

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4 No. 53

31th July 1924

Editorial Offices: Langegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX.
 Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schliessfach 29, Vienna VIII.
 — Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

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The Face of the Earth after the War.

By Karl Radek.

The imperialist war of 1914—1918 was merely a continuation of the imperialist policy of the preceding twenty years. But it brought with it an enormous acceleration of the tendencies of development which were already previously noticeable, it enormously sharpened the antagonisms prevailing in capitalism and in this way created a new relationship of forces. Six years of imperialist peace have but served to deepen still further the trends which the war had traced upon the face of the Earth. The four changes which the war brought about require to be fully estimated by every revolutionary, for they form the foundation of the further development of the world revolution which has begun by the world war.

I. Groupings among the Capitalist States.

The discovery of America transferred the centre of human development from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. Already in 1851 Marx wrote in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" of the discovery of gold mines in California transfers the centre of world-development to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. But notwithstanding the complete revolution which came about when the United States entered the ranks of the capitalist powers, when the Chinese wall of isolation and when the United States became a country of belching factory chimneys and skyscrapers, Europe remained the centre of economic development from whence issued the great driving forces of the whole world. English and German capitalism constituted the heart which drove the blood through the blood-vessels of the capitalist world. The war put an end to this. The economic weakness of Europe, the enormous acceleration in the industrial development of the United States, and their fabulous enrichment at the expense of the whole world, have now brought an end to the predominance of Europe. And only the socialist revolution, by uniting Europe,

by welding together its huge productive forces and its experience, crystallised in the technical skill of the working masses, into one organism, can preserve it from decomposition or from being degraded to the role of an American colony.

In view of this fact all other regroupings in the capitalist world sink into insignificance. Whether capitalist Europe will be led by France, supporting herself on the iron and coal of the Briey and Ruhr basins, or whether England will succeed in establishing in Europe a new period of the so-called Balance of Power, that is, where one capitalist state is waiting for the opportunity to spring upon another — all this will only determine the forms of the decay of capitalist Europe, the forms of the struggle between the capitalist powers of the Old World. In either case the United States will carry out their American world policy, the policy of playing off one European capitalist state against the other. This is being perceived by the more far seeing representatives of the ruling classes in Europe. And hence they are endeavouring to unite capitalist Europe in this or the other form. But to realise this union is impossible upon the basis of capitalism, for capitalism implies competition and even if it came to a league of nations comprising all the capitalist states even including America, it would only form a battle-field for the national capitalist groups fighting among themselves. Every one of them would endeavour to obtain for itself the support of the United States in its fight against the others.

But the United States of America constitute a power which is not only geographically bounded by two oceans — the Atlantic and the Pacific — but for economic reasons is compelled to obtain a firm foothold on the Asiatic and European continents. It is driven to this by the industrial development of Western America, as well as by the awakening of China. When General Gordon entered Peking in 1859, when in 1900 an expedition of the

representatives of the entire capitalist world suppressed the Boxer rising, capitalism only seized the coast districts of China. In the last twenty years capitalist development has penetrated into the depths of China. 400 millions of people are in the process of awakening. The next thirty years will decide the question whether they themselves will govern their land, which possesses the greatest riches in coal, iron and mineral oil, and produces such a quantity of rice as would feed the whole of Asia, or whether this process, which is taking place at a dizzy speed, shall proceed under the leadership of American capital. The United States of America are preparing to play the role, not only of the dictator of Europe but also of the dictator of Eastern Asia. The prediction made by Marx in 1851 regarding the transference of the centre of development from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean is only now being realised.

II. The Rise of the Capitalist Order in the East.

The development of capitalism in the East is not limited to the Yang-tsi-Kiang valley. That which the epoch of imperialism initiated, war has accelerated: the awakening to new life of the whole of the East. This process has continued since the end of the war. It does not suffice to measure it by the number of spindles and mechanical weaving looms imported from England, America and Japan into China and India. The number of new textile factories opened in India since the war is not so very great.

What is more important is that the peoples of the East, awakened by the imperialist development and by the war, have obtained a glimpse of the capitalist world as it really is. At one time the Chinese considered China to be the centre of the world, and thought that if all European nations were not vassals of the Chinese Emperor, it was only because the Chinese Emperor did not trouble about them. When the English General Gordon, after having bombarded Peking, compelled the Chinese Emperor to grant him an audience, and he was the first European Ambassador who was permitted to gaze upon the countenance of the sole ruler of the Celestial Empire, he and his suite when setting out for the summer residence of the emperor were preceded by Chinese heralds carrying flags on which was inscribed, in the Chinese language: the representative of the English Queen is bringing tribute and a petition to the Emperor of China.

But a century of imperialism taught humility to the peoples of the East and imparted to them a superstitious dread of European capitalism. The ocean monsters with their dazzling guns have demonstrated in Shanghai, Canton, Constantinople, Calcutta and Alexandria the strength of the capitalist world to the nations of the East. Hundreds of thousands of sons of the East, driven out of their villages by capitalism and seeking for jobs on the tea plantations of Ceylon, the Rubber plantations of the Dutch Indies, in the factories of the United States and in all European ports came to know the power of modern capitalism. And the peoples of the East accepted their fate.

But there came the war, and it revealed to them all the capitalist antagonisms and the mutual annihilation of the whole world. There came the peace of Versailles. It levelled two mighty empires to the dust, it expelled from the ranks of the powers enjoying special privileges in the backward countries, proud Germany, whose Emperor has sent his General Waldersee to participate in the expedition against the Boxers and commanded him so to deal with the Chinese that right up to the fifth generation no Chinaman would dare to cast an impudent glance upon a German. They saw the overthrow of the terrible White Tsar, before whom the whole East had trembled. They witnessed from afar the fiery pillar of the Russian revolution which went before the peoples, they saw that all the capitalist powers were endeavouring to stifle it and how the Russian working people arose and drove them back. They saw the barricades in the heart of Europe. And the humility and submissiveness vanished, and among the broadest masses of the peoples of the East there arose and commenced to grow the thought that they also could defend themselves and be the equal of others. This thought is spreading over rivers and mountains and is penetrating into villages which have never seen a motor car or a locomotive, or even a plough. The Mohammedan and Buddhist East is awakening. The religious ideas are giving place to the modern national idea. A profound struggle has commenced within the womb of the old East. The woman of the Orient is arising. Such an event as the participation of women in the economic congress at Syrna is a no less great historical fact than the overthrow of the Caliphate.

The old capitalist world, torn by internal contradictions, reared by the revolution, is coming face to face with the young capitalist world of the East, which it is true, is still weak and only just beginning to feel its feet, but which has behind it the reserve of hundreds of millions of peasants escaping from the narrow outlook of the villages and entering upon the broad road of national and international life. This is the second great transformation called forth by the world war.

III. The Breach in the International System of the Capitalist States

The third and most important result of the world war is the end of the monopoly of the international system of the capitalist states. The fact that the leadership of the capitalist development has passed from one capitalist world to the other, the centre of capitalism has been transferred, is not an entirely new phenomenon in the history of capitalism. At one time little Holland was such a centre, and when in the 16th century the Russian Tsars were concluding treaties with other countries one of their constant cares was how to secure unhindered communication with Amsterdam. Holland was supplanted alternately by France and England, between which two countries the war was being carried on for centuries the struggle for world supremacy. The overthrow of capitalist Germany, which was regarded by the Germans as the most important and deplorable result of the war, is of course a great historical event. Germany had only actually existed for forty years as a unit of capitalist power. The most profound result of the war is the fact that — while before the war there only existed capitalist powers and feudal countries, which latter were the objects of the policy of the former — volcanic social upheavals have created the granite island of Soviet Russia out of the bloody sea of imperialist war.

What does Soviet Russia signify? The English ambassador Lindley, after having arrived in Russia in 1918 in order to study red Muscovy, telegraphed to his government: "Asia! There are not simply robbers, they are robbers with ideas!" The "idea" was implied by the October Revolution? The United Soviet Republics is the first state to be ruled by the working class. What is the meaning of this? This means the commencement of a new historical epoch. In his "Workers' Program" Lassalle, distinguishes three epochs. The first epoch is that in which all power, the whole structure of the state is based upon ownership of the land: this is the epoch of feudalism. The second epoch it is capital which forms the basis of power: this is the epoch of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The third epoch will be the epoch of the rule of the working class based upon democracy, said Lassalle. In this scheme there awakened Lassalle the Hegelian idealist. The period of the rule of the working class has no new form of property and has no new basis under its feet. This idealism of Lassalle, which shall be his line of historical conception, subsequently became the basis for the opportunist policy of the Social Democracy, which before the war went so far as to say that the working class will conquer power within the frame of democracy by gradually changing the order of society with the means afforded by democracy. This reformist formulation, although combated by the representatives of the left wing of the II. International, in fact correspond to its views. This formulation could not be tolerated by the bourgeoisie, for the prospects of a social order to be realised in a hundred or two hundred years time of capitalism without revolution, did not contain anything very new.

The rise of Soviet Russia, the nationalisation of industry thus demonstrated to the world bourgeoisie in the most striking manner, that here it was not a question of changes to be accomplished in the course of centuries, but that the hour had struck which ushered in a new epoch. However much the bourgeoisie comforted itself with the thought that Soviet Russia would in time become just as reasonable as in the past, revolutionary governments had become when confronted with the whole burden of responsibility and when facts began to weigh upon them; all the consolations that after Robespierre there came the Thermidor, the Consulate and the Napoleonic Empire, all this nonsense could not reassure the more backward bourgeois politicians. For neither the Directory of Barras nor Buonaparte turned back the wheels of history, nor destroyed the cause of revolution nor breathed new life into the feudal order which had been liquidated by the revolution. The United Soviet Republics is and will be. It has not been destroyed by intervention, it will not be destroyed by the Nep.

of Soviet Russia are directed towards finding the means and forces in order to take advantage of the economic revival experienced by the first Workers' State, not only for the maintenance of power, for the maintenance of the key positions of the Russian economy right up to the moment of the victory of the proletariat in one of the leading industrial countries, but also already, at the present time, to proceed slowly but surely along the road of socialist construction.

Soviet Russia is and will be, not only because the skill of the working class in economic construction is growing but also because international capitalism is unable to get rid of the contradictions which are rending it. Even if it should succeed in raising European economy to the pre-war level, this would only imply the simultaneous increase of the imperialist antagonisms, it would only imply their conflict upon a higher stage of development. The capitalist antagonisms which procured the breathing space of Brest Litovsk for the young and still feeble Soviet Russia, which helped it to overcome the "interim" conditions, which procured it the recognition by a number of leading capitalist powers, these antagonisms guarantee the further strengthening of Soviet Russia.

The recognition of Soviet Russia by Great Britain, the leading power of European counter-revolution, in itself constitutes a tremendously important historical event. By having recognised Soviet Russia, the capitalist world has itself by its own signature affirmed the fact that the period of the monopoly of the system of capitalist states has ended. On the one hand there stands the capitalist world, on the other hand a state which denies all the fundamental principles of the former. The importance of this fact will become clear to its fullest extent only at the moment when a new acute revolutionary or imperialist crisis in Europe. Already the international bourgeoisie is no longer safe from an attack from the rear. Behind it there stand the awakening peoples of the East, there stands a large state which embraces a sixth part of the globe and which is ruled by a proletariat nurtured in storms and tempests and filled with a revolutionary enthusiasm unexampled in history. The word, the grain and the sword of Soviet Russia will under these circumstances be of decisive importance, even if we should not succeed in the next few years in making great strides towards the socialist organization of production.

IV. The Revolutionary Movement of the Proletariat of the Capitalist World.

The fourth feature of the post-war epoch is the fact that capitalism has killed reformism. The reformist parties still exist, they are still very strong, they constitute the chief reserve of the capitalist social order, they saved it during the war period and they saved it in the revolutionary crisis following the war. But reformism has succumbed because the possibility of improving the situation of the broad working masses in capitalist Europe has been annihilated. The enormous burdens which the war has behind it have confronted the capitalist class with the question: either to abandon the attempts to restore capitalist economy or to carry out these attempts at the expense of the working masses. Whether we have to deal with a fascist regime, with a regime of petty bourgeois democracy, all the burdens of the restoration of capitalism are being placed upon the shoulders of the working class. The enormous concentration of industry during the war has afforded the bourgeoisie the means of the struggle against the working class along the whole front. The working class which had been driven back, is in all countries being drawn into the revolutionary struggle. It is overcoming its reformist illusions and in view of the impossibility of improving the position of the working class by parliamentary methods, by means of reforms, every victory of the reformists appears as a further step towards the annihilation of reformist illusions.

In 1918 and 1919 the working class in a whole series of countries, where it was already within an ace of victory, was unable to attain victory, this was only due to the fact that the reformist epoch had not bequeathed to it revolutionary parties capable of leading it. This lack had to be paid for by the working class by an unexampled number of victims. But for the enslaved there is no other way of acquiring a knowledge of the conditions requisite for victory except by way of sacrifice. It is from its defeats, it learns to know its opponents' strong and weak points, it overcomes its own cowardice, it sharpens its wits, it learns how to manoeuvre upon the battle-field and how to beat the enemy. Before the war the really revolutionary elements of the

International working class comprised quite insignificant groups. Today I would say the Comintern already constitutes a world force, although it is still an organisation of the minority of the working class, although it must for a long time fight for the confidence of the majority of the workers, although it must still learn for a long time how to lead the struggles of the working class. The workers' movement is becoming radicalised and is no longer a movement of the working class alone, striving merely for its immediate aims. The change in the social relationships which is radicalising the working class, is not only awakening the peasants and petty bourgeoisie of the East; but by proletarianising the middle strata in Europe it is eliminating the isolation of the working class, is creating the pre-conditions for the rise of oppositional and even revolutionary movements of the petty bourgeoisie and confronts the working class with the task of becoming the leader and the guide of the whole of suffering humanity.

The bones of millions of workers are mouldering on the battle-fields of the imperialist war. Millions of workers are slowly perishing in the post-war period from need. Thousands of workers have fallen in civil war. None of them will return to life again. But from their bones there arise the revengers, there is arising the new generation which will make an end of capitalism. There is no longer any going back to the old. The world war has brought the beginning of the epoch of socialist revolution. This epoch will perhaps witness new imperialist wars, but at the same time it will witness revolutionary fights, revolutionary struggles which will put an end to the epoch of imperialism and lay the foundations of a new epoch, the epoch of the proletariat which will construct the socialist order.

POLITICS

The American Labour Movement and the Presidential Elections.

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

For the presidential elections the alignment is at last clear. Coolidge and Davis represent the bi-partisan forces of Wall Street; La Follette heads the ranks of the middle-class, small capitalists, professional classes, and labour bureaucracy; while William Z. Foster, running on a straight Communist (Workers Party) ticket and endorsed by the Farmer-Labour national committee elected at St. Paul, is the leader of all the forces that stand against capitalism.

A Struggle Against Betrayal.

The events that have finally produced this alignment consist of a long record of hesitation and betrayal on the part of all the elements except the Communists and their immediate following; and the struggle against that betrayal led by the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League. The outstanding points in this history are Chicago (July 3, 1923), St. Paul (June 17, 1924), Cleveland (July 4, 1924) and Chicago again (July 10, 1924), when the nomination of Foster was made as the crystallization of the whole pre-campaign struggle.

In the light of the great betrayals since then, the debacle of John Fitzpatrick in Chicago, July 3, 1923, stands out more clearly than ever for what it was — the surrender to Comperism. Strenuous attempts have been made to show the issue as that between the immediate demands of the Farmer-Labour Party on the one hand, and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other. The Communists stated at all times: "Yes, we believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and will propagate and fight for it: But in the Farmer-Labour Party we are ready to unite upon the small immediate demands, with all elements who are really prepared to break with the capitalist parties and throw themselves into the struggle." The Communists did not insist upon the acceptance of the Communist programme by the other elements; they only insisted upon the formation of a real party, they insisted upon a real break with capitalism. It was because Fitzpatrick was too weak, too timid, to make such a break, because he was consciously or unconsciously preparing for his participation in the betrayal to La Follette, that has since occurred, that he split from the Chicago convention in 1923.

Rebuilding the United Front.

As a result of the Chicago convention, which overwhelmingly followed the Communist lead, the Federated Farmer-Labour Party was formed. Although this organisation occupied the central position nationally in the farmer-labour movement, and led in the struggle everywhere for the upbuilding of local and state parties, it was impossible for it to create as yet the centralized national party which could unite, organisationally, all the forces of rebellion against the capitalist parties. It therefore set itself to the task hitherto carried on principally by the Workers Party, to build the United Front, to bring all the farmer-labour forces together into one party for the 1924 campaign.

To this end, negotiations were entered into with the various groups of farmer-labourers throughout the country, particularly with the Minnesota Farmer-Labour Party which had elected two United States Senators. In November, 1923, a conference was held at St. Paul, in which the Communists participated with the representatives of six or seven state parties, at which it was agreed to call a national convention to unite all groups for the 1924 campaign, and which elected an Arrangements Committee to carry out the campaign.

The call for a convention on May 30th, at St. Paul, to unify the organised workers and farmers against the capitalist parties struck a responsive chord among the masses. A great swing toward the St. Paul Committee took place everywhere. The idea was sweeping the country. Union after union endorsed it, state and local parties swung into line one after another, and St. Paul (with the Communists participating and giving the drive its power and cutting-edge) became the leader of the mass movement against Wall Street.

Gompersites Prepare the Split.

But the mis-leaders of Labour always serve their masters, the capitalist class, well. They immediately took up the discredited Gompers programme of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" and, giving it a new dress in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, laid their plans for side-tracking the great revolt that was brewing, back into the parties of capitalism.

Typical of the "non-partisan" programme of the labour bureaucrats, the C. P. P. A. was split between the supporters of La Follette, in the republican camp, and of McAdoo in the democratic. For a time it seemed that the railroad union official, who backed McAdoo because as railroad administrator during the war he had given them permission to collect dues from the railroad workers, would carry the C. P. P. A. into the ranks of the democratic party. But the disclosures of McAdoo's connections with Doheny in the oil scandal, his million-dollar fees, his connections with the Steel Trust, coming just before the February meeting of the C. P. P. A. at St. Louis, threw the issue into doubt. The C. P. P. A. called a conference for Cleveland, July 4th, after the old party conventions, after refusing all offers of collaboration with the St. Paul Committee in uniting all the forces of Labour into one convention.

In the meantime La Follette, tremendously popular among the farmers of the Northwest because of his war record and his specious "progressivism" in the Senate, began to take alarm at the definite organisational form being taken by the farmer-labour movement which threatened his schemes of personal control. He issued the word to his lieutenants in the Northwest to postpone the Farmer-Labour Convention which had been set for May 30th.

Communists Fight For Unity.

In the entire struggle it was only the Communists who fought throughout for unity, and with a clear vision of how the splitting desires of the labour bureaucrats and capitalist politicians could be combatted. They made compromise after compromise — on all questions except principle — and they stood "firm as a rock" (to quote the words of a non-Communist participant) for the complete break with the capitalist parties.

Unity was preserved in the Arrangements Committee of St. Paul on the question of convention date, by compromising on June 17th, instead of May 30th. But on May 28th La Follette made another attempt to split St. Paul, with a letter denouncing the convention because of the participation of the Communists.

In spite of all the sabotage, a great convention of 600 delegates met in St. Paul on June 17th. And here too, the struggle for unity and for the protection of the whole movement against treason, fell to the lot of the Communists. The convention was sharply divided on the issue of support to La Follette, and on the

question of the immediate organisation of a party. The Communists united the convention through an agreement which provided a class-struggle programme of immediate demands, stopping short of Communism, and for the organisation of a campaign committee which should definitely organise the Farmer-Labour Party nationally after the elections.

On the issue of La Follette, the Workers Party through William Z. Foster, made the following statement which crystallized and typified its whole fight for unity and against treason:

"Relative to the candidacy of Mr. La Follette, the position of the Workers Party on the matter is, that in the coming negotiations between the National Committee of the Farmer-Labour Party and other groups relative to combined action upon a presidential candidate, the only basis upon which the Workers Party will accept La Follette as a candidate, is if he agrees to run as the Farmer-Labour candidate, to accept the party's platform and its control over his electoral campaign and campaign funds."

The convention unanimously nominated Duncan McDonald, a coal miner, for president and William Bouck, a farmer, for vice-president, and instructed its Committee to negotiate with the Cleveland conference on the question of a united ticket.

The Cleveland Betrayal.

On July 4th, the Conference for Progressive Political Action met in Cleveland. It rejected all proffers of co-operation from St. Paul, refusing to seat William Mahoney, an ardent supporter of La Follette, because he participated in St. Paul. It surrendered completely to La Follette, and his "personal" candidacy, so completely that it swallowed his programme whole, without dotting an "i", and left the question of vice-presidential candidate to him to decide. It took not the slightest steps to organise a party and endorsed La Follette's statement against party organisation. All elements, including the Socialist Party, that participated accepted the betrayal without protest.

The complete failure of the socialists, the clothing workers and other elements to form a left-wing at Cleveland, disheartened all the weaker elements that had heretofore adhered to St. Paul. It was evident that La Follette would drag some of them along and precipitate another struggle within the farmer-labour movement.

In this crisis the Workers Party took a determined stand, declared that the only safeguard of the idea of independent political action by the working class, was the immediate naming of a Workers Party ticket, of which there could be no doubt that would go through the campaign and conduct the struggle without flinching against capitalism in all its forms.

A national conference was called in Chicago, July 10th, which William Z. Foster was named for president and Ben Gitlow for vice-president. The National Committee of the Farmer-Labour Party met on the same day, withdrew the candidacy of McDonald and Bouck, and adopted a declaration calling upon adherents of the Farmer-Labour Party programme to throw their support to the Workers Party. This statement was signed by Alex Howat, chairman, C. A. Hathaway, secretary, Allan Knutsen, Scott Wilkins, and Joseph Manley, members. Daly, of South Dakota, declined to sign, and William Z. Foster, the remaining member, had resigned.

Thus has the alignment taken place for the 1924 presidential election campaign. The issues are clear. William Z. Foster, candidate of the Workers Party, running on the platform of dictatorship of the working class against the dictatorship of the capitalist class, is the only representative of the working class in this struggle, and the only representative of the struggle against capitalism. The betrayal of the official mis-leaders of Labour has been complete. Only the struggle for Communism remains in this election for the workers and farmers.

The Conference of the Little Entente.

By Stefanski.

The conference of the Little Entente which took place recently has shown that the rift in this structure, which was always more or less shaky, is growing wider every day. However skillfully the official communications may attempt to hide the truth, the public did not fail to notice that at the conference it was impossible to arrive at an agreement on the most important point, namely, the Bessarabian question. A big political party in Yugoslavia, belonging it is true to the opposition but

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Session of the National Council of the Communist Party of Germany.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

On the 19th and 20th July there was held in Berlin the session of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany, in order to decide on the Party's attitude towards the decisions of the World Congress and to formulate the practical tasks which the Party at present has to solve. It was a very important moment: in Germany there exists all the pacifist cackle, the comedy of the Experts' Report and the renewed cry of the German social democrats as to rescuing the working class through the good-will of international capital; at the same time we see a growing economic crisis, closing down of factories, unemployment, the coming into force of protective tariffs, and in order to conceal all this, a furious persecution of the C. P. of Germany, the terrorist sentences of the criminal courts in order to protect the so-called republic, the monster trial against the central of the Communist Party, the suspension of immunity against Communist members of parliament, the hair-raising stories of the Tcheka, cholera-germs etc. The present situation is characterised by increased persecution of the Communist party at a time of increased illusions of the working class. Thus the present situation is one full of difficulties.

Such a period of acute persecution and temporary depression forms a special testing time for revolutionary parties. In such a situation differences of opinion and groupings within the party very easily arise. In addition to this there came the discussion of the decisions of the World Congress, which are of a very important character, and especially in the trade union question, raise quite a number of very important problems.

This session therefore constituted a fiery test as to how far the Party is consolidated, whether the Party is really capable or not of carrying out the programme decided on Frankfurt-on-Main, regarding the overcoming of fractions and the bolshevisation of the Party. It must be said that the proceedings of the National Council furnished wonderful testimony to the stability of the C. P. of Germany. Among the numerous delegations coming from all parts of Germany there was to be seen an absolute unanimity regarding the fundamental questions. All the important decisions were unanimously adopted, including the political as well as the trade union decisions.

Never since the existence of the C. P. as a mass party has there been a National Council so entirely free from groupings or any essential differences as this one. One can state without any hesitation that there are no longer any groupings or fractions in the German Party. Already at the Frankfurt Conference the Brandler tendency was quite unrepresented. But nevertheless we had beside the 90 delegates belonging to the left party majority, 30 representatives of the so-called central group.

Although already in Frankfurt we had succeeded in establishing unanimity on all the practical tasks of the day, there were still left some remnants of group differences. Already in Moscow it was seen that the German delegates to the Fifth World Congress were completely united. For the first time there appeared at Moscow a German delegation, which was entirely free from groupings and was the uniform representation of the German Party. The delegates from the Chemnitz district were on all fundamental questions in agreement with the delegates of the party majority. The same picture was presented at the National Council. To all the spite and hatred of Social Democracy to all the persecutions by the authorities of the Ebert Republic, we are able calmly to reply: "The Communist Party of Germany is a homogeneous, iron block, and no-one will succeed in splitting it."

The National Council in its political resolution fully approved the decisions of the V. World Congress. It specially welcomed the way in which the right in the international, the Radek-Brandler group, was dealt with. It approved in the sense of the Frankfurt decisions the new formulations of the united front and the workers' government, which made impossible any opportunist interpretation. The National Council declared with particular satisfaction that the dispute over the workers' government

of very moderate character, openly raised the question whether, after this conference, the Little Entente had any reason whatever for existence. After a brief investigation of the matter it arrived at the conclusion that de facto it has ceased to exist and that there only awaits a favourable opportunity to bring about its complete liquidation.

Let us attempt a dialectical analysis of the situation in the Little Entente. How is the situation developing before our eyes?

The Little Entente was founded in order to achieve a twofold aim: 1. To secure the results of the Treaty of Trianon and 2. to constitute an alliance, in the hands of Poincaré, against Russia.

The first motive for the founding of the Entente has now entirely ceased to exist. Today the return of the Habsburgs is quite out of the question, while the armaments of every constituent state so far exceed the forces of Austria and Hungary that there appears no longer any need for common action. In addition to this Jugoslavia has arrived at an understanding with Italy. The previous tension no longer exists and there is no longer any danger of a collision between these two states. Both these neighbouring states are too much occupied with their interior affairs as to be likely to come into conflict with each other in the near future. Czecho-Slovakia has also endeavoured to impress Italy with her harmlessness. She is urgently in need of these good relations on account of the situation of her industry. And if any sort of complications should arise in Hungary (in Austria it is out of the question) then the succession states must all follow the same line even without any binding treaty. This basis is today therefore quite insufficient to lend any special stability to the Little Entente.

How is it with regard to the second point? How great is the danger today from the side of Soviet Russia for the states of the Little Entente?

Either the danger does not exist at all, or it is enormous. There is no danger because the Soviet Union would never commence a war on its own initiative. This is known to the whole world, including the foreign ministers of the Little Entente. An enormous danger would arise if the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republics were insolently challenged or attacked. And this is also known to almost the whole world, and impresses clearly upon the foreign ministers of the Little Entente, who have no direct cause for dispute with the Soviet Union, that they must in their own vital interests do everything possible in order to avoid every occasion for a dispute.

And here we must take another question into consideration. All Yugoslavia, which is an agrarian country, has no particular economic need for good relations with Soviet Russia, the exact reverse is the case of Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia is an industrial country, which is shut in on all sides. She has an enormous interest in establishing the best relations with the Soviet Union, for the latter is able to revive her industry. Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania have quite diverse interests. The greater portion of the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie expects advantages from Russia and no war. They are glad that for the time being they are experiencing no direct pressure in this direction from Poincaré. The second basis for this Entente therefore has also ceased to exist.

It is only Roumania who requires securities against the Soviet Union. She is not able however to offer any advantages in return. She only brings danger to her other two partners.

This fact however becomes more perceptible, when one considers the political situation in Yugoslavia. Can Yugoslavia, which is only able to suppress Macedonia by the most abominable methods of violence, which has recently slaughtered 300 Albanians, which has to dissolve the workers organisations in order to hold the elections — can this state enter on an adventure against Soviet-Russia? These are the very obvious reasons which may have prompted M. Nincic to give a point blank refusal to the request of M. Duca.

Oh yes, we know that Roumania has a strong supporter of her policy in Yugoslavia. That is, the whole Court with its military clique. It is known that great efforts have been made from this side in order to win Pasic for the Roumanian policy. That is the precise reason why Pasic is not in favour at court. Were Pasic to agree to the Bessarabian policy then he would long ago have received the decree for the dissolving of the parliament. But Pasic is cautious, for this could very well mean the end of his power and perhaps even the end of the bourgeois power in Yugoslavia altogether.

The Prague Conference of the Little Entente therefore signifies the open announcement of its collapse.

in the frame of bourgeois democracy, which had prevailed at the Leipzig Party Conference, was now finally decided in the sense of the then German Left.

In the trade union question the National Council likewise adopted the decisions of the World Congress. The National Council emphasised the necessity of the Communists again resuming trade union work along the whole front. This revival of our trade-union work, in spite of all confusion which still prevails among some of our members, is one of the chief practical tasks of the Party. As regards the question of international trade union unity, the National Council declared itself in favour of a mass campaign for unity, with the obvious provision that this unity could only be realised on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

The practical daily tasks of the Party were defined by the National Council as an intensification of the mass struggle against the Experts' Report, in mobilising the proletariat against the new employers' offensive with their closing down of factories, in reviving the slogans of control of production and socialisation in the fight against the food profiteers, protective tariffs and fresh direct taxes, in the closest relations of the proletariat with the poor peasantry, who are suffering more and more severely under the present crisis.

The National Council calls to the party: Into the masses! But the Communist must go into the masses precisely at the time of depression, without allowing himself to be influenced by the hesitating moods of the masses. Practical workers' politics, but without the least compromise with democratic opportunism. The National Council unconditionally endorsed the outlook of the V. World Congress that we must at all times reckon upon new decisive struggles for power, but that it is impossible to fix the definite date for these new decisive struggles; under certain circumstances we must always reckon with a longer transition period and precisely in this period we have to show the greatest communist firmness.

The National Council reaffirmed the close alliance between the C. P. of Germany and the C. P. of Russia, as was shown at the V. World Congress. To make use of all the experiences of the Russian revolution to convert the German Party in a true bolshevik party and, regardless of obstacles, to draw a clear unequivocal bolshevik line, and in this sense to lead and win the masses, that is the task which the National Council has placed before the Party.

TEN YEARS MASS MURDER

The Youth and War.

(From the speech of Comrade Zinoviev delivered at the opening of the VI. Congress of the Russian Communist Youth League on the 12th. of July 1924.)

You know that in a few days ten years will have elapsed since the outbreak of the imperialist war. You know that the Congress of the Comintern has decided to convert this day into an impressive mass demonstration against the bourgeoisie and the social democrats who are responsible for the war.

Comrades, how much has changed during these ten years. In the life of an individual ten years are of course a considerable period, but in the life of society it is not a very great period. And still, what do we see? Ten years ago at the outbreak of the war, we, the Communists, were only little groups in the literal sense of the word, and in the sphere of the international youth movement we numbered only a few units. Compare the time when Comrade Lenin united seven young comrades in Zurich in a circle in order to form them into a nucleus of comrades who, even though young, were prepared to fight against the war — compare this with the present Youth International, compare this with your congress, with the mighty achievements of the youth movement in our country alone.

On the 10th. of this month, if I am not mistaken, a conference of the Entente will meet which will devote itself to discussing the means for liquidating the war, and before all the question of carrying out the so-called Experts' Report, the main features of which are probably already known to you. I know, comrades, that the youth comrades in general, and our own in particular, are not in the habit of interesting themselves greatly in the con-

ferences of the Entente. And I would not advise you to do so, because such conferences have been held a hundred times recently and we have more important business. But it seems to me that precisely on the tenth anniversary of the war this conference offers a striking example of the present situation and the youth comrades in the present instance would do well to take an interest in this conference.

It seems to me especially important because the young comrades are immediately interested in the questions of war — more interested than anybody else. I remember that when we drew up the statutes of the Comintern, comrade Lenin said to us: "Even in the statutes we must mention that we have always to think of war". Objections were made to him, pointing out that there is no place in the statutes for the question of war, because the statutes should only contain organisational rules. But you will understand, comrades, the meaning of the reminder of Comrade Lenin, which was adopted by the Comintern. In the statutes of the Comintern is to be found a special clause that we shall in particular not forget war and the teachings of the first imperialist world war. Now on the tenth anniversary of the war, the slogan of Lenin, "Think of the war" seems very appropriate.

Mankind is so constituted that it rather quickly forgets such events as the world war. But we have a political interest in seeing that at present millions of young people in the whole world shall bear in mind the imperialist war. For it is they who are interested in it before all, because they will in the event of war feel its effect the most.

I have some figures before me which the international youth would do well to call to mind on the tenth anniversary of the war. In all there were 16 fighting armies comprising 69 million soldiers, (that is in round figures). The losses in killed, wounded and prisoners amounted in these armies to 37 millions, no more and no less! Consider the composition of the armies. How did the armies appear during the imperialist war? You know that particularly in the last years of the war the bourgeois countries mobilised the last man. There was even talk of mobilising the women. The old men were mobilised. In France 32 categories were mobilised, in England 23, in Germany 28 and yet the composition of the armies during the imperialist war consisted mostly of youths.

In France they began with the youths of eighteen. In England also with 18. In Germany things went so far that youths of 16 were enrolled. In the old tsarist Russia the youths from 19, in Roumania from 19 etc. A very considerable number, a very large section of all the armies in the imperialist war consisted of youths as young as 18 and 17. I believe, if we take the age from 17 to 24, out of the 69 million mobilised, about 20 to 25 million were of the age when one enters the youth organisations, from which it follows that of the 37 million victims about ten million were of those ages which form the communist youth organisations. But better still let us consider the composition of the armies in so-called peace time. In France this army consists of young men of 20 and 21 years. In England from 18 to 25 years, in Germany from 17 to 23 years, in Poland from 23 years etc. In other words, comrades, the peace armies, the armies which are now under arms, and which also comprise some millions — these armies consist for the greater part of youths. According to their age they are an object for propaganda for our youth organisations.

From this alone it is to be seen how immediately the youth are interested in the question of war and peace. For these reasons, comrades, we must, whether we want to or not, take an interest in such events as the attempt which is now being made at the International conference to solve the question of war by so-called peaceful methods.

I believe that we must call the attention of the youth before all on an international scale, to this question. The agitator — this concerns you! It is here before all that the fate of the youth will be decided, the fate of the young generation, of the youth league in the widest sense of the word.

In all these combinations, the heads of millions and millions of young men, who are the real members of the youth leagues are at stake. For this reason, comrades, I believe that we must devote special attention to the youth on the tenth anniversary of the war and attach international importance to this tenth anniversary.

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Bulgaria.

On the 21st July in the village of Salanovzi (in the district of Orchovo) Ivan Draganoff, a peasant, along with his whole family (wife and three children) was found murdered. The corpses were horribly mutilated. Draganoff was known in the village as a Communist. The perpetrators of the murder are of course "unknown". It is an open secret however that this abominably barbarous crime was committed by the fascists with the connivance of the authorities.

The Bulgarian government however is continually issuing reports as to the perfect law and order prevailing in Bulgaria.

RED RELIEF

First World Conference of the International Red Relief.

By I. A. Mter.

The First World Conference of the International Red Relief has come to an end and begins a new year with a full understanding of the tremendous tasks that confront the organisation.

The Conference met in Moscow and was attended by representatives from Soviet Russia, Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Estonia, Italy, France, Spain, Turkey, Switzerland, Denmark, Egypt, Java, India, China, United States, Argentine and Brazil. The delegates were, for the most part, men and women who have been working actively in the organisation of the IRR, and therefore know its tasks.

The main work before the conference was the adoption of plans whereby the great masses of the workers and peasants could be drawn into the organisation and filled with a sense of solidarity with the fighters of the working class who have been sent to prison by the brutal capitalist regimes. The IRR. is an organisation for collecting funds for the support of these revolutionary fighters and their families, for protecting them before the courts of the reactionary bourgeoisie and for taking care of political emigrants who are obliged to flee from the claws of the White Terror. But the IRR. has another most important function: to enlighten the working masses as to the significance of the struggle for which the revolutionaries are thrown into prison and tortured.

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the sections to form membership organisations — organisations including the industrial workers, peasants and sympathetic elements. As a United Front non-party organisation, the committees are made up of representatives of all proletarian political parties, trade unions, co-operatives, youth and women's organisations etc. As a non-party organisation, the IRR. supports and protects all revolutionary workers and their families irrespective of their party affiliation.

The reports of the delegates revealed the brutality of the methods that the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state employ in the vain hope of demoralising the revolutionary movement. By employing the torture-methods of the middle ages and adding modern means of torment — such as the electric chair — the bourgeoisie believes that the revolutionary workers will be terrorised. But the capitalist system itself is furnishing the conditions that force the workers and poor exploited peasants to fight. The International Red Relief, as a revolutionary auxiliary organisation, is mobilizing the workers and peasants to the support of the fighters of the working class — the victims of bourgeois "justice". From all the countries where Social Democracy still has a hold on the workers, came the reports of the treachery of the bureaucracy of the Social Democratic parties and reformist unions. The revolutionaries have been persecuted and denounced by the reformists, many of whom are even members of the secret police (ochrana) of the capitalist states. From the colonies came the reports of the savage treatment of revolutionaries by the imperialist regime ruling the countries. Terrorisation, torture, murder, persecution of the families — these are some of the means whereby the bourgeoisie tries to destroy the revolutionary movement.

One of the important points was that of legal help. In many countries it is extremely difficult to procure lawyers to defend the revolutionary prisoners. In some cases, the Social Democrats refuse to assist. In other countries, the Communists are not permitted to appear before the courts. In all countries every obstacle is put in the way of the proper defence of proletarian prisoners so that, as in Germany, one may get rid of 40 or 50 revolutionaries in one batch. The conference decided that every step must be taken to organise legal help so that as many revolutionaries may be kept out of the hands of the bourgeoisie so possible.

The conference emphasised the necessity of agitation and propaganda. March 18th is the international day of the International Red Relief. It is a day when the working class the world over thinks of the heroic struggles of the proletariat of Paris during the days of the Commune. This is a day on which the victims of the revolutionary class war must be held in remembrance — when the world proletariat must be called to new effort to demand the release of revolutionary proletarians and to consolidate their ranks for the revolutionary struggle.

The activity of the IRR. has been most successful in Soviet Russia. In fact, the aid that has been given to the prisoners in the capitalist prisons has come chiefly from the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. Nowhere in the world is there manifested such solidarity with the revolutionary prisoners as in Soviet Russia. This was particularly evident in the speeches of the delegations sent to the gala opening meeting of the conference at the Zimin Theatre, Moscow. Soviet Russia's workers and peasants know what reaction means. For decades they suffered the most brutal treatment and repression at the hands of the Black Hundreds of the tsar. Hence their sympathy with the prisoners in capitalist countries. From January 1923 to June 1924, they have collected more than 368,000 dollars for the relief of the victims in capitalist prisons. But that is not all. The Russian Section of the IRR. has carried on a most intense propaganda. It has reached the most remote parts of that vast country. 2,500,000 Russian workers and peasants are members of the IRR. and the number is constantly growing. The political activity of the IRR. therefore, must be carefully weighed. Propaganda, literature etc. must be issued in large quantities. The splendid example of Soviet Russia must be copied in all countries. The International Red Relief as a revolutionary auxiliary organisation must reach all sections of the working class. It must draw them into the relief work. It must clearly explain the meaning of the class struggle, it must stand behind every fighter — thus broadening the struggle and leading to the day when the proletariat will rule the world over.

The great majority of the revolutionaries in capitalist prisons are Communists and Communist Youths. It therefore becomes the duty of every Communist to enter immediately into the ranks of the IRR. and propagate its work. Every revolutionary worker, however, whether still in the Social Democratic parties, in the syndicalist or anarchist organisations, all the revolutionary peasants' organisations and cooperatives, are intensely interested in the struggle. They must be drawn into active work for the IRR. The proletarian press must be pressed into service. The film as one of the most effective methods of propaganda must be exploited.

International Solidarity is the slogan of the International Red Relief! International Red Relief must be given to every fighting proletarian — in the name of the revolutionary struggle in the name of the emancipation of the working class!

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Marx-Engels-Institute in Moscow.

One of the questions which engaged the attention of the V. World Congress was the question of international scientific propaganda of Marxism, which is to be carried on in the first place by an international critical collected edition of the works of Marx and Engels, that is, an edition in the language of the original text, with critical explanations. The guarantee for the realization of such a big project is offered by the Marx-Engels institute in Moscow, which would have the main share in the carrying out of this task of such wide political and scientific importance.

What are the circumstances which qualify the M. E. I. for the carrying out of this task? The Marx-Engels Institute possesses the printed and written remains of Marx and Engels in a more

complete form than anywhere else. The M. E. I. possesses almost all the newspapers and periodicals on which Marx and Engels collaborated.

The M. E. I. is to a great degree richer in sources than the Social-Democratic Party archives in Berlin, to whom the posthumous writings should have come. Besides the written remains in the Social-Democratic archives, Comrade Ryasonov has succeeded in obtaining much material on Lafargue, Bernstein (the "German Ideology") and in addition the letters of Marx and Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, Bernstein and Kautsky, partly in the original and partly in photographic reproductions. The M. E. I. is also in the position to undertake a textual criticism of earlier editions of the works of Marx and Engels, on the basis of the manuscripts. Of much greater importance, however, is the fact that the unpublished material in the possession of the M. E. I. is of such a quantity and quality that its publication is calculated to introduce a new epoch into the investigation of Marx.

The publication of such a critical collected edition of the works of Marx and Engels with objective historical critical commentaries, which are necessary to facilitate, or even to make possible for the first time, the spreading of these works and their scientific popularization, is however, a very great scientific and organizational task. It can only be undertaken with the assistance of an equipment rich enough in theoretical and historical documents to correspond with the encyclopedic scope — both political and theoretical — of Marx and Engels' activity. Workers thoroughly trained in scientific Marxism are equally necessary. No doubt the apparatus possessed by the Marx and Engels Institute still requires completion and enrichment, but the materials and the trained workers which it already possesses are enough to enable it to begin this vast work at once. The Institute was founded in 1920 by Comrade Ryasonov, who is still its director, the sole aim of the institute being to further the ends of Marxian research. Its whole organization, its collection of books and periodicals (it possesses a library of more than a hundred thousand volumes), the work carried on within the institute and the publications it issues, all serve the aim of reconstructing the practical and theoretical life-work of Marx and Engels on a critical historical basis.

The work of the institute is organized from two points of view. On the one hand it deals with the chief countries influenced by the political activities of Marx and Engels, the history of these countries being intensively studied, and on the other hand with the various branches of knowledge comprised in their theoretical work. It follows that the chief departments of the institute — setting aside the Marx-Engels department itself where the MSS. and printed editions of Marx and Engels are kept, and the reading room which has a splendidly equipped reference library on the history of Socialism and on the labour movement — are on one side the German, French, English and Russian departments, and on the other the departments for philosophy, comparative law, political economy, the history of socialist and anarchist theory, and the department for sociology. It is enough to

point out here that all these departments are planned solely in order to meet the requirements of Marxian research. They contain a complete collection of all the authors by whom Marx and Engels may have been influenced, of all the books which Marx and Engels have anywhere quoted, and in fact of the whole literature relating to Marx and Engels. The historical departments make a systematic collection of all the numerous sources, descriptions from which knowledge can be gained of contemporary conditions and persons which bore even the slightest relation to the lives of Marx and Engels, and which may be use in forming a critical judgment on them, or on the historical problems touched upon or fully treated in their works.

The departments devoted to the history of ideas and to the theoretical side in general are likewise organized, not in a piecemeal fashion, but in a way corresponding to the needs of Marxian research. In the philosophical department the majority of books deal with the history of materialism, and the tendencies developed from Hegel, including the young Hegelian tendencies. A special collection in this department consists of literature devoted to dialectics of materialism — this is certainly the most complete collection of this kind in existence. The section devoted to political economy is organized especially to illustrate the problems of Marxism. In the department of the history of Socialism the collection of literature relating to St. Simonism, Fourierism, Owenism, can only be equalled in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and in the British Museum, and is to be found nowhere else all collected together in one place.

The works already published by the institute, and those which it is preparing may be regarded as preliminary studies for the international edition of Marx and Engels. Among these we would mention: the great edition of the Communist Manifesto with detailed commentaries taken from the historical and theoretical works of Ryasonov, Lafargue and Kautsky; the complete edition of the works of Plekhanov; the collection of documents illustrating the history of the older West-European labour movement; selected works of Hegel; the "Library of Materialism"; A. D. Borin's monograph on Feuerbach; the Marx-Engels archive and last but not least — the Russian edition of the works of Marx and Engels which is planned to consist of thirty-five volumes of which four volumes edited and annotated by Ryasonov have already appeared.

Although the organization, the equipment, and the work already achieved by the Marx-Engels institute will make the production of the international, complete and critical edition of the works of Marx and Engels considerably easier, the Communist International must take energetic measures on a large scale in order to develop both deeply and widely an international and scientific propaganda of Marxism. Only by doing this can it claim to be the true heir of Marx and Engels in the scientific sphere. By doing the Communist International will fulfil a duty towards itself, and have the full right to claim its position as the heir both of the political and the literary and scientific remains of Marx and Engels.