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## The Labour Party Conference an Unreal Assembly.

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The 24th Annual Conference of the Labour Party was held in an atmosphere of unreality and emotionalism. It was clear from the commencement that the delegates and the Executive were dominated by the political crisis, and that any attempt at facing the real fundamental issues that confront the workers, and which, if faced, would have resulted in strong criticisms of the Government, would be suppressed.

In Mr. MacDonald's opening speech there was no attempt to give an analysis of the economic and political situation that we find ourselves in, and what are the next steps to face. Nothing but platitudes and high-stepping, and above all, under all the bravado, a strong feeling of personal pique running all the time. That Mr. MacDonald is surely the most commanding figure in the British Labour Movement, so far as the official type of delegates are concerned, was seen in the slavish adulation that was lavished on his every sentence and gesture. If the working masses think they are ever going to smash their oppressors by eloquence and high moral talks and ideals, they are in for some sad disappointments. Especially when these things are only the cloak under which capitalist rule is still being carried on. MacDonald's letter to Zaghul Pasha, and his adopting of the Experts' Report are the real guides to what MacDonaldism really means in action, not in phrases.

Because the general election dominated the whole conference the Executive were not only anxious to suppress criticism, but were doubly anxious to expel the Communists from the Labour Party, in order that the middle-class politicians now dominating

the Party could carry still further the policy of Liberalising the Party, and making it easier to appeal to the petty-bourgeoisie and renegade liberals, by throwing out of the Party the only real revolutionary forces in Great Britain.

This issue thus became the main question at the Conference. The debate was the best I have yet heard at any conference. Of course, it was known that the Communists were going to be defeated, so Mr. MacDonald very astutely let the debate have full rein. The discussion took place on the following recommendations of the Labour Party Executive.

1. That the application for affiliation from the Communist Party be refused.
2. That no member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for endorsement as a Labour candidate for Parliament, or any local authority.

The Executive would have liked to have gone much farther. In fact, they would have done, but they were afraid that the Trade Unions would object. However, a very small local Labour Party, the Sutton Divisional Labour Party had placed on the Agenda the following resolution:

"That no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership of the Labour Party."

Now this resolution would not have had a dog's chance of passing if it had been left to the Sutton delegate to fight through. So by a really magnificent piece of strategy, MacDonald decided to tag it on the end of the discussion that was taking place

on the report of the Executive Committee. This meant, of course, that it had a better chance of being accepted, and if any criticisms were levelled against it afterwards, the Executive would say it was a conference decision arising out of a resolution placed on the Agenda by an affiliated organisation.

The result of the debate is, of course, known. We were defeated on all three issues. How that will work out, of course, remains to be seen. One fact to my mind stands out as clear as daylight. These decisions represent the first open steps being taken by the Leader of the Labour Party to exclude Communists, not only from the Labour Party but from the Trade Unions as well. So long as the Labour Party is built up on the basis of the Trade Unions, so long is it impossible to keep the Communists out of the Labour Party. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Morrison both know this, that is why they were so paternal and anxious that we should "go into the highways and byways", to "fight for our principles". True, this advice comes a little strange to a Party whose work is carried on in every workshop and every Trade Union branch in this country. And these men know it, and under the cover of fine phrases they are slowly preparing the way.

But the comments of all the press on these decisions make interesting reading. The leader writers know that this issue is not a sham issue. It is the fight for the leadership and direction of the Labour Movement that is at stake. And that fight, so far as both the capitalists and the right-wing Labour leaders are concerned, can but be impeded by pursuing the policy of exclusion to the bitter end. The following two extracts are a clear indication of what may come, for they only express publicly what the reactionaries think privately.

"For self-preservation either the Unions will follow the Labour Party in repudiating the Communists, or they must accept the risk of seeing their funds used for purposes utterly foreign to the objects with which they were created. The struggle which began on Tuesday is certainly not finished, and it will be curious to watch its development in the coming months; or rather, for it is not a matter which will be decided in a few months, in the coming years, in the years which will make the next generation."

"The Times", 8. 10. 1924.

Or to see the same thoughts more brutally expressed:

"When we perceived them (the Labour Leaders) actually expelling the Communists from their ranks we may believe in the sincerity of the disclaimer."

"The Morning Post", 8. 10. 1924.

When the voting on the resolutions took place, it was very curious to observe on the first two resolutions, that the bulk of the votes against the Labour Party Executive's recommendations came from the Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties. This is not surprising, and it provides the key to our future tactics. These are the organisations direct from the localities where Communists carry out their daily work in the Labour Movement, and they are the places where we must intensify our work, and we can, in twelve months beat the Labour Party Executive at their own game. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Morrison will regret their kindly invitations to "fight for a place" in the Labour Movement. The truth is, we cannot be shut out by the compromisers and vote-catchers at present in command.

The discussion on the Annual Report of the Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party came in for fierce criticism. The Communists led the attack on the whole policy of the Party and the Government. Russia, the Budget, Armaments Policy, Unemployment, Foreign Policy — all these questions were raised, and the significant thing was the general feeling and undercurrent running all the time, that the Government had not made the most of its opportunities. This was perhaps best expressed by T. Kenneburgh, of the Electrical Trades Union, when he declared "some of us are getting sick of hearing that the Government is only in office, and not in power".

When any resolution likely to be construed as a censure on the Government or the Executive was put forward, appeals would be made to withdraw it in order to preserve unity in face of the Election, and this stuff went down, despite the fact that the previous day, on the initiative of the Executive, the Conference had expelled the Communists in order to catch votes and placate a certain section of the enemy. A-Id Mr. Spencer, the Miners' M. P.:

"With the present mentality of the British electorate, the adoption of the revolutionary policy of the Communists, would mean the death of the Labour Party."

One small other thing, but very significant, the Executive Committee made desperate efforts to get the eight organisations, who had resolutions down about court functions and the flunkeyism of the Labour Ministers, to withdraw these resolutions. Unfortunately, they did, but this will give the reader an idea, of how much the democratic leaders like to hear their democratic followers express themselves in their own democratic way.

On Thursday morning, came the news of the Government defeat. "Back again to emotionalism", was the slogan. Everything and everybody was cheered. The Conference that expelled Tom Mann, the workers' fighting leader on the Tuesday, sang "For he's a jolly good fellow" to Sir Patrick Hastings (the Attorney General) on the Thursday. Then came Mr. MacDonald. The Communists led the way in the singing of the "Red Flag" and "The Internationale", much to the disgust of many leaders on the platform, who would have preferred "Lead Kindly Light". And so it all ended. The Conference is a machine. It does not represent the workers. It is dominated by Parliamentary candidates, Labour Party and Trade Union officials, and intellectuals, all of whom have forgotten the bitterness of the class struggle. Consequently, the air of unreality, intrigue and compromise is ever present. Resolutions are passed without any intention of trying to mobilise the masses to struggle for their realisation. The class struggle is suppressed because it isn't gentlemanly.

The Communists are expelled because they are a growing menace to the present leaders and because their influence among the masses is rapidly growing. Every day the Communist issue in British politics becomes more and more the main issue. The Labour Government who had given the word that the Communists must be expelled will now have had this lesson. We are not living in 1914. There has been a revolution in Russia, and that is still supreme. So much so, that it has been found necessary by the Government to make a Treaty with the Soviet Russian Government.

In Britain there is for the first time, a well disciplined revolutionary Party, the Communist Party. Its anti-war propaganda has resulted in the Campbell case.

The shadow of Communism is over the British Labour Movement.

All efforts to banish Communism and Communists are bound to fail. The good old times of playing at politics are gone. Revolution has stepped upon the stage.

That is probably why the "great" Labour Conference ended with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" instead of the workers' batty cry — "The Internationale".

## POLITICS

### On the International Situation.

By J. Stalin.

(Continued from last number)

#### III. The Strengthening of the revolutionary elements in the Labour Movement of Europe. The Growth of the International Popularity of the Soviet Union.

We can consider as one of the surest signs of the failing security of the "pacifist-democratic regime", as one of the most certain signs that this "regime" is the film on the surface of most profound revolutionary processes which are taking place in the depths of the working class, the decisive victory of the revolutionary wing in the Communist Party of Germany, France and Russia, the growth of the activity of the left wing in the English Labour Party, and finally, the growth of the popularity of the Soviet Union among the working masses of the West and of the East.

The Communist Parties of the West are developing under peculiar conditions. Firstly they are not homogeneous in their composition, since they are formed of former social democrats, who have passed through the old school, and of young party members, who do not yet possess sufficient revolutionary steeling. Secondly they do not possess purely bolshevist cadres, for in the

responsible posts stand people who have come from other parties and who have succeeded at last in breaking with the social democratic remnants. Thirdly, they are confronted by such an experienced and slippery opponent as Social Democracy, which still constitutes an immense political power in the ranks of the working class. Finally, they have such a powerful enemy against them as the European bourgeoisie with its tested state apparatus, with its all-powerful press. To suppose that such communist parties are in a condition to destroy the European bourgeois order of society overnight is to court bitter disappointment. Therefore the present task lies in making the Communist Parties of the West really bolshevist parties, to forge them into real revolutionary cadres, which are capable of building up the whole party practice in the spirit of the revolutionary education of the masses, in the spirit of preparation for the revolution.

This was how things stood with the Communist Parties of the West in the recent past. But in the last six months there has set in a decided change for the better. The last six months are noteworthy in the sense that they bring a radical change in the life of the Communist Parties of the West, in the sense of a decided liquidation of the social democratic remnants, in the sense of the bolshevising of the Party cadres, in the sense of shedding the opportunist elements. What a danger the social democratic remnant can represent in the Communist Parties, is clearly shown by the sad experience with the Saxon Workers' Government, when the opportunist leaders tried to change the idea of the united front as a means for the revolutionary mobilisation and organisation of the masses into a method of social democratic parliamentary combination. This was a turning point which opened the eyes of the Party masses and set them against the opportunist leaders.

The second question which destroyed the reputation of the right wing leaders and brought new revolutionary leaders on scene, was the so-called Russian question, that is, the discussion in the R. C. P. It is well-known that Brandler's group in Germany and Souvarine's group in France decidedly supported the opportunist opposition in the R. C. P. against the fundamental cadres of the R. C. P., against their revolutionary majority. This was a challenge to the revolutionary working mass of the West, which has the warmest sympathy with the Soviet power and its leader the R. C. P. This was a challenge to the Party masses and to the revolutionary wing of the Communist Parties of the West. It is not to be wondered at, that this challenge ended with the complete shattering of the Brandler and Souvarine groups. It is not to be wondered at, that this affair found an echo in all the other Communist Parties of the West. If one also adds the fact of the complete isolation of the opportunist tendency in the R. C. P., one gets a complete picture. The V. Congress of the Comintern confirmed the victory of the revolutionary wing in the important sections of the Comintern.

There is no doubt that the mistakes of the opportunist leaders have played a very important role in the speeding up of the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties of the West, but it is no less certain that other deep causes have also been at work: i. e. the successful offensive of capital in the last few years, the deterioration of the conditions of life of the working class, the existence of an immense army of unemployed, the condition of general economic instability of capitalism and the growth of the revolutionary indignation among the wide working masses. The workers are proceeding towards revolution, and they want to have revolutionary leaders.

To summarise, it can be said that the process of finally training actual bolshevist parties in the West, which represent the principles of the coming revolution in Europe, has begun. This is the result of the last half year.

Still more difficult and peculiar are the conditions of development of the trade union movement in the West. Firstly, they are, owing to their old "proved" craft practice, narrow-minded and antagonistic to Socialism, as having originated before the socialist parties and grown without their help, they are accustomed to glory in their "independence", to set craft interests higher than class interests, and wish to recognise nothing but their immediate pocket interests. Secondly they are conservative in spirit and antagonistic to every revolutionary activity, for they have at their head an old, corruptible trade union bureaucracy, which is corrupted by the bourgeoisie and which is always ready to put the trade unions at the service of imperialism. Finally these trade unions which are united with the Amsterdam reformists, represented that army of reformism, comprising

many millions upon which the modern capitalist order of society is supported.

Of course there exist, alongside with the Amsterdam reactionary unions revolutionary unions which are affiliated to the Profintern. But in the first place there remains within the Amsterdam Federation a considerable part of the revolutionary unions who do not wish to cause a split in the trade union movement and who submit to its discipline and in the second place the Amsterdamers still represent the majority of the workers in the important countries of Europe (England, France, Germany). It must not be forgotten that Amsterdam embraces no less than 14 million workers organised in Trade Unions. To cherish the notion that it will be possible to win the dictatorship of the proletariat against the will of the millions of workers, means to be cruelly deceived, to forsake the ground of Leninism and to condemn oneself to inevitable defeat. The task is therefore to win these millions for the revolution and for communism, to free them from the influence of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, or at least to succeed in getting them to take up a friendly neutral attitude towards communism.

This is how the matter stood until recently. But within the last few months things have begun to change for the better. The home of the self-absorbed reactionary trade unions is England, which was once the industrial capitalist master of the world market. The loss of this monopolist position is connected with the development of financial capitalism, which is characterised by the struggle of a series of the greatest countries for colonial monopoly. It must also not be forgotten, that the war has considerably shaken the production of Europe. It is well known, that the total production of Europe amounts to not more than 70% of pre-war production. Hence the limitation of production and the successful offensive of capital against the working class. Hence the decrease in wages, the actual abolition of the eight hours' day and a series of unsuccessful defensive strikes, which have once more shown the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy to the working class. Hence the enormous unemployment and the growth of the discontent of the workers in the reactionary trade unions. Hence the idea of the united front in the economic struggles of the working class, and the scheme for combining the two trade union Internationals into a united International, which shall be capable of organising the defence against capital.

The speeches of the reformists at the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam International (June 1924) on the negotiations with the Russian unions, and the appeal of the English Trade Unions at the Trade Union Congress (beginning of September 1924) for the unity of the trade unions are only the expression of the growing pressure of the masses on the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The most noteworthy fact in all this is that it is precisely English Unions, which represent the stronghold of conservatism and the essential core of Amsterdam, which took the initiative for uniting the reactionary and revolutionary trade unions. The appearance of left elements in the English Labour movement is the surest sign that all is not right with Amsterdam.

Many people believe that the campaign for the trade union unity is necessary just at the present time because left elements have appeared in Amsterdam, which must absolutely be supported with all power and with all means. That is incorrect, or more exactly, only partially correct. The fact of the matter is — the communist parties of the west are becoming mass organisations, are changing into bolshevist parties, and with the growth of the discontent among wider sections of workers, are approaching the seizure of power, so that while it is clear that the proletarian revolution is drawing near, it is at the same time evident that it is impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie, without having deprived it of its support in the form of reactionary Amsterdam, that it is impossible to win the dictatorship without having captured this bourgeois citadel in Amsterdam for the revolution.

But to do this by one-sided work from without is impossible. This end can only be obtained at the given moment by a combination of work from within and from without in the direction of securing the line of unity in the trade union movement. Therefore the question of uniting the trade unions and of the entry into the professional internationals has become a vital one. Of course we must support the left wing and go forward. But actual support for the left can only be achieved, if the flag of the revolutionary trade unions be not allowed to fall; if the reactionary leaders of Amsterdam are scourged for their betrayal and their disruptive activities; if the left leaders are criticised for their half-heartedness and indecision in their fight against reactionary leaders. Only such a policy can prepare the way for

the actual unity of the trade unions. If a contrary policy is followed there can be a repetition of what occurred in October last year in Germany, when the left Levi-group was successfully used to encircle the German revolutionary workers.

Finally, a word on the growth of popularity of the Soviet Union among the peoples of the bourgeois states. Perhaps one of the surest signs of the failing security of the "pacifist-democratic regime" is the undoubted fact that the influence and reputation of the Soviet Union among the working masses of the West and the East are not only not weakening, but on the contrary are growing from year to year, from month to month. It is not a question of the Soviet Union receiving recognition in one after another of the bourgeois states. In itself this "recognition" does not constitute anything special, for it is dictated firstly by the needs of capitalist competition in the bourgeois countries, who are seeking to take "their place" in the market of the Soviet Union, secondly by the programme of pacifism which demands the restoration of "normal relations" with the Soviet state and the signing of some "Treaty" or other with the Soviet Union. It is not a question of the present "Democrats" and "Pacifists" having defeated their parliamentary rivals in the elections, thanks to their platform of the "recognition" of the Soviet Union; of MacDonald and Herriot having come to power and being able to maintain themselves in the government, thanks, among other things, to their talk of "friendship with Russia", and of the reputation of these "Democrats" and "Pacifists" being a reflection of the reputation of the Soviet Union among the people. It is significant that even so generally recognised a "Democrat" as Mussolini considers it necessary to boast occasionally before the workers of his "friendship" with the Soviet power. It is not less significant, that even such a generally known grabber of other people's property as the present ruler of Japan is not willing to forego "friendship" with the Soviet Union. We do not even wish to speak of the tremendous reputation of the Soviet power among the masses of Turkey, Persia, China and India.

What explains the great reputation and the extraordinary popularity of such a dictatorial revolutionary power as the Soviet Union among the mass of the people of other states?

Firstly, the hatred of the working class against capitalism and their effort to free themselves from it. The workers of the bourgeois states cherish sympathy with the Soviet power before all as a power which has destroyed capitalism. The representative of the English Locomotive Drivers, Bromley, recently declared at the Congress of the British Trade Unions: "The capitalists know that the eyes of the workers of the whole world are turned upon Russia, and that if the Russian revolution wins, the class conscious workers of other countries ask themselves: 'Why cannot we also destroy capitalism?' Bromley is of course no bolshevik. But what he said is the expression of the longing and the thought of the workers of Europe. For why should not European capitalism be really overthrown, if the 'Russians' have come through the seventh year to their advantage without the capitalists? This is the origin of the tremendous popularity of the Soviet power among the great masses of the working class. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet Union signifies the growth of the hate of the working classes of all countries for capitalism.

Secondly, there comes the hatred of the masses for war and their efforts to destroy the bourgeois war machinations. The masses know that the Soviet power was the first to open the attack against the imperialist war and by the opening of the attack undermined the war. The masses see that the Soviet Union is the only country which is conducting the war against the new war. They have sympathy for the Soviet power because it is the standard bearer of peace among the peoples and it is a sure bulwark against war. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet power proclaims the growth of the hatred of the masses of the whole world for imperialist war and its organisation.

Thirdly, there is the hatred of the subjected masses of the suppressed countries and of the colonies against the yoke of imperialism, and their efforts to destroy it. The Soviet power is the only power, which has burst the chains of "fatherland" imperialism. The Soviet Union is the only country which bases its life upon the principles of the equality and common co-operation of nations. The Soviet government is the only government in the world which defends the unity and independence, the freedom and sovereignty of Turkey and Persia, of Afghanistan and China, of the colonies and dependent lands of the whole

world. The subjected masses have sympathy with the Soviet Union because they see in it an ally for liberation from imperialism. Therefore the growth of the international popularity of the Soviet power signifies a growth of hatred on the part of the subject peoples of the whole world for imperialism.

There is little doubt that these three kinds of hatred will not serve to consolidate the "pacifist-democratic regime" of modern imperialism.

A few days ago the United States Minister for Foreign Affairs, the "pacifist" and follower of Koltschak, Hughes, made a fascist declaration against the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that Hughes is envious of Poincaré's laurels. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the "fascist-pacifist" declaration of Hughes will only result in the further strengthening of the influence and reputation of the Soviet Union among the working masses of the whole world.

These are the fundamental facts which characterise the present international situation.

## Why was the Rising in Georgia Necessary?

By Karl Radek.

We have more than once had the opportunity of observing how the bourgeois press can lie, and we had imagined that there could be no further surprises in store for us in this line. But when daily war bulletins appeared in foreign newspapers during the two weeks ending 17. September, with reports on the fall of Tiflis, Batum, etc., and on bloody struggles in Baku, etc., we began to ask what could be the meaning of all this. There are foreigners in Tiflis, there are foreign consuls in residence there, we are no longer living in times of intervention and blockade, when nobody abroad was in a position to judge of the extent of their mendacity. But at last, on 18. September, the so-called Georgian embassy in Paris announced to the world that the great rising of the Georgian people was over. The "Daily Telegraph", which had taken active part in the propagation of all these lies as to an extensive insurrection, now publishes an article entitled: "Treachery and provocation", which destroys the tissue of lies maintained by the bourgeois press up to this date. The article is however in itself a fresh flight of invention. The organ of the English Foreign Office writes to the following effect.

"The events in Caucasia are typical for conditions in Soviet Russia, and for Soviet methods. The information which we have now received from trustworthy sources shows that the news on the success of the rising in Georgia has been exaggerated, and that the Bolsheviki themselves have spread this false news (!). Ever since the independence of the Georgian Republic was annihilated by the Red Army, Moscow has been expecting the day to come on which Georgia would rise to win its freedom. When the Bolsheviki expect an insurrection, they attempt — and are often successful — in provoking the movement into activity before it is ripe, so that the adversary's forces have not time for adequate organisation.

The Georgian patriots, who fled to Europe before the red forces, established their headquarters in Paris, maintained communication with their native country, and energetically gathered together men and money for the purpose of a general insurrection against their oppressors. The Tscheka in Tiflis, which possesses sections all over the Caucasus, exaggerated the success of these preparations, in order to increase the importance of their work for the quenching of the insurrection. The patriotic organisations of Georgia were led astray by treachery. Provocateurs have endeavoured to create conspiracies where there were none in reality, and to induce a resort to force where nobody had thought of such a thing. When Moscow heard that the patriotic movement was increasing in strength, it was resolved to accelerate the outbreak of the insurrection, in order 1. to provoke the Georgians to a struggle and to annihilate them, and 2. to show the Russians the strength of the Red Army and the Tscheka\*."

We have quoted the whole of the "Daily Telegraph" article, for in addition to a lot of rubbish it includes two highly valuable admissions. We need not demonstrate the absurdity of the asser-

\*) Retranslated from the Russian.

tion that the Soviet government itself prepared the insurrection in order to show how powerful it is. Nobody possessing the least grain of common sense believes this. But it is of importance to note the admission that the organisatory centre of the Georgian insurrection is in Paris, and the second admission that the rising has proved to be weak and of brief duration. The whole tale of the provoked acceleration of the rising by the organs of the Tscheka merely serves to explain why the rising proved so weak. In this manner one of the leading organs of English imperialism acknowledges that the whole talk about a mighty national rising, and about a three weeks struggle in Georgia, was pure invention. We must wait and see what the press of the II. International has to say to this confession on the part of an important English organ, a newspaper which receives its information from the sources of the English Foreign Office and English espionage.

### The Plans of the Georgian Mensheviki.

Since the Georgian rising was not the outbreak of the dissatisfaction of a people, but was organised from a centre, the question arises: for what purpose did the Georgian Mensheviki, living in Paris and sending Dshugeli and others to organise the insurrection, need the rising?

The whole international situation, and the methods employed for carrying on the insurrection, give the answer to this question. In England a party belonging to the II. International has secured the government. This government has been obliged, under the pressure exercised by the English working masses, to acknowledge the Soviet Union unconditionally, without wasting one word on Georgia. In France the government is in the hands of the left bloc, and is dependent upon the support of the social democrats. Messrs Jordania and Zeretelli turned with tears in their eyes to their patrons MacDonald and Renaudel: Have you forgotten us? Can you not do something for us? What could MacDonald and Renaudel reply? In Georgia everything was quiet, there was no sign that the Georgian workers and peasants had any idea of rising in an attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviki.

M. Jordania decided to supply proofs that a "struggle for independence" really was going on in Georgia. Just before the League of Nations conference, before the second phase of the negotiations on the loan, and before the negotiations between France and the Soviet Union, was chosen as the most suitable moment. The calculation was very simple: The Bolsheviki would not venture to act with their customary energy, fearing to injure their international position. The leaders of the Georgian Mensheviki, calculating on the irresolution of the Bolsheviki, hoped to attain their object, despite the known weakness of their decaying party.

What was the object which they pursued? They could not hope to overthrow the Soviet power with their own unaided forces. They decided to take possession of a few remote corners, without entering into actual fighting. They themselves were neither able nor willing to attack important centres, and hoped that the Bolsheviki would be equally unable to resolve upon an attack upon them. They had correspondents in Trapezunt, commissioned with the task of informing the whole world that there were two governments in Georgia. MacDonald and Herriot would then intervene. This whole soap bubble burst, for this action received no support from the masses of the people, and the Bolsheviki showed no inclination to play at negotiations, but preferred to act.

### How was the Georgian Rising Utilised by the English Bourgeoisie?

Anyone who has not fully grasped the object of the disgraceful lies spread abroad by the English and French press on the rising in Georgia should now read the leading organ of English imperialism. We have before us the "Times" of 18. September. This contains an article against the loan. One half of the article deals with the loan, the second half with Georgia. What connection exists between the loan and Georgia? This is easily explained. The article states that Georgia was the embodiment of the highest wishes of Mr. MacDonald, and of Messrs Snowden and Renaudel as well, who even travelled to Georgia in order to be able to describe this earthly Paradise. But the Soviet wolf had devoured the Georgian lamb, and Mr. MacDonald, forgetting his love for Georgia, recognised the Soviet government, and thought no more of Georgia. But now negotiations are being carried on regarding the loan. There is an insurrection in Georgia, fighting and bloodshed. What now? Is it possible that MacDonald, in face of the bloody victimisation of his Georgian friends, can resolve to further the ratification of the

agreement on the loan in Parliament? Thus the "Times" laments and questions. We read the "Daily Telegraph" of 20. September. The leading article is entitled: "The Georgian lesson". We begin to study the lesson. But again the subject mainly dealt with is not that of the title, but the loan. But towards the end of this article against the Russian loan we find an appeal to MacDonald:

"English money must not be used for financing bestial and bloody campaigns, such as that which is now drowning Georgian liberty in blood. Within a week MacDonald has to speak. We once more call upon him to study this question, for he knows more about it than anyone else. He was in Georgia when it began to build up its magnificently developing and splendidly managed state, full of pride in its newly-gained liberty. He was full of enthusiasm and confidence in the future of Georgia. Three years ago he protested in glowing terms against the unheard of crime, against the subjection by force of arms. It is his duty to tell us what security he is able to offer us that our money is not used for such undertakings. He must tell us what feelings are now aroused in him by the orgy of pogroms and murders in Georgia\*."

It is easy to comprehend the ends objectively served by the Georgian Mensheviki. They wanted to utilise "pacifist" imperialism for the attainment of their own aims, but now it becomes more than evident that their blood has served imperialism without any pacifist coverings. The English capitalists are endeavouring to destroy the loan agreement, in order to employ the financial blockade for the purpose of forcing upon Soviet Russia the denationalisation of industry, the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly, and the payment of the old Czarist debts. The petty bourgeois blockheads dream of utilising imperialism for their own ends, but invariably prove themselves the blind tools of imperialism.

The imperialist social democratic press raises a tremendous outcry over the blood which has been shed in Georgia. But this blood is upon the heads of imperialist England and France, on the heads of the gentlemen of the II. International. When substantiating his resolution on Georgia at the League of Nations conference, M. Paul Boncour, member of the II. International, made the very characteristic statement: Georgia has risen, and we, the League of Nations, are bound to reply, if only by a gesture. Yes, for the Georgian Mensheviki, fooled by their foreign leaders, the League of Nations will surely find a gesture. But this gesture will have to bring in money for the English and French bankers and industrialists, for the whole of their outcry over Georgia has but one single end in view: The English workers are exercising pressure on the English government, and demanding a loan for Soviet Russia. The English press therefore raises its outcry over Soviet brutalities in Georgia in order to sow confusion in the ranks of the English workers, and to weaken their pressure on MacDonald.

This is the reply to the question why the rising in Georgia was necessary. But the gentlemen managing the English imperialist press have this time woven a mistake into their tissue of untruths. They are obliged to acknowledge that there has been no rising in Georgia, but a putsch organised in Paris, and they have shown their hands remarkably soon, and demonstrated with remarkable candour that the bloodshed in Georgia was for them a necessity, as a means for frustrating the Russian loan. The truth about Georgia is not a blow against the Soviet Union, but against the bloody bandits of English imperialism, who are now shedding crocodile's tears over the Georgian victims who have acted as their tools.

## The Position and the Tasks of the German Communist Party.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The Experts' Report has been accepted, the bourgeois block is on the march. The reconstruction of Germany is characterised in the first instance by a steady rise in the price of food and a gradual increase in the closing down of factories. Nevertheless the interference of foreign capital in Germany has had the result that the crisis in the German economic situation is only slowly becoming acute. Dramatic crises, as in the past years of inflation are not to be expected in Germany. The possibility is

\*) Retranslated from the Russian.

not excluded, however, that even in the course of this winter or next spring, the uncertainty of political and economical conditions may cause great struggles for power to flare up at any time. But it would be foolish to count with certainty on such an event. It is precisely in Germany that the absolute correctness is shown of the analyses and outlook which the V. World Congress set forth. The C. P. of Germany must prepare for both possibilities. It must be ready to intervene at any time in struggles for power at the head of the proletarian masses, as well as to hold the class conscious proletariat together in a long period of transition and prepare it for the decisive struggle.

A transition period of the character which we have at present in Germany has, of course, certain dangers for a Communist Party. There is the danger of an opportunist move towards the right, but there is also the danger of getting lost in a phrase-making and seeming radicalism, which is at bottom just as opportunist. It is just in the present difficult period for the C. P. of Germany there is shown what tremendous progress the Frankfurt Party Congress brought. The decision of the great majority of the Party for the left, and the rebuilding of the centre in this sense, has resulted in the practical cessation of the faction struggles in the G. C. P. Six months have gone since the Frankfurt Party Congress, and it is possible to pronounce a reasoned judgement in the new situation within the Party. We have succeeded so far that the Party has only one policy, that is the policy which has been made with the agreement of the districts and the central committee. There is no other policy in the G. C. P. In no district and from no organisation have there been any actual objections made against the policy of the Central Committee in the last few months. Not only the so-called right, but also the centre group is entirely liquidated for the organisation and Party life. In this respect the German Communist Party is to-day quite different from what it was in 1921 to 1923.

The dying off factions does not, of course, mean that there do not sometimes appear opportunist moves in the Party. Here and there individual and not quite sound functionaries have been carried away by the democratic-pacifist wave. In Berlin and the Ruhr district, single communist Factory Councils have declared themselves for the Experts' Report. They were of course immediately expelled from the Party and the struggle of the G. C. P. against the Morgan policy has not been decreased thereby. The present policy of the G. C. P. has avoided and will avoid letting the Party adapt in any way to the Socialist Party of Germany or being carried in the wake of the G. S. P. Just such periods in which great revolutionary mass movements are lacking, and which are accompanied by democratic-pacifist deception, have led, as the past of the G. C. P. shows, only too often to such experiments. But the G. C. P. has done with that for good and all.

Just as decisively as the Party refuses to go with the S. P. leadership, so is it endeavouring to unite the masses of the whole proletariat for the class war. The realisation of this unity from below presupposes intensified work of the Party within the factory councils, factory nuclei and before all in the trade unions. Our campaign for Trade union unity met with some opposition among honest revolutionary workers, who felt that by re-entering into the "yellow" Amsterdam International they were yielding themselves up. Already at the V. World Congress, the German delegation pointed out the difficulties, which in this respect arise from among the masses of the German proletariat themselves and hinder the resumption of trade union work. A certain degree of caution and of patient work of explanation among the revolutionary workers as well as among the members of the G. C. P. was necessary in order to explain the rightness and necessity of the trade Union tactics of the Comintern.

The new Party leaders have from the time of the Frankfurt Party Conference taken on the education of members for trade union work, and we can say at present that all important obstacles have been overcome. Certainly the Party has come up against the clique of disguised syndicalists, who under the leadership of Schumacher and Weyer thought they could make use of the German C. P. for their own petty organisation. The left Berlin district leaders have for some time been directing a struggle against the tactics of Weyer and his Berlin Union. The left wing of the German Party has always very sharply opposed the syndicalist adventure. It was the Brandler Central Committee which at the time prevented the Berlin district leaders from making an end with Weyer and the Berlin Union. This delay must be made up for now. When the Weyer-Schumacher

group announced open rebellion against the Party resolutions in the Trade Union question, the central committee replied by expelling Weyer and Schumacher.

The influence of the Weyer group on the workers of Berlin is quite insignificant. It is characteristic that the only one of the independent Berlin Unions which possesses authority among the masses, the Free Railway Union, is entirely with the Party in the campaign for trade union unity. Behind Weyer and Schumacher stand single groups of miners, tailors and a few metal workers. The most important big industrial district of Berlin, Wedding, at its meeting of members, expressly approved by 1000 against 20 votes the expulsion of Schumacher and Weyer. The figures in the other districts of Berlin correspond. Outside Berlin Schumacher does not exist to any serious extent. The worst that can develop in Berlin from the expulsion of the Schumacher group, is the splitting off of perhaps 100 to 200 members. A loss which is slight against the freeing of the Party from all syndicalist mischief. Schumacher and Weyer are characteristically carrying on an anti-bolshevist hunt and are joining up with certain "left radical" theoreticians who reject Leninism in its conception of the peasant question, the question of nationalities and of imperialism. But this combination only shows the more clearly that we have here to deal with an openly anti-revolutionary group whose expulsion from the Party can only be welcomed.

The class-conscious workers know from long years of experience that he who raises the cry: free from Moscow! is only an agent of counter-revolution. The German C. P. is firmly and steadily following the way indicated by the V. World Congress and the Frankfurt Party Conference: no concession however small to the democratic-pacifist wave, to Social Democracy or parliamentary swindly. At the same time indefatigable work for the organisation of the masses for the revolution and the refusal of all tendencies which would annul this work among the masses. Neither the Brandler policy, nor the Schumacher policy but the Lenin policy. That is the task of the German Communist Party.

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### A Blow at World Imperialism in the Far East.

By M. Mikhaylov (Moscow).

Up to the most recent times the Chinese-Eastern Railway formed a basis for international counter-revolution. It was here that both during and after the revolution many Russian aristocrats and bourgeois fled. It was here that preparations were made for intervention. Harbin, the seat of the administration, as well as the whole stretch of adjoining country included in the original concession of the Chinese-Eastern Railway, remained up to the most recent time a stronghold of white guardists. This is why the transfer of the railway to a joint administration by the Soviet Union and China as well as the arrest of the former Managing Director of the railway, Ostroumov, and of his accomplices General Gondatti and Mikhaylov, who was at one time Finance Minister to Koltchak, before all constitute a heavy blow at foreign counter-revolution; the white guardists are already fleeing from the railway in all directions. At the same time the aggressive plans of three imperialist powers: America, France and Japan, who were endeavouring to seize hold of the railway — in imperialist terminology, to "internationalise" it — have received an effective check.

From the very beginning of imperialist intervention in the Far East, each of the imperialist powers have been striving to secure the Chinese-Eastern Railway for itself. France sought to do so with the aid of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, America through the mediation of the so-called "Inter-Allied Committee", and Japan by means of the well known agreement of 1922 and of the recent negotiations of the Japanese Transport Company "Kokusy-Unso".

Upon what did France base her claims — as put forward by her Agents the Russo-Asiatic Bank? Upon the shares of the Chinese-Eastern Railway which had been stolen by the former chief of a department of the State Bank and handed over by the latter to the administration of Russo-Asiatic Bank in Paris.

Taking advantage of the fact that Soviet Russia was occupied with the liquidation of the intervention, this Bank claimed to be the owner of the railway, and in 1920 concluded an agreement with the Chinese Government, according to which the Bank appointed five members of the administration of the Railway and the administration of the railway was carried on by the Russo-Asiatic Bank along with the Chinese Government.

The Washington Conference made China responsible in the event of the latter's non-fulfilment of her obligations to the foreign shareholders, bondholders and creditors of the Chinese-Eastern Railway. This decision shows quite clearly that in 1921 the powers were striving to obtain "rights" over the railway, while actually only two countries were really concerned with the railway: the Soviet Union and China.

The whole activity of the Russo-Asiatic Bank with regard to the railway was carried on in opposition to the interests of the Soviet Union and China. In 1922 the administration of the Chinese-Eastern Railway concluded an agreement with the (Japanese) South Manchurian Railway, according to which all goods-traffic was to be sent via Dairen and not via Vladivostok, although the Vladivostok route is considerably shorter (180 kilometres) than the Dairen route. The hostility of the administration of the Eastern Chinese-Eastern Railway towards the Soviet Union found expression in the fact that the administration took into its service white-guardists such as General Gondatti, the former tsarist Governor of the Amur district; Mikhaylov, the former Finance Minister to Koltchak; General Aphanassyev etc., while it supported the white guardist press and incited Chinese authorities against the citizens and institutions of the Soviet Union. But at the same time the activity of the old administration of the Railway was directed against the interests of China. General Gondatti, who was at the head of the land department of the railway, conceded, under very easy terms, to Japanese concessionaires plots of land situated at various strategical points of Northern China.

Quite recently the old administration, anticipating its speedy demise, was preparing to conclude an agreement with Japan through the intermediation of the Transport Company "Kokusy-Unso". If this agreement had been carried out, Japan would have subordinated to herself the entire transport of Manchuria, linking it up with the ocean transport of the largest Japanese navigation companies. If one adds to this that Japan in recent years strongly increased her economic influence in Manchuria — investing in it 300 million yen in industrial undertakings alone — it becomes clear that the conclusion of the agreement between "Kokusy-Unso" and the administration of the Chinese-Eastern Railway would have finally confirmed the economic influence, as well as the political influence of Japan in Northern China.

Simultaneously with the negotiations with the "Kokusy-Unso" a large delegation of representatives from the Japanese State Railways, from the Ministry of Transport and the War Office, in the course of two weeks made a tour of the whole line, making itself acquainted with the workshops, rolling stock and the work of the administration etc.

Finally, the recent tour of the whole line by the United States Military Attaché, accompanied by many officers of the United States General Staff, bears witness to the fact that the foreign powers intended to take advantage of the absence of any measures connected with the realisation of the agreement between the Soviet Union and China of the 31st May last regarding the Chinese-Eastern Railway.

The general agreement concluded on the 31st May last between the Chinese Central Government and the Soviet Union contained provisions regarding the Chinese-Eastern Railway, which up to now could not be realised because Tchan-Tso-Lin, the General Governor of those three Chinese provinces traversed by the railway, refused to carry out these provisions. It was only until comrade Karakhan, the representative of the Soviet Union, recently arrived at an agreement with Tchan-Tso-Lin that it became possible to carry out the agreement in this respect.

The agreement of the 31st May provides that the administration of the railway be carried on jointly by the Soviet Union and China. It gives the Soviet Union a majority of one vote on the central committee. It provides that no preference shall be exercised in the engagement of employees belonging to the Soviet Union or the Chinese Republic.

The realisation of the agreement as regards the railway is of very great economic importance to us, because the Chinese-Eastern Railway shortens the route between Vladivostok and the European territory of the Soviet Union by over 530 kilo-

metres. The great importance of the realisation of the agreement is also shown in that it puts an end to the imperialists making use of the railway as a basis for interventions and counter-revolutionary actions against the Soviet Union.

The realisation of the agreement will be of no less importance to China.

## ECONOMICS

### Economics and Economic Policy in the First Half Year of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

VII.

#### The United States of America (continued).

##### Foreign Trade.

During the period of this report, foreign trade in the United States has developed as follows:

	Imports	Exports	Export surplus
	Million dollars		
December 1923 . . . . .	288.1	426.8	138.7
January 1924 . . . . .	295.6	395.2	99.6
February . . . . .	332.5	366.1	33.6
March . . . . .	320.6	339.7	19.0
April . . . . .	324.4	346.9	22.4
May . . . . .	302.9	334.9	32.0
June . . . . .	277.0	307.0	30.0
	1853.0	2089.8	226.6
			Import surplus
I. half year 1923 . . . . .	2087.6	1945.5	142.1

These figures give an excellent survey of the changes taking place in the economic situation of the United States. An import surplus of 142 million dollars in the first half year of 1923, an export surplus of 226 million dollars in the first half year of 1924. This change cannot fail to have exercised influence upon the economics of the other countries of the world.

##### The Position of the Working Class.

The economic statistics of the United States — in so far as these are of interest to the capitalists — are compiled in an exemplary manner. But on the other hand it is somewhat difficult to obtain any reliable figures as to the position of the working class! Except in the state of Massachusetts, no statistics are kept on unemployment. Nor, is there any unemployment benefit. Thus we are able to read in the American papers that there is still no great unemployment! For instance:

"The working class is naturally involved in the closing down or part time working in the factories, and wages have been revised in places. But there are no general complaints of unemployment..." (Journal of Commerce, 12 July 1924.)

This same periodical, referring to statistics issued by the Ministry of Labour, declares the present wages of organised workers to be as follows:

9% higher than 1923
84% " " 1917
111% " " 1913

"At the present time real wages are considerably higher than they have ever been in the history of the country. The truth of this statement was recently confirmed by a prominent labour leader." ("Journal of Commerce", 2. July.)

It is probable that the wages of the organised workers are higher than they used to be. But it would be a mistake to draw conclusions from this with reference to the whole working class, for the workers organised in trade-unions only form a fraction, not even the fifth part, of the whole working class. But the amount of the hourly wage is by no means decisive for the position of the organised workers; for unemployment is greatest precisely among the workers belonging to the "closed shops". Thus, for instance, mine owning capital has been carrying on an organised campaign against the organised miners for years, encircling them geographically by unorganised workers to

an ever increasing extent, maintains chronic unemployment amongst them, etc.

The extreme measures taken for limiting immigration have improved the situation of the working class of recent years. In our last report we attempted to explain this policy — which appears to be directly opposed to the interests of the capitalist class — as the result of a political alliance between the wealthier among the farmers, the capitalists of the South, who do not require immigrant labour, the nationalist Fascist elements, and the reactionary labour trade unions gathered around Gompers. Despite the protests of the Bankers' Association, the regulations limiting immigration were recently made even stricter. This means the practical cessation of the whole stream of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. As complement to this policy the Dawes plan and the London conference take the first steps towards the colonisation of continental Europe, and the workers denied entrance to America will be exploited in their own homes in the future by American capital.

The present crisis is of course being utilised by the American capitalists for making great reductions in wages. Wage reductions of 10 to 20% are of daily occurrence, and are accepted by the workers with scarcely a struggle. The lack of a communist mass party is profoundly felt, to the detriment of the American proletariat...

### Japan.

For one in Berlin, and excluded from all possibility of reading original material it is extraordinarily difficult to form any idea of the economic development of Japan. The Japanese newspapers published in the English language are by no means reliable, as these are generally the paid servants of some group of English or American financiers, or merely reflect the official views of the Japanese government. We can thus only cautiously draw the general outlines:

During the past half year the economic situation of Japan has decidedly worsened. This is attributed in general to the earthquake catastrophe. But it seems to us that the earthquake merely released the spring. The worsening of the economic situation is mainly expressed in the very adverse balance of foreign trade, the necessity of importing materials for reconstruction on a large scale here playing a decisive rôle. The foreign trade data are as follows:

	Imports for home con- sumption	Exports
	(In million yen)	
Monthly average 1913	60.5	52.4
do 1923	166.0	150.4
do January 1924	214.0	110.7
February	294.0	105.4
March	311.0	120.4
April	248.0	148.0
May	223.0	176.0

The relations between exports and imports show a tendency to improve. But the difference is still very great, and it is only natural that this has led to a depreciation of Japanese currency, which had maintained approximate gold parity as a general rule since the war. The rate of exchange of the yen in relation to the dollar has been as follows (Fed. Res. Bulletin):

Parity	49.85
Monthly average	
December	47.01
January	44.90
February	45.57
March	42.90
April	40.93
May	40.15

The depreciation is approximately 20%, and would have been even greater had Japan not succeeded in floating a large currency loan in America.

Financial conditions have also retrogressed at home. By the close of the year the bank notes in circulation had reached the value of 1703 million yen, a sum which has, however, been reduced to 1287 million again during the last five months. The gold cover for this issue was 81% in December, but has since declined to 62%.

We find an interesting description of the economic depression in Japan in the Manchester Guardian Commercial Supplement of 17. April 1924. In order to arrest the depreciation of the

currency, the Japanese central note bank maintains a very strict credit policy, even after the receipt of the American loan. Trade is thus much hampered. After the earthquake, enormous quantities of restoration materials were ordered for Japan, a good market being assumed, and now there is a superfluity of these materials. The shipping companies energetically demand that the merchants empty the over-filled warehouses. In many cases goods have been sent back. English exporters sending unsold goods to Japan, in the hope of doing good business, have also not been able to sell these and have been forced to sell them elsewhere. The interest on trade bills is very high and credit difficult to obtain.

It is interesting to note that Japan, too, possesses advocates of an inflation policy. In an article published by the "Japan Chronicle" of 7. June, a business man of Osaka, Matazo, demands the release of gold export. He emphasises that the depreciation of the Japanese currency has increased exports. Should the Japanese yen fall to 30 cents, this should rather be welcomed than regretted, since it would offer excellent possibilities for the improvement of export trade etc.

Economic conditions have quite recently become even worse in Japan, a result of the extension of the American crisis to Japan. The export of silk and silk goods plays a decisive rôle for the export trade of Japan. America is the best customer of the Japanese silk industry, for America is known to consume 85% of the world's silk production. The acute crisis in America has greatly lessened the consumption of silk. "The present crisis phenomena are most conspicuously noticeable in Japan in the textile industry. Foreign markets stagnated some months ago, and home trade does not by any means afford sufficient occupation for the spinning and weaving mills... The greatly reduced export of all textile articles is opposed by a considerably increased import of raw materials and manufactures... Hitherto the profitability of the Japanese cotton factories was guaranteed by the favourable markets of the Far East, especially of China, where superior quality was not demanded. But even in these areas greater demands are now being put upon quality. The Eastern countries are erecting their own textile manufactories, and foreign competition — especially from the United States — is growing greater year by year. Japan no longer enjoys the advantage of cheap labour and long working hours, and is feeling in a high degree the lack of a developed industry for the manufacture of textile machinery... In order to secure the Chinese market, various spinning mills in Shanghai have started their own manufactories. (Industry and Trade Journal. 3. June 1924.)

Thus Japan's present position and future prospects are alike somewhat discouraging. This is the reason why Japan's aggressive foreign policy has become milder of late. Although Japan is continuing her naval armaments, still she only replied to the prohibition of Japanese immigration into the United States by a protest — and this despite the indignant attitude of the whole Japanese press — and even rejected the idea of boycotting American goods. Such an action would have been exceedingly damaging to Japan, in view of the financial relations between the two countries, and Japan's dependence on America as a silk market. Japan is now concentrating her efforts on extending her sphere of influence on the Asiatic continent by peaceful means. The attempts at resumption of normal relations with Soviet Russia are an indication of this.

### The Other Countries Over-Seas,

in their capacity of suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials, have suffered from the low prices of these articles — with the exception of textile raw materials.

Canada's economic life is so closely bound up with that of the United States that its economic prosperity rises and falls with America's. Thus we see Canada an equal victim to a severe economic crisis in the second quarter of 1923: closing down of factories iron-works, etc. The low grain prices have had a very unfavourable influence. Although the crisis has not been acute enough to bring about the mass flight of farmers which we have witnessed in the United States, still the wheat prices of last year were not high enough to cover the farmer's expenses. This year's results depend on the state of the crops, and on this there are no reliable data to be had as yet. But there is no question of such large crops as in 1923.

Australia has greatly profited by the high price of wool. The country is developing through the immigration of English

settlers so extensively supported by the English government; on the other hand, industry is protected by high duties, and can scarcely compete with European industry.

We have no reliable material at our disposal enabling us to report on the economic situation in the South American and Asiatic countries. To judge by their rates of currency exchange, these countries appear to be suffering less from the international economic crisis. The rise in the price of silver in the world's markets indicates an improvement of economic conditions in India and China.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Strike of the Miners in Belgium.

It is now almost two months since the strike of the miners broke out in the Borinage district. But still the end is not in sight, as the courageous determination of the strikers to repel the attack of the employers remains unfinished. But also on the side of the employers there is to be seen no inclination to give way. They have stacked up huge stores of coal and therefore believe that they have time on their side. They will not abandon their intention of reducing wages by 10%. On the 2nd of October the mine owners of the Borinage district again decided at their Conference in Mons not to depart from their demand for a reduction of wages.

On the other hand, the miners at their last conference in Hornu on the 3rd of October unanimously adopted a resolution in which they take note of the refusal of the employers to submit the case to an arbitration court, and call upon the Trade union commission to show a greater measure of solidarity with the fighting miners.

The sabotage of the trade union bureaucrats is still going on as before. They put difficulties in the way of collections which have been spontaneously taken up throughout the whole country by the members of the various miners organisations, and especially sabotage the handing over of the money thus collected to the revolutionary organisation "Chevalier de Travail" (Knights of Labour) which numbers a considerable minority of the strikers in its ranks.

The solidarity of the revolutionary organisations abroad is expressed in various forms. The miners organised in the French C. G. T. U., which is affiliated to the R. I. L. U., have declared themselves ready to enter upon a solidarity strike. The International Workers Relief has already rendered help and has in the first place provided food to the miners of Rieu-du-Coeur — where the strike broke out on the 24th of June (that is nearly four months ago). The distribution of the food which is carried out without regard to the union to which the workers belong, is counter-acting the sabotage of reformist bureaucrats mentioned above, and is giving an impressive demonstration of the united front in this severe and important struggle.

### To the Clerks and Civil Servants of all Countries!

Comrades:

More than once have the leaders of the Amsterdam International demonstrated their splitting tendencies, breaking up the trade unions, preventing the admission of the revolutionary unions, and expelling from their organisation all the revolutionary and active elements. They are now bent upon another disruptive effort.

The "Provisional Presidium of the International of Civil Servants", set up by the Amsterdam heads, is calling a Constituent Congress of an International of Civil Servants and Teachers in Paris at the end of October. What is the object of this congress? To unite the civil servants for a more effective struggle and defense of their interests? Nothing of the sort! The new Civil Servants' International is being created by the social patriotic leaders for the purpose of further splitting the labour movement and particularly the movement of the civil servants and clerks in order to disarm them in face of capitalist exploitation.

Here are some facts: The new International is to include post and railway officials. The German unions of post and railway

officials are respectively affiliated to the Postal and Transport Workers' Internationals; their joining the new International would mean a split of the Internationals of Post and Transport Workers, it would mean the separation of the civil servants from the workers and clerks, it would mean the further destruction of the united front of all the toilers.

The new International is to include also a part of the teachers' organisations. The Amsterdamers and their agent, Falchenberg thus wish to realise their long cherished plan: to break the revolutionary Paris International of Teachers.

The new International is intended to prevent the creation of Industrial Internationals and to divide the civil servants and the workers. The splitting policy is perfectly evident.

Comrades, Civil Servants, Clerks, Workers of the World!

Protest against this new attempt of the reformists to injure your interests, to bring further dissension into your ranks! Not Separation from the Workers, but Closer Unity with them for the Successful Struggle Against Capital, this is our Slogan.

In opposition to the Amsterdamers' splitting policy we raise our slogans:

Unions of railway officials, join the transport Workers' International!

Unions of postal officials, join the Postal Workers' International!

Teachers, join the Paris International of Teachers!

Government Employees, join the Clerical Workers' International!

Close up your ranks. Join the working class! Only together with it will you be able to defend your interests!

Down with the new split among the toilers!

Hail the united front of all the Government Employees, of all the clerks and Workers for the joint struggle against plunderous capital!

International Propaganda Committee of  
Revolutionary Clerical Workers.

D. Antoshkin,  
Secretary.

## FASCISM

### The Crisis in Italy in Ripening.

By Ruggiero Grieco. (Rome.)

Without having accepted any particular Dawes Plan, Italy is also a sphere of financial influence of the United States. With the entry of the United States into the war, Italy sheltered the Y. M. C. A. which, provided with great resources, made itself at home in the war zone and in the most important towns in Italy. The Y. M. C. A., which is a sort of spiritual advance guard of the American financiers, followed the tins of conserved rabbit, frozen meat and the corn. To-day the Sinclair Company, the great American petroleum trust, is coming to the fore, whose most recent history is linked up with the petroleum scandals, in which the highest functionaries of the American State were involved. Italy is therefore sufficiently — Dawesd.

The political independence of Italy, which is so vaunted by our nationalists, is therefore nothing else but pure rethoric without any real significance. Italy has 391 million dollars credits abroad, as follows: 134 million in Great Britain, 97 in France, 63 in Austria, 35 in Czecho-Slovakia, 33 in Roumania, 14 in Poland, 7 in Russia, 3 in Yugoslavia, 3 in the United States, 2 in France (the figures are taken from a publication of the Bankers Trust Company in New York). On the other hand Italy has debts in other countries to the amount of 4748 million dollars, 2569 million of which are due to Great Britain, 2015 million to the United States and 164 million to France.

In foreign policy fascism is following the same lines which the Minister of the old regime followed, only that it has developed greater oratorical powers and trained more numerous and noisy choirs. One can even say that the foreign policy of Italy has never been so provincial as now: The Premier, Mussolini, avoids leaving Italy to attend international conferences: his imperialism is very domestic in form, it has nothing of the pinion of the Roman eagle, but rather something of the flutter of a barn-door fowl. Since his journey to London in November 1922, Mussolini

has just roused himself sufficiently to go to Lausanne, but his journeys mean the rise of crises at home.

In home policy the crystallisation of the opposing parties and powers proceeds with painful slowness. The polemic which the "Civiltà Cattolica" (Catholic Community), the organ of the Jesuits and the "Osservatore Romano" (Roman Observer), the organ of the Vatican, on the one side, and the press of the (Catholic) People's Party and of the Democratic-Liberals on the other side, are carrying on over the common work of the People's Party and of the Socialists, is continued in a most interesting way. The fact that the Vatican favours the view that the Fascist government, whit all its sins, is to be supported, instead of an attempt being made to overthrow it by violence, is connected by many people with the desire of the Vatican, that the year 1925 being a "holy year" shall pass without any social upheavals which might keep back the stream of pilgrims, millions of whom it is reckoned will come to Italy, as it is feared that the failure of the Catholic festivals might cause a loss of income to the Vatican coffers expected during such mystical occasions.

The polemics over the eventual collaboration of the People's Party and the Socialists may be a threat to prevent, or to increase the difficulty of the participation of the People's Party in the expected violent attack against fascism. But it is quite uncertain whether it will come to this attack. The programme of the opposition, to which all anti-fascist constitutional parties belong (the People's Party, the Republican Party, the Reformist Party, the Maximalist Socialist Party and few other less important political groups) is of a very vague character. The opposition parties continually repeat that they are against any form of violence and do not intend to adopt violent methods.

The question which the press of the fascists and of the constitutional opposition parties recur to again and again, is the "bolshivist danger". The fascists maintain that there is a "bolshivist danger" in Italy, which hides behind the opposition. The opposition maintains and even "proves", that there can be no bolshivist danger. On the contrary, the opposition parties maintain that the Italian Communists in a certain sense work along with the fascists, in that they support the policy of Soviet Russia and therefore must be on good terms with the fascist government, which is likewise on friendly terms with the Russian government.

Serrati sent a letter a short time ago to the democratic opposition paper "Il mondo" (The world) pointing out that Russia is not a friend of the fascist government, but wants to be a friend of the Italian people; that anti-fascism has been very much taken up and spread in Russia and that the treaty between Italy and Russia is not a treaty between Communists and fascists. Perhaps it would have been better if Serrati had not sent this letter to the democratic newspaper, since the latter cannot in any case admit the correctness of the fact which is opposed to its views. On the other hand, one must keep in mind that the whole opposition is strengthening its anti-communist-fascist campaign, in order to show the petty bourgeois, which changed a short time ago from fascism to anti-fascism, that the opposition parties are for the true and effective return to legality and normal conditions. It is certain, that the moment the opposition parties were to take the place of fascism, a cruel persecution of the Communists would set in: a legal persecution, but none the less fearful and pitiless.

Under what conditions will the collision with fascism take place? Will it take a legal form, or will it be accompanied by violence? The assumption of a conspiracy would sound credible, if one keeps in mind that the opposition parties feel above all the necessity of interesting the masses directly against fascism. But without the intervention of the masses there seems little prospect that the opposition parties will be capable of defeating fascism, which has an armed militia and many munitions stores at its disposal. The opposition parties are in a very embarrassing position.

In the political sphere the cleavage of fascism goes on uninterruptedly. Those who have withdrawn from the fascist party, like Torai and Sala, have joined with the poet Sen Benelli, the author of the "Last Supper of the Mockers" in addressing an appeal to the Italian people and founding a "Lega Italica" (Italian League). The movement is purely intellectual and imitates the forms of the political interventions of d'Annunzio, and only those who know nothing of Italian affairs would believe that it could be capable of evoking a mass movement. From Bologna comes the news of the founding of a radical-socialist party whose programme is not known, but can easily be guessed.

The indecision of the anti-fascist parties opposes the indecision of the fascists. Fascism is trying to retain the co-operation

of the right Liberals who assure it the parliamentary majority, and continues at the same time its threats against the opposition. Mussolini's speech to the miners of Monte Amiata, who were compelled to listen to him, reveals the naiveté contained in the political outlook of Mussolini, who, at the same moment in which in an interview with the editor of the "Giornale d'Italia" he expressed his desire for collaboration, in a public speech threatened the constitutional opposition parties in the commonest of barrack-room expressions.

Meanwhile the exchange has deteriorated. While the average rate for the first half year of 1922 was 20.1 Lire to the Dollar, the average in the first half year of 1924 amounted to 22.85. In the last half year 442 Paper Lire corresponded to 100 Gold Lire while in the first half year of 1922 100 Paper Lire corresponded to 100 Gold Lire. Imports have increased to 18 milliards a year, that is to about 2 milliard more than in 1922. The increase of prices corresponds to the increase in the rate of exchange. In 1922 the buying capacity of the Lire was 18.92, in 1924 it was 18.67 in January, 18.41 in February, 18.20 in March, 18.16 in April, 18.30 in May and 18.29 on the average of the first half of 1924. In the first half of 1924 the surplus of imports over exports amounted to 2,783 million Lire. The price index figure set at 100 on the average, amounted to 543.1 in January 1924, 550.5 in April, 536.6 in June and 544.9 last July. Of 125 different classes of goods which were investigated by a financial paper, only 30 have increased less than 200% in price, while 17 have increased from 200 to 300%, 23 from 300 to 400%, 37 from 400 to 500%, 21 from 500 to 600%, 18 from 600 to 800% and 6 from 800 to 1000%.

The increase of population is also noticeable, which must be particularly considered in connection with the results of the Johnson Bill (the new American immigration law, which now only permits the immigration of very few Italians. Ed.). On the 31st of December 1921 the figures of the population of Italy ran to 37,171,084, at the end of 1922 they had risen to 37,607,487, at the end of 1923 to 38,044,441.

All these elements are of importance for the complete understanding of the importance and significance of the coming events in Italy.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The II. International and its British Section.

By W. N. Clark.

As is known, the II. International does not claim to exercise any strict central control over its various sections, but considers it better to leave them free to follow any policy they please which is calculated to preserve the interests of their bourgeoisies. But there is one thing at least in which the leaders of the II. International expect their affiliated bodies to carry on a uniform policy, and that is in regard to an unrelenting hatred and opposition to the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Soviet Russia. It seems, however, that the English Labour Party, which constitutes one of the main supports of the Labour and Socialist International, has not been toeing the line in this respect of late. This was first to be seen in the attitude of the English Labour press towards the recent "revolt" in Georgia. It has been apparent all along that the English Labour Party did not look with anything like favour upon this criminal and stupid adventure, which clearly aimed at prejudicing the chances of the Anglo-Russian Treaty. The "Daily Herald" for instance has refrained from joining in the anti-bolshevik hue and cry and the lamentations over "suppressed Georgia" which filled the columns of the Continental Social Democratic press. On the whole it has remained decidedly sceptical towards the various inspired reports from Menshevik sources regarding wholesale uprisings by the Georgian "people" and of terrible reprisals by the Soviet authorities; while at the same time it has published reports from reliable sources which have served effectively to refute the lying statements emanating from the enemies of the Soviet power.

The clearest evidence that the attitude of the English Labour Party towards Russia is creating friction between it and the II. International, is furnished by the "New Leader". In the issue of October 3, 1924 the Editor, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, obligingly lifts the curtain a trifle and gives us a glimpse of the proceedings

at the recent meeting of the Executive. What he writes is of so much interest that it is worth quoting at some length. He states:

"The Russian cloud hung heavily over all the deliberations of the Executive this week, and indeed, it found little time to discuss anything else. Vandervelde, from the chair, taking an article from the *New Leader* as his text, opened the long debate in a speech which, for all its friendliness and courtesy, was still a protest against the whole attitude of the British Labour Party. Adler, with scrupulous fairness, followed in the same sense with illustrations from the *Daily Herald*. It was soon clear that we stand in this matter alone. Few questioned our wisdom in making a Treaty with Russia, or our right to consider the needs of our own unemployed. But the tragic case of Georgia was in all our comrades' minds. News came as we were sitting, that the Socialist prisoners, marooned in their dismal Arctic prison on Solovietzki Island had started a hunger strike to enforce their demand for transference to some less rigorous prison on the mainland. Most of the Socialist parties of the Continent are in deadly feud with a formidable Communist opposition, and behind all these opponents stands Russia. Cramp replied with the explanation that Communism is so alien to the British temperament that we in this country may safely ignore it: he argued powerfully that Russia must not be isolated, and dwelt on the case of our unemployed. I tried to explain to our Continental comrades the historical difference between their case and ours. For years we were engaged in a battle with British Imperialism over the blockade and the intervention. Here was the hottest front in the class-struggle, and so inevitable and typical is the cleavage along these lines that Liberals and Tories have combined to choose this Russian issue for the next election. We should be mad to mingle attacks on Russia with our defence of the Treaty. But our attitude is not dictated by insular calculations. We are following a European policy. Our aim is to end the isolation of Russia. The danger of war in the East is not past. We may preach arbitration, but how, if the Polish or Rumanian danger grew acute, could we expect Russia to accept the arbitration of the West, if its peoples, workers as well as middle class, were solid in their prejudice against her? I fear our defence made no impression. Wels and Longuet were both against us, and, of course, Abramovitch and Tseretelli."

Mr. Brailsford informs us further, that a long general resolution, which the *British delegation* opposed, was in the end withdrawn, and two shorter resolutions carried, which pleaded for the prisoners on Solovietzki Island and for the rights of Georgia. He states in conclusion (italics ours):

"The Russian question threatens to become an obsession of the International. Its only adequate discussion at this Executive meeting was of this issue, in which a rival Socialist force figures as the opponent. The International ought to be our General Staff, devising and co-ordinating the struggle against the other forces which one had always supposed to be enemy — capitalism, Imperialism, and Fascism. For that side issue on this ironical anniversary it had no leisure."

In adopting their present attitude towards the Soviet Union, the leaders of the English Labour Party are, of course, driven by the logic of events and by the pressure of the working masses. Even English bourgeois policy is more or less bound to seek an *approchement* with Russia, if only as a counter-poise to the threatened hegemony of France upon the Continent, while the potential possibilities of Russia as a huge market for English products cannot be disregarded in face of the critical condition of British industry and the existence of a huge army of unemployed. In addition to this the English workers, while remaining indifferent to Communist theory, have, ever since the Russian Revolution, felt an instinctive solidarity with the Russian workers. This was strongly manifested during the critical days of 1920 when the English government appeared bent upon a war with the Soviet Republic. The storm of indignation which then broke out among the workers was such that had the Government persisted in its policy a revolutionary situation would have quickly developed. The attitude of the English delegates at the Vienna Conference of the I. F. T. U. in June last, as well as the tremendous ovation accorded comrade Tomsy at the British Trade Union Congress at Hull in September, provide recent evidence as to the feeling of the English workers for their comrades in the Workers and Peasants' Republics. As Lenin wrote

in an article which has been published lately: "In their aversion to abstract theory, proud of their practicality, the English often approach political questions in a direct manner." Thus, although the English workers have not had the somewhat doubtful advantage of receiving instruction in Marxian theory from two such "orthodox Marxians", for instance, as Karl Kautsky and Otto Bauer, they are often able to perceive directly where their class interests lie. If the II. International wishes completely to undermine its influence with the English workers it cannot do better than to carry on with its anti-Russian policy.

## IN THE COLONIES

### Important Political Events in the Near East.

By J. B. (Jerusalem.)

Whilst Messrs. MacDonald and Herriot, in the guise of newly arisen saviours of humanity, are selling the European proletariat to American capital, they consider it superfluous to adopt any disguise before the colonial peoples. The more pompous and peace-loving MacDonald's phrases become regarding the new order and stabilisation of Europe, the more cynical and ruthless becomes his policy in the East and the more brutal become the acts of his colonial officials. None of the English governments since the war have been so openly and consistently imperialistic and so intriguing and blood-thirsty as the Labour government has been during its nine months of office. The last few weeks furnish an excellent illustration of this labour policy.

If England was able to show its "strong hand" to Egypt, as the recent events in the Sudan have proved, it is not to be wondered that the backward and feeble States of the Arabian Peninsula are receiving much worse treatment. English diplomacy consists of a play of intrigues, the diabolical cunning of which would appear incredible, even to those who are very well acquainted with British policy and its methods, if it were not proved by Arabian newspapers, by means of documents and reports of eye-witnesses.

The English were not content with the rule of El Rikabi Pacha over Transjordan, whom they had set up as their faithful servant to keep an eye on the Emir Abdallah, who was no more quite reliable, and endeavoured to find a pretext for the military occupation of Transjordan. For this purpose they sent Emir Abdallah "on a visit" to Hedjaz. It then "happened" that El Rikabi Pacha withdrew all his troops from the southern frontier of his kingdom, and dispatched them to the North, where there was unrest on the Syrian-Transjordanian frontier. This had hardly taken place, when "suddenly" a huge body of Wahabites appeared from the desert and attacked Transjordan, robbing, murdering and burning right into the heart of the country.

It is true that Rikabi Pacha was repeatedly warned of the approaching attack: at the same time no measures of defence were adopted. Only when the Wahabites stood before the very gates of the capital of Transjordan, did Rikabi Pacha appeal for help to the head-quarters of the British troops in Palestine. And England did help. In the course of a few hours English aeroplanes were on the spot — they came, they saw, they conquered. Leaving behind them 800 killed and wounded, the Wahabites retreated into the desert. At the same time the capital of Transjordan was, for the sake of "greater security", occupied by British troops. Transjordan is, after a few short years of apparent independence, to be again placed under direct British control. There were found in the pockets of the captured Wahabites, commands from the Sultan Ibn Saoud, not to fire upon the English and their aeroplanes. The English had therefore deceived all parties in the affair: the Emir Abdallah regarding his rule, which they handed over to El Rikabi Pacha; the latter as regards his influence, and the Wahabites, who by their attack had to provide the pretext for the military occupation of Transjordan, had to suffer the loss of 800 of their best fighters and the booty which they expected to win as a result of their raid, in which they were encouraged by the English.

The events in Transjordan, however important they may be, are only of an episodal character. The Wahabites have not been decisively defeated in Transjordan. At the present time a bloody war is going on in the Arabian Peninsula. Sultan Ibn Saoud's forces have overpowered the frontier troops of Hedjaz and are rapidly advanced against Mecca and Medina. The important town of El Taif, a hundred kilometres distant from Mecca, is

already in the hands of the Wahabits. King Hussein and his family have been compelled to flee to the sea-port town of Jidda. English warships were dispatched to this port in order "to protect the lives and property of the English inhabitants" and in the event of the town being captured by the Wahabits, to provide a refuge for the king and his family.\*)

There has been put forward as a motive for the attack of the Wahabits, the anti-Hussein influence of the Mohammedan fanatics from India and, on the other hand, French machinations. It is pointed out from other sources that England, after having "saved" Transjordan, wishes to "help" in the same way the king of Hedjaz and the Califs. In any event there are imperialist influences which have let lose the long expected fratricidal war in Arabia, upon the issues of which depends the future development of Arabian politics.

## OBITUARY

### Anatole France.

By Victor Serge.

After a long life filled with work, enlightened with brilliant thought and profound joy, after the life of a sage, which was almost as harmonious as his prose, Anatole France has closed his eyes for ever. With him there departs one of the greatest bearers of the culture of the XIX. century who has died, having outlived the hopes of his time, on the threshold of an infinitely harsher century.

Anatole Thibault chose that his works should bear the name of his native country, and became one of the most prominent representatives of French pre-war culture, one of the purest upholders of the fame of European culture before Tannenberg, Verdun, the Somme, the Skager Rak. We mourn over a poet and a culture, over a sage and over a magnificent illusion.

Through all his equally clear and over-refined shades of thought, Anatole France was a son of his time and of his society. His language was a model of lucidity, in its technique as precise as scientific thought, penetrated by the clear positivism which was founded by the philosophers of the 18th Century, clothed with faultless elegance, the philosophy of a class which had reached its highest point, and having captured the world also believed it understood it, and as it felt itself to be the victor could afford to be generous.

From 1871 to 1914, between the time of the slaughtering of 30,000 Paris proletarians and the great war, the French bourgeoisie in over forty years of peace reached the summit of prosperity. The catastrophe which marked the end of the second empire had been forgotten: the blood on the wall of the Federals had become faint. The Third Republic built up its colonial empire, grew proud of its social achievements, converted Paris into the most magnificent capital of the capitalist world, where

\*) According to the latest telegrams Hussein has abdicated.

dividends appear to be certain, where the division of the world takes place without any great disturbance, where democracy, the sciences, the arts, literature and socialism promise the poor a slow but peaceful and almost comfortable advance into the future collectivist society. In the meantime, however, behind the screen of radical ministers, the financiers with machiavelian cunning, but at the same time with incredible blindness, are preparing the end of this world. The spirit of this epoch is reflected with all its treasures in the works of Anatole France. The poet perceives behind the hopes of his time the black wall of reality. One reads the tragic closing pages of his "Ile des Pingouins" (Penguin Island): "Million of mortals toil in the gigantic city".

In order to embody an epoch on this vast scale, one must be very great oneself. What, however, renders the greatness of Anatole France in many respects so valuable to us, what often lifts his work beyond the limits of the era of peaceful capitalism and beyond the present epoch is, that he embodied a phase of modern culture in the most sublime and purest forms. The edifice of a culture always has its gloomy lower regions: the torment of the enslaved, the blood and sweat of wage slaves, of those who are ground down in the factories, the torture of the barracks, the agony of toil. But over this, like the enormous pillars of a vast cathedral, the best men among the ruling class erect the sublime architecture of their thoughts; and if the whole cruelty of the regime is reflected therein, it is nevertheless reflected in magnificent form. With Anatole France, everything is permeated with the expectation and hope of betterment.

Vain expectation, futile hope! It is we who will create the better future — and it will be an arduous task. Every step forward will have to be paid for by our class in suffering and in blood. Since we fully realise this, illuminated by the terrible conflagration of the world war and by the torch of revolution, we understand better what is immortal in the works of Anatole France: lost illusions, never again to be restored, remain therein with all the beauty and the whole force and ideas of a by-gone century.

Other human documents will likewise remain and give testimony to the characteristic features of the thought of our time. The scepticism of Anatole France when he turns to the past has oft-times attained to a height of realism which is pitiless towards all illusions. Pontius Pilate does not know Christ whom he has crucified. The French revolution shattered everything and mowed down heads under its iron law. To understand the past, to cause it to live again and thereby to expose many of the lies of the present, this to-day is peculiar to the socialist thinker.

"The Gods are Athirst". Upon this world there is no longer any place for the figures created by Anatole France; neither for Crainquebille, nor for M. Bergeret, nor for Jerome Coignard; and should they return they would come too late; they have outlived their time. The great artist who has just passed from our midst, the clever and good man, whose works will in the far off time be the apologists of the capitalist culture of the 19th century, carries in his frail and aged arms all that is best in democracy in its closing epoch.

## Please Note, New Address!

The new address of the Inprecorr. to which all communications should be sent is:

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