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Warsaw — Moscow — Berlin.

By N. B. (Moscow).

The comments of the Polish press regarding the visit of comrade Chicherin to Warsaw and his meeting with Polish statesmen contain certain things to which it is necessary to devote attention. These refer to the relations with the Soviet Union, the inner situation of the Polish Republic, and the question of further possibilities of connections between Poland and the Soviet Union.

In the "Warszawska Gazeta", the leading organ of the National Democrats, there appeared an article by the well-known Polish writer Novaczynski, in which he welcomes in the warmest manner the rapprochement between Poland and the Soviet Union and points to the necessity for removing international differences and establishing peaceable international relations.

"If there were no Third International, if there were no Communist International leadership with its funds and emissaries, relationships would have been established long ago between the Soviet Union and Poland as are necessary to these two neighbour States, and as to which Kalinin spoke already a year ago in Minsk." Mr. Novaczynski expresses the hope that

the Soviet Power will remove this hindrance to relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. In our opinion he does not put the question correctly. The capitalist world requires peace, but the whole international situation does not permit of this peace. Already before the war the class war was raging in all countries, and we had imperialist conflicts which led to the clash of arms in the whole world. Already before the war the colonial peoples had begun to raise their head. The war has not removed the fundamental causes of this unrest. On the contrary it has increased and intensified them.

As regards Poland, already under Tsarism it was a country with a fairly well developed industry and was a battle-field of hostile classes. The Polish workers occupied the front ranks of the proletariat in Russia. The Polish bourgeoisie is cherishing utopian plans if it hopes to abolish the class struggle at the same time as it restores capitalism in Poland. The sharpness of the struggle which the Polish bourgeoisie is conducting against the Polish working class is demanding tremendous sacrifices from the Polish proletariat, but it is not in a position to throttle the Polish labour movement.

Soviet Russia has no means by which it could influence the inner situation in Poland. That the bloody revenge of the Polish government on the Polish proletariat renders difficult the creation of a social atmosphere favourable for an rapprochement between Poland and the Soviet Union, will be easily understood by the Polish politicians; hitherto they have justified their attitude towards the Polish proletariat with the legend that the Polish communists are in the "service of Moscow", and that Moscow is endeavouring to seize power by means of a revolt of the Polish proletariat. Now they scarcely believe this argument themselves, and are convinced that an rapprochement between Poland and the Soviet Union will strengthen the tendencies to come out of a situation in which Poland, as regards the labour question, finds herself on a level with the Roumanian Boyars.

The second question which the Polish press raises, is the fear whether the rapprochement between Poland and the Soviet Union is not merely a piece of diplomatic trickery in order to impress Germany. This fear is the result of the old obsession, according to which Moscow must of necessity strive along with Germany for the division of Poland. The rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Poland has been expedited as a result of the negotiations over the Guarantee Pact. But the Polish Foreign Minister, Skrzynski, was quite correct when he declared in his speech at the banquet in honour of Comrade Chicherin, that the agreement between these two countries corresponds to the unalterable great interests of these two countries.

Already at a time when people in Poland who thought seriously of the possibility of creating an independent Polish State were regarded as fanatics, Lenin, in the "Iskra" in 1903, pointed to the strength of the national movement in Poland and pronounced himself decidedly in favour of Polish independence. Anyone who has attentively studied the history of the last 25 years realises that such a great country as Poland cannot be divided without thereby creating the basis for fresh international conflicts. In a whole number of documents the Soviet Union has declared that it stands unshakeably by the principle of the independence of the Polish State.

But in addition to these definite declarations of principle in recent times, specially strong interests of a very concrete nature have made their appearance. The Soviet Union attaches great value to sound and increasing connections with the German people, who represent the most important industrial people on the Continent. Thanks to the situation in which Germany finds herself as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, her bourgeoisie can be drawn into a combination of the enemies of the Soviet Union. The improvement of the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union is a factor which counter-acts this possibility. It is no paradox therefore, but a fact that the continuation of the policy of co-operation between Germany and the Soviet Union demands an improvement of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union.

Just as little as the Treaty of Rapallo was directed against Poland, just as little does the rapprochement between Poland and the Soviet Union serve as a manoeuvre directed against Germany. Comrade Chicherin was entirely right when he stated at his interview with the Polish representatives in Warsaw that the Treaty of Rapallo could only be destroyed if Germany adopted a policy directed against the Soviet Union. Germany is sending her representatives to the Conference in Locarno with the representatives of the Entente. To judge from the voice of the German press, it would seem that Germany will hardly succeed at this Conference in carrying through those demands which she has put forward as pre-conditions for her entry into the League of Nations and for signing the Guarantee Pact. A number of German newspapers are already indicating the way out of the situation which the representatives of England are opening to the German government. Germany has demanded release from the obligations of article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This will not do, answered England to Germany, be so good as to take over the obligation to enter the League of Nations, and as regards details, settle these with the League of Nations. This is, of course, a mere expedient. The masters of the League of Nations are France and England, and if they make no concessions to Germany in this question the League of Nations will also make no concessions. Whether the German government will conduct an energetic fight regarding this question we cannot say. That the

entry of Germany into the League of Nations generally, and her entry without release from the obligations to take part in an intervention against the Soviet Union in particular, will not improve the relations between the Soviet Union and Germany, there cannot be the least doubt, and in this connection Comrade Chicherin did not leave the representatives of the German government in any way in doubt.

The Soviet Union can wait the longest and can conduct a policy free from any nervousness. The revolution has profoundly stirred the State with its population of 130 millions. It has aroused its creative forces, which will astonish the world in the next twenty years. And this State can have sufficient confidence in its own power in order to view with the greatest calm the various diplomatic regroupings. The Soviet Union will closely follow events, without getting into hysterics over the various manoeuvres. It will however, after a certain test by reality, be equally capable of calmly and determinedly adopting its decisions to meet the altered situation.

AGAINST THE WAR IN MOROCCO

Preparation for a 24 Hours General Demonstration Strike in France.

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The Committee of Action for the fight against the Moroccan war and for obtaining better conditions of living for the workers and employees in France is now in the midst of preparations for a 24 hours general strike throughout the whole of France. This general strike is to represent a powerful demonstration, with the slogans: **against the Moroccan war, against high prices, against the Caillaux taxation policy!** This movement is intended not only to embrace the workers, but also broad masses of the peasantry.

In the preparation of the strike the Committee of Action is receiving the support of revolutionary organisations, in the first place of the C. P. of France and the C. G. T. U., but also of considerable sections of non-communist workers. The workers' congresses in Paris and in many other places have given the Committee of Action full powers to prepare such a demonstration strike. At the Workers' Congresses numerous clerks and small peasants were represented.

Formerly when the workers' organisations attempted to prepare a general strike, the bourgeois and reformist press raised an outcry against them. Today, however, the bourgeois press and its ally, the reformist press are keeping silent. A conspiracy of silence is being maintained against the general strike which is in preparation. This is only a fresh proof of the strength of the protest movement of the working masses against the bloody imperialist adventure in Morocco, and against the unbearable burden of taxation and high prices.

The bourgeois press is not venturing to intervene immediately in the campaign for the demonstrative general strike. But it is attacking indirectly. Its offensive against the Soviet Union is becoming sharper. This is always the case when the labour movement becomes stronger and more threatening.

It seems to be the intention of the Painlevé-Briand-Caillaux government to publish in a brochure the lying reports and absurdities which have been circulated on a large scale by Henri Béraud, and to have it distributed in the factories under cover of some unknown society. The necessary means for this purpose will be drawn from the secret funds, for which the socialist leaders in parliament voted.

The reformist press is likewise maintaining silence regarding the general strike. But it is not content with merely maintaining silence, but is preparing a manoeuvre to divert the masses by arousing in them the illusion that the urgent convocation of the Chamber and the Senate, and not the real action of the proletariat, could bring about a solution of the Moroccan war. For the rest the reformist, syndicalist and socialist leaders are taking great care not to carry on an agitation among the masses even for their "demand" for an urgent convocation of parliament. For they do not seriously wish to carry it through.

The Committee of Action has openly proposed to the C. G. T. and the Socialist Party to carry on a joint agitation for the urgent convocation of the Chamber and the Senate. By this

means the masses still under the influence of the reformist leaders are now in a position to realise that their leaders do not even wish to **fight** for this slogan.

The government is endeavouring to terrorise the officials. This goes to prove that they are afraid that the officials will join the strike movement. If the officials allow themselves to be intimidated they can be certain that the government will deal them more heavier blows at the first opportunity. If however they decide to join the general movement of the proletariat, they can be certain that the government will give way and grant their demands.

The anarchists are again rendering the bourgeoisie their support and are on their part attempting a manoeuvre to divert the masses. The sincere anarchist workers however will finally see through this swindle. Pseudo committees, calling themselves revolutionary, are being formed, which are calling upon the workers to carry out unprepared demonstrations. All this helps police provocations. It is intended in this way, by means of acts of reprisals, to demoralise the workers before the strike.

The bourgeoisie and their agents, the reformist leaders, are attempting to undermine the strike action by spreading pessimism in our own ranks. Their chief argument is that the strike will not succeed. They wish by this means to bring confusion into the ranks of the workers and employees who are prepared to fight.

The C. P. of France is faced at the present moment with the great task of mobilising all forces for the 24 hours general demonstration strike.

The reports which come from the provinces show that the strike is being systematically prepared. There was never such a favourable moment in which to deliver French imperialism an effective blow as the present. The Rif stands unconquered in arms against it, the revolt is spreading throughout Syria, while the nationalist movement is growing in Alsace and Lorraine.

The proletariat, threatened by war, high prices and heavy taxation, will know how to defend itself and will carry through successfully the 24 hours demonstration strike.

HANDS OFF CHINA

English Imperialism and the Chinese Counter-Revolution.

By G. W. (Moscow).

The events in China have shown that the social changes that have taken place in this country during the last twenty years — industrialisation of China, the rise of a modern bourgeoisie and of a proletariat — have introduced a new era, an era in which China, from a dismembered and divided country, will become a united whole. At the same time the events in China have rendered it clear to all the world that the Chinese proletariat has become the advance guard of this national movement, and that all the poor sections of the population in the villages and in the towns are hastening to its aid.

The English bourgeoisie, however, will not and cannot understand this simple truth. For this would mean the abandonment of its imperialist policy and of the control over China which has brought England such enormous profits. Two ways were possible for the English bourgeoisie: the way of intervention from without with its own armed forces, and the way of inner intervention, the mobilising of the armed forces of the Chinese counter-revolution. The first way was barred. It demanded in the first place tremendous expenditure, secondly the creation of a united front of the imperialist powers, and thirdly it bore within it the danger of a great war in the Far East. English imperialism, therefore, determined to conduct a war against the Chinese revolution with the aid of the Chinese counter-revolution. The beginning of this war is already to be seen on the two fronts of Canton and Shanghai.

On the Canton front the military operations have been commenced by Tchen-Tchu-Min; they aim at destroying the possibility of creating in Canton a centre of competition against Hongkong, which has a quarter of the turnover of Chinese foreign trade. Canton would become a dangerous competitor of the English colony of Hong Kong if in Canton there were built a harbour capable of accommodating ships with a deep draught, and if it were connected by a railway with Swatow, a harbour town to

the North of Hong Kong. The government of Canton has considered both of these projects and negotiations are to be entered into with the bank consortium of Morgan. At the moment, General Tchen-Tchu-Min, who up to now was active in the province of Kwantung, has captured Swatow at the head of his volunteer troops. The authorities of Swatow have withdrawn, and the question therefore arises whether the young fresh troops of the government of Canton will be capable of defeating Tchen-Tchu-Min who has been armed by the English. The inner conditions of the struggle have become better for the government of Canton, for the government, since its turn to the Left, has succeeded in gaining the support of the peasantry. There exists not the least doubt however that the English will endeavour to set the right elements in Canton who are led by the merchants, on their feet again. These latter will not hesitate to support Tchen-Tchu-Min, for they desire at all costs to overcome the boycott of English goods in Canton, which is causing them enormous losses every day.

The second point of attack is Shanghai. The strike in the English factories and the boycott of English goods is still continuing, as a result of which the English bourgeoisie is suffering enormous losses. But the greatest blow against it is its loss of prestige. Hence the common efforts of the British imperialists and the Chinese counter revolutionaries aim at destroying the stronghold of the workers, the Shanghai Trades Council, which leads the working class and which by its appeals to public opinion compels the merchants to subscribe funds for the fight against foreign imperialism.

The first attempt, by means of hooligan elements, to destroy the Trades Council has failed. The enemy now considers the time to have arrived in which to operate with the armed forces at present in Shanghai. These forces are the troops of Chang-Tso-Lin. This general has up to now hesitated, out of fear of creating disaffection among his own troops, from attacking the working masses of Shanghai, although he would have much liked to do so in order to demonstrate to the English and American capital that, in spite of his connection with Japan, he is also prepared to serve them. But as the shooting of workers in Northern China, in Tientsin, did not call forth any movement in the army, Chang-Tso-Lin has decided to venture on similar action in Shanghai.

The demonstrations of students in Peking, which were broken up by the police, are up to now the first response to the latest events in Shanghai. The further development of the operations of Chang-Tso-Lin will depend upon whether or not help comes for the Shanghai workers from the other centres in China.

The third decisive battle-field in the given moment can be the front in the North. Chang-Tso-Lin is greatly disturbed by the growth of the organisation and of the influence of the people's army of Feng-Yu-Hsiang. He has already declared that he would not permit the occupation of the province of Schansi by the troops of his rival. The front of Chang-Tso-Lin has been extended from Manchuria to Shanghai. His army consists of 200,000 to 300,000 men, which is very little for such an extended front. This front could be easily broken at any point on the whole line. If Chang-Tso-Lin decides to proceed to the attack, we shall witness the first general encounter between the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution in China.

The English are provoking this encounter. For should they succeed in emerging victorious from it, they would have a free hand at the Conference to be held in October, to settle the question of the customs and of the extraterritorial rights of the imperialists in China. As is known, this Conference has been convened as a result of the Washington Conference. It is not without apprehension that the English are participating in this Conference, for they are only prepared to agree to an increase of the customs by 2½%. The Chinese bourgeoisie, however, is demanding complete freedom in the fixing of the custom duties, in order to be better capable of competing with industrial products from abroad. The English do not wish to grant any concessions regarding the privileges of foreign capitalists in China. The Americans, on the other hand, are inclined to limit themselves to a discussion regarding the conditions of the future reform of these privileges. It is obvious that a conference held in an atmosphere of a growing national movement can only lead to a revolutionising of the mood of the masses. For this reason English imperialism requires as quickly as possible a heavy defeat of the revolutionary forces of China, in order to obtain a breathing space and to use it to conclude a bargain with the Chinese bourgeoisie and to create a united front with the imperialists. The next few weeks can therefore be of decisive importance for the course of the development in China.

The Nationalist Movement and Labour in China.

By L. Heller.

III.

The Commercial and Industrial Bourgeoisie.

However, the conditions here, from the point of view of the relationship of the class forces, largely resemble the position of pre-revolutionary Russia. Precisely because such an overwhelmingly important place in the mining, metal, railway, shipping and textile industries and in banking is held by foreign capital, precisely because of all this, the Chinese industrial bourgeoisie is so weak. The Chinese industrialists quite frequently function also as compradors, that is, middle-men, catering for the foreign capitalists and finding this an additional source of self enrichment. This double role played by the Chinese industrial bourgeoisie lessens its importance still further in the national movement. For it is clear that only a really industrial bourgeoisie can become the promoter of a nationalist emancipation movement, while the comprador capitalists are only humble servants of imperialism. This weakness is the only explanation of the political peculiarity of China where the native bourgeoisie has not as yet produced any definite political organisation with definite programme and platform, comparable even with those of India and Japan. Yet the growing power of the commercial and industrial capitalists finds its political expression in their ever growing control over the party of the petty bourgeoisie, Kuo-Min-Tang, whose right wing has been breaking loose from the national revolutionary movement and seeking a compromise with imperialism. Though small in number, these elements are very powerful. They constitute the nucleus of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, which even as far back as June, was already trying to find the means whereby they could put an end to this "troublesome business" as the strike, and of the "too far fetched" struggle against imperialism.

These same comprador elements of Hong Kong and Canton are responsible for the arming the merchant corps (the so-called "paper tigers") that have more than once attacked the Canton workers. It was they who, in alliance with Hong Kong, stood behind the Generals Tan-Chi-Tso, Yan-Hsi-Ming, who were defeated by the Canton troops last June. And lastly, it was they who promoted the political assassination of Lao-Chun-Kai, the stalwart leader of the Kuo-Min-Tang Left Wing.

The Peasantry, the Working Class and the Petty Bourgeoisie.

The peasantry, making up the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, and who will decide in the long run the outcome of the struggle, have not yet been lined up in the movement en masse. Only in the Kwantung province is there anything like a mass peasant organisation. Outside this province the only still inarticulate political expression of the processes developing among the peasantry are banditism and hunhuzism.

A much greater part is still played by the very large petty bourgeoisie of the Chinese cities, composed of impoverished artisans, small traders and, to some extent, of the proletarianised intelligentsia, who supply the main forces of the Kuo-Min-Tang Party. The recent events have shown that this small business man of the city, constituting the majority of the urban population, follows the lead of the proletariat. The commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, both on economic grounds — the common interests between the compradors and the foreign capitalists — and on political grounds — the fear of the growing consciousness and organisation of the working class — are rapidly and resolutely leaving the nationalist revolutionary movement, thus deserting, objectively, to the camp of imperialism. The petty-bourgeoisie and those of the middle class who have remained true to the national cause, as well the radical intelligentsia, can do nothing but to follow the working class whose fight is wrecking the forces of imperialism.

This working class, mercilessly exploited, especially by foreign capital, and labouring under the double yoke of class and national oppression, is revolutionary in spirit and has displayed splendid fighting capacities right from the start. Its determined struggle, more than anything else, awakens and puts into motion the Chinese masses, reverberates far beyond the boundaries of the particular city or province, arouses the entire vast country, moulds its public opinion and transforms the Chinese masses into a Chinese nation. There is, of course, no

contradiction in the fact that this same struggle of the working class results also in a rapid differentiation and division within this nation that is taking shape in front of our eyes.

In this process, which under the Chinese conditions is inevitably bound up with the irreconcilable fight against imperialism, the petty bourgeoisie, as we have seen, follows the working class. However, its role, both at the present and at the immediate future, must still be very great, greater than was the role of the Russian petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against Tzarism. The Chinese city, the Chinese petty bourgeoisie, has century old organisational traditions. The guilds, the clans, the street unions, give this small business men of the city a certain organisational strength, a certain stability, considerable initiative, that increase its weight on the social scale.

Prospects of the Struggle.

The role of the peasantry, on the contrary, despite its numerical strength, will probably be of smaller importance than it was in Russia. There is no large landowning class in China. The struggle of the various interests within the peasantry itself will be more complex and variegated than was the case in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Under these conditions the working class of China is sure to play the leading part. Thereby the task confronting the Communist Party of China, the unchallenged leader of the Chinese working class vanguard, and the Chinese trade unions, is exceptionally great. Despite the immense achievements already on hand we are only witnessing the beginning of the revolutionary struggle in China. On its way to freedom the working class will meet with not a few temporary defeats and trials. The events of this summer have shown that the working class, despite its youth, is capable not only of attacking, but of steering and retreating in the best fighting order. This is the surest guarantee that the working class of China will retain its supremacy and will bring the task, with which history has confronted it, to a successful completion.

Thus the struggle of the Chinese proletariat is assuming world historical significance and fully deserves the universal attention that it has attracted.

THE BALKANS

The Result of the Trial of Carniciu.

By N. M e r m e t (Geneva).

The trial by jury which took place in Vienna on the 30th of September and 1st of October of Mencia Carniciu for having murdered the Macedonian leader Todor Panitza, ended in many respects as could have been predicted. To the question as to whether there was intention to murder, the Jury replied in the affirmative with eight votes against four. The murderer was therefore condemned to eight years imprisonment, but having regard to her bad state of health she will serve her sentence in a sanatorium, if she is not released altogether under one pretext or another.

The proceedings at the trial made a clean sweep of all the slanders which the counter-revolutionaries have uninterruptedly for months past been flinging at the memory of their irreconcilable enemy, Todor Panitza.

The trial was, and that is the most important fact, an indictment — of course a very weak one — against the Bulgarian dictators and their autonomist lackeys, Protogeroff, Michailoff and other leaders of the Inner Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation. In fact during the whole trial the wretched criminal only played a subordinate role.

The counter-revolutionaries had for years been trying to get rid of Panitza, but in vain. After the coup d'etat of the reactionary Bulgarian Satraps in June 1923, he was marked down as one of those to be murdered. After many efforts, Zankov and Protogeroff found in Carniciu the tool which would serve them in order to remove the Macedonian revolutionary. Provided with a revolver, money and instructions, she set out in quest of Panitza. Immediately after her arrival in Vienna she introduced herself as a communist in Bulgarian and Macedonian circles, but was at the same time in constant touch with the Bulgarian Embassy in Vienna by means of the sister of the Chief of the press department of the Bulgarian Embassy, Nicolaus Antonoff. It was through the Embassy that she received

the money sent from Bulgaria. A few days before the assassination Antonoff sent her 7 million Austrian crowns, and on the very day she committed the crime she twice visited the Embassy in order to meet Antonoff and his sister there.

It is certain that besides Antonoff the murderer met other prominent persons of the Zankov government and of the reactionary "IMRO.", which has its representatives abroad and which is exclusively engaged in preparing assassinations of its political opponents.

There is no longer any need to bring proofs that the government of the Bulgarian Satraps and the Inner Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation are one and the same; these facts have been established beyond doubt. If, however, any fresh proofs were necessary in order to establish the guilt of the government of Zankov in the murder of Panitzka, we could quote the newspaper "Slovo" of Sofia, which is known to be connected with the government, the manager of which, Nikolaus Milev, who was murdered some months ago in the capital, was the leader of the Inner Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation and one of the most prominent supporters of the Zankov government. This newspaper, in its issue of 29th September, admitted that Carniciu had killed Todor Panitzka on the instructions of the Central Committee of the Inner Revolutionary Macedonian Organisation, that is, on behalf of the Bulgarian government.

INTERNATIONAL RED AID

The International Red Aid calls for Protest against the Horthy Terror.

The International Red Aid has issued the following appeal to the Peasants, Workers and Intellectuals:

"From the walls of the Budapest police prison there resounds the cries of pain and agony of the tortured Hungarian workers and peasants. The worst terror of Horthy of the years 1919 and 1920 has returned. Hundreds of workers and peasants who were condemned six years ago for participation in the Hungarian Soviet Republic are still pining in Hungarian prisons, and Horthy and his government are again seeking for fresh victims from the ranks of the Hungarian proletariat for the dungeon and the gallows.

With the help of an enormous spy apparatus, with calumnies and denunciations, in which the Hungarian social democratic leaders have played a despicable role, a campaign of incitement was initiated against the Socialist Labour Party.

Reports were published in the Hungarian and foreign press as to "discovery of communist conspiracies" against "the security of the Hungarian State". An army of spies was sent to Paris and other centres of international counter revolution, in order to "bring to light" connections between the Socialist Labour Party and the Hungarian Communists abroad, as well as with the Russian Soviet Republic. False documents were again employed, use was made of the basest lies of corrupt persons in order to find a pretext for completely suppressing the reawakening workers' and peasants' movement in Hungary. At the same time the example of Zankov and the cruel methods of the Roumanian Siguranza were followed. The workers and peasants who have been recently arrested, among them being the former People's Commissar of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Mathias Rakosi, were mishandled and tortured in order to extort "confessions" from them as to co-operation between the Socialist Labour Party and the Communists. The reports which even the bourgeois press is compelled to publish are horrifying.

Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals! The Horthy government is not content with the thousands of victims it has had during the last years. It intends again to bring revolutionary workers and peasants, brave and honest workers' leaders, to the gallows. The counter-revolution in Hungary has not slaked its thirst for revenge. Workers and peasants are to be thrown into prison and executed on account of their opinions, and on account of their having participated six years ago in the Soviet Republic.

Working Men and Women! You must not tolerate the employment again of the bloody methods of Horthy. The Hungarian working and peasant proletariat expects your help, expects the support of fellow workers in all countries. The workers, peasants and intellectuals must everywhere raise their voices in sharpest

protest against the brutal regime of violence and torture in Hungary. The Hungarian government must be made to realise that the times are past in which it could exercise undisturbed its reign of terror with the aid of bestial officers' bands and police.

Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals in all Countries!

Raise your voice in protest against the brutal persecution and the suppression of the workers and peasants' movement in Hungary!

Raise your voice in protest against the arrest of workers and peasants and honest and brave labour leaders!

Protest against the Special Courts and the new blood justice which is being prepared!

Demand at protest meetings and resolutions, which should be sent to the Hungarian government and consulates:

the immediate release of the arrested;

the immediate abandonment to all trials;

the punishment of those responsible for the mishandlings and tortures;

the unrestricted right of combination for the Hungarian workers and peasants!"

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Russian Textile Workers to the Fighting Textile Workers of India.

The Central Committee of the Textile Workers' Union of the Soviet Union has sent the following message of greeting to the textile workers at present on strike in India:

"In the name of 620,000 members of the Textile workers Union of the USSR., we express our brotherly solidarity with you in your fight against the attacks of the capitalists on your wages.

Your resistance supports and strenghtens at the same time the position of the textile workers in all countries who are fighting to improve their working conditions. May your fighting spirit be strengthened by the consciousness that you are fighting for the common cause of the international textile working proletariat, which we hope will rally to your support.

Our strength and our way to victory consists in unity.

Your victory will be our victory!

As a token of solidarity we are sending you 10,000 Roubles.

With our whole hearts we wish you success.

Long live the struggle of the Indian textile workers!

Long live the unity of the international proletariat!"

The Strike Wave in Austria.

By A. Ketzlik (Vienna).

There have been increasing signs of late that the Austrian workers are no longer inclined patiently to bear the "sanitation" of Austria, according to the recipe of the League of Nations, at the cost of the working masses, but that they are determined to take up the struggle to better their conditions of living which have fallen far below the existence minimum.

4000 workers in the greatest smelting works of Austria, the Alpine Montan Society Smelting Works in Donavitz, have been on strike for two weeks. 4000 workers in the former armaments factory in Styria, now a motor car factory, have been locked out. In Vienna, 1500 working women employed in Siemens & Halske went on strike some days ago, whereupon the entire staff, comprising 2500 working men and women, were locked out. In a big iron works in Lower Austria and also in a colliery in Carinthia the workers have downed tools. In the industrial district of Upper Styria further lockouts have taken place. In addition to this, wage movements are proceeding in a whole number of factories in Vienna.

The Austrian civil servants have also entered on a struggle against the government for an increase in their starvation wages. A ballot vote which has just been taken resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of a strike should it be necessary.

The strikes, lockouts and wages movements which are embracing ever wider circles, have arisen spontaneously and over the heads of the reformist leaders. The unbearable economic situation is forcing the working class to fight, much to the annoyance of the bourgeois and social democratic politicians.

The conditions of life of the Austrian workers can be judged by the fact that, even according to the statistics of the "Frankfurter Zeitung", the Austrian proletariat is the worst paid of any proletariat. In addition to this, unemployment is specially great in Austria. It is no wonder therefore that more than half of the proletarian children — in the district of the Alpine Montan Society almost two thirds — are suffering from dangerous diseases resulting from under-nourishment, that infantile mortality has increased enormously etc.

In view of the misery of the workers the wage demands they are putting forward are exceedingly modest. In spite of this the employers are replying to them with the sharpest means. In Styria 40 trade union functionaries were victimised on account of a demonstration of the workers for higher wages. When the workers expressed their indignation against this, the entire staff was locked out.

In order to be able to offer effective resistance to the employers offensive, a firm and energetic leadership, and before all an extension of the struggle was absolutely necessary. The social democratic leaders however are holding back the workers, as they are afraid of the effect of these big wages struggles. In almost every district in Austria resolutions expressing sympathy and solidarity with the strikers are being adopted. The reformist leaders have quite enough to do to hold back the remaining workers of the Alpine Montan Society, as well as the workers in the other steel works who are carrying on wage negotiations, from joining the strike.

It is only with reluctance that the trade union leaders have taken over the leadership of the struggle in Upper Styria. They have replied to the proposals of the communists to extend and sharpen the struggle, by threatening to throw up the leadership of the strike and to leave the workers in the lurch. They have applied to the reactionary government to mediate, although it is clear that the government is hand in glove with the employers and although the government is itself engaged in a struggle with its own employees. The government is also threatening to abolish what still remains of the social achievements of the post-war period and to repeal the rent restrictions act.

Calculating on the fear of the social democrats of an extended mass struggle, the tactics of the employers aim at wearing down the resistance of the working class by a longer struggle and at extorting concessions from the "mediating" government. The Alpine Montan Society has already made pointed reference to the question of protective tariffs. As a result of the granting of protective duties the company will condescend to grant a few extra pence to the workers as producers, whilst as consumers they will have to pay back this amount twice over as a result of the increase in prices caused by the protective tariffs. On the other hand, the employers, through their newspapers, are calling for a government subsidy according to English model, of course, again at the cost of the workers as consumers, whilst in addition to this the provincial governor of Styria, Dr. Rintelen, speaks of an "investigation committee", as has been set up in England. It is probable however that an increase of wages will finally be granted, but only at the cost of more intensive work and of the abolition of the eight hour day.

Under such circumstances a base compromise can be arrived at in order to prove to the workers that it is useless to conduct big strikes during the period of capitalist sanitation.

In this situation the small Communist Party of Austria, which is propagating among the working class a fighting programme of a united struggle after the English example, constitutes a great danger to the Christian-bourgeois-social democratic united front. The latter wish to avert this danger by a campaign of furious abuse against the communists.

In spite of this the Communist Party of Austria, whose influence with the Austrian working class is still very limited, is succeeding by means of serious intervention in the struggle in approaching nearer to the masses of the workers. The vigorous agitation of the C.P. of Austria for the material support of the strikers has met with a great response. As a result, the working class of Upper Styria is beginning to adopt the slogans of the Communists, upon whose systematic work will to a considerable extent depend the further development of the wage struggle and the strikes in Austria.

IN THE COLONIES

The Dictatorship of the Bankers in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The Zivar Pasha Government has been at the helm in Egypt for ten months. Having been put in its present position by the power of the English bayonets, which drove out Zaghul Pasha, and supported by them alone, the Zivar Government is merely a pseudonym for English rule in Egypt. The English Government, in all confidence, gives the widest pseudo-autonomy to this handful of Egyptian feudalists and bankers who support it, and especially to the conceited and unpopular King Fuad. The English Government is well aware of the fact that Zivar and the bankers are much more closely connected with English bank capital than with the Egyptian people, and that for this group of parasites English imperialism in Egypt is not only a question of their political power but also a purely economic question of obtaining for themselves the utmost possibility of exploitation and profit.

As long as Fuad and Zivar rule in Egypt, the Egyptian constitution, jurisdiction, civil service, embassies, consulates, diplomatic representatives and missions abroad are in better hands from the English point of view than if all these offices were occupied by English officials. A transgression of the pseudo-autonomy is scarcely to be feared except in one direction; the foreign power could hardly of itself, in its own name, commit so many atrocities, so many acts of oppression as the "native Government" is guilty of without scruple. There is an ever present danger that Zivar's servile government might, in its unlimited fear of the masses of the people and in its unprecedented thirst for revenge against the revolutionary parties, overstep the bounds which are "absolutely necessary" for the preservation of peace and order.

These bounds have been seriously threatened for a long time; Zivar drove the Egyptian Parliament asunder at a moment's notice for no reason whatever, after his party, in spite of unprecedented terror, had been worsted by Zaghul's in the election campaign. Zivar has passed a number of laws gagging the Press, which make Press lawsuits a daily occurrence in Egypt and destroy all free expression of opinion. Zivar has worked out a rascally franchise law according to which 60% of the broad masses of the people are excluded from active voting, among them the broad masses of the rural population and the workers and students in towns with revolutionary tendencies.

By means of provocation and provocative agents, Zivar had seven young Egyptians, members of a revolutionary organisation, condemned for the assassination of the English Sirdar Stack Lee, and did not rest until, in spite of the protests of the whole country, they had been executed. Zivar has introduced harder conditions into the regime for political prisoners. He alone is responsible for the martyr's death of Anton Maroun who died in consequence of a hunger strike which he had declared in protest against the harder conditions of the prison regime. At Zivar's instigation juvenile members of the national revolutionary Zaghulist party have been arrested wholesale, and young students have been condemned to six months' penal servitude for distributing manifestoes.

With the aid of the police and the military, Zivar suppressed all wages movements of the workers, for instance the strike of the coal-workers in Alexandria and of the fishermen in Damietta. Zivar ordered that unusual severity should be exercised in the collection of the agricultural taxes, which has brought the Egyptian small peasantry to the brink of destruction. Zivar, using once more his method of employing provocative agents, has prepared a great communist trial, in which, according to the charge which has just been published, the accused come under nine paragraphs of the criminal law, for terrorist plans of assassination (!), premeditated murderous attacks (!!), inciting the population to insurrection, high treason etc., all crimes which are punishable with ten to fifteen years penal servitude. It was Zivar who, with ferocious brutality carried out raids against foreign, especially Russian subjects and threw whole families into prison for months, had them ill-treated and forcibly deported on perfectly unfounded and fictitious accusations.

The English appreciate to the full the services of their private bandit. On the occasion of his last stay in London, Zivar had honours and invitations showered upon him.

And, still more important, Zivar in common with other Egyptian finance magnates has made brilliant agreements in Lancashire this year. Whilst on the one hand the high taxes in the country compel the peasant to sell his cotton at ridiculously low prices, the Anglo-Egyptian banks on the other hand keep the price of cotton as high as possible, thus making fabulous profits. During this year no less than 78,000 bales of cotton, 20,000 more than last year, were imported to the account of the "National Bank of Egypt" alone (Anglo-Egyptian capital).

This explains the fact that banking circles are so well satisfied with the Zivar Government. At the same time however it explains the deep dissatisfaction of the broad masses of the people, of the exploited peasants and workers, of the aspiring intelligentsia with revolutionary tendencies and of those circles among the Egyptian bourgeoisie who are interested in the independent development of Egypt and who regard the dictatorship of Zivar and the banks as the greatest obstacle to development. The exasperation of all the strata of the people mentioned is directed not only against the Zivar Government but, beyond it, against the autocratic King, and it was without doubt this mood of the people which was at the bottom of the last ministerial crisis which recently broke out.

II.

The Zivar Pasha Ministry was in form a coalition of two parties. Apart from the so-called United Party ("Ittehad"), the party of the King, the feudalists and the bankers, which was only founded in 1924 with the specific object of supporting the Zivar Government and establishing its authority among the people, three Ministers of the Liberal Constitutional Party held office in it. The latter is the party which was entirely discredited by its collaboration with the English in the years 1919—1923, and which disappeared completely from the horizon during Zaghlul Pasha's short Government, the party which was very poorly represented in the first Egyptian Parliament. It also represents a section of the large bourgeoisie (that with liberal tendencies) and, in its fundamental principles, especially as regards such problems as England, the Soudan, the fight against revolutionary currents, hardly differs from the Ittehadists.

At the time of Zaghlul's fall, the "Liberal Constitutional Party" seized the favourable opportunity of taking part once more in the Government and, during the whole time has obediently followed the policy of the Ittehadists. From time to time it attempted to exercise a moderating influence on the Ittehadist dictatorship, in order at least to keep up appearances (thus for instance it tried to keep Parliament alive in some form or other, to ameliorate the laws for gagging the Press, etc.). The Ittehadists on the contrary — especially King Fuad and Neshaat Pasha, the President of the Ittehad party — never desisted from their efforts to drive out the Coalition Party and to seize the sole power. A favourable opportunity was offered by a conflict within the Cabinet which, though originally insignificant, led to a Cabinet crisis.

One of the professors of the religious university "El Ashar" had published a book in which he suggested certain reforms in Islam and the abolition of the Caliphate. The college of professors of the University thereupon removed him from his office. The Minister of Justice of the Zivar Cabinet however, who was at the same time President of the Liberal Constitutional Party, declined to endorse the verdict. The Ittehadists made the best of this, and the Minister who had acted so arbitrarily was dismissed by royal decree without further ceremony. The two other members of the party on their part, handed in their resignations and were joined by Ismail Sidky Pasha, the Minister for Home Affairs in the Zivar Cabinet who was actually its most capable and energetic minister, but who was not prepared to recognise the Ittehad dictatorship.

Zivar Pasha, who had not yet returned from his foreign travels, undertook the reconstruction of the Cabinet by telegram. The Ministers who had resigned were replaced by officials of the Ittehad party and the King confirmed the new list without questioning it.

To outward appearances, the Ministerial crisis seems settled. The whole Egyptian Press however as well as the leading English papers regard the new Cabinet as being very unstable. It seems, it is true, very unlikely that the combination spoken of by some papers, according to which the Liberal Constitutional Ministers who were expelled from the Government, will try to join the Right wing of the Zaghlul party will come about, as the

fundamental differences between the two parties are too deep-rooted. It is however probable that the Liberal Constitutionals will in future be in opposition to the Cabinet. Already they are demanding that the apparatus of government which has so far officially supported the propaganda of the Ittehad Party, should hold a strictly neutral attitude in the party struggle. They maintain, and in this they have the masses of the people behind them, that the expulsion of the Liberal Constitutional Party from the Cabinet was carried out with the consent of Mr. Neville Henderson, the Representative of the English High Commissioner in Cairo, and that his approval was asked before that of the King. For the English on the other hand, it is not pleasant to support the dictatorship of a single party with their bayonets, and they do not wish to bring things to a head. This accounts for the friendly advice of the English Press to Zivar, to return to Egypt and to re-establish contact with the Anglophile elements which share his views, putting personal or party ambitions into the background.

The present Ministerial crisis may therefore be regarded as the beginning of new political complications in Egypt. Even though at the moment it represents the beginning of a still more cruel reactionary dictatorship, it shows anyhow that the bourgeois groups will necessarily devour one another. The popular movement however is only waiting for the right moment in which, in defiance of all measures of oppression, it will break forth and finally sweep away the exploiting governments and their English protectors.

The Revolutionary Movement in Java.

By P. Bergsma.

The violent collisions between the tremendous masses of China and the imperialist Powers, are having also a great influence on the national revolutionary movement in Indonesia.

Up to the present the native population has always carried on its struggle against Dutch imperialism independently and not in connection with the 800,000 Chinese who reside there. After the world war a certain contact did, it is true, develop between Chinese and native workers; the difference in religion however led again to a separation and even to mutual hostility.

Now that the great national fight against European imperialism has flared up, the Chinese and natives of Indonesia work together in brotherly agreement in the support of this struggle. The Chinese trading companies in Java send large sums of money to maintain the fight. Of far greater import however is the fact that thousands of poor Chinese in common with the Indonesian workers, call upon the people to fight against imperialism, and organise big demonstrations. In many of these assemblies conflicts have arisen between the Chinese and Indonesians and the police.

Even the simplest Chinese people, those suffering most from oppression, the so-called "contract coolies", collected amongst them 10,000 Gulden for the struggle in China. They thus put to shame the leaders of the Amsterdam International who have, up to the present, refused any financial support.

The Government of Java passed a law forbidding the collecting of money for the struggle in China on the grounds of its being raised in aid of a cause "with a political background..."

As is always the case, many leaders are arrested. Terror does not decrease but is rather on the increase. The Government explains this by alleging that the action of the Chinese and natives in the interests of China has given rise to great unrest in Indonesia itself. As a matter of fact, many strikes have broken out spontaneously. The dock-yard-labourers and sailors of Semarang have gone on strike, the nursing staff in various hospitals as well as typographers refuse to work; in Priok, the Custom-house officers are on strike, and even in the remotest districts the peasants refuse to bring their produce to market.

At the place where the strikes and agitations are centred, a law has been passed prohibiting the holding of public meetings. The police of Semarang, who had been entrusted with the task of keeping the strikers under observation, joined forces with them with the object of exorting better pay.

Soldiers and non-commissioned officers who were suspected of having connections with the Communists, were discharged from the army. Workers in private enterprises, as well as those in State employ, who dare to have any intercourse with a Communist or receive him into their homes, are dismissed.

The national Association of the Javanese Intelligentsia "Boedi Oetomo" tends towards the Left. The Indonesian Asso-

ciation of students in Holland was violently attacked by the bourgeois Press on account of its anti-imperialist politics.

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The bourgeoisie is doing a rattling good business with the Colonies. One of their financial experts in a recent speech, said; "The returns from the plantations in the Dutch Indies, which are of as much importance for the money market and the stock exchange as they are for the industry of the home land, have been of decisive importance in maintaining the stability of the Gulden during the post-war years."

The tobacco harvest in Deli produced 81 million Gulden during the period from April 1st 1924 to March 31st 1925. The largest returns previous to that time had been 63 million Gulden.

Tea, coffee and sugar also command high prices. The high price of rubber was the cause of a conflict between the American capitalists as consumers and the English capitalists as producers. The Americans for this reason have again invested money in rubber plantations both in Indonesia and in the Philippines. The Dutch bourgeoisie is of the opinion that this need not alarm the English capitalist as it will take years before the new plantations yield any produce whilst, at the moment, England is in possession of three-fifths of the total production of rubber in the world.

Just as rubber caused a conflict between English and American capitalists, the same article was at the root of a conflict between the Government and the native population.

On Sumatra the natives themselves produce rubber and at the present time put on the market rubber to the value of over 80 millions annually. In this way they have become rivals to their foreign oppressors. As is always the case, the bourgeoisie is here again making efforts to undermine the native industry. Plans are being made with the object of bringing the native production entirely under European "control". Measures are being taken for limiting their plantations. In these attempts however the bourgeoisie is faced by difficulties as the Djambi natives plant their rubber trees deep in the wildernesses of the country, where there is no possibility of "control" being exercised. The bourgeoisie nevertheless does not give up the fight.

The English are daily on the track of the rubber smugglers on the coast of Sumatra. All coasting boats with a cargo of more than one kilo of rubber are confiscated.

* * *

The centre of the revolutionary struggle is Java. In accordance with the latest resolution of the Enlarged Executive, the Communist party has altered its tactics and adapted the propaganda more to the requirements of the peasants and petty bourgeois. The national bourgeoisie in Java is extremely weak because of the fact that national capital practically does not exist. The young generation of the intelligentsia tends towards the Left and detaches itself from the petty bourgeois nationalists who make use of Islamism to bring about a counter action against the revolutionary people's movement "Sarekat Rajat". As a matter of fact, success has not yet been reached in welding the national and revolutionary movement into a united anti-imperialist Bloc. The existing tendencies however go to prove that a comprehensive organisation of all revolutionary groups is indeed possible.

Opposition reveals itself most openly among the proletariat, whereas the peasants, in spite of their great discontent, have up to the present participated too little in the struggle. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to keep the peasants out of the revolutionary struggle and uses for its propaganda purposes the priests, who persuade the peasants that the communists and Sarekat Raja are carrying on a fight against religion. These lies, in time, are not without effect. Nevertheless the communists have a great influence over the peasants who appear in considerable numbers at the meetings of the Sarekat Raja which are conducted by the communists. The latest events have opened the eyes of the Chinese to the fact that the Dutch bourgeoisie is working hand in hand with the English bourgeoisie. As the result of this, the Chinese and the Indonesians have joined forces and the fight against imperialism has thus gained in strength. The Government has expelled some Chinese — editors of Chinese newspapers — and has thus added to the number of its enemies.

It is the task of the Communist Party to unite these enemies of the bourgeoisie into an anti-imperialist fighting line.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Third Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

By A. Neurath (Prague).

The deliberations and all the resolutions of the Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia bore witness to the complete unanimity of the delegates in all fundamental questions and of the internal solidity of the party. The delegates received the written reports of both the organisation department and the political secretariat. From the organisational report it is evident that in the year of crisis, the C. P. of Czechoslovakia has not lost a single member and that it has, in round figures, 100,000 members. The fact that the Party was able, in accordance with the resolutions of the Enlarged Executive in Moscow, to liquidate its Right wing, to defeat the Bubnik group and to destroy the hopes of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is to be attributed chiefly to the resolute attitude of the Czechoslovakian workers. The Party leaders exercised no special influence on the election of the delegates to the Party Conference; they counted on those comrades, who only feel their way slowly, turning up somehow at the Party Conference and finding support from at least a small number of the delegates. As a matter of fact, these comrades did voice their views, at any rate indirectly. They sent a voluminous declaration to the Party Conference from which it is evident that up to the present, they have not understood the political significance of the resolutions of the Enlarged Executive, not to say plainly that they still do not wish to understand them. The reporter of the political commission to whom the document was handed on, proposed that the memorandum should be rejected on the ground that anyone who had anything to say at the Party Session, could do so in the usual way. It was further suggested that the agenda should be proceeded with. This point of view was unanimously approved by the Party Session. It then transpired that the comrades who wished to make a declaration in common, were not represented at the Party Session by a single delegate with power to vote. Of the 35 comrades who took part in the political debate, only two gave expression to their sympathy with the group of party comrades mentioned, and even that only indirectly. The presumption of a female comrade from Brünn in denouncing the party leadership by an agitatory speech, was rejected with unexpected force by the whole of the delegates to the Party Conference.

In the political report are described the history of the crisis, its political causes and how it was mastered. The report of comrade Smeral, which was in the tenor of the Moscow resolutions and based on the results of the practical political work of the Bloc, was accepted with great satisfaction and unanimity after Comrade Haken had expounded the political tasks of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in a very elaborate report.

The Party Conference, as a matter of fact, spent very little time over the discussion of the liquidation of the party crisis; there was nothing more to discuss since the enemies had been removed from the Party, the opportunist tendencies overcome and the consolidation of the Party ensured.

The whole Party Conference devoted itself very seriously to the difficulties which are developing in the field of trade union activity and tactics. The bourgeoisie, it is true, lost a battle, when it endeavoured, with the help of the Bubniks, to defeat the political Party, but it now hopes, in common with the Bubniks who are at the present enjoying themselves on the trade union battlefield, to carry off the victory in a fight against the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. The dangers are by no means small, we must not underestimate them, and the Party Conference is fully aware of them. The resolution with regard to the trade union question is clearly drawn up in the spirit of the resolutions of the 5th World Congress, of the 3rd Congress of the R. G. I. and of the last Enlarged Executive of the C. I. Comrade Hais, the General Secretary of the International Red Trade Unions agreed to this resolution, although he could not refrain from giving expression in the debate to certain doubts as to the new activities of the trade unions. Our situation can be described in a single sentence: if the new Central Committee knows how to realise practically the resolutions of the Party Conference in the trade union question, the C. P. of Czechoslovakia will remain a mass Party in the best sense of the word, it will be able to strengthen the connections with the social democratic workers of the Amsterdam unions and with the indifferent

masses; it will be the leader of all economic and political struggles of the working masses in Czechoslovakia. If the C. C. is not equal to this task, the Party and the whole revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia is threatened by most serious dangers. We however do not doubt that the C. C. will advance just in this field, for, as the Party Conference has most clearly shown, it rests on the confidence of all members of the Party, on the conviction of all representatives and functionaries that the newly elected leaders will know how to strike out on the right path.

The Party Conference has accomplished the amalgamation with that Left wing of the Czech nationalist socialist movement which, when the law of defence or exceptional law was passed by Parliament, turned its back on its party leaders. Comrades **Vrbensky, Stichova** and others left the national socialist parliamentary fraction. They then formed the **Independent Socialist Party**, consisting chiefly of miners, which has now, as above mentioned, joined our Party. The resolution of amalgamation was passed with extraordinary enthusiasm by the delegates of the Party Conference.

The election of the central committee of the Party was unanimous, on the basis of the proposals of an election commission consisting of representatives of all the agitational districts. In the composition of its Central bodies, the Party Conference was guided by the thought that the possibility of co-operation be absolutely given to all comrades who now adhere to the resolutions of our Party Conference and our World Congress out of conviction, regardless of the attitude which they took to our world organisation at the time of the 5th Congress.

The Party Conference protested in a powerful demonstration against the infamies of the Horthy Government in the fight against the revolutionary workers of Hungary and against the raging of the White Terror in all capitalist States.

Fourth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

In No. 71 of the "Inprecorr." (24th September 1925) there was published an article on the Fourth Convention of the Workers Party of America by Comrade Max Bedacht, representing the Ruthenberg (pro-Labour Party) group in the Workers Party of America. This group has the support of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. We publish the following article by Comrade Earl R. Browder representing the Foster (anti-Labour Party) group, in order that readers may be fully informed regarding the attitude of the two groups. -- Ed.

From August 21, to 29, 61 delegates of the Workers (Communist) Party met in Chicago in the Fourth National Convention. The results of this gathering were quite unexpected to the entire Party membership.

The political resolutions for the convention had been unanimously adopted before the convention by a commission composed of equal representation from the two major groups of the Party, the majority (or Foster group) and the minority (or Ruthenberg group), with the representative of the ECCI as chairman. The delegates to the convention were unanimous in acceptance of the set of 13 unanimous resolutions covering every aspect of Party activity.

With such political unanimity, the election of delegates to the Convention occurred, however, in an atmosphere of intense factional strife. This was because the Ruthenberg group went to the Party with an appeal to repudiate the leadership of the former executive committee headed by Foster. In the struggle that took place, the Foster group elected 39 delegates to the convention, and the Ruthenberg group 15 delegates, out of the total of 54 provided in the arrangements.

The Ruthenberg group contested the elections in several districts, making a demand for 8 more delegates which, if all their claims had been allowed, would have left the comparative strength in the convention, 31 for the Foster group and 23 for the Ruthenberg group. On the other hand, the Foster group claimed one of the delegates assigned to the Ruthenberg group in the election, on the basis of election irregularity.

Throughout the pre-convention period, efforts were made to pacify the struggling groups, and come to agreement, but without avail. Before the eleven district conventions met, which elected the delegation to the national convention, the chairman of the Parity Commission, Comrade Green, called both sides together and obtained a written agreement, establishing the fact that the Foster majority group had obtained a majority in the Party, and that the election of the new Central Executive Committee should be upon the basis of 13 for the majority and 8 for the minority, and that there should therefore be no splits or competing delegation from the district conventions. This agreement was, however, not observed by the Ruthenberg group.

When the convention delegates gathered on Aug. 21, the policy of ultimatums pursued by the Ruthenberg group was tantamount to holding the threat of a split over the convention. In an effort to prevent such a calamitous occurrence, the majority agreed to seat in the convention all the contesting delegates (with the single exception of the claim of two from Chicago, where the minority had but 28 votes out of a total of 101), to grant additional representation on disputed district committees, and to give further representation up to one-half after the convention, when it was assured that the struggle was ended. The chairman of the Parity Commission declared that this was "an honourable offer which could be accepted". The Ruthenberg group refused, however, and only at the end of the third day, after long negotiations, declared their readiness to submit to the decisions of the convention.

The convention was then organised, upon the basis of 40 delegates for the majority and 21 for the minority.

A great deal of the bitterness of the struggle between the two groups had arisen from the mutual charges of manipulation of the right wing by one group against the other. The Ruthenberg group pointed to the fact that Lore, ideological leader of the right wing, had supported the Foster group since the last convention. The Foster group pointed to the close association between the Ruthenberg group and Lore, previous to the last convention, when Ruthenberg and Pepper had controlled the Party, expressed in electing Lore on the Politbureau and excluding Cannon, electing Lore on the directing committee of the Farmer-Labour Party convention in 1923, publishing Lore's articles on the German October occurrences as leading articles in the official organ, and the placing of Lore on their list for the Central Executive at the last convention. On the other hand, the Foster group had given Lore no political consideration, but had publicly combatted his views.

Another source of much bitterness was the interpretation of the C. I. decision on the questions involved in the Party's attitude towards the formation of a Labour Party in the United States. The Comintern decision declared that both sides had made mistakes in this controversy, and laid down a correct line which was accepted by both sides. The Foster group admitted its error in the proposal to discontinue the use of the slogan of the Labour Party. But the Ruthenberg group, declaring that the Comintern had upheld its basic conception of the Labour Party policy, demanded complete leadership of the Party upon that basis. This was stoutly resisted by those, who for three years had energetically combatted the opportunist and adventurist tendencies in the Ruthenberg group, which the Comintern decision had finally rejected.

The verdict of the rank and file membership of the Party had been overwhelmingly in favour of the Foster group. But for the provision agreed upon by both sides, in the Parity Commission, for minority representation from each district, there would have been but a handful of delegates at the convention for the Ruthenberg group.

It was with this background that the Convention had gone through its order of business, except for some items upon which agreements were still in process of being reached, and toward the last hours of the Convention, that the representatives of the ECCI, transmitted to the delegates of the Convention a cable received from ECCI.

The message declared that "it has finally become clear that the Ruthenberg group is more loyal to the decisions of the Comintern and stands closer to its views", and demanded concessions to the Ruthenberg group.

The majority group, through its leader Foster, immediately declared that it considered the decision of the Comintern as law which must be immediately carried out. But under the circumstances, in which the cable appeared as a declaration of lack of

confidence by the Comintern, the majority could not take the responsibility of leading the Party. It therefore proposed an equal committee, ten from each side, with the representative of ECCI as chairman. This was adopted unanimously by the convention, after Foster had declared, for the majority of the convention, that the decision would be appealed to the Comintern. The Committee selected was: From the Foster group, Foster, Cannon, Bittelman, Dunne, Browder, Abern, Berman, Reynolds, and Aronberg; and a representative of the YWL; for the minority, Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Engdahl, Gitlow, Ballam, Minor, Weinstein, Withe and Schmees.

At the first meeting of the new Committee, the chairman voted with the Ruthenberg group, and the old minority became a majority of the Committee. It proceeded to place the administration in the hands of a Politbureau of 5 members (Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Bedacht, Cannon and Foster), from which the former political secretary (Bittelman) was excluded over the protest of the Foster group. The position of chairman of the Party, formerly occupied by Foster, was abolished. Ruthenberg was named "General Secretary" and given general administration of all Party affairs. The Ruthenberg group took charge of all departments, except the industrial, where Foster was left nominal head with a majority of Ruthenberg's group in a committee to direct the work, and the Research Department, to which Browder was removed from the editorship of the monthly magazine.

On Sept. 6, at a meeting of the Jewish section of the Party, Ruthenberg presented a resolution declaring that the cable from the C. I. "lays the basis for the future development of the leadership of our Party" and represents "the best interests of the Party". An amendment was proposed by the majority of the delegates to accept the decision and loyally carry it out, but at the same time to endorse the appeal to the Comintern. This amendment was declared "out of order" by Ruthenberg, who ruled that "the comrades have a right to appeal" but that "the Central Executive Committee will not permit it to come before the units of the Party for action".

The results of this sudden upheaval in the leadership of the Party, and the drastic actions of the new majority of the Central Committee, have created much confusion and dismay among the Party membership. The Workers (Communist) Party of America has not solved its crisis, as it had expected, at its Fourth National Convention. Instead it has entered upon a crisis even deeper than that which existed before. The appeal of the Foster group to the C. I. should be made the occasion for clarifying the present confused situation and for removing the difficulties at present confronting the Party.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The "Control Figures" of the Institute for Planned Economics of the Soviet Union for the Next Economic Year.

By L. F. Winow (Moscow).

An important step towards overcoming anarchy in production.

The Institute for Planned Economics of the Soviet Union recently published its "Control figures for the political economy of the economic year 1925/26" (1. October 1925 till 30. September 1926). In this the methodological introduction is followed by a general and detailed survey of the probable economic and financial results of the coming economic year. The Soviet government has succeeded for the first time in drawing up beforehand an economic plan including every branch of economics, for a whole year in advance.

Though we must not over-estimate the significance of the "control figures", and must not by any means regard them as laying down rigid rules for the individual economic authorities, their appearance alone — quite apart from the brilliant prospects which they evidence — forms the beginning of a fresh stage within the "New Economic Policy". It is a piece of work quite unique in the world, and proves that the structure of Soviet economics already differs from that of capitalist economics. The authors of the "Control figures" themselves point out "the complete lack of precedents, and of works of a similar nature, in the economic literature of the world.

The "Control figures" cannot of course represent more than an attempt to comprise in concrete figures the statistics of the driving forces of the whole of our economic life, to draw statistic conclusions from the relations between the various economic factors for a whole year in advance, and thus to help the Soviet government to bring these factors into harmony with each other as rapidly as possible. Both the methods of the compilation and the various statistical results of these control figures are subjected to a many-sided and productive criticism in the Soviet press; it is more than natural that the first attempt at a work of such far-reaching importance cannot be quite perfect or free from errors — but the fact in itself that such a calculation in advance, covering every department of economic life, is possible in the Soviet Union, and solely in the Soviet Union, shows that the New Economic Policy does not represent a transition from war communism back to capitalism, but forward to socialism; herein lies the great importance of the attempt.

The method of calculation.

The commission has employed the combination of three methods for the calculation of the various figures:

1. The method of dynamic coefficients, as given by the analysis of the actual development of our political economy during the last few years;
2. The method of expert examination of the possible economic and technical results to be obtained during the coming year in the various branches of our political economy;
3. The method of controlled comparison of the results received, both with one another and with the corresponding pre-war data.

The restrictions placed upon development, besides the complete exploitation of the existing technical possibilities, especially obtaining in the industries producing paper, starch, and agricultural machinery are based upon the following factors:

- Capacity of absorption possessed by the market (metal),
- Existence of inland raw materials (tobacco and wool industry),
- Possibility of import (rubber and leather industry).

Besides these factors, others taken into account are the financial and credit possibilities; the condition and possible development of transport service; the existence of skilled labour; the quantity of draught animals available for agriculture, etc.

Comparisons with prewar levels are made with due consideration for the difference in structure between pre-war and present economics; some critics are however of the opinion that this consideration has not been great enough.

Agricultural production.

The material part of the survey, from which we can here only adduce a few of the most important points, begins with an analysis of agricultural production, showing the output of 1924/25, calculated at pre-war prices, to have been 71% of the output of 1913, as follows:

	Millions in prewar roubles		
	1913	1924/25	
Tillage	11,782	8,106	69%
Forestry, fishing, and hunting Agriculture collectively	1,044	1,044	100%
	12,826	9,150	71%

The Institute for Planned Economics calculates upon agricultural production increasing by 26% during the next economic year, so that the probable yield from tillage will be 89% of prewar production, from forestry, fishing, and hunting 115%.

Of those branches of agriculture whose output already exceeds the prewar level, special mention must be made of the potato output, which has already attained 116% of the prewar standard, and is calculated at 127% for the coming year.

With reference to the quantities of goods placed upon the market, these represent for agriculture a value of 2,857 million prewar roubles as compared with 4,498 million in 1913, or 64%. Next year the value will be 3,369 million prewar roubles, or 89%.

The ratio of the amount of goods to collective production is thus somewhat lower than before the war, a circumstance partially explicable by the after effects of the enormous reduction in the traffic in goods during the war communism period, and partially by the dividing up of the large landed properties, resul-

ting in a comparatively high increase of consumption among the peasantry itself.

The products of **cattle rearing** will be maintained at approximately the same level during the coming economic year as in the present year, that is, at 80% of prewar production. The mutual relations of the various branches of production pertaining to cattle rearing will however undergo considerable alterations. The previous failures of crops have had the effect of inducing breeders to reduce their livestock, but this year's good crops, enabling the animals to be kept, will probably cause a decline in the production of meat and raw leather; this will however be compensated by the increased output of eggs and milk.

Industry.

With regard to the development of industry, we find a general increase of production to the amount of 54% as compared with the previous year. Next year it will increase by about 34% as compared with this. This development is unequal in the different branches of production. Whilst the beginning of our reconstructive work witnessed the rapid development of small and light industries working immediately for the needs of the masses, the last few years have seen great advances in the reconstruction of the large industries.

Increase of production

(the percentual comparison with the production of the previous year):

	1924/25 (% to 1923/24)	1925/26 (% to 1924/25 probably)
I. State large industry	by 64%	by 48%
II. Medium state industry	" 55%	" 26%
III. Small state undertakings, private enterprises, etc.	" 30%	" 8%

With respect to **big industry** in particular, this shows the most gratifying development:

Year	In mill. prewar roubles	Per cent as compared with 1913
1913	5,620	100
1923/24	2,570	46
1924/25	3,950	70
1925/26	5,280	94

The ratio of the amount of goods in inland to the output is lower than before the war, in industry as in agriculture. The goods coefficient (the ratio of the amount of goods to the total output), 1913 being taken at 100, is 89 in 1924/25, and 83 in 1925/26. This fact is however explained by the better organised structure of state industry, which renders it possible to replace by administrative distribution a part of the traffic which was carried out by means of the market before the war.

Comprehensive table of total production.

	A. Agriculture.			% as compared to 1913	
	In mill. prewar roubles *)			1924/25	1925/26
	1913	1924/25	1925/26		
Tillage	11,782	8,106	10,236	69	87
Forestry, fishing, hunting	1,044	1,044	1,200	100	115
Total agriculture	12,826	9,150	11,436	71	89
B. Industry.					
Large undertakings	5,621	3,950	5,280	70	94
Medium and small undertakings	1,390	1,050	1,370	76	94
Total industry	7,011	5,000	6,650	71	95
Total production	19,837	14,150	18,086	71	91

*) It is specially pointed out that in the categories 1924/25 and 1925/26 not the actual gold price, but the **pre-war price** of the amount produced, is stated.

Price movement.

The control figure commission, after harmonising various standpoints, considers a fall in the price index for industrial products by 9%, for agricultural products by 8%, and of the total index by 8.3% to be probable. The price index is thus as follows:

	1913	1924/25	1925/26 probably.
Agriculture	1000	1693	1565
Industry	1000	1005	1733
Total index	1000	1796	1647
% of agricultural index to total	100	94	95
% of industrial index to total	100	106	105

The "control figures" contain an interesting compilation of the probable price movement for the coming year, drawn up in detail for each month and class of goods. To reprint this would however go beyond the scope of this article.

The question of the development of

wages

and of the productivity of labour requires to be dealt with in a special article. It need only be mentioned that in the coming economic year real wages will reach on an **average 100% of prewar wages**. The struggle to attain and surpass the European and American wage level can then begin. With respect to **unemployment**, it may be observed that the rapid increase of production has already brought about a shortage of skilled labour.

Foreign trade.

In so far as absolute figures are concerned, foreign trade is still far below its pre-war level. This is only natural, since the development of export, especially in agriculture, invariably expresses the stage of production reached the **previous year**, whilst the amount of imported goods in the Soviet Union is chiefly made dependent on the amount exported. We may thus say, dynamically speaking, that foreign trade has developed comparatively as rapidly as, or even more rapidly than the other branches of economics. Thus we find in the estimate for the coming economic year that this year's export sum is almost tripled (274%). We append a collective survey of foreign trade:

	In million prewar roubles			In million gold roubles		% to 1913		% to previous year 1925/26 Calculated in	
	1913	1924/25	1925/26	1924/25	1925/26	1924/25	1925/26	Prewar roubles	Gold roubles
Export:									
Agriculture	927	204	559	354	950	22	60	274	268
Industry	378	66	121	108	150	17	32	183	139
Total	1305	270	680	462	1100	21	52	252	238
Import:									
Agriculture	297	145	189	255	475	49	64	130	186
Industry	710	194	329	341	475	27	46	170	139
Total	1007	339	518	596	950	34	51	153	159

New investments of capital.

The enormous growth of production has made a greatly extended **transport service** necessary. It will therefore be necessary to invest a further sum of 347 million gold roubles for traffic purposes; 236 millions of this fall to the railways, 136 millions for repairing purposes and 100 millions for new orders. The People's Commissariat for transport service will raise 186 millions out of its own resources, 50 millions will be debited to the "reconstruction loan".

The following sums will be expended on **enlarging industry** in the coming economic year (in million gold roubles):

	1913	1924/25	1925/26
For agriculture total	12,826	15,490	17,897
For industry total	19,837	25,010	29,417

The sum total is covered by:

Branch of production	Sum total	Sum allotted to new work	Own resources	Industrial funds	State budget and long term credits
Electrification	80,0	80,0	—	—	80,0
Textile industry	145,0	35,0	76,0	43,0	26,0
Paper industry	42,0	26,0	16,0	15,0	11,0
Chemical industry	42,5	30,5	23,0	5,0	14,5
Sugar industry	51,0	—	25,0	—	26,0
Oil pressing industry	3,5	3,0	1,5	—	2,0
Spirit industry	10,0	—	—	—	10,0
Tobacco industry	2,0	—	2,0	—	—
Wood industry	17,5	11,5	6,5	—	11,0
Naphtha industry	116,0	30,0	106,0	10,0	—
Coal industry	41,5	—	12,5	—	29,0
Electro-technical industry	22,5	14,0	3,0	—	10,5
Glass industry	38,0	33,5	4,5	10,5	23,0
Metal industry	182,0	34,0	76,0	—	106,0
Building industry	11,0	6,0	5,0	—	6,0
Sundry	75,0	—	25,0	—	50,0
	879,5*)	323,5	382,0	83,5	414,0

90 millions are to be devoted to increasing the means of circulation.

This compilation shows that the Soviet government is in a position to raise the money required for maintaining and extending production, if only to a modest degree, without the aid of foreign credit. Were the Soviet Union to obtain loans on favourable conditions, this would be of advantage to both parties, but the workers' and peasants' state will not submit to any Dawes Plan, and its economic position is not such that it has any reason to do so.

The building of dwelling houses.

With respect to the provision of housing accomodation, the control figures provide the following programme for the next economic year:

	Mill. gold roubles
For the renovation of entirely dilapidated houses	100
For the renovation of semi dilapidated houses and the completion of new houses already begun	100
For the construction of new houses to replace buildings unfit for habitation	70
For the building of houses to accomodate the increase of population	105
Total	375

The following tables inform us as to the money and credit conditions:

	Amount of money in circulation.					In mill. gold roubles		
	In mill. prewar roubles		% to 1913		In mill. gold roubles		% to previous year 1925/26	
	1913	1924/25	1925/26	1924/25	1925/26	1924/25		
Beginning of economic year	2041	379	693	19	34	623	1157	186
End of economic year	2076	693	1261	33	61	1157	1973	171
Average	2058	496	950	24	46	890	1565	176

When comparing the amount of money in circulation with prewar data it should be taken into account that cash dealings have been comparatively reduced in consequence of the nationalisation and intense concentration of industry in this sphere of economic life.

Banking operations show a rapid upward tendency, but will still continue to be well under prewar standards in the coming year, the upward development not having begun until the stabilisation of the rouble in 1924. A few figures:

*) The Supreme Economic Council raised this sum to 900 millions, correspondingly distributed among the various branches of industry.

	In mill. prewar roubles			% to 1913	
	Sept. 1913	Sept. 1925	Sept. 1926	1925	1926
Investments and current accounts	4214	640	1534	15	36
Credit and bill operations	4800	1139	2428	24	51

	In mill. gold roubles		% to 1925
	Sept. 1925	Sept. 1926	
Investments and current accounts	1067	2400	225
Credit and bill operations	1900	3800	200

With reference to the state budget we must confine ourselves here to a comparison of the ultimate amounts:

In mill. prewar roubles			% to 1913	
1913	1924/25	1925/26	1924/25	1925/26
2919	1392	2064	48	71

In mill. gold roubles		% to previous year
1924/25	1925/26	1925/26
2500	3400	136

The closing chapter of the "Control figures" deals with the process of socialisation in the economic life of the Soviet Union.

The capital value in the hands of the state at the beginning of the economic year 1924/25 (dwelling houses excepted) amounts to at least 11.7 milliard gold roubles; the value of the co-operative capital amounts to 500 million gold roubles; the total value of the socialised capital thus amounts to 12.2 milliard gold roubles, whilst the private — mainly agricultural — undertakings have merely 7.5 milliards at their disposal. The capital of the country is thus socialised to the extent of more than 62%.

In detail:

	Socialised up to:
Municipal capital with industry and transport	97%
Industry	89%
Big industry alone	99%
Agricultural capital only to the extent of	4%*)

The following table shows the gradually increasing preponderance of socialised industry in every branch of industrial production:

Year	Gross production:		
	State and co-operative industry mill. gold roubles	Private undertakings mill. gold roubles	Total mill. gold roubles
1923/24	5562 = 76.3%	1728 = 23.7%	7.290 = 100%
1924/25	7550 = 79.3%	1970 = 20.7%	9.520 = 100%
1925/26	9186 = 79.7%	2334 = 20.3%	11.520 = 100%

A comparison of the industries of the United States shows the degree of concentration attained by Soviet industry:

	U. S. A. (1./I. 1925)	U. S. S. R. (1911)	U. S. S. R. (1911)
Ratio of workers employed in factories with more than 500 workers to the total number of workers	44,3*)	68,8	56
Average number of workers employed in one undertaking**)	151	239	—

The participation of the state and co-operatives in intermediate trade has increased during the last three years from 49,7% th 76% of the total turnover.

*) With the exception of the land itself, which is of course socialised 100%.
**) Manufacturing industry.

To this must be added that steam transport service (railways and shipping), as also the bank credit service, are completely socialised.

* * *

The general survey of the prospects of the economics of the Soviet Union thus gained shows that next year the prewar level will be nearly approached, and that this prewar level has already been overtaken in several branches of industry. Most important of all is the fact that industry is developing straight along the road to socialism, to an ever higher degree of nationalisation, and to an ever higher form of economic organisation.

The struggle for the socialisation of agriculture is however still in its preliminary stage. We have before us some decades of obstinate struggle for the co-operatives, for the supplying of the poorer peasantry with means of production, and not last for the industrialisation of agriculture, this fundamental condition of socialisation. But the policy hitherto pursued by the Leninist CP. of Russia, whose successes even the comrades of the former "opposition" now acknowledge with enthusiasm, although as recently as two years ago they maintained that this policy was dragging the country to the verge of the abyss, is the best guarantee that the Russian proletariat, closely allied to the peasantry, will make equally victorious progress along this stretch of the road to socialism.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Black Agrarian International and the Krestintern.

(The fight for the world peasantry.)

By T. D o m b a l, Moscow.

In the coming events which are going to determine the fate of labouring mankind, the peasantry will doubtless play a tremendous and historical rôle.

In the fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie at the present revolutionary epoch, it will be the peasantry that will decide the outcome of the struggle one way or another. Although the peasantry, for a good many reasons, will not be able to become the leading factor in this struggle; nevertheless its role will be tremendous, even if only because on a world-scale it comprises over a milliard human souls, which means from 60 to 70% of the entire human race. Since the peasantry used to be considered as the most conservative and backward element in society, the bourgeois ideologists have based all their hopes for the preservation of the capitalist order upon the political neutrality of the peasantry. Now, after the imperialist world war, a great change has taken place in the peasantry.

First of all, there has grown up in the peasant the consciousness of the antagonism between his interests and those of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. Secondly, the class differentiation has grown among the peasantry. Thirdly, ever increasing masses of the toiling peasantry are beginning to realise the Community of their interests with those of the proletariat.

The importance of the peasantry in the coming world-events is taken into account not only by the revolutionary proletariat, but also by the bourgeois and landlord section.

The slogan launched by the proletarian vanguard, „the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants for the fight against capitalism and landlordism“, has met with an eager response among the peasants. Ever since the time when the more advanced and class conscious elements of the peasantry have created the Red Peasants' International under the name of the International Peasants' Council (Krestintern), this slogan has begun to assume organised forms. The bourgeoisie is fully aware of the fact that it would prove unable to resist the united front which is growing among the workers and peasants, and it is therefore trying to hinder the formation of such an alliance, to gain over to its side the prosperous and even the middle elements of the peasantry, and by their aid to subjugate to itself the village. It may safely be stated that coming revolutionary events — the decisive encounter between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — will be preceded by the fight between these two classes for this mightily ally, for the peasantry.

This fight for the peasantry is growing in extent throughout the world, assuming a more and more organised character.

On the one hand, the Krestintern is gathering under its banner ever increasing numbers of the existing, as well as of the newly arising economic and political organisations of the toiling peasantry, besides establishing contact with the left wings and radical groups of those agricultural organisations which are still dominated by landlords, wealthy peasants or petty-bourgeois leaders.

Already before the formation of the Krestintern, the capitalist and landlord reaction had endeavoured to create a "black agrarian international". On their part, the wealthy peasants, upon the initiative of Stambulisky, created the people's green agricultural international, which to his day retains its Slavonic character, not having made any considerable headway.

Along with these attempts there could recently be noted the efforts of the social-reformists of the menschevist type to draw the peasantry into their sphere of influence. It was not for nothing that Otto Bauer published his book "The Fight for Land, Field and Forest", neither is it by mere accident that the second international is convening shortly at Paris a conference on the agrarian and peasant question. But by far the most brilliant proof of the growing struggle for the peasantry, and at the same time to us the most dangerous manifestation of the black reaction, is the fact of the decision of the 12th International Agrarian Congress at Warsaw last June to create its own Black Agrarian International as a counterpoise to the red Krestintern. Every emphasis should be put upon the undoubted fact that since that very moment the fight for the peasantry between the world reaction and the proletariat has assumed an organised character on either side, and that henceforth it will be waged chiefly under the banner of the two internationals: The red Krestintern and the black Agrarian International.

The Agrarian Congress at Warsaw was convened by the so-called International Agrarian Commission created at the world exhibition of Paris in 1889, upon the initiative of the then premier of France, Melinet, who had once been a member of the Paris Commune.

Under the slogan of "professional" — unity of all the agriculturists, beginning with the large landowner and ending with the poorest peasant, in the spirit of the antiquated doctrine, "The plough becomes the symbol of civilisation", was founded the International Agrarian Commission, which has since convened congresses (there were 12 agrarian congresses, including that of Warsaw) and acted as their executive organ. At first the participants at these congresses consisted of representatives of the different agricultural associations (almost exclusively of landowners), professors and other specialists, and later on they were attended also by delegates of about 30 governments (ministers of agriculture and higher officials), who have established close contact with the International Agrarian Commission of Paris and with the International Agrarian Institute at Rome, which had been founded under its auspices in 1905.

The Warsaw Congress attended by about 250 delegates representing 25 countries, and also by representatives of the League of Nations, constitutes the most important of all the agrarian congresses, because it has marked the beginning of the organised offensive of the worlds' agrarian capital against the toilers in general, and the peasants in particular.

The actions of the landlords cannot be considered as isolated. Before starting the attack, they have reached an agreement with the big bourgeoisie and secured the support of both industrial and financial capital. Extremely characteristic for the whole tactics of the landlords is the fact that, upon the demand of the bourgeoisie, they have agreed to some concessions on the land question.

The exposure of this astute manoeuvre of the landlords is a task of prime urgency for all the revolutionary elements of town and country. At the same time it should be clearly pointed out that this manoeuvre is not intended to obviate the land-famine, but to benefit only a small group of the peasant population.

Furthermore, in the fight for the peasantry, the landlords are trying to get entirely into their hands the distribution of the state credits granted for the assistance of agriculture.

This means paving the way for the big agrarians to become the guardians of the peasant masses in need of credit during the period of somewhat stabilised capitalism.

The Warsaw Congress, in order to afford to the agriculturists the facilities "for exercising powerful and constant influence upon the general politics in every country, and above all, upon agrarian policies", resolved to found the Black Agrarian International:

“1. To organise central unions of the agricultural organisations in every country.

2. To create agricultural groups in the parliaments, uniting the representatives of agricultural and kindred interests without distinction of political convictions for the purpose of constant co-operation.

3. To remind the agriculturists that at parliamentary elections they should demand from all candidates, formal pledges to defend the interests of the agriculturists.

4. To establish an international organisation whose task will be to establish constant relations among all the central agricultural institutions and organisations of all countries.”

The attack is directed not only against the toilers, but partly also against the petty mercantile bourgeoisie.

We see already in Germany how these attempts are being carried out. It is to be regretted that this does not attract the due attention of our German comrades. The “Landbund” of the Junkers, having secured control of the distribution of agricultural credits by amalgamating the peasants’ credit organisations with the Rent Bank, has succeeded in laying the foundation for the German Agrarian Trust. In Berlin the “Landbund” of the Junkers has established a gigantic bread-factory; in Pomerania it has already organised its sugar refineries; it is now organising a number of different factories for the conversion of agricultural products and its own buying and distributive agencies, and its dictatorial appetites grow day by day.

These actions will create fairly strong illusions among the peasant masses and will contribute to the strengthening of the hold of the black agrarian reaction upon the toiling peasants.

In view of these facts, we must outline a definite plan of counter-action, and the proper tactics to meet the situation.

While the landlords, with the aid of industrial and financial capital, and also of the State, are getting into their hands the agricultural co-operative organisations, we cannot afford to remain idle. It will be our business to gain our way into the economic organisations created by the agrarian reaction, to form in them groups and fractions of toiling peasants, and to fight for the extension of the influence of the toiling peasantry by advancing the slogan of “capturing these organisations”.

In the near future the Krestintern will have to create its nuclei in the existing co-operative organisations of every country, and to form co-operative organisations where none exist; all this will be the preliminary work towards creating out of the Krestintern an International of peasant co-operatives, working under the slogan of uniting all the agricultural co-operatives and bringing them into line with the consumers’ co-operatives of the working class.

With regard to the political attempts of the agrarian reaction, we must in every way expose the false “professional” slogans of the handful of landlords, pointing out the antagonism between the interests of the landlords and those of the toiling peasants (the land question, taxes and so on). Under no circumstances should we permit the collection of propaganda funds in favour of the “professional” — interests of the landlords. We must also combat the formation of “professional” groups in parliaments and other public institutions, led by the landlords or by their flunkers.

It goes without saying that we shall fight against any formal pledges of obedience to the landlords (which are to be demanded from candidates in parliamentary elections and other public offices).

And finally, we must in every way hinder the organisation of the black agrarian international.

For this purpose we must, first of all, increase our rural party work in every country, creating efficient sections for village work in connection with the central committees of party and youth organisations in every country.

Wherever mass agricultural organisations exist, it is necessary to start a campaign for their affiliation to the Krestintern, to create in them groups of toiling peasants, to organise, consolidate and strengthen the left wing in these organisations, endeavouring not to cause a split, but to convert them into a fighting weapon for the emancipation of the toiling peasantry. Only in extreme cases, when it is found impossible to carry on any work within the organisations, or when the question of open rupture with the landlords, wealthy peasants and petty-bourgeoisie has fully matured and there is no danger of becoming detached from the peasant masses, will it be advisable to proceed with the formation of Krestintern non-party mass organisations which will pursue both political and economic

aims: something like a peasants’ “Landbund” of course, without the landlords, wealthy peasants and their lackeys, but benefiting by their experience and their tactful manner of approaching the masses.

Where no peasant organisations and kindred associations exist, we must create them and get them to join immediately the Krestintern. While doing this, we must wage campaigns for the defence of the most vital demands of the peasants. These organisations should be of a mass character, without being imbued with ultra-revolutionary features.

The fight for the peasantry is flaring up, and it behoves us to remember that the growth of the Krestintern is the mighty augury of victory.

The decisions of the 12th Agrarian Congress mean to a certain extent quite new methods of influencing the peasants on the part of the black agrarian reaction.

In reality, however, there is nothing new in this offensive of agrarian capital by means of concentration and centralisation; it is the direct outcome of capitalist development. What is new about it is that the offensive is for the first time undertaken upon a world-wide scale.

Agrarian capital is on the warpath on a world-wide scale, in league with industrial and financial capital.

The fight for the peasantry is becoming the slogan of the day.

The organised onslaught must be met with organised resistance.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Heidelberg Conference of the German Social Democratic Party.

By W. KOENEN (Berlin).

The Heidelberg Conference of the Social Democratic Party of Germany was in every way a continuation, in a German form, of the Marseilles Congress of the II. International. Just as in international politics no notice was taken of the Marseilles Congress, in the same way the German public has not bothered itself with the Party Conference of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

At its annual Conference this “mass Party” did not adopt any concrete attitude, either towards the political situation or to the relations of forces which have changed so remarkably during the last few months, or to the special difficulties now confronting the proletariat. Hardly a word was said regarding the economic struggles of the last few weeks, involving 200,000 building workers, 300,000 textile workers, and some hundred thousand railway workers. No slogans were issued regarding the customs duties and the taxation, which constitute a monstrous robbery of the working masses of Germany. The Hindenburg policy of the monarchist Luther government and the capitalist offensive, which involve the closing down of factories, wage reductions and increasing unemployment for the workers and employees, was not even mentioned — and this at a Conference of a so-called labour party.

The Party had quite enough to do with its own affairs. The reports of the Executive were nothing else than an offensive against the opposition within the Party. The idea of this offensive was at all costs to carry through, in the face of all opposition and against the final resistance offered in Saxony, the policy of coalition. The social democrats are still participating in the provincial governments of Prussia, Baden etc. They are now striving with all their might not only to enter coalition governments in other provinces, but also to obtain posts in the national government.

The leader of the Party, Müller-Franken, described these government coalitions as useful institutions from which they must not allow themselves to be pushed into isolation. Heilmann impressed upon the opposition that, in spite of the robbery of the workers involved in the taxation policy of the Centre fraction, the Party must not break their coalition with it. Vogel, from Bavaria, stated that one must finally and openly declare that the Party has become a different one from what it was before the workers involved in the taxation policy of the Centre fraction, urged that the Party has to fight for a share in the state power,

and that in view of this future government activity the party, even now while in opposition, had to behave as if it were already a government party. Müller-Franken supplemented this parliamentary attitude by declaring that "the masses whom the social democratic Party desired to win were not behind the communists but behind the bourgeois parties".

The right leaders have succeeded in carrying through by an overwhelming majority their will to take part in coalitions. A resolution of the opposition against this policy of unconditional coalition was rejected by 285 votes against 81. The opposition, which hardly amounted to a quarter of the delegates at the Conference, has the greatest support in Saxony and Frankfurt, while it has considerable minorities in Thuringia and in Berlin. It was however in no way united, and in addition to this, it was inwardly weak, pessimistic and unclear. It did not even venture to speak of trade union unity, of supporting the workers' delegations and Soviet Russia. In the large delegation from Saxony, which claims to be oppositional, the only real left group were the delegates from the Plauen-Zwickau district. The representative of this group, Seydevitz, declared that the presidential candidature of Marx had been rejected by his opposition group, because they did not wish to take over responsibility for the policy of the Centre, which in the event of a victory of the candidate of the so-called People's Bloc would have become more openly reactionary, for he would not have acted in any way differently from Hindenburg!

This one bright spot in the Conference was overshadowed by the complete failure of the Saxon delegation in their struggle with the right wing. With the nomination of Lipinsky as their spokesman and the submission without any debate, of their case to a non-Saxon commission, they proclaimed their own defeat. This commission, with the approval of the so-called left wingers, proposed that the expulsion of the 23 Right wing members be withdrawn, that the coalition ministers be allowed to remain in office, that both groups be reunited in a common fraction in the Saxon diet, and that the dissolution of the Saxon Diet be postponed until the Party Executive considered the political situation to be favourable for this. Thereupon the Saxon delegates were promised that from now on the Right as well as the Party Executive would amicably co-operate with them. It is true, the Saxon delegates issued a protest declaration, in which they stated that, in spite of their recalcitrant attitude, they would submit to the decisions of the Party. The remaining opposition, under the lead of Rosenfeld, even voted for this settlement of the Saxon conflict against the opposition.

After this attitude of the opposition it was not surprising that the Party Executive was able to threaten the exclusion of any delegates to Russia who delivered the reports of their journey favourable to the Communist Party. On the other hand, the Party Executive could not ignore the political effect of these delegations and of the fraternising of the English and Russian trade unions. After the Marseilles Conference, therefore, Müller-Franken and Breitscheid considered it expedient to speak of proletarian Russia and to take up the slogan of "Hands of Soviet Russia", Of course, with them it is only a question of adapting themselves to the mood of the masses.

In the debate on the programme there was revealed, behind a lot of Marxist phrases, the determined desire to co-operate in the work of capitalist reconstruction, upon the basis of the Republic, by means of the policy of coalition. Just as at the Breslau Congress of the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions), Economic Democracy was put forward as an aim to be striven for. Hilferding in his report, after giving a perfectly correct Marxist analysis of the economic tendencies, of Imperialism and of the nationalist movements, succeeded in avoiding all revolutionary conclusions and diverting the tactical line to reformism and bourgeois democracy. The only oppositional speaker who, on behalf of the Plauen-Zwickau group, showed a fundamental standpoint was Paul Levi, who stated that, in face of the irreconcilable contradictions of capitalism, of the class policy of the proletariat, of the international character of the labour movement and the question of revolution and evolution, the programme was absolutely revisionist and reformist. But his standpoint was only shared by five delegates who voted with him against the programme, so that in this question also the opposition absolutely collapsed.

At this Party Conference all proposals and suggestions emanating from the members were ruthlessly rejected. Even the demands put forward regarding the Barmat scandal were brusquely rejected, and the party members were called upon to express

their solidarity with Heilmann, Barmat and Bauer. Wels even succeeded not only in having Bauer's expulsion withdrawn, but the proposed censure was not even pronounced against him. On the contrary, it was even decided that members of the Party can even become members of boards of directors of private capitalist undertakings if the party fraction concerned raises no objection. In addition to this the young socialists, who had protested against the corruption of the party leaders and their lack of contact with the masses and the youth, were sharply rebuffed. The ruling coalition Ministers in the Party are not in the least inclined to pay any heed to such moods. Even the fact that, according to the local statistics, the Party had become a party of old people and that the number of those members with ages ranging from 20 to 35 years had fallen off to a terrible extent, was considered as a matter of no importance. The reproach made by the opposition that the Party in the first year in which the Dawes Plan had been in operation had lost a 100,000 members and that it now had fewer members than in 1913 evoked no response.

These significant facts serve to show in what direction our Communist Party must now begin its intensive work among the social democratic masses. They are equally clear indications as to what points must first be concentrated upon in order to form a Left Wing in the German Labour Movement.

The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky, its Apostle.

By N. Bucharin.

X.

(Conclusion.)

In reply to the assertions of Kautsky, Dan writes:

"Of course, from the historical standpoint, every counter-revolution, with all the suffering and the indignation of the masses which it calls forth, with the prospect of fresh revolutions and wars which it opens up, can afterwards be justified as being an inevitable form of "progress", as being, in the given relation of forces, the only possible way out of the cul-de-sac in which every revolution with fatal inevitability arrives when it ventures beyond its real historical limits. Perhaps history provided no other real possibility of the solution of the contradictions of the revolution of 1848 than the blood-letting which was carried out by Cavaignac, as well as for the solution of the contradictions of the Commune — nothing else but the victory of Thiers. But this a posteriori objectivism of the historian can in no case serve as the guiding line of a political party which, in the interest of its class, fights for another less painful way out of the cul-de-sac."¹⁾

If we strip away the nebulous phrases, what is it that Dan says here? He says that, in his opinion, the Bolshevik revolution has proceeded too far along the revolutionary road, and that Kautsky in fact suggests to the present-day Cavaignac and Thiers that they strangle it, which, however, is out of place for a "political party which fights for... etc.". That is the actual meaning of this "reproof". Dan admits that Kautsky logically (of course only logically) occupies the standpoint of Cavaignac and Thiers, for which we congratulate the venerable "father" of social democratic theory.

Herr Kautsky, as he has often shown, is a brave man. That is why he calls upon the II. International

"to obtain decisive influence over the revolt and in no way to sabotage it". (Page 49.)

On the other hand, Kautsky recommends his comrades to get rid of their fear of the reactionary officers:

"One must not allow oneself to be intimidated by the spectre of white-guardist officers, of whom it is believed that they must inevitably become the leaders of every revolt against Bolshevism. The Russian peasant has not passed through the school of revolution in vain. He clings tight to his piece of land, he is full of mistrust towards the old aristocrats and has acquired a strong, democratic feeling."²⁾

¹⁾ T. Dan in the "Kampf", July 1925, page 242.

²⁾ Kautsky: "The International and Soviet Russia." P. 49/50.

Two pages previously (p. 47/46) Herr Kautsky wrote:

"This (the revolt N. B.) is most likely to come about as a result of a great military catastrophe, which very easily overtakes a military despotism..."

In a democracy, the people, in the event of a serious disaster, stands firmly behind the government which has been elected by it... Under a despotism, which is recognised and hated by the masses of the population as being the cause of their sufferings, a national disaster serves as the signal for a general uprising of the people."

Therefore: firstly, Herr Kautsky not only seeks to conjure up a war of the imperialist "democracies" against the Moscow "despotism", but promises these democracies full support. ("The entire people etc.")

Secondly Herr Kautsky, who accuses the Soviet government of enslaving the people, now suddenly appeals to the "school of revolution", to the "democratic feeling" of the peasantry, even to their hate against the white guardist officers.

We must deal specially with the last point. We will not for the moment enlarge on the fact that the friends of Kautsky, the Mensheviks, but the S. R. in particular, have gone hand in hand with the "White-guardist officers". Let us ignore that and deal with the future. "School of revolution", Good. But what sort of school is that in which the peasant has learnt to hate the aristocrats and white officers and has become a democrat? This was the school of civil war and the Red Army, that great school which was conducted — yes, by whom, do you remember? By the Bolsheviks, my dear Sir! Your friends, however, Herr Kautsky, were on the other side of the barricade with the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.

After all these white-guardist conspiratory considerations Herr Kautsky naively remarks:

"Now it will perhaps be urged against me that, even if my view is correct, it must not be openly proclaimed by the International, for that would mean delivering our comrades in Russia to the knife of the executioner, and would furnish fresh ground for persecutions. I am not afraid of that (in Berlin! N. B.) If the Bolsheviks honestly grasp our views they will not be able to derive any justification from them for persecuting the democratic socialists. The latter are expressly warned by us against preparing armed revolts. Whether the other revolts of which we speak take place does not depend upon our comrades!)"

We cannot do better than quote the answer of Dan:

"Kautsky draws a sharp distinction between a prepared armed revolt and a spontaneous uprising of the people... This classification... is not clear to us... If one calculates from the point of view of tactics upon an "uprising of the people", it means in reality that one calculates upon an armed revolt and upon a civil war!."

What then? Has not Dan honestly grasped the views of his teacher? Or is Herr Kautsky not playing honestly with words and covering in a dishonest manner his imperialist countenance with a pink red mask of a democrat, of a socialist etc? We believe that the latter is much more probable. Kautsky "calculates from a tactical point of view" upon a war of the imperialists against us from the outside and a civil war of the Whites against the people at home, which shall lead to the desired aim: occupation, conversion of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois semi-colonial country with a weak government and a weak economy. After this the international bourgeoisie could rest satisfied for a considerable time. In fact it is their "peace" and "stability" of the bourgeoisie which Kautsky is defending.

Karl Kautsky has no fear of reaction. What a brave man he is! The only thing of which he is afraid is — a Jewish pogrom. There one sees the long ears of the philistines from whom Kautsky has derived his information regarding the "Russian question".

In conclusion it will not be without interest to mention the attitude of some fractions of our emigration to Kautsky's pamphlet.

The official Mensheviks, as expressed in the article of Dan, reject a number of Kautsky's theses, but at the conclusion pronounce a eulogy on him. The significance of his pamphlet lies

"in the spirit of passionate internationalism with which the brochure is permeated".

(Herr Dan forgets to add: the "internationalism" of the bourgeoisie, which, in a united front, is preparing for war against the Soviet Union.)

The official social revolutionaries, ("Volja Rossij" 1925/II) in the article by E. Stalinsky, are of the opinion that Kautsky's brochure is an "event", that it draws the balance of a whole period and renders Kautsky, in essence, an ideologist of the S. R., who, so to speak, have always said that which Kautsky says today.

The journal of the bloc of the Cadets and of the ultra right S. R. ("Sovremennije Sapiski", volume XXIV. 1925, Paris) believes that

"the work of Kautsky constitutes a valuable service to Russian democratic socialism and to the cause of Russian emancipation, which fate does not often offer" (page 468).

It is characteristic that the editor considered it in place to publish in the same number the article of N. Berdajev that is the same Berdajev whom the social revolution reminded of absolute robbery and plunder). This article is entitled: "For the defence of Christian freedom". Berdajev states:

"The Russian religious-philosophical and social-religious ideas were not noticed, were not appreciated; they did not have any noticeable influence. The responsibility for this falls upon those traditionally "left" intellectuals, beginning with Belinsky, who were, at bottom, profoundly reactionary and backward, the bearers of an ideology which was hostile to the spirit of creation, to the spirit of freedom. To place Belinsky before Chomjakov, Tchernichevsky before Dostoievsky, Plechanov before V. Soloviev, means to be a reactionary of the spirit, to be an unenlightened man; it means to prepare the way for Lenin and for the final enslavement of the spirit." (Page 301.)

Berdajev represents the revolution as a counter-revolution, precisely in the manner of Kautsky. In his book, "Philosophy of Inequality", Berdajev defines the rule of the Bolsheviks as a "satanocracy" (rule of Satan). As Herr Kautsky, even with the greatest effort, cannot find the social basis of the Bolshevik rule, as he more and more completely makes the methodology of Berdajev his own, and more and more entirely forgets the ABC of Marxism, we can expect in the very near future that Herr Kautsky will likewise adopt the definition of "satanocracy". Amen!

* * *

We are at the end of our task. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the proletarians of all countries must realise that the situation is becoming continually more serious. They must however also see that some of the leaders of the Second International have sounded the battle-trumpet, in order to support the imperialists in their fight against the peoples of the Soviet Union, in order to repeat the attempt at intervention on an even larger scale. We however, will close our ranks, attentively follow every movement of the enemy and, of course, ruthlessly suppress every one of his actions. Kautsky himself can be quiet! Plechanov once said that one must fight for the right to be executed. Kautsky has not fought for such a right. He is not capable of such a thing. He will be able to live (wither) under every regime. That is the fate of this apostle of the international bourgeoisie.

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³) Ibid page 53.

⁴) Th. Dan in "Kampf", page 244.