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Is the Unity of the International Trade Union Movement Possible?

By A. Lozovsky.

That unity is a very beautiful thing and therefore desirable is not disputed for a moment by the bitterest disrupters. We are not faced with the question of unity "in general", or of unity in "principle" or of unity in a very remote future, but with the question whether at the present time, in view of the actual international situation, of the existence of divided, parallel organisations etc. it is possible to attain unity and how it is to be brought about.

We must remark at the outset that the split does not exist in every country. In many countries the followers of the R. I. L. U. are within the organisations affiliated to Amsterdam. In these countries the followers of the R. I. L. U. and the followers of the Amsterdam International are organisatorily united. On the other hand there are a number of countries where parallel organisations exist, and finally, a fairly large number of countries, the trade union movements of which are wholly affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions.

What obstacles stand in the way of unity? These obstacles can be divided into two groups: 1. organisatory, 2. political obstacles. The existence of parallel organisations inevitably leads to organisatory conservatism and to the effort to retain at all costs the existing forms of organisation. The reformist trade union movement clings with great tenacity to the old traditions and only adapts itself very painfully to the new forms of the class struggle. In the reformist trade union movement the narrow

craft interests come before the interests of the workers of the country as a whole and the interests of the fatherland come before the interests of the international proletariat. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that organisatory conservatism is only confined to the reformists. There are revolutionary workers who suffer from organisatory conservatism and believe that it is best to follow the old road, not to make any sharp turns, not to unite the workers of different tendencies, as this could destroy the organisatory structure.

The organisatory obstacles are, of course, of secondary importance in comparison with the political obstacles. Many comrades ask: "Can we unite with the reformists when they are even against the class struggle?" These comrades desire to lay down conditions regarding unity (break with the bourgeois coalition, fight against the Dawes Plan etc.). To demand from the reformists that they abandon the coalition with the bourgeoisie is to demand the impossible. To make unity dependent upon this implies a breach of unity, for the abandonment of the coalition with the bourgeoisie means the end of reformism.

On the other hand, the most bitter opponents of unity on the side of the reformists submit their conditions to the left wing of the trade union movement. This specially applies to the "Vorwärts", the organ of the German social-fascists. The "Vorwärts" spits poison and gall against unity. It is of course in favour of unity, but desires that the communists shall not organise

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any nuclei, that they shall not incite the workers against the leaders of the trade union movement, that they shall not "calumniate", but faithfully carry out the policy of the black hundred which is conducted by the German social democracy along with the German General Federation of Trade Unions. In this respect the "Vorwärts" fully reflects the view regarding unity which exists in the right wing of the Amsterdam International.

The meaning of all this talk over this theme is that they turn to us and say: "Become reformists and then we shall unite with you!" This astute solution of the problem of unity is typical of the II. International, which leads, ideologically and politically, the reactionary portion of the Amsterdam International. It must be said that all this kind of talk is mere waste of time. The communists have not the least reason for transforming themselves into reformist corpses, and whoever believes that the communists will deviate even a hair's breadth from their principles in arriving at unity does not understand anything of communism or of the problem of unity.

If, however, the reformists maintain their position and the communists theirs, then the unity of the trade union movement is impossible! — the reader will say. No, this would be a throughly erroneous conclusion. In fact we do not submit demands to the reformists in order that they shall become communists, and we do not propose to the reformists that they shall occupy themselves with the futile task of debolshewising the bolsheviks. The revolutionary trade unions of all countries which are in the R. I. L. U. propose, in full agreement with the Communist International, a way which is acceptable to the most bitter opponents of communism in the Amsterdam International, if they will only adopt a somewhat conscientious attitude regarding the interests of the working class.

"We will not submit conditions to one another" says the R. I. L. U. "We will convene a conference of representatives of both Internationals, we will jointly decide the time and place of the International Unity Congress, at which the organisations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. and to the Amsterdam International, as well as those trade union organisations which are outside both Internationals, shall be represented. We will discuss at the International Congress the concrete tasks of the struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the fascist reaction. At this congress we will create the United Trade Union International.

Whoever has the majority at this congress will carry through their resolutions and will have the majority on the executive body. The constitution of the new International will be in accordance with the standpoint of the majority. At this unity congress the Red International of Labour Unions and the Amsterdam International will declare that they dissolve their organisations and enter into the United International. We communists and revolutionary workers of all countries declare through the Communist International and the R. I. L. U. that if we find ourselves in a minority, that we shall remain in the new International and submit to the discipline of the movement, whilst we shall carry on our fight for influence among the masses. If the opponents of communism make a similar declaration the question will be quite clear.

Let the masses of the workers pronounce judgment as to whose tactics — those of the communists or those of the reformists — are more consistent with the interests of the working class. We are not afraid of bringing our tactics before the court of the many millions of proletarians. May the opponents of communism come forward in an equally open manner as the followers of the R. I. L. U. do and will continue to do.

We ask, what is there in this proposal which can be unacceptable for an honest proletariat, no matter to what tendency he may belong? If the leaders of the Amsterdam International are convinced that they have behind them the overwhelming majority, why are they afraid to attend a congress of this sort? The majority will be with them, and the will of the majority of the congress will decide the political line of the United International. Everything is clear regarding this proposal. We propose to those who everywhere make a great cry over their democratic principles, the most democratic way conceivable for uniting the divided international trade union movement. Meanwhile, however, the opponents of the R. I. L. U. do not desire this proletarian-democratic solution of the question and hide their fear of proletarian democracy by means of the great outcry over the craftiness of the communists.

To mobilise the masses for unity is the most important task at the present moment. The majority of the leaders of the Amsterdam International believe that they will be able to evade

this problem and to patch up the growing fissure in their own ranks which is consequent upon the inexorable radicalisation of the working masses. If the Amsterdam International does not meet the wish of the majority of its own members it will simply collapse and unity will be restored over the heads of the present leaders. This is the reason why we, although we are quite aware of the enormous difficulties which are lying in our path, reply to the question, whether the unity of the international trade union movement is possible: Yes, it is possible and inevitable. Together with the leaders or without the leaders, the divided international trade union movement will in any event be welded together into a powerful anti-capitalist bloc.

Special Telegrams to the "Inprecorr".

Moscow, 22nd November 1924.

With regard to the article by Oudegeest, the Secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, which appeared in the Berlin "Vorwärts", comrade Lozovsky declares as follows:

"Oudegeest claims that the Amsterdam International carries on the class struggle. It would be a good thing if he would say what he understands by this term, and if he would explain this question along with Jouhaux, Mertens and Leipart. Oudegeest is undoubtedly confusing the Communist International and its 21 conditions and the Red International of Labour Unions which has never laid down 21 conditions.

Oudegeest speaks of the "entry" of the trade unions of the Soviet Union into the Amsterdam Trade Union International, although as a matter of fact it is solely a question of uniting both Trade Union Internationals by means of a Unity Congress. Oudegeest thinks that the trade unions of the Soviet Union must sever their relations with the Russian Communist Party in order to please the reformists, and asks whether the trade unions of the Soviet Union will abandon the formation of communist nuclei. The formation of communist nuclei, however, is the task of the communist Parties, and not of the trade unions of the Soviet Union. The trade unions of the Soviet Union are not subordinated to the Communist Parties and the Communist International. To put forward a demand of this sort means to sabotage the unity of the trade unions.

The article of Oudegeest shows that the right wing of the Amsterdam Trade Union International wishes to sabotage the unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

Moscow, 22nd November 1924.

The "Pravda" writes:

The attitude of the English delegation at the Congress of the American Federation of Labour in El Paso reveals the decided turn to the left on the part of the English labour movement. The policy of the English delegation in America was the same as that of the English delegation led by Purcell in Moscow.

On the other hand, the representative of the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.), Grassmann, experienced a defeat on account of his reactionary utterances.

The article by Oudegeest, published in "Vorwärts", shows that the right wing of the Amsterdam Trade Union International is sabotaging the unity of the trade union movement.

This is the reason for the manoeuvre of Gompers to re-enter the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

The rapprochement of the trade unions of England to those of the Soviet Union renders it necessary that the campaign for the unity of the trade unions shall be carried on with greater energy.

Moscow, 22nd November 1924.

The Chairman of the American Federation of Labour, Gompers, has entered into negotiations with the trade unions of Mexico, Canada and Great Britain with regard to the re-affiliation of his federation to the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

At the Congress of the Federation of Labour in El Paso, there is present a delegation of the English Labour Party at the head of which is Cramp.

The negotiations have up to now been carried on in private and are not of a binding character.

Comrade Bucharin writes in the "Pravda" under the heading: "A Counter-manoeuve of Gompers" as follows:

The rapprochement between the trade unions of England and those of the Soviet Union has roused the enemies of the revolutionary movement. Hence, the lies of the "Vorwärts" regarding a falsification of the speech of Purcell, the chairman of the English trade union delegation at the Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union; hence, the Russian mensheviks institute a great campaign against Edo Fimmen; hence, Gompers, following the example of American finance capital, wishes to return to Europe. Gompers wants to rescue the right wing of the example of American finance capital, wishes to return to Europe. Gompers wants to rescue the right wing of the Amsterdam International, which is in a desperate situation, in the same way as Wilson rescued the Entente, and as the

Dawes Plan is to rescue the European bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie is afraid that the left wing in the Amsterdam Trade Union International will get the upper hand, and therefore sends Gompers back to Amsterdam. The American Federation of Labour considers even the Amsterdam International as too radical; the former is for political neutrality and against the recognition of the Soviet Union. The revolutionary workers understand this manoeuvre of Gompers against the unity of the trade union movement and energetically reject co-operation with this white guardist."

According to reports received from New-York, the chairman of the English Labour Party, Cramp, and one of the leaders from South Wales emphasised at the congress of the American Federation of Labour in El Paso their opposition to the exclusion of revolutionaries from the trade unions and their support for the recognition of the Soviet Union, for the unity of the trade union movement and for unity with the trade unions of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the delegate of the German General Federation of Trade Unions, Grassman, made a series of furious attacks against the Communists and against the unity of the trade union movement.

POLITICS

The Persecution of the Communist Party of Germany during the Election Campaign.

By Ivan Katz (Berlin).

During the last few weeks, at a number of municipal and provincial elections, the Social Democratic Party of Germany has gained an increased vote, whilst on the other hand the communist Party has lost votes. The social democrats of all countries have raised a great shout of triumph over this and have even ventured to write of a "collapse" of the C. P. of Germany and of the Communist International.

What is the reason for the loss of votes by the C. P. of Germany? The proletariat of the whole world knows that for some months past the Communist Party of Germany has been subjected to the severest persecutions and, particularly during the election campaign, is suffering from the sharpest terror of the capitalist state power and its social democratic tools. But this persecution, in itself, is not the deciding factor for the loss of votes by the C. P. of Germany. Persecutions tend rather to rouse increased sympathy for the persecuted and to grant them the martyr's crown of political success. At the beginning of the present year the C. P. of Germany was completely suppressed. Nevertheless, on the 4th of May last it gained an unexampled election victory. Over four million German electors cast their votes for the C. P. of Germany. At present the C. P. of Germany is not prohibited, but in spite of this it has suffered a number of electoral losses compared with its position on the 4th of May last. It is not the persecution in itself that is the cause of the electoral defeats, but the nature of the persecution.

As a matter of fact, the nature of the persecution is the cause for the aversion, or rather the aloofness, of the indifferent masses to the C. P. and the restriction of its influence to a somewhat narrow circle of revolutionary working masses. Immediately after the May elections there took place a conference between the most prominent leaders of the German Republic, comprising Seeckt, Severing, Jarres etc., in which Severing again proposed the suppression of the C. P. of Germany, whilst on the other hand Jarres proposed a more effective fight against the C. P. of Germany by administrative measures. Jarres plan

was accepted and the Communist press was soon able to publish a number of official decrees and circulars, the contents of which showed how one could, with the help of the courts, of the public prosecutors, police organs etc. deprive the C. P. of Germany of its heads and thereby restrict its influence among the masses.

The prosecutors, judges, police presidents etc. have faithfully carried out these instructions. In the course of this year nearly all the leading functionaries of the C. P. of Germany have been prosecuted, persecuted and arrested, while the greater part have already been condemned. The severity of the sentences imposed is known to all. Less well known is the fact that just those comrades have been selected who are most capable of carrying on propaganda for the Party in meetings and in factories. The eight thousand comrades now in prison are almost exclusively leading functionaries. The best propagandists among the members of parliament are persecuted to such an extent that it is impossible for them to appear in public. One can imagine what the lack of such a body of comrades — estimated at then thousand — are, owing to persecution by the authorities, compelled to keep away from their place of residence, and whilst they carry on Party work they cannot on account of their illegal position work so effectively as those comrades who are not molested.

A further means of keeping the Communists from getting into contact with the indifferent masses is the practice which has been made use of during the last few weeks, of confiscating leaflets, election appeals and placards. In almost all districts all Parties are free to post up as many placards as they wish without restriction. The placards of the Communist Party, however, are, during the day and night, torn down or rendered illegible by special police patrols upon special instructions of the social democratic police president Severing. During the last weeks, in several localities even entire election meetings of the C. P. G. have been arrested and conveyed to prison in motor-wagons, which naturally renders the indifferent workers shy of visiting our meetings.

More important than all this is the fact that since the 4th of May it has become exceedingly difficult for the C. P. of Germany to carry on agitation in the workshops. In fact, immediately after the October defeat, the employers started with mass dismissals of communists, so that even in the elections of the 4th of May the most important means of communist propaganda in the workshops was restricted. But nevertheless during the spring the workers in the factories were still very much under the influence of the increased communist work in the factories during the period of illegality, which influence now, after nine months, has of course greatly declined; the mass dismissals of communists reached their highest point only after the 4th of May. Lack of work, temporary closing down of factories and before all, of course, strikes and lock-outs, serve as a pretext for discharging the communists.

There are many local groups of the C. P. of Germany comprising several hundred members, of which not a single member is in work. Many districts estimate the entire number of members in their area who are still in work as not more than 30%. Anybody in the factory who is known to be a candidate upon a communist or opposition list of factory councils, or as a fraction-leader, newspaper seller etc. must reckon upon being discharged within a few days. About a week ago the communist press published a circular issued by the employers' organisation, in which the members of the organisation were called upon immediately to discharge all members of factory nuclei and sellers of factory newspapers.

Who under these circumstances still remains true to the C. P. of Germany, who still acts as a functionary for the C. P. of Germany, who allows his name to appear as a communist candidate at factory councils elections, and thereby incurs permanent unemployment, hunger for his family, persecution and imprisonment, he is the sort of member whom the Comintern needs for the coming revolution in Germany. The masses who are still adhering to the C. P. of Germany form the decisive groups of the proletariat, by means of whom the revolution can be carried out.

Among these decisive revolutionary masses, however, the influence of the C. P. of Germany is undoubtedly growing. The Red Front Fighters' Rallies in Halle and Thuringia were an extraordinary success. The factory councils' congresses in Rhenish-Westphalia and in Upper Silesia bear witness to the

undiminished, in fact increased attractive power of the C. P. of Germany upon the most important sections of the industrial workers. Almost everywhere where strikes break out, communists are placed at the head, because the strikers have the highest confidence in them.

It must not be forgotten that, following on persecutions, the communist parties of Finland, Bulgaria and Poland have always suffered heavy losses in the following elections. If on the 7th of December the German Party succeeds in confining its losses to 50% of the votes obtained in May, it will mean that in spite of all the attempts to keep the Party away from the masses in the factories, it would receive 2 million votes, which would be an actual success. Should however we succeed in polling 60 or even 70% of the votes cast for us in May, that would be a victory of which not only the German Party but the whole International could be proud; for 2½ million voters who, in spite of everything, announce their allegiance to the Communist Party would be the surest guarantee that in Germany there exist the cadres who are prepared to fight for the Communist revolution.

The Stability of Capitalism, or the Unstable Communists.

(Concerning the Plan of General Dawes, the Plan of my Friend Philips Price, and some other Questions.)

By Karl Radek.

Some communists who have been frightened to death by the Dawes Plan, began recently, in the midst of the noise aroused by this plan, to overhaul their stock of ideas and to adapt themselves to the supposed end of the era of socialist revolution. Two of them, Newbold and Philips Price, have drawn the political conclusions from their deliberations and left the Communist Party of Great Britain. But the MacDonald government, to whose ship they had decided to fasten their boats, no longer exists.

Does the Overthrow of MacDonald mean the End of the Era of Democracy and of Pacifism?

Many will answer this question with an unconditional yes. Why? What sort of a democrat is Mr. Baldwin, what kind of pacifists are Curzon and Churchill, who have once again taken over political power in England? But have we not pointed out during the whole of the past year that the government of MacDonald was not capable of conducting any other policy than an imperialist policy, and that they were strangling democracy in China, Egypt and India? Why then should the overthrow of this government mean the end of the era of democracy and of pacifism, which, as it was neither democratic nor pacifist, must obviously have been something else?

But this is not the only thing. As is known, at the beginning of this era the return of American finance capital to Europe played a very active role. At the christening of the democratic-pacifist era there stood as god fathers, not only MacDonald and Herriot, but the well-known "democrat" and "pacifist" Morgan. This shows that it was by no means necessary to be a member of the Labour Party or a left petty-bourgeois radical in order to have the right to act as godfather to the democratic and pacifist era.

The nature of the pacifist-democratic "era" consists in the fact that we have before us the collaboration of Anglo-American finance capital to enslave those countries which stand in need of foreign capital. The capitalism of the United States and of England promise to be mutually threatening rivals in the future. But at the present moment they have not yet decided to quarrel with each other, but on the contrary, to form a robbers' syndicate in order to avoid these quarrels. Democracy and pacifism served them as a useful means for carrying on their business. If Messrs. Norman and Morgan had inserted advertisements in the newspapers: The Banking House of Morgan, the Bank of England, Lloyd's Bank, etc. wish to inform their esteemed customers that they have united for the purpose of carrying on a sheep-shearing business in Germany, France, Austria, Hungary, China and other countries, it would not have tended to promote their business much. The sign-board: "Era of Democracy and Pacifism", not only facilitates the floating of loans, but also reduces the working expenses of the whole undertaking.

In addition to this there was hidden in these pacifist-democratic slogans the conviction of the Anglo-American Stock-Exchange sharks that, as they had now united, no one would venture to attack them. Germany would be compelled to grovel on all fours, as apart from England and America she would not receive any private credits for her industry. In China it would be possible to establish order by supporting one military clique against the other to a certain point, and finally presenting a bill to both of them, whilst it would be possible to crush Russia by means of a financial blockade.

What change is there made in this policy as a result of the overthrow of the MacDonald government? The sign-board of democratic pacifism will become still more battered and dented. The mask of democratic pacifism will fall from the good-natured countenance of Mr. Baldwin. The nature of the so-called democratic-pacifist era, which consists in the efforts of Anglo-American finance capital to thrust aside French and Japanese imperialism and to take over the exploitation of Western and Central Europe and China, will become plainly apparent. Petty-bourgeois democracy was a bridge and a shield for Anglo-American finance capital. It has crossed this bridge and has no more need for it. The shield was flung aside quicker than one expected. The real work has begun. The era of democracy and pacifism is not at an end, but the Anglo-American collaboration has only just begun. This collaboration will also have an end; it will be torn asunder by the contradictions of capitalism in England and America, but the beginning of this end is not yet in sight.

The Stabilisation of Capitalism and the Experts' Plan.

When the Experts' Plan was published on the 9th of April last, the whole international bourgeois press cried out: these are the new Ten Commandments, and from this day there begins the new era in the development of humanity. And when we communists, after reading through this experts' plan, declared that it would not solve a single one of the questions connected with the impossibility of the payment of reparations, that it only delayed every question, and that the only real thing in this plan was the enslavement of Germany by Anglo-American capital, then the social democratic press began to reproach us with being revolutionary illusionists who are afraid to look facts in the face. For the Experts' Plan destroys the prospects of revolution. In the last two months, however, the voices in the camp of the bourgeois scientists and publicists who say the same as we have said have begun to be heard more frequently.

The Dawes Plan has not disclosed any miraculous means for stabilising capitalism. It is a means for enslaving Germany by Anglo-American capital, but it can also end with the collapse of Anglo-American collaboration, with an attempt at an Anglo-French business agreement — a pre-requisite for which is the fact that France, as the neighbour of Germany on the Continent and as the chief creditor of Germany, possesses enormous means of exerting pressure upon the latter in her own interests and, when necessary, in the interests of the Americans.

The Unstable Communists and the Dawes Plan.

The Dawes Plan, which constitutes a stage in the struggle of world imperialism, has terribly frightened the unstable communists. They have accepted it as that which world policy proclaimed it to be — the end of world revolution. We will not speak of Newbold, whose resignation from the Party leaves a nasty taste in the mouth. In the article in which Newbold declared why, after being for three years in the ranks of the Communist Party, he now resigns, one recognises the undertones of the usual intellectual careerist. Mr. Newbold admits that at a certain age it is very agreeable for a man to sit in parliament, and that there are worse things in the world than the British Empire. We regret that the English electors have not arrived at the conviction that the age of Mr. Newbold warrants his being sent to parliament, but we do not give up hope that his longing will yet be fulfilled, and that he will be able to cover one of the green benches in parliament with that portion of his anatomy which, it appears, is the most valuable part of him.

The case is somewhat different with Philips Price. The latter, a young, honest, English intellectual, became a communist in Russia when, as correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian", he passed through the revolution. His articles, in which he defended the Russian revolution, played a great role during the period of intervention. As correspondent of the "Daily Herald" in Berlin he helped in the most disinterested manner the fighting

German workers, and created a good name for himself in the English Labour movement. Philips Price has actually come to the conviction, that the paper on which the Dawes Plan is inscribed puts an end to world revolution. Even our English Communists, in their answer to his articles, praised Philips Price as one possessing a great knowledge of Marxism.

As a matter of fact we have to do here with a philistine and not with a Marxist, for how could the Dawes Plan mean the end of world revolution? There exist two possibilities: either the Dawes Plan is the expression, throughout the world, of an era of the liquidation of the acute international and social conflicts, or it is merely an attempt to arrest the advancing decay of capitalism. In the first case the Dawes Plan would mean that the special elements of revolution which were left behind by the war are already exhausted, that the revolution must be nourished by new conflicts, which will be created by a new era of imperialism. Even when one accepts such an estimate of the international situation as a premise for reasoning, even then it does not admit any liquidatory tendencies. Have not we radical Marxists pointed out before the war, that the era of imperialism produces the era of social revolution.

Is Philips Price perchance in agreement with the reformist estimate of the Dawes Plan, which repeats the asseverations of the English and American bankers that it will bring peace and universal prosperity to humanity? No, God forbid! Philips Price published an article in the "Labour Monthly" in which he pointed out that if the Dawes Plan is carried out there will result an enormous sharpening of the social crisis, not only in Germany, but also in England, that the Dawes Plan means an era of new imperialist conflicts.

If that be the case, what, in this situation, is the task of the defender of the interests of the working class? To organise the working class for the coming revolutionary struggles. This task appears the more important as the assertion that the war crisis is already passed is in contradiction to all the facts. Neither the political consequences of the war nor its economic consequences are liquidated. The burden of the Peace of Versailles still exists, the interallied debts remain, the awakening of the East is proceeding. Not one of the results of the war has been liquidated. The old social and international conflicts are combining with the new and are creating a situation in which the working class must hasten with all its preparations, in order that the new wave of revolution shall not be met with such ideological confusion and organisational division as that with which the revolutionary wave of the year 1919 was met. The tragedy of the German October consists in the fact that the ideological and organisational preparation of the proletariat was not commensurate with the revolutionary conflict.

Price can say however: What is Europe to us English? Firstly this means the repudiation of the international outlook, the return to insular cretinism, which Price up to now has endeavoured to combat: whereby he aroused the hate of his three Conservative aunts who, at the time of the election, held him up at the one and same time as an agent of Kaiser Wilhelm and of Lenin. But even from the English standpoint Philips Price is entirely in the wrong. If the stabilisation of European capitalism is not brought about in the next few years, then in England also the strengthening of the class antagonisms will proceed at a most rapid rate. What then? Will Price in these coming struggles accompany the English workers under the leadership of MacDonald and Thomas, who form the loyal opposition of his Majesty the King of England?

Price points to various faults in tone and in other musical things which have been committed by our English comrades. Perhaps our English comrades are more capable of conducting a cats' chorus than a symphony concert. From this it would only follow that one must fight in their ranks and not desert them. But it is also incorrect. The English communists are carrying out a difficult task, which has greater historical importance than all the sophistries of well-educated English socialist gentlemen. They are steeling that group of English workers which is still small, who are learning to hate English capitalism and to fight against it. In order to destroy the enormous machine of English imperialism, an iron phalanx is necessary, people are necessary who are as hard as steel. Perhaps our English communists are not as flexible as steel, but steel is made from iron ore, which also is not flexible.

Even the plan of General Dawes to rescue capitalism is in fact, in spite of all its illusionism, stronger than the plan of

Philips Price which consists of revolutionising the English Labour movement by liquidating the Communist Party of Great Britain. If we speak of this philistine plan of Philips Price, it is because it appears as the expression of certain tendencies in many circles of unstable West-European communists who have been brought to communism on the wave of revolution, but who do not understand how to prepare the workers for the new wave of revolution. This Dawes epidemic is therefore useful, as it reveals the superficiality of the education of the communist intellectuals in Western Europe and the instability of their convictions. The Communist is not he who, at the moment of the victory of the proletariat, speaks in favour of Soviets, but he who in the periods of stagnation, in the periods of the quiet organisational process of history, works for the Soviets. We are now passing through a period when there is a lack of immediate revolutionary struggles; but it is hard even to speak of peaceful times in this time of most profound class and imperialist antagonism, in this time when it is apparent to all eyes that new gigantic battles of the awakened East, of the working class of Europe, battles of the imperialist giants, are in course of preparation.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Third Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

III.

The Reparation Question.

After the decision came to in London, the reparation question has passed into a comparatively quiet stage. The agreement is being energetically put into execution. Although the 800 million loan has not yet been put up for subscription at the time of writing, still there can be no doubt that its subscription will not encounter any great difficulties.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that the enthusiasm which appeared to prevail generally at the time when the London agreement was made has since then greatly diminished in the Entente countries. In England, France, and Belgium a feeling of profound dissatisfaction prevails, and the antagonism between the separate Entente countries, provisionally bridged by the Dawes agreement, are now becoming daily more apparent.

But it is only the workers who are carrying on any struggle against the Dawes plan. The resistance kept up against the Dawes plan by the German Nationalists, and which this party still assert they are keeping up even now, has been proved by events to be a mere sham fight, solely serving to open the way to ministerial positions. The fight which the National Socialists (Fascists) are carrying on against the Dawes plan is more honest in character, but the German ruling class is discarding this party fairly openly. Beside the German working class and the communist parties of other countries, it is before all the English working class, which for well understood reasons of self interest, is opposing the Dawes plan.

The possibility of carrying out the Dawes plan.

The most important question now is: Is the Dawes plan possible of execution at all? This question has two sides: 1. Can the sums fixed upon as reparation payments be deducted from Germany's annual production of values, in the form of taxes and levies? 2. If these sums are to be had, is there a possibility of their actually being paid to foreign countries?

The first question is one of international German economics, the second is a problem of international political economy.

There can be but little doubt that Germany is in a position to raise the necessary sums in German marks. Even the representatives of big capitalist interests rarely question this. Thus the privy councillor Buecher, of the Reichs Association of German Industrialists, writes for instance as follows:

"In my opinion we are, theoretically, probably in a position to raise the 2500 million marks annually in Germany." (Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung, 20. September 1924.)

If the burdens imposed by the Dawes plan, although to outward appearance these are to be raised in various forms — as interests on industrial stocks, traffic taxes, etc. —, are taken as

constituent of the collective amount to be raised by taxation, then we can form a statistical estimate of this possibility. For this purpose we must compare the annual budgets of the three largest European countries: England, France, and Germany. In round numbers, the figures in question are as follows:

	Milliards of Gold Marks
England (milliards of pounds sterling) 794	14,1
France (milliards of francs) 27	6,7
Germany	5,2 ¹⁾

If we take into consideration the fact that the population of Germany is larger by 25 millions than that of France, there can be but little doubt that, even when we take into consideration the impoverishment of Germany, consequent on the Versailles treaty, the burden of taxation imposed by full reparation payments would not be greater, but smaller, than in France, to say nothing of what it would be in England.

A difference must however be made between taxes imposed upon the population for home purposes, or for payments to be made abroad. If the sums raised by taxation are used within the country itself, this signifies a shifting of the "natural" distribution of income originating in the process of capitalist production. A portion of the income of certain strata is taken, and remitted to other strata or individuals. The capitalist system of taxation is a mechanism for cutting down the income of the working class in favour of the exploiters of the apparatus of state power, and of the capitalists. In this case however taxation does not make any immediate difference in the total income of a country, so far as the amount of values annually produced is concerned.

It is a very different matter when a part of revenue from the taxes is to be sent abroad. This signifies not merely a modification in the income of the various classes, leaving untouched the national income, but an actual reduction of this total income. And whilst the collection and subsequent expenditure of taxes by a state naturally encounters no international difficulties, the remittance of such gigantic sums abroad is an extraordinarily difficult problem to solve, as we shall show later on.

The burdens are borne by the working class.

The Dawes plan sought to convey the impression that it could be carried out without essentially lowering the standard of existence of the German proletariat. This is, of course, all humbug. The execution of the Dawes plan, that is, the payment of 2½ milliard gold marks yearly, is only possible at the expense of the standard of existence of the German proletariat. This is openly proclaimed by the German employers. In the pamphlet issued by the employers' association entitled, "Wages policy of the German employer" we read:

"It must be expressly stated that the Experts' Report is in error when it assumes that the burdens imposed upon us can be paid without a considerable pressure on the standard of living." (p. 42.)

"The nation has not declined in numbers to any great extent since the war, and if, in these circumstances, it is to scrape an existence at all, it can only do so at the expense of lowering the standard of living of the community, unless we care to realise M. Clémenceau's aims, and permit a section of the population to starve." (p. 41.)

With customary American brutality, the necessity of reducing the standard of living of the German working class, for the purpose of carrying out the Dawes plan, is openly expressed in the September monthly report issued by the National City Bank. No communist agitator could speak more clearly:

Regarding the capacity of Germany to pay, it is obvious that this depends upon a higher production on the part of German industry, along with a lower consumption by the German people, which would render possible a great export of industrial products. Following this analysis further, it probably means a long working day in industry, or at least that length of working day as would give the highest output. The late Hugo Stinnes declared that Germany must return to the ten hour day for the purpose of paying the reparations. Before the war the ten hour day was the rule in Germany,

¹⁾ Trial budget of the German Reich for the current financial year: The actual revenues will considerably exceed these sums.

and in spite of this the country had no surplus export of goods over imports. The problem now is to create a real big surplus; and in order to do this more must be produced and less consumed. Inventions and improved methods of production are the best means for increasing production. But the results are not to be reckoned beforehand and always require time. Moreover, they demand accumulation of capital, which will be difficult for Germany to accomplish. But in addition to increasing production, it will be necessary to reduce consumption. In order to keep down consumption, it will be necessary that wages shall be low in comparison to the cost of living. This is to be attained either through lower money-wages, or by means of taxes which will increase the price of everything which the people must buy.

The whole future of the German proletariat, should the Dawes plan be really carried out, is here expressed with brutal candour.

This is how the situation of the working class would appear if the Dawes plan were to be put into actual practice. But its actual execution assumes the success of the "transfer", that is, it assumes that the sums provided by the Dawes plan can really be remitted by Germany to the Entente states — and of course not in German paper money.

The German bourgeoisie obviously calculates on the failure of the transfer. In this case the sums paid to the Reparation Bank in German currency, to the amount of 2 milliard gold marks, would be granted to German capitalists as short term loans, as provided by the Report. In consideration of the great shortage of capital, this would be a very favourable solution for the German capitalists.

This is the import of the modification of the Experts' Report provided by the London agreement. In the Experts' Report (section VI, page 138) we read:

"The committee can, on the instructions of the Reparation Commission and on the request of the creditor states, (their accounts being correspondingly debited) remit marks to private persons for the purpose of making purchases in Germany. Such reinvestments must not however be of temporary character."

The modification provided by the London agreement is as follows (regulation 4, last paragraph):

"The Allied Governments are agreed that the transfer committee is not to grant amounts in marks for purchases, as per section VI, until and as soon as the accumulated funds exceed the amount which the bank of issue is prepared to accept as short term deposits."

For the German proletariat this solution, in its immediate effect, is just as bad as the execution of the transfer; for the sum required for the reparation payments will be deducted from the income of the workers, whether the transfer is successful or not. Speaking from the purely economic standpoint, it is of course of greater advantage for Germany for the transfer to fail, for then the goods forming the payments in kind due under the transfer would remain in Germany. For this reason we must deal in detail with the question of the prospects of success for the transfer of reparation payments.

The Prospects of the Transfer.

In order to form a correct judgment of the prospects of a successful transfer, we must start from the assumption that Germany can only obtain the moneys and foreign bills required for the transfer by means of export of goods. The reserve of gold still in Germany is but small. No gold is produced in the country itself. The foreign notes at one time circulating in the country found their way abroad again for the most part during the stabilisation period; they served mainly for the equilibration of the 1½ milliards of gold marks representing the adverse balance of foreign trade in the first half of 1924. Germany possesses but few foreign capital investments whose profits could be employed for reparation payments. And this possible source of foreign income is annulled by the necessity of paying interest abroad on the foreign capital invested in Germany. As a possible source of revenue we may mention the profits on German shipping abroad, and the gains of the transport trade. But even at the highest estimate these sums do not amount to more than 200 million gold marks annually.

Reparation payments can thus solely be made by an increased export of goods. If the transfer of the reparation payments is to be rendered possible, Germany's trade balance must be favourable. In actual fact, no more can be transferred than the favourable foreign trade balance.

The transfer question is frequently looked upon as a matter of financial technics. This, of course is an error. The transfer question is only apparently a matter of international financial technics. It is perfectly clear that foreign bills and money can only be made to flow continuously into Germany when their equivalent value in German goods is sold across the frontier; the unfortunate experience which foreign speculators have made with the mark utterly excludes any idea of sums in marks, in the form of notes, finding acceptance abroad as speculation.

We must now try to gain an idea of the extent to which the foreign trade balance would have to become favourable in order to ensure the success of the transfer operation. The full annual payments amount to 2½ milliard gold marks. In order fully to realise this sum by means of the export of goods, Germany must export goods to a considerably higher value than the amount of the reparation payments, since a part of the good exported have to be made from imported raw materials. Germany has to import textile raw materials, raw hides, ores, copper and other metals, etc., in order to be able to export finished textile goods, machinery, instruments, etc. Even if we exclude the export of coal, potash, and dyes, which are independent of imported raw materials, we must still calculate with the fact that Germany has to import foreign raw materials to the value of about 1 to 1½ milliard marks, and will thus have to increase its exports to the value of 4 milliard gold marks, if it is to gain a net surplus of 2½ milliards.

The raising of the standard of living in Germany to the pre-war level would involve a still greater increase in Germany's exports and imports. Before the war, Germany imported goods — especially raw materials and foodstuffs — to the value, in round numbers, of 10 milliard gold marks. The same quantity, purchased today, would cost, in round figures, 15 milliard gold marks. Germany would thus have to import 9 milliard gold marks more than the present imports of 6 milliard gold marks, and of course increase its exports in proportion.*)

The following are thus the items which have to be covered by the export of goods:

Reparation payments	2500 millions
Adverse trade balance before the war	1400 "
	3900 millions
Import of raw materials required for the manufacture of the finished goods for the above sum, and re-exported as such	2000 millions
	5900 millions

To this must be added a sum for the interest to be paid on the capital already invested, or about to be invested, in Germany (Dawes loan 800 million gold marks and private loans); this sum may be estimated at some hundred millions of gold Marks yearly. The total value of the increased export of industrial products which Germany will have to attain if it is really to pay the reparations as demanded, is thus more than 6 milliard gold marks higher than the value of the present exports. Expressed in other terms: The pre-requisite for the success of the transfer is — given the present standard of living of the German people — a favourable foreign trade balance of over 6 milliard gold marks annually; if the standard of living is to reach its pre-war level again, the export of industrial goods must be increased by 9 milliards.

What Amount of German Industrial Products can be absorbed by the World's Markets?

The export surplus mentioned above, 6 milliards, is forced by the exigencies of German economics to consist mainly of finished manufactures. It would only be possible for Germany to produce a surplus of raw materials or foodstuffs if it could be reconverted from an industrial country into an agrarian one; if its population could be reduced by 20 millions, as Clémenceau

* See Nourse: American Agriculture and the European Market, New York 1924, edition published by the Carnegie Institute.

would have liked. But if we assume that the population of Germany is not diminishing, but is increasing rapidly, as is actually the case, then the export surplus can only be attained by the export of industrial goods. Thus the decisive question is: Can the world's markets absorb an additional 6 milliard marks in industrial goods?

In view of the chronic crisis in which the industry of Western Europe is involved, in view of the fact that the producing capacity of the industrial plant of the world has only been partially utilized ever since the war, and in view of the fact that all countries are seeking to defend themselves against German imports by means of tariff duties, this question appears to be already decided. It will, however, be useful to investigate the question statistically.

In the year 1913 the export of manufactures was as follows:

	Milliard Gold Marks
Great Britain	8,4
Germany	6,4
United States	5,0
France	3,3
	23,1

These are the four largest industrial export countries. If we add to these the smaller States: Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, etc., and estimate their export of manufactured articles at approximately half of that of the four largest States, we get a sum of 35 milliard gold marks for the year 1913.

Meanwhile the total foreign trade of the world has decreased in consequence of the tendency, during and since the war, towards the industrialisation of the countries producing raw material. On the other hand, the increased prices of today mean that a smaller volume of exported industrial goods suffices to raise the same sum in gold marks. If we regard these two factors as reciprocally neutralising one another, we come to the conclusion that the capacity of absorption of the world's markets for industrial goods would have to increase by a full sixth, and the whole of this increased demand would be covered by German exports, if the 6 milliards of increased exports required for the success of the transfer are to be realised.

If we take into consideration the present tendency towards the industrialisation of raw material regions, and further the permanent state of crisis obtaining in the whole capitalist system all over the world, it appears obvious that it is perfectly impossible for the world's markets to absorb a plus of German manufactures to the value of 6 milliard marks. And it inevitably follows that the transfer of the full reparation payments is equally impossible.

The Internal Contradictions of the Dawes Plan.

We now come to the internal contradictions of the Dawes plan which are becoming more and more apparent. We shall touch upon the most important of these:

1. The Report is based upon the assumption that "political and social peace are to prevail" in Germany. But on the other hand, the execution of the Plan is only possible if the German working class is condemned to long working hours and a low standard of living. It is obvious that under these conditions political and social peace cannot rule in Germany, for the German proletariat will not quietly submit to such a worsening of living conditions.

2. The Dawes Report is influenced by the idea that the competitive conditions between German capitalism on the one hand, and English and French capitalism on the other, are to be rendered equal. With this object German industry is to be hampered by industrial burdens, increased railway rates, etc. On the other hand the execution of the Dawes Plan requires an increased export of industrial goods to the value of many milliards, an increase which would only be possible if the competitive conditions remained unequalled, and Germany could produce and sell a good deal more cheaply than England and France.

3. The Dawes Report deals with the Entente bourgeoisie as if it were a totality whose interests are uniformly opposed to those of Germany. As a matter of fact, there exist exceedingly acute antagonisms of interest among the three main bourgeoisies, of England, France, and the United States. These may be briefly outlined as follows:

From the financial viewpoint the three states are interested in a very varying degree in the execution of the Dawes Plan, and in the success of the transfer. As is well known, France

is to receive 52% of the reparation payments. Assuming that the full amount of 2½ milliard gold marks is paid, France would receive 1.3 milliards, or approximately 5 milliard paper francs at the present rate of exchange. For France this is a large sum; about one fifth of the French state budget. Thus financially, France is profoundly interested in the carrying out of the Dawes Plan, and in the actual realisation of the transfer.

England is to receive 22% = 550 million gold marks of the reparation payments. This is about 30 million pounds, or approximately 3% of the English budget. In view of the fact that English state finances are balanced, and indeed are in a flourishing condition, the interest taken by England in the actual receipt of this sum is very slight. England does not calculate seriously on the receipt of any reparation payments. England is therefore by no means so anxious for the success of the transfer, involving as this does an increased export of industrial goods from Germany.

America has no reparation claims whatever. It is merely anxious that the interest on the capital invested in Germany, or about to be invested there, be sufficiently secured. Germany can, however, only pay this interest in the form of exported industrial goods. As we have already shown, the world's markets are by no means capable of absorbing such quantities of German industrial productions as would be required to secure the transfer of the reparation payments plus interest paid on American capital, and it is thus to the financial advantage of America for the transfer to fail, as in this case the payment of interest on American capital would probably be better secured.

4. The antagonism between England and France in regard to political power, at the present juncture the most important factor of continental European politics, again leads to insoluble contradictions. England would like to see France opposed by a Germany of greater military strength, but the modern techniques of war demand powerful industries as a basis for military power. Germany cannot be strong from a military standpoint unless its industry is strong, and this again runs counter to England's interests, which demand that the industrial development of Germany be checked.

With regard to France the situation is reversed. France is deeply interested, financially, in the reparation payments. Reparation payments can only be made if great quantities of industrial articles are imported. This means that German industry must be highly developed and fully employed. But again this highly developed industry would mean that within a short time Germany would be able to become a great military power again, and this would naturally signify a great political danger for France.

But the antagonism in the sphere of industry play by far the most important rôle. In view of the present weakened capacity of absorption for industrial products in the world's markets, and in view of the resultant chronic crisis obtaining in the industrial countries of Western Europe, which have only been able to employ a fraction of their producing capacity since the collapse of the after-war boom, the necessity for Germany to throw mighty masses of industrial productions on the world's markets signifies a tremendous danger for the other industrial countries of Western Europe. This is the main reason for the falling off in the enthusiasm for the Dawes Plan noticeable in England and France, and in all industrial countries of Europe, during the last quarter of a year. The statistics of production for the year 1923 show plainly that the total sum of industrial production in the countries of Europe has been almost the same as that of 1922, and that the improvement of industrial conditions in England, and in other industrial countries in Europe, has been obtained at the expense of the lessened production in Germany consequent on the occupation of the Ruhr. Thus England and all the other countries are terrified at the idea of the German competition which will inevitably result from the execution of the Dawes Plan. We shall deal with this question in somewhat greater detail.

On the very day following the signing of the London agreement, the Manchester Guardian (19. August 1924) published the famous interview with Snowden, in which he warns the English industrialists against the dangers of the Dawes Plan, and against the possibility of Franco-German cooperation. "I warn the British commercial interests, particularly the textile and iron trades, to be alert in this matter (special Franco-German agreement). The draft agreement which has been proposed... is a trade menace to Great Britain of the most serious character."

On the 30. July an English member of parliament submitted a petition to the House of Commons, on behalf of the Federation

of British Industries, requesting that the question of England's participation in the reparation loan be accorded very careful consideration, as it would injure British industry.

In the press, from the extreme right to the labour press — with the exception of the outspoken free trade organs — a campaign of alarm against the execution of the Dawes plan began. Thus, for instance, we read the following in the leading article of the "Times" of 26. August:

"So long as Germany, as an economic unit, was in a state of disorganization, her power to compete in the markets of the world was restricted, but now that there is a prospect of stabilization, it is recognized, as Sir Robert Horne has pointed out, that there is a real danger of a recurrence in a more intensified form of the fierce competition for foreign markets that characterized the era immediately preceding the outbreak of the war. A nation compelled to make payments abroad must dispose of its products abroad; there is no escape from that necessity, and the corollary of forced sales is low prices with which other nations cannot compete unless, broadly speaking, they are prepared to submit to conditions similar to those obtaining in the nation obliged to make such payments. That we should submit to conditions resembling those prevailing in Germany is, it is needless to say, a suggestion that would meet with bitter opposition in this country."

It is obvious that the conditions here mentioned which would excite bitter opposition are those inducing a reduction in wages. The idea of such a reduction is openly admitted by the various associations representing capitalist interests, and by the separate capitalists. In the well known "Summer School" held by the Independent Labour Party, the capitalist Hichens made a speech in which he declared that in his opinion real wages would have to fall in this country, as a temporary measure: "We can only maintain and develop our exports if our prices compare favourably with those of foreign competitors. Our foreign trade in machinery is seriously endangered by German, French, Belgian, and Italian competition, and these countries are mainly able to undercut our prices because their workers are paid lower wages and have longer working hours."

The means used to induce the English workers to agree to longer working hours and reduced wages is the longer working hours forced upon Germany by the Dawes Plan. This is expressed in a manner clear to every proletarian in the "Forward", the organ of the left Scottish wing of the Labour Party, on 23. August:

"Germany has to pay £125 millions per annum. To be able to do that, she must greatly expand her foreign trade. If she expands her foreign trade, she steals our markets. If she steals our markets, she causes unemployment here. And how can she steal our markets? By underselling us. By working her nationals a ten hours' day. When Hans is working ten hours a day, Bill Smith will be told by his master that he, Bill, must work a ten hours day also — or starve!"

The effect of the first steps taken towards the execution of the Dawes Plan can be most strikingly observed in the English coal industry. England's export of coal to Germany and France has greatly diminished during 1924. (For figures see under England.) Unemployment is increasing steadily among the English miners. Mines are closed down almost daily in England. In consequence of this, energetic resistance against the Dawes Plan is being made by the coal industry, by capitalists and workers alike. Special protest is raised against the compulsory deliveries of coal to be made by Germany.

As is known, the interview between the representatives of the English miners and MacDonald brought forth no result, as MacDonald did not care to sacrifice the interests of the collective bourgeoisie of the world, to the interests of the English miners.

Fears of German competition are being expressed in France, in Czechoslovakia, in Italy, in Denmark, indeed, all over Europe. A temporary obstacle has been thrown in the way of this competition in England and France by the 26% levy on German goods, whilst Belgium and Italy are still considering this measure.

In order to form a correct judgment of the conflicting interests involved, it must be remembered that England's industry is in the first place more seriously threatened than that of any other country by German competition, whilst the possibility exists of combining the heavy industry of Germany, France,

and Belgium, thus bridging over the antagonistic interests of these three states, and forming a continental heavy industrial bloc against England. This would naturally signify, not only an economic danger for England, but a threat against her political power. For this reason England began to fight against this possibility even during the London Conference. The struggle has since been continued in the above-mentioned interview with Snowden, and in innumerable other ways, during the last few months.

The formal expression of these conflicting interests is the trade agreement negotiations taking place between Germany and France, and between Germany and Belgium. The problem has assumed the following form: The Versailles Peace Treaty, as is well known, stipulated that goods from Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg were to be imported into Germany free of duty until 1. January 1925. It further stipulated that the whole of the victorious powers enjoy the privileges of the most favoured nation from the side of Germany, but not reciprocally, until this date. These stipulations of the Versailles Treaty have naturally had the effect of greatly hampering Germany's freedom of movement in commercial politics. Materially, these clauses signified that the import of French and English goods into Germany has been facilitated, that of German goods to the Entente countries hindered. The result has been Germany's unfavourable foreign trade balance, that is, precisely the contrary of what was required to render reparation payments possible. The conflict of interests between the industrial bourgeoisie of the Entente countries and the finances of a collective bourgeoisie intent on reparation payments, becomes here most strikingly apparent. This is naturally once more the problem of the success or non-success of the transfer.

In the present negotiations on trade agreements, this conflict of interests takes the special form of the import duty question. As early as the time of the London conference, France demanded that the duty-free import of goods from Alsace-Lorraine should be conceded in return for the accelerated evacuation of the Ruhr area. At the time this was prevented by the objections raised by England and by the bankers. But at the present time the question is again a burning one. As a matter of fact the iron industry of Lorraine has been supplying the South German market with iron goods. Should the imports into Germany be shut out by high protective duties, this means that the production of the iron industry of Lorraine will flood the French markets, or will have to seek markets further abroad. The same applies more or less to the iron industry of Luxemburg. The peace treaty separates Luxemburg from the German customs area and accords it by plebiscite to Belgium. But the natural market for Luxemburg's iron industry is Germany, and the cessation of duty-free imports into Germany signify a crisis for the heavy industry of Luxemburg and Belgium. Thus the present negotiations find the French and Belgian representatives demanding the continuation of the duty free import of goods from Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg into Germany. But this demand encounters not only resistance on the part of Germany, but an even more energetic resistance on the part of England. The English textile industry raises special protest against the granting of duty free import of Alsatian textile goods into Germany, and English heavy industry is equally opposed to the duty free import of heavy industrial products from Lorraine and Luxemburg into Germany. There certainly exists an economic necessity for combining the ore of Lorraine with the coal of Westphalia.

The German capitalists have always been thoroughly in favour of this combination. Dissensions have only arisen with regard to terms.¹⁾

The trade agreement negotiations which are being conducted at the present time between Germany and England, France, Belgium, Italy, and Poland, are of extraordinarily great significance for the possibility of carrying out the Dawes Plan. England herself plays a more passive rôle here, as her existing free trade system prevents her from exercising any direct pressure towards the reduction of German industrial duties, and she cannot offer anything in return. Therefore England demands

¹⁾ In the meantime the Franco-German negotiations have led to a provisional fundamental agreement, much having been conceded to French wishes with regard to preference treatment for Alsace-Lorraine imports. An agreement has obviously been come to between the French and German heavy industrialists!

the general application of the most favoured nation principle, and is thus opposed to preferential treatment for the goods of Alsace-Lorraine. The four other countries, however, are countries hedged around with protective duties, and the extent to which Germany will be able to export to these important markets depends upon the result of the trade agreement negotiations.

In view of all these facts, the following conclusion may be come to:

The acceptance of the Dawes plan does not by any means signify that the payment of the reparation sums demanded is actually secured; and it signifies just as little the disappearance of imperialist antagonisms or the foundation of a "permanent peace". The foundation is only laid for one thing; for the penetration of the imperialism of the United States into the European continent.

A Dawes Plan for France.

The successful penetration of American capital into Germany has given birth to the desire to include France within the sphere of power of the United States. In our last report we mentioned the fact that the fall of the franc, in February 1924, was only arrested through the agency of Anglo-American high finance, above all through the agency of the Morgan banking house. The 100 million dollar credit expired on 12. September. The Bank of France had only made use of a part of this credit at the time, and had meanwhile paid it back. This credit has now been renewed: this proves that French financiers recognize the necessity of securing the support of the house of Morgan in the eventuality of a fresh fall of the franc.

France's dependence on the United States, as a result of the war debt, is of incomparably greater importance. It is a well-known fact that up to now the United States have brusquely rejected all attempts on the part of France to obtain a reduction of this debt. Now one of the members of the Debt Consolidation Commission appointed by the Senate, Mr. Hurley, has been staying in France, and has submitted the following agreeable "Dawes Plan for France" to the president of the Commission, Secretary of State Mellon.¹⁾

The debt owed by France to the United States, including the accumulations, amounts to approximately 3500 dollars. This sum is not to be paid off until 65 to 67 years have elapsed; first comes a five years moratorium, then interest to be paid at the rate of 2% annually, rising successively to 4%, so that the average rate of interest is 2½%. The remainder goes to the sinking fund.

Thus the full yearly payment would amount to 140 million dollars = 588 million gold marks. This means that if France were to receive the 13 million gold marks from Germany, resultant on the successful transfer of the full amount of the reparations — a contingency which we have shown above appears to be beyond the bounds of possibility — it would have to pass on almost one half of the sum to the United States. Should it only prove possible to transfer one half of the reparation payments, then the whole sum simply goes to America. It is not until these two plans are confronted that we fully realise the extent to which the execution of the Dawes plan means the subordination of Europe to American imperialism.

But there is still better to come: Mr. Hurley further proposes that one half of the annual payment due should not be paid in cash, but in debentures of French railways and industrial enterprises, redeemable in 25 years. In the opinion of Mr. Hurley, even more than one half of the annual payments could be invested in French undertakings; the electrification of the French railways in particular could be carried out with the aid of this sum. ("Le Matin", 16. September 1924.)

It is perfectly obvious: France is to be subordinated, like Germany, to the financial capital of the United States, and the Dawes Plan is again to serve as an instrument.

The fate of this plan is not yet clear. Reports are contradictory. The "Times" declares that the plan has been submitted by its author to the French Minister of Finance, Clémentel, and has met with his approbation. On the other hand, the plan has aroused violent protests in the French press. The result has been that Hurley's plan has been designated by Mellon as

¹⁾ "Times", 15. September 1924. Correspondence from Washington.

Hurley's "private plan", and we are told that the settlement of the French war debt can only be thought of when the execution of the Dawes Plan is well under way in Germany. The Washington correspondent of the "Times" declares, however, that Clémentel is expected to begin negotiations with the Debt Consolidation Commission in the Spring. Now that the debts of England, Finland, and Hungary have been consolidated, and negotiations are being carried on with Poland and Lithuania, it is now the turn of France and Italy. Even though Hurley's plan appear impossible of execution in its preliminary form, the settlement will have to be made within a calculable period.

A Dawes Plan for Russia.

There have been increasing indications of late that the international bourgeoisie is thinking of renewing its efforts to present a common front against Soviet Russia, and either to drive out this wedge inserted in a capitalist state of society, or to render it harmless by "adaptation". The failures of Genoa and The Hague are to be followed by fresh endeavors, and this time with the active co-operation of a Germany regenerated by the Dawes Plan and accepted in the league of nations...

A "Dawes Plan for Soviet Russia", this is the slogan with which the international bourgeoisie announces the renewal of the combat against Soviet Russia.

"Russia" — says Mr. Hoover, Minister of Trade and most philanthropic organiser of a Russian Famine Relief fund in 1921, for the purpose of driving up the price of American maize — "Russia will be the next European country to which the rest of the world will have to direct attention in order to carry out the stabilisation of economy. A plan will have to be set up for Russia as was done for Germany, although up to the present no step has been taken in this direction."

The will towards a uniform "treatment" of Soviet Russia further explains the storm of rage and invective with which the whole of the capitalist English press carried on its campaign against the English loan promised under certain conditions to the Soviet government by the MacDonald government. This campaign brought about the fall of the Labour government. The conditions imposed by the Anglo-Russian treaty for the granting of the loan are so difficult to comply with, and the sum in question (30 to 50 million pounds sterling) so small for a country like England, that the object of this determined campaign is only explicable by the class character of the matter. Wheatley, Minister of Public Health in MacDonald's government, said very rightly at Birmingham on the 6. Oct. 1924.

"Our opponents do not wish peace with Russia. They want war with Russia. The Soviet government has challenged capitalism. It not only protects the Russians but it is a trustee who rules Russia on behalf of the workers of the whole world. It is for this reason that all the enemies of the working class are endeavouring to make war on Russia. They want to crush Russia before it becomes economically and militarily strong. Comrades, it is not at all a question of a loan, it is not a question of money, it is a question of the great cause of the workers. If the labour Government had proposed to spend 50 millions in crushing Russia there would not have been any talk of a general election. Our political crisis is therefore the direct consequence of the fight of the capitalists against Russia."

Russia is to be exploited by the German bourgeoisie on behalf of and for the benefit of the Entente bourgeoisie. Russia is to buy the goods which Germany has to export to enable it to meet its reparation obligations*).

Whilst Hoover and Baldwin have only indicated the general outlines of the "Dawes Plan for Soviet Russia", we find in the organ of German heavy industry: "Die Bergwerkszeitung", a series of articles entering further into details). Although the writer, Dr. Hans v. Eckardt, is by no means reckoned among

the leading political economists of Germany, still the repeated reference made by the editor of the periodical to the importance of his expositions, and the fact that his views coincide with those of Hoover and Baldwin, impart a certain importance to his opinion).

Eckardt's train of thought is approximately as follows:

1. The world's economics, especially the trade and industry of Europe, cannot recover so long as Russia remains continuously outside of direct economic intercourse; 2. the Dawes Plan cannot bring the hoped for recovery of Central European economics if German export trade is forced to confine itself mainly to the countries and markets of the Allies and their spheres of interests, and cannot develop towards the East; 3. the East cannot come seriously into question as a market and field of activity until the restoration of Russia is carried forward on the largest possible scale; 4. Russia will not be able to recuperate economically by its own powers alone, and will above all not be able to recover its purchasing powers unless generous help is received from outside, and 5. Russia's restoration cannot be undertaken by one state alone, but solely by the combined action of all the great economic powers.

In order to render this restoration possible, the Polish and Roumanian frontiers of Russia are to be revised to the advantage of Russia, and Russia is to be offered a loan, but only on the assumption that all revolutionary propaganda outside of Russia is to be abandoned.

In order to prepare for this loan, a great commission of experts is to be sent to Russia, for the purpose of studying the economic conditions on the spot, and of ascertaining the conditions upon which restoration is possible.

The loan, should it be raised, is to be employed to the extent of 75% for the purchase of manufactured articles from abroad, purchase and delivery being regulated from the following standpoint:

"The predominant viewpoint is perfectly clear, and has already been worked out, for instance, in the London Treaty with Soviet Russia: Russia would be granted a loan, about 75% of which would be employed for the purchase of necessary manufactured articles, etc., abroad. The orders would be principally given, in accordance with a distribution plan, to districts which have always worked specifically for Russia, that is, to Germany. Here the greatest importance would be placed on the question of what description of goods is really needful for Russia; it is naturally not a question of meeting the requirements of the inhabitants of the towns, still unproductive for the most part, but of satisfying the needs of 1. Russian agriculture (implements, machines, tractors, milk-separators, etc.), and 2. of the raw material areas, that is, Russia would have to be supplied with everything required for winning the raw materials: coal, ores, metals, wood, naphtha, etc., from the moment when the winning of these products is undertaken on a large scale. To this must, of course, be added the Russian requirements in railway material, dredgers, river steamers, etc., as well as the whole of the materials required for renewing state and municipal undertakings. (Electric power stations, telegraph and telephone plant, gas works, water works, drainage plant, tramways, hospitals, laboratories, scientific institutions, etc.)

Russia may be considered as "condemned" to be a raw material country of the first grade for the next few decades; in view of this natural necessity — for except by the export of raw materials: grain, naphtha, coal, ores, metals, and wood, neither the reconstruction of this vast land can be paid for nor its vital and financial powers restored — the Russian finished goods industry must appear in the light of a "luxury". It cannot therefore be said that Russia merely imports what it cannot make for itself (as the Soviet Government orders matters today), but Russia is to produce only the things which really pay...

*) Thus for instance the editor's note to the second article, entitled: "An 'Experts' Report' for Russia":

"We should consider it of great advantage if the ideas here expressed by the well-known Russian expert, with reference to the economic restoration of Russia in its relation to the economic restoration of Germany, were to be afforded the fullest consideration, especially abroad."

*) "Guggenheim", the American copper king, declared on his return from Europe: "Russia will be electrified by German industry, because at the present time Germany can supply finished copper articles better than any other country in the world. Up to now there is no extensive electrification in Russia, and a wide field of work is opened out here" ("New York", 24. September 1924).

*) See "Bergwerkszeitung", September 24. and 30.

These reasons are so important that the customary objections of the nationalists, that a country like Russia must have its "own national" finished goods industry, must be able to produce its own ships, cannon, guns, telephone apparatus, and travelling trunks, are not valid."

The train of thought is as clear as Baldwin's: Russia is to become the agrarian colony of Germany. The development of its industries is to be retarded, so that it will not be able to develop its military power: it is not to be capable of producing its own "ships, cannon, guns, telephone apparatus, and travelling trunks".

But now comes the great question: what guarantees is Russia going to offer for the loan?

Mr. Eckhardt does not tell us anything definite about this, he merely says:

"That these guarantees would have to be of a very far-reaching character, and in many respects much more rigidly secured than those demanded from Germany, need not be emphasised."

The nature of the guarantees is not mentioned, it is merely emphasised that Russia is politically independent, and therefore has to be treated differently, politically, to Germany! "The political prerequisites would be settled by the media of diplomacy." Guarantees would have to be provided for:

"Property and possessions, for free professional and trading activity, and for the freedom of the person of every foreigner occupied in Russia..."

In a word: The restoration of the bourgeois state of society under the superintendence of the international bourgeoisie, in a similar manner, if somewhat finer in form, to the administration of Turkey by the "Ottoman administration" before the war.

We have devoted perhaps too much attention to this question. But it is of the highest political importance. The utterances made by Hoover and Baldwin, the furious struggle of the English bourgeoisie against the loan to Soviet Russia; the pending entry of Germany into the League of Nations; Eckardt's articles; the civil war in China, supported by Anglo-American capital; the preparations for war in Poland in Roumania; all this together shows that the international bourgeoisie is contemplating an attempt — laying aside its imperialist antagonisms for the moment, as in the case of the Dawes Plan — at a combined attack upon the stronghold of the international revolutionary labour movement. The proletariat must not be content with solely combatting the Dawes Plan itself, it must at the same time take up arms against the Dawes Plans for France and Russia.

THE WHITE TERROR

To the Aid of the Victims of Esthonian Class Justice.

To the Workers of All Countries, To All Members of the International Red Relief!

In Little Esthonia, which numbers not more than 1,200,000 inhabitants, terrible things are being done.

In January of this year the government of "democratic" Esthonia seized 300 revolutionaries from the ranks of the proletariat and flung them into prison. Among these victims are members of the Labour Party and of the Communist Party, members of parliament, and trade union and co-operative functionaries.

Leaders of the Esthonian workers, who had been tried and proved in long years of struggle against the bourgeoisie, as well as young comrades, filled with the fire of youth, have been thrown into jail by the Esthonian bourgeoisie on account of their devotion to the cause of the working class. It is in vain that the agents of the government have endeavoured by lies and cunning to shake their steadfastness. Neither the insults of the secret police, nor privations could break down their courage. It came to hunger strikes, to prison mutinies, but not one of the incarcerated showed any signs of wavering.

After ten months of imprisonment, 150 comrades were finally brought before that "prompt" and "just" court of "genuine democracy". Yes, it proceeds with wonderful expedition, this court! Had not our comrades been tortured and martyred for ten

months! The jurists of the Soviet Union, who had placed themselves at the disposal of our comrades, were refused permission by the court to defend the accused. The accused were left without defenders and therefore the "justice" of the Esthonian hangmen triumphed.

Day after day the ponderous iron doors of the prison of Reval were opened, day after day 150 of the best sons of the Esthonian proletariat were conveyed in iron chains from the damp vaults to the magnificent Esthonian "temple of justice". Before the traders, shopkeepers and speculators, who in present Esthonia occupy seats in the court, 150 revolutionaries are supposed to acknowledge the "crimes" committed by them. Their crimes consist in that they, in parliament, in the trade unions, in the Party, — everywhere where their courageous voices could penetrate, have defended the interests of the oppressed, of the pitilessly exploited Esthonian proletarians. This sufficed to deliver them into the hands of the existing clique of profiteers who wish to be rid of them. Already the first blood has been shed. The bourgeoisie who have taken leave of their senses could not pardon comrade Jan Tomp, one of the 150, who was guilty of "contempt of court". Thus the judgment of the proletarian court upon the present judges of the proletariat of Esthonia will be written with the blood of the fighters for the cause of the revolution.

The bourgeois judges of Esthonia are still able to have our most self-sacrificing comrades shot, and to cause them to be buried alive in dungeons. But there is another tremendous power which can issue the command to the present Esthonian rulers: "Away! Do not dare to touch with your dirty bloody hands our fighting brothers!" Workers, it is you who constitute this power. If you, with your powerful, millionfold voices, bring forward the demand for the liberation of the accused, if the international proletariat raises its unanimous protest against the new misdeeds of the Esthonian bourgeoisie, the 150 comrades can be rescued. Is there even one worker in your midst whose breast is not filled with rage and indignation? Are there to be found in our family of workers those who can suppress within them the voice of indignation and of protest?

Comrades! Upon you depends the further fate of the 150. If you find sufficient will for energetic protest, the spectre of death which is threatening the 150 will vanish.

The 150 have completely fulfilled their duty to the international proletariat. The international proletariat must fulfill its duty to the 150.

Organise protest meetings, arrange demonstrations, demand liberation, brand the Esthonian hangmen with shame and contempt!

The fate of the 150 is in your hands!
Long live international solidarity!
Long live the 150!
Long live the international working class!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Relief.

Protest of the Revolutionary Proletariat of France against the Esthonian Blood Justice.

Our French Comrades have addressed the following to the Esthonian Ambassador in Paris.
Ed.

To the Esthonian Ambassador in France!

The Committee of Action comprising representatives of the Communist Party of France, of the Communist Youth League of France, and of the Unitarian General Federation of Labour (C. G. T. U.), supported by the revolutionary workers of France, make the most emphatic protest against the sentences which have just been pronounced against the workers of Esthonia, whose only guilt is that of belonging to the Communist Party.

The French workers will not permit this crime against the working class.

They have already protested in their factory meetings against your class justice. To-morrow their protest will be heard in parliament; they will, if necessary, appear in masses before your embassy in order to demand the liberation of their comrades.

Down with the White Terror!
Long live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

To the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party and to the Fighters for Communism Incarcerated in Egyptian Prisons.

The first "national" government of the pseudo-independent Egypt, the government of the "father of the country", Zaghlul Pasha — which abhors the labour movement which has sprung up in Egypt — does not wish to be outdone by its predecessors, the lackeys and agents of British imperialism in its repressive measures against the working class.

Scared by the March strikers in Alexandria and other Egyptian towns, when the workers forcibly took possession of factories and workshops in order to compel the capitalists to make concessions, the government has decided to put an end to the open activity of the Communist Party and of the independent trade unions. Closing of all Party premises, hundreds of raids and arrests of working class leaders, deportation from Egypt of "undesirable" elements, establishment of yellow trade unions — such are the measures being adopted by the present government in its fight against the growing communist movement.

Having failed to frighten you by threats or to make you renegades by the promise of well paid posts, the government has incarcerated you, the leaders of the young Egyptian proletariat, after a trial which was nothing but a farce, as the government not only prohibited the publication of the speeches of the accused, but even the publication of the speech of the official counsel for the defence.

In order to break down your spirit, which did not give way under the brutality of the sentence — three years imprisonment, the government has added insult to injury by classing you together with ordinary criminals.

You have accepted the challenge and, at the risk of your health and of your very life, you have compelled the government by a 23 days' protest hunger strike to change your prison regime.

Zaghlul and his government are posing as the defenders of the Egyptian people and as fighters for the independence of Egypt against British imperialism, and at the same time they inflict terrible hardships on you, who are not only members of the Egyptian Communist Party and the best representatives of the people, but staunch and irreconcilable opponents of imperialism.

Why? Because the government is, of course, trembling for the privileges of landowners and capitalists against whom the Egyptian Communist Party has declared war.

But the hopes of Zaghlul will be nullified. Even by the most brutal persecution of individual communists, he will not succeed in destroying the movement which is deeply rooted in the impoverishment and the exploitation of large sections of workers and peasants. The place of the scores of comrades who have fallen out of the ranks will be soon taken by hundreds and thousands of other fighters as staunch as those who have fallen. Thus the fight will be continued with increased vigour until an end will have been put to the inhuman yoke of capitalists and landowners in Egypt and throughout the world.

It is this faith in our final victory which puts courage into the hearts of the Egyptian fighters and gives them strength to carry on the struggle even behind prison walls.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is filled with admiration for the struggle carried on by you, our Egyptian comrades.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes all true fighters for Egyptian independence, and calls upon the workers of Egypt and the Sudan to carry on their heroic fight for emancipation from the yoke of world imperialism with the same energy and courage. We can assure you of the support of the international proletariat.

All honour and glory to the brave fighters now in prison. Long live the Egyptian Communist Party which has produced such staunch revolutionaries.

Long live the victory of the workers throughout the world.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

20. November 1924.

IN THE COLONIES

MacDonald's Parting Kick.

By M. N. Roy.

There is no use in beating a dead horse. But it is necessary to throw light upon an event which was lost sight of in the excitement of the General Elections in Britain. This event could be called MacDonald's parting kick to India. Of course, he dealt it with quite a different purpose — as the first of many to follow; but unfortunately for him, it proved to be the parting-kick.

We mean the sudden arrest of 72 leading nationalists and the simultaneous raid on several hundred houses in the province of Bengal. This act of terrorism was perpetrated by a Special Ordinance issued by the Viceroy, on October 26. The pretext was to check the growth of "anarchical crimes". But the men arrested were all members of a political party (Swaraj Party) which has repeatedly declared itself against violence, and whose programme does not even call for separation from the Empire. The arrested men have not been put on trial, nor any charge been framed against them. The unconstitutional nature of this act, therefore, is evident.

Now the most interesting part of the event is the complicity of the Labour Government in it. The situation in Britain did not permit any particular attention to be paid to this act of terrorism in India. It was even believed that the Government of India acted on its own initiative, as soon as Labour's return to office became doubtful, because it is indeed difficult to believe that the Labour Government would sanction such high-handed autocracy, which was totally unwarranted. The record of the MacDonald Cabinet, of course, did not leave ground to doubt that it would not rush to the defence of the Empire whenever necessary; but absolutely nothing happened in India to justify such a drastic action. Nevertheless, the Labour Government not only justified the action of the Viceroy once it had been committed, but actually sanctioned it in advance. Absolutely nothing of this complicity of the Labour Government with the uncalled for repression in India was known in Britain. Not a word about it appeared in the press. The London correspondent of the semi-official Calcutta paper, *The Englishman*, cabled the day after arrests were made:

"Whitehall is not surprised at the Bengal arrests, but is only surprised that they were not made much earlier. The British Government were fully aware that the Government of India contemplated taking action, and that the Cabinet had promised fullest support to maintain constitutionalism."

On October 28, the India Office issued a communique concerning events in India. This document was not published in any British paper; but was sent out to India by Reuter. It ran:

"The Viceroy's Ordinance is not aimed at the Swarajist movement or any legitimate activity of the members of that movement. It does not affect lawful interests and activities of any citizen as long as he does not associate himself with the promotion of crimes and violence. The Government is determined to preserve from such crimes that public security on which political progress depends, and intends to proceed along lines of political development laid down by..." "The Ordinance does not create any new offence, but it is directed towards more speedy punishment of the offenders and more effective prevention of acts already defined as crimes under ordinary law."

As mentioned above, there is absolutely no evidence to prove any guilt on the part of the men arrested. So all these theories of "criminal violence and constitutional progress" go wide of the mark. The simple fact is that MacDonald gave in to the demands of Tory Imperialism for a "strong hand in India". He did it just before the elections in order to show that Labour was "fit to govern".

According to its own admission, the Labour Government withdrew the charge against Campbell, because the Attorney General thought that there was not enough evidence to secure a conviction. But in India one need not bother about evidence. If the ordinary law does not suffice, a special ordinance can always be issued. In a country where such an unconstitutional situation obtains, the Labour Government demanded strictly "lawful activities" on the part of the nationalists.

The Labour Government has gone; but the men who constituted the Labour Cabinet still dominate the British Labour Party. Therefore this story of MacDonald's parting kick to India is very instructive to the British proletariat. It reveals what a monstrous lie is the doctrine of self-determination, as indeed is any other doctrine of the Second International.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Appeal of the International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers.

Comrades,

We direct your attention to that danger for the broad proletarian masses which has arisen in the far East, in China.

We do not speak of the famous "yellow peril", which the bourgeois politicians and journalists like to make a great cry over in order to justify their robber deeds in the countries of the Far East. We speak of the danger of a new world war, which arises from the rivalries of the Japanese, American and European imperialists and their interference in the inner affairs of China.

The different groups of robbers struggle among themselves while they kindle civil war in China and strengthen "their interests" by financial machinations behind the scenes, by diplomatic intrigues and direct threats.

What must be the attitude taken by the revolutionary transport workers in this case? The answer to this question has already been given by the revolutionary proletariat of the Union of Soviet Republics through the slogan of "Hands off China".

Comrades, Seamen and Dockworkers!

The international imperialist robbers make you parties to their actions in China. It is with your hands that the arms and munitions are loaded and transported, which are now secretly sent to China from various parts of the world, in order to arm this or that general who has sold himself to this or that group of foreign politicians and financiers.

It is our duty to free ourselves from this responsibility, to frustrate the aims of the imperialists and to deprive them of the possibility of kindling a conflagration in the Far East, which can mark the commencement of a new imperialist world slaughter.

Expose the secret despatch of arms which are destined for China, refuse to load the ships and transport the arms, convene protest meetings against these machinations, boycott the ships and do not work on those ships which transport arms and munitions to China.

Form immediately a "Hands off China" group and fight under this slogan against the sending of weapons to the Far East. May the greedy appetite of the big and little civilised cannibals, who by their supplying of weapons convert the blood of the Chinese workers and peasants into gold, meet with your determined protest.

Down with the delivery of weapons to China!

Down with the intrigues of the imperialists!

Hands off China!

Long live the emancipation of the peoples of the East from the bonds of the foreign robbers.

International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Against Trotzkyism.

Resolution of the Enlarged Moscow Committee of the R. C. P.
Resolution of the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Trade Union Council.

Resolution of the Plenum of the Charkov District Committee.
Moscow, 21st November 1924.

The book of Comrade Trotzky, "1917", is being eagerly discussed in Party circles and is regarded as an attempt to revive the discussion of last year. Party circles look upon the book as an attempt to revise Leninism.

A meeting of the Moscow Committee, attended by active Party functionaries, after a speech by Comrade Kamenev, adop-

ted a resolution which declared: "We consider it as our Party duty to express our conviction that the attitude of Comrade Trotzky constitutes a crude distortion of the history of bolshevism and of the October Revolution. The meeting expresses its disagreement with the distortion of Comrade Trotzky regarding the real relations between Lenin on the one side and the Central Committee and the Party on the other. Comrades Trotzky makes these distortions, not only by an incorrect exposition of the events, contrary to the facts of the history of the Party, but also through distortions of the ideological contents of bolshevism, in that he misleads the Party, the Comintern and the country with regard to the actual relations between Lenin and the Central Committee during the October period.

As Comrade Trotzky's article according to its ideological content, represents an attempt to substitute Trotzkyism for Leninism (and Trotzkyism was nothing else than one of the varieties of menshevism) the article constitutes a continuation of the discussion, a continuation of the struggle begun by Comrade Trotzky against the leading comrades of the Party and of the Comintern. The meeting regards the action of Comrade Trotzky, in its form and its content, as a breach of the promises which Trotzky made at the XIII. Party Congress of the R. C. P., and as an attempt to undermine the unity of the Party. Comrade Trotzky by his action confronts the Party with the danger of a discussion which at present would be absolutely undesirable and harmful. The Party does not want any discussion, but it wants, and this it will attain, that the distortion of bolshevism be energetically refuted.

This meeting therefore requests the Central Committee to deal with the whole question at the next plenum of the C. C. and in the first place to adopt decisive and exhaustive measures in order that the fundamental ideas of bolshevism, the history of the Party and the history of the revolution, shall not be distorted under the flag of the Party; and secondly, to adopt measures for the widest distribution of correct information among the members of the Party regarding the history of the Party, the struggle of the Party against Trotzkyism, the real history of October etc."

The Enlarged Plenum of the Central Trade Union Council in the presence of the C. C. of the Trade Unions, of the district secretaries, of the Communist fractions of the C. C. of the metal workers, the chemical workers and railway men's unions, decided, after hearing the reports of Comrades Kamenev and Stalin, to endorse the resolution of the Moscow Committee.

The Plenum of the Charkov District Committee adopted a resolution, according to which the action of Comrade Trotzky constitutes a continuation of the discussion. Comrade Trotzky is declared to have approached the question in a non-Marxist and non-Leninist manner, in that he distorts a whole number of facts. The Plenum issues a warning of the dangers which are connected with the revision and the distortion of Leninism, and calls for energetic struggle against such attempts.

The Party Conference of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

By V. Stern (Reichenberg).

The last Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, which took place from the 31st of October to the 4th of November in Prague, was, as is known, preceded by a Party discussion which was carried on throughout the whole Party in a very earnest and passionate manner, in which such profound differences appeared that without exaggeration one could speak of a crisis in the Party.

The Social Democratic Legacy.

This crisis was bound to come sooner or later in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. It was an open secret that this Party, in the tradition, training and orientation of many of its members, and more so with regard to its leaders, was burdened more heavily than other Parties with remnants of social democratic ideology. The incredible treachery of the Czechish social democrats, the disappointment regarding what the Republic has brought to the workers, the revolutionary development in the neighbouring states, the wonderful self-maintenance of the Russian revolution and before all the effects of a serious economic crisis and a brutal offensive of the exploiters, as well as a brutal reactionary policy of national suppression have caused great masses to

come over to the III. International who are still under the influence of their social democratic past. It was impossible to improve matters in this respect because the proletariat was almost entirely lacking in any experiences gained in serious revolutionary struggles of their own. The danger which lies in the social democratic heritage was increased still more by the illusions which followed the temporary amelioration of the severe economic crisis, and by the "efforts to arrive at an understanding" on the part of the bourgeois and social democratic opposition of the national minorities, which is even prepared, in return for a few ministerial seats, not only to facilitate the class suppression but also the national suppression by participation in the government. The fact that among the governmental Parties there was considered the possibility of accepting the communists into the government, is a very characteristic indication of the estimate held of our Party.

The Turn to the Left.

The sharpened social and political pressure, however, drove the masses still further to the left. The improvement in the economic crisis, while it brought greater profits to the exploiters, in no way bettered the position of the workers. Their wages were reduced while prices were increased. At the same time unemployment began again to increase. The effects of the carrying out of the Dawes Plan are already making themselves felt here and threaten the working class with the most serious dangers. That capitalism here is in a process of uninterrupted decay is shown by the financial situation, which is becoming continually worse and which the ruling class seek in vain to improve by the most fearful pressure of taxation upon the workers, clerks, peasants and small shopkeepers. Social insurance only exists on paper, but the banks and war-contractors receive millions. "Economy" is being practised at the cost of the workers while imperialist bourgeois militarism is in full bloom. Numerous strikes had an unsatisfactory ending owing to the terrible splits in the trade unions and reformist treachery.

All this alone explains the growth of discontent in the Party with the leadership, which is not sufficiently energetic. In addition to this there is the effect of the **German experience**, which clearly shows how necessary it is to have a bolshevik leadership and a bolshevik Party, and how fatal every lack in this respect must prove in the decisive hour. Thus, already before the V. Congress, there was a fairly strong oppositional mood in the Party, but which only expressed itself in occasional criticism and not in a systematic open discussion. Only the decisions of the V. World Congress, and before all its criticism of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, gave the necessary stimulus. Everyone who was in an oppositional mood welcomed the attitude of the Congress: a number of leading comrades, however, clearly showed that they are not in agreement with these decisions, that they do not approve of the whole political line of the V. Congress, and only accept it out of discipline.

The Problems of the Party Conference and their Practical Significance.

At the Party Conference the contradictions became apparent in all their sharpness, but its result as regards the political line of the Party could be seen beforehand. All the districts had already adopted left resolutions and the Party Conference pronounced itself unanimously for the political theses proposed by the opposition. In this connection it was not a question of purely theoretical disputes, but much rather of questions which are of the greatest practical importance in Czechoslovakia. Even the apparently so abstract disputes over the "meaning" of the united front tactics and of the Labour government had as their basis numerous experiences in the every-day struggle and very "real" possibilities. Can one form a government with Benes and Masaryk, if the coalition is wrecked, in order to avoid a "fascist government"? Shall we become more moderate in our opposition to social democratic corruption, in order perhaps in certain cases to win them as allies? These and similar questions, although not openly put, were underlying the differences. The practical basis of the theoretical disputes was shown more clearly in other questions. The fight over the unconditional recognition of the right of self-determination up to complete separation and over an active policy of struggle against national suppression, met with theoretical objections, behind which, consciously or unconsciously, there was concealed the opportunist wish to avoid too bluntly challenging the government, or a too great concession to social

patriotic consideration for "our republic". In the trade union question it was necessary to fight against a strong and dangerous inner opportunism, against the tendency to give way to the inclination of broad masses of workers to desert the battle-field in the trade unions, and to yield to mistaken efforts of the red trade unions to regard themselves as an end in themselves. The continual hesitation of the Party in this question had led to a terrible lack of clarity. Mistaken moods in the masses were not only not combatted but systematically promoted. There were no differences of opinion regarding the necessity of reconstructing the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. As the demands for a decided enterprising leadership, for an increase of the proletarian elements in the leadership, for a better connection of parliamentary action with mass actions, for a revolutionary language and attitude in the daily struggles, for increasing and sharpening the struggles met with no serious resistance. In the Russian and German questions no serious attempt was made to defend the attitude of the old Party leaders.

All these questions were settled by the Party conference without compromise. Only in the trade union question was it possible to believe that a compromise had been arrived at. But this is not the case. It was laid down with all clearness that the wrong line which our trade union policy had followed hitherto shall be given up, that new tactics — the Leninist tactics, shall be employed.

The New Leadership.

A compromise was concluded in another respect — in the question of the new leadership. Here the differences were very sharply opposed, and it was not so easy to predict the result. The left demanded as a guarantee for the carrying out of the decisions a deciding and adequate majority of such comrades in the central who already, before the Conference, had fully and entirely, and not merely out of discipline but out of inner conviction, adopted the decisions of the World Congress. The other side declared that there was no guarantee that these comrades would lead the Party better than the former leaders comprising experienced and tried comrades, whose declaration that they are sufficiently disciplined in order actually to carry out the decisions of the Party Conference must suffice as a sufficient guarantee that this will actually be the case. If in this question it had come to a definite vote between the two factions, the decision, no matter how it may have turned out, would have brought about an exceedingly sharp aggravation of the differences — in fact the danger of a split would not have been quite excluded. In the question of electing the new central, the case of Kreibich played a serious role. Kreibich had not only already before the Party Conference shown in a number of articles considerable right deviations in the national question, in the question of the workers' government, the tactics of the united front, and in his non-approval of the whole line of the V. World Congress, he also, immediately before the Party Congress, wrote an article, the publication of which was prevented by the intervention of the Central, but from which it was clearly to be seen how exceedingly sharp is the difference between the attitude of Comrade Kreibich and between the line of the V. World Congress in all the decisive questions. This article also contained references to the fundamental questions of international communist tactics, which are sharply opposed to the principles of the III. International, and which Comrade Kreibich himself in previous years had most energetically combatted as social democratic and opportunist. In rejecting the opinions expressed in the article, which was submitted to the Party Conference, the whole Party was united. Even Comrade Kreibich himself declared that, while these opinions were still his convictions, he would now write the article differently. Differences of opinion arose as to whether, having regard to this article, it would be possible to elect comrade Kreibich on to the new Central. The representative of the Executive very energetically supported the opinions of those comrades who declared that the election of comrade Kreibich into the new central would mean the approval of his opinions, and must therefore be regarded as adopting an attitude contrary to the International. Comrade Kreibich thereupon requested not to be elected. After long and obstinate negotiations it came finally to a compromise, and a central was elected comprising 14 representatives of the right, 18 representatives of the left; comrades Smeral, Zapotocky, Muna, Heiss and Skala were again elected. If now the left and right work together with all energy in accordance with

the decisions, then the crisis of the Party can be regarded as completely liquidated.

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Our Party Conference was the first after the V. Congress and at the same time the Party Conference of one of the largest sections of the International. And this Party Conference has fully and entirely approved the decisions of the Congress. It has done so, not merely out of discipline, but from inner conviction of the correctness of these decisions, and in particular of the correctness of the criticism of our Party and of the Party of its bolshevism. The Party Conference has also shown through the composition of the new central, that it accepts these decisions, not only in theses and resolutions, but it will also secure their practical carrying out. That is a most important step forward.

The National Conference of the Communist Party of Austria.

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The Extraordinary Party Conference of the C. P. of Austria, which was held on the 15th and 16th November in Vienna, brought to a conclusion the serious crisis which has shaken the Party for years, and which during the last months led to the danger of a split. It is necessary to examine the past crisis for the liquidation of which the national Conference was convened.

The specifically Austrian variety of menshevism is based upon the unity of the Social Democratic Party, which during and after the war was kept intact by means of the exceptional position of Victor Adler, as much as by the miserable policy of the "left" leaders of the type of Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler. These Austro-Marxists never even summoned up sufficient courage to form an "Independent Socialist Party" which, based upon centrism, would have facilitated the freeing of the proletarian masses from open menshevism. As a result, the proletarian elements who are still inclined to centrism, are still linked to the old party and thereby to menshevist counter-revolution. This, of course, renders more difficult the winning of the masses for communism.

In addition to this there is the first effects of the Geneva League of Nations restoration, with its apparent stabilisation of the crown, which in the first place brought about a check in the revolutionary development. Further, the Austro-Marxist attitude to this capitalist slave pact, which, contrary to the attitude of the German Social Democrats towards the Dawes Plan, consists in a sham opposition somewhat after the nature of the German fascists, doubly hinders the organising of the struggle against Geneva. In return for the patience of the working masses, due to social democratic influence, who allow themselves to be exploited "painlessly", as Herr Otto Bauer describes it, the bourgeoisie, as it does not yet need to have recourse to terror, has up to now been following a "democratic" course, which again hinders the revolutionising of the workers.

Along with the objective difficulties there is the subjective hindrance, — the ideological weakness of the Party policy hitherto. This is partly attributable to the remnants of old social democratic tendencies, which came into the Party in 1921 with the entrance of the Frey-group, and led to the serious error of a suggested election alliance with the social democrats. In view of the proletarian membership of the socialist party its objective counter-revolutionary bourgeois character was not recognised.

In connection with this there was the terrible fear of ultra-radicalism, of "empty declamation of radical slogans", and as a result, there ensued a policy which confined itself to trade union questions. On the other hand, there are actual anarcho-syndicalist tendencies (We will only carry on the struggle in the workshops; and we do not need any party!) whose petty-bourgeois character brought them in close affinity with those right liquidatory tendencies which had only rendered possible the appearance of the first-named tendencies.

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of the Otto Bauer people, who preach: Austria alone is too small, it must wait until the others advance.

To sum up, it may be said: the feeling of weakness of the Party and of the Party membership, the failure to develop revolutionary energy, created the soil for the growth of factions, which brought about a grouping in the Party not on political but on personal grounds. The last heavy faction struggle broke out after the expulsion of Tomann. The Tomann-group crystallised into a firmly welded faction, broke off connections with the Party, issued their own news-sheet, in short: they committed a number of breaches of discipline, which merited the sharpest condemnation, even if the expulsion of comrade Tomann was a mistake, or at least an unwise step, and was therefore not recognised by the E. C. C. I. The last licking up of the crisis, however, rendered possible at the same time its liquidation.

For this there were present the following necessary pre-conditions:

1. A new offensive of the proletarian movement as a whole set in with the metal workers' strike in September.

2. In the membership, particularly of the provinces, but also in Vienna, there arose a sound reaction against the everlasting factionism.

3. The ideological discussions in the brother Parties extended to the Austrian Communists. In fact we can say without doubt that the left course of the Comintern has essentially contributed to saving the Austrian Party.

The liquidation of the Party crisis was accomplished in two stages:

1. In the first place it was necessary to overcome the Tomann faction, which at the beginning of the last crisis formed the most serious danger for the Party, because it linked up the best proletarian and left elements with the right-opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist elements, so that the former, in order to be able in any way to oppose the political line of the official Party, partly approved, or at least failed to oppose, even reformist tendencies, as was the case in the last metal workers' strike.

2. At the moment, however, when the dissolution of the fractional chains reached a certain point, it was necessary to adopt a change of tactics, a policy of reconciliation. It is from this point of view that the action of the E. C. C. I. in not endorsing the expulsion of comrade Tomann and referring the case of Tomann to the Control Commission must be regarded, and not as a concession to the fractional excesses of the Tomann group.

3. But the action of the E. C. C. I. had the collateral effect that the Frey faction, which during the last crisis had strictly avoided all fractional activity and had endeavoured to keep to a real communist line, might become a new danger for the Party by its opposition to the decision of the E. C. C. I.

This was the situation with which the National Conference, and with it the whole Party, was faced, which constituted a task regarding which it can now be said that it is practically solved. Already at the first votings at the National Conference it could be seen that the great majority of the delegates, particularly from the provinces, were decidedly opposed to the extreme representatives of both tendencies and dominated the conference as a firm E. C. C. I. bloc. This fact lent the conference an authority which will have its effects upon the members, and which already at the conference had the effect that the extremists of both sides acted with somewhat dampened "energy" and involuntarily found themselves in the position of having to justify themselves before the forum of the whole Party.

Thus the political work of the conference, which lasted two days, was most fruitful. It formed the basis for a consolidation of the Party as it gave to the Party a new revolutionary feeling of power, which can only result from a ruthless self-criticism and self-examination by the Party. The National Conference occupied itself with a number of problems and decided in all cases upon precise formulations, which lay down the lines of the Party for the future and which will lead to its bolshevism.

In the first place the C. P. of Austria had to make clear its attitude towards the Party of Austro-Marxism. This it achieved by the statement that "the social democratic Party of Austria apart from the fact that the Austrian working class has not yet recognised its class tasks and still adheres to the S. P., is not a workers' Party, but the third Party of the bourgeoisie". The National Conference also dealt with the question of the united front, and decided that for Austria, now and in the future, the united front tactics can only be applied from below, but there

can be no question of negotiations between leaders. With regard to propagating the idea of the workers' government, the National Conference made it the duty of every Party comrade, not only to describe the nature of our workers' government on its positive side, but in every case to add the negative slogan: No social democratic government. This National Conference prescribed the tasks and the discipline of the Party members in the trade unions. It decided to carry on the struggle for this unity from below among the proletarian masses, and to connect this with the every-day struggles.

An essential part of the political discussion was devoted to the analysis of the economic and political situation in Austria, which the Conference characterised as belonging to those countries in which the bourgeoisie was turning from democratic pacifism to fascism. This conception, the correctness of which was confirmed a few days later by the final collapse of the Seipel government and the passing of power to Ahrer, the chief of the fascists in Austria and the industrial profiteer, Mataja, again constituted a clear break with that social democratic conception which seeks to persuade the workers in Austria that fascism is a mere trifle, in order to keep them back from fighting against it while there is yet time. The National Conference called attention to the rapidly growing acuteness of class antagonisms in Austria, and drew the revolutionary consequences therefrom: the recognition that it is the task of the Communists immediately to raise the problem of the capture of power by the working class.

There is no doubt that the mere acceptance of resolutions by the delegates of the Conference does not mean much for the bolshevizing of the Party. But the Party has taken a step along this road in laying down an official policy, which will make it easier in future to designate deviations as such, and in overcoming the underlying tendencies within the Party. The National Conference has before all brought about that which the Party has lacked up to now — a Party Executive which embraces the best functionaries in the Party from all districts and all camps.

The Communist Party of Austria is one of the oldest Parties of the Comintern. But it is undoubtedly one of the youngest among the left Parties of the Comintern. Nevertheless one can say to-day without undue optimism, that one need have no fear regarding the future of this communist Party.

OBITUARY

Comrade Jan Tomp.

By O. Rjastas.

Jan Tomp was only 29 years old. He received an elementary school education. He was first employed as an agricultural worker and later as a metal worker in the city of Fellin (in present-day Estonia). Comrade Tomp did not take an active part in politics until the year 1918. His revolutionary activity began with the existence of independent Estonia. In 1920 he was put forward by the trade unions of Fellin as a candidate for the local municipal body. He was thereupon arrested and kept a whole year in prison on remand. In 1921 he was tried for carrying on communist propaganda and endeavouring to overthrow the existing order of society. But as no evidence could be brought before the court in support of the accusation, he had to be acquitted.

In 1922 Comrade Jan Tomp was put forward by the workers of Reval as candidate for parliament. He was elected on the list of the so-called "United front of the Workers" (coalition of workers, employees etc.). In parliament comrade Tomp, along with comrades Alik and Resen, formed the communist fraction. Comrade Tomp was their chairman and at the same time the chairman of the Estonian Trades Council.

At the present trial Comrade Tomp was accused of having participated along with others in "carrying out the decisions of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Estonia" at congresses, conferences etc. He was further accused "of having taken part in the Estonian Trade Union Congress, which had accepted as its basis the Theses of the Red International of Labour Unions, according to which, in the non-communist states, among them being Estonia, the existing social order should be overthrown and the proletarian dictatorship set up."

During the trial Comrade Tomp replied to the question of the chairman of the court, whether the accused acknowledged guilt with the answer: "I do not acknowledge myself guilty before the court of bourgeois rascals". The chairman then had comrade Tomp immediately removed from the court. Before leaving the court room comrade Tomp cried out: "Long live the workers' and peasants' government!" He was shot during the night of 14th to 15th November.

The Estonian bourgeoisie have rightly selected their victim. Jan Tomp was a genuine proletarian fighter. He had enjoyed but little school training, but his class instinct was so strongly developed that he never erred in making a decision. His policy always followed the class line, which was not the case with the policy of revolutionary intellectuals who were better educated than he.

Jan Tomp was before all a good organiser, and enjoyed great influence among workers. There was a time when workers of Reval came to him in all questions. He was no speaker, but one word from him was sufficient to decide a matter. In Parliament, comrade Tomp was rightly recognised as a gifted self-educated man. He surprised everybody by the rapid course of his development during the last few years. He was a favourite of the working class and its future revolutionary leader. It was not without reason that the bourgeoisie hated him, and in the press, in parliament etc. designated him as a "fanatic".

The working class will ever revere the memory of their brave martyr Tomp.

A Day of Remembrance for the "International Press Correspondence".

On the 23rd November exactly a year had passed since General Seeckt, the German military dictator, prohibited the publication of the "Inprecorr." The "International Press Correspondence" had from its commencement more of an informatory than a propagandist character. In spite of this it was compelled, during the period of martial law, to exercise the greatest reservation, so that we often had the uneasy feeling of having gone too far in this respect. Nevertheless General Seeckt found that we were still very dangerous, so that we were forcibly suppressed.

The prohibition only resulted in the interruption of the publication of the "Inprecorr." for a few weeks. In December the "Inprecorr." again appeared in Vienna, and precisely because the Communist press in Germany was suppressed, it increased its circulation in Germany to an extent it had never done before and introduced us into Party circles which previously knew nothing of the existence of the "Inprecorr.". In Vienna the "Inprecorr." was better able to oppose the dictatorship of General Seeckt.

That was the only positive result which General Seeckt attained by his suppression of the International Press Correspondence.

The Youth Movement.

We regret that the signature was omitted from the appeal which appeared in our last number under the above heading: The appeal, of course, was issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

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The Attack of British Imperialism upon Egypt.

By Observer (London).

The attack of British imperialism upon Egypt raises a great number of problems in all their acuteness. If we disregard those points of the ultimatum, the purpose of which is to humiliate the Egyptian government and brutally to manifest the power of British imperialism with regard to the whole East, we find before all three decisive points in the action of the British government: First, the further reduction of the independence of Egypt; secondly, the final annexation of the Sudan, and thirdly the unmistakable declaration to the other imperialist powers, before all to France and the United States of America, that they must not interfere with the imperialist policy of England.

The so-called independence of Egypt was established by that famous note of Lord Curzon to Lord Allenby of the 20th February 1922, which constituted an attempt to overcome the national revolutionary movement with the support of a section of the native bourgeoisie. Zaglul Pascha did not hesitate to cast communists and trade union leaders into prison. But nevertheless he was compelled, if he did not wish completely to undermine his own position, to express to a certain extent the national aspirations. He was only able to meet the opposition in his own Party by "opposing" those points which reduce independence to a farce. What sort of independence is it when British troops guard the Suez Canal and the whole of Egypt

against the "foreign enemy"? A mere piece of hypocrisy in order to justify the permanent occupation of Egypt. In addition to this, there are such impositions as the protection of foreigners and their interests, as well as of the national minorities, which has for a long time formed a special task of British imperialism, which is only exercising its benevolent activity in the interest of the "backward peoples". And then there is the Sudan, which in the hands of any great Power constitutes for Egypt a sword of Damocles. The British government has, without formally withdrawing its declaration of 1922, through the ultimatum and the steps which followed it, abolished the concessions it had granted. The Egyptian "government" is pledged to prevent demonstrations; while it will be rendered still more helpless by the taking over by the British authorities of the control of the customs in Alexandria.

The annexation of the Sudan, or more correctly said the expulsion of the Egyptians from this territory, is of still greater importance. The population of the Sudan are of course in love with British rule — at least so the imperialists say. Nevertheless this is contradicted by the fact that since 1899 the country has been under martial law. The fact is that the great Gezireh district is being opened up for the cultivation of cotton by the establishment of great irrigation works. This holds out the

come over to the III. International who are still under the influence of their social democratic past. It was impossible to improve matters in this respect because the proletariat was almost entirely lacking in any experiences gained in serious revolutionary struggles of their own. The danger which lies in the social democratic heritage was increased still more by the illusions which followed the temporary amelioration of the severe economic crisis, and by the "efforts to arrive at an understanding" on the part of the bourgeois and social democratic opposition of the national minorities, which is even prepared, in return for a few ministerial seats, not only to facilitate the class suppression but also the national suppression by participation in the government. The fact that among the governmental Parties there was considered the possibility of accepting the communists into the government, is a very characteristic indication of the estimate held of our Party.

The Turn to the Left.

The sharpened social and political pressure, however, drove the masses still further to the left. The improvement in the economic crisis, while it brought greater profits to the exploiters, in no way bettered the position of the workers. Their wages were reduced while prices were increased. At the same time unemployment began again to increase. The effects of the carrying out of the Dawes Plan are already making themselves felt here and threaten the working class with the most serious dangers. That capitalism here is in a process of uninterrupted decay is shown by the financial situation, which is becoming continually worse and which the ruling class seek in vain to improve by the most fearful pressure of taxation upon the workers, clerks, peasants and small shopkeepers. Social insurance only exists on paper, but the banks and war-contractors receive milliards. "Economy" is being practised at the cost of the workers while imperialist bourgeois militarism is in full bloom. Numerous strikes had an unsatisfactory ending owing to the terrible splits in the trade unions and reformist treachery.

All this alone explains the growth of discontent in the Party with the leadership, which is not sufficiently energetic. In addition to this there is the effect of the German experience, which clearly shows how necessary it is to have a bolshevist leadership and a bolshevist Party, and how fatal every lack in this respect must prove in the decisive hour. Thus, already before the V. Congress, there was a fairly strong oppositional mood in the Party, but which only expressed itself in occasional criticism and not in a systematic open discussion. Only the decisions of the V. World Congress, and before all its criticism of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, gave the necessary stimulus. Everyone who was in an oppositional mood welcomed the attitude of the Congress: a number of leading comrades, however, clearly showed that they are not in agreement with these decisions, that they do not approve of the whole political line of the V. Congress, and only accept it out of discipline.

The Problems of the Party Conference and their Practical Significance.

At the Party Conference the contradictions became apparent in all their sharpness, but its result as regards the political line of the Party could be seen beforehand. All the districts had already adopted left resolutions and the Party Conference pronounced itself unanimously for the political theses proposed by the opposition. In this connection it was not a question of purely theoretical disputes, but much rather of questions which are of the greatest practical importance in Czechoslovakia. Even the apparently so abstract disputes over the "meaning" of the united front tactics and of the Labour government had as their basis numerous experiences in the every-day struggle and very "real" possibilities. Can one form a government with Benes and Masaryk, if the coalition is wrecked, in order to avoid a "fascist government"? Shall we become more moderate in our opposition to social democratic corruption, in order perhaps in certain cases to win them as allies? These and similar questions, although not openly put, were underlying the differences. The practical basis of the theoretical disputes was shown more clearly in other questions. The fight over the unconditional recognition of the right of self-determination up to complete separation and over an active policy of struggle against national suppression, met with theoretical objections, behind which, consciously or unconsciously, there was concealed the opportunist wish to avoid too bluntly challenging the government, or a too great concession to social

patriotic consideration for "our republic". In the trade union question it was necessary to fight against a strong and dangerous inner opportunism, against the tendency to give way to the inclination of broad masses of workers to desert the battle-field in the trade unions, and to yield to mistaken efforts of the red trade unions to regard themselves as an end in themselves. The continual hesitation of the Party in this question had led to a terrible lack of clarity. Mistaken moods in the masses were not only not combatted but systematically promoted. There were no differences of opinion regarding the necessity of reconstructing the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. Also the demands for a decided enterprising leadership, for an increase of the proletarian elements in the leadership, for a better connection of parliamentary action with mass actions, for a revolutionary language and attitude in the daily struggles, for increasing and sharpening the struggles met with no serious resistance. In the Russian and German questions no serious attempt was made to defend the attitude of the old Party leaders.

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3. The ideological discussions in the brother Parties extended to the Austrian Communists. In fact we can say without doubt that the left course of the Comintern has essentially contributed to saving the Austrian Party.

The liquidation of the Party crisis was accomplished in two stages:

1. In the first place it was necessary to overcome the Tomann fraction, which at the beginning of the last crisis formed the most serious danger for the Party, because it linked up the best proletarian and left elements with the right-opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist elements, so that the former, in order to be able in any way to oppose the political line of the official Party, partly approved, or at least failed to oppose, even reformist tendencies, as was the case in the last metal workers' strike.

2. At the moment, however, when the dissolution of the fractional chains reached a certain point, it was necessary to adopt a change of tactics, a policy of reconciliation. It is from this point of view that the action of the E. C. C. I. in not endorsing the expulsion of comrade Tomann and referring the case of Tomann to the Control Commission must be regarded, and not as a concession to the fractional excesses of the Tomann group.

3. But the action of the E. C. C. I. had the collateral effect that the Frey fraction, which during the last crisis had strictly avoided all fractional activity and had endeavoured to keep to a real communist line, might become a new danger for the Party by its opposition to the decision of the E. C. C. I.

This was the situation with which the National Conference, and with it the whole Party, was faced, which constituted a task regarding which it can now be said that it is practically solved. Already at the first votings at the National Conference it could be seen that the great majority of the delegates, particularly from the provinces, were decidedly opposed to the extreme representatives of both tendencies and dominated the conference as a firm E. C. C. I. bloc. This fact lent the conference an authority which will have its effects upon the members, and which already at the conference had the effect that the extremists of both sides acted with somewhat dampened "energy" and involuntarily found themselves in the position of having to justify themselves before the forum of the whole Party.

Thus the political work of the conference, which lasted two days, was most fruitful. It formed the basis for a consolidation of the Party as it gave to the Party a new revolutionary feeling of power, which can only result from a ruthless self-criticism and self-examination by the Party. The National Conference occupied itself with a number of problems and decided in all cases upon precise formulations, which lay down the lines of the Party for the future and which will lead to its bolshevising.

In the first place the C. P. of Austria had to make clear its attitude towards the Party of Austro-Marxism. This it achieved by the statement that "the social democratic Party of Austria apart from the fact that the Austrian working class has not yet recognised its class tasks and still adheres to the S. P., is not a workers' Party, but the third Party of the bourgeoisie". The National Conference also dealt with the question of the united front, and decided that for Austria, now and in the future, the united front tactics can only be applied from below, but there

can be no question of negotiations between leaders. With regard to propagating the idea of the workers' government, the National Conference made it the duty of every Party comrade, not only to describe the nature of our workers' government on its positive side, but in every case to add the negative slogan: **No social democratic government.** This National Conference prescribed the tasks and the discipline of the Party members in the trade unions. It decided to carry on the struggle for this unity from below among the proletarian masses, and to connect this with the every-day struggles.

An essential part of the political discussion was devoted to the analysis of the economic and political situation in Austria, which the Conference characterised as belonging to those countries in which the bourgeoisie was turning from democratic pacifism to fascism. This conception, the correctness of which was confirmed two days later by the final collapse of the Seipel government and the passing of power to Ahrer, the chief of the fascists in Styria and the industrial profiteer, Mataja, again constituted a clean break with that social democratic conception which seeks to persuade the workers in Austria that fascism is a mere trifle, in order to keep them back from fighting against it while there is yet time. The National Conference called attention to the rapidly growing acuteness of class antagonisms in Austria, and drew the revolutionary consequences therefrom: the recognition that it is the task of the Communists immediately to raise the problem of the capture of power by the working class.

There is no doubt that the mere acceptance of resolutions by the delegates of the Conference does not mean much for the bolshevizing of the Party. But the Party has taken a step along this road in laying down an official policy, which will make it easier in future to designate deviations as such, and in overcoming the underlying tendencies within the Party. The National Conference has before all brought about that which the Party has lacked up to now — a Party Executive which embraces the best functionaries in the Party from all districts and all camps.

The Communist Party of Austria is one of the oldest Parties of the Comintern. But it is undoubtedly one of the youngest among the left Parties of the Comintern. Nevertheless one can say to-day without undue optimism, that one need have no fear regarding the future of this communist Party.

OBITUARY

Comrade Jan Tomp.

By O. Rjastas.

Jan Tomp was only 29 years old. He received an elementary school education. He was first employed an agricultural worker and later as a metal worker in the city of Fellin (in present-day Esthonia). Comrade Tomp did not take an active part in politics until the year 1918. His revolutionary activity began with the existence of independent Esthonia. In 1920 he was put forward by the trade unions of Fellin as a candidate for the local municipal body. He was thereupon arrested and kept a whole year in prison on remand. In 1921 he was tried for carrying on communist propaganda and endeavouring to overthrow the existing order of society. But as no evidence could be brought before the court in support of the accusation, he had to be acquitted.

In 1922 Comrade Jan Tomp was put forward by the workers of Reval as candidate for parliament. He was elected on the list of the so-called "United front of the Workers" (coalition of workers, employees etc.). In parliament comrade Tomp, along with comrades Alik and Resen, formed the communist fraction. Comrade Tomp was their chairman and at the same time the chairman of the Esthonian Trades Council.

At the present trial Comrade Tomp was accused of having participated along with others in "carrying out the decisions of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Esthonia" at congresses, conferences etc. He was further accused "of having taken part in the Esthonian Trade Union Congress, which had accepted as its basis the Theses of the Red International of Labour Unions, according to which, in the non-communist states, among them being Esthonia, the existing social order should be overthrown and the proletarian dictatorship set up."

During the trial Comrade Tomp replied to the question of the chairman of the court, whether the accused acknowledged his guilt with the answer: "I do not acknowledge myself guilty before the court of bourgeois rascals." The chairman thereupon had comrade Tomp immediately removed from the court. Before leaving the court room comrade Tomp cried out: "Long live the workers' and peasants' government!" He was shot during the night of 14th to 15th November.

The Esthonian bourgeoisie have rightly selected their victim. Jan Tomp was a genuine proletarian fighter. He had enjoyed but little school training, but his class instinct was so strongly developed that he never erred in making a decision. His policy always followed the class line, which was not the case with the policy of revolutionary intellectuals who were better educated than he.

Jan Tomp was before all a good organiser, and enjoyed great influence among workers. There was a time when workers of Reval came to him in all questions. He was no speaker, but one word from him was sufficient to decide a matter. In Parliament, comrade Tomp was rightly recognised as a gifted self-educated man. He surprised everybody by the rapid course of his development during the last few years. He was a favourite of the working class and its future revolutionary leader. It was not without reason that the bourgeoisie hated him, and in the press, in parliament etc. designated him as a "fanatic".

The working class will ever revere the memory of their brave martyr Tomp.

A Day of Remembrance for the "International Press Correspondence"

On the 23rd November exactly a year had passed since General Seeckt, the German military dictator, prohibited the publication of the "Inprecorr." The "International Press Correspondence" had from its commencement more of an informative than a propagandist character. In spite of this it was compelled, during the period of martial law, to exercise the greatest reservation, so that we often had the uneasy feeling of having gone too far in this respect. Nevertheless General Seeckt found that we were still very dangerous, so that we were forcibly suppressed.

The prohibition only resulted in the interruption of the publication of the "Inprecorr." for a few weeks. In December the "Inprecorr." again appeared in Vienna, and precisely because the Communist press in Germany was suppressed, it increased its circulation in Germany to an extent it had never done before and introduced us into Party circles which previously knew nothing of the existence of the "Inprecorr.". In Vienna the "Inprecorr." was better able to oppose the dictatorship of General Seeckt.

That was the only positive result which General Seeckt attained by his suppression of the International Press Correspondence.

The Youth Movement.

We regret that the signature was omitted from the appeal which appeared in our last number under the above heading. The appeal, of course, was issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.