

V. b. b.

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 5. No. 77

29th October 1925

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

G. Zinoviev: The Foreign Political Situation of the Soviet Union.

The Balkans

N. Mermet: The Greco-Bulgarian Conflict.

Politics

Gerhart: Result of the Conference of Locarno.

Dupleix: The Financial Crisis in France.

J. L.: The Capitalist Offensive against the C. P. of Great Britain.

B. L.: The Collapse of the Communist Trial in Czechoslovakia.

The Labour Movement.

R. E. Bond: The Unofficial Strike of British Seamen.

Establishment of direct Connections between the Mexican Trade Union Federation and the R. I. L. U.

The White Terror

Why are Rákosi and his Comrades to be brought before a Special Court?

Polish Bourgeoisie attacks Children in Polish Ukraine and White Russia.

In the International

The Conference of the Communist Party of China.

The Agenda of the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia.

Union of Soviet Republics

L. F. Winow: The Effect of the Economic Boom on the Material Position of the Workers in the Soviet Union.

Our Martyrs

Comrade Dubinski.

Book Reviews

L. F. Boross: Aluf: The Trade Unions and the Position of the Workers in the Soviet Union in 1921—1925.

The Foreign Political Situation of the Soviet Union.

By G. Zinoviev.

The events of Summer 1925 give occasion for serious reflection regarding our international situation.

As the most important events of last Summer there must be regarded:

1. The Movement in China.

2. The attempt of the English Conservatives to create a breach between England and Russia and to form a coalition of States against the Soviet Union.

3. The numerous visits to the Soviet Union by workers delegations from Europe.

I.

The events in China have fully and entirely confirmed that which Lenin wrote in the articles on the Eastern question which constitute his political testament.

The events in China were bound to destroy that balance or semi-balance that had been established in recent times in the international arena. The historical importance of the Chinese events is so great that their results will be felt more and more in the international balance of power.

The attempts of the imperialists to ascribe responsibility for the movement in China to the Soviet Union are, of course, quite unjustified. But nevertheless, there exists a certain "logic" in the declarations of the imperialists. Is not the very existence

of the Soviet Union a propaganda against imperialism in the East? Did not even the first Russian Revolution of 1905, which did not destroy but only wounded Tsarism, exert enormous influence in the awakening of the East?

The leaders of English imperialism have learned from the Chinese "lessons" of May and June. One of the immediate results of the events in China were some concessions, although very modest, on the part of English imperialism to the bourgeois upper section of the national movement in India. Nevertheless, as is known, there are certain situations in which concessions to the upper sections only increases the "greediness" of the masses. This will certainly be the case in India.

The Chinese movement of the year 1925 has not gained an immediate victory. But all signs indicate that this movement is growing in breadth and in depth, that its experiences are being analysed by the broadest masses of the people of China and in the whole East, which in turn will prepare the way for events on a still larger scale.

Certain "real politicians" propose to the Soviet Union that it adopt a "neutral" attitude towards the national movement in the East and take up a "Western" orientation. These wise people do not understand the following trifles: 1. That their advice means a complete liquidation of Leninism and the

abandonment of the tactics of world revolution; 2. that from the point of view of "Western" imperialism, we ourselves, the Soviet Union, appear as an "Eastern" country which is even more "dangerous" than China, and 3. that in such questions as the attitude to the movement of hundreds of millions of peoples in the East, there can be no such thing as "neutrality" even if one wished. A "Western" orientation in the sense of this liquidatory conception would, as a matter of fact, not mean neutrality towards the East, but going over to the side of the Western imperialists against the East. The Western imperialists would make use of this in order to strangle, one after another, the Eastern countries and also the Soviet Union.

The main hope of the awakening East is the Soviet Union. The great revolution which converted Russia from a people's prison into a brotherly family of peoples possessing equal rights, must serve as a beacon for the enslaved masses of the whole East. Therein consists the greatest source of power of the Soviet Union in the international arena. Therein lies the reason why the forces of imperialism wish to overthrow the Soviet Union as quickly as possible.

II.

That which we experienced from the English Conservatives last Summer meant a direct attempt at a breach, an immediate preparation of a war against the Soviet Union.

Why are the English Conservatives in such a great hurry?

The matter of foreign loans makes very little headway. But it can now be seen that the Soviet Union, if the worst comes to the worst, will be able to dispense with these loans. The Soviet government made great concessions in order to obtain a loan of 200 to 300 million Gold Roubles from "Comrade" MacDonald, when he was still Prime Minister. This was not realised. But on the other hand the Soviet government, in the year 1925, received a loan, by means of "comrade" harvest, under very favourable conditions. The Soviet State will, out of its own resources, in the coming budget year invest capital in industry to the amount of 970 million Roubles. It is true 600 million Roubles of this will be devoted to restoring portions of the old foundation capital and only 300 million will be employed for new works. Nevertheless, this is an enormous step forward. The economic power of the Soviet Union will grow even without the help of foreign loans. And who knows whether this economic growth may not lead to the taking up of foreign loans to an ever increasing extent in the next few years.

It is undoubtedly becoming more and more clear to International imperialism that the next few years will be decisive, that within five years the economic situation of the Soviet Union will have become so secure, that the sympathy towards it of the working masses of the whole world will have become so great, that it will be simply ridiculous even to speak of any war against it. In addition to this there is the rising flood of events in the East, which are more and more threatening the positions of English imperialism. "If not now, then soon or never", say the leaders of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

This is what the advance-guard of the international proletariat must understand in order to see from whence the danger will come in the next few years. It is only the leaders of the II. International who cannot see in the present state of development from whence the real danger of a new war will arise.

The campaign of the English Conservatives did not succeed this year. What was the reason for this failure?

What is most remarkable in this connection is, that English imperialism did not resolve to act on its own risk, but made its actions dependent upon arrangements with a number of other imperialist powers. English imperialism knows that the struggle between the proletarian revolution and imperialism will be decided on an international scale, and not within the confines of one country, and not by imperialist England and the Soviet Union measuring their strength against each other.

English imperialism is preparing an international imperialist coalition against the Soviet Union. The old school of English diplomacy knew how to act with extreme patience and caution when preparing to isolate this or that rival. English diplomacy was often able to devote ten to twenty years in preparing such an "operation". This is no longer the case. English imperialism is thoroughly aware that the Soviet Union would very willingly grant it such a term of from ten to twenty years, for within

ten to twenty years the international relations of power will have changed so greatly in favour of the Soviet Union and so greatly in favour of the international proletariat, that it will be simply laughable even to speak of a war against the Soviet Union. That is why English imperialism last Summer was endeavouring to solve the question in ten to twenty weeks. For this reason English diplomacy was obliged to a certain extent "to come out into the open". Everything was done with unusual openness. Are not the most influential newspapers quite openly declaring that the English banks will grant Germany a loan of some sort if the latter fully and entirely supports the English plans against the Soviet Union? What can be more open than that?

What, however, was the immediate result of the campaign of the English imperialists in the Summer of 1925?

All the imperialist powers to whom English imperialism proposed an open alliance in order to attack the Soviet Union, shrank back from this honour. French imperialism had its hands too full with its own difficulties: war in Morocco, revolt in Syria, financial difficulties. Japanese imperialism is still suffering from the results of the last earthquake, and is afraid of complications with its neighbour, awakening China. American imperialism is endeavouring to gain some advantages for itself in the growing movement in the English colonies and semi-colonies. And, what is most important, not a single bourgeois country can now mobilise a great army against the Soviet Union without running enormous risks, without endangering its very existence; not a single one of them can even risk an open blockade against the Soviet Union without serious political complications.

English diplomacy has induced King George to grant special favours to the Foreign Minister of such a country as Latvia. A little wheel is of use in a big machine! The proud English diplomats have to bear this in mind when it is a question of the "holy" war against the Soviet power. At present, however, the "powerful" support of the Foreign Minister of Latvia has not helped English diplomacy to carry out its plan of attack against the Soviet Union.

We have therefore witnessed unusual events in the Summer of 1925. English imperialism has openly proposed an aggressive alliance against the Soviet Union to France, Japan and America, and even some smaller powers, and before the eyes of the whole world these proposals were not responded to. All those powers who were approached by English imperialism replied very politely: they are all, of course, prepared to renew negotiations when the situation is "more favourable", but for the "time being" they are compelled to "hold back."

It is precisely this fact (and in addition, of course, the mood of the English working class) which compelled English imperialism to abandon for the time being not only this plan of an immediate attack upon, but even the plan of a diplomatic breach with the Soviet Union, of course not for good, but only until a more suitable time. Western imperialism is an obstinate and pertinacious enemy. Similar attempts will be made again and again, and if we display the least weakness they will be realised.

III.

The numerous visits to the Soviet Union by Workers' Delegations are of tremendous importance, both from the point of view of the general interest of the labour movement and from the standpoint of the fight against the approaching danger of a new war. It can be regarded as beyond doubt that, in important circles of social democratic and non-party workers there is a growing consciousness of the danger of a new war. There exists not the least doubt that this danger will serve to consolidate the ranks of the international proletariat in the near future, that the consciousness of this danger will promote the formation of the united front of the workers. The delegations of social democratic and non-party workers will see for themselves what is really taking place in the Soviet Union, and whether we are building up socialism here, and with what success. The sympathy for and the confidence in the Soviet Union will increase among those sections of the proletariat who hitherto were full of scepticism, and whom the leaders of the Second International had infected and poisoned with distrust of Communism. And the consciousness will grow that capitalism, which is being partly "stabilised", will unavoidably lead to a fresh imperialist war if the workers of the whole world do not exercise solidarity.

In the Summer of 1925 imperialism exerted all its energies in order to set up a black united front, a coalition against the

Soviet Union. At the same time the advanced workers of the whole world worked together in order, as rapidly as possible, to consolidate the ranks of the workers, to create the red united front in defence of peace, for the fight against war and for the support of the first victorious proletarian revolution.

Neither the one nor the other of these united fronts has yet been fully completed. But there can be no doubt that our red united front is taking shape (Scarborough) and that it will be formed more rapidly and successfully than the black united front. And what is most important, the dialectics are of such a nature that every step made towards strengthening the black united front increased the danger of a war, and thereby, mechanically, at the opposite pole, welds together the red united front of the many millions against the new imperialist slaughter; every step however in welding together the red united front, almost unavoidably increases the insecurity and, under certain conditions, the frictions within the camp of the imperialists. Disputes, rivalry and struggle within its own camp belong to the very nature of capitalism. And socialism is therefore socialism, because, in spite of all hindrances, it forges the international solidarity of the workers and opposes against the handfull of imperialists the many millions working masses. The victory of the united front of the reds over the united front of the blacks is, in the last resort, unavoidable and beyond all doubt.

Viewed from this perspective the campaign for the unity of the international trade union movement receives a world historical importance. In the first place there stands the approachment of the Soviet Union to the English trade unions. The tactics of the united front, which in their main outlines were already laid down at the III. World Congress of the Comintern, are now beginning really to bear fruit. The whole international situation is such, that the tactics of the united front will unavoidably gain greater and greater attractive power for the broadest masses of the workers.

1. The fight against the danger of new wars; 2. support of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union; 3. the fight for the unity of international trade union movement; 4. support of the national-revolutionary movement in the East; 5. the approachment of the workers to those sections of the peasantry who themselves have cause to fear a new war, and who themselves suffer under the yoke of the economic policy of imperialism — this must be the axis of the international labour movement at the present time, that is, the axis of the united front.

* * *

What are the conclusions?

They are as follows:

1. The growth of the economic power of the Soviet Union, especially the growth of its foreign trade, its concession policy, are working against war. But at the same time this same economic consolidation of the Soviet Union, of which the whole international proletariat is so proud, "irritates" international imperialism and causes it to fear that it will "lose the most suitable moment" for delivering a decisive blow against the growing socialism. English imperialism and world imperialism will attempt again, times without number, to do what they failed to do in the Summer of 1925. The Soviet Union must be strong not only in regard to economics, but also in military respects. This is not only in the interest of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but of the working people of the entire world.

2. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, particularly its policy in the East, must remain the same as it was under Lenin: a policy of "neutrality" towards the national liberation movement of the East, that is to say a policy of agreement with imperialism, would be treachery to the Russian and also to the international revolution.

3. The tactics of the united front have entered on a new decisive stage. Upon the basis of the struggle a) against the danger of new wars, and b) for international trade union unity, the Communists must succeed at all costs in approaching the social-democratic and non-party workers. The fight for the red workers' (and then workers' and peasants') united front is the very first task of the Communists of the whole world.

4. The fight against the danger of new wars must become the Alpha and Omega of the whole work of the Communist International. The Comintern, which arose out of the war, makes it its chief task to rescue humanity from new imperialist wars. In his well-known letter written in the year 1922 (Instructions for our delegation at the Hague International Peace Conference), Lenin explained in detail why and how the fight against a new imperialist war must be prepared now, long before this war.

Proletarians of the whole world, think of the first imperialist war, say the statutes of the Comintern. Proletarians of the whole world, remember that a second imperialist war is approaching, said Lenin in the above-mentioned letter. The contents of this letter is one of the most important legacies of Leninism. The ideas of Lenin which are expressed in this letter must find their way into the broadest masses of the workers in the whole world; this is one of the most important tasks of the Comintern. To convert these ideas into deeds means to save humanity from a fresh and even more devastating imperialist slaughter*).

THE BALKANS

The Greco-Bulgarian Conflict.

By N. Mermet (Geneva).

The Conference of Locarno, at which the alliance between the imperialist States of the West and those of Central Europe against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary proletariat in Germany was concluded, is scarcely over, and already a very serious conflict has broken out between Greece and Bulgaria — a conflict which once again proves how lying and hypocritical are the assertions of the diplomats of the West who, while pronouncing an oath of peace, are intriguing and preparing war in the Balkans.

The ink has scarcely dried on the treaties which have been signed at the Conference of Locarno and they have already been flouted in the most open manner by the reality of life and the conflict which is now being carried on on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier.

The official Greek communications maintain that on 19th October in the district of Demir Kapu, Bulgarian soldiers attacked the Greek posts. A soldier and an officer, the latter carrying a white flag, are alleged to have been killed by the Bulgarian soldiers.

On the other side the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, Kalkov, represents the incident in an entirely different light. According to his version, a Greek soldier crossed the Bulgarian frontier and fired on the Bulgarian troops, who returned the fire and killed him; his corpse was found on Bulgarian soil. Shooting was commenced on both sides which lasted until the evening.

The Bulgarians have demanded from Athens and from the League of Nations the setting up of an Investigation Committee and the intervention of the League of Nations with the Greek government in order to put an end to hostilities. In the meantime the Greek army has advanced on Bulgarian soil and bombarded Petritch, the centre of the autonomist Comitatchies who are in the service of the Zankov government.

There is no doubt that this conflict was previously prepared with the approval and support of England, who has a hand in all the counter-revolutionary conspiracies in the Balkan.

It will be remembered that the sixth session of the League of Nations which recently took place in Geneva witnessed a conflict which has become chronic and highly dangerous for the peace of the world — the conflict between Turkey and England over the oil-fields of Mosul. Strengthened by the sympathy of the Soviet Union and by the support of the Turkish people and the Mohammedan world, the Turkish government was able to speak in a very energetic language to Chamberlain, who was forced to beat a retreat as he saw he had not the support of public opinion.

As England was not able to realise her desires completely at Geneva, she wishes to attain them by other means, and Greece is her traditional tool for her imperialist designs in the Near East. The conflict which has just broken out is welcomed also by the Greek dictator Pangalos, who can thereby divert attention from the difficulties of his home policy and pacify the growing opposition by calling for national unity in face of the Bulgarian enemy. It is very probable that Greece, before she took action, assured herself of the support of Yugoslavia, for the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, which refused to sign the Treaty of Lausanne in 1922 as it made it responsible for the debts of the old Ottoman Empire, is, from the point of view of international law, still in a state of war with Turkey.

*) This article was written by Comrade Zinoviev before the Locarno Conference, and will appear in the next number of the "Communist International". Ed.

As is everywhere the case, so also in the Balkan Peninsula, the usual game of alliances is being carried on. Turkey has just signed a **Treaty of friendship with Bulgaria**, which in the first place is directed against Greece and her claims in **Asia Minor**, which are morally and materially supported by **England**.

It is possible that the Greco-Bulgarian conflict will not go further than the ultimatum which **Mussolini** sent to Greece after the murder of the Italian General **Tellini**, which was followed by the Italian fleet making a demonstration and bombarding **Corfu**. Nevertheless it is a **clear and serious warning to the working class that a European war can break out sooner than one believed**.

It is known what England is capable of in order to satisfy her imperialist greed. Now, as ever, the plans of the imperialists of the British foreign office are very cunning. While in **Locarno** they proclaim peace in order to satisfy the public opinion of England and of the world, they are mobilising their fleet in the **Dardanelles**. As they have not yet sufficiently prepared English public opinion for a new war, they are looking for **mercenary troops** to do their work for them. By taking advantage of the misery of the **Greek refugees in Asia Minor** England is concentrating her mercenaries on the isle of **Mytilene**. She maintains them, pays them, supplies them with arms and tanks, while at the same time she promises them a speedy return to their native country. There are already more than **25,000 well-armed men** who are prepared to come into action and who are awaiting the commands of **London**.

England, by suddenly causing the outbreak of the Greco-Bulgarian conflict, is feeling her way to occupying **Constantinople**, to taking possession of **Mosul** and blockading the **Soviet Union in the Black Sea**. She knows that **France, Italy** and the other imperialist States are on the alert and are forging plots on their side. This conflict which she has instigated enables her to feel the pulse of her rivals.

We must realise that war is at our gates, and we must make all preparations accordingly without losing a minute.

POLITICS

Result of the Conference at Locarno.

By Gerhart (Berlin).

When **Lord d'Abernon**, the English ambassador in Berlin, recommended the policy of the Guarantee Pact to **Stresemann**, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the most reactionary German Government since 1918, when the Government, with **Hindenburg** as President accepted the suggestion and **Stresemann** began his "peace offensive", social democracy plaintively declared: "You have robbed us of our policy." The strange metamorphosis was then witnessed that the "stolen policy" of the **social democrats** became the policy of **German heavy industry, of the officials, the Junkers and the military**. These representatives of the Germany of heavy industry, landed property and monarchism have now signed the "peace document" of **Locarno**. And — on paper — the signatures of the representatives of the German bourgeoisie appear peacefully, side by side with those of the Ministers of the English imperialist bourgeoisie, of **Fascism** and of the Cabinet of the Morocco campaign. It is now left for the Parliaments to sanction the drafts of the treaties of **Locarno** which are to be ratified in **London** on **December 1st**. These treaties are to come into force when Germany has joined the **League of Nations**.

At the Conference in **Locarno**, agreements were arrived at with regard to the **Rhine Pact**, to arbitration treaties, the treaties with regard to the East, to article 16 of the **League of Nations** and to the entrance of Germany into the **League of Nations**.

In the **Rhine Pact** both **Germany and France** and **Germany and Belgium** guarantee their Western frontiers. Any forcible alteration of these frontiers is to be excluded for ever. **England** and **Italy** have also added their signatures to this Pact. This means practically that **England** is the guarantor and arbitrator between **Germany and France**. English imperialism decides which State is the "aggressor", and to which State therefore its "help" will be given. It is clear that the interests of British imperialism will be the decisive factor, as indeed the Western Pact is altogether the outcome of English interests. Any fighting on the **Rhine**, in the **Ruhr** district or on the **Belgian** frontiers

touches English interests to the quick. This is why **England** wishes to control **Franco-German** relations. At the same time however, the friction between the German and French bourgeoisie must always be of such a degree that at any time France can be played off against **Germany** and **Germany** against **France**. The part of arbitrator on the Continent is to make it easy for **England** to use the **Franco-German** imperialist dissensions for the aims and interests of **English imperialism**.

The **Rhine Pact** therefore is a "peace" of quite a peculiar kind between the French and German bourgeoisie. It is indeed to create a certain "pacification" in Europe, but a pacification dependent on **English imperialism**. The "peace" is only to last as long as suits the purposes of **English imperialism**. It is not to be allowed to become so strong that it turns into a **Franco-German** alliance directed against **England**.

In this connection, the so-called "**Eastern treaties**" are of great significance. French imperialism demanded that as a check on the policy of the Western pact, similar treaties should be concluded between **Germany and Poland** and **Germany and Czechoslovakia**. And **England** wanted to be guarantor for the Eastern treaties just as she is for the Western pact. **Poland** and **Czechoslovakia** are included in the French imperialist continental system. The statesmen of **English imperialism** gave the "statesmen" of the German bourgeoisie reason to hope for a readjustment of the **German-Polish** frontiers, especially of the **Polish Corridor**.

The German bourgeoisie regards war against **Poland** with the help of **English imperialism** as the first stage in the restoration of **German imperialism** under the aegis of **England**. In this fight, the German bourgeoisie hopes to arm itself, to bring into action the enormous industrial and technical possibilities of armament in **Germany** — with the militia and the nationalist associations as cadres. War against **Poland**, the readjustment of the **German-Polish** frontiers by German generals is of course the preliminary to war against **Poland's** ally — against **France**. In this way, the German bourgeoisie which has renounced the **Alsace Lorraine** of the West hopes to begin the war against **France** by reconquering the **Alsace Lorraine** of the East.

When **France** demanded the Eastern pact, the Press of the German bourgeoisie burst out in a cry of rage. For the stroll through the **Corridor** is to be the first stage of the restoration of an active **German imperialism**. **England** supported this protest of the German bourgeoisie, but of course with great caution. **England** has no interest in **France** guaranteeing the **Polish** and **Czech** frontiers. Her interest is to embrace these two States in her own imperialist continental system, to isolate them as much as possible from **France** in order to range them all the more certainly in the united front against **Soviet Russia**. Of course the **Polish Corridor** is to be left to **Poland**. It is to remain an unsettled point of dispute, not only between **Germany** and **Poland**, but also and especially between **France** and **Germany**. This bait is always to be held out to the German bourgeoisie. But the German bourgeoisie will only be allowed to take an active part, when the interests of **English imperialism** demand it, i.e. when the German bourgeoisie is prepared to support **England** at the decisive moment against **Soviet Russia**. It is by no means out of the question that the next war desired by **England**, will begin with the march of **German** soldiers through the **Polish Corridor**. The **Polish Corridor** may very easily become the corridor to the war which **English imperialism** is already organising against **Soviet Russia**.

At the Conference, the representatives of the German bourgeoisie were compelled to sign "peace treaties" with **Poland** and **Czechoslovakia**. They did not come home with the **Corridor** in their pocket. **France** however did not appear openly as a guarantor. Nevertheless a treaty of alliance between the French bourgeoisie and **Poland** exists which binds both States to give one another armed assistance unconditionally. On their return from **Locarno**, the representatives of the German bourgeoisie declared triumphantly: "France is not a guarantor, we have gained a point" (this means that they believe that, given favourable conditions, they could attack an isolated **Poland**). But even the "Vorwärts" must admit:

"The German delegation, it is true, succeeded in excluding from the treaty any definite reference to **France's** guarantee, but this only means that **Germany** alone does not recognise **France's** guarantorship; the delegation consoled itself with the agreements between **France**, and **Poland** and **Czechoslovakia** respectively."

The third important decision, the most important, because it is a crass illustration of the real spirit of the Conference of Locarno, is **Germany's entrance into the League of Nations, and the actually unconditional acceptance of article 16, the war paragraph.** This article involves three obligations, in that the members of the League of Nations are bound to participate in the following actions against a State which the League of Nations has pronounced to be an enemy: 1. **the economic blockade,** 2. **effective participation in military action,** 3. **acknowledging the right to march troops through their country.** The German bourgeoisie swallowed these paragraphs unconditionally. The so-called "concession" in the collective note, the object of which is to veil the fact that the German bourgeoisie is definitely wheeling into the united front of England against Soviet Russia, consists in a promise that Germany's military and geographical situation is to receive "consideration". Up to the present, the German bourgeoisie has justified its opposition to Article 16, by maintaining to use this excuse as a means of exercising pressure on England so that an increase of armaments in Germany might be made possible. English imperialism will not give the German bourgeoisie either the Polish Corridor or arms until she considers the time has come for an active attack against Soviet Russia and until the German bourgeoisie has given every proof of its readiness to be England's mercenary.

England of course, before taking military measures, can organise other actions, for instance the **economic blockade.** That this is no mere fancy, is proved by the English policy in Austria. **Otto Bauer,** the Social Democrat, who is anything but a Bolshevik, whose head is full of worries about "Red imperialism", recently made the following remarks in the Austrian Parliament in a polemic speech against the Christian Socialists:

"Is it not a shame that the question whether an efficient rational organisation of credits should be created in order to provide work for many thousands of the unemployed of Austria, can only be dealt with under the influence of the high finance of London which, for purely political purposes, wants to force us to take part in the credit blockade against the Soviet Union, so that the Austrian workers contribute, by increased unemployment to the English policy against Russia in China and in Afghanistan."

(Tumultuous applause from the social democrats.)

The German bourgeoisie has been given, is it true, promises for the future, as a reward for joining the ranks of the united front, but it has little enough that is concrete, in its hand. It has received a promise that Cologne shall be evacuated, which should have taken place on Jan. 10th, it has also received a few promises in the question of improving the regime of the occupation on the Rhine. This is quite in keeping with English policy. The German bourgeoisie will only be given concessions, when the German workers and peasants are allowed to shed their blood for the English bourgeoisie in the inferno of the next war. **Locarno crowns the Dawes plan.** The German bourgeoisie is trying to begin its career in the character of a mercenary of England, not with the object of establishing a real peace, but of re-establishing the old imperialist Germany, and to play the first fiddle in the imperialist concert of world Powers. Sixty million Germans, workers, peasants, members of the middle class are destined to become the plaything of the interests of the English bourgeoisie. The German bourgeoisie will do everything in its power to realise these hopes as quickly as possible, i. e. it will increase its efforts to prove to England what a reliable ally it is against Soviet Russia.

When **Luther and Stresemann** returned from Locarno, they were met at the station by **Lord d'Abernon** who congratulated them on the successful results of Locarno, and laid stress on the fact that the initiative for it had originated in Germany. This is the tone in which **Bernard Shaw's** heroes speak when they say spiteful things to one another.

The workers and peasants of the whole world, those of Germany no less than of other countries, long for peace, and they hear it talked about so much in connection with Locarno that millions of them believe in it, all the more because social democracy praises its "stolen policy" in all keys. The bourgeoisie, and especially the English bourgeoisie, has a masterly gift for making preparations for the next war under the mask of democracy and peace. The workers, especially the German workers, must recognise what game is being played, and they must refuse in the future to be pawns in this game.

The Financial Crisis in France.

By **Dupleix (Paris).**

The financial situation of France is becoming continually more serious. The government, it is true, is endeavouring to conceal its embarrassment, but the holders of government securities are betraying an increasing lack of confidence regarding the national credit. A general uneasiness prevails throughout the country, for it is seen that the financial crisis is assuming an extent which will only be increased by the two deficits which the Finance Minister **Caillaux** suffered on the occasion of the attempt to consolidate the floating debt and the foreign debt.

In the course of the last sitting of the Finance Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, **baillaux**, who had to speak upon the financial situation of France, was compelled to admit that the State only had 850 million Francs at its disposal in order to cover current expenditure up to the end of October. It is probable that this sum will scarcely suffice to cover the outgoings for the last two weeks of the month.

The members of the Finance Commission who were present expressed their concern that, after expenditure of the 850 million francs, the limit of the amount allowed law to be advanced by the Bank of France to the State will have been reached. In this way 32 milliard Francs will have been absorbed in covering the requirements of the budget. At present the bank note circulation of the Bank of France is restricted by law to 51 milliard Francs; it is officially admitted that more than 47 milliard Francs have already been issued, so that the 51 milliards have been nearly reached. At the end of the month, if not sooner, the State will have exhausted the means to be obtained from the Bank of France. And what then?

It appears probable that, when parliament meets, the government will demand that the legal limit of the advances of the Bank of France to the State shall be increased from 32 milliards to 38 milliards, which would allow of the issue of fresh bank notes to the sum of 6 milliard francs. As a result the paper money in circulation would be increased from 51 milliard to 57 milliard Francs.

When it is remembered that, already in April 1925, four milliard Francs in bank notes were issued by the bank of France, that this was followed by six further milliards in August, that is, therefore, 10 milliards in five months, it will be seen that before the end of the present year inflation will have reached the enormous sum of 17 milliards during the current year.

Simultaneously with this constant inflation policy, the franc has suffered a considerable decline: on the Paris Exchange the dollar, which in April and May last fluctuated between 19.17 and 19.87 (5 Francs par), had risen by the 15th. October to 22.48, while at the same time the Pound Sterling had risen from 92.94 to 108.95. The government did everything possible in order to check this upward tendency of foreign bills, but in vain: the amount with which it manipulated, namely the 100 million dollars which were realised thanks to the loan of the house of Morgan last year, has probably been reduced by now to 25 million dollars which will hardly suffice to check the wave of mistrust with which the Franc is threatened.

Such a depreciation of the franc will certainly have devastating effects on the budget expenditure: its extent can only increase. It is, however, hardly possible to increase the already heavy burden of taxation.

The budget for the year 1926 will, according to the provisional announcement of **M. Caillaux**, amount to more than 36 milliard Francs, of which no less than 20 milliard francs represent interest on the national debt, while 4 milliards are to be devoted to the war Ministry and 1½ milliards to the Admiralty.

In order to meet such enormous outgoings, 4 milliards in fresh taxation must be raised. Will this sum suffice? That is hardly probable in view of the changes which the depreciation of the franc will bring with it.

It is very doubtful whether the 6 milliard francs paper money which the government will demand as a supplementary sum from the Bank of France, and which is to be issued at the end of October will be sufficient. At the end of the year great outgoings have to be met; thus, for example, on the 8th. of December this year nearly 4 milliards in treasury bonds will fall due. This can easily result in the wave of inflation rising much higher than it has done hitherto.

It must also not be forgotten that 55 milliards "National Defence Bonds", which are only valid for a year, will be presented within a year. The loan which **M. Caillaux** had floated seems

to have yielded no more than 6 milliard Francs instead of the 40 milliards expected, in spite of all the propaganda which was carried on among the public on behalf of the loan, and in spite of the fact that the term for subscribing to the loan was prolonged three times. This is undoubtedly a serious set-back.

In what way will the Treasury be able to pay back the greater part of the 49 milliards "National Defence Bonds", which will be presented for payment within a year at the very latest? From whence will the 10 milliards required for this payment be obtained? The state of the budget will not permit of resort being had to the necessary fiscal measures, as the yield from the taxes has not come up to the expectations of the government.

To this already gloomy picture there is to be added the results of the defeat which M. Caillaux suffered in Washington with regard to the question of the repayment of the French war debts to the United States Treasury.

It is known that the French and the American representatives could not agree regarding the annual amounts to be paid, and France was granted a sort of moratorium of five years, under condition that she pledged herself to pay during this period five instalments of 40 million dollars each, representing interest at 1% on the total amount of the debt. In spite of the opposition on the part of a portion of the press and on the part of public opinion against the ratification of the agreement proposed in Washington, it is possible that the Painlevé government will propose to parliament when it assembles that it approve of the Washington agreement. The possibilities of action of the Washington government are, as is known, very great. The financial people of New York are not unconnected with the rapid decline of the Franc which has taken place recently. This was a warning which the French government understood very well.

The acceptance of the agreement to pay 40 million dollars yearly for five years, that is a total of 200 million dollars, will impose a new burden on the French budget of 880 million francs annually. To this must be added the sum of 6,280,000 Pounds Sterling which have to be paid to Great Britain, who will certainly lay down the same provisional conditions regarding repayment of debts as the United States.

We have, therefore, on the one hand 880 million francs (40 million dollars) and on the other hand 660 million francs, making a total of 1500 million, which are to be added to the future budgets, commencing with 1926. These are the conditions which France accepts from Washington and London in order to obtain a prolongation for the repayment of her debts, without these debts being reduced by a dollar or a pound.

There is only one means of meeting all these outgoings: on the one hand increase of taxation, and on the other hand a rapid promotion of the inflation. This, apparently, is the policy of all the French governments which have succeeded one another. The National Bloc resorted to increasing the taxes. But it did so in a less brutal fashion than the Bloc of the Left, which cast 75% of the four milliards fresh taxation upon the broad masses of workers and peasants.

With regard to the inflation policy, which was carried on under the Herriot government to the same extent as it is being carried on under the government of Painlevé-Caillaux, the only result it has had so far is that the cost of living has been considerably increased. The index of the wholesale prices — reckoning the figure for 1914 as a hundred — increased from 522 in January 1925, to 531 in May and 569 in September; and this increase of the wholesale prices is far less than the increase in the retail prices.

The great masses of the workers and employees have been directly hit by the inflation; the cost of living has continually increased. The real value of wages and salaries is constantly falling. At the same time the resistance of the employers against wage demands is increasing.

The middle classes, petty bourgeois, annuitants and peasants whose savings in the majority of cases have been invested in securities yielding "fixed" interest, as the French government securities etc., are experiencing to their cost how their incomes are declining along with the depreciation of the Franc, while their capital is at the same time continually diminishing.

The policy of loans has, therefore, after the failure of the last loan, shown no positive results. The increase of the burden of taxation will soon encounter the misery of the great masses of workers and their growing resistance. The inflation policy seems, therefore, to be the only way to be followed by those

who have the control of the State. Their "successes" will have very dire consequences for the town and village proletariat, as it will, of course, be the working masses who will have to bear all the costs of this bankrupt policy.

The Capitalist Offensive against the Communist Party of Great Britain.

By J. L.

The English capitalists, who constitute the most experienced and most cunning representatives of their class, make it their practice to launch a decisive attack against the working class when this has already been prepared 1. by a period of economic offensive against the position of the working class and 2. by a systematic campaign in the capitalist press, intended to convince the public of the alleged threatening danger and of the necessity of suppressive measures. In addition to this there may be 3. sharp differences within the labour movement which can made be use of to the disadvantage of the revolutionary wing. This was the case, for example, on "Black Friday" in the year 1921 when, after the betrayal of the miners by the reactionary leaders of the railway and transport workers, over 80 comrades were thrown into prison.

To-day the capitalist economic crisis requires — if profits are to be retained — a far greater reduction of wages and increase of working hours than in the year 1921. The capitalists, to their surprise, have been prevented by the growing solidarity of the English working class from achieving this aim by means of playing off the 1,200,000 unemployed against the workers in employment or by setting one trade union against the other.

The English capitalists have no need to reproach themselves on account of this failure. They did not fail to carry on a campaign against the unemployed, which enabled the government to extend the waiting period for unemployed maintenance and to exert pressure upon the municipal bodies to reduce the scale of poor law relief etc., neither have they refrained from inciting against each other the trade unions of the so-called "sheltered" industries (for example, railway and municipal workers) and the "unsheltered" (for example, metal workers and miners), nor have they neglected the opportunity of making use of the development within the English labour movement by glorifying the statesmanlike wisdom and experience of certain reactionary trade union and Labour Party leaders (MacDonald, Thomas etc.), and opposing them to the destructive "bolshivist" policy of the Left wing and of the leaders of the Minority Movement.

In spite of all this the capitalists have not yet been able to record any success in the recent economic struggles. Only recently they were compelled to conclude an agreement with the building workers, which maintains the existing working conditions for the next year. In the same way, a few weeks ago, they were compelled to abandon the lockout in the textile industry which they had maintained without success for three weeks against 300,000 textile workers. Of special importance, however, is the defeat of the employers and of the Conservative Government in the mining dispute; it has for the moment brought to a standstill the open mass offensive of the employers in the economic struggle.

Both the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Minority Movement have played an important role in the formulation of those demands round which the English working class in the trade unions rallied against the threatening worsening of working conditions. Whilst on the one hand they endeavoured to allay petty jealousies between the various trade unions, they at the same time fought against the reactionary bureaucrats and their opportunism. On all sides it has been admitted that these two organisations, along with the National Unemployed Movement, have contributed a great deal to giving the General Council of the Trade Union Congress that firm basis in the working class which rendered possible its successful action during the recent miners' struggle. Thus the attempts which the capitalists are making in order to destroy these three organisations are not only to be regarded as an indirect compliment to their efficiency, but also as a necessary preparation for a fresh general attack on the standard of living of the working class in order to reduce it to the level of that of the workers on the Continent.

For some time past it could be seen that the Conservative Government was prepared to employ active measures against the centre of resistance of the working class. But it was only when

the Labour Party Conference in Liverpool ventured to repudiate the decisions of the Trade Union Congress, that the government was encouraged by these differences within the Labour movement to proceed against the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The economic reasons which induced the Government to commence its attack have already been mentioned. The political reasons are equally clear, although more complicated.

As the government has proved itself incapable of doing anything to remove the severe English economic crisis, several leading newspapers have already prophesied the overthrow of the government within the course of the next year. As this is not improbably the case, the English bourgeoisie is already making preparations for such an event: its chief aim at present is to drive a wedge into the Labour movement and to split its organised forces.

In this connection it has two possibilities in view: First, the possibility that the Labour Party Government — which will probably succeed the present Conservative government — will again come into office as a minority government: in this case it would be dependent upon the Liberals. Or secondly, the possibility that the Labour Party at the next elections will obtain an absolute majority in parliament: this it can only do if, in the next few months, it develops so much to the Right that, in spite of its absolute majority, it will not be in a position to adopt any measures which could shake the foundation of the capitalist order. In both cases, however, the present attack upon the Communist Party of Great Britain constitutes a clever parliamentary preparation on the part of the bourgeoisie, a making use of the growing dilemma in which the Labour Party finds itself at present.

The Labour Party is faced with the alternative of either giving way to the radical elements, and thereby repelling its liberal followers, or still further losing its leadership over the revolutionary workers. Such a weakening of the unity and fighting capacity of the labour movement, however, is at present also vital to the interests of the English bourgeoisie in connection with its desperate attempts to bring about the overthrow of Soviet Russia, the stronghold of the world revolution. What Locarno is to effect on an international scale — the isolation and encirclement of Soviet Russia — is now to be continued in England itself: one of the most courageous allies of the Russian workers' and peasant State — the class-conscious English proletariat — is to be rendered incapable of action in its most active and advanced wing, the C. P. of Great Britain, in order thereby to cripple and demoralise its whole front.

There exists no doubt — it is only Liverpool, only the abandonment of all the proletarian and revolutionary demands of London and Scarborough by the reactionary leaders of the Labour Party, which has rendered possible this step on the part of the Conservative Government. It is more necessary than ever to defend the unity and the solidarity of the English labour movement.

The Collapse of the Communist Trial in Czechoslovakia.

By B. L. (Prague).

The great trial held in Prague of the Communists, on the charge of high treason, was adjourned on Friday 16th October, the fourth day of the hearing, for an indefinite time. The coalition parties had set out to deliver the Communists Party a great blow immediately before the elections. An "attempt upon the life of Masaryk" was the first thing laid to the charge of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. The chauvinist press of Czechoslovakia, which has excellent connections with the police, had no doubt about the matter.

Within 24 hours this stupid campaign collapsed. Our Central Committee did nothing else than oppose the phantasies of the coalition press with the actual facts. The evidence which the Czechoslovakian spies and police raked together in this case was not worth the expenses which were paid to a single spy for his patriotic activity. Thereupon they contented themselves with casting suspicion upon the Communist Party of high treason and espionage. In order to prove this assertion it is quite sufficient, in our opinion, to publish the two letters upon which the whole court proceedings were based. It was alleged that Comrade Jilek, as secretary of the "Left wingers", had written in

June 1921, that is before the formation of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, the following letter to Pisek:

"Comrade,

Please inform me immediately whether our Party has its followers employed as workers in the arsenal in Purkratitz. If this is not the case, please let me know by what means it would be possible to win the employees there and to establish confidential connections with them for the purpose of obtaining necessary information.

It is alleged that some weeks later Comrade Jilek wrote a second letter to the same address as follows:

Comrade,

Referring to your letter, please inform us immediately and submit to us, with the collaboration of all comrades employed in Purkratitz, where possible an exact and detailed list of all arms and guns which are in the arsenal at Purkratitz. At the same time do not forget to mention what calibre and system they are. Win over all the employees for our Party, for the time is not distant when the emancipation of the working class will no longer be solved on the basis of parliamentarism, but with the roar of cannons and machine guns, and then we shall need these."

And the indescribably stupid spy who concocted this letter was not immediately kicked out by his superiors, but his products serve as the most important piece of evidence in the Prague trial.

After Jilek, in the preliminary examination, had categorically declared that he never wrote these stupid letters, the report of the court hand-writing experts, who at the preliminary investigation expressed the opinion that Jilek had written these letters, was fetched. This was sufficient for the Public Prosecutor. He connected this alleged spy activity of the Party with those tasks which, so the Public Prosecutor says, are imposed upon the Party on the basis of the decisions of the World Congresses, while he further asserted that the C. P. of Czechoslovakia has connections with a "foreign power".

As regards the question of high treason, the Public Prosecutor encountered a set-back immediately after the first day of the proceedings. The witness for the prosecution, John, was asked what he knew of the material means which the Communist Party had received from abroad, that is to say, from the Comintern. John was the only witness of whom it was expected that he would give exact information regarding the under-ground work of the Communist Party. To the great surprise of the court and to the greater surprise of the public who were present, this crown witness could not give any evidence whatever, so that the Public Prosecutor, greatly annoyed, suggested: "Now, were all the material means spent in a public house?" The chief witness in the trial thus completely crumpled up, and his behaviour characterises the level of the activity of the Czechoslovakian police.

The sensation of the trial occurred on the fourth day of the proceedings. The Defence had brought forward motions regarding the re-examination of the above-mentioned letters and of other documents, nearly all of which were accepted. After the first three days proceedings the trial was postponed for a week. On the resumption of the trial the Court hand-writing experts were called upon again to report on the result of their re-examination. They withdrew their first report and declared that Jilek was not the writer of these incriminating letters. The effect of this report can be imagined. The Court was immediately adjourned, and after a few hours when proceedings were resumed the Public Prosecutor moved that the trial be adjourned for the purpose of examining once again the evidence, and for various other reasons. The Court agreed to this motion so that the proceedings have been adjourned for an indefinite period.

The bourgeois papers have been rendered silent, and they can only register the fatal fact that the trial has been indefinitely postponed. When the proceedings will be resumed, and how they will end is, of course a matter of complete indifference. The verdict has already been pronounced. It is directed against the stupid methods of persecution of the Czechoslovakian police and against the coalition parties who have made a miserable blunder in their attempt by the most crude and base means, to injure the Communist Party before the election.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Unofficial Strike of British Seamen.

BY R. E. Bond.

The unofficial strike of British seamen which is now practically at an end has been one of the most remarkable displays of international solidarity ever shewn in the history of unofficial disputes. For nearly 10 weeks the men who go down to the sea in ships have put up a magnificent fight against the combined forces of the Shipping Companies, the entire capitalist press, and their own Unions. The dispute arose from the action of **Havelock Wilson**, C. H., K. B. E., President of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union, signing an Agreement with the Ship-Owners on the National Maritime Board for a reduction of £ 1 per month. Wilson did this **without consulting a single member of this Union, or a single seaman**, and he did not secure the ratification of the Executive of the Union until after he had signed it. What is more, when the National Maritime Board met on July 3rd, the Ship-Owners made no specific demand for a wage cut, but Wilson actually offered the reduction of £ 1 per month!

The strike commenced in England on August 2nd, when large numbers of seamen refused to sign articles in the London Docks. Meetings of the strikers were held and an unofficial provisional Strike Committee was set up. On August 8th, a mass meeting of seamen was held in the Poplar Town Hall. Among the speakers was **George Hardy**, Organiser of the National Minority Movement. A resolution protesting against the action of Wilson in agreeing to the wage cut, and expressing determination to fight the reduction was carried unanimously. A Strike Committee of 15 was elected, and **C. W. Harris**, a member of the N. S. F. U. and a Communist, was elected Secretary. The Strike Committee invited **George Hardy** to co-operate with them and to assist in the light. Thus from the very first the full forces of the Minority Movement and the Communist Party were thrown into the struggle behind the seamen.

The Strike Committee immediately got in touch with seamen in Liverpool, Tyneside, Glasgow, Greenock, Aberdeen, Hull, Southampton and other Ports, and within a short time Strike Committees had been set up in all these Ports, as well as at Avonmouth, Bristol, Middlesbrough and Cardiff. Meanwhile, on August 21st, a meeting of 700 British seamen was held in Sydney, Australia, and unanimously resolved on strike action against the reduction. **Walsh**, President of the Australian Seamen's Union, took an active part in the organisation of the strike there; so much so that the Australian Federal Cabinet threatened to deport him and other prominent leaders in the dispute. This threat has never been carried out, largely due to the fact that something approaching a General Strike would have been the reply of the Australian workers. By now the strike was spreading rapidly. On August 26th, the crew of the "Balmoral Castle" walked ashore at Durban, South Africa, and from thence onward the crews of every ship reaching South African ports joined the strikers and refused to sail.

By August 22nd, 35 ships were lying in the Thames, and the London Tilbury, Albert and Victoria Docks were practically stopped dead. Considerable success was also meeting the efforts of the seamen in other British ports. The Shipping Companies were doing all in their power to smash the strike. **Black-leg** crews were being brought to London from Tyneside, Cardiff and other centres. Some of these crews were intercepted by the London pickets and on learning of the nature of the dispute returned home. Others slipped through, and were able to get some of the ships away.

In these strike-breaking efforts the Owners received the fullest assistance from the officials of the N. S. F. U. Wilson and other officials were issuing daily statements which even the capitalist press could not equal for lies and abuse. First they stated that there was no strike; then seeing that that yarn held no water, they stated that the Communists were fermenting discontent among the seamen. This gave the cue to the capitalist press who immediately set up a howl about a "Red Plot to smash Shipping", and an "Attack upon the Empire". All this however cut no ice whatever with the strikers, who on many occasions recorded their appreciation of the assistance given them by the Minority

Movement and the Communist Party. The Central Strike Committee sent **George Hardy** to Southampton, where he was successful in getting a Strike Committee set up. Many boats were stopped for a time, and for a few days the strikers succeeded in stopping the entire Southern Railway Cross-Channel service. With the importation of scabs and ex-naval ratings, however, and the failure of the strikers to stop the giant liner "Majestic" the movement in Southampton received a set-back.

By this time the strike abroad had assumed huge proportions and Australia, South Africa and New Zealand were completely tied up. By August 27th, the total tonnage held up in Australia alone was 266,000 tons, and 20 ships were lying idle in South African ports. At the beginning of September warrants were issued for the arrest of hundreds of the strikers in Australia, and sentences ranging from one week to a month's imprisonment were imposed. This was made the occasion for mass demonstrations, with bands and banners, outside the Australian jails, and several clashes with the police ensued.

Meanwhile the Amalgamated Marine Workers Union, led by **Shinwell**, Minister of Mines in the late Labour Government, had entered the dispute in England. Far from this assisting the strike movement it had a reverse effect. This Union is a very small one, and its sole object in entering the dispute was to poach members from the N. S. F. U. This the Central Strike Committee declared an act of treachery, and emphasised that the immediate question was the unity of all seamen in fighting against the wage cut. On September 8th, a deputation from the Central Strike Committee proceeded to Scarborough for the purpose of placing their case before the Trades Union Congress, then in session. The General Council however refused permission for the delegation to address the Congress and they had to be content with issuing a statement to all the delegates.

By now the strike abroad was complete. Over 70 British vessels representing a tonnage of 750,000 tons were held up in foreign and colonial ports. So serious was the situation in Australia that **Mr. Bruce**, the Prime Minister, announced that the Australian Parliament would be dissolved and an election fought on the issue of "Government by Parliament or Outside Influences". Unfortunately the strike was not succeeding so well in England. This was chiefly due, firstly, to the large number of unemployed seamen, and secondly to the splitting tactics of **Shinwell** and the A. M. W. U. This Union commenced setting up rival Strike Committees in London, and elsewhere, and attempted to divide the pickets. The result of all this was that the strike movement gradually became weaker, and with the exception of a few isolated cases shipping was not being delayed, and sailings were to schedule time. The majority of the strikers in London, however, were as solid as on the first day of the strike, and stuck by the Central Strike Committee, who from the commencement had conducted the dispute.

By September 27th, there were indications that the strike was collapsing in South Africa. Several ships had succeeded in getting away from Cape Town and Durban. But it was not until October 12th, that the strike was officially called off in South Africa, and then only under protest against the wage reduction and subject to the following conditions:

1. The ship-owners to withdraw all prosecutions.
2. No victimisation.
3. No prosecution on arrival at Great Britain.
4. Seamen returning to full duty to receive clean discharges as far as possible, conditional on good behaviour during the outward and homeward voyages.
5. Men whose ships have gone, to be repatriated on the settlement of the dispute, and to receive clean discharges as far as possible within the ship-agents' powers, subject to good behaviour on the voyage to Great Britain.

Before the conclusion of the present voyage the men to have the customary opportunity of selection of the next voyage.

The strikers in London however determined to continue to remain out as long as the men in the other Colonies stood firm. On October 12th, the A. M. W. U. "called off" the strike in England, but as already stated the London strikers refused to recognise their authority, and continued to take their instruction from the Central Strike Committee. In any case this decision of the A. M. W. U. was an act of treachery to the strikers in Australia who were still fighting with all vigour against the reduction. The Central Strike Committee had called a mass meeting in London, which was attended by 2000 seamen, on October 4th. A resolution was carried unanimously to continue the fight as long as their comrades abroad were out. The loyalty of the men to their

own strike committee can be seen from the fact that the A. M. W. U., who attempted to hold an opposition meeting to the one mentioned above, had to cancel it as no-one turned up, and an official of the A. M. W. U. who attended the Central Strike Committee meeting was nearly lynched. Not for a long time has such solidarity and determination, in face of tremendous obstacles, been seen in this country.

This, then, is the situation at the time of writing. Those of us who have participated in the strike, spoken at meetings, etc. can see that this dispute will have far-reaching results, and the task of establishing Minority Groups of seamen in every port of the British Isles will be greatly facilitated. Every effort will now be made to get the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to take in hand the question of the organisation of seamen. This can only be dealt with effectively by the creation of a Seamen Section of the Transport and General Workers Union, following upon an amalgamation of the N.S.F.U. and the A. M. W. U.

The seamen have seen the necessity, in the meantime, for securing control of the N.S.F.U. and for shifting the architect, Havelock Wilson. They have seen that the A. M. W. U. is only concerned with poaching members. And they have seen, as never before, that the Communist Party and the Minority Movement alone have given a correct lead and fought untiringly with them in their heroic fight against starvation wages, and coolie conditions.

Establishment of Direct Connections between the Mexican Trade Union Federation and the R. I. L. U.

Moscow, 20th October 1925.

At to-day's session of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U., after hearing statements by the representative of the Mexican Trade Union Federation and of the Labour Attaché of the Mexican Embassy in Moscow, Martinez, a resolution was adopted welcoming the establishment of direct connections between the R. I. L. U. and the Mexican Trade Union Federation, "Crom" (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana), and accepting the invitation, conveyed through Martinez, to send a delegation of the R. I. L. U. to the coming Mexican Trade Union Congress. The R. I. L. U. decided to place its standpoint regarding the question of trade union unity to the Mexican Congress in written form.

THE WHITE TERROR

Why are Rákosi and his Comrades to be brought before the Special Court?

We publish below an extract, based on the reports of bourgeois papers, of the interpellation of Györki, a social-democratic member of the Hungarian parliament, to the Hungarian government and the reply of the Minister of Justice, Pesthy. These speeches clearly show that, even from the point of view of the white terror laws, there exists no ground whatever for proceedings by means of a Special Court against the arrested comrades. Ed.

In the sitting of parliament of 21st. of October, Dr. Györki, M. P. enquired of the Minister of Justice whether he was inclined to stop the proceedings in the Special Court against the so-called communist conspirators, that is to say, to bring those persons arrested on suspicion of having participated in a conspiracy before an ordinary court:

"The matter of a so-called Communist revolt is engaging the attention of the public both at home and abroad. The Social-Democratic Party has no sympathy with the Rákosi movement and is working with its all its energy for the defeat of bolshevism. The act of Rákosi and his comrades, however, cannot be regarded as sedition.

It is intended to bring the alleged conspirators before the Special Court, although the police had commenced proceedings against them on the charge of a crime aiming at

the overthrow of the existing order (which is punishable by imprisonment), and although these people had no weapons and had not even gone so far as did Herr Ulain, who wished to bring Bavarian special troops to Hungary and arm them here. Apart from the moral aspect of the matter, to proceed by means of the Special Court against these people is contrary to law, because the proclamation of martial law is no longer posted up and the public are quite unaware that certain crimes are liable to be judged by the Special Court.

I request the Minister to put an end to this European scandal, and to instruct the Public Prosecutor to bring the arrested persons before an ordinary court, because, apart from anything else, there can be no talk in this case of a crime of sedition."

The Minister of Justice, Pesthy, in his reply, objected to the Communist conspiracy being represented as mere child's play, and characterised the "crime" of the accused, for which they are brought before the Special Court, in the following manner:

"The first action was commenced in Summer 1924. Since that time three propaganda courses have been held in Vienna, which were participated in by Béla Kun. At a permanent Conference they set up the leadership and the secretariat, consisting of three persons, by means of whom work was also commenced in this country. In the organisations of the young workers they have even (!) held lectures. As a result of such agitation work as this, a repetition of the former events (Hungarian Soviet Republic. Ed.) would have necessarily followed."

"As regards the designation of the crime, I would rather not speak, because it deals with a case which is sub judice, nevertheless I must declare that it is a question of a serious and long prepared crime, and that in view of the bad times which the country experienced during the Communist dictatorship it is at least out of place to designate such a movement as child's play. There can be no doubt regarding the legality of the proceedings. In such cases as the present, proceedings by the Special Court are justified by law, and the fact that the public has no longer any notification of the validity of the proclamation of martial law of the year 1923 is of no moment, as ignorance of the law excuses no man. But that is not important. The proclamation is still in force, and in accordance with our law the Special Court can only be abolished when the causes which led to the proclamation of martial law have ceased to exist. That is not the case at present. Since 1921 three communist movements have been discovered. Martial Law is therefore legal and justified."

Polish Bourgeoisie Attacks Children in Polish Ukraine and White Russia.

More than 50% of the territory of the Polish Republic contains purely Ukrainian and White Russian populations, — Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Polesia, Kholmstchina, and Polish White Russia.

About 30% of the population of the Polish state is composed of Ukrainian and White Russian peasants; their languages, religion, customs and traditions have nothing in common with Poland. On the contrary, for them the Poles are the synonym of the landlords — oppressor. These Polish "Irishmen" therefore hate Poland and feel drawn towards the Soviet Union and to the independent Republics of Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia. There they have national unity, there is complete political and cultural freedom, there the peasants have the land, which in Poland is concentrated in the hands of foreign landowners.

Having seized Western Ukraine (East Galicia) and Western White Russia by force, the Polish imperialists are holding on to them by force.

Polish Ukraine and White Russia are now in the position of some African colony. There is a military administration and practically a state of martial law. The power of the secret political police knows no bounds. The peasant lands are taken away from them by force and distributed among "deserving" Polish generals and soldiers. Taxation oppression is unprecedented. The Polish administration absolutely tramples on the rights of the local population to their native language. All this has led to such a state of affairs that even the regime of White

Terror, which reigns in Poland proper, is a kind of ideal order which the Ukrainian and White Russian Peasants dare not even dream of.

The Polish bourgeois occupiers remove this discontent for the Polish authorities by force. The prisons are always filled, while behind the walls of the secret police stations, scenes take place which surpass the traditions of the tsarist regime, and which is indeed the direct ancestor of Poland of the landlords and capitalists.

Not only are most prominent public men arrested, not only individuals "suspected of Communism", but also the entire population of whole villages, including even old men and children.

At the beginning of April of this year, for instance, throughout the entire territory of Volhynia, Polesia, and the district of Novogrodek mass searches and arrests were conducted. In Volhynia about 1,500 peasants, workers and intellectuals were arrested, and in the Novogrodek district about 1400.

In September of this year over 1000 people were arrested, including 13 years old children, in the Bielostok district.

In general this struggle against children is one of the most vile and most savage methods of struggle on the part of the Polish occupiers and against the workers' and peasants' national and liberation movements in the Eastern provinces of Poland.

There is a tremendous number of juveniles imprisoned for political "crimes". The following facts are characteristic of the attitude of the prison administration to these "criminals".

The newspaper "Volkszeitung" of March 9th states:

"We have received a letter from Bielostok signed by the parents of children who are detained in Bielostok prison as political criminals. In their letter the parents tell how their children are beaten and ill-treated. Fine after fine is inflicted and the children are not allowed to receive food from home. They are put into isolation cells for the slightest offence. They are not allowed to see their parents for long periods.

"The prison administration does not even want to be responsible for inflicting such heavy punishments on the young prisoners, who, as a result of this terrible regime become seriously ill. They are systematically deprived of the rights which ordinary political prisoners enjoy."

In Stryj (Eastern Galicia) — according to an interpellation in the Sejm by the Deputy Skrzypa — several young workers have been arrested including 17 years old Becker, 16 years old Hoffner, and 16 years old Hliava. They were arrested as a result of information given by a trade union secretary, the Polish social-democrat, Krovitsky, who at the same time is an employee of the political police. All these young people were beaten up by the police in a most merciless manner. Becker was ill-treated most of all, and as a result was hardly recognisable.

The White Russian Deputy, Eremitch pointed out in the Sejm the fact that two pupils of a White Russian high school have been beaten up by the police to such an extent that their eardrums have been broken.

The newspaper "Polonia" published in Stanislavov (Eastern Galicia) wrote in the April 24th number:

"In a street in the suburb of Khihinin-Kolonia a number of school-boys gathered together to play the mandolin. An agent of the secret police, Kozlovsky approached them and cried out to them to disperse. He threatened them that in the event of their refusal he would shoot. When one of the school boys, Veselovsky, son of a railwayman, said: 'fire, if you have the right to', Kozlovsky drew out a browning and fired at Veselovsky, wounding him."

The Polish schools in the Ukrainian and White Russian provinces are no better than the prisons and the secret police stations.

Here is what we read in the Sejm interpellation of the White Russian Club dated December 4th of last year:

"On November 6th the White Russian Club asked the Minister for Public instruction a question concerning the ill-treatment of children by a teacher in a Polish school in the village of Krizhtalovstchisne, Anton Gorbatohevsky. This case has not yet been investigated, and meanwhile this teacher is continuing the physical ill-treatment of White Russian children. Here is a letter in which a mother describes how her eight-year old little girl was beaten until she lost consciousness:

"On November 22nd, a Saturday, the eight-years old girl Maria Dukhovitch was beaten first with a ruler then her head banged against the wall and was finally thrown to the ground,

the teacher sitting on her head and beating her back with his fists until the child turned black in the face."

The bloody offensive of the Polish bourgeoisie against children does not even waver before the court of "Vigilant" justice.

On November 17th the official Polish telegraph agency sent out a telegram in which it was stated that a court case had come up in Lvov in Eastern Galicia in connection with a 19 year old bootmaker, Rechweld. The latter was handed over to the court for having brought 25 kilogrammes of Communist literature into Lvov. Rechweld was charged with "State treason" and in accordance with a legal code of the former Austrian Empire, inherited by independent Poland, he was threatened with the death sentence. It was only because of the youth of the accused that the "tender" court commuted his sentence to 10 years penal servitude.

That is how the Polish bourgeoisie is fighting against the children in Polish Ukraine and White Russia, while the governmental circles and prominent politicians of Poland dare to denounce as low slander the charges about White Terror in Poland, which the working class organisations and liberal sections of the bourgeoisie are raising in Western Europe.

Fortunately, the British workers have reliable facts in their hands which the Polish hangmen will not be able to deny.

If the Polish bourgeoisie continues to insist that it is the victim of a campaign of slander on the part of "Moscow" Communists, Germans, and Jews, let it agree to a special commission being sent to Poland by the British trade unions, which can be convinced on the spot as to whether the White Terror exists in Poland or not, as to whether the Polish bourgeoisie is really persecuting the White Russian and Ukrainian peasants and workers, and as to whether or not their children are being beaten up.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Conference of the Communist Party of China.

At the beginning of October there was held an illegal Conference of the Communist Party of China which was attended by numerous delegates from various parts of China.

The Conference recorded that the situation in China remains revolutionary, that the national revolutionary movement has not been liquidated or suffered any defeat, that in fact the movement is likely to experience a fresh revival.

The Conference declared that an armed collision between the most important military groupings is possible in the near future, and that this collision would probably develop into a struggle between the national emancipation movement and the forces hostile to this movement. This struggle would be conducted on a considerably larger scale than hitherto and embrace broader masses.

The Conference decided to adopt all measures in order to convert the Communist Party of China into a mass Party and to appeal to the workers and to the revolutionary minded intelligentsia to join the Party.

In addition to this the Conference issued an appeal to the peasantry, explaining to them the situation arising in the country and the causes of the sufferings of the peasantry, and calling upon the peasants to organise in defence of their own interests and to take part in the fight for national emancipation.

As regards the question of the relations to the national revolutionary Kuomintang Party, the Conference decided to maintain a close connection with the Left wing and at the same time to carry on an energetic fight against the Right wing of this Party, which has become a part of the reactionary grouping.

Immediately after conclusion of the Conference of the Communist Party there took place a Conference of the Young Communist League of China which endorsed the political portion of the resolutions of the Party Conference. In addition, this Conference decided to extend its organisational work and to undertake recruiting work among the young workers and students. The Conference emphasised the necessity of setting up a united front in the students' movement under the slogans of autonomy of the universities and freedom of the students organisations.

The Agenda of the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia.

The XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia will be held on the 15th December in Moscow with the following agenda:

1. Political Report of the Central Committee.
2. Organisatory Report of the Central Committee.
3. Report of the Central Standing Orders Committee.
4. Report of the Central Control Commission.
5. Report of the members of the C. P. of Russia in the Executive of the Comintern.
6. Actual Questions as to Economic Construction.
7. Tasks of the Trade Unions.
8. The activity of the Young Communist League.
9. Alterations in the Party Statutes.
10. Election of the Central authorities.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Effect of the Economic Boom on the Material Position of the Workers in the Soviet Union.

By L. F. Winow (Moscow).

The general economic boom and the financial improvement must of course, in a workers' State, result in the first place in a general increase of the prosperity of the working population. The current economic year in the Soviet Union will see the completion of "reconstruction" in this respect as well as in others. According to the calculations of the economic authorities there is every reason to conclude that during the current year it will be possible to bring the average net earnings of the workers up to the pre-war standard.

Some categories of workers (especially in the light industries working for immediate consumption), have in fact even now attained a higher level of wages than in pre-war times. Furthermore, the total average wage of Leningrad workers, calculated on the basis of all categories of occupations, has even exceeded the pre-war level, that of the Moscow workers has even exceeded it to a considerable degree. The average wage calculated for all the workers in the Soviet Union however, only amounted to 83-84% of pre-war wages at the end of the last financial year (Sept. 1925). (Of this 72-74% was in cash, the rest in the form of other material advantages). This proportion will soon be raised to 100% of pre-war wages.

Apart from the general improvement in the living conditions of the workers, this increase will serve the purpose of equalising the earnings of those categories of workers which have not yet advanced to those who are better paid. There are three categories. The first category, whose wages have reached or exceeded the pre-war level (leather workers, printers etc.) will, in the current economic year have to content themselves with only a slight increase (4-7%). The second category of workers, whose wages, both absolutely and in comparison to the pre-war level, are fairly low (transport workers, miners), will receive a considerable increase of wages which, with the transport workers for instance, will amount to about 40-45%. The third category is formed, among others, by the textile workers, whose earnings, it is true, exceed the pre-war wages, but whose pre-war wages were so low that the higher wages of to-day are still lower than in many other branches of production which show a lower comparative percentage as regards pre-war times. In this case of course, there must also be a considerable rise, but a corresponding increase of productivity is necessary. In general, in the economic year which has just begun, the greatest stress is laid on increasing the wages of metal workers, miners, transport and textile workers. The first successful results have already been obtained in the new collective agreements, which prescribe an increase of wages of 10-15% in various branches of production.

Another effect of the economic boom will be a further decrease of unemployment. Whilst the number of workers engaged in production increased in the last economic year (1924-1925) by a quarter of a million, the so-called census industry (works with more than 16 workers) needs 433,200 new workers in the current year. It will however not be possible to meet more than a part of this demand by employing the present

unemployed for the unemployed are to a great extent unskilled workers, whereas industry chiefly needs new, skilled, and especially highly skilled workers. A great lack of skilled workers is already evident, and it will make itself felt still more in the coming months. The following table will give us some idea:

	Number of new Workers required	Number which can be supplied from ranks of unemployed	Shortage
Highly skilled workers . . .	184,500	71,500	112,000
Partly skilled workers . . .	117,000	22,000	95,000
Unskilled workers . . .	132,000	132,000	—
	435,200	225,600	207,600

This shortage of about 207,600 skilled workers will have to be met partly by a rapid development of skilled training and partly by attracting foreign workers.

The consequences of unemployment however will be alleviated not only by a decrease in the number of unemployed, but also by a considerable increase in the State unemployment allowances (by 50% as compared with the present) and by widening the circle of the unemployed who are entitled to maintenance. The number of unemployed supported by the State will increase from 300,000-400,000 — though the total number of unemployed will decrease.

The economic improvement also makes it possible to widen other branches of social insurance, both in their extent and with regard to the amount of the individual allowance paid. The number of those insured has, during the last two years, developed as follows:

January 1923	4,940,000
January 1924	5,436,574
January 1925	6,066,935

and it shows a tendency to increase.

The rates of allowance for the insurance of disabled persons are increased by about 50%, in a similar way to the unemployment insurance. Sickness insurance, although even now it far exceeds that of any other country, will also be improved, and especially in two directions: Up to the present, workers who were temporarily incapacitated, received their full wages during the time they were incapacitated, if this did not exceed 5 roubles a day. This maximum limit has now been removed. Further, the rate of allowance was reduced if the worker was in a public hospital. This limitation is now also abolished.

The most sensitive spot in the living conditions of the Russian workers is still the housing problem, (especially in large towns and in workers' colonies). The Soviet Government has, up to now, done everything in its power to alleviate the lack of housing, but the devastation of the imperialist war and of the civil war was so great, and the material means of the Soviet power so inadequate that in the first years nothing could be thought of except absolutely necessary repairs. Now that the economic life of the country has recovered, the creative force of the proletarian power in this domain will prove its value. We will only mention here the imposing building programme of the Moscow Soviet, but we must add that similar work is being carried out in all large towns and workers' colonies. The sum budgetted for by the Moscow Soviet for building purposes in the current economic year, amounts to the gigantic sum of 62 million roubles (about 32 millions dollars), of which 57 million are for the town of Moscow and 5 million for the Governmental district of Moscow. Apart from this municipal building programme, the building programme of the various State industrial undertakings to the value of 4 million roubles will be carried out, also that of various People's commissars to the value of 3 million roubles. Co-operative and private building activities will amount to the value of 5 million roubles.

This work however is only a modest beginning of the building programme for the next five years. The sum allocated to building will increase progressively each year and, in the economic year 1929/30 will amount to 190 million roubles. The total Municipal building programme for the next 5 years (October 1925 — September 1930) in Moscow, amounts to 650 million roubles (about 335 million dollars).

At the same time, the People's Commissar for Home Affairs are working out plans for a **building programme in the villages** on a large scale. Detailed figures with regard to this agricultural building programme have not yet been published. The object of the agricultural building is not only that of alleviating the lack of housing, but also that of instructing the peasantry in practical erection and fitting of houses etc. From the technical point of view, greatest attention will be paid to making the buildings fire-proof.

* * *

These are the chief fields in which the Soviet Power is going to increase the prosperity of the working population during the next months and years. After a few years of sacrifice and privations, the workers of the Soviet Union are going to reap the fruit of their revolutionary endurance. All this of course is only a beginning. Every new year will bring new achievements, a fresh and considerable improvement in the living conditions of the workers of the Soviet Union.

OUR MARTYRS

Comrade Dubinski.

In the Roumanian prison of **Doftana**, in which Comrade **Max Golstein** died from starvation — it has transpired that he did not die from starvation of his own free choice, but that the jailers, after he had abandoned his hunger-strike, withheld nourishment from him and in this manner murdered him — Comrade **Dubinski**, a Bessarabian communist, has put an end to his sufferings by means of suicide.

Comrade **Dubinski** was arrested in 1920 in **Kishinev** by the Roumanian gendarmes, brought before a Court Martial and condemned to death. This sentence was afterwards commuted to ten years imprisonment.

As one subject to "special punishment" Comrade **Dubinski** was confined in a solitary cell consisting of bare cement, in which he was compelled to remain in chains and almost entirely without clothing. His diet consisted exclusively of "Mamalyga" (skilly). The cell was never ventilated. This "special punishment" was inflicted on Comrade **Dubinski** for two months. By means of this regime Comrade **Dubinski's** jailors drove him to suicide.

BOOK REVIEWS

Aluf: "The Trade Unions and the Position of the Workers in the Soviet Union in 1921—1925".*)

By L. F. Boross.

The struggle of the Communist International, and the Red International of Labour Unions, for the unity of the trade unions, and especially the **Anglo-Russian trade union agreement**, have placed the Russian trade unions in the forefront of interest among workers in other countries. Hitherto even many European communists have been inclined to under-estimate the rôle played by the trade unions after the revolution, not only in the Soviet Union, but in their own future. They have thought: the labour power will provide for the welfare of its own class in any case, the trade unions lose their main function; even if they do not become entirely superfluous, they only retain their organisatory and educative functions, and help in the work of production. This under-estimation of the trade unions after the victorious revolution was exemplified particularly during the Hungarian Soviet republic, especially among the younger elements of the Hungarian CP. And even among the Russian Bolsheviks there was much left unclear in the trade union question during the period following the revolution. Thus for instance the great trade

*) Aluf: "The trade unions and the position of the workers in the Soviet Union in 1921—1925". Berlin, Führer publishing office, 1925.

union discussion in 1920 witnessed emphatic tendencies towards a nationalisation, a "militarisation" of the trade unions; tendencies which were of course determinedly combatted by comrade Lenin.

Aluf's pamphlet thus fills the large gap which has hitherto yawned in the information at the disposal of the West European workers, who are for the most part at the mercy of the slanders propagated against the Soviet Union by the Mensheviks. It offers excellent and comprehensive material, not only for the confutation of the daily slanders spread abroad by the Russian and other Mensheviks, but for throwing light in general upon the question of the rôle played by the trade unions in the proletarian dictatorship.

The first three chapters are devoted to a description of the **development of the trade unions and their tasks during the periods of war communism and of the New Economic Policy**. Detailed statistic data are adduced in every case. In the historical section we miss an indication of the main points of contention in the great trade union discussion in the Russian CP. in 1920, which — though extremely instructive — are too little known to non-Russian workers. The writer deals in detail with the transition from collective membership to voluntary membership and payment of subscriptions.

A further chapter is devoted to the **financial position of the trade unions**, and shows that, in contradiction to the assertions made by the Mensheviks, the income of the majority of the trade unions not only covers their expenses at the present day, but that surpluses are attained. The statements given in the pamphlet may be supplemented by the further fact that the large trade unions are already being induced by this favourable financial position to reduce the financial obligations of their members, and are proceeding to abolish the system of special extra subscriptions for unemployed benefit, as this can already be covered out of the regular revenues.

The chapter dealing with **works committees and delegates' meetings** is extremely interesting and instructive. It shows us the Russian worker in the shop and factory, how he defends his rights, not only in wage and similar questions, but by taking part in the control of production, by maintaining his consultative rights in the nomination of the works manager with the cooperation of his shop stewards, and by adopting a definite attitude towards every daily question concerning the municipality and the state, and towards the most important questions of international politics. In short: the factory has in the proletarian state developed from an instrument of torture and exploitation into a source of culture, and this to an extent hitherto undreamed of. Here the worker feels himself at home, here he realises his responsibility as master of the factory or works, here he becomes fully conscious of his position as the leading class of society.

The further chapters deal with the development of the **wage system** since state industry has been made a paying concern, and with the difference in the character of **collective agreements** in a proletarian and a capitalist state. The development of wage is described with the aid of good statistic tables and graphic diagrams (in the appendix). The author efficiently refutes the forecast made by the Menshevik Schwarz, who, though "obliged to own" an improvement in the position of the Russian workers, infers from the difficulties in wage payments that the present scale of wages "cannot be exceeded in the immediate future".

Since Aluf's pamphlet appeared, the "Control Figures" issued by the Economic Planning Institute have been published for the economic year 1925/26, from which it may be seen that the present real wages, which amount in cash all over the country to 76% (in Moscow 119.7%) of pre-war wages — or 88% when the value of various advantages is included — will be raised during the next economic year by an average of about 12 to 14%, thus raising the average to the prewar level. The Menshevik lies have collapsed with conspicuous rapidity.

The chapter on "strikes and conflicts" not only describes the import and manner of settlement of labour conflicts in the Soviet Union, but the rôle played by the strike in the proletarian state undertakings. The author closes his pamphlet with a description of the production conferences, by which means the workers in a factory take part in the technical and organisatory improvement of the undertaking in which they work, thus bringing about a true "economic democracy", not in the bourgeois sense of the term as used by Hilferding, but in the proletarian sense.

We may expect that this excellent pamphlet will be widely read by both communist and non-communist workers.