members of the Amsterdam Trade Union International!

Ask Oudegeest and Jouhaux, Leipart and Thomas!

What have you done to prevent the assassination of thousands of Bulgarian trade-unionists? To call a halt to the destruction of the Bulgarian trade-union movement by a band of murderous bandits?

It is not yet too late!

The best among the Bulgarian people have been murdered. **But the Bulgarian labour movement must be saved.**

All trade-unions, factories and works throughout Europe and America, must protest in a loud and unmistakable manner:

Down with Zankov's Bloody Regime!

For the revival of the Bulgarian Labour Movement!

Let peasant and working-class Bulgaria be encircled by proletarian solidarity!

Compel your Trade Unions, compel the Amsterdam International to send to Bulgaria a Trade Union Commission of Enquiry under proletarian control.

Demonstrate before the Embassies of the Murderers of the Bulgarian working-class!

Workers of Great Britain!

Include Bulgaria in your struggle for the Unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

Send a delegation from your trade-unions to the Bulgarian trade-unions.

Workers of France, Germany, America and Czecho-Slovakia!

Think of Bulgaria at all your demonstrations and Congresses. **Demand workers' delegations. Organise the Campaign for the admittance of these delegations by the Zankov government.**

Workers of all countries unite in order to help your Bulgarian brothers!

Do not forget the living victims of the white terror in Bulgaria.

The stream of proletarian solidarity must flow to Bulgaria from a thousand sources.

Put an end to the rule of the murderers of the working population of Bulgaria.

Long live the Bulgarian Labour Movement!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Call a Halt to the Judicial Murders in Bulgaria.

To the Workers of all Countries!

To all Cultural and Humanitarian Circles and Organisations!

There is no end to the innumerable political murders and the white terror in blood-drenched Bulgaria.

The thousands of political murders without trial or sentence are now being replaced by a system of political mass judicial murders, and are thus being continued by "legal" means.

The courts martial are working feverishly. By means of an Exceptional Law, they are condemning people to death, not merely on account of their political convictions and for propagating their ideas, but also for rendering the most elementary humanitarian help to the persecuted political martyrs, even when this help has been rendered by the nearest friends, relatives and members of the family to persons who have been placed "outside the law".

The telegraphic agencies daily report fresh political trials; further death sentences and executions.

Up to now the following death sentences have been imposed, which will be carried out by the victims being hung in public:

In the town of Haskovo: 4 death sentences
 Varna: 3 death sentences.
 Kasanlik: 4 death sentences.
 Philippopolis: 3 death sentences.
 Sofia: 4 death sentences, which have already been carried out.
 Gabrovo: 1 death sentence.
 Tchirpan: 4 death sentences.
 Russe: 1 death sentence.

In Sofia and in almost all provincial towns, the above and many other death sentences are about to be carried out.

A few days ago three active officers were condemned to death in Sofia. In a few days time there will commence the trial of 34 young people (mostly students, school boys and school girls). In Plevna, Schumen and Vratza — in fact everywhere, there are monster trials in which the prosecution demands the death sentence.

A short time ago the news arrived of the foul murder of the well-known people's poet, George Mielff. He had been sentenced to a year's imprisonment with hard labour on account of his poems upon the September revolt of 1923. He was murdered in prison in the most bestial manner. His corpse was found to be fearfully mutilated.

It is in this atmosphere of bloody murder that the old prosecutions, as for example the case against the former Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria in connection with the September revolt of 1923, are being raked up again in order to impose further death sentences in the prevailing bloody atmosphere. Every day brings with it new political mass trials with fresh death sentences. In addition to the workers and peasants who are being persecuted on account of their political convictions, there are also highly educated intellectuals, such as lawyers, physicians, teachers, officers etc. Among the arrested and condemned to death there are many women, young workers, scholars and students.

By rousing physical fear and at the cost of countless political murders, the furious bloody government of Zankov is prolonging its criminal existence by carrying on an uninterrupted, horrible civil war against the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people.

The assertions of the Bulgarian government that the accused and condemned are "conspirators" and "common criminals" are nothing else but lies. The 20,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals, scholars and women, who have been murdered up to now could not be conspirators. The political activity of the greatest mass organisations of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria, which have been placed outside the law, cannot possibly be of a criminal character.

And in face of these unheard of cruelties of the white terror in Bulgaria and the judicial murders which are now commencing on a mass scale, the world of the Comfortable and Satisfied looks on with dull indifference or even with satisfaction. Nay more. The modern barbarians amuse themselves and, by means of films and illustrations, make out of the bestial executions and torturings

of the martyrs in Bulgaria, novel spectacles for greedy eyes and for nerves lusting for sensation. It is high time, and we therefore sound the alarm and appeal to all workers, peasants and cultural and humanitarian organisations, to all honest-minded men, regardless of political conviction, to join in the protest action of the International Red Aid against the bloody regime of Zankov in Bulgaria and for the defence of the thousands of victims of this regime.

The need of the hour is the setting up and sending of commissions, comprising representatives of the workers and of the various cultural and humanitarian organisations, for the purpose of examining and investigating the real situation in Bulgaria and to protect the thousands of political prisoners who are threatened with capital punishment.

Put an end to the political judicial murders!

Comprehensive political amnesty!

Down with the bloody regime in Bulgaria!

These are the cries which must to-day be raised in all working class and humanitarian circles! These are the demands which must be raised by every man living in the civilised Twentieth Century, in view of the insane government hangmen in Sofia.

The Balkan Bureau of the International Red Aid.

The Balkan Conference of the Zankov International.

By Eugen Paul (Reichenberg).

The "socialist" Balkan Conference which was held in Prague on the 12th, 13th and 14th of June, is a fresh milestone on the road of international social democracy to undisguised — Fascism. It is true, the Bulgarian social democrats are no longer on the road to fascism, as they have long since arrived there and have become an active auxiliary troop of the white bandits. But the Second International as a central body seemed up to now not to have reached this pinnacle of its development. It is true, it tolerates a Noske, a Hoersing, a Peidl and a Sakasov in its ranks, but it avoided demonstratively showing solidarity with these social democratic mass murderers; it still preserved the last remnants of a sense of shame. The Prague Conference, at which the "Socialist Labour International" was represented by Friedrich Adler, Tom Shaw and — as substitute for Vandervelde — De Brouckère, has now proved that the II. International is fully conscious of its historical task and that it is prepared, quite openly and undisguised, to espouse fascism.

The Conference had to deal with the situation in the Balkan countries. Its most important point, however, was its attitude regarding the conduct of the Bulgarian social democrats towards the Zankov murder system. The basis of the deliberations was the decision adopted by the Executive of the Socialist Labour International regarding this question on the 10th of May in Paris, the main clause of which reads:

"The Labour and Socialist International approves of the Bulgarian Social Democrats having, in their struggle against these dangers, courageously denounced martial law and refused to be associated with it, whilst, at the same time denouncing the horrible outrages. It invites the Party to persist in its attitude and to call upon all the democratic forces of Bulgaria to triumph over the designs of reaction and of violence."

This decision which was an undisguised declaration of solidarity with the Bulgarian "comrades", and therefore indirectly with Zankov, formed the basis of the report which the commission, set up in May for the purpose of investigating in the matter, has now delivered. In the report the commission covers itself with the mantle of unapproachable neutrality and love of justice. There exists a "twofold evil": the violent elements among the communists and agrarians, and the Zankov government, which "has established the reign of white terror". The commission records the "energetic will of the Socialist Party of Bulgaria, placed between two criminal and violent groups, to fight the one as much as the other with great energy". This "energetic" struggle was revealed already at the Balkan Conference on the 13th of March 1924, when the Bulgarian social democrats demanded the restoration of "democratic" proportional representation, the immediate carrying out of parliamen-

tary and municipal elections, amnesty etc. And in order to prove that the Bulgarian social democrats are now still fighting "energetically against the one as much as the other criminal group", the report gives particulars of the present programme of the Bulgarian social democrats, who today, after thousands of innocent people have been murdered or are pinig in prison, put forward, among other things, the following unadulterated democratic demands:

Release of those who have been arrested without sufficient grounds!

Cessation of all executions without trial!

It logically follows from this that the Bulgarian social democrats — of course in the name of democracy — have no objection whatever to executions provided there has been a trial.

This "energetic struggle" of the Bulgarian social democrats against the white terror, and the democratic demands with which they embarrass Zankov, made such a profound impression upon the commission that it came to the following conclusion:

The commission cannot limit itself to taking note of the efforts and the intentions of Bulgarian social democracy, but it considers it its duty to declare that the Bulgarian social democracy, in the dangerous and strenuous struggle in which it is involved, can count upon the effective support of all the parties affiliated to the Socialist Labour International.

If the declaration of solidarity of the 10th of May was, perchance, the product of a over hasty adoption of a decision on the basis of insufficient reports, the decision that has been adopted in Prague — the Conference unanimously approved the report of the commission — was arrived at after mature consideration, and is therefore to be regarded as the final attitude of the Second International towards the Zankov murder regime. Sakasov and his comrades, the devoted assistants of Zankov, who, in their declarations submitted to the Sobranje (Bulgarian Parliament), as well as in their memorandum addressed to the parties of the Second International, have approved the repressive measures of Zankov, have not only not been expelled from the International, they have not even been censured, but on the contrary, are held up as models of true socialists fulfilling their duties, and all "the parties affiliated to the Socialist Labour International" are called upon to render "effective support" to the Bulgarian comrades. This means that the support of the most bloody white terror, of the Zankov mass murderers, has ceased to be a private affair of the Bulgarian social democracy. It has become the common task of the Second International and part of the official programme of the Socialist Labour International. The last dividing wall between social democracy and fascism has fallen; soon, nothing whatever will separate the two most reliable auxiliary troops of the counter-revolution.

The History of the Bloody Terror in Bulgaria.

By G. Dimitrow (Moscow).

The Bulgarian terror is by no means an ordinary occurrence. Although it reflects the general offensive of bourgeois reaction in the whole capitalistic world, this terror differs essentially, both in its character and its methods, from the terror in Roumania and Jugoslavia, in Italy and Spain, in Poland, Hungary and Esthonia and in all other countries.

The essential feature of the terror in Bulgaria is the systematic, organised, physical extermination of the advance-guard of the working class and of the mass of peasants. For the first time in the new political history of peoples, the bourgeoisie, as the ruling class, has shown itself not content merely to rob the mass of the people of their elementary rights and liberties, but is seeking to annihilate the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement by the wholesale extermination of the most awakened and leading sections of the working masses, making use for this infernal purpose of the State apparatus which is in its hands.

How can these peculiarities of the Bulgarian terror be explained?

We must first of all take into consideration that the most important and the leading strata of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, which do not include as much as 5% of the whole population of the country, have arisen from the ranks of the old usurers

and traders who, during the Turkish rule, were agents and middlemen of the Turkish authorities for the exploitation and suppression of the Bulgarian working population. This stratum of the bourgeoisie was saturated to the bone with the shameless Jesuitism and Turkish barbarism which prevailed in the old Turkish empire.

The bourgeoisie maintained an aloof and treacherous attitude towards the revolutionary movement against the Turkish regime, a movement which was guided by the national intelligenzia and supported by the peasants and manual workers. Botew and Lewski were, for instance, victims of the treachery of the Bulgarian "Tschorbadshi" (the rich), the lackeys of the Sultan and of the Turkish Pashas.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie received the power and its position of supremacy simply as a gift from the hands of Czarist Russia after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. It never conducted a revolutionary campaign and has no revolutionary traditions.

The chief sources of its increase of wealth were the heavy taxation of the mass of the people, trade and speculation in agricultural products, Government loans and the profits they made as commission for their services in helping to subjugate Bulgaria to the Great Powers in connection with the latter's imperialistic ambitions in the Balkans.

During the 25 years' rule of the Czar Ferdinand, that crowned agent of German and Austrian imperialism, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, arch-thief that it is and incapable of independent industrial activity, lusted after rich territories in the Balkans — after Macedonia and Thrace, and dreamed of establishing its supremacy in the Balkans.

It was just in the service of the policy of conquest that the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, under Ferdinand's lead, established an intolerable militarism in the country and prepared on all sides for war against Turkey, in whose hands the territories in question were at the time.

And in 1912, as is well known, they, in alliance with Serbia and Greece and under the protection of Czarist Russia, declared a Balkan war against Turkey. The Turkish army, towards which the local population was hostile, was quickly beaten. Macedonia and Thrace were evacuated by the Turkish armies. Bulgarian troops reached Chatalja, close to the gates of Constantinople itself.

Two years later however (September 1915) Bulgaria was again drawn into the European war, on the side of the Central Powers. The rapid annihilation of Serbia and the occupation of Macedonia as far as Salonika once more turned the heads of Ferdinand and the rapacious Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

Discontent with the prolongation of the war became very widespread throughout the country. It even extended to the army at the front, and was intensified there owing to the brutal treatment of the soldiers and the frequent executions. On September 10th 1918, Bulgarian troops mutinied at Dobropolje, abandoned the trenches, and marched with their weapons in their hands to Sofia, to settle accounts with those responsible for the war. Thanks to the German artillery in Bulgaria, the revolting Bulgarian troops, marching on Sofia, were beaten. That time the bourgeoisie succeeded in retaining the power in its own hands. It was only compelled to sacrifice its Czar Ferdinand, who was forced to abdicate in favour of his son Boris and to flee the country.

For the second time the nationalistic policy of conquest of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie had met with a complete reverse. Bulgaria, instead of annexing Macedonia, Thrace and even Albania, received the treaty of Neuilly. The districts of Zaribrod and Bossilegrad were taken from it, its standing army was abolished, the number of its fighting force limited and the payment of heavy reparations was demanded.

The bourgeoisie, which held the people and its mass parties — the Agrarian League and the Communist party — responsible for the bankruptcy of its adventurous policy, foamed with unbounded rage and lust for revenge on the Bulgarian workers and peasants. But at that moment when, after the victory of the Russian revolution, when the wave of revolution was rising throughout Europe and in the Balkans, and when the Bulgarian people was peremptorily demanding reparation for the horrors and distress it had experienced during the war, it was obviously impossible to give vent to this rage and thirst for revenge on the part of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it felt obliged to make some temporary concessions to the tortured mass of the people in order to maintain its class-supremacy in the storms which had arisen.

So the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, with clenched fist and gnashing of teeth, reconciled itself with the assumption of power by Stambolisky's peasant government at the end of 1919, hoping that it, as had the social democrats in Germany and other countries, would rescue the bourgeoisie from the danger of revolution, and that the bourgeoisie would then manage to take the power once more into its own hands and to revenge itself to the full on the people.

In spite of its half-hearted and inconsistent policy, Stambolisky's peasant government attacked the vital interests of the bourgeoisie in a way that made itself felt. It followed, though with vacillating footsteps, the path of transferring the burden of the serious consequences of the war, the economic destruction and the crisis, mainly on to the shoulders of the bourgeoisie. It imposed taxes on war profits, on the profits of limited companies and on unearned income. It introduced the grain monopoly, thus depriving speculation capital of its previous enormous profits. It restricted the possibility of speculation capital making use of the credit of the State. A law as to the expropriation of houses for public purposes was passed; a threat to house-property owners. A law as to the ownership of land by the workers was passed; a menace to large property owners.

At the parliamentary elections on March 28th 1920, the whole of the bourgeois parties and the social democratic party together had 300,000 votes out of 1 million votes cast in the whole country, but on April 22nd 1923 they polled only 272,000 votes, whereas the Agrarian League increased its vote from 347,000 to 557,000 and the Communist party from 182,000 to 220,000. Whilst the votes of the bourgeois parties and the social democrats fell from 38% to 26%, the votes of the agrarians and communists together increased from 62% to 74%.

The exasperation of the bourgeoisie reached its utmost limits. Their first revenge exceeded all bounds. Having lost all hope of recapturing power by legal means, by way of elections, they concentrated their whole attention and all their efforts on preparing conditions in which they could, by force and by unparliamentary methods, liberate themselves from the peasant government and from the organised movement of the masses of workers and peasants in the country.

With this object in view they mobilised, with the support of the Court, the ex-officers of the army and the mass of officers who had been placed on the retired-list because of the reduction of the army. They also made use of the 10,000 Russians of Wrangel's army who were in the country. They won over to their side the armed Macedonian organisation. They made sure of the support of England and Italy who were highly dissatisfied with Stambolisky's policy, because of the advances he made to Yugoslavia, France's agent in the Balkans. England, who needed the Balkans in order to strengthen its influence in Asia Minor and to form a solid base for its campaign against the Soviet Union, regarded the Stambolisky Government and the mass communist party in Bulgaria as a serious obstacle, and willingly gave support to the conspiracies of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

Having thus laid its plans, both internal and external, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie watched for the moment for decisive action. The subsidence of the wave of revolution in Europe helped in the realisation of its aim. The immediate danger of the proletarian revolution had passed. The policy of the Stambolisky government, which was hostile to the workers and which was doing more and more to encourage dissension between the working class and the mass of the peasants, also helped the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

And, on June the 9th 1923, the crew of grasping bankers and speculators, generals who had come to grief in the war and professors who coveted an easy political career, all of whom relied on the support of the plotting military league "Kubrat", overthrew Stambolisky's parliamentary peasant government by means of a military revolt, with the help of Wrangel's followers who were at the time in Bulgaria and of the Macedonian organisation. They seized the power in one night by sheer methods of violence, killed a number of the peasant ministers, deputies and other distinguished politicians, filled the prisons with thousands of peasants and workers who had opposed the overthrow of the government, and subjected the Bulgarian people to a military dictatorship.

The peasant government was replaced by the Zankov Government which was formed on the spot from all the bourgeois parties, including even the social democrats, who amongst

them all had only 30 deputies in a Parliament consisting of 245. The enormous majority of the Bulgarian people was decidedly opposed to the late government's overthrow and showed open hostility to the government imposed upon them. The fatal mistake of the communist party in remaining passive during the overthrow of the government, directly contributed to the bourgeois success. The gang of bankers, generals and professors who were of the opinion that the Agrarian League, having been deprived of their leaders during the putsch, the mass organisation of the Bulgarian peasants was already destroyed, proceeded with the preparations necessary for the destruction of the Labour movement, of the communist party which numbered 40,000 members and 220,000 voters, of the trade unions with 35,000 organised workers of both sexes, of the workers' co-operative association "Osobodnenij" with 70,000 members, of the organisations of women and juveniles and of the wide-spread Labour Press which had a larger circulation than that of all the bourgeois and social democratic newspapers put together.

And indeed, two months after the June revolution, on September 12th 1923, the Zankov Government arrested more than 2000 functionaries of the Labour movement (deputies, municipal and district councillors, mayors of villages, journalists, party and trade union secretaries etc.) on the pretext that the workers and peasants were preparing an armed insurrection in order to establish the Soviet power in Bulgaria. They closed the workers' clubs and turned them into police stations, confiscated the property, the printing works, the private capital and the archives of the party and trade union organisations, prohibited their newspapers and every other activity and at the same time proceeded with a wholesale persecution of thousands of members and partisans of the Labour movement.

In this way the Zankov Government, in 1923, provoked the September insurrection of the Bulgarian workers and peasants who rose to protect their rights and liberties of which they had been robbed without any ceremony, and to protect their lawful existence.

Having succeeded in suppressing the popular rising with the help of Wrangel's followers and of the armed sections of the Macedonian organisation, the Zankov Government murdered some thousands of the prominent workers, peasants and intellectuals who were under arrest (the greater part of whom had been imprisoned during the insurrection), and drove thousands of others out of the country.

In spite of all this however the Government did not succeed in restoring peace in the country and ensuring a tranquil rule. On the contrary, the September massacre only served to increase the discontent and irritation of the people against the regime of terror. The mass of peasants and workers who, by bitter experience, had thoroughly learned that the cause of their defeat lay in their lack of unity, continued with united forces the fight against their executioners and for the recapturing of the rights and liberties of which they had been robbed.

The Zankov Government replied to this justifiable self-defensive fight, in the course of twenty months, by indescribable deeds of violence and cruelty, by an uninterrupted series of political murders and the most insolent provocations. The bourgeoisie once more, in an elementary form, wreaked its revenge on the working class and on the peasant masses in connection with the explosion in Sofia, which, by means of forged documents, they represented as being the beginning of an armed insurrection. On this occasion another 2000 leaders of the workers and peasants were slain, more than 10,000 workers and peasants arrested and handed over to the court martial, and they even went so far as to revive the mediaeval gallows in the city square of Sofia.

By all these atrocities and by their deeds of cruelty, revenge and frenzy, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, is however, simply proving its unfitness to continue to rule the country and to guide the economic and social development of the Bulgarian people. In shedding the blood of the best of the working masses, in increasing the anarchy and uncertainty in the country to the utmost and inevitably rousing the opposition of every honest element in the country, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is zealously digging the grave of its own supremacy.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the First Quarter of 1925.

By Eugen Varga.

VI.

France

The Financial Crisis (Continued).

The parliamentary representatives of the big bourgeoisie made use of this exceeding of the note issue and the limits of state advances as a pretext in order to overthrow the ministry. But as a matter of fact the ministry was overthrown for attempting to bring in a capital levy bill. This is best proved by the fact that Caillaux, a declared enemy of the capital levy, has been placed at the head of France's finances. And although violent attacks are made in parliament and in the senate against Caillaux's past, his appointment has been immediately followed by friendly advances on the part of the directors of the large banks, who are anxious to discuss with him the next financial measures to be taken. Besides this, parliament has made no trouble about permitting the new ministry to increase the amount of notes in circulation.

It would, however, be a mistake to regard the crisis in the state finances of France merely as a financial crisis, or as a crisis of confidence. As we already stated above, the real crux of the matter lies in the fact that the economic basis of the country cannot bear the burden of the great investments, the restoration work, and the extensive political and military superstructure. That this is really the case is demonstrated by two facts:

1. The continual depreciation of both industrial and state securities. A statement published in the "Manchester Guardian Commercial" of 9. April shows the values of securities to have varied as follows:

	August 1924	February 1925
Bank shares (12)	172	153
Northern Coal Mines (10)	276	244
Iron and steel shares (10)	143	117
Railways (5)	70	55
Shipping companies (6)	233	211
Chemical works (12)	295	249
Electric works (27)	280	247

State securities show a similar decline:

	End of 1923	End of 1924	27. March 1925
3%, irredeemable	53,60	50,00	46,85
5% war loan	67,60	61,80	56,70
1920 restoration loan 5%	83,95	69,60	69,50

and so forth

At the present rates the interest paid on state securities is over 8%. Other statistics throwing much light on the subject are the statistics referring to the issue of securities during the last three years. The figures are as follows:

Year	Shares	Debentures	Holdings in the Credit National	Average rate of interest on debentures	Total in million francs
1922	1378	5192	8000	6,14%	14,570
1923	2277	4495	5000	6,33%	11,772
1924	3730	1889	1632	7,31%	7251

All this has brought about a scarcity of loan capital and high rates of interest. Although the money in circulation amounts to about 10 milliard gold francs, and thus considerably exceeds the pre-war amount, still there has been much complaint of late regarding the scarcity of money. There appear to be wide differences of opinion among the French bourgeoisie on this subject of the monetary policy to be pursued in the future. Whilst the "Information", an influential organ of the French bourgeoisie, declares itself openly in favour of an inflation, other newspapers protest against any description of inflation.

Up to the present there is no telling which view will gain the victory; Caillaux' first utterances appear however to incline rather to an inflation policy.

The Worsened Economic Conditions.

France's economic prosperity has declined visibly during the period covered by this report. As early as the middle of February extensive unemployment was reported from Northern France, and is specially prevalent in the building industry, owing to the standstill in the restoration work caused by the financial crisis.

The decline of economic conditions may be followed by the perusal of the fortnightly reports published by the "Temps". As early as 30 January, this paper reported regarding a certain feeling of unrest observable in industry and commerce.

The fact is then adduced that the French coal industry, contrary to that of Germany or of England, possesses no accumulated stocks of coal, and that there is still great activity in the iron and chemical industries. The paper concludes the report by saying:

"It would be at least an exaggeration to speak of an economic crisis in France."

The organ of French heavy industry, "L'Usine" writes at the same time (29. March 1925):

"It seems to be easily forgotten that at the present time we are suffering from a crisis, not only in the metal industry, but in the textile industry as well, and that despite all endeavours, this crisis has the tendency to become increasingly acute."

That there is no evident unemployment in France, despite all this, is due to the fact that in all probability it is the foreign workers who suffer from unemployment, and these do not receive any unemployment benefit. Labour statistics are extremely unreliable in every respect in France. It appears, however, to be evident that the days of continuous economic prosperity are over in France, unless a fresh inflaton calls forth an artificial flicker of renewed prosperity.

England.

The high hopes held out at the end of last year, after the victory of the Conservative Party, of an improvement in England's economic position, have proved entirely illusory during the first part of 1925. England's greatest source of anxiety, unemployment, has decreased to a certain extent, but not by any means to the same degree as was the case during the corresponding period of last year. At the end of March there were, in round figures, 140,000 more unemployed in receipt of the unemployed dole in England than the year before. The percentages of unemployed in the trade unions during the first quarter of 1925 has been as follows:

	1923	1924	1925
January	13.7	8.9	9.0
February	13.1	8.1	9.4
March	12.3	7.8	9.0

It will be seen that in previous years unemployment diminished considerably in these months, corresponding to the season, but that this year this has not been the case. It is the first time for four years that the percentage of unemployed is larger than that of the same month of the previous year.

The question of relieving unemployment has already evoked a huge flood of literature in England, but up to now none of the proposals made has stood the test of actual practice. If, for instance, we read to-day the best book which has appeared on this subject: E. W. Layton's "Is Unemployment Inevitable?", published a year ago, we see how little even the best English economists are able to come nearer to a solution of the problem. The English bourgeoisie is realising with increasing clearness that unemployment is bound to continue in England unless international capitalism receives a fresh impetus, or unless superfluous labour is induced to emigrate from England.

It is becoming more and more evident that the general decline of international capitalism is the cause of unemployment.

"The chief and obvious explanation for the existence of extensive unemployment under normal economic conditions is the decline of foreign trade. This a factor which it is

beyond our power to alter. It is not our share of world trade, but world trade as a whole, which is very down." ("Nation". 4. April 1925.)

This periodical points out at the same time that the possibility cannot be excluded that business will suffer a definite setback in the immediate future, and that unemployment will increase to a frightful extent.

During the first three months of 1925 foreign trade was as follows:

	Total imports		Total exports	
	of British goods			
	Million pounds sterling			
	1924	1925	1924	1925
January	101,2	128,9	64,2	69,1
February	100,9	110,1	60,1	69,3
March	103,7	112,9	61,1	70,3

These figures show a not inconsiderable improvement as compared with the previous year. This is, perhaps, the sole fact to which English optimists can call attention.

On the other hand, no improvement can be recorded in production. In March the coal output was 500,000 tons per week less than before the war. The iron and steel production was somewhat better, as is to be seen from the following:

	Iron	Steel
	1000	tons
1913 monthly average	855	639
1924 monthly average	610	685
1924 March	669	817
1925 January	575	605
1925 February	542	652
1925 March	608	685

It is true that the tendency is an upward one, but the output is nevertheless 10 to 20 per cent behind that of last year. Conditions are similar in the machine and ship building industry. In the cotton industry, upon the improvement of which such sanguine hopes were based in the autumn of 1924, working hours had to be reduced to 35 hours a week again in February. The causes already adduced are again brought forward:¹⁾ 25% lessening of consumption in India; dear cotton and diminished purchasing powers in the consuming countries; the growing textile industry and competition of Italy, Japan, and the United States; the development of an independent textile industry in India and South America; longer working hours and lower wages in the competing countries.

Plans for Relief.

It need not be said that plans are continually being considered for the relief of these conditions. These may be divided under the following headings:

1. Protective tariffs.
2. Attacks upon working conditions.
3. The use of the unemployment dole as a subsidy for the capitalists.

1. In view of the fact the English industrial crisis is due to the decline in exports, it follows — as we have repeatedly observed — that a protective tariff would doubtless mean higher profits for the capitalists, but would not give work to the unemployed. Despite this fact, there is fairly strong tendency towards protection in various industries. The procedure necessary for the introduction of a protective duty is somewhat complicated. In the first place the industry concerned must request that an inquiry be made into its position by the Board of Trade. It must demonstrate:

a) that the branch of industry concerned is of "substantial importance", either with reference to the labour employed or to the nature of the products;

b) that there is an extremely strong foreign competition;

¹⁾ Report of the cotton industrialists to Commission for Industry and trade. "Times". 19. March 1925.

²⁾ At the present time England's import surplus is much greater than before the war; and as England has in addition to this lost a part of its foreign investments, and is obliged to pay a large sum yearly to the United States in respect of war debt, doubts are arising in England as to whether England's payment balance is still favourable at all.

c) that the corresponding foreign industry enjoys special advantages: depreciated currency, dumping, low wages, etc.;

d) the inquiry is only undertaken when the board of trade is not of the opinion that the industry is badly conducted, or that the imposition of the duty will seriously injure some other branch of industry.

These same questions must then be thoroughly examined into by the commission itself.

Up to now the lace industry and the gas mantle industry are the only trades which have made application for this inquiry. The "Times" reported on 24. March that the English iron industrialists are also about to request a commission of inquiry for examination into the question of "the situation created by unfair foreign competition".

A general vagueness prevails throughout the whole question. The Liberal party stands firmly for Free Trade. In the Conservative party there is a free trade group — though a small one. Three conservative members of Parliament in favour of free trade: S. Henn, R. Newman, and C. Brown, called upon the Prime Minister on 11. February on behalf of the Conservative free-traders. They declared themselves in favour of "safeguarding against unfair competition, but were desirous of the assurance that the plan should not be regarded as the first step towards a general protective tariff"). This assurance was given them by Mr. Baldwin.

In the Labour party opinions differ. Whilst the majority agree with the Liberals in standing for free trade, Wheatley, in the "Forward", declares himself decidedly against it.

With regard to the industrialists themselves, many of them are dissatisfied with the new system, as it throws too many difficulties in the way of imposing duties. A deputation was sent on behalf of the "National Union of Manufacturers", under the leadership of S. D. Machin, the president of the Association of the English Chambers of Commerce, with the object of demanding a facilitation of the conditions under which duties can be imposed. One of the members of this deputation declared that the system simply meant locking the stable door after the horse had been stolen. In other words: an industry would first have to have suffered greatly from foreign competition before it could submit its case to the Board of Trade at all. This the delegate designated as entirely wrong. The protective duty should be imposed in time to prevent the decline of the industry.

2. One section of the bourgeoisie is anxious to overcome the crisis by lowering the level of working conditions. The attempt is made of course to make the matter as palatable as possible, and to persuade the workers of the necessity of considering the interests of the community, of combining for joint action with the employers, and of taking part in joint inquiries into the position of the industry. On the other hand, extremely bitter language is being employed against those Trade Unions and trade union leaders who are endeavouring to attain their goal by means of the class struggle. The chief attacks of this kind are being made against Cook, the miners' secretary and against the iron and steel workers who are holding out for the eight hour day, etc.

Again, taxation is being called upon as a means for alleviating the situation of the capitalist at the expense of the worker. Thus the president of the association of British Chambers of Commerce, Machin, declared at the general meeting held on 2. April that the burden of direct taxation must be lessened, and indirect taxation must take a greater share if necessary.

Up to now there has been no open attack upon the working class. In the first place the resistance of the Trade Unions is feared, and in the second place hopes are entertained of persuading the working class to agree peaceably to a lowering of their demands, aid in this direction being expected from those trade union leaders and politicians who remain loyal to capital, as Henderson, MacDonald, etc. As we already mentioned in another place, the greatest difficulty here encountered is the great difference between the wages in the "sheltered trades" and the wages in the export industries. In the export industries: coal, iron, steel, and textiles, the wages have already sunk far beneath the real pre-war level. In the sheltered home industries wages are above the pre-war level. But it is precisely in these branches of production that there is comparatively little unemployment, and the workers are well organised.

3. The well known liberal big industrialist Sir Alfred Mond has made the proposition that unemployment should be com-

³⁾ "Times", 12. February 1925.

batted by giving the dole to the employers instead of to the unemployed, if the employers undertake to find employment for additional labour. According to his plan, every employer is to state the number of workers in his employ on a certain given day. If he then engages additional workers, he is to receive 75% of the unemployment benefit due to the worker, as state subsidy. By this means the amount to be expended by the capitalist in wages is reduced by the amount of the subvention received, and in Mond's opinion this would so reduce the costs of production that it would be possible to compete against foreign rivals.

This essentially anti-labour plan has, however, not met with much approval among the English capitalists; the chief reason for this is that the proportions between capital invested and number of workers employed vary greatly in the different industries. The capitalists working with a capital of highly organic composition consider that the subvention which would be received by the capitalists possessing little capital, but employing many workers, would be raised at their expense. It is hardly probable that the plan will be put into execution, but it is worthy of mention as being the sole new idea brought forward for some time towards a solution of the unemployment question.

And finally, there is still another tendency in England, aiming at belittling the importance of the unemployment. The following calculation is made: Before the war there were about 500,000 unemployed, but the limited extent of unemployed insurance rendered these unemployed less noticeable. Since 1913 the population has increased by 2,225,000, and the number of workers by about 1,500,000. The number of unemployed at the present time is approximately 1,200,000. Thus 50% of the increased number of workers have actually found work, and the situation is not so serious as it looks.

In confutation of this argument it is again pointed out that the number of unemployed in receipt of unemployment benefit gives no real idea of the actual number of unemployed. Above all, there are hundreds of thousands of youthful workers out of work, but receiving no dole. And there are hundreds of thousands of workers who are excluded from receiving unemployed maintenance, but who are none the less out of work.

The fact that the percentage of unemployed in the Trade Unions at the present time is approximately four times that of the average of 1913, demonstrates the fallacious nature of the argumentation which endeavours to minimise the significance of the unemployment.

The vagueness of the views held within the Labour Party, and even within its „Left Wing“, is shown by a speech of Lansbury's, hailed by the bourgeois press with the greatest enthusiasm. He declared in this speech that youthful workers between the ages of 18 and 25 should not be given one penny of the dole unless they are willing to accept work allotted to them by the labour exchanges in parts of the country other than that in which they reside*).

To sum up, England's economic situation has deteriorated during the period covered by this report, and none of the many plans for the improvement of economic conditions, or for overcoming unemployment, have produced any results.

The United States of America.

Economic conditions in America during the period covered by this report may be briefly characterised as follows:

Up to the middle of March production showed an upward tendency in general, but from the beginning of February onwards it was evident to the discerning political economist that production was exceeding consumption, and that the high rate of production could not be permanently maintained. Buyers bought with the utmost caution, from hand to mouth. Stocks began to accumulate, and towards the middle of March production had to be restricted in various branches of industry. At the same time the prices of iron and steel began to fall; the prices of other metals had already fallen. The hopes of a boom which were held out at the beginning of the year, have thus not been fulfilled. The „Annalist“ issued a warning as early as 6. January against extravagant hopes. This well informed periodical (in reality the weekly edition of the „New York Times“) draws special attention to the high tension in iron production. „It is only during the period of a boom that an output of 85% of the producing capacity can be maintained. But there is no prospect of a boom.“ („Annalist“, 2. March 1925.)

A week after this we were informed that „iron is being greatly over-produced“. At the same time the periodical called attention to the first indications of over-production in the cotton industry. At the end of March we learned that the iron output is already exceeding the consumption by a quarter to a third. At the same time the production of the independent undertakings, outside of the steel trust, was reduced to 80 and 82% of the producing capacity. This was followed by repeated reductions in the prices of iron, which are at present 10 to 15% lower than at the beginning of the year.

The assumption that the output of steel and iron was exceeding the consumption has been subsequently confirmed by the drop in the number of orders received by the Steel Trust — the first slackening since August. The figures are as follows:

	Blast furnaces working at beginning of month	
November 1924	4,031,969 tons	—
December 1924	4,816,676 „	228
January 1925	5,037,323 „	—
February 1925	5,284,771 „	254
March 1925	4,864,000 „	254

We give below a general survey of the course of American economic life:

	Index figure of industrial production, issued by Federal Reserve Board	Index figure of degree of employment of workers	Loaded wagons Last week of month 1000	New building orders millions dollars
November 1924	107	91	879	225
December 1924	117	93	647	251
January 1925	127	93	896	213
February 1925	124	95	863	247
March 1925	—	—	909	—

If we compare these figures with those for the corresponding period of last year, we find that the degree of employment has declined by 6%, whilst the degree of production was 7% higher in January, and 4% in February, than last year's level. The figures for March will probably be the same as for last year. The building figures are far behind those of last year.

The development of conditions in the iron industry may serve as an approximate example for economics on the whole; comprehensive data for the month of March have, however, not yet been published.

The most important production data for the various branches of industry are as follows:

	Soft coal million tons	Anthracite million tons	Iron 1000 tons	Steel 1000 tons	Motor cars 1000	Cotton consumption in 1000 bales
1924 February	47,3	7,6	3124	3870	331	509
1924 March	39,9	8,1	3501	4255	341	485
1924 December	45,8	7,4	3009	3609	175	532
1925 January	51,9	7,4	3424	4247	205	590
1925 February	39,0	7,2	3266	3800	242	550
1925 March	—	—	3619	4240	—	582

When considering these figures, it must be remembered that the month of February had three working days less than the other months. Thus, for instance, the weekly raw iron output in February was 809,000 tons, in March only 787,000 tons.

With regard to future economic prospects, opinions differ greatly, but incline on the whole — as is always the case in America — to optimism. During the month of March, Hoover and Mellon repeatedly expressed very favourable opinions as to economic prosperity. Hoover pointed out that the imports in the month of March (385 million dollars) were the largest in four years — with the exception of one single month. Exports (452 million dollars) were larger than at any time during the last 45 months — with the exception of two months. Gary, the president of the Steel Trust, declared at the beginning of April that although business had declined considerably in March,

*) „Economist“, 14. March 1925.

it had improved again since the 1. April. He declared fundamental conditions to be sound, so that good business is to be expected in the coming months.

We are much more sceptical in our judgment of America's economic prospects, although we are perfectly aware that American capitalism in general is still on the up-grade. The vast extent of the country, its enormous natural wealth, and the influx of foreign labour, ensure increasing and gigantic home markets. On the other hand, there is still a great disproportion between the productive capacity of the productive apparatus created to meet the demands of the war, and then reorganised for post-war needs, and the market possibilities. Hitherto this disproportion has not been too painfully evident, the boom in the building trade and the tremendous orders given for railway plant — both caused by the neglect of these two branches during the war — created an unusual demand. This has now come to an end.

"The boom in the building trade has passed its highest point, and is now slackening." This is the conclusion arrived at by Bradstreet, who points out that the building contracts made in the first quarter of 1925 have been less to the value of 80 million dollars than last year*) Railway orders have also greatly diminished, being reduced to "normal" requirements, so that decreased production and slack business may be anticipated for the immediate future.

	Millions
1906—1915 average	912
1916	1132
1917	848
1918	503
1919	1492
1920	1608
1921	1869
1922	2764
1923	3392
1924	3547

If we deduct one third on account of the rise in prices, we find that activity in 1923/24 was still two and half times greater than the pre-war average, a state of affairs which could not last indefinitely.

The decisive factor for the coming year will be the result of the harvest and the resultant price of grain. Here the prospects are unfavourable. The prices of grain and pork have fallen considerably, probably even more than the prices of metals and industrial products. The quotations for September wheat are approximately 20% lower than the present prices. Last year the crops were good in the United States and the world's market prices were high. Should the reserve be the case this year: poor crops in the United States and low world's market prices, we shall experience a severe continuation of the agrarian crisis, and with this a general derangement of the whole of American economic life.

Limitation of American Agriculture to the Home Markets?

In our last report we commented upon that part of Coolidge's programme speech in which he spoke of the United States becoming within a "few years", an agricultural import country. There now appears to be a tendency to accelerate this natural development by means of economic-political measures, and to render the products of agriculture independent of the fluctuations in the world's markets by restricting agricultural production to the needs of the home market.

After Coolidge was elected, he appointed an agrarian investigation commission under the presidency of R. D. Carey. Hoover is one of the experts who have been members of this commission, and today he is the actual head of the Ministry of Agriculture, the nominal head being merely a puppet. In his statement**) he demands a "far-sighted" agrarian policy, 80% of trade and industry being in connection with farm products, so that "the welfare of trade and industry in our country is closely bound up with the welfare of agriculture."

*) The total expenditure for building purposes in the cities of the Union (200 to 281) has been as follows: ("Financial and Commercial Chronicle". 24. January 1925. Page 380).

**) See "Financial and Commercial Chronicle". 24. January 1925. p. 411.

Hoover's programme of a far-sighted policy is expressed as follows:

"The fundamental necessity is to adapt agricultural production to home demands. We are importing agrarian products which could better be produced in our own country; we are exporting foods and other agricultural products. Our farmers are damaged in both ways; they suffer in both directions under the competition of the cheaper labour and the lower standard of life abroad."

"At the present time the agricultural products exported amount to 10% of the total production; some products are not exported at all; of wheat, 25% is exported, of cotton 50%. These cases constitute the limits. These products require comparatively little land. But on the other hand we are importing large quantities of cattle fodder which could very well be produced in the country itself. The land under cultivation for wheat and cotton could be used for growing cattle fodder, and in this way we could free ourselves from dependence on exports." Hoover declares this to be the best policy for American agricultural economics, and therefore for American economics on the whole. To attain this object requires:

1. A protective tariff for agricultural products, sufficiently high to stimulate home production.

2. Increased consumption among the population of the products of home agriculture. This last can be attained by lessening unnecessary expenditure ("waste" — one of Hoover's favourite recipes for making the world happy).

The report of the commission*) is completely based on Hoover's views. He demands a concrete protective tariff against the import of meat and hides; further, protection of dairy products by means of duties on oil plants as copra, and on vegetable oils and all fats, and further, duties on dried fruits. That is, a general protective tariff for all agricultural products threatened with foreign competition. The other demands: railway tariffs, cooperatives, agricultural credits, etc. do not involve any new principle.

A new organisatory proposal is the proposal for the formation of a council of the agricultural co-operatives, the "Federal Cooperative Marketing Board", consisting of the Secretary of State for Agriculture, Trade, and Industry, and three other members appointed by the President.

The report was at once submitted by Coolidge to the Congress on 27. January, accompanied by a special message, for the purpose of the immediate introduction of the proposed measures. So far as we can judge, the matter has aroused surprisingly little attention among the American public. There can be little doubt but that the economic policy of the United States is tending more and more to self-sufficiency: high industrial duties, restrictions on immigration and high agrarian duties. The whole tendency is towards self-sufficiency with regard to raw materials and food, labour and means of production.

It need not be said that this tendency is inevitably bound up with great struggles within the separate strata of the bourgeoisie. Bankers and trade capitalists are in favour of closer interconnections with world economics, and therefore propose the granting of credits to abroad, exploitation of the great reserves, etc. Industrial capital protests against the rearing of competitors in the world's markets with the aid of American credits; the farmers vacillate between State aid for exports and Hoover's proposed policy of adaptation to the home markets. And when the world's agrarian crisis become more acute during the next few years — and we are confident that this will be the case — then the farmers will decide in favour of Hoover's policy. This will then exercise a very considerable influence in the shaping of European economics.

The Canadian Wheat Pools.

By Maurice Spector (Toronto).

At the present time when the annual membership drive is going on in the three Western prairie provinces of the Dominion for farmer-membership for the Wheat Pools, it may interest readers abroad to have a brief outline of the development of the Wheat Pool idea among the Western Canadian farmers.

The co-operative movement in Canada, as in the United States, is for obvious reasons (large-scale mass capitalist production and distribution, relatively higher living standard of

*) "Financial and Commercial Chronicle". 31. January 1925. p. 531.

skilled workers, backwardness of labour movement etc.) very backward. There is only one flourishing co-operative and that is among the miners in Sydney, Nova Scotia. But there are number of farmers' organisations which carry on commodity marketing co-operation.

During the world war, two bodies were created to handle the marketing of Canadian grain. One was the "Wheat Export Company", which acted as purchasing agents for the British Government and the Allied Powers, and the other was the "Board of Grain Supervisors", made up of members of the Winnipeg Stock Exchange and representatives of the farmers and the Dominion Government and which fixed prices. By this machinery the whole of the 1917 and 1918 crops was marketed.

The war-time Wheat Board (Wheat Export Company) remained in existence till July 1919, in the spring of which year the Allied Imperialists announced that they would not take the 1919 crops. A post-war Wheat Board was therefore formed in July 1919 to market the crop, which it did by (a) controlling the internal price of flour and (b) subordinating the machinery of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange to its rulings. The crops of 1920, 1921, and 1922 however were handled through the ordinary channels of trade.

These latter are the farmers' co-operative organisations — the "United Grain Growers" (in Manitoba and Alberta), the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company which operates local and terminal elevators. These either buy outright from their members or sell on commission.

The great price slump in 1920 drew from the farmers a demand that the Wheat Board should continue to function. To this the Government refused to accede, and as a result the farmers were compelled to turn to voluntary efforts, forming three pools in 1924.

The stages of the formation of these pools were as follows. In 1921, a committee of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company reported in favour of a voluntary pool, while the "Council of Agriculture" demanded a Government Board. In 1922 the Government refused such a Board on the ground that it was "ultra vires" of federal government in "normal times", and referred the matter to the provincial authorities. The legislatures of Alberta and Saskatchewan immediately passed enabling legislation, but in Manitoba the bill of the Bracken (Farmer) Government for a Board was defeated.

In 1923 a drive to secure farmers' signatures to a voluntary pool was energetically launched, representing fifty per cent of the acreage of Alberta. The pool was started in October of that year and was later on able to report marketing 34 million bushels at an average price of \$ 1.03 per bushel, 2 cents per bushel averaging expenses and reserve. In 1924 a central selling agency was started for the three provincial pools with one sales manager at Winnipeg and another at Vancouver. As a result, at least half the wheat crop of 1924 was marketed by the farmers themselves, which means by some 85,000 farmers representing ten million acres of wheat land.

The pool is based on the contract system practised by the Danish Dairy farmers and the California Fruit Growers. The contract the farmer signs runs for five years till 1927. A member breaking the contract is liable to 25 cents per bushel damages. Some advantages of the pool are that the farmer does not have to sell immediately after harvest under pressure of creditors and that by orderly feeding of the market there is more likelihood of obtaining a higher price than by individualist marketing.

As a step forward in the direction of co-operative organisation this Wheat Pool is to be welcomed. It has obvious advantages over the old way of marketing. But wheat pool co-operation, in an environment of finance-capitalist monopoly and subject to all sabotage of capitalist forces, has all the limitations of co-operation under capitalism in general. The wheat pool will be of service to the farmers only if it does not raise in them the illusion that this is the solution of such agrarian crises as they in recent years so acutely experienced.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The State of Affairs in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

By G. Zinoviev.

Two months ago the Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern very carefully studied the position in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. All those who attended the Plenum realised what enormous importance the decision of the Comintern would have for the fate of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. All the participators in the Plenum, recognising the Czechoslovakian Communist Party as a mass proletarian Party consisting pre-eminently of splendid revolutionary working class elements, were intent on finding a solution for the conflict which would cure the Czechoslovakian Communist Party of its complaints once and for all.

We are now able to say quite definitely that the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern really succeeded in finding a correct solution on the basis of which the convalescence of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party is proceeding rapidly and satisfactorily.

The main problem was to give a correct answer to the question of the **Right Peril**. What is Bubnik? Is he an isolated case? Or is Bubnik the representative of a considerable right tendency in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party? Or may be Bubnik was simply wrongfully accused, maybe his only crime was too much excitement? Maybe he can be easily brought back on to the right path? Maybe it was only a case of shooting at sparrows from big guns?

The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and the Bubnik group have now enabled us to get a perfectly clear and unambiguous answer to these questions? Bubnik has established a big daily, "Golos Pravdy" (The Voice of Truth), which has declared a relentless war against the Communist Party. It is of course, perfectly clear that this paper is rather a production of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie than a production of Bubnik. There is no doubt whatever that this anti-Communist organ receives the financial support of the bourgeoisie. There is also no doubt whatever that Bubnik definitely carries out the orders of the bourgeoisie. There is no doubt whatever that Roucek and Co. are also preparing to obey the orders of the bourgeoisie. There is no doubt whatever that Bubnik, Roucek and Co. are the representatives of a considerable section of just such semi-social-democratic elements as those which are still to be found in and round about the Czechoslovakian Communist Party.

Bubnik, evidently also at the instruction of the bourgeoisie, has instructed his followers in the ranks of the C. P. Cz. **Not to come out of the Party but to remain inside forming illegal fractions and to disintegrate the Party from within.** An old and tried method of the enemies of the revolutionary movement. Messrs. Martov, Dan and Co. remained in the Party in order to disintegrate it by the same means Bubnik is proposing to-day, whilst their closest adherents — Potressov, Levitsky and Co. — severed all connection with the Party, published papers and periodicals against the Party, etc. Plekhanov, who was then with the Bolsheviks, rightly characterised these two groups as liquidators, one section of whom are *intra muros* (within the walls) of the Party and the other section *extra muros* (outside the walls) of the Party, both of them acting on the principle of a definite division of labour. Our Czechoslovakian comrades should bear in mind this analogy. The time has already come when the liquidators who are *extra muros* — Bubnik, Roucek and Co. are not as dangerous to the Czechoslovakian Communist Party as the liquidators who are still *intra muros*, namely, **people determined to remain in the Party for the purpose of disintegrating it from within.**

We are convinced that the bloc formed under the guidance of the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. will be able to realise this peril and to carry this fight to the end. To pause halfway would be a crime. Events have shown that it is not only a question of Bubnik, Roucek and Co. The gangrene of liquidatorship should be cut out at the roots. The harmonious collaboration of such workers as comrades Zapototsky, Smeral

and others with the other members of the Central Committee during the two months which have passed since the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern, has shown that all the comrades who shouldered obligations at that Enlarged Plenum are determined to carry them out conscientiously. It would be the most dangerous thing to stop halfway. There is evidence to show that the Czechoslovakian working class communists are anxious and determined to free their Party, once and for all, from all liquidatory elements. The Central Committee of the Party must carry out the will of the workers.

We recently received the resolution of the Party Conference of Slovak districts held on May 10, 1925. One cannot ignore the error contained in this resolution, especially as the Slovakian comrades are certainly revolutionists devoted to our cause. The Slovakian comrades speak of the formation of a bloc at the recent session of the Executive Committee in Moscow of the two groups of the Czechoslovakian Party "on an opportunist basis". At the best this assertion of the Czechoslovakian comrades is a polemical aberration, and at the worst — a grave political error which must be corrected. If liquidatorship is really to be overcome in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, one should above all abstain from making "ultra-left" mistakes. Where and in what way, did the Czechoslovakian comrades discover opportunism? The Centre, headed by comrades Zapototsky and Smeral, took upon itself definite obligations before the whole of the Comintern. We notice with great pleasure that up to now these obligations have been fulfilled. We trust that they will also be fulfilled in the future. The purification of the Party from liquidatory elements has begun. Can this be called opportunism?

We quite understand that much bitterness has been accumulated among Slovakian comrades. We know that in past struggles they have been frequently "trounced" unjustly, that wrong accusations have been showered on them, etc. We know that Slovakian organisations are thoroughly devoted to the Communist International, that they are sincere adherents of Bolshevism, and are certainly not among the worst of the organisations of the Comintern. And that is why it is so painful now to see Slovakian comrades on the point of committing a political error.

Let us hope that this mistake will be remedied rapidly and painlessly.

Our latest information shows that the Slovakian comrades themselves are already making good the error which has been committed, and we welcome this. There must be no singling out of the "ultra-left". Full support for the decisions adopted in Moscow and full support for the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Party which is carrying out these decisions.

The Czechoslovakian Communist Party is entering upon the right path. There is no doubt whatever that it will be purified of the liquidatory elements and that the Bolshevisation of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party will now proceed satisfactorily. There is no doubt whatever that Bubnik and other agents of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, with all the papers they have published by orders and with the money of the bourgeoisie, will meet with a miserable fiasco.

There is no reason to believe that the removal of the liquidatory elements from the Party will weaken it. Nothing of the kind. If a negative quantity is deducted from a definite quantity, the result is not diminution, but increase of this sum. Having freed itself from liquidatorship the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, which is healthy at the core, will rapidly progress towards new successes.

Side by side and parallel with the work of purifying the Party, the Central Committee should do its utmost to intensify and develop the **General Political Work**: agitation, organisational work, work in the trade unions, political campaigns, throughout the country. The working class does not of course only take an interest in the internal Party struggle, — no matter how necessary and important in itself the latter may be. Whilst getting rid of the liquidators the Party should at the same time endeavour more than ever before to become the **political leader of the entire working class**. In other words: it should endeavour more than ever to become a mass party of the Czechoslovakian Proletariat.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The International Co-operative Day.

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the 50 Million Co-operators!

To the Working Men and Women of the World!

The London International Co-operative Alliance is holding on the 4th of July the **Third International Co-operative Propaganda Day**. This should be an occasion for the millions of organised consumers to examine very carefully this organisation and its attitude to the severe struggles of the working class. The Co-operative Day takes place at a time in which the attack of world capital upon the working class has again made great progress. The "stabilising" of the capitalist regime means an enormous increase of the exploitation of the workers in town and country: high prices, unemployment, wage-cuts and lengthening of working hours are burdening the shoulders of the working class. By means of hunger and misery, the imperialist powers scourge their work slaves in order to render them defenceless against the preparations which are being made in feverish haste for a new world war.

The White Terror and the Co-operative Societies.

In all countries of the white terror the co-operative societies are destroyed or economically ruined. In **Bulgaria** innumerable co-operators have been killed or cast into prison, the property of the greatest revolutionary co-operative society, "Osvoboshdenje", has been confiscated and a torture chamber for prisoners has been set up in the premises of the co-operative society in Sofia. The social democrats have supported all these shameful acts. In **Italy** thousands of co-operative societies have been burnt down by the fascists, numerous co-operatives have been voluntarily handed over to the fascists by the social reformists. In **Hungary** the social democrats have sold the great workers' consumers' co-operative society to Horthy. In **Roumania** the government of boyars has dissolved the Bessarabian co-operative society on account of its sympathies for Soviet Russia. In **Poland** the terror is raging against the class-conscious workers' co-operative societies.

In **Germany** the co-operative societies are financially ruined. After their own capital has been squandered during the war in war loans, the co-operative societies have been delivered over to finance capital.

In **Austria** the policy of the social democrats has handed over the **Hammerbrotwerke (Bakery)** and the "nationalised" undertakings to finance capital. In **Switzerland** the co-operatives, under the glorious leadership of the bourgeois and of the social reformists, supported the policy of the big bourgeoisie, the custom tariffs and the forcing up of prices. In **France** the co-operatives, in spite of "harmonious collaboration" and in spite of their "valuable services" rendered during the war, are suffering from exceedingly heavy taxation. And in **England**, the motherland of the movement, the co-operatives are using their considerable strength not in promoting the class interests of the proletarian membership, but they are acting as the supports and tools of the capitalist regime.

In all countries the co-operatives are becoming the fields of exploitation for big capital, sources of petty bourgeois illusions and strongholds of social traitors' policy.

In this time of severe struggles for existence on the part of the working class, of the need and misery of the members of the co-operatives and their families, of the advance of reaction and the threatening danger of war, the co-operative alliance, in its Manifesto for the 4th of July, is again doping the masses with **pacifist phrases**.

It is a mere mockery of the untold sufferings of the working class. It describes itself as the "germ cell of the United States of the world", and talks of "building up a happier social order". Behind the hypocritical mask of "political neutrality", the reformist and petty bourgeois leaders of the co-operatives are betraying both the political and the economic interests of the workers.

The workers and employees in the co-operatives are exploited just the same as the workers in capitalist undertakings. This is shown by the ever-increasing number of strikes and lock-outs in

the consumers' co-operatives. The trade union demands are rejected. The prohibition of night work in the bakeries finds strenuous resistance before all on the part of the co-operative bureaucrats.

A gigantic campaign of incitement is being conducted against the communists, who are summoning the masses to the fight against this anti-labour policy of the co-operative leaders. The leaders do not even shrink from expulsions and attempts to split the movement.

Empty phrases, injurious spreading of illusions and open treachery, that is the theory and practice of the co-operative reformists.

The co-operatives can only become a sharp weapon in the hands of the proletarian consumers when they abandon the policy of coalition and reconciliation with capital and the bourgeoisie, and carry on, in common with the revolutionary workers' organisations, the fight for the defence of the interests of the workers.

Only when the co-operatives actively participate in the fight of the working class against high prices and profiteers, against the danger of war and fascism, will they become real fighting organisations of the proletariat on its way to overthrow capitalist exploitation.

Look at Soviet Russia!

There the workers and peasants together have overthrown the capitalist rule and established their Soviet Republic. There alone of all countries today is the co-operative the foundation of the proletarian economic construction. There alone in the whole world has the way been cleared for the economic and cultural advance of the working class.

Convert your 4th of July into a day for drawing the masses of co-operators into the revolutionary class front. Only by means of your mass pressure can the co-operatives be converted into organisations for defending the working class.

Demonstrate on the 4th of July under the slogans:

Against the capitalist and fascist offensive! Against the new preparations for imperialist war! Against the lowering of the standard of living of the masses! Against the unceasing treachery of the trade union and co-operative leaders! For the fight of the co-operatives in the defence of the vital interests of the proletariat! For the proletarian united front and the international fighting alliance of the co-operatives with the trade unions! For the closest relations with the Soviet Co-operatives!

Long live the revolutionary class-and fighting co-operatives!

The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Reformist Leaders in a Dilemma.

By Andres Nin.

The determined attitude taken by the English trade unions in the question of trade union unity has embarrassed the reformists of all shades. They can now no longer repeat that the proposals for trade union unity are only a manoeuvre of Moscow, that the leaders of the English organisations have been deceived by these Bolshevik devils, that we are sowing dissension in the trade union movement etc. The workers of all countries are beginning to understand clearly, that our fight for unity is by no means a manoeuvre, that the real splitters of the trade union movement are the reformists, and that it is extremely naive, not to use a stronger expression, to imagine, that responsible trade unionists such as the members of the English delegation, who have been active members of the Labour movement for many years, would have allowed themselves to be deceived by the communists during their stay in the Soviet union.

The resolutions which were passed by the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference in April, have still further increased the confusion in the ranks of the reformists. The leaders of the Amsterdam International who have always proclaimed the right of the National Executives in different countries to freedom of action, are now astonished at the unprecedented boldness of the English trade unions who are acting on their own initiative and have come to an agreement with the Russian trade union

organisations. And to what purpose? The object is to unite the workers of all countries who are organised in trade unions in a single International which will be able to combat the capitalist offensive. This is why the Right group of Amsterdam is opposing this initiative with so much energy, for its realisation would be a death-blow to international reformism. As this reformism is closely allied with capitalism, for which a split amongst the workers is essential, it is quite natural that the reformists are enemies of unity and use all means in their power to sabotage it.

The office of the Amsterdam International has not yet replied officially to the last letter of the Russian trade union Council. But two eminent leaders, Oudegeest and Mertens, the secretary and the vice-chairman of the International have made some statements. There was a time when Oudegeest enjoyed a certain reputation as a diplomat. The secretary of the Amsterdam International is in danger of losing this reputation. Since the English and Russian trade unions came to an agreement, he has written nothing but nonsense.

We recall the article which he wrote during the visit of the English delegation to Russia and which was commented on at the time. In a new article on the last Anglo-Russian Conference which was published in the "Bulletin of the I.F.T.U.", Oudegeest confides a new and important discovery to us. According to him, the leaders of the Russian trade unions are fine fellows, honest fighters, with whom Amsterdam could quite well come to an agreement. But there is an obstacle, and that is the Communist Party which binds the hands of Tomski ("who is our friend"), and above all there are Zinoviev and Lozowsky, who terrorise the Russian trade unions and force them to remain in the Red International of Labour Unions and to submit themselves to the instructions of the Communist Party! As long as the Russian trade unions do not break off these connections, is about what Oudegeest says, our "instinct of self-preservation" will prevent us coming to an agreement with them. These are fine explanations! It is difficult to imagine greater intellectual modesty. Is it ignorance or bad faith?

Not only the Russian workers but those of all other countries know the close connections which bind the Russian trade unions, the most solid foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the Communist Party which is the advance guard of the Labour movement and the leader of the revolution. The reformist leaders are not ignorant of the fact that it is impossible to separate the Russian trade unions from the Communist Party, and they are quite well aware that Tomski, the so-called defender of trade union independence, the poor "victim of communist tyranny" is one of the most influential members of the Party and of the political bureau.

Mertens, the well-known separatist, the originator of a kind of trade union exceptional law against the Communists in Belgium, less easily loses his head but his perturbation is quite transparent. He understands the whole immense significance of the agreements concluded between the Russian and English trade unions. This accounts for his complaints and protests against the boldness of the English trade unions. In "Le Mouvement Syndical Belge" (The Belgium Trade Union Movement) of May 9th he writes:

"What right have the English comrades to interfere in the internal life of the trade unions of other countries? Why do they wish to force their views, their opinions, on other organisations? Do they not understand that just this is one of the numerous obstacles which separate us from the Russians who also, under the pretext that they have brought the State of the future into actual being, want to force their policy, their methods of action and their way of thinking on to other countries?"

Mertens is trying to side-track the question. Who has ever talked of forcing the peculiar Russian or English points of view on other countries? Our aim is quite limited. It is merely a question of establishing the unity of the international trade union movement and, in order to arrive at this goal, we impose no preliminary conditions. We are prepared to submit to the will of the majority of workers, which the reformists do not seem inclined to do.

This is why they revolt against the idea of a world congress through which unity might be achieved. We however shall not cease to propagate this slogan, and we are convinced that we are reflecting the wish of the overwhelming majority of the workers.

The movement in favour of unity is pursuing its path in spite of the reformist sabotage. The report of the English delegation has met with a tremendous response in all countries, even among the reformist workers. The cause of unity is gaining ground every day. In Germany, delegations of trade unions which are affiliated to the reformist General Federation of Trade Unions, are preparing to visit the Soviet Union; many local organisations are speaking in favour of unity. In France, more than a hundred of the trade unions affiliated to the reformist C. G. T. have assumed a similar attitude. In Italy, workers of all parties are declaring their solidarity with the Communists, whom the reformists have excluded. In Belgium hitherto the stronghold of reformism, a trade union Left group has been formed, which is prepared to fight for unity. These are only a few of the most important facts.

The movement for unity will gain in significance from day to day. We are convinced that the will of the working masses of all countries will finally carry the day in spite of the sabotage of the reformists.

IN THE COLONIES

Further Communist Arrests in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

In September 1924, Egypt was the scene of a Communist trial. Zaglul Pasha, who was at that time at the head of the government and at the pinnacle of his power, wished to show to the English how well he was able to maintain order. All the accused were condemned to imprisonment with hard labour. The Egyptian reaction rejoiced: Communism in Egypt is now dead and buried; "all" the leaders are arrested, "all" organisations dissolved and "all" communist nests cleared out.

Zaglul Pasha had scarcely carried out this task for British imperialism when there came the end of Zaglul's glory. Driven from the government, threatened and humiliated, the Party of Zaglul has today become the victim of that Bankers' clique which is devoted to England and to whom Zaglul Pasha, thanks to his weak and ambiguous policy, gave the possibility of taking over power. This clique — the Zivar Pasha Ministry — is preparing to deliver a decisive blow to the Egyptian nationalists. No means of incitement and calumny appears too vile for this Ministry, which is supported by English bayonets, in order to exterminate all revolutionary and freedom-loving elements still remaining in Egypt. It is therefore a matter of course that the rage of these betrayers of the Egyptian people is directed first of all against

that organisation which appears to them to be the most dangerous: The Communist Party of Egypt.

In spite of the heavy blows which the Communist Party had already suffered in the previous year, in spite of espionage and attacks, the Egyptian Communist Party had recovered with surprising rapidity. New forces were streaming to it, the revolutionary mood among the workers and the advanced intelligentsia, which was visibly strengthened by the British acts of violence, caused the slogans of the communists to meet with an enthusiastic response. The trade unions, under communist influence, revived again and, along with the brother Party of Palestine and Syria, the basis was created for a wide field of activity in the Near East.

The Egyptian police were obliged to intervene before the "danger" became too great. By means of an expensive system of provocateurs and spies, they concocted a monstrous communist "conspiracy". On the 31st of May and the days following numerous arrests of communists took place. In all, 17 persons have been imprisoned up till now, the majority of them being natives, among them being journalists, officials and workers. As the police were at a loss to bring forward concrete charges, the various government organs resorted all the more eagerly to insinuations of the vilest sort. From the most minute descriptions of "Moscow Emissaries", up to piquant details concerning the complicity of the English communists and the Soviet government, there was not lacking one of the features which distinguish reactionary incitement throughout the world.

In fact, it even seems as if the entire grandiose action aimed just as much at creating an impression abroad as appeasing the native bourgeoisie. Feverish search has been made for proofs as to the subversive activity of Russian agents in British spheres of influence. Zivar Pasha is now in a position to bring forward everything Chamberlain's heart desires: Communist "conspiracies", mysterious "Eyes of Moscow", English delegates, and even a whole trunk full of documents! The thing is so artfully contrived that it is the easiest thing in the world to use it as a means against the hated Soviet government.

And not only this. The fact that two of the arrested journalists are members of the staffs of prominent Zaglulist newspapers, suffices in order to involve the Zaglul party in the affair. It is pointed out at the same time that the communists, like the Zaglulists, were connected with that group of terrorists, the members of which carried out the assassination of the governor of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, in November last year and who were condemned to death for the same in a trial which has just been concluded. The aim which is being pursued in seeking to prove these connections is only too obvious.

By such means, and with the help of the Egyptian bourgeoisie and brutal police terror, the English hope to throttle the revolutionary movement in Egypt.