

all the important campaigns carried on by Rosa Luxemburg against the various Reformist advances between 1898 and 1914 — a special volume, however, is reserved for the discussion of the mass-strike. It is with ever-growing astonishment that the reader sees how political battles similar to those of to-day were at that time fought out by Rosa under the banner of political slogans and against political personalities all long since forgotten.

It would mean immense injury to the Communist movement, if in its inevitable "domestic" disputes with the sham-leftward praters, and those anarchistically inclined liquidators in the Party, the main battle front against Reformism, as the mass-ideology of the non-Communist proletariat, were neglected or even overlooked. Although it is undeniable that at present the Left deviations are the only unhealthy symptoms displayed by the German Party which give cause for concern, it is also perfectly true that — when we take the whole of the proletariat of Capitalist countries into account — the fight against the "right" errors in the Labour movement as a whole will, until the day of complete victory, remain a task of world historical importance far exceeding all others.

First of all comes the question of the examination and explanation of Reformism (Opportunism, Menshevism, etc.) as a complete political theory. Rosa discusses it in relation to the slogan: "Here the theory of collapse, these illusions of adaptability" i. e. in relation to the question of the course of development of Capitalist society and in relation to the transition to the Socialist regime. It was with admiration that the standard-bearer of Reformism, Bernstein, recorded the "adaptability of Capitalism" (disappearance of crises, augmentation of the middle-class, advancement of the proletariat). Rosa cut the ground from under his feet and proved (1898) that Capitalist development is destined, through the contradictions inherent in the Capitalist Order, to end in "general economic collapse" (page 40). It is well known how much value Rosa set upon the proof of the objective necessity for Socialism. It was in her endeavour to show more clearly such objective inevitability that she started her subsequent (1913) extensive investigation of the accumulation of capital. No matter what attitude one may assume towards this book, the fact remains that even Bucharin, the severest Communist critic of this work, agrees with her in her estimation of the importance of making objectively clear the economic nature of Imperialism and of Capitalistic collapse. Just as in our time, in view of the talk of Capitalist re-organisation, i. e. in the face of all the theoretic attempts to bolster up for a while the Capitalist pretension to adaptability, an exposition of the theory of Capitalist collapse seems highly desirable from the viewpoint of every thoughtful Communist. In Rosa's "Social Reform or Revolution" we have the clearest and most complete refutation of all opportunist hopes concerning adaptability. For instance, what Rosa has to say against the views of credit as an instrument of adaptation could be pointed out to-day to all people who are affected with the craze for reform of banking, credit system etc.

"Credit reproduces all the cardinal contradictions of the Capitalist world, brings them to a head and accelerates the speed at which this regime hastens towards its own destruction — collapse" (page 43).

Naturally, Rosa does not regard the collapse as a product of mechanical, automatic inevitability in Capitalist development. She holds the same view as Marx, viz. that men make their own history, and, therefore, Rosa appeals for the hammer-blow of revolution.

"The conditions of production in Capitalist society constantly approach to those in socialist society; on the other hand, the political and legal relations of the former erect an ever-heightening barrier between the two. This barrier will be broken neither by the development of social reform nor by the progress of Democracy, but on the contrary will only be rendered more firm. The only means to remove the division is the hammer-stroke of revolution, i. e. the seizure of political power by the proletariat." (page 61).

Nothing was more foreign to Rosa than the habit of gazing in revolutionary enchantment towards her objective. It

was precisely in her method of linking up the fight in which she was actually engaged with the advance towards her ultimate objective that her greatness lay. In an article against French Ministerialism Rosa expresses herself in 1899 as follows:

"It is hopeless to try to comprehend the principles of Social-Democracy from brochures and lectures alone as it is to try to learn swimming on dry land. It is only upon the high-seas of political life, only on the extended front of the battle with the present State, in adaptation to the whole multiplicity of living reality that the proletariat can gain its schooling" (page 28).

In a dissertation upon our parliamentary tasks she says: "To take part in positive legislation and, wherever possible, with practical effect and at the same time to vindicate at every step their fundamental opposition to the Capitalist State, this, in general outline, is the difficult tasks set for our parliamentary representatives" (page 157).

Rosa played havoc with the misleading statement of present tasks issued by the German Socialist Party and in her articles, as compiled and supplemented with little historical insertions by Frölich, we have the complete history of the German party crises from 1898 to 1914; and the ground covered embraces the discussion of the militia question (Schippel, Heine), the customs policy (Schippel, Calwer), the Bavarian provincial Diet treaty and the franchise question (Vollmar), the Baden budget movement and court intrigues as far down as the Stuttgart mayoral election and, finally, the problem of the second ballot agreement (1912).

So well did Rosa understand how to state in classic language the fundamental Marxian attitude in every daily article, no matter how localised or focused, that these compositions and speeches appear topical to posterity and to readers in 1926.

There is, of course, a certain inadequacy and incompleteness in these disputations, for, finally, Rosa's belief in the political restoration of a revolutionary Social Democracy which would emancipate the peoples was a stupendous miscalculation. That which Rosa in 1910 predicted in order to frustrate the general spread of the Baden parliamentary tactics, namely:

"If these tactics are adopted throughout Germany, the consequence will be that Social Democracy will simply cease to exist as a party and become a mere shuttle-cock to be played with by the bourgeois parties or a ridiculous distortion of a social-monarchist-reformist-governmental party" (page 154).

became dread reality.

It must, however, be admitted that in her polemic with Vollmar on the Stuttgart Party Congress (1907) Rosa allowed herself to be led astray in her too categorical forswearing of "methods of violence" (page 129). Furthermore, the prophecy that Capitalism would find itself driven into a hopeless cul-de-sac (page 40), must be modified with the aid of Lenin's statement at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920:

"Revolutionaries sometimes endeavour to prove that there is no way out of the crisis. That is a mistake; no position is absolutely hopeless" (protocol page 31).

But these are trifles; in matters of importance time has made no erosion. What is most most remarkable about this book is, that it is only now that we can appreciate the profound truths contained in all these articles written so long ago. A world war had to destroy millions of people, a labour party had to betray foully the trust of the proletariat of all countries, misery unknown since the first rise of Capitalism had to descend upon the wretched victims of exploitation before the proletariat could bring itself to throw reformist illusions overboard. To-day a quarter of a century after the most brilliant and keenest theoretic refutation of Reformism — we have reached the point when the truth of these things can be driven home among the great masses of the proletariat, aye, must be driven home, if disaster is to be avoided.

Of all the writings connected with the German Labour movement subsequent to those of Marx, the works of Rosa Luxemburg are far and away the most significant and freshest intellectual products.

v. b. b.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 6 No. 42

20th May 1926

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

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## The Lessons of the Strike in Great Britain.

By G. Zinoviev.

Moscow, 13th May 1926.

The "Pravda" of Thursday contains an article by Comrade Zinoviev on the English general strike. The article itself was written before the breaking off of the strike, but a postscript has been added referring to the calling off of the strike.

In this postscript Comrade Zinoviev points out that from the moment when the General Council allowed Messrs. Thomas and MacDonald to play a decisive role in the strike leadership, the strike was doomed to defeat. From the moment when the leaders of the General Council began to asseverate that the strike was not a political strike, and rejected the financial aid of their brother trade unions, the issue of the struggle was clear.

Nevertheless, the English general strike will play an enormous role, it will be the rehearsal for future great struggles. A great advance has been made in regard to shaking the stronghold of English imperialism. The overcoming of the reformist illusions among the English working class is now proceeding at an unexampled pace and the ideas of Leninism will capture the English labour movement.

In the article itself Comrade Zinoviev gives a survey of the whole development of the strike, and proves by means of quotations that, if, on the eve of the strike, the miners had shown themselves to be in the least way conciliatory, if the fighting will of the working class had not been so powerful, then the Right leaders in the General Council would have prevented the declaration of the strike. The masses had compelled the leaders to begin the struggle. The courageous mood of the Communists and of some bold people in the non-Communist camp played a great role in this, as they expressed the true feeling of the masses.

Apart from a few "labour leaders" who have become strike-leaders against their will, the entire political world, already on the first day of the strike, clearly recognised the enormous political importance of the strike. The English bourgeois press correctly perceived this importance and expressed it openly. The English bourgeoisie immediately placed the question on a high level of the class struggle. The bourgeois press continually called attention to the patriotic attitude of Thomas and MacDonald, and

## THE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

### The Calling Off of the General Strike.

By R. Palme Dutt

London, 12th May 1926.

The General Strike has been called off: but nothing has been settled.

The unofficial basis on which the "settlement" has been reached appears to have resulted from the negotiations of Sir Herbert Samuel, President of the Coal Commission, with the General Council representatives (without the Miners Federation). From these negotiations a basis for settlement was reached, embodied in a memorandum by Sir Herbert Samuel. This memorandum laid down:

- 1) Temporary continuance of the subsidy to permit of renewal of coal negotiations.
- 2) A National Wages Board for the mining industry.
- 3) No revision of wages until satisfactory assurances of the putting into effect of the reorganisation recommendations of the Coal Commission committee, including workers' representatives, to watch putting into effect.
- 4) Only after such assurances etc., National Wages Board to prepare a new wage contract, if absolutely financially necessary.
- 5) No reduction of lowest paid workers: a national minimum wage to be fixed.

Cook has declared that the decision of the General Council was reached without consulting the Miners Federation.

If all these reports are correct, then this capitulation represents a betrayal which eclipses Black Friday, and the effects of which, in England, internationally, and within the working class movement are incalculable.

There was no justification, either in the situation of the struggle, or in the readiness of the working class movement throughout the country, for this capitulation. The working class movement throughout the country was solid; the strikers' ranks were daily increasing; the engineering, shipbuilding and electrical workers had just been called out (under mass pressure: the Clyde engineering workers had come out unofficially a day in advance in order to force the hands of the General Council), adding half a million to the strikers. The sudden capitulation came as a staggering blow to the movement; its reception in the country still remains to be seen.

It was a collapse at the centre, under government pressure. The Government through the law courts had just declared the illegality of the general strike, thus making every trade union official personally responsible to be prosecuted. The Government had issued regulations placing an embargo on funds from abroad. There were threats of confiscating trade union funds and introducing new trade union legislation. The armed force of the Government was provocatively displayed in the London streets. The reformist trade union leaders lost all nerve, and were ready to go through any humiliation rather than face the unknown possibilities of a continuation of the struggle.

This collapse is the last stage of the old economic class struggle, as it has been fought in England and has reached its culmination in this general strike. With this general strike the trade union tradition of struggle has reached its extreme point and can go no further. The workers are now face to face with the legal and armed force of the State. The struggle can only be carried forward as the direct political revolutionary struggle with the State.

#### II.

### The New Situation in Britain.

London, 15th May 1926.

The bourgeoisie has followed up their advantage from the capitulation of the General Council by immediately delivering the heaviest attack on the whole position of the working class and working class organisation in Britain.

The General Council by its capitulation left the working class movement leaderless. The miners were deserted; the Unions instructed to make what terms they could separately; the local

never doubted their readiness to betray the workers. The force of the English bourgeoisie lay in the recognition of the political character of the strike. The International bourgeoisie also took this into account, when, for instance, the official American press quite openly assured the English bourgeoisie of military support in the event of civil war.

The position of the English working class would have been different if the English labour leaders had also recognised from the first day of the strike that the struggle was becoming more and more a political struggle. Cook declared: We are not fighting against the Constitution, we are fighting for bread. Is it economics or politics, is it bread or constitution, when the government supports strike-breakers with the whole force of the State and brutally interferes in inner trade union affairs, when it assures the strike-breakers payment from the trade union funds, if they are confiscated? Even if the government had done nothing else to support the capitalists against the workers, if it had not declared the general strike to be illegal, concentrated the whole forces of the State against the workers, threatened the unemployed with starvation, created a great strike-breaking organisation, carried out mass arrests etc., those measures alone would have sufficed in order to show that the government had immediately converted the economic struggle into a political struggle. We are fighting for bread and therefore we are fighting against your Constitution of the money-bags, against the capitalists — this is how Cook should have formulated the struggle. One should not have been afraid of bringing politics into the strike struggle, on the contrary, one should not justify oneself if the bourgeoisie accuses the strike-leaders of political aims, but openly say to the workers, that the bourgeoisie have set up their political aims in this strike, against which the workers have to set up their own political programme.

At the same time it was a pleasure to see how the working masses themselves strode over all sorts of prejudices of the old trade unionism and showed their own countenance in the struggle, as for example in the action of the printing workers who prevented the appearance of the "Daily Mail". The fight for the press is the characteristic feature of all modern political strikes. Is it then an economic struggle when even non-communist trade unionists call upon the soldiers not to fire on the workers, when a beginning is made with the organising of workers' defence corps? In such a gigantic struggle that Party which does not go forward, which does not attack, is bound to retreat, must hesitate and yield. It is impossible to stand still. A strike leadership which does not expose and repudiate Thomas and MacDonald must inevitably become the victims of these traitors. The members of the General Council believed that they would strengthen the strike leadership by retaining such people as Thomas. As a matter of fact the strike leadership would have been infinitely stronger if these agents of the bourgeoisie who betray the strike in the most cowardly manner, had been thrown out. To give way to the ultimative demands of Thomas, to seek unity with the Right leaders at any price, means to become a plaything in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

As was the case with previous strike movements in England, the present strike will bring new labour leaders to the front, that is to say real labour leaders from the ranks of the working class, who are not infected with old craft prejudices, who do not wish to become Ministers and who are ready to proceed along the way of inexorable class struggle. Every moment of the strike is giving the English workers a profounder understanding of the questions of State and Power, is causing them to realise that the bourgeoisie must be deprived of the possibility of maintaining strike-breakers, of sending soldiers against workers, of handing over the unemployed and strikers, by decisions of the Courts, to starvation. Every day of the English strike is causing the workers to realise more than they would in years of peaceful development, the truth of the words of Lenin on the impossibility of peaceful reformist transition to Socialism.

In spite of the direct treachery of the Right leaders, in spite of the serious mistakes and hesitations, in spite of the narrow outlook of the official leaders of the movement, the strike has revealed as never before the force of the English workers, has aroused them and filled them with new knowledge.

No matter how the strike may end, it is creating a new situation in the whole international labour movement. The British struggle has prepared the ground for the firm consolidation and for the rapid development of Bolshevism in the English Labour Movement.

strike committees were left without direction. In their haste to save themselves personally from further responsibility, the General Council did not even attempt to organise a retreat of the working class. On the workers, thus left fighting in the dark, the Government and employers hastened to deliver the heaviest attack.

This attack was directly led by the Government. The Government employed hypocritical phrases of "reconciliation" and appeals to the employers to exercise moderation. But the policy of the Government was shown by its actions. On the very evening of the settlement the Government issued throughout the country an official statement through the "British Gazette" under the heading "No Obligations", which was a direct incitement to the employers to let loose the attack.

This direct provocation of the Government to the employers was not needed. With an immediate unanimity, which showed both preparation and organisation, the employers began the campaign, presented new demands to the Unions, called for new agreements, refused to take men back save individually and with discrimination, demanded shackling agreements against similar strikes in future, in many cases demanded reductions in wages, presented individual documents for signature to men returning, threatened claims for legal damages, proclaimed loss of rights and service for strikers, invariably insisted on the retention of non-union volunteers, and in some cases endeavoured to establish a non-union basis.

In all this the Government took the lead in regard to workers in its own employ. The following Admiralty Order was issued:

"Following the Admiralty decision as regards men on strike, established men are not to be allowed to enter, but are to be suspended until further notice."

The following War Office Order was issued:

"Notice to employees at War Office Department establishments. Men who have remained at work, and men who have returned to work by Wednesday, May 12, will be given preference in employment irrespective of their former length of service."

"All awards under the Superannuation Acts are subject to the condition that discharge at a person's own desire or due to his own default forfeits all previous service."

The Home Secretary issued a warning that all strike pickets employing any kind of intimidation or molestation were illegal, and criminal prosecution would follow any attempts. The whole emergency dictatorship, regulations and supply apparatus, as well as troop dispositions etc., were maintained in being. Repression was even more intense after the "settlement" than before and in particular wholesale raids were made on Communist Party premises throughout the country, and arrests in batches carried out. The Government knew that, after the capitulation of the leaders, the resistance of the working class had still to be smashed, and that this was the most intense phase of the struggle.

The principal objectives of the new campaign were:

1) To prevent a recurrence of the general strike. The chief reason to achieve this is the Government's legal weapon. It is probable that new trade union legislation will be introduced. In any case the ground as regards the general strike is covered by the High Court decision of Justice Astbury that a general strike is "illegal" and "no trade dispute does or can exist between the trade union Council and the Government". This means that the General Council is henceforth put out of action, unless it is prepared to become and act as an illegal body. At the same time the employers in their separate agreements with the Unions have endeavoured to insert clauses shackling concerted action.

2) To break the power of the trade unions in all key positions. It is here that new trade union legislation will probably endeavour to diminish the strike rights of the Unions. The employers in the new agreements have endeavoured to secure exemption from strike participation or even from union membership of employees in key positions or "positions of trust" e. g. railway supervisory grades, printing foremen etc. Some employers (particularly in Scotland) have endeavoured completely to break the Unions and establish a non-union basis; but this has been discouraged by the Government and the majority of the bourgeoisie (as the Federation of British Industries) who know too well the police value to themselves of duly legal and shackled trade unions.

The Government hopes to break the power of the Trade

Unions, and then to maintain them with the assistance of the Thomases etc., whose only maintenance of their positions now depends on direct government protection and assistance, to chain the workers.

3) To break the nerve of working class resistance by victimising all militant workers, and driving them from the factories. This is implicit in the Government's propaganda for "inevitable displacements". All the agreements with employers for reinstatement, signed by the trade unions, make special exception of workers "guilty of violence or intimidation" i. e. active in the strike.

The Railway Agreement, signed on May 14 by the three Railway Trade Unions and the Railway Companies, is the clearest demonstration of the new policy. The Agreement lays down:

- 1) Reinstatement "as soon as work can be found"
- 2) Admission by the Unions that the strike was "a wrongful act" and admission of the companies' "legal right to claim damages from strikers and others responsible"
- 3) "The Unions undertake
  - a) not again to instruct their members to strike without previous negotiation with the companies;
  - b) to give no support of any kind to their members who take any unauthorised action;
  - c) not to encourage supervisory employees in the special class to take part in any strike"
- 4) Transfers of reinstated strikers may take place, though without reduction of wages
- 5) "The settlement shall not extend to persons guilty of violence or intimidation".

This humiliating slavery Agreement, completing the betrayal and abandonment of the workers to the mercy of the employers, the desertion of the militant workers who had fought for the strike, and the surrender of all rights of a working class fight, was signed by Thomas, Cramp, Bromley and Walkden. Thomas declared it an "eminently satisfactory" agreement. Certainly it would be a "satisfactory" agreement from his point of view: since it would save him from the trouble of further questions of a general strike or rank and file demands for action, which could in future be referred, first, to the Companies to deal with, and second, to the police.

The General Council were powerless, even if they had the wish, to attempt any resistance to this wholesale attack. They had surrendered the fortress for nothing, and were receiving their reward. They could only invoke the honour of the Prime Minister, in whom they declared they felt absolute confidence, and appeal to the Government to save the Trade Unions. "The Government must stop this attack on Trade Unionism". "The good faith of the Prime Minister is involved". Such were the shameful and impotent declarations of the General Council, after their betrayal had brought the workers to this pass.

But the spirit of resistance in the working class was intense. All over the country the workers rose against the General Council's betrayal and to meet the new attack. The intensity of the struggle is shown by the fact that on May 13 Thomas had to admit in the House of Commons that there were 100,000 more workers out on the day after the "settlement" than there had been before. The "settlement" had indeed settled nothing.

Strikers mass meetings at Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Doncaster, Sheffield, Cardiff, Hull, Portsmouth, Southampton etc. declared for the continuation of the strike and resistance to the new attack.

Demonstrations took place all over the country against the betrayal. At Manchester the demonstration numbered 30,000. In Glasgow processions went through the streets with posters, "Down with Thomas". At Poplar in East London hostile crowds gathered outside the trade union offices. Mounted and foot police charged them with batons, and there were forty injured. At Hatfield, near Doncaster, hostile demonstrations were broken up by the police, and eighty arrested.

At the time of writing the effect of the Railway Settlement in the country is still to be seen. The miners' delegate meeting, presented with so-called "new" proposals from the Prime Minister — in reality the old Commission proposals for a reduction in wages, plus a proposal for an immediate reduction in wages pending negotiations — has adjourned until May 20th in order to consult the districts. The fight of the workers hangs in the balance during these few days, when everything turns on the ability to rally the working class forces in time.

The General Council's abdication has left the workers without central leadership. The Communist Party has issued a call for a national Conference of local strike committees. The urgent necessity is to rally the working class forces, and establish a new central leadership to carry on the struggle. The issue of this will be determined in the next few days.

### Another "Zinoviev Letter".

Moscow, 15th May 1926.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued the following statement:

"An official British radiogram has spread the false news of an alleged telegram from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Great Britain. We declare that no telegram whatever has been sent, either from the Executive Committee of the Communist International or from the 'British Section' of the Communist International, mentioned in the telegram, to the Communist Party of Great Britain during the general strike. We declare that the English Comrade Brown, mentioned in the British radiogram, left Moscow several months ago and therefore could not have signed any telegram.

The official British radio is also spreading the lying report of the existence of a letter from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Great Britain, recommending the employment of 'Russian' revolutionary methods". We declare that the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed an Open Letter to the British Communists, which was published in the whole of the European press, which however does not contain a single word regarding the employment of Russian revolutionary methods. The official British report, by these stupid falsehoods, is only repeating the lying methods of the notorious "Zinoviev Letter". We warn every honest worker not to give any credit to these impudent falsehoods."

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE BRITISH FIGHTERS

### The Solidarity Action for the British Workers in Hamburg Harbour.

By Peter.

The mood of the Hamburg dock workers for the carrying out of a comprehensive and effective solidarity action for the fighting British workers was and remains very favourable.

The conditions as regards trade union organisation in Hamburg have improved. Although on the average even now the dock workers of Hamburg are only 50% organised, the proportion among the important categories is much better. But also the unorganised workers are for the greater part following the trade union slogans.

The solidarity action is, however, at present limited in practice by the inadequate decisions and instructions of the German Transport Workers' Union and of the A. D. G. B., which only forbid the supplying of English ships with bunker coal but not the loading and unloading of English ships. The result of this measure is that many English ships which originally were bound for English ports, are being diverted to Hamburg. The Hamburg dock workers are very dissatisfied with the tactics of the trade union leaders and are already, in individual cases, adopting practical measures which go beyond these tactics. Thus they decided completely to boycott eight vessels of the Elder-Dempster Line which had been diverted to Hamburg instead of sailing to England. The increasing activity of the Hamburg proletariat has resulted that in the last few days fewer English vessels than previously have arrived in Hamburg harbour.

The Hamburg Executive of the German Transport Workers Union had to meet the growing oppositional mood by promising in their leaflets "sharper measures", which shall be immediately employed as soon as the English colleagues demand it. The position is actively participating in all measures of solidarity. In order at least to do everything possible within the limits of trade union decisions. Every day the trade union carries out

by means of its own motor boat a tour of the harbour for the purpose of picketing the ships lying in mid-stream and for preventing any kind of strike-breaking work. The dock police boats are endeavouring as far as possible to hinder this work. The ships lying alongside the quay are also being worked upon by means of leaflets and spoken propaganda. This work of enlightenment is directed before all to the crews of the English vessels lying in Hamburg harbour, of which there are at the present time 31, among them being 18 Ocean-going steamers. The English seamen for the greater part seem to be unenlightened regarding the importance of the British General Strike. The treacherous strike-breaking propaganda of their trade union leaders of the type of Havelock Wilson has found effective support in foreign harbours, including Hamburg, in the branches of the English "Christian Seamen's Mission", which sends its propagandists on board of the English vessels. Not only the Hamburg dock workers but also the seamen are on the other hand, conducting a thorough propaganda for solidarity. Thus international seamen's meetings are to be arranged at which the foreign seamen from the ships lying in Hamburg harbour are to take part. As far as the crews of the English vessels, in individual cases, have allowed themselves to be misused for bunkering work which has been refused by the Hamburg working class, the dock workers are attempting to prevent strike-breaking work by explaining the position and also by active intervention. When, for example the crew of the English steamer "Glenluce", consisting for the most part of Lascars, attempted themselves to load bunker coal the dock workers removed the lighters and coal transport ships lying alongside the steamer.

The practical result of the solidarity action was that the boats which sail every week between Hamburg and England remained lying, partly empty and partly with their cargoes in Hamburg harbour. The shipowners have for the greater part paid off the crews of their ships.

### United Front in Aid of the Fighting British Proletariat.

The following appeal of the E. C. C. I. and the R. I. E. U. arrived too late for publication in our last issue. Ed.

To all Sections of the Communist International!  
To all Sections of the Red International of Labour Unions!  
To all Working Men and Women!

Dear Comrades,

The struggle of the British workers has aroused the entire proletarian world to action. There is not, nor can there be any worker, no matter to what Party he belongs, or to what trade union, who could remain indifferent and passive to this struggle. Only the trade union bureaucrats, corrupted by American capitalism have found the sorry courage to make the cynical announcement of their unwillingness to render any support to the British proletariat. But the overwhelming majority of workers are in favour of support and aid, and the present task consists in organising everywhere this aid jointly with the workers of various tendencies, so that the British proletariat feels that it is backed by a compact mass of workers of all countries without distinction of policy.

The wide repercussion evoked amongst the broad masses by the struggle of the British proletariat and the demand for action have already led to joint activities of workers of various tendencies in many countries. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. E. U. welcomes this rapprochement between the workers of various tendencies with the object of rendering aid to the British proletariat. The most important thing of all is to secure unity of action; the most important thing is to form a strong compact, united front in order to prevent the enemies of the British and International proletariat from rendering aid to the British bourgeoisie.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. E. U. call upon all the Sections to do all in their power in order to assure unity of action. For these objects it is desirable that there be joint arrangement of meetings with representatives of other parties and

organisations, the formation of mixed committees of action, joint organisation of collections and contributions, joint organisation of guard and liaison services in ports along the whole coast for the boycott of loading and unloading of British ships, minute control over the fulfilment of decisions taken, etc. Information received from various countries goes to show that this unity of action is already an accomplished fact in many lands. It is true that in many cases there is serious resistance to this unity of action, but this resistance should be broken at all costs. All forces must be strained in order that the united front now being formed in support of the British proletariat be also preserved in the future in the interests of a successful defensive and offensive struggle of the working class.

With fraternal greetings,  
Executive Committee of Comintern.  
Executive Bureau of R. I. E. U.

Moscow, May 7th, 1926.

### Solidarity in China.

Moscow, 10th May 1926.

The leader of the Chinese People's Army, Feng Yu Hsiang who has arrived in Moscow, expressed his profoundest sympathy for the British strike movement and telegraphed an appeal to his army to begin collections of money on behalf of the strikers. If we protest against the deeds of the British in China, he says, this protest is only directed against the British imperialists, but not against the British working class, against whom the Chinese people have no hate but for whom they cherish a deep sympathy.

### The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union on the Refusal of Aid by the British General Council.

Moscow, 10th May 1926.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, after taking note of the decision of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress not to accept financial help from abroad, adopted the following decision:

"When the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union organised collections among the workers of the Soviet Union on behalf of the striking British miners, it did so from two standpoints: from the principle of the class solidarity of the workers of all countries, and from the special agreement on the united front between the British and the Russian trade unions, which was cemented by the formation of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. The working class of the Soviet Union would have failed in their duty towards the British working class if they were not first to come forward with aid for their striking fellow-workers in Great Britain.

The Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union is acting in accordance with these principles when it organised collections and sent 2½ million roubles to the striking workers in Great Britain. The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to emphasise that the working masses of the Soviet Union enthusiastically responded to the appeal for help and in several districts and factories the workers contributed larger sums than was proposed in the appeal of the Central Trade Union Council and the Central Committees of the various trade unions.

But the Central Council has learnt that the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress rejects the aid of the trade unions of the Soviet Union and that it has renounced any financial help whatever from all foreign trade unions. The General Council declared: "We have received numerous offers of financial help from abroad. But in our endeavour to convince the public that we are not pursuing any revolutionary aims, we rejected these offers just as we rejected the offer which we received from Russia."

The Central Council of the Trade Unions cannot go into the question of the refusal by the General Council of foreign help and the motives which led them to do this. But the Central Trade Union Council must reckon with this refusal of the

British General Council as a fact. As a result of this the General Council decides:

1. To receive back the sums handed over to the General Council.
2. To continue the collections on behalf of the British miners.
3. All sums collected are to be paid into a special fund for the relief of the British miners, so that this fund shall be placed at the disposal of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress or the Miners' Federation of Great Britain at the first call.

Signed: The Secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.  
Dogadov.

### Continuation of the Solidarity Action in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 10th May 1926.

The collections of money are still being continued in all parts of the Soviet Union with unabated success, not only in the factories and workshops but also in the most remote villages.

Today there appeared the first edition of the newspaper, "Fight like the Devil" (a slogan issued by the British miners), published by the League of proletarian poets. The best literary forces of the Soviet Union are contributing to this paper, the entire profits of which are to be devoted to the strike fund.

### Solidarity Action in France.

Paris, 11th May 1926.

Yesterday there took place in Havre a Conference convened by the C. G. T. U. of functionaries of miners, dockers, railway workers and of the autonomous trade unions which decided to send a message of sympathy to the British proletariat.

In the departments of Nord and Manche Control Committees have been set up. Demonstrations and meetings are taking place in all the harbours. As a result of the refusal of the dock workers in Rouen to load English steamers, the employers have had a loading machine installed which is capable of loading 15 tons per minute.

The French miners are absolutely in sympathy with the British strikers. They are demanding the strict retention of the eight hour day. The attempt of the mine owners by means of slight wage increases to break down the sympathy of the French miners has failed.

The members of the C. G. T. U. employed on the Paris "Daily Mail" have today ceased work. The members of the reformist dockers' Union are following, over the heads of their leaders, the slogans of the C. G. T. U.

### The Russian Miners to their British Colleagues.

Moscow, 12th May 1926.

The Miners' Congress of the Soviet Union which was opened today in Moscow, decided, after receipt of the news of the breaking off of the general strike and the continuation of the miners' strike in Great Britain, to send a telegram to the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain in which the miners of the Soviet Union declare their readiness to support more energetically than ever the gigantic struggle of the British miners which has become more severe.

The collections of money on behalf of the British miners are still being continued in the whole of the Soviet Union with equal success. The total sums collected are paid into the relief funds of the trade unions of the Soviet Union in order that as is known, they can be handed over to the British miners' Executive at the first request.

Moscow, 15th May 1926.

The Miners' Congress of the Soviet Union meeting in Moscow today received the following telegram from the Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, A. Cook:

"The delegation of the British Miners' Federation which was invited to your Congress was unable to leave England owing to the strike resulting from the attack on our wages. As

Secretary of the British Miners' Federation I send you in their name the heartiest fraternal greetings and the assurance of our solidarity. The energetic relief action of our brother unions abroad exceeds all expectations. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain warmly thanks the Miners of the Soviet Union, especially for the generous material relief action, which will greatly aid the British miners, to carry on their severe wages struggle. We know that the working men and women of Great Britain and of the other countries remain our allies, no matter what may happen, and this gives us new confidence in the struggle.

Signed: Arthur Cook

At the same session of the Miners' Congress of the Soviet Union the Secretary of the General Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union declared that the Trade Union Council is receiving every day reports from all parts of the Soviet Union on the splendid way in which the collections for the British miners are being carried out. Four days ago the Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union proposed to the General Council of the British Trade Unions that the latter accept the amounts collected. The influence of the Right leaders prevented the General Council from accepting the help of their brother trade unions. Nevertheless, regardless of the situation which is becoming more serious, the British miners are holding out, although they are now left to themselves. It is the duty of the workers of all countries, among them also the trade unions of the Soviet Union, to render them practical help. The Central Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union has therefore decided to hand over to the Central Committee of the Miners' Union of the Soviet Union the sum of 2,600,000 gold roubles already collected and standing at its disposal, which shall form the foundation fund for the relief action for our British brothers. As the collections of money are still being successfully continued in all districts, the relief for the British miners can extend over a longer period.

With great applause the decision was adopted to hand over the 2,600,000 gold roubles collected to the British miners and to send the following telegram to the chairman of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Herbert Smith:

"The Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union has handed over to us 2,600,000 roubles which have been collected by the workers of the Soviet Union for their British brothers. The fifth Miners' Congress of the Soviet Union has decided to hand this sum over to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. We await your reply. With fraternal greetings:

The Presidium of the Congress."

Moscow, 17th May, 1926.

The V. Congress of the Miners' Trade Union of the Soviet Union now being held in Moscow, this evening received the following telegram from Cook, the Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain:

"We have received your telegram of yesterday and express the deepest thanks to the Miners of the Soviet Union who are giving a splendid example of International Solidarity.

Please remit the money immediately in my name through the British Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank, as the need of the miners is very great."

## The E. C. C. I. and the R. I. L. U. Call for Continued Support for the British Strikers.

Moscow, 15th May 1926.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions have adopted the following decision:

"As the great strike of the miners and also the strike struggle of a number of other groups of British workers still continue, the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions call upon the working class to continue the collections of money in support of the strikers in England; the slogan of the holding up of transport of coal to England must also still be strictly carried out."

## POLITICS

### The Political Situation in Germany.

By Walter Stöcker (Berlin).

The political situation in Germany is undoubtedly becoming more and more acute. In the ranks of the working class and among the lower middle class a clear revolutionising process and a left development is to be seen, due in the first place to the severe economic crisis — the enormous army of unemployed has remained constant for almost a year — and also to the serious effects of the inflation policy on the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie. The twelve and a half million votes recorded on the occasion of the referendum for the expropriation of the princes are of the greatest significance. An increasing activity is to be seen in the ranks of the working class. The Communist Party is gaining in influence as is also — we must not deceive ourselves as to this — the social democracy by its sham opposition, especially among the petty bourgeoisie.

On the other hand there are now to be seen the serious attempts of heavy capital (for the purpose of carrying out the rationalisation programme), in common with the big agrarians, to consolidate the bloc of the big bourgeoisie against the working class, in politics and economics — a bloc which is to extend from the German Nationalists to the Centre. As a result of the attempts to set up such a policy of the big bourgeois bloc, the German Chancellor, Luther was overthrown in the last few days. But no matter how the government crisis may be solved the further development will certainly lead to the big bourgeois bloc, which in fact already last Summer carried through the taxation and customs policy of allied heavy capital and the junkers.

The fight for the re-introduction of the black-white-red (monarchist) flag, which was the ostensible reason for the overthrow of Luther, is only a symbol of this development. It is a question of the complete subjugation of the German working class, the proclamation of the absolute rule of the big bourgeoisie and the big agrarians. As, however, the attempts at monarchist restoration encounter too great a resistance, there is being pursued for the time being the policy of cold, calculated breaches of the Constitution, in order by this means to destroy piece by piece the democratic-republican Constitution and to prepare the ground for an open dictatorship against the German working masses. The notorious flag decree by the reintroduction of the black-white-red flag abroad is only a link in this chain of reactionary breaches of the Constitution. It was preceded by an unconstitutional order of Hindenburg which gives the officers of the old kaiser's army the right again to wear uniforms, by the unconstitutional decision of the Luther Cabinet to declare that the law of the referendum by the expropriation of princes involves a change in the constitution, in order by this means to place difficulties in the way of its acceptance, as now over 20 million votes must be cast for it. Further, an attempt by means of a new law to render impossible any further referendum. In addition there are constant attempts to exclude the Reichstag in the decision of important questions and to increase the power of the National Council as well as of the Reich President. Finally, there is an attempt by a new law greatly to restrict the right of the working masses to organise and to hold meetings. This tendency to undermine the Constitution is just as dangerous as an open Right putsch. That even this latter is not entirely excluded is shown by the statements of the Berlin police who confiscated and published material regarding very far-reaching preparations for such a military Right putsch. For these circles it is necessary before all to prevent a victory of the plebiscite against the former princes, which is to be held at the end of June, should twenty millions cast their votes for this, to prevent the carrying out of this law. That a victory of the plebiscite would actually lead to a severe crisis is certain. For neither the Reichs President Hindenburg nor the majority of the Provincial governments would execute such a radical expropriation against the Hohenzollerns, Wittelsbachs etc. This is the reason for the serious preparations of the monarchist reaction, as long as it is in any way possible, the influential circles of heavy industry and of the banks will naturally hold back

such a Right putsch, from such an open dictatorship, as such an attempt, in view of the mood of the German working masses, would involve results which cannot be foreseen, and under certain circumstances the fighting which would inevitably ensue might end quite contrary to the wishes of these reactionary plotters.

For the time being, therefore, a deliberate, calculated Right development is much more probable, and even the government crisis will probably not yet end with the acceptance of the German Nationalists, but, apart from the resignation of Luther, everything will probably remain as it was, but in actual fact the next government will be more to the Right.

It is clear that with such a development: tendency to consolidate the big bourgeois bloc, along with increasing activity and revolutionising of the working class, the so-called centre parties: Democrats and Centre, are involved in a serious process of disintegration. Hence the ambiguous, the vacillating role of these parties in the present crisis. The broad sections of the workers, employees and officials belonging to these two parties are demanding and insisting on a left policy, a Republican policy and for measures against the monarchists and against heavy capital. The leaders of these parties are, of course, inclined to come to an "understanding" with the big bourgeoisie. Hence the ridiculous parliamentary comedy over the flag question. It is also interesting to note that the "democratic" and "republican" ministers, Marx, Kulz, Reinhold etc. agreed to all the reactionary and monarchist decisions of the Cabinet, as a result of which great excitement prevails in the proletarian circles of these parties, particularly in the Reichsbanner (League for the Defence of the Republic) which, along with social democrats, comprises members belonging to these parties.

With the political development outlined above the C. P. of Germany is confronted by great tasks: the further formation and consolidation of a proletarian united class front. The social democracy is involved in a serious crisis. The majority of its members are more and more demanding a proletarian class policy, while the leaders are openly or secretly continuing their coalition policy with the bourgeoisie. Hence the growing proletarian opposition in the social democratic party, the demand which is finding ever clearer expression, for co-operation with the communists on the basis of a real proletarian policy. The tremendous struggle in England has had very great effects in this respect.

At what pace this development will continue to proceed it is difficult to say. This depends to a great extent upon events and upon the fighting capacity and activity of the C. P. of Germany. The intensification of the class antagonisms in Germany is, in any event, a serious symptom with which the Communists of all countries must reckon.

## The Breaking Off of Peace Negotiations with Abd el Krim.

By Rousset (Paris).

"Now at last we shall have peace!" Such were the exclamations of hope and joy with which delegates of the Riffs, who passed through the lines three weeks ago on their way to enter negotiations, were greeted by those who had undergone great sufferings in the trenches. For twenty days they heard news of the Conference. They welcomed as a happy omen the fact that the representatives of France and Spain had consented to receive Abd el Krim's envoys Azerkane, Cheddi and Haddou in Ujda.

Then, when they had already got used to the idea of peace and to the prospect of returning home to their families, there came, to their surprise, the announcement that negotiations had been broken off.

"Bad faith and lack of good will on the part of the Riffs are the only cause of the negotiations being broken off", with such words all the newspapers in the service of the imperialists of France and Spain, briefly and tersely gave their explanations on the day after the failure of negotiations.

A short review of events between the 11th and 30th of April will make it possible to indicate who was really responsible for the resumption of hostilities.

France and Spain, having suffered severe defeats on all fronts, had to consent to their plenipotentiaries entering into negotiations with those of the Riffs. They resolved to organise this cynical farce of Ujda which, should it fail, would at least serve to throw the responsibility for future fighting on the Riffs.

France and Spain had come to a complete agreement, which continued during the negotiations. The absurd conditions, the so-called preliminary conditions, which General Simon communicated to the representatives of Abd el Krim were, briefly summarized, as follows:

1. France and Spain negotiate with the envoys of the Riff tribes and not with Abd el Krim.
2. Abd el Krim must immediately leave Islamic soil.
3. The allied troops advance their present front by seven kilometers.
4. The French and Spanish prisoners are returned to the allies unconditionally.

Without giving a final answer to these "preliminary conditions", Abd el Krim's representatives pointed out that they were hard beyond the possibility of acceptance, and that it was at least unusual for those wishing to come to an agreement to determine the basis for it finally before discussion with the interested parties. Although not one of the preliminary conditions was accepted by the Riffs, negotiations were continued after Haddou had conferred with Abd el Krim.

Two weeks passed between the first meeting and the opening of the Conference of Ujda. At what stage had negotiations arrived by this time?

France and Spain had abandoned their claim to advance their armies by seven kilometers along the whole front. They made these concessions because the General Staffs of the allies had broken their word while the Riffs were discussing peace, and had had strategical points of the greatest importance occupied.

Abd el Krim was not to be banished immediately from Riff territory. France and Spain made this concession, but also in their own interests; Azerkane had pointed out that Abd el Krim's authority was paramount over the Riff tribes, and the allies feared anarchy and ill effects in the territory of Islam if the generally revered leader was driven out of Morocco.

The negotiations at Ujda were to deal with three main questions: the question of prisoners, the question of disarmament and the question of the future administration of the Riff. Azerkane and his fellow-envoys constantly made new proposals with regard to these three important points, which might have led to an agreement and to peace. All these proposals were rejected!

When the allies demanded of Abd el Krim's representatives that the Riffs should proceed to a general disarmament, Azerkane answered: "We will disarm in order to prove to you our will for peace! We wish to live on good terms with our neighbours." General Simon replied: "We however demand the right of control." And the delegates of the Riffs even consented to the appointment of controllers. Thereupon the allies put up, the claim: "But our controllers must be accompanied by a strong military escort to ward off any attack." This was demanding too much for it meant that France and Spain, under the deceitful pretext of control, would proceed to a final occupation of the Riff. In order to prove their good faith, the representatives of Abd el Krim offered to remain as hostages in the enemy camp during the process of disarmament, but they could not accept the claims of the allies. They spoke however to deaf ears!

When the delicate question of the future of the Riff and the authority of the Sultan was submitted to Azerkane, he gave the envoys of France and Spain to understand that concessions might be made in these two points. The spiritual authority of the Sultan would be recognised. The form of the administration of the Riff could be examined with the understanding of the authorities of France and Spain. This did not satisfy General Simon who gave Azerkane to understand that France and Spain intended to have the right to nominate the functionaries of the Riff State. This measure which was incompatible with the sovereignty of Abd el Krim's State, could not of course be accepted by Azerkane.

From the beginning the allies had demanded the return of all civil and military prisoners, wounded or unwounded, without reciprocity. The delegation of the Rifis immediately consented to return all the sick and disabled, with the understanding that the adults and unwounded military persons should be liberated immediately on the conclusion of peace. General Simon replied to this: "We demand all the prisoners or we shall break off negotiations." Until April 19th both delegations stuck to their positions.

On the morning of April 30th, a certain easing of the tension became evident. The representatives of Abd el Krim were informed that, if they would make concessions in the question of the prisoners, the other conditions of peace might be moderated. Azerkane answered: "We will return fifty sound prisoners." And the delegates of the Rif waited for an invitation to hear the new, less severe conditions of General Simon.

On this memorable day, April 30th, the telegraph lines which connect Paris with Ujda, Ujda with Madrid and Madrid with Paris, transmitted an unusual number of code messages. The imperialists of France and Spain, the Banks and Ministries, the General Staffs were playing their last hand. Instructions were given to remain unyielding, to make no concessions.

The same day towards midnight, the delegates of the Rif were suddenly called to the scene of the Conference and were told that "the receipt of their concessions in the question of the prisoners was acknowledged but that they were no reason for a further moderation of the terms of peace already offered."

Azerkane, who was profoundly disturbed by this unexpected answer, was permitted to have a last consultation with Abd el Krim. When Azerkane left Ujda the next morning, he stated to the Press representatives: "It is all over, they do not want peace here!"

When the delegation of the Rifis returned to Ujda on May 8th, it was only with the purpose of communicating the complete agreement between themselves and Abd el Krim and to renew the final concessions made on May 1st. But they were not even heard. General Simon, obeying the instructions of the Banks and Governments of France and Spain, declared that it was inevitable that negotiations should be broken off, and dismissed the Rif delegation.

## The Murder of Comrade Riisman in Reval and the Development in Esthonia.

By J. Anaschyn.

The Esthonian we apologise for calling it so — Government, has once again shown that it is not for nothing that broad strata of the workers and peasants always refer to it as the government of bloodhounds and rogues.

At a late hour on the evening of April 20th, the secret police of Reval arrested Comrade Riisman in the street when he was talking to Abramson, the leader of the legal Labour party. It is difficult to understand what danger to the "most democratic of all Republics" was involved in this discussion which apparently concerned the approaching parliamentary elections. It is, however, a fact that the meeting place of Comrades Riisman and Abramson was surrounded by a large number of police, and that both were arrested. The next day, Comrade Riisman who, according to the assertions of the secret police, had worked "as an agent of the Esthonian section of the Comintern with the object of overthrowing the independence of Esthonia", was handed over to a court martial, sentenced to death and shot immediately.

To the uninitiated it might seem that a verdict of this kind must be due to some extraordinary circumstances, or that this act must be one of the final cords of the "liquidation" of the participants in the armed insurrection of December 1924. But this is not the case; even according to the testimony of the bourgeois papers, those lackeys of the secret police, Comrade Riisman neither took part in the insurrection of 1924 nor in the preparations for it, because at that time he had only just returned to Esthonia. Neither had Comrade Riisman, as it might seem, done anything previously which deserves a death sentence, not even according to the laws of a Democratic Republic. The

reason why the secret police had searched for Comrade Riisman even in 1921, was because he had been elected by the agricultural labourers and peasants as their representative in the Reval Provincial Council, and that all proletarian delegates had been declared traitors to their fatherland.

Comrade Riisman made no resistance when he was arrested and was not even armed. According to the papers, the only things found on him were "correspondence with Communist leaders, a manifesto for the first of May, two copying ribbons, a bottle of printer's ink, new books containing communist matter, a note book, a few cartridges and two keys". Not even the lawyers of Democratic Esthonia who are absolutely lacking in conscience and are the most servile lickspittles of the secret police would dare to maintain that any one of these objects was an "instrument of murder", or that, taken altogether, they formed a sufficient pretext for handing over Comrade Riisman to a court martial and then having him executed.

According to the laws, the worst that threatened Comrade Riisman from an ordinary court, was penal servitude, about the same punishment which was usually inflicted for similar "crimes" by the Czarist courts. Since the time of the civil war in 1919 and 1920 however, the Esthonian large peasants and tradesmen have thrown themselves zealously into the annihilation of Communism, which in practice implies the condemnation to penal servitude (in 1919 and 1920 or banishment to Soviet Russia) of any proletarian who is in any way an active Communist and the physical destruction of illegal Communists. In 1922 Comrade Kingisepp, the leader of the Esthonian proletariat was killed by verdict of the court martial, in 1923 Comrade Kreuks, the eminent party worker, was assassinated, in 1924 Comrade Tomp and in 1925 Comrade Heidemann were killed by verdict of the court martial. In the course of this year, quite a number of less well-known workers of the Communist party have been tortured to death and shot by the secret police; not to mention the victims in the days of the civil war of 1919 and 1920 and at the time of the December insurrection in 1924.

In the course of the seven to eight years of the existence of this tiny "independent" Republic (1,100,000 inhabitants) no less than 2000-3000 persons have been sentenced by the ordinary courts. At the present moment there are about 800 political prisoners. The ordinary court martial, however, (after the nature of the district courts martial of Czarist times) does not guarantee to the Democratic "bourgeois socialist" Government proceedings which are quick enough to prevent the interference or even warning on the part of the proletariat. The Esthonian executioners are firmly determined to place before the workers an irrevocable fact in any case in which they have to deal with a Communist of any reputation. As a rule, the arrest of one of these Communist proletarians is only made known, when he has already been shot.

In spite of its court martials, torture chambers and exiles to Siberia with penal servitude, the Czarist government did not succeed in escaping revolution. There are, however, no historical laws for the bourgeoisie. The Esthonian statesmen are trying in their own way to accelerate the annihilation of the revolutionary proletariat. Old Czarist bureaucrats from the secret police and the Ministry of Justice are entrusted with this work. The result, however, is exactly the opposite of what was intended. The proletariat cannot be intimidated. In the place of every victim, new young forces spring up from the midst of the working class and the small peasantry who valiantly continue the fight for the liberation of their class. Only last year, the bourgeoisie rejoiced over the "complete liquidation of the communist movement".

This consolation did not last long. According to the testimony of the bourgeois Press, the distribution of communist pamphlets and verbal propaganda "hostile to the State", has become a daily event, and that at the most vulnerable point of the bourgeoisie, among the military. The recent split in Social Democracy and the "Left" Labour party (which by the bye was not organised by the Communist party at all, as the secret police now maintain), all election meetings which are held by the Mensheviks and which turn into demonstrations against them, all these show that the "Republic", which is condemned to perish economically, cannot be saved by death sentences being passed on the best proletarians. Sooner or later the proletariat and the poor of the vilages will wring the neck of such "saviours of their country".

## ECONOMICS

### The Regulation of France's Debts to the United States.

By J. Duplex (Paris).

Some days ago an agreement was arrived at between the French envoy, Henry Berenger, and the Debt Commission of the United States covering the regulation of France's debts to the United States.

First of all in the negotiations the nominal sum of France's debts, representing the capital debt and the interest upon it which has accumulated up to the present, was fixed at 2025 million dollars instead of 4377 million dollars. But the 62 yearly payments, which cover the above debt and range from 30 million dollars for the years 1926 and 1927 up to 125 million dollars from the year 1942 to the year 1987, will make a grand total of 6847 million dollars which France has to pay in the years 1926 to 1987, inclusive of interest which will figure at about 1.16% during the first ten years, 2.85% during the succeeding ten years and slightly over 3.50% during the remaining years until the 62 payments have been made.

The new agreement arrived at by Berenger contains conditions more severe than those proposed by Caillaux. The sum payable is greater by 625 million dollars, the average yearly payment is advanced from 91 million to 110 million dollars and the maximum annual payment is raised from 100 million dollars to 125 millions.

The only advantage which the French Government has gained in this agreement is that the 407 million dollars, representing the value of the American supplies left behind in France, which was to have been completely liquidated in the year 1929, has been included in the grand total. There can be no doubt that such an annual payment would have had a fatal effect upon the exchange-rate of the franc and would have endangered the stabilisation which is at present being effected.

Concerning the maximum annual payment of 125 million dollars which is to be made as from the year 1942, this amounts to the half of the annual payment reserved for France out of Germany's payment in accordance with the Dawes Plan. From reports received up to the present it appears that the question of the payments to which France is liable under the agreement now made with the United States is in no way dependent upon the annual payments due from Germany in accordance with the Dawes Plan. The protective clause about which Caillaux was so insistent would have had the effect making France's payments more or less dependent upon the receipt of payments from Germany.

When it is considered that the annual sum payable by France to Great Britain towards the year 1942 is practically equal to that to be paid to the United States, it will be seen that France's portion of the payments from Germany during this period will be almost entirely absorbed by the dues required by the United States and Great Britain; then there remains the question whether Germany will pay at all.

From the view-point of the New York financiers the agreement between France and the United States represents in principle the first stage of France's enslavement by the Anglo-Saxon bankers. It matters little whether or not the French State fulfils its obligations, the important thing is that these obligations have been assumed. From now on, the American bankers are prepared to advance to the French Government the sums necessary to meet the annual payments, subject, of course, to certain conditions highly favourable to the interests of these gentlemen but for which the people of France will have to bear the cost.

Then there will come the question of stabilisation in which American bankers and industrialists are deeply interested. They have already participated in the stabilisation of the pound sterling in Great Britain and that of the mark in Germany, and they put forward their own terms for these services which have had such disastrous effects for the proletariat in Germany, whilst the workers of Great Britain are just now engaged in a fight to ward off the worst consequences of this stabilisation.

Belgium entertained a hope of stabilising its franc upon fairly favourable conditions, but the obstinacy of the New York and London financiers was such that more than 100 million dol-

lars had to be sacrificed by the Belgian Government. In the face of a serious fall in the value of the Belgian franc this Government is learning what it costs to try to resist the gold merchants on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is France's turn next to be subjected to conditions imposed by the financiers, and the excessively rapid decline in the value of the franc which has taken place recently is due chiefly to the coercive measures brought to bear upon the rulers of France by the gentlemen of Wall Street.

At the same time another significant point is to be observed: Benjamin Strong, President of the Federal Reserve Board of New York, the most powerful financial institute in the world, is at present in Europe and is shortly to meet the managers of the Banque de France (and, without doubt, the leaders of the Government, too), for the purpose of arranging a guarantee on the part of the Federal Reserve Board and the Bank of England in support of the credit of the Banque de France with a view of stabilising the franc.

The French statesmen will naturally be compelled to accept the conditions offered by the financiers from London and New York, and recent happenings in Germany, Great Britain and Belgium may be expected to repeat themselves in France.

The first necessity will be that France must reduce her standard of living, which means that still heavier burdens will have to be borne by the mass of consumers and particularly by the workers and peasants who always have to stand the consequences of these stabilisation operations which are carried out in their entirety for the profit of the capitalists.

Such is the aim of the Wall Street magnates with their stabilisation plans and it may be expected that they will find willing helpers among the rulers and capitalists in this country ready to employ legal and other methods to reach this objective.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Two Trade Union Congresses in South Africa.

By James Shields (Johannesburg).

During the month of April two trade union congresses of South African workers were held in Johannesburg. The first was that of the white trade unions, known by the name of the S. A. Trade Union Congress, and the second the annual conference of the black workers union, known as the I. C. U. (Industrial & Commercial Workers Union).

Without a doubt the conference of black workers was the most important, for it served to show the rapid development of native organisation and its approach towards a militant class conscious outlook. The congress of white trade unions was also important in its way, particularly so this year when it is considered that there was to be seen for the first time, a distinct change in the outlook of the majority of the delegates with regard to the question of the blacks.

Apart from this point however, both congresses presented a remarkable contrast to each other, for whereas the one (S. A. T. U. C.) showed a woeful confusion on many vital trade union matters and the existence of many racial prejudices, the other (I. C. U.) was a striking example of how a body of comparatively young trade unionists, in the midst of an acute racial atmosphere, can square up to the realities of capitalist exploitation.

A brief summary of both will serve to show how matters stand at the moment in the trade union field in S. Africa.

The S. A. Trade Union Congress opened proceedings on April 2nd, with approximately forty delegates present representing 20,000 workers. During the first day the time was devoted to the ratification of a new constitution drawn up by the Executive Council, and nothing of importance marked the course of affairs with the exception of a heated argument amongst the delegates as to whether the word "workers" or "employees" should be the term of reference with regard to the membership. Most of those present evidently thought that such a word as "workers" was liable to frighten away such organisations as Bank Clerks, Municipal Employees, etc., and so the term "employees" was ultimately adopted. On the second day, business opened with an address from C. F. Andrews, Ex-president of the All India Trade Union Congress, who appealed

for co-operation between S. A. Labour and Indian Labour to defeat the Pact Government's Anti-Asiatic Bill. From the remarks which the speaker made about trade unionism in India, one was led to the conclusion that he had been extremely active on behalf of the Indian workers. This seemed very surprising in view of the fact that not once did he interest himself or even remark about the lot of the Indian labourers on the sugar plantations etc., in Natal, during the course of his S. African Visit.

There was no discussion on his address, and one could see that the assembled delegates did not feel any too friendly towards him, probably due to his ignoring the trade unions until practically the last moment.

Almost immediately after this, the granting of a regular donation to the W. I. R. was raised, and though a considerable amount of opinion was expressed in its favour, a hazy motion to the effect that a S. A. organisation for relief purposes be set up with power to donate, was carried.

Then followed the most important feature of the whole congress, viz., a discussion on the native workers. In this connection a resolution was passed with only one dissent, which declared that the demand of the native workers for increased wages was a very reasonable and modest demand. Several delegates pointed out that everything possible must be done to assist the native workers to raise their wage level, and the whole congress was unanimous in condemning the Government for interfering with the activities of the I. C. U. organiser.

It was indeed surprising to hear one-time reactionary elements state that the boss class was only attempting to play one section off against the other, and urging the giving of complete freedom to the black trade union movement. On other matters, however, one frequently heard some of these same delegates describing the strike weapon as being obsolete and extolling round table conferences with the masters. Most of the delegates present disagreed with this viewpoint, but nevertheless a motion to end the present Industrial Conciliation Act was referred to next Congress. The only other important items were a decision to convene an Africo-Indian Labour Conference during the current year, and the stand taken on International Affiliation. In connection with the latter, it was unanimously agreed "that the congress do not affiliate to either of the existing Internationals, but associate itself with the unity campaign of the British T. U. C. in its efforts to bring about one united trade union International, which efforts were being impeded by Amsterdam".

The whole congress was full of contradictory aspects, and lacked that breath of class struggle that one would expect to find at such a gathering.

How vivid and striking was the contrast shown by the black workers congress. It lasted for a full week, April 5th to 12th., and its 75 delegates representing 40,000 workers, were typical of the new rising spirit which is beginning to permeate the minds of the vilely down-trodden black proletariat. About 200 enthusiastic spectators filled the hall each day during the debates and listened with close attention to the various problems discussed.

In a rousing speech the National Secretary outlined the work of the past year and stressed their objective as being the achievement of labour solidarity and the waging of the fight against the parasitical employing class for its complete overthrow. It was the same throughout the whole of the proceedings when dealing with such items as Segregation, Colour Bar Bill, Wage Demands, etc., the class character of the struggle being continually stressed and muddle headed racial prejudice left out of the picture entirely.

Several delegates eagerly pressed for immediate action being taken, but the conference as a whole decided to continue strengthening and consolidating the organisation more thoroughly whilst still pressing for the immediate demands of the workers.

When the Colour Bar Bill was discussed an unanimous condemnation was registered against this measure, "because it divides one section of workers from another by a racial barrier, and distracts the minds of the workers from the all-important struggle of their class against the common enemy, the exploiting capitalist". The same sentiment was voiced by the resolution on Hertzog's Segregation Policy. This resolution declared that segregation was designed to safeguard the present system of exploitation, and went on to say that "the African worker considers himself a part of the international proletariat fighting for the workers, and will not tolerate any measure intended to bring

about separation from other workers fighting for the same cause".

That the majority of the delegates present realised the economic character of their struggle was obvious from the numerous speeches delivered outlining the vicious exploitation that was being undergone in factory, mine, and workshop. The horrors of the recruiting system, the oppressive tyranny of the bosses, and many other evils were laid bare with telling emphasis which made a deep impression on all who heard.

Then came the unrolling of a banner during one of the sessions, emblazoned with the words — workers of the world unite — and this acted as the immediate signal for vociferous applause from all present. That this reference to the international aspect of the workers struggle was no mere pious gesture can be easily judged by the decision taken to get into touch with the British T. U. C. with a view to linking up with the workers of other countries. A further addendum added to this resolution which suggests ultimate presentation of the native workers position to the League of Nations, demonstrated the imperative need for supplying greater clarity amongst the native workers on international affairs, and making them acquainted with the nature and character of this robber clique.

A startling contrast to the white T. U. C. was presented by the attitude taken up on trade unionism and politics. Whereas the "No politics in the union" phrase was often reiterated by the white trade unionists, the native workers insisted on the speedy formation of a Political Bureau to keep the union informed on political oppression.

One of the concluding decisions was a recommendation to the E. C. to concentrate on organising the mass of native mine workers who form the most important section of the native working class. This recommendation is certain to receive proper attention now that it has also been decided to shift the headquarters of the organisation from Cape Town to Johannesburg, the centre of the mining district.

The conference throughout was a real inspiring force which demonstrated the rapid growth of class consciousness amongst the native workers. It was easily the most important event that has ever been held in the annals of S. African trade unionism and presages great things for the future. If only half the same degree of progress manifested itself in the white trade union ranks, the accomplishment of one united trade union movement for all South African workers would be brought to a speedy realisation.

## MAY DAY

### The E. C. C. I. on the Bloody Events in Warsaw on May Day.

To all Workers.

It is with great sorrow that we have learned of the many victims resulting from the May Day celebrations in Poland. Seven killed and hundreds wounded — such is the result of the sanguinary attack of the hirelings and lackeys of the bourgeoisie on the revolutionary vanguard of the Polish proletariat.

We are full of admiration for the heroism of the Warsaw workers, who although unarmed, resisted the savage attack of the P. P. S. bands and under a perfect hail of blows continued their demonstrative procession.

The workers of all countries will brand the shameful role played by the P. P. S. which, together with the police and the fascists, attacked the workers marching under the banners of the Communist Party of Poland. We are convinced that the P. P. S. rank and file will also condemn the ignominious acts of these bands and will rather join the united front against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction for the establishment of the workers and peasants government than join in a fratricidal struggle of the working class. Let the blood spilt by the miscreants hasten the split between the workers and the opportunist leaders and let it strengthen the revolutionary unity of the proletariat.

Honour to those who fell, struck down by the social traitors on May Day in Poland!  
Shame on the assassins who spilt workers' blood in the streets of Warsaw!

Fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of Poland!  
Executive Committee  
of the Communist International.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Appeal of the Young Communist League of Greece to the Young Proletarians of the Whole World.

Comrades,

Bloody terror holds sway in our country. The Dictator Pangalos who tries to smother every protest of the young workers against their exploitation, who tries to stop the struggles of the young for bread, has started cruel prosecutions. The misery among the youth of our country is unprecedented. Beginning at the age of 6-7 years, they work for 10-15 hours a day for a wage of 4-15 drachmas. Hunger and tuberculosis are exterminating the young workers. The State however, that faithful lackey of capital, is arresting young workers, peasants and intellectuals wholesale, merely because they are guilty of the crime of working in trade unions or belonging to Young Communist Leagues.

The young comrades who are arrested are tortured mercilessly in order to intimidate them and to make them confess things which would put them in a position of guilt.

In Athens, Comrade Zikas, a 17 year old shoemaker's assistant, was lashed in the face and on his body; a revolver was pointed at his forehead in order to force him to speak. Wlahos, a 19 year old student and State employee was tortured until he lost consciousness. The 16 year old newspaper employee Sklavena, the student Ipsilantis, the 15 year old worker Papadatos, the student Kostantinides, the 16 year old schoolboy Iliadis, the printer Zarinis and several others were cruelly tortured. They are kept in confinement and we do not even know what has happened to them. In the whole of Greece, in Salonika, Larissa, Patras, in the Piraeus, Thrace such deeds which are only worthy of the middle ages occur repeatedly. In the prisons, young persons condemned to 15 years' imprisonment are working out their sentences in association with common criminals.

Any form of material or legal help is forbidden. The Red Aid is almost illegal. Young workers are in banishment on the desert islands of the Aegean Sea.

Comrades,

Raise your voices in protest against the deeds of the criminal dictatorship of Pangalos! Zankoff fell as a result of the united front of the Bulgarian and international proletariat. Support the working masses of our country so that they may succeed in getting rid of Pangalos the tyrant and bloodhound.

Young Comrades of France,

You, who support the colonial peoples in their freedom movement by your heroic fights, you who, with courageous voice called to the imperialist State of your plutocracy: "Down with the Morocco war!", help the enslaved and semi-colonised people of Greece in its desperate fight against the White Terror of a tyrant who is a tool of the imperialism of Great Britain and France. Cry: "Down with the blood-stained tyrant Pangalos and his accomplices!"

Young Comrades of Great Britain,

The government of your plutocracy is an inciter and accomplice of Pangalos' crimes. The Ambassador of Great Britain and Pangalos together are organising the torturing of the working class. Protest against it with all your might!

Young workers of the whole world,

In a few days, a trial will take place; a verdict is to be passed on several juvenile and adult comrades, amongst them Maximos and Puliopoulos, the two secretaries of the C. P. of Greece. Pangalos' dictatorship and the Embassies of France and Great Britain have decided to have these two comrades shot. Shame on bourgeois justice! The farce of a trial is crowned by a pre-determined resolution. Take action against this new crime which is being planned!

Comrades,

The young workers of Greece who are being tortured await your help!

Down with the White Terror! Down with the tyrant Pangalos!

Long live the young proletarians of the whole world!

The Central Committee  
of the Young Communists' League of Greece.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Results of the VI. Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

(Report delivered to the Functionaries of the Moscow Organisation of the C. P. S. U.)

By G. Zinoviev.

#### The Development of the Communist International and our Revolution.

The Meeting of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, which lasted for nearly a month, had almost the significance of a world congress. The year which had elapsed between the last meeting of the Enlarged Executive and the previous one was full of events of the utmost importance.

The situation was somewhat strained when the Enlarged Executive met. We have no reason to conceal from ourselves the fact that the Comintern has passed through difficult times during the last year. A number of the most important sections passed through severe crises in the summer of last year. We need only refer to the C. P. of Germany. The crisis was so severe, that some comrades who regard the work of the Comintern somewhat critically, began to believe that the C. P. of Germany was suffering from a disease which might be of long duration or even fatal. Not only the German section however, but others as well were at the same time in a rather difficult situation. The most important thing is (we will not blind ourselves to this either) that the events in our Party could not but have an effect on the International.

It is not necessary to say that the bourgeoisie and social democracy had prophesied extremely severe crises for the Conference of the Enlarged Executive. We have heard similar prophesies before every single congress of the Comintern, but this time they sounded particularly ominous.

We know that our Party plays a leading part in the Comintern, has, so to speak, the hegemony. In this article "The III. International and its Place in History", Lenin wrote as follows:

"England has given us the example of a country in which, as Engels says, the bourgeoisie has created, in common with the aristocracy, the upper stratum of the proletariat which has become most bourgeois. This advanced capitalist country was several decades behind with regard to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. France has, as it were, exhausted the forces of the proletariat in two heroic revolutions of the working class against the bourgeoisie in 1848 and 1871, which in a historical sense were of the greatest value. In the seventies of the 19th century when Germany was economically behind both England and France, the leadership in the international labour movement passed into the hands of Germany. When, however, Germany had outdistanced both these countries economically, i. e. towards the second decade of the 20th century, we find at the head of the universally model, Marxist Labour party of Germany, a group of arch-scoundrels, the vilest rabble imaginable, who had sold themselves to capitalism, from Scheidemann and Noske to David and Legien, the most loathsome executioners of the working class in the service of the monarchy and of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

History is proceeding steadily towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but its path is by no means a smooth, simple, straight one...

At times — of course only for short periods — the hegemony in the revolutionary proletarian International passed over to the Russians as, at different periods in the 19th century, it was in the hands of the English and then of the Germans."

Thus, Lenin was of the opinion that the leadership, the hegemony in the Communist International would pass into the hands of the Russians, of our Party — as he hoped — a short time. In other words he thought that after the victory of the proletarian revolution in a number of countries, which boast of a much larger proletariat than we do, the exclusive leadership of our Party in the Communist International would come to an end

and our Party would only remain one of the influential sections of the Communist International. Unfortunately time has shown that the fate of the Communist International is closely bound up with the course of the revolution in our country, not for a short, but for a fairly long time, for the simple reason that so far the proletariat in other countries has not won any decisive victories.

The spiritual hegemony of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in the Communist International is based on the victorious proletarian dictatorship which has now been in existence for almost a decade. Our Party, which was created by Lenin, has understood how to take up an impregnable proletarian attitude in the questions of the International; and it will not abandon this point of view.

This circumstance places our Party, places each of us, under the obligation of fulfilling our duty towards the International with the greatest conscientiousness since — I repeat it — our Party is now the leading group in the Communist International.

The development of the Comintern has so far, in essentials, run on parallel lines with the development of our revolution. Almost every turn in the history of our revolution has been linked with a more or less similar turn in the development of the Communist International. The proletarian revolution in the first victorious country inevitably becomes the axis round which events in the international proletarian movement revolve. It is interesting to sketch, if only in a few bold lines, the significance of the past World Congresses of the Communist International from this point of view; each of them has been a kind of historical milestone and has been closely bound up with some stage or other of our own revolution.

Seven years have passed since the foundation of the Communist International. The congress at which the Communist International was founded in 1919, coincided with the most furious battles on the front of the civil war in our country. This first Congress could only declare the fundamental principles of the Communist International, could only lay the foundation stone for the organisation of the Communist International.

The 2nd Congress took place in 1920 and coincided with the culminating point of the assault of our Red army against Warsaw. It was the time when it seemed as though our revolution would soon exceed the boundaries of one country and would make a way for itself through Poland to the West.

The 3rd Congress of 1921 has preserved its particularly great significance until to-day. It took place in the Spring of 1921, shortly after Kronstadt, shortly after the introduction of the new economic policy. For this reason, the 3rd Congress of the Communist International has at least no less, possibly even more significance for the international proletariat than our 10th Party Congress (at which the principles of the new economic policy were determined) has for the C. P. S. U.

The chief resolutions of the 3rd World Congress and Lenin's speeches at that Congress are of great significance for the programme of the whole Communist International even in our days. Thus, in my opinion, Lenin's book "On Taxation in Kind" represents the chief work of the C. P. S. U. for a whole period of the new economic policy, and is of decisive significance for the programme of our Party.

The 3rd Congress is one of the most important in the second half of the existence of the Comintern up to the present, at least in the period which coincides with a certain slackening of the proletarian world revolution and with the transition to a new economic policy in our own country.

At the 3rd Congress, Lenin saw more clearly than anyone else that the world revolution would inevitably slow down, he saw that the Comintern would have to change its tactics, as it was faced by a period of slow, gradual conquest of the masses. Lenin's tactics for this period, the tactics which will determine the work of the Comintern for a number of years to come, until the moment when events will assume a tempestuous character and will develop at a much more rapid rate, have been laid down in a series of resolutions of the 3rd Congress.

The 4th and 5th Congresses finally continued to work out the fundamental principles of the 3rd Congress. They set themselves the task of resisting the attack on the Leninist line of action of the Comintern and of doing away with both the Right and the ultra-Left deviations. These deviations, which are as like as a pair of twins, prevented the fundamental line of action which had been laid down by the 3rd Congress, being carried through, and became stronger at the moment when a decline of the revolutionary wave made itself felt after 1921.

The last Enlarged Executive which, as I have said, had the significance of a Congress, had to continue building on the same base. The resolutions and declarations of the 3rd Congress form the point of issue for its work. Several years, if it is true, have passed since this Congress. To-day we see many things much more clearly. In several countries we have a much firmer foothold. Nevertheless the fundamental statements, the fundamental principles of the 3rd World Congress, at which it became clear that Russia must be guided into the path of the new economic policy and that the international revolution would develop more slowly than we had expected, are absolutely right and even to-day determine the lines taken by the Communist International.

### I. The Situation in the Capitalist Camp.

#### The Part Played by America and her Trade Unions.

In the above quotation as to the leading part played by our Party in the International, Lenin points out that there was a time when Great Britain, that advanced capitalist country, was several years behindhand with regard to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. This time is fortunately a thing of the past for Great Britain. The English bourgeoisie is losing its position of monopoly in the world market. It no longer has at its disposal those gigantic surplus profits, thanks to which it was able to purchase an important section of the aristocracy of Labour; the English aristocracy of Labour is diminishing in numbers and is losing its significance in the Labour movement. This also explains the turn of affairs in the English labour movement which we have observed recently.

At the present moment the opposite pole for us is no longer the English but the American labour movement. If at the last Enlarged Executive so much attention was for the first time devoted to America as a whole and to the American labour movement in particular, it was because for the first time it had become completely clear that the most reactionary part of the international working class consists at present of the leaders, not of the English, but of the American labour movement.

This new situation did not arise all of a sudden. I would remind you that Lenin in his famous "Letter to the American Workers" at the beginning of our revolution, wrote as follows:

"We are well aware, Comrades, American workers, that help from you will perhaps not reach us so soon, for the development of the revolution in different countries takes various forms and occurs with varying rapidity (and how could it be otherwise!). We are quite conscious that we shall have to wait for more than a few weeks for the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution, rapidly as it has matured in recent times..."

In other words, he thus admitted that this help might nevertheless come in the near future. It seemed so evident at that time that the wheel of history was on the move and was turning rapidly.

To-day the situation is thoroughly cleared up; American capitalism has, in recent times, consolidated its power much more than England had succeeded in doing in past times. Therefore, we see that to-day the hostile opposite pole does not consist of the leaders of the English labour movement, but of the leaders of the American labour movement who are undoubtedly much more conservative. This is an extremely important fact with which we shall have to reckon in the coming period.

In the coming months and years we shall, of course, have to devote considerably more attention to the events which are happening near us in Europe, but if we want to obtain wider prospects, if we wish to include in our circle of vision those struggles which will finally determine the fate of the proletarian revolution, we see without doubt that the arch-enemy, the chief obstacle on the path to the world victory of the communist movement is at present the reactionary upper stratum of the American labour movement.

This is why, at this session of the Enlarged Executive, we had to devote so much attention to America and the attempts to "Americanise" the labour movement, these attempts which are now growing stronger everywhere. Just as our Soviet Russia is to-day the centre of support for the struggle for Communism in the whole world, America and American Reformism are the centre of the agitation against Communism for the whole international Social Democracy, for the whole international Menshevism.

Just as the Communists the non-party workers who sympathise with us and even the best Social Democratic workers proclaim and popularize our success, the success of our Soviet construction, the Social Democratic leaders do the same for American bourgeois institutions, for the conservative mode of living, the reformist methods etc. of the upper stratum of the American labour movement. The simple workers of all countries collect their pennies in order to send delegations to us who may get to know the great construction in the Soviet Union. The Social Democratic leaders however send delegation after delegation to America, where flourish the methods of the disintegration of the labour movement, which are dear to their hearts. The German trade unions have already sent two such delegations to America.

The present upper stratum in America differs in many respects from the "Fabian" upper stratum in England.

In England at one time, an ideological upper stratum, consisting mainly of intellectuals, developed on the basis of a wide Reformist movement. It is sufficient for instance to mention the well-known Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the historians of English trade unionism. The "Fabian Society" consists of writers with typical Menshevist views and other members of the intelligentsia. The upper stratum of the Independent Labour Party in England, which for a time was led by MacDonald (he is now losing his influence) also consists mainly of intellectuals.

The latter is Reformist to the core, permeated by petty bourgeois conceptions of morals, by a semi-religious attitude of mind etc. In America on the other hand we see quite different phenomena. There we see a movement led by a school which is far from being Fabian, far from being religious. In that country we are opposed by leaders who exhibit a wild hostility to Communism, who are no longer "philosophers", but business men, who have much more resemblance to Fascists and are ready to use any weapon in the fight against us.

At the Enlarged Executive we quoted a number of documents, which confirm these statements, for instance the resolution of the last congress of the American Federation of Labour (A. F. L.) on the question of recognising the Soviet Union.

This ideology arises naturally from definite economic conditions. I have already briefly referred to them. The privileged position which was once held by England, is now even more characteristic of American capitalism. There can of course be no question of even the rich American bourgeoisie buying about 40 million American workers and creating for them a satisfactory existence within the capitalist order. But the American bourgeoisie which has enriched itself extraordinarily through war profits and which even now is living in a "gold inflation", the extremely rich bourgeoisie of America, can of course create a privileged position for the aristocracy of labour, for the upper stratum, and is thus making it the tool of its own class policy.

Only the upper stratum of the working masses is organised in the American Federation of Labour. It at present embraces about 4 million workers; its membership has slightly declined in recent times. Of these 4 millions, more than one million belong to the highest categories of workers and employees, i. e. to the aristocracy of labour. These aristocrats of labour actually live under good conditions. They earn good money, they have houses containing 6 and 7 rooms, during their holiday they can travel about America in automobiles, they live actually like bourgeois. These people form a group which is interested in the flourishing of American imperialism. It is on this soil that in America the type of the so-called "Company Unions" has arisen. These are "trade unions" in which capitalists and workers have "equal" rights of membership. The so-called Labour banks have sprung from the same soil. A system prevails there, according to which the workers invest their savings as shareholders in the undertaking of their own employer. At the Enlarged Executive we quoted a number of examples showing how the American capitalists and their servants in the American Federation of Labour attempt — and not without success — to catch a considerable number of the working class, the aristocracy of labour, with this bait.

This American Reformism, which closely resembles Fascism and which becomes more and more Fascist in shade as the class war develops, this American Reformism has set itself for the present the task of getting hold not only of the United States, but of developing a pan-American movement, i. e. of taking in tow as well the labour movement of Central and South America.

This Fascist Reformism however is already being exported to Europe. The American bourgeoisie exports much capital to Europe, and the American Federation of Labour is beginning gradually to export its "wares" not only to South America but also to Europe. European Social Democracy, above all that of Germany, is in this respect playing the part of commercial traveller. In the German, nay even in the French labour movement, we already see a bad imitation of the American methods of disintegrating the working class. They oppose our slogan of "Bolshevism" with the slogan of "Americanisation", our slogan of "Leninism" with that of "Americanism". In Germany there are already so-called labour banks. The Social Democratic leaders glorify the American Federation of Labour and advise the workers in all countries to follow in the same path.

For this reason our International, which does not wish to be a mere European International but is becoming more and more a World International, was obliged, at its Enlarged Executive, to devote more attention to the opposite pole of the international labour movement, to America, where Menshevism is amalgamating with Fascism.

#### The "Stabilisation of Capitalism".

The first question which had to be answered by our Conference was the well-known question of the stabilisation of capitalism. This International had, first of all, by all available means, to analyse the situation in each of the great capitalist States, to throw light into every important corner of capitalist Europe; it had of course also to get to know the situation in America, to study carefully the course of events in the East and then to contrast the present condition of capitalism with the growth of the economic construction of our Soviet Union. This exact analysis was intended to make it possible for us to determine at what stage the struggle of the international working class against capitalism has at present arrived.

It is a well-known fact that at the previous Enlarged Executive, which took place a year ago, we had recognised a "stabilisation" of capitalism. At that time, this diagnosis caused a certain confusion in our own circles, both in the Soviet Union and in other countries. Our opponents attempted to interpret our statement in such a way as though the Communist International had — like the whole Menshevist camp — recognised that capitalism had entered on a new period of prosperity, on a new period of boom and of organic progress. This of course was not the case. The year which has passed since the establishment of this diagnosis shows that our diagnosis was correct. The present Executive has stated that the period of the decline of capitalism is continuing but that within this period, transient, partial improvements are possible. In 1925 we recognised an improvement of this kind, a stabilisation of capitalism.

In the beginning of 1926, the Communist International, after a thorough analysis of the situation in all the important capitalist countries, came to the conclusion that capitalist Europe is again passing through a whole series of new difficulties, new crises. In Great Britain there is predominantly an industrial crisis, in France a financial crisis, in Germany a peculiar crisis which is complicated by the commencement of the carrying out the Dawes plan, and which is characterised by extreme unemployment, in Poland there is an almost complete catastrophe, in Austria a crisis etc.

For this reason the Communist International is absolutely in the right if this time it does not so much emphasise the noun "stabilisation", as the adjective "transient". The last Enlarged Executive has once more recognised the fact there actually is a certain stabilisation within the epoch of the process of decay of capitalism, but it has emphasised more clearly and sharply than last year that this stabilisation is only transient, that the collapse of the foundations of capitalism is continuing, that there are critical symptoms in a number of countries and even more, that for the first time since the war we see that the crises are, so to speak, forming one front, since crises are maturing simultaneously in England, France and Germany, i. e. in the three most important countries of Europe. This is why the Enlarged Executive spoke this time not simply of a relative, transient stabilisation of capitalism, but described it as unstable and tottering.

We expressed our estimate of the world situation in the following words:

1. Capitalism has gained in strength in America and in several other countries across the ocean.

We will not repeat what has already been said on the subject and what is a matter of common knowledge. I will only add that in the week after the plenum came to an end, in America there appeared the first signs of an approaching crisis. It is not of course a question of a revolutionary crisis, of a crisis which will finally undermine the power of American capital. Of this there can be no doubt. In America one of the so-called "normal" crises of full-blooded capitalism is maturing. But, needless to say, in the present epoch of capitalist decadence, in the epoch of the decay of capitalism, each of these crises weakens the forces of capitalism which in any case are already undermined.

The other points of our analysis are as follows:

2. In the second half of 1925 the economic crisis became more acute in all the most important capitalist countries of Europe.

3. An enormous growth of the concentration of the means of production in the hands of trusts and cartels, backed by bank capital. An increased formation of trusts is seen in America and England, in France and Germany.

4. The economic antagonism between America and England is becoming more acute. Whereas before the first imperialist world war, the chief antagonism was that between Germany and England, nowadays the antagonism between America and England is developing more and more.

(At the same time, the significance of other serious conflicts of interests, such as America and Japan, England and France etc., should not be underestimated.)

5. The beginning of the breakdown of the Dawes plan.

6. The revolutionary situation in Poland is becoming steadily more acute and serious events may be expected there in the immediate future.

7. Five million unemployed (including their families many more).

8. Impoverishment of the middle classes in almost all the countries of Europe.

This is the balance of accounts made by the Communist International in view of the present stabilisation in Europe. We are perfectly justified in speaking of a tottering stabilisation.

At the same time the Enlarged Executive stated that

1. In a territory which embraces a sixth of the globe, socialism is being built up, though under great difficulties (Soviet Union).

2. In a territory which is inhabited by almost a quarter of the population of the whole world, the national freedom movement and the revolutionary labour movement, which is at the head of the national fight for freedom, are spreading and growing (China).

3. In Morocco and Syria the national freedom movement has developed into an actual war. In India and Egypt the national freedom movement against imperialism is developing slowly but surely.

4. In the whole capitalist world the Communist parties are increasing in strength and the labour movement is spreading — even though this growth may show an ebb and flow, which is connected to a considerable degree with the state of affairs in industry.

Since the moment when we made this analysis, two important events have occurred, one in our favour, the other in favour of our opponent. The event in our favour is the disintegration in the League of Nations, which proves how unstable is the situation of capitalism which is no longer capable of maintaining the most elementary political equilibrium within its own ranks. The second event — which counts against us — is the worsening of the situation in China, the retreat of the people's armies. This fact will be followed by serious consequences in the immediate future.

#### The Failure of the Comedy in Geneva.

For us of course, economics are of the first importance, and for this reason our chief task is that of studying the economic situation in Europe and in the whole capitalist world. The question of the political equilibrium of capital is however also of serious importance.

In this respect the events which recently took place in the League of Nations are of symptomatic significance. We Communists, as everyone knows, have never believed in the stability of the League of Nations; we have always laughed at

it and regarded it not as an instrument of peace but as an instrument of war. Important sections of workers with pacifist tendencies in Europe and especially in Great Britain, have believed and still believe in the League of Nations. It is true that the League of Nations, regarded from the bourgeois point of view, represents a serious attempt to maintain at least the most elementary political equilibrium. Everything of which the bourgeois world was capable in this respect, was done in the form of this attempt. The League of Nations is a kind of bourgeois "International". Events which have taken place in most recent times in Europe, throw a glaring light on the League of Nations. They show us to what extent this much-esteemed institution can in reality serve the purpose of restoring political equilibrium.

It is well known how much chaffering has been going on over Germany's soul in the last few years. The famous Conference of Locarno, to which such great world significance was attributed, has laded even before it blossomed. We need only recall that in the Political Commission of the Executive a dispute arose as to the significance of Locarno. Some of the French comrades were of the opinion that the Comintern under-rated the significance of Locarno. We replied: "Before the cock crows thrice, Locarno will become a soap-bubble". It soon became evident to all that Locarno is one of the innumerable conferences which has left no trace behind it. In three weeks, events in Geneva showed in a most telling manner that Locarno has not engraved a single letter in the book of history.

As I have already mentioned, the fight in recent times has been for the soul of Germany. British capitalism has made every effort to win over the present Germany of Hindenburg to its side, and to prevent it forming an alliance with the Soviet Republics, an alliance towards which Germany was driven as a country defeated in the imperialist war and also on the basis of its own economic interests.

Many eminent war specialists of the Entente who, in their books, draw up the balance of the war against us, have often come to the conclusion that the chief cause of the failure of the campaign and blockade which was organised with the purpose of throttling us, is to be attributed to the fact that Germany had, so to speak, formed a semi-alliance with us. They had — so they say — to send every transport, every gun, every bit of munitions by sea to the Russian White Guards and the Entente troops, the route via Germany being closed to them. That was their Achilles heel. Our most far-seeing enemies conceived the idea that it was necessary to win over Germany to their side, among other reasons, so that at the decisive moment, she would either fight openly against us or permit the march of troops and the transport of munitions through her territory. From this point of view the fight for the soul of Germany has an enormous significance for us.

Within bourgeois Germany itself two tendencies are in conflict with one another; the orientation towards the East, i. e. towards an alliance with us, and the orientation towards the West, towards an alliance with the richest countries of the Entente. In recent times, the second tendency has turned the balance in the scales of German diplomacy. It came so far that the present Hindenburg Germany, after great debates, resolved to join the League of Nations. The adherents of the League of Nations had already celebrated their victory in this question; they believed that Germany's entry into the League of Nations was an accomplished fact. What however occurred?

Such a scandal resulted, that many of those who took part in the Geneva Conference, did not at first know where to hide their heads for shame. In France and Germany, where the broadest strata of the population joined in the discussion of the question, there is at present the greatest excitement on the subject.

When the time approached for the question of Germany's entry into the League of Nations to be settled, terrible dissensions flared up within the League of Nations; one group, led by the French, demanded that Poland be given a decisive vote. Germany placed another plan in the foreground. Immediately before the Geneva Conference, the Briand Cabinet tottered and was on the verge of falling.

Now they all throw the blame on the unfortunate Brazilian representative; Brazil is responsible for everything. According to them, everything had been ready, everything was going as smooth as clock work, and suddenly the Brazilian representative made use of his right of veto and all calculations were thrown

out of gear. Germany was sent home, the whole matter was postponed; Germany is to remain a "candidate for membership" of the League of Nations until the autumn.

The Geneva comedy has of course altered nothing in the actual relation of forces. It is however valuable in that it has delivered a serious blow at the pacifist illusions which prevail among the petty bourgeois strata of the population and at the mistaken ideas which to a certain extent prevail among the workers. It is no secret for us that quite recently important strata of the German and British Social Democrats accused the Soviet Union of being the obstacle to Germany joining the League of Nations. The object lesson of Geneva is extremely valuable for these sections of British labour, for important sections of the French petty bourgeoisie and for some sections of the German petty bourgeoisie. The newspapers have told us how the American bourgeoisie reacted to this defeat in Geneva. It banged the door with annoyance in the face of these gentlemen.

Events in Geneva have freshly and clearly confirmed the correctness of the estimate made by the Enlarged Executive of the present situation of capitalism. These events show that the capitalists not only cannot establish an economic equilibrium, but that they cannot even establish the slightest political one. We reckon this characteristic phenomenon, the absence of political equilibrium within the capitalist camp, on the credit side of our balance.

#### The Recent Events in China and the Revolutionary Movement in the East.

There is however another new fact which for the time being, we must put on the debit side of our account. I refer to the worsening of the strategical position of the Chinese people's armies. World imperialism is trying with united forces to strike a decisive blow against the people's armies.

It must not be forgotten that the civil war in China is in the same stage in which we were in the first months, when a retreat of 500 versts and an advance of 1000 versts took place within a few days, when as yet there was no obstinate trench war, such as developed towards the end of our war.

There is however no question of these losses at the front arresting the revolutionary movement in China, they are only episodes in the fight which is developing between revolution and counter-revolution.

A short time ago, Chang Tso Lin was only a hair's breadth from defeat. He had to flee from his capital and a price of half a million was placed on his head by one of the generals who had betrayed him. To-day, Chang Tso Lin himself is offering a whole million for the head of General Feng Yu Hsiang. The fortunes of war of the generals in this fight are, as we see, still unstable.

That which however has taken deep root in the national consciousness of China is the idea of the necessity of a revolutionary fight against the imperialists. The Chinese peasantry is rising in this fight. In 1925, a firm proletarian cadre appeared for the first time in China; it was a rather unexpected surprise. We see already that the offensive of the Chinese proletariat is growing in strength, that a wide-spread national revolutionary movement is maturing, which is stirring up the whole of China. This movement is much more important than individual victories or defeats at the front, where the troops which are operating are badly disciplined and not steeled to fight. Nevertheless the most recent events in China are of extreme importance, as the conquest of Peking by the opponents of the people's armies would be a hard blow for the Chinese revolution.

Nevertheless the hold of the revolutionary movement in China is constantly becoming firmer.

The Chinese question affects us very closely, not only as international revolutionaries, but it also affects the interests of the Soviet State. As is well known, Manchuria is of considerable importance to us. On the Eastern Chinese railway the situation was recently very tense, and there is no doubt that the Japanese imperialists can now make use of the situation in order to embarrass us in Manchuria. We must not conceal from ourselves the fact that mistakes have been admitted by our functionaries on the Eastern Chinese railway; the revolution has not adequately carried out its work of purification there. We have not yet been able to shake off those chauvinistic elements which have joined us. It is sufficient to point out that recently, when we were compelled to send Chang Tso Lin a note almost in the nature of an ultimatum, Professor Ustralov, the Director of the whole training and educational department of the East Chinese railway,

wrote an article with the characteristic title: "Arise, Russia is coming!"

He apparently thought that we wanted to repeat something in the nature of the old Czarist wars in Manchuria.

It is clear that the C. C. of our party, as soon as it was informed as to the state of affairs, took energetic measures in this respect. Our point of view was explained in the Press, even organisatory measures were taken to remove these elements. It cannot of course be said that the whole conflict over the Eastern Chinese railway was due to Ustralov's attitude or to similar mistakes, but it was a factor which considerably aggravated the situation.

If the situation in China becomes more acute, it may affect not only the total balance of forces of the international revolution but have a direct influence on our position in the Far East, and above all hit us at our most sensitive point, the Eastern Chinese railway. This is the new fact which we must put on the debit side of our balance, in the sense that China is at present in a counter-revolutionary condition of war.

In any case, present events in China do not speak for a long period of stabilisation of capitalism. In the present embittered fight, the scales are temporarily weighed down on the side of the opponent, but only to swing over with all the more force to our side. This however by no means speaks for a permanent stabilisation of capitalism and gives us no reason to draw any final conclusions.

The bourgeoisie's fear of the danger in the East shows us that the events which are taking place in the East are by no means of minor importance for us. The East is to-day the arena of events of world-wide importance. There can be no doubt that the estimate which the Enlarged Executive has drawn up of events in the Orient cannot be disproved by any temporary defeats which we may suffer there.

This then is the general analysis of the economic and political situation in the whole capitalist world, which has been made by the Enlarged Executive, and which can be briefly summarized in the words: "A tottering stabilisation", a stabilisation which is gradually becoming annulled, an uncertain stabilisation which does not believe in itself. Every day it becomes clearer that the capitalist stabilisation is lame; every day it becomes clearer that it is not a question of a resuscitation of capitalism, as the Social Democrats and our Mensheviks believe, but of a partial and transient improvement which is at the same time accompanied by an aggravation of the position of capitalism on all fronts, with the exception of America. It is clear that the chief centre of the reactionary — if we may put it in that way, bourgeois labour movement, is no longer in Great Britain but in America. (To be continued.)

## OBITUARY

### G. M. Serrati.

By A. K.

The news of the death of Comrade Serrati will cause great regret not only in the whole Communist International but also among all honest revolutionary workers throughout the world; for there is something extraordinarily tragic in his life and fate, in his conversion to Communism.

During the war, Serrati was the recognised leader of the Socialist party of Italy which at that time was still united, and was a member of its Left wing. He took part in the Zimmerwald Conference as the leader of the Italian delegation. As a determined opponent of the imperialist war, he was imprisoned by the bourgeois class court on account of his courageous behaviour.

Serrati's greatest deed after the war was that he persuaded the Socialist party of Italy which at that time was a powerful mass party on the increase, to join the Communist International; with the exception of the C. P. S. U., only small parties had until then joined the latter.

Shortly after this however, the tragic contradictions in his life arose.

Not being able to understand revolutionary Marxism, as it is incorporated in Bolshevism, Serrati failed to recognise the part played by the party in a revolutionary situation where it was a case of seizing power immediately; he did not cleanse



his party of the treacherous Reformist elements and did not have the Reformists who, at the party Conference of Bologna (1919) revealed themselves as opponents of the Communist International, turned out of the party.

Thus it came about that the Reformists who had remained in the party and who had the trade unions in their hands, allowed the revolutionary forces of the Italian workers to be split up in local strike movements and, in unorganised revolutionary action, so that they were even able to betray and throttle the great offensive of the Italian proletariat — the occupation of the factories in August-September 1920.

A cleft formed between Serrati and the communist elements in the Socialist party. When, at the party Conference of Leghorn (1921) a last attempt was made to restore revolutionary unity, the "Maximalist Unionists" (Serrati) preferred to join the Reformists instead of the Communists.

Then came a time of errors and confusion for Serrati. When at last he came to his senses, it was too late. In the eleventh hour, a few weeks before Mussolini's "march on Rome", the Serratiists excluded the Reformists from the party Congress at Rome (October 1922), the party Congress resolved that the Socialist party should re-join the Communist party and sent a delegation, led by Serrati, to the 4th World Congress at Moscow.

It was no longer possible to save the situation. The dispersal of the forces of the Italian workers, the bankruptcy of the Socialist party, the treachery of the Reformists opened the way to Fascism. The Fascist seizure of power could no longer be arrested.

Serrati had to be a witness to Italian workers being tortured, killed and imprisoned in large numbers, to see organisations of the workers which had been built up by the zealous work of decades and with so much sacrifice, being destroyed by Fascist reaction.

After all these bitter experiences and after his group had been in the minority at the party Congress in Milan (1923), Serrati's group joined the Communist Party of Italy. He honestly recognised his mistakes and the error of the tactics he had adopted, and worked to his last day as a faithful soldier of the Communist International.

But the events of the last few years in Italy for which he felt himself partly responsible, had seriously affected Serrati, so that he was no longer able to take the part in the Italian Labour movement, for which his capabilities qualified him. He was still present at the meetings of the Communist International but as a silent participant; there was, however, no one who sang with more enthusiasm and in a more threatening manner the refrain of the Carmagnole: "Tous les bourgeois a la lanterne!"

There was no one in Italy who combated his own former armour-bearers, the Maximalists, with more determination than Serrati.

In one of his last polemical articles, a kind of political will, he tells the Maximalists all their sins and mistakes, all their

contradictions straightout, as though he wanted for the last time, to settle accounts mercilessly with his own past. In this article he unmasks with biting irony the "world-revolutionism" of the Maximalists, who declare themselves "holy", boasting that they are the real proletarian party in that they do not submit to the interests of any State.

"To-day there is only one revolution in the world, the Bolshevik revolution which, in the name of the proletariat, has seized the power in Soviet Russia. Failing to recognise this revolution, accusing it of subordinating itself to the demands of the Russian State... means... making no effort to seize the power in Italy, for fear of being forced afterwards to subordinate the political activity of the Maximalist party to the political necessities of the Italian proletarian State."

It is touching how Serrati in his article openly confesses the great mistake of his life, the mistake

"of having, in good faith supported by my activities, a movement, which I believed was serving revolutionary proletarian unity, but which, on the contrary, was anything but revolutionary."

With this confession Serrati closed his life. Serrati's life is a lesson of warning to the Communists, and we honour his memory best by learning from his mistakes.

#### Correction.

In the "Inprekorr" No. 37 of 5th of May 1926 there appears on page 563 second column last paragraph, in the speech of Comrade Piatnitzky dealing with Czechoslovakia, the following incorrect passage:

"In Czechoslovakia the trade unions are stronger than the Party and therefore the latter must exercise stricter control of trade union work than this is necessary in Germany and France. It must not happen that candidates lists for factory councils elections are drawn up by the trade unions without control and confirmation by the Party. That the factory councils in some cases have the upper hand over factory nuclei is impermissible."

This should read:

"In Czechoslovakia the red trade unions are stronger than the Party and therefore the latter must exercise stricter control of the work of trade union fractions than this is necessary in Germany and France. It must not happen that the candidates lists for factory councils elections are drawn up by the trade union fractions without agreement with the Party. That the factory councils in some cases have the upper hand over factory nuclei is impermissible."

In cases of reprinting in the press or in brochures editors are requested to publish this paragraph in its corrected form.

V. b. b.

**SPECIAL NUMBER**

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol 6 No. 43

27th May 1926

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

## Economics and Economic Policy in the First Quarter of 1926.

(Concluded up to 20th April 1926.)

By E. Varga.

### I. General Section.

#### INTRODUCTION

When we endeavour to examine the present concrete world economic situation from the Marxist standpoint, we are continually encountered by the difficulties attendant on the application of Marxist methods to brief periods of time. These difficulties are not inherent in the Marxist methods, but result from the lack of any current economic statistics compiled from the Marxist standpoint. Statistics showing the changes which have taken place among the forces of production (statistics relating to industrial and agricultural undertakings) have not been compiled in Europe for two decades. Thus all that we can do is to infer, from isolated facts, that the productive forces of Europe have greatly expanded during the last few decades, and that the actual apparatus of production has been very greatly enlarged since before the war. But we do not possess any comprehensive statistics on these changes.

Statistics which would serve to throw a clear light upon the changes in productive conditions are entirely lacking. Such as have been compiled have been deliberately falsified<sup>1)</sup>.

Thus the general lines of development of the capitalist system, as pointed out by Marx: accumulation, centralisation; tendency of rate of profit to decline, etc., as also the factors especially characteristic of the imperialist epoch: finance capital, formation of monopolies, "state capitalist trusts", can only be illustrated with great difficulty, especially for brief periods, by means of statistical figures.

The reader must therefore content himself with the fact that for the estimation of brief periods there is no better material at our disposal than that which we have repeatedly given, that the main tendencies of capitalist development in the Marxist sense can, as a rule, be demonstrated by statistics only for long periods, and that no reliable material is obtainable — except

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<sup>1)</sup> See our last report, chapter on: The legend of the workers who become capitalists.