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A New Stage in the Struggle for Morocco.

By P. Kitagorodsky.

The small narrow strip of land on the North West corner of Africa has once again become a central point of international politics.

The 294,000 Moorish peasants and cattle breeders living in the Rif district, in December last under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim, inflicted a defeat upon the Spanish army of occupation.

Since the year 1921 the revolutionary tribes of peasants and shepherds inhabiting the Rif have been conducting a victorious war against the Spanish colonisers. In the autumn of last year, Abd-el-Krim, after bloody skirmishes with the troops led by the Spanish dictator, Primo de Rivera, inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter and drove back the Spanish army to the coast of the Mediterranean, which is protected by Spanish warships. The losses of the Spaniards in killed, wounded and missing exceeded 28,000 men.

The victory which the Moorish mountain-dwellers won over the Spanish colonisers encouraged the Moors living on the

other side of the Atlas mountains, who are under the French yoke. The tribes, who are neighbours of the Rif dwellers, began to rebel and expressed in an unequivocal manner the wish to free themselves from the French protectorate. In the district of Agadir, on the West Coast of Morocco, the Moors began to prepare a revolt against the French occupation troops. The revolt also spread to that portion of the Atlas mountains which is inhabited by the Beniserual tribe.

There was a time when the French rendered immediate help to Abd-el-Krim. They did not prevent the Arab volunteers from Algeria from crossing the frontier in order to fight on the side of the Moors against the Spanish troops, while they also secretly supplied Abd-el-Krim with weapons. The French had an interest in ousting the Spaniards in order themselves to penetrate through the Rif area to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea which confronts Gibraltar.

After the crushing of the Spanish army of occupation, however, the French changed their attitude towards Abd-el-Krim.

Under the command of the French commissioner for Morocco, General Lyautey, the French commenced an offensive in the district bordering on the Spanish zone, and brutally crushed the rebellious Moors. They established close connections with the Spanish Commander in Morocco. All this exposes the hypocritical assertion of the French bourgeois press, that General Lyautey is in the position of a defender, while Abd-el-Krim is in the position of an aggressor.

France apparently, has been given liberty of action by the English, who in autumn of last year liberally supplied Abd-el-Krim with weapons and war material. The English capitalists have received from Abd-el-Krim concessions for phosphate and copper mines which are situated in the Rif area. With the money which he had received from English concessionaires, Abd-el-Krim purchased weapons in England which were brought into the country by means of gun-runners. The English government did not prevent the purchase of arms, but on the contrary, as it had interest in preventing the French from getting nearer to Gibraltar, promoted in every way the success of the Moors.

The policy of England aimed at creating a buffer-State between the French zone in Morocco and the Mediterranean sea. For England, it was preferable that weak Spain should rule this area rather than the strong French militarism. But when it became apparent that the revolutionary insurgents of the Rif were seriously threatening the Spanish rule in Morocco, the English were naturally interested in consolidating the position of Abd-el-Krim whose organised State could play the rôle of a buffer-State in the place of defeated Spain.

This was the position of affairs before the murder of the English General Lee Stack in Egypt. As is known, the English Foreign Minister Chamberlain used this murder as a pretext to overthrow the moderate Egyptian nationalist Zaglul Pasha, to clear the Egyptian troops from the Soudan and to set up a military dictatorship in the country of the Nile. In order to propitiate France, which at one time had coquetted with the Egyptian nationalists, Chamberlain arranged a meeting with Herriot and promised him suitable compensation in Morocco. On the 17th of February Chamberlain, in reply to a question in the House of Commons regarding the situation in the Rif, declared that the British government refuses to support connections which may have been established between British subjects and Abd-el-Krim.

We do not know the exact extent of the concessions which Chamberlain made to France. One fact however is certain, namely, that England abandoned Abd-el-Krim and decided to close her eyes to the operations of General Lyautey on the frontier of the Rif area and became at the same time again a "friend" of Spain. This is the obvious explanation of the reserved attitude of the English press regarding the events which are taking place in Morocco.

There now however appeared on the scene, Mussolini, who had long been seeking a suitable opportunity of getting a hold on this portion of the coast of Africa. Italy is endeavouring to play a leading role in the Mediterranean Sea. Up to now England and France had been of the opinion that the fewer there were participating at the feast, the greater share would remain to them out of the division of spheres of influence in this portion of Morocco. Anglo-French imperialism did not even admit Italy to the London Conference of 1923 which dealt with the question of internationalising the town of Tangier, which is situated at the extreme North-West point of Africa.

Mussolini has now found that the time has now come in which to act. He is endeavouring to make of the Morocco question an international question. Just as pre-war Germany, Italy is now aiming at an equal share in the decision of the disputed question of Morocco. Just as Germany before the war succeeded in convening the Conference of Algeciras, which was devoted solely to the question of Morocco, so Italy is now demanding the convocation of a similar Conference in which she will take part as "the first among equals".

Thus Morocco is once again attracting general attention. The profound antagonisms within the camp of the imperialists, who are fighting for spheres of influence in this part of the Mediterranean coast, are once again becoming apparent. The Morocco question was and remains a spark which can give rise to a universal conflagration.

THE BALKANS

The Monster Trial in Sofia.

By M. N.

After the bomb outrage in Sofia the government of Professor Zankov proceeded to carry out mass slaughters of communists and peasants. Without any trial whatever the "chief culprits" — Kosta Jankov, Ivan Minkov, Ivan Manev, Tchintulov, Grentcharov, Petrini and Kosovsky — were murdered. Following this over 2000 workers, peasants and intellectuals were murdered. This wholesale massacre is still going on.

In Nova Zagora a communist leader, Petko Enev, has been murdered. In Rustchuk the late members of parliament, A. Athanasov and Kirov, and three communists, G. Tokuchev, R. Christov, V. Angelov, and eight to nine other persons were killed in the courtyard of the commander by means of hand grenades being thrown at them. In this town as well in a number of other towns an order has been issued forbidding people to turn round while walking in the streets. The police, soldiers and fascists have the right to shoot those who do not observe this order.

On the 30th of April in Vratza two communists, I. Tomov and G. Naidenov were murdered, on the same day, in Plevna, the Communist T. Angelov was murdered, in Nova Zagora the anarchist M. Vassilev, and in Eski Dchumaja the Communist P. Lazarov.

On the 13th of May the supporters of the united front Todorov, Markov and a prisoner were shot by the escort while being conveyed from Vratza to Sofia.

The whole country is swarming with Wrangleists and Macedonians who, in collaboration with the officials, rob and murder the population and set fire to their houses.

All these shameful acts only constitute the carrying out of the notorious order of the Minister for War, General Volkov. This order states, among other things: "All garrisons and all military units must get into touch with the local committees of the government Party for the purpose of combining the fighting forces against the members of the peasants' League and the Communists, against whom the most drastic measures must be taken, whereby before all the most intelligent, most capable and bravest supporters of these ideas, as well as their organisations, must be exterminated.

"Lists of the people must be drawn up as quickly as possible, so that at the moment when action is commenced against them, all the leaders can be killed, no matter whether they are guilty or not. In places where disorders break out, all captured conspirators, and their helpers, as well as those who shelter them, are to be killed without mercy. The same must be done with their families. Their houses are to be burned down."

Bulgaria is being choked in the blood of its best sons. The government still had the cynicism to arrange a great trial in order to punish the "guilty" and to appease the excited public; a trial which even according to the existing bourgeois law constitutes a breach of the law. The government proclaimed the state of siege and set up court martials on the 21st of April. The outrage was committed on the 16th of April. In spite of this the accused were brought before a military court. When the accused stated that they could only be brought before a civil court, the court ignored their protest. This trial was an absolute farce, not only because some of the accused, as Kosovski, Gontcharov, Petrini etc. had already been murdered by the authorities on the 17th of April, but also because this trial is intended to divert the attention of the Public in Bulgaria and abroad from the brutal facts and the cruel devastations. Among the accused who are in the hands of the authorities were: Marko Friedmann, the sacristan Zagorsky, reserve upper Lieutenant Koeff, who had concealed Minkov, Daskalov and Kamburov, while the following were tried in their "absence from the Court": S. Dimitrov, P. Abadchiev, Kostovski, and Petrini, although they had already been murdered.

At the trial, which lasted eight days, it transpired that only the sacristan was immediately connected with the outrage. In spite of this Friedmann, Zagorsky, Koeff, Dimitrov, Abadchiev, Petrini and Kosovsky were condemned to death.

The verdict was based upon false statements and forged documents and upon statements extorted from the accused by means of fearful tortures. Some of the accused and witnesses

came before the court and withdrew their previous statements. They charged Bulgarian "justice" with having extorted statements by means of torture.

The sentences will soon be carried out. To the innumerable victims of the insatiable class lust for revenge are to be added three more: Friedmann, Zagorsky and Koef. They are designated as criminals, miscreants and arch-villians. This is how they were described by the bourgeois and social democratic press. They are however only revolutionaries.

The judgment will be carried out, but the farce will be continued in a still more cruel and bloody form. 60 communists and members of the Peasants League have been conveyed from Vratza to Sofia. They are charged with conspiratory activity. For 43 of them the death sentence is demanded. In addition, 30 to 40 persons in Burga, as well as several from Philippopolis are expecting the death penalty.

What is the meaning of all this? The blood which is being shed in streams by the bourgeoisie shows the terrible fear it has of Communism. Morally and politically defeated by Communism, the bourgeoisie is now endeavouring to annihilate it by exterminating its followers.

Many years ago the Bulgarian national revolutionary, Levsky, was hung in Sofia by the Turkish Pashas and their lackeys, the Bulgarian Tchorbadschien. Today the successors of these Tchorbadschien are hanging the Bulgarian revolutionaries. Life and history will not only justify these revolutionaries, but will cover them with eternal honour and stigmatise the murderers with eternal shame.

Report of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Bulgaria to the London International.

We print the following Report of the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria, which is a piece of self-exposure on the part of this Party of the Second International as to the despicable role it is continuing to play as the defender and apologist of the most bloody and ruthless White Terror known in history. Ed.

Bulgaria is the object of the foreign influence of Moscow and the neighbouring States. The situation of this defeated country, burdened with heavy reparations, becomes more intolerable day by day, and this is why foreign influence finds good soil among the broad masses of the people who accept the Bolshevik doctrines with enthusiasm. When on June 9th, 1923, Stambuliski, the peasant dictator, was overthrown, efforts were made (the Zankoff Government! — Translator) to restore law and order.

On the initiative of the Communists, the Stambuliski Government did everything possible to rouse the whole population, chiefly the working class and the intelligenzia against itself. The Zankoff Government, which took over the reins on June 9th, was not capable of intensifying and consolidating the relations with the masses of the people, for which reason the Zankoff Government became a rule of force and of political and economic reaction.

In these circumstances Stambuliski's partisans and the Communists who had been declared illegal, united in one camp. Of course, they have submitted unreservedly to the instructions and methods of Moscow. And this brought about war between two dangerous forces: from above the dictatorship and from below anarchy. Bulgarian social democracy did everything in its power, by means of Press, Parliament and public assemblies to induce the Government to abandon the policy of force and called the Government's attention to its duties, begged it not to neglect the needs of the masses of the people, so that it might rid itself of the destructive force of a united front of the Communists and the peasants.

Unfortunately Moscow's influence has been constantly reinforced by generous gifts of money and promises to the peasants, Communists and refugees from Macedonia, Thrace and the Dobrusha. The resulting tension has on the one hand strengthened reaction, while on the other hand anarchy has increased and has shown itself in the form of brigandage, murder and inhuman deeds of cruelty.

These are the circumstances in which the atrocity in the cathedral of Sofia was committed. This atrocity was an abominable crime. An infernal machine exploded at the moment

when thousands of people were assembled in the church on the occasion of the funeral of the murdered deputy of the Government party, Georgieff. Men, women and children to the number of 208 met their death under the ruins; hundreds were injured.

The authorities have discovered that the attempt on the life of the king and the atrocity in Sofia cathedral were a cruel tragedy of the country, and that the culprits will be found among the villainous partisans of Moscow.

Probably the Moscow Centre has branches in Prague, Vienna, and Belgrade, where the well-known Bulgarian Bolsheviks and the agrarian refugees reside. It is to the interest of these branches to mislead the democracy of Europe as to Bulgarian conditions and to throw the blame for every calamity on the Government.

Having an objective knowledge of the situation, we know exactly where the responsibility of the Government ends and the sins of the Bolshevik agents begin.

This ghastly atrocity, unique in history, has deeply affected the whole Bulgarian people. On the same day, a state of siege was declared. Parliament, which had been prorogued for the Easter holidays, was summoned to confirm the measures of the state of siege. With the exception of the social democratic party, the state of siege was acclaimed with applause by all parties. All political shades of the Agrarians voted for the state of siege. The representative of the Agrarians read a declaration which ended with the words: "We support the Government in every way against the subversive elements which endanger public order and the peace of the people. We vote for the state of siege."

(All the Communist deputies and the representatives of the poor peasants in Parliament had been previously murdered by Zankoff's agents, Social Democrats were at that time in the Government. Ed.)

The Social Democratic parliamentary fraction alone voted against the state of siege because it is aware that a state of siege seriously interferes with political and economic life. Comrade Sakassoff made the following declaration in the name of the Social Democratic parliamentary fraction:

"The events of April 16th surpass the mental aberrations of the worst criminals. The history of political terror has never recorded a similar atrocity, and never did human monsters fall so low as the criminals who buried innocent, politically indifferent people under the ruins of a church.

The moral responsibility for this abominable crime should be laid at the door of the Bolshevik doctrines and their adherents, who for years have recommended, supported and approved of acts of terror with unscrupulous recklessness.

The mass of the workers emphatically rejects methods of brute force, whatever be their form and extent. The pressure of the terror system on the working class, already very perceptible in the past, is still more oppressive at the present, because the methods of the conspirators and the rule of force divert from the path of law and organisation and give the historical enemy of the working class the opportunity of frustrating the consistent and unrelenting struggle of the workers.

The parliamentary fraction of Social Democracy finds itself compelled, though with regret, to declare that the acts of terror which cause uncertainty, limitations and so much grief, justify, from the social point of view extraordinary measures being taken for the protection of the State. The terrorist deeds prevent the State from developing and thriving, and endanger the political and economic success of the working class.

The sinister deeds of the Communists and of the Agrarians in Bulgaria and beyond its frontiers have roused great indignation in the Social Democratic party, which considers it its duty to declare that, in the interest of peace in the country, it believes that the remedy is to be found, not in extraordinary measures, but in encouraging the systematic endeavours of the people to satisfy their economic interests.

The Social Democratic parliamentary fraction expresses its deep sympathy with the families of the victims, and is convinced that the mass of the people, touched by the suffering of the country, is on the side of Democracy and will promote the steady political and economic development of the country.

The Social Democratic parliamentary fraction admonishes the Government not to lose its dignity and its presence of mind, and to take the measures necessary to prevent irresponsible elements rousing the passions of the masses and endangering the security guaranteed by law, and the individual liberty of the Bulgarians.

In these extremely unfavourable circumstances, the Social Democratic party of Bulgaria is fulfilling its duty towards the inhabitants of towns and villages.

In these days of panic we do not abandon the hope that anarchy will be defeated, and that justice and freedom will be restored in our country.

In this hope we look for the support of our fellow-parties which are affiliated to the Socialist International. May they raise a protest against Russian Bolshevism, and against the country's heavy burden of reparations which only serve to increase the destructive influence of Moscow. Our unfortunate country is overrun with refugees, further, the problem of the rights of the minorities is causing great difficulties. Comrade Vandervelde, who was recently in this country, realised how important it is that a solution of the said problems should soon be found.

With the support of its brother-parties and of the Democracy of Europe, Bulgarian Social Democracy will soon be able to overcome all difficulties and will be in a position better to fulfil its duties.

The Rule of Violence of the Roumanian Boyars.

By L. W. (Czernowitz)

"The shame of Sorocco burns on our cheeks as if each one of us had received in the face the blows which were given to Pan Halipan."

It is with these words that a bourgeois Czernovitz paper, the "Czernovitz Morning Paper" commences an article on the, for the Roumanian government, painful "incident" in Sorocco. The "incident" in Sorocco does not constitute a rare event in Roumania, but is much rather a quite usual every-day occurrence.

What has happened in the little and hitherto unknown Bessarabian town of Sorocco? The parliamentary deputy Pan Halipan, a member of the Roumanian Peasant Party (Zaranist) came to Sorocco in order to spend the Easter holiday there. Whilst he was sitting at dinner there suddenly appeared an upper Lieutenant of the Gendarmerie and declared him to be arrested. When Pan Halipan referred to his immunity as a member of parliament, he received as an answer several blows with the fist. He was dragged to the Prefecture and there punched and kicked, both by the civil guardian of the law and by the military authority of the State, by the sub-prefect and the upper lieutenant, until he collapsed exhausted. This — so declared the two State functionaries to their victim — is only a small instalment for the time being of what is due to him for his hostile attitude to the State and "bolshevist" activity.

On his return to Bucharest after his pleasant stay in Sorocco, Pan Halipan delivered to his party friends a report on his experiences during the Easter holiday. By means of an interpellation the affair was raised in parliament. The government declared that it disapproved of the action of the upper Lieutenant of Sorocco and that it had commenced an investigation against the imprudent officer. The government press states that the only explanation of this "incident" could be that the upper Lieutenant did not know that his victim was a member of parliament.

The case of Pan Halipan is so far of importance that the entire press, including the "liberal" as well as the oppositional, was obliged to give attention to the matter. An event of which otherwise nobody beyond the victim concerned and his next friends would take any notice has suddenly become a public affair. The deep darkness that otherwise prevails over the innumerable larger and smaller localities of Roumania, which hides what is going on in all the Roumanian gendarmerie barracks and police stations is lifted, and permits outsiders to obtain a slight glimpse of Roumanian conditions.

The case of Pan Halipan is anything but an isolated incident. No one who is familiar with Roumanian conditions could be surprised at the setting up of exceptional laws against the Communists which took place last year. Every commander of the gendarmerie, in fact every single gendarme and secret police agent represents a living exceptional law! The bourgeois legal code — as every Roumanian knows — is the banknote. The penal code, that is the unwritten code embodied in every officer, gendarme and police agent.

Every officer, gendarmerie officer and police agent is an absolute ruler. Whoever does not belong to the ruling Party is a serf of the gendarmerie commander or the chief of the secret

police in his locality. In the gendarme and in the police agent there is united in one person the legislative, the judiciary and the executive power. Against the sentence of a court there is, in the last resort, an appeal; against the judgment of an officer, gendarme or police agent such a thing is an impossibility, and for the following reasons; every local administration creates its own laws, judges according to its own sweet will and executes judgment on the spot. Against blows already received and broken ribs no appeal affords any help, no matter how skilful the lawyer.

The case of Pan Halipan has been seized upon by the press and has become the subject of a parliamentary interpellation, because Pan Halipan is a member of parliament. Who, however, speaks of the innumerable cases which occur every day throughout Roumania? Who reports the kicks and blows and broken ribs which thousands of peasants receive daily?

Pan Halipan is a member of parliament, a member of the Legislature, one might say. He was therefore accorded the honour that an upper lieutenant gave him a lecture in patriotism and State science. For ordinary mortals, however, a gendarme or a simple police agent suffices. The peasant is completely handed over to the mercy of the gendarme. It should be noted that we are not speaking of Bessarabia, where permanent state of siege and military dictatorship prevail, but of all the remaining territory of Great Roumania, where a profound "peace" reigns and the subjects enjoy the blessings of a liberal government. Nor are we speaking here of communist persecutions and of such brutalities as are carried out under this cover in order to extort confessions. For official Roumania makes no secret of the fact that Communists are persecuted, tortured in prison and often strangled. Communist persecutions are not inconsistent with democratic principles!

Here it is a question of the arbitrary rule of a brutal force which is in the service of the Boyar government, of the suppression of the majority of all inhabitants (the peasants and workers as well as the petty bourgeoisie belonging to the national minorities) to the level of complete slavery. The best and most approved means for such purposes is the knout. It is true, in Roumania corporal punishment has been legally abolished, but in this country where the gendarmerie bears absolute sway, every gendarme is a law to himself. Woe to the landless peasant who has the temerity at the time of harvest to demand a higher wage of the landowner, who is rash enough to grow anything on his little patch of ground but beets, according to the interests of the neighbouring sugar manufacturers, or has the misfortune to meet a gendarme in a bad mood.

That the great portion of the population, especially the petty bourgeoisie belonging to the national minorities, have to pay regular tribute to the commanders of the gendarmerie and to the chiefs of the police is regarded as a matter of course in Roumania. Every official in Roumania is aware that his meagre salary is only a minor source of income, and that he must derive his real income from what he can extort from the various "subjects". The city people must pay their tribute in cash or banknotes, whilst the peasants have to yield payment in kind, in corn, hens and sucking pigs.

If a gendarme is too extortionate or if one or more victims should die under his hands, then he is usually "punished" by being removed to another locality and given a higher rank. Only one out of many hundreds of such cases finds its way into the bourgeois press; and even then the report is given in an obscure corner of the paper.

POLITICS

The Municipal Elections in France.

By Pierre Semard (Paris).

At the recent municipal elections the Left Bloc gained a considerable victory, one of the effects of which will in all probability be a change in the political orientation of the Painlevé government.

As far as their municipal administration is concerned, the biggest towns of France have fallen into the hands of the Left Bloc, and in this success the socialists take the first place, as they have scored the most gains in this appeal to the electorate.

When one makes a comparison between the number of votes which the workers and peasants bloc received at the municipal

elections and those which it received at the **parliamentary elections** in May 1924, a very perceptible decrease is to be recorded which in Paris alone amounts to about 30,000 votes.

This decrease could give rise to the belief that the influence of our Party upon the working masses has declined, while at the time there has been an increase in the confidence of these masses in the Left Bloc. This would also mean that the criticism and the agitation which our Party has conducted against the anti-labour policy of the government of the Left Bloc has failed to open the eyes of the workers and that the latter, in spite of the numerous acts of treachery of the politicians of the Left Bloc and of the repeated betrayals by the socialist leaders, still have faith in democratic parties and expect from their representatives the promised fulfilment of their demands.

It would be a great mistake, however, to estimate the results of the municipal elections in this way.

One can say that the gains of the Left Bloc are due to a great extent to the votes of the middle classes: small artisans, traders, and small and middle peasants, who at the parliamentary elections of May 1924 voted either for the National Bloc or for the workers' and peasants' Bloc. In addition to this, purely reactionary votes were cast for the candidates of the Left Bloc in order to hold Communism in check.

Every one knows that municipal elections are by no means the same as parliamentary elections, and that all possible parochial and local interests play a part and have an influence upon the elections. The retiring municipal council has been the "promoter" of small trade in the town hall and the great distributor of relief and alms to the poorer electors. A great number of workers who at the parliamentary elections voted for Communism, at the municipal elections voted for the retiring municipal council.

The reorganisation of our Party on the basis of factory nuclei has enabled our Party to strike its roots deeper in the working class, but has caused us to loose contact with the middle classes in the towns. The small traders and artisans who attended our former local groups, mainly out of political ambition or professional interest, have remained outside of our nuclei; they have not been reached by our agitation and have gone over to the camp of the socialists.

Our Party had to encounter a public opinion which had been stirred up to white heat against Communism:

1. During the last six months there has been conducted in France an unprecedented campaign of lies and calumny against Bolshevism and Communism with all the means at the disposal of capitalism and by all parties from the socialist Left up to the royalist Right.

2. With the aid of forged documents the French Party has been accused and attacked, the active Party members were attacked in the most vile manner by the whole press and by the government of the Left bloc.

3. On the eve of the election there occurred the cathedral outrage in Sofia, which followed on the events in Esthonia, and the communists were accused of preparing fresh attempts in London against Chamberlain, in Vienna etc.

4. In consequence of numerous fascist provocations, there occurred the bloody collision in the Rue Damrémont which afforded the entire press the possibility of accusing the communists of murder and arousing public opinion against them.

5. The election of Hindenburg in Germany, which in a demagogic manner was represented as being the consequence of maintaining the candidature of Thaelmann by the Communist Party of Germany.

The Left Bloc went into the elections under very favourable conditions. Just previously defeated by the reactionary Senate, it blamed the latter as being the constant obstacle to the carrying out of the demands of the workers. Its leader, Herriot, who had been driven out by high finance, assumed in the eyes of a great number of deceived or backward workers and in the eyes of the middle classes the figure of a good democrat and the victim of reaction.

In spite of our unwearied agitation against the anti-labour policy of the Left Bloc, the democratic illusions had not yet been swept from the brains of numerous non-party and socialist workers. On the other hand, the middle classes were enthusiastic over the nomination of Caillaux as Finance Minister, as they saw in him the saviour from the financial catastrophe. All these facts contributed to strengthen the political position of the Left Bloc.

It is a fact that in the ranks of the socialist and of the reformist trade union workers we hardly gained anything, while we lost numerous middle class votes. On the other hand, we have maintained and strengthened our influence among the **organised working class**. Our Party will, by studying these lessons, strive to extend its influence upon the working class and to win the middle classes.

The Sharpening of Class Antagonisms and the Struggle against Absolutism in Japan.

By G. Voitinsky.

II.

As a result of this situation of Japan, there is to be seen a **general worsening of the situation of the working and peasant masses**, as well as of the millions of middle bourgeoisie and of the **intelligentsia**.

The most characteristic feature of the impoverishment of the peasant masses is the **influx of peasants into the towns in quest of work**, which made itself evident during the past year. **Unemployment in the towns**, however, deprives the young peasants of any chance of being absorbed in industry, and, according to the reports of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, there are at present in the whole country about three million **unemployed**.

The strike movement in Japan in 1924 is regarded as a record since the time of the world war. According to the inexact returns of the Japanese government, in the year 1924 there took place more than 700 strikes, involving more than 100,000 workers, whilst in the year 1919, when a strike wave set in in Japan for the first time after the war, the number of strikes amounted to only 497 and the number of workers involved to 64,000.

Unemployment among the intellectuals in Japan is at present very great, although there are no figures available regarding the exact number.

The economic crisis in the country has created a political situation in which the governing clique is feverishly turning from one measure to the other in its attempts to save the situation. The Japanese Cabinet, with the leader of the **bourgeois-agrarian Party Kensekai, Vicomte Kato**, at the head, consists of a coalition of three parties: **Sejukai, Kensekai and Kakuschin-Kurabu**. The coalition government, which was formed in May 1924 as a result of a political crisis after the collapse of the strongest Party in Japan, **Sejukai**, which represented the interests of the financial oligarchy, the court bureaucracy and the big agrarians, is labouring under a chronic crisis. The seceded section, **Sejuchonto**, which has close social connections with the above mentioned groups, constitutes the opposition against the government from the Right.

And in spite of the fact there exists no organised opposition from the Left, the coalition is full of elements of decay, as on the one hand the policy of the government runs counter to the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, not to mention the sharp antagonism of the small holders and workers, while on the other hand it is calling forth great bitterness on the part of the monopolist big capitalists, the agrarian aristocracy, the higher officials and the militarists.

Since the earthquake, that is, within the space of about eighteen months, four governments had succeeded one another in Japan (the cabinets of **admiral Kato, Jamamoto and Kiura**), which have been wrecked between the financial oligarchy and the government bureaucracy on the one hand and the social groups of the rest of the bourgeoisie on the other hand.

The entry into power of the coalition government of Kato was regarded in Japan and in other capitalist countries as indicating a certain era of Liberalism in the country, as a means for smoothing over the differences between the monopolist bourgeoisie and the remaining bourgeois classes, and as a means of decreasing the revolutionary mood among the peasants, workers and petty bourgeois.

The Cabinet, which on the one hand employed and still employs, **cruel repressive measures against the labour movement, the movement of the small peasants and the intellectuals**, who are continually becoming more revolutionary, was compelled on the other hand to extend the franchise, to set up the **Institute of Agrarian Inspection** in order to allay the constant conflicts between the smallholding peasants and the big landowners, and to propose **Arbitration Courts** for the workers without, however, formally recognising the Trade Unions.

But as is to be seen from the recent events in Japan, these measures have brought about results contrary to those which the government expected. The Congress of the small holders and peasants which recently took place decided to boycott the Institute of Agrarian Inspection, and meetings and demonstrations of workers which protested against compulsory abritration and demanded labour legislation and the abolition of exceptional laws against "dangerous ideas", demonstrate the correctness of our assertions. The demonstrations and the collisions of the students' meetings with the police, as an answer to the measures of the government to militarise the high schools, are arousing indignation against the government in almost all sections of society.

Sullen and bitter resentment has been aroused against the government among the working masses and the revolutionary intellectuals by the execution which recently took place of a young revolutionary named Namba, who made an attempt upon the life of the crown prince.

The inequality of the development of capitalism in Japan, which was historically determined by the economic ripeness of feudalism in the country at the moment of the revolution in the year 1868, after the military clique came into power, which developed industry chiefly on the basis of war production (especially after the Japano-Chinese war in 1895 and after the Russo-Japanese war in 1904) appears at present to be the chief cause of the growth of the revolutionary tendency in the country.

But the character of this development of capitalism in Japan showed itself especially after the earthquake, when monopolist capital and the ruling bureaucracy were faced with the proposition which had never previously existed in the history of the country of "rationalising" industry. The advance of the process of the swallowing up of the little banks by the big banks, the bankruptcy of many middling commercial and industrial firms and banks, and the simultaneous increase and extension of the enormous Mizui and Mizuibischi concerns are extremely characteristic peculiarities in the present economic life of Japan.

The introduction of male suffrage some weeks ago was an enforced concession in view of the ever increasing hate of the mass of the people; and in order that the working masses and the revolutionary organisations shall not be able to make use of even this mutilated franchise (the law provides that only people over 25 years and possessing at least 2000 yen will be able to vote, while only people over 30 can be elected), there has been introduced at the same time the law against "dangerous ideas", under which membership of an illegal organisation is punishable with 10 years hard labour.

There exists no doubt, however, that even this franchise will serve to rally the forces in the country against the existing governing clique and against the monarchy itself. Among the 10 to 11 million new electors who, under the newly passed law, will participate in elections, there is a considerable number of small-holders, poor peasants and workers, and these will undoubtedly promote and expedite the process of the creation of a workers' and peasants' Party which had already commenced some years ago. We must here call attention to a very important question in the development of this movement: up to now there exists no capitalist and petty bourgeois parties in Japan.

The radical intellectuals, who constitute the most active political factor in the country, are beginning to penetrate more and more into the trade union movement and into the small-holders' leagues in order to gain ideological influence there. The idea of a workers' or a workers' and peasants' party, which was first promulgated some years ago by the communists, has now been taken up by these elements and there exists the danger that they will play too great a role in the organising of the workers' Party. The trade unions and also the small holders' leagues, however, are in favour of collective membership in the coming workers' and peasants' party, which will prevent the petty bourgeois intellectuals from penetrating in more or less considerable numbers into the party. It is, of course, the task of the communists to enter this party for the purpose of combatting the petty bourgeois ideology of intellectuals of the type of Kagava and others, who wish to convert this party into a parliamentary party of democracy.

During the past year the working masses have organised themselves in trade unions which numerically surpass the trade unions which were destroyed as a result of the earthquake.

Thus, to quote an example, in the past year there has been created for the first time a union of shipbuilding workers (Kaikun Renmei) with 42,000 members, as well as a union of tramway workers etc. In this labour movement, which is fully organised, a considerable revolutionary minority has made its appearance, which in cities like Tokio and Kioto and in the centres of the metal industry constitute the overwhelming majority. In all the more or less big towns of the country there is a tendency on the part of the trade unions towards centralisation and amalgamation.

At the same time the small-holders and the poor peasants are organising themselves more and more. The peasants league for the whole of Japan already has organisatory connections with the trade unions. The organising of the radical intellectuals is following after the model of the Fabian societies, of circles and leagues, which aim at democratising the country.

There exists no doubt that the revival in the labour movement will produce new revolutionaries and that the young Communist Party will succeed in penetrating into the depths of the working class and to leading them in the struggle against absolutism.

THE GERMAN "TCHEKA" TRIAL

Against the Leipzig Judicial Murders.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The new Reichs President von Hindenburg is said to have the intention of granting an amnesty to political prisoners. Apart from this, Hindenburg at the commencement of his rule, has the task of deciding as to whether he will confirm the sentences pronounced in the Leipzig Tscheka trial. In the meantime, indignation against the judicial murders planned by the Leipzig Supreme Court is becoming continually greater. The court of Herr Niedner is thoroughly discredited. A great number of German and foreign bourgeois intellectuals have protested against the carrying out of the three death sentences. Many newspapers, both German and foreign, regardless of political tendency, have stigmatised the methods of Niedner. The sharpest condemnation of the High State Court for the Defence of the Republic is expressed by a Berlin German Nationalist organ, the "Deutsche Tageszeitung". This widely read agrarian paper declares regarding the Tscheka process: "We must openly declare that we reject the sentences, as sufficient grounds do not exist for the same, because the way the proceedings were conducted was in more than one respect intolerable for right thinking people. A court which calmly throws overboard the principle which has been held sacred by every philosophy of human rights during thousands of years of human development, i. e. that nothing that can be said on behalf of the accused must be suppressed, can make no claim to real impartiality."

How monstrous must be the practice of the State court when a reactionary, furious anti-bolshevik paper comes to such a conclusion. Outside of Germany, all circles who are in a habit of judging things with any degree of impartiality place German alongside that of Horthy Hungary and Zankov Bulgaria. To take one example: the leading bourgeois American periodical "The Nation" published in its issue of 11th of March an article entitled "High treason in the German Republic" in which it stated, that the Germans are very sly people and understand how to make distinctions. With them it is not every armed revolt against the State that is High Treason. Ernest Toller, Erich Mühsam and Max Hölz are guilty of high treason, but Kapp, Ehrhardt and Ludendorff are not. In the same way the murderers of Liebknecht, Rathenau and Erzberger are not murderers. It all depends upon the motives. A traitor is not a traitor if he wishes to restore the monarchy or to set up a patriotic-military dictatorship. A German murderer is no murderer if his victim is a Jew, a Catholic or a Communist. Who has to decide this question? The law courts.

On the 10th of May there took place a conference of German lawyers which was attended by many hundreds of members of the legal profession. At this Conference Dr. Graf von Pestalozzi, a lawyer from Munich — certainly no communist — criticised in the sharpest manner the German Exceptional or Special Courts. At the conclusion of his speech a resolution was adopted, almost unanimously, which demanded the abolition of all Exceptional

and Special courts, including the State Court for the Defence of the Republic.

It is quite clear the bourgeoisie, even if they insist ever so strongly on their impartiality, will always maintain a class justice against the proletariat. But within this class justice, which in the very nature of things belongs to the system of the bourgeoisie, there are certain degrees, and within the limits of these degrees the German High State Court for the Defence of the Republic is such a monstrosity that even bourgeois politicians, lawyers and writers, in the interest of the reputation of their class, must repudiate this Court. One can already say today that in Germany all serious jurists and all relatively independent writers and bourgeois intellectuals are against the High State Court and its judgment. The justice offensive carried out in Leipzig by Niedner and his satellites against the C. P. of Germany, before all aimed at morally isolating the communists. These gentlemen however, have attained a result of which they could never have dreamed.

The protest movement of the proletariat, as well as of the bourgeois jurists and intellectuals, against the carrying out of the three death sentences has grown from week to week. Then an event happened which absolutely cut the ground from under the Leipzig sentence. That was the case of Dr. Höfle and Dr. Thiele. The Berlin court medical expert, Dr. Thiele, was the chief expert of the State court in the Tcheka trial. This gentleman had given a report on the mental condition of Felix Neumann. As is known, Felix Neumann upon whose statements the whole Tcheka trial is based, is a serious epileptic. Several cases of insanity exist in his family. The Defence, with good reasons, challenged his reliability as witness. But if the court had admitted that Neumann is to be regarded as mentally deficient and that therefore his statements deserve very little credence, then the charges against the C. P. of Germany would have collapsed. It was likewise only Neumann who converted the Russian Skoblevsky into Hellmut, the general of the Red Army. The three death sentences pronounced by Niedner's Court stand or fall by the question as to whether Felix Neumann is mentally sound or not. If Felix Neumann is mentally unsound, then it is impossible to condemn him to death himself, or his victim Skoblevsky or Poege, who has been dragged by him into the affair.

The attitude of Dr. Thiele in Leipzig beggars description. On the first day of the proceedings, when Felix Neumann began to deliver his statement and brought severe accusations against the C. P. of Germany, Herr Thiele called out from the experts' table, so loud that the defenders could hear him: "The man is thoroughly sane"! Thiele's concluding report was delivered in the same style. He expressed the opinion that Neumann was completely sane and that his statements could be accepted. Only a layman would regard a man as mentally unsound or deficient because there had been cases of insanity in his family! In Leipzig Herr Thiele was the docile assistant of the Public Prosecutor. On the strength of Thiele's report three death sentences have been pronounced.

Now the Investigation Committee of the Prussian Diet has declared that the same Dr. Thiele bears the responsibility for the death of the former German Postmaster General Herr Hoefle. Hoefle was arrested in connection with the Barmat affair. His state of health grew continually worse. Thiele however insisted that Hoefle's state of health permitted of his remaining in prison. Yet on the 18th of April last, when Hoefle was unconscious and in a dying condition, Thiele did not consider it necessary for him to be removed to the hospital. Thiele's admissions before the Prussian Investigation Committee roused the greatest indignation and resentment among all present. This precious doctor, who in the service of the Public Prosecutor played with human life, has been settled by the case of Hoefle. He has already been "granted leave" and it is highly probable that criminal proceedings will be brought against him.

Thiele made the mistake of treating the ex-Minister Hoefle as if he were a communist. If communists are done to death in this manner, bourgeois society does not care a rap. But the death of Herr Hoefle in prison while awaiting trial created an enormous sensation and led to the exposure of the whole system, the pillars of which are the Public Prosecutor along with such accommodating prison doctors as Dr. Thiele.

After these exposures it is no longer possible to uphold the Tcheka judgment. The working class will exert all its energies and so increase the pressure upon the German government that it will be impossible to carry out the death sentences!

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the First Quarter of 1925.

(Concluded up to 20. April 1925.)

By Eugen Varga.

I.

The Extent of the Restabilisation of Capitalism.

In our reports and international economic treatises we have frequently drawn attention to the immanent and conscious tendencies towards a restabilisation of capitalism. In the introductory part of our last report we attempted to draw a sort of balance by enumerating those crisis phenomena which have disappeared more or less under the influence exercised up till now by these stabilising tendencies. We enumerated:

1. The cessation in the decline of production in the capitalist countries.
2. The cessation of the dispersal and the recommencement of the accumulation of capital.
3. In general, the cessation of the depreciation of currencies and a tendency to a return to the gold standard.
4. The restoration of the credit system, both within the various countries themselves and internationally.

To this we may add:

5. The restoration of the balance of State finances in the most important capitalist States.

These are facts which we cannot deny, however desirous we may be for the revolution. The sole question is, what estimate is to be formed of these facts?

Approximately these same facts are designated in an interesting pamphlet by comrade Lapinski: "The new phase of imperialism and its economic bases", Moscow 1925 (Russian), written at the same time as our last report, as:

"The restoration of relative order in the international mechanism of circulation and exchange of goods" (page 32).

This is essentially correct. We attach special importance to the fact that up to now the restabilisation of capitalism has extended chiefly to the national and international sphere of circulation. In need not be said that the restoration of normal capitalist conditions in the sphere of circulation exercises a favourable reaction in the sphere of production, especially the stabilisation of currencies.

But the decisive criterion of the progress made in the restabilisation of capitalism is the sphere of production. To what extent has capitalism succeeded in regulating production on fresh lines, and in increasing it in proportion to the increased population? To what extent has it succeeded in overcoming the tremendous disproportions called into existence by the war (the relative over-industrialisation of Western Europe, the over-development of various important branches of production — shipping, heavy industry —, the relative over-production of grain), and again attaining to a production on an extended scale?

In our opinion these are the decisive questions! Only if capitalism succeeds in equalising these enormous disproportions, only if it can carry on production on an extended scale, and thus ensure improved real standards of living to the proletariat of the imperialist countries — even if partially at the expense of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples — will it be possible to speak of a temporary relative restabilisation of capitalism...

There is no need to emphasise that in any case the restabilisation could only be spoken of as temporary and relative, for the innate contradictions of the capitalist system are reproduced on a larger scale by a restabilisation. It is either nonsense or treachery to interpret — as many people do — the ascertainment of the fact that capitalism has made certain advances towards stabilisation, and of the fact that at the present juncture there is no "acutely revolutionary situation" in Central Europe as a reduction to absurdity of the policy pursued by the Communist International...

The Development of Production.

When judging the question: What estimate are we to form of the advances of capitalism?, we attach decisive importance to the development of production. We shall therefore make an

attempt at giving a quantitative survey of the development of production.

This attempt must necessarily remain an incomplete sketch. With the exception of the United States, no capitalist country publishes current official statistics of industrial production. The data obtainable are published by private groups of capitalists. The data of the appended table must therefore only be regarded as an extremely rough approximation! The more so that many commodities — rice, caoutchouc, etc. — are mainly produced on non-capitalist territory.

The most important data of production in world economics.¹⁾

		1900	1913	1919	1922	1923	1924
Wheat ²⁾	mill. tons	56	79.9 ³⁾	76.0	83.3	94.2	83.7
Rye ²⁾	" "	11.6	21.4 ³⁾	17.7	20.4	23.2	18.5
Barley ²⁾	" "	15.7	26.5 ³⁾	22.1	21.5	25.4	23.0
Oats ²⁾	" "	35	49.4 ³⁾	42.7	46.8	54.9	52.5
Maize ²⁾	" "	72	97.1 ³⁾	92.6	83.0	89.1	74.9
Rice ²⁾	" "	46	76.4 ³⁾	78.9	80.4	74.9	80.6
Potatoes ²⁾	" "	—	113.4 ³⁾	92.0	142.5	114.0	124.5
Sugar	" "	11.8	18.8	15.9	18.1	19.7	22.0
Cotton	mill. bales ³⁾	15.9	25.4	20.6	20.8	20.9	25.0
Wool	mill. los	1302	3162	2894	2684	2605	2837
Caoutchouc	1000 tons	57.0	158.0 ⁴⁾	343.0 ⁵⁾	367	394	434
Coal	mill. tons	726	1216	1058	1034	1180	1168
Petroleum	mill. barrels ⁶⁾	149	383.0	554.7	854.8	1004.7	1013.1
Iron	mill. tons	40.4	77.2	61.0 ⁶⁾	50.6	66.5	64.6
Steel	mill. tons	—	73.6	68.0 ⁶⁾	62.0	75.1	75.0
Copper	1000 short ⁷⁾	600	1133	1076	—	1356	1459
Lead	1000 " ⁷⁾	867	1292	940	1154	1297	1079
Zink	1000 " ⁷⁾	491	1100	715	—	1121	1149
Gold	mill. ounces	52.1	94.7	75.2	65.5	75.5	79.0
Silver	mill. ounces	173	231.0 ⁷⁾	180.0	210.0	242.0	236.0
Shipping ⁸⁾	1000 gross t	1866	3333	7145	2467	1643	2179.0

This table shows the following facts:

1. The production of the most important foodstuffs is being maintained (excluding Russia) at about the level of 1909/1913. As Russia exported a considerable amount of grain before the war; as further, the annual production of meat and fat has diminished in most European countries in consequence of reduction of stock and inferior condition of the animals; and as finally, the population has increased considerably since pre-war times — in spite of the war — we see that the food supply for the whole population has become worse, that the amount of food produced is relatively less.

2. With regard to the most important industrial raw materials, which we have been obliged to use as a criterion for lack of statistics of industrial production, an enormous increase of production is to be observed in petroleum and caoutchouc. This is to be mainly ascribed to the tremendous vogue of the motor car in America, and to the use of oil fuel for ships. The production of the other most important industrial materials: coal, iron, steel, cotton, wool, maintained in 1924 a level rather lower than higher than the pre-war standards, and there is not even any definite tendency towards improvement observable. When we take into consideration the increase of population, we see that there is no sign of production on an extended scale in general, and particularly in comparison with the years before the war!

3. The difference in the rate of development becomes particularly striking when we compare the increase of production between 1900 and 1913 with the stagnation between 1913 and 1924. During the former period we observe a huge increase in the production of all the most important raw materials: coal, iron, steel, cotton. During the last decade we observe only stagnation.

¹⁾ Not including the Soviet Union.

²⁾ Yearly average 1909/13.

³⁾ 1 bale = about 500 lbs.

⁴⁾ 1915.

⁵⁾ 1 barrel of crude oil = 0.133 t.

⁶⁾ 84 sh. 11³/₄ d. reckoned for a fine ounce.

⁷⁾ 1912, record year.

⁸⁾ 1920.

⁹⁾ 1 short t = 907 kgs.

¹⁰⁾ Capacity.

¹¹⁾ The sources of the table are: For agricultural products: Ann. Int. de Stat. Agricole., Bulletin de Stat. Agricole, Rome, for 1900, Agriculture Year Book of U. St. Dep. of Agric. — Iron, steel coal: Wirtschaft und Statistik; for 1900 Statistical Abstract of U. St. — Metals: Wirtschaft und Statistik. — Petroleum: U. St. Geolog. Survey. — Some of the data are taken from the Year Book issued by the Reich Statistics Office, from the annuaire Statistique, World Almanac; for 1924 the latest information furnished by the newspapers and periodicals has been used.

It is not yet possible to speak of a reestablishment of normal conditions in the sphere of production...

Production in Europe.

The above facts are accentuated if we do not take the data of the whole world, but compare those of Europe only. As we have frequently pointed out, it is entirely wrong at the present time to lump all capitalist countries under the term of "capitalist world economy". For although the last few years have shown a tendency to the restoration of international relations in the sphere of circulation which are known as "normal" under capitalism, there still exist fundamental differences between the various areas. Whilst America, Australia, and Africa, are still obviously on the up grade of capitalist development, Europe is on the down grade.

The Soviet Union has already left the ranks of the bourgeois countries; but in Asia it will depend on the development of the relations of power of the imperialist Powers opposed to Soviet Russia, plus the colonial peoples, whether the huge masses of the population of this Continent are to continue to be the object of exploitation by the imperialist world Powers, whether they will pass through a capitalist development as independent peoples, or whether their struggle for emancipation will already be fought out under the hegemony of the proletariat. Should this last come about, then these peoples — like the people of Soviet Russia — will undergo their national, their bourgeois, and their proletarian revolutions all in one period.

For the present, however, we shall devote our attention to the question of the extent to which bourgeois Europe has stabilised itself as regards production. For this purpose we make a geographical survey of those data of production of which we possess statistics.

Coal output in the most important countries (in mill. tons).

	1900	1913	1919	1922	1923	1924
Great Britain	229	292	233	254	280	275
Germany	109	190	117	130	62	119
France	33	40	22	33	38	44
Poland	2	9	6	24	36	32
Belgium	23	23	19	21	23	23
Czechoslovakia	—	14	—	10	12	14
Capitalist Europe	394	568	397	472	451	507
South Africa	—	8	9	9	11	11
British India	6	16	22	19	19	21
China	0.5	14	—	21	19	19
Japan	7	21	30	25	26	27
United States	245	517	484	425	581	506
Canada	5	14	15 ¹⁾	11	12	9
	263.5	590	560	510	668	593

This table shows the coal production of Europe — though increasing — to be still 12 per cent behind pre-war output. (The deficiency is made good only to a very slight extent by the increased output of lignite in Germany.) A point of special importance is the fact that at the present time the coal output of Europe is passing through a severe over-production crisis — we deal with this in detail further on —, production is being restricted, so that this is bound to be less in the year 1925 than in 1924.

Production of raw iron and steel in the most important countries (in mill. tons).²⁾

	Iron						Steel					
	1900	1913	1919	1922	1923	1924	1900	1913	1919	1922	1923	1924
United States	14.0	31.4	31.5	26.9	39.5	31.6	10.3	31.8	35.2	34.3	44.4	37.2
Great Britain	9.1	10.6	7.5	5.0	7.5	7.4	6.0	7.8	8.0	5.9	8.6	8.4
Germany	7.6	12.9	5.7	6.6	5.0	7.2	7.4	15.3	6.7	9.1	6.3	9.2
France	2.7	5.2	2.4	5.1	5.0	7.7	1.9	4.7	2.2	4.5	4.8	6.9
Belgium	1.0	2.5	0.3	1.6	2.1	2.8	0.9	2.5	0.3	1.5	2.2	2.9
Austria	1.0 ³⁾	0.6	0.1 ⁴⁾	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.0 ³⁾	2.7	0.1 ⁴⁾	0.4	0.5	0.4
Luxemburg	1.0	2.5	0.6	1.7	1.4	2.2	— ⁴⁾	1.3	0.4	1.4	1.1	1.9
Sweden	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.5
Poland	—	0.4	—	0.5	0.5	0.4	—	—	—	0.9	1.1	0.7
Czechoslovakia	—	1.0	0.7 ⁵⁾	0.4	0.8	1.1	—	—	1.0 ⁶⁾	0.7	1.0	1.4
Capitalist Europe	22.9	36.4	17.8	21.6	22.9	29.6	17.7	34.9	19.2	24.7	25.9	32.

¹⁾ 1920.

²⁾ Various numbers of Wirtschaft und Statistik; for 1900 Annuaire Statistique.

³⁾ Old territory.

⁴⁾ Included under Germany.

There is a more clearly defined tendency to increased production of iron and steel than of coal. But still the European production of iron is 20 per cent less than before the war, that of steel 8 per cent less. When we compare this with the rapid increase of production in these same countries during the decade preceding the war, and further with the increase of population, and when we take into consideration the small extent to which existing production plant is being exploited at the present time, then it becomes obvious that there is no thought whatever of a "normal" production, that is, of a production increasing at the pre-war rate.

Coal, iron, and steel are the leading indications at our disposal of the course being taken by production. They are the fundamental elements of the production of the means of production. We can, however, obtain valuable indications from another very important branch of industry, the cotton industry.

Cotton spindles and cotton consumption of the world.

	No. of Spindles in millions on 31. VII. 1924	Consumption in 1000 bales		
		1912/13	1920/21	1924/25 (up to 31. I. 1925)
World	158.0	22 533	16 914	21 166
Europe	100.2	10 686	6 826	8 672
America	41.5	8 568	5 917	6 247
Asia	16.1	3 279	4 171	6 100
Great Britain	56.8	3 825	1 827	2 904
Germany	9.5	1 702	851	2 135
France	9.4	987	568	1 053
Italy	4.6	744	682	962
Czechoslovakia	3.5	209 ¹⁾	209	444
The most important capitalist countries of Europe	—	7 477	4 137	6 498

The consumption of cotton in the European industrial countries during the last quarter was still considerably less than before the war. The same certainly applies to wool. We see that this branch of industry therefore has not yet by a long way reached pre-war production.

The Development of Unemployment.

The development of unemployment is an indirect indication of the course taken by production. We give below two tables giving the absolute number of unemployed, as well as the percentage of unemployed in the Trade Unions, in all European countries issuing statistics on unemployment. We give the figures for June and December of the years since the war, in order that the influence of the seasons may be seen.

The number of wholly unemployed in the most important countries, in thousands.

	England Insured	France Receiving dole	Belgium	Italy	Holland	Switzerland	Czechoslovakia Registered	Germany	Austria	Poland
2. Quarter 1919	802	—	—	381	28	—	267	716	—	431
4. Quarter 1919	405	—	—	275	22	—	—	497	—	—
2. Quarter 1920	112	—	—	141	28	3	41	298	29	—
4. Quarter 1920	526	40	—	104	33	15	20	368	16	—
June 1921	2171	47	153	388	32	55	103	357	11	115
December 1921	1934	10	86	512	66	89	78	149	17	173
June 1922	1503	4	43	372	32	59	108	29	33	99
December 1922	1432	2.2	26	382	50	53	438	43	118	75
June 1923	1295	2.1	17	216	28	26	247	218	93	87
December 1923	1227	0.4	23	259	56	27	200	1475 ²⁾	95	68
June 1924	1085	0.5	22	131	16	11	87	240	63	138
December 1924	1260	0.5	33	150	37	11	70	529	154	159

¹⁾ At that time a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy: the figures are from 1920/21.

²⁾ Unoccupied territory.

Percentage of unemployed of trade union members.

	Germany Unemployed	Germany Part timers	Great Britain	Belgium	Denmark	Norway	Holland	Sweden
June 1913	2.7	—	1.9	2.1	3.1	0.7	3.9	2.6
December 1913	4.8	—	2.6	3.5	15.1	3.7	9.1	4.4
June 1919	2.5	—	1.7	—	3.6	1.1	8.7	6.1
December 1919	2.9	—	3.2	—	16.5	2.6	9.0	3.8
June 1920	3.9	—	1.2	—	2.0	0.8	5.9	3.4
December 1920	4.1	—	6.1	17.4	15.1	6.8	13.4	15.8
June 1921	3.0	7.2	23.1	22.9	16.8	20.9	8.1	27.7
December 1921	1.6	1.5	16.5	11.4	25.2	23.4	16.6	33.2
June 1922	0.6	0.6	15.7	6.0	13.2	15.6	9.1	21.5
December 1922	2.8	8.7	14.0	3.8	20.3	15.1	15.1	21.3
June 1923	4.1	15.3	11.1	2.6	8.1	7.9	9.3	9.8
December 1923	28.2	42.0	9.7	3.6	19.6	14.0	15.9	14.1
June 1924	10.5	19.4	7.2	3.3	5.0	4.9	5.8	7.3
December 1924	8.1	6.5	9.2	5.1	17.1	8.8	12.9	15.5

These tables show that at the present time unemployment is much more prevalent than before the war, and that — especially in England at the end of 1924 and in the first quarter of 1925, with which we deal later on — the number of unemployed shows a great increase as compared with the number in the corresponding period of the year before.

It need not be said that the data furnished by the unemployment statistics cannot be immediately compared with those of the period preceding the war. In many countries unemployed benefit has been greatly improved under the influence of the revolutionary wave of the post-war period; besides this, extensive categories of women were obliged to take up industrial work during the war, though living on the earnings of their parents or husbands before the war. But even when all these points are accorded due consideration, the fact remains that unemployment is much more extensive in Europe at the present time than it was under normal conditions before the war. It goes without saying that the figures stated do not by any means correspond everywhere with the actual state of affairs: even in England, the actual number of unemployed is much greater.

If we now combine the most important data as to production, with those of unemployment, we arrive at the conclusion that although the past year has brought a certain stabilisation of capitalism, even in the sphere of production, this development is still very far from representing any restoration of the normal conditions of capitalism. And what is still more important: the development is by no means in a straight upward direction.

The carrying out of the Dawes Plan and the Stabilisation of Capitalism.

Whenever the restabilisation of capitalism is spoken of, attention is generally drawn to the great changes that have taken place in the economic life of Germany during the past year. As a matter of fact, the year 1924 brought a great recovery to German economics, and it is only during the last few months that this has given way to a certain decline. German economics today are certainly fundamentally different from those of the inflation period. But if we are to form a correct estimate of this change with respect to its significance for the future, we must bear in mind the following:

Up to the present the Dawes plan has been entirely favourable in its effects on Germany. The payments to be made by Germany during the economic year 1924/25 have been covered to the extent of 80% by the international loan. And besides this the Dawes plan has cleared the path for the investment of foreign capital in Germany.

The influx of foreign capital has taken place on a large scale. The actual extent of the influx cannot be accurately ascertained. It is composed of elements which to a great extent are never brought to the notice of public. The most important items which have been made known to the public are the following:

	Mill. Gold Marks	
Dawes loan	800	
Loans put up for public subscription abroad:		
	Mill. Dollars	
Krupp	10	
Thyssen	12	
A. E. G. (General Electric Co.)	10	
Siemens Halske	10	
Sächsische Werke	15	
Electrowerke	5	
Siemes (Siemens Schuckert)	6	
	68	300

To these we must add the loans, not put up for public subscription, granted by various English and American capitalists to German enterprises in the form of money credits. At the lowest estimate these sums may be reckoned at 300 million gold marks.

Goods credits, granted by various American, English, and Dutch contractors to Germany: total about 300 million gold marks.

Capital which has flowed into Germany in the form of purchases of shares and of participation in German undertakings; for instance, the transference of Deutsche Bank shares to the nominal value of 40 million marks to an American combine; the purchase of German banking firms by American capitalists. Total 300 million gold marks.

We must emphasise that these estimates are entirely approximate, and that other and much higher estimates have been made. Thus, for instance, the statements published in the "Wall Street Journal" show that in the months of October and November alone, American banks granted credits to the amount of over 200 million dollars to German industrialists. H. Solmsen, partner in the Discontogesellschaft, estimates the foreign credits granted to Germany during the past six months at two milliard gold marks. ("Börsen Courier", 25. March 1925).

A compilation issued by the bank "Farmers' Loan & Trust Company" gives the following statement for the year 1924:

Loans to Germany	145 million dollars
Credits to German industrial firms	50 " "

The sum total of the private American credits granted to Germany between the acceptance of the Dawes plan and the end of the year 1924 has been estimated at 100 million dollars. ("Börsen Courier", 17. March 1925).

This means a sum of 295 million dollars for 1924, equal to 1200 million gold marks. The largest transactions were, however, those carried out in the first months of 1925.

The enormous sums here involved are shown, for instance, in the report published by the American periodical "Moody's Investors' Service". At the beginning of March negotiations were being carried on with reference to loans to be granted to Germany to the approximate amount of 193 million dollars. The chief credits here concerned were those to German mortgage banks, to Bavaria, to the cities of Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Leipzig, Bonn and Barmen, to the alliance of Württemberg municipalities, etc. ("Börsen Courier", March 13. 1925).

If we further take into consideration the credits granted by English and Dutch capitalists, and the German capital streaming back from abroad in 1924, we arrive at a sum of several milliards of gold marks which has flowed into Germany in the course of the last half year.

In what forms have these credits, or this returning German capital, been introduced into Germany? The following possibilities exist:

1. **Transference in the form of gold.** This has only taken place to a slight extent. The American share in the Dawes loan, about 100 million dollars, comes to Germany in part in the form of gold, and passes into the possession of the Reichsbank.

2. **Foreign currencies and bills**, serving as circulating media in inland traffic. In consequence of the stabilisation of the mark, foreign paying media are, however, not being used in Germany at the present time. On the contrary, it is probable that the Germans themselves took the initiative in entirely ceasing to traffic in such paying media during the course of 1924.

3. **In the form of investments abroad.** Considering the great lack of working capital in Germany, the possibility appears to be excluded that any considerable part of the credits received can have been used for investments abroad.

4. **In the form of the import of goods.** There appears to be no doubt whatever that the overwhelmingly greater part of the credits received, and of returning German capital, enters Germany in the form of goods. This is further shown by the extremely adverse German trade balance in the second year of 1924 and in the first months of 1925.

The goods thus flowing in, unpaid for at present, serve to relieve the lack of available capital which characterised the close of the inflation period, and which led to rates of interest rising to 180%. It is not to be wondered at that this mighty influx of values, without the payment of equivalent values, has enabled German economics to blossom out for the moment. Poland or Russia could do the same, if they received credits on the same scale.

This expansion of German economics under the influence of extensive foreign credits bears certain features which are characteristic of an inflation period. If such credits are granted beyond the degree necessary for supplying the deficiency in circulating capital, inflation phenomena are bound to arise.

"The unrestricted introduction of foreign capital . . . threatens . . . to exercise inflatory effects".

This observation was made by Solmsen in his great lecture held before the Juridical Association ("Börsen Courier", 23. March).

This danger does not, however, actually threaten. On the contrary, the granting of credits to Germany has been greatly limited of late.

"At the moment . . . there is a considerable slackening in the granting of credits to our economic undertakings on the part of the countries possessing extensive available capital. It is to be hoped that this stagnation will not be of long duration. America, which was never able to lend money to other countries before the war, has to become gradually accustomed to the usages of the great creditor States. At present it inclines to pass from a somewhat too hasty granting of credits to an equally hasty and complete cessation of such grants." (Programmatic speech delivered by the Reichs Minister for Economics, Neuhaus, before the budget committee of the Reichstag, 14. April.)

The cause of this change with regard to the granting of credits are multifarious. The resistance offered by industrial capital in America and England against nurturing the dangerous competition of German industry by means of the granting of credits, fear of foreign political complications should Hindenburg prove victorious, the attempt on the part of American and English capital to utilise the granting of credits as a means to direct participation in and decisive influence on leading German industrial undertakings: an endeavour hitherto resisted by the Germans. A certain stiffening in the loan capital market in America and England, etc.

However this may be, in any case this mighty inflow of foreign capital cannot last for ever! Sooner or later a turning point must be arrived at when the counter-active effects of the acceptance of foreign credits are bound to be felt. The receipt of values from abroad without equivalent will presently be replaced by the payment of interest to abroad — high interest — and this means that it will be the turn of the Germans to send values abroad without receiving an equivalent.

At the same time the unfavourable aspects of the Dawes plan will begin to make themselves felt. Germany has only 4000 millions to pay in the reparation year 1924/25, and 800 millions of these have been covered by the Dawes loan, so that the actual sum is merely 200 millions. But the reparation year 1925/26 brings with it the obligation to pay 1220 millions, and this without the aid of a loan, without a further influx of foreign capital, and under the handicap of the withdrawal of many of the short term credits granted, added to which there will be the necessity of paying interest and reparation instalments. The whole aspect of German economics will be transformed at one stroke . . .

If Germany does not receive any further foreign credits, it cannot maintain the stability of its currency in the face of an

adverse trade balance. It would have to have a very favourable trade balance indeed. This can only be rendered possible by a great increase in the export of goods. This increased export can only take the form of industrial finished articles, since Germany possesses no great surplus of raw materials of any description, with the exception of coal. Our former calculations have shown that, if Germany is to meet its reparations obligations fully, it will have to export industrial products to the full value of six milliard gold marks in excess of its present export. In the face of the present reduced absorbing capacity of the world's markets for industrial products, there appears to be no possibility of accomplishing this. International competition is so acute at the present time that the whole English press sounds the alarm every time Germany obtains a foreign order in competition with English industry. How, under these circumstances, can Germany possibly sell a further six milliards worth of industrial goods abroad? . . .

The present favourable situation of German economics is thus, in our opinion a brief transitory episode. The lack of circulating capital at home has been covered to a fair extent. In some branches of industry — coal, textiles — over-production is already observable. The export industry is encountering the greatest possible obstacles.

What way of escape is there for Germany? There exists that of raising further foreign loans for covering the reparation payments. But this can only be made possible by the actual and final delivering up of German industry to the foreign capitalists. For the deeper Germany sinks into debt to foreign countries, the more energetically will the creditors insist upon a decisive participation, that is, upon the right of private economic disposal over the individual industrial undertakings, in addition to the general right of interference accorded by the Dawes plan. This development would convert Germany finally into an industrial colony.

The only alternative is — and the German bourgeoisie will doubtless make the attempt to pursue this course — that the execution of the Dawes plan will be prevented by preventing the transfer of the reparation sums paid in marks, and by the furnishing of proofs that Germany cannot pay any reparations. This signifies instability of the currency, new foreign political difficulties, possibly new sanctions, etc.

Briefly expressed: When judging the position of capitalism, it should not be assumed that the great improvement experienced in German economic conditions under the influence of the extensive foreign credits is by any means permanent. German Austria has also undergone the process of being placed on a fresh financial basis, of having its currency stabilised and its mechanism of circulation put in order with the aid of foreign credits. But nobody can maintain that there is a stabilised capitalism in Austria.

* * *

To sum up:

It is true that during the last three years capitalism has regained a foothold, and has become restabilised to a certain extent. But up to now this restabilisation only extends to the sphere of circulation. There is as yet no sign of an actual stabilisation in the sphere of production, that is, of a production on an extended scale. The stabilisation in Germany cannot by any means be regarded as final.

No acute revolutionary situation exists at the present moment. It is possible that the stabilisation of capitalism will make further progress during the next few years, so that the relative quietness of the revolutionary movement may last some time. But an impartial analysis of the present situation of capitalism only reveals the possibility of such a development, by no means the certainty of it! In our opinion it is indeed possible to assume with equal probability that the crisis in capitalism will assume acuter forms during the coming year, and stabilisation fail to make further progress. In this connection we make no mention of the political crises inevitable in the struggle for markets, although this is a subject coming under the heading of questions relating to the "restabilisation" of capitalism.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

The Affiliation of the Trade Unions of China to the Red International of Labour Unions.

Appeal of the R. I. L. U. to the Trade Unions of China.

The Second Chinese Labour Congress which took place in Canton at the beginning of May and was attended by 285 delegates representing 450,000 organised workers, unanimously decided to affiliate to the Red International of Labour Unions.

Dear Comrades,

Your appeal to the labour organisations of all countries and the unanimous decision of the Second Trade Union Congress of China to join the Red International of Labour Unions will without doubt find an enthusiastic response among the broadest masses of the workers. The revolutionary workers of the whole world who are organised in the Red International of Labour Unions will especially rejoice to learn that the proletarian army of emancipation has been reinforced by the trade unions of China, by a new fighting battalion which occupies one of the most important strategical points in the fight against international imperialism. China, with its untold national resources, with its industrious population and its century-old culture, has become an object of imperialist greed and exploitation by the imperialists of all countries. The Chinese are not masters in their own country; thanks to the force of bayonets and cannon, the English, Americans, Japanese and French are ruling in China and compelling the workers to pay for the chains with which they are bound hand and foot.

The representatives of the imperialist powers act with unheard-of cynicism in parading under the cloak of democracy by which they are endeavouring to convert the hundreds of millions of Chinese people into submissive and unresisting slaves. But recent years have shown that the workers and peasants of China are not willing to be mere implements of world imperialism. The fight for national independence and the liberation of China from foreign parasites occupies the centre point of the attention of the workers and peasants of your country, and in this your struggle you can rely upon the absolute and unconditional support of the Red International of Labour Unions and the revolutionary workers organised in it.

An exceedingly great and noble role in China's struggle for emancipation was played by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who will go down to world history as a devoted, noble and honest fighter for the cause of the workers. Sun Yat Sen is dead, but the spirit of the fight for emancipation lives in the millions of workers and peasants and has found its organised expression at your congress, and therein lies a guarantee of success. Long, far too long, have the workers of China stood aloof from the international labour movement. And not only the bourgeoisie, but many moderate labour leaders of Europe and America have come to imagine that the working masses of China are the offal of humanity, not deserving any consideration.

The conservative labour leaders look down not only upon the workers of China but also upon the people of other countries who are under the jack boot of imperialism, as India, Java, etc. They do not see that among these hundreds of millions of Oriental peoples the army of emancipation of labour against the oppressors is growing and spreading by leaps and bounds. They do not see that the workers and their trade unions occupy the first place among the fighters for their national and social emancipation. They see nothing of all this, for the reformists of all countries cannot imagine a well regulated and organised Society without the suppression of peoples and without colonies. Therefore, the Amsterdam International, during the six years of its existence, has never once spoken for the emancipation of the colonies, for the national independence of the suppressed peoples and countries. They have not spoken, because the conservative leaders who are at the head believe that the prosperity of their countries can only be based upon the suppression of weaker peoples. Therein lies the greatest and most serious crime of international reformism, for the suppression of hun-

dreds of millions of Oriental peoples only yields benefit to the ruling classes.

The workers and peasants in the most powerful imperialist countries are the instruments and objects of exploitation. It is for this reason that the **Red International of Labour Unions**, from the very first day of its existence, has made its chief task energetically to support the suppressed peoples in their fight for national liberation, as a necessary stage on the way to the emancipation of humanity from every form of exploitation. The fight against the **foreign imperialists** must at the same time go hand in hand with the fight against the **native exploiters**, and only by this means will the working masses obtain complete emancipation from the imperialist yoke and from exploitation.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions sends to the Trade Unions and to all workers of China its warmest greetings and the expression of brotherly solidarity on the occasion of their entry into the international family of workers. **Close your ranks more firmly together, create powerful trade unions, conduct an unrelenting struggle against the foreign and native bourgeoisie and the victory will be yours!** Remember that before the Revolution the Russian workers and peasants were also looked down upon; that notwithstanding they carried out the October Revolution, set up the Soviet Union and now constitute a powerful force with which the robber imperialists have to reckon. **Unite, draw millions into your organisations and you will become an unvanquishable force!**

You can be sure of the full support of the revolutionary workers of all countries, and on the other hand we expect that the fighting trade unions of China will along with us conduct a **struggle for the closest alliance of the workers of all countries, for the unity of the international trade union movement, for the close alliance of the workers of the West, the Soviet Union and the East.**

Long live the working masses of China who are fighting for their emancipation!

Long live the Chinese section of the international army of labour!

Long live the Unity of the International Trade Union Movement!

The Executive Bureau of the Red International
of Labour Unions.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Trial of the Ukrainian Members of the Polish Parliament.

By Stefanski.

The Ukrainian members of the Polish Sejm, Vassyntchuk, Tchtchmaj and Sergiev Kosnitzki, were delivered up on the 18th of December in the same sitting in which comrade Lanzutski was delivered up. The occasion for this act is characteristic of the "democratic" Sejm: the report of spies, that the Ukrainian deputies, at a meeting in the town of Potchajev, had delivered speeches against the State and incited the population to disobedience against the authorities.

These deputies, as well as all deputies belonging to the national minorities, were elected to the Sejm on the ticket of the bloc of the national minorities. As they stand on the platform of the recognition of the Polish State with its present frontiers, they had hoped to obtain some concessions and rights for the Ukrainian people by parliamentary means, on the basis of the constitution and by way of negotiations and bargainings with the government of the occupants. But they have been cruelly disappointed. Bourgeois imperialist Poland will not and cannot grant any rights to the suppressed peoples and to the workers.

The eyes of the peasant masses of West Ukrania and of Western White Russia are directed towards the East, beyond the frontiers, to that country which, at one time the land of the rulers now belongs to the peasants. There the power is in the hands of the workers and peasants, there they are building up their culture and are restoring the destroyed national economy.

What has bourgeois Poland and its lackeys, the P. P. S. (the Polish Socialist Party) to show against this? The more firm the economic and political situation of the Soviet Union becomes, so much stronger become the sympathies of the working people of the whole world for the Soviet Union. But this appears particularly strong among the Ukrainian and white Russian workers and peasants in Poland who are cut off from their socialist native country.

All this has influenced the tactics of the fraction of the National Minorities. In February 1924 five Ukrainian deputies left the joint national Ukrainian club and formed a fraction of **Ukrainian social democrats**, and of these the following four deputies: Skripa, Voityuk, Pachtchuk and Pristupa afterwards joined the **Communist Fraction**.

The majority of the Ukrainian and White Russian deputies continued to remain in the national clubs and continued their policy of compromise.

But in the two and a half years which have elapsed since their election great changes have taken place in the frontier districts. The **Communist Party of Western Ukrania** has succeeded in getting into connection with the broadest masses of the peasants, and the party organisation has embraced all the occupied Ukrainian districts. The **Communist Party of Western Ukrania**, just as the **Communist Party of Western White Russia**, stands at the head of the revolutionary struggle of the working and peasant masses.

The members of parliament representing the national minorities, and who are following a policy of compromise, come limping along in the rear. On the one hand they find themselves under the pressure of the revolutionary peasant masses, on the other hand they are afraid of entering into open conflict with bourgeois Poland, of making a complete break with the Polish State. They fear the fate of Dombal, Lanzutski and Krulikovski.

The revolutionary ferment in the peasant masses is so strong, that every meeting is converted, against the will of the organisers and speakers, into a demonstration against the rule of the occupants and for union with the Soviet Republic. Therefore the policy of compromise followed by the Ukrainian deputies has not saved them from the court of the Polish bourgeoisie. The trial is taking place before a background of monstrous, unheard of repressions, abuses and brutalities. In April, mass arrests, house-searches and mishandlings were carried out. These "military operations" against the population were participated in, not only by the police, but by whole regiments of soldiers and students from the military academies. According to the latest information, 1500 arrests were carried out in Volhynia alone, and in the Novgorod district 1400, while there were also mass arrests in Polessje. The number of the arrests far exceeds 3000. In Kovel the cinemas and schools are being used as prisons. The police prisons are overcrowded. It is with such means that the "democratic" Republic of Poland maintains power in the border districts.

The trial of the Ukrainian deputies serves best to expose the whole of bourgeois legality, justice and constitutionalism. The immunity of members of parliament is a right to be enjoyed only by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie. This immunity ceases to exist so soon as the interests of the bourgeoisie are touched.

The revolutionary proletariat of Poland and the revolutionary peasantry are raising their voices in protest against the fresh crimes of the government of white terror. The **Communist Party of Poland** is exerting all its forces in order to protect the Ukrainian deputies who are threatened with imprisonment with hard labour.

The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry of Poland will reply to the cruel deeds and brutalities of the occupants against the suppressed Ukrainian and White Russian people by the sharpening of the revolutionary struggle under the banner of the Communist Party of Poland. **At the same time the proletariat of Poland appeals to the whole international proletariat for support against the government of Poland, which is exterminating the Ukrainian and White Russian working people with fire and sword.**

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Extract from the Resolution of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany.

On the Political Situation, the Tasks and Tactics of the Party.

We bring as a supplement to the articles of comrades Schmeller and Lenz, appearing in our last number and dealing with the general situation in Germany and the tasks of the C. P., the following most important passages from the Resolution of the National Council. Ed.

From: Our Tasks.

1. In the forefront there must be placed the outer-parliamentary struggle against the monarchist reaction and against the capitalist offensive, the rallying of the proletariat (trade union unity, factory councils' movement, Red Front Fighters), the alliance of all the workers against the exploiters and their government and their monarchy.

2. We must fight for the democratic rights of the working class against reaction, no matter whether these appear as monarchist restoration or as legal "republican" reform of the constitution. We must show that bourgeois democracy neither renders possible the peaceful transition to Socialism, nor provides a safeguard against reaction, but in comparison with an absolutist monarchist form of State, it renders easier the class struggle, because it permits of class questions being raised in an open and undisguised form, opens the way for broader masses to participate in political life, brings the bourgeois cliques more easily into their fraction struggles, and thereby strengthens the proletariat if it knows how to make use of these factors. The decisive question however is not the form of State but the relations of power of the classes. So long as the reactionary bourgeoisie exercises the whole State power, unhindered by the class force of the proletariat, the advance of reaction and the limitation even of the most elementary bourgeois democratic rights of the working class is unavoidable. The fight against monarchist reaction can only be conducted under the leadership of the proletariat as the class struggle. We communists emphasise that we are ready to lead and to support this fight against the monarchist reaction in every form, but without however in the least giving up our principles, that is; we recognise that without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Republic there is no stable republic and no guarantee against reaction and monarchy.

3. In order to convince the masses, who are misled by the republican swindle, of the correctness of these principles and to make them understand the necessity of independent action on the part of the proletariat against the black-white-red and the black-red-yellow groups of the bourgeoisie, and in order to show them that the "Republican" Parties will not and cannot take any serious step against the monarchist reaction, we must

a) propagate in connection with our demands against the Dawes Plan those political partial demands which contain a minimum programme for defeating the monarchist reaction and for securing the most elementary democratic rights of the working class;

b) to declare ourselves ready from time to time to co-operate with the Socialist Party of Germany and the "Republican" parties, so far as they fulfill the most elementary minimum demands, and in so doing we know from the outset that, should such co-operation come about, first, our temporary "allies" — allied by a temporary common aim (for example, in a similar case to that of the Kapp Putsch) — are always our enemies and must at a given moment unmask themselves as such, secondly, that it is not we who are going with them but they with us (compelled by the pressure and initiative of the masses), and thirdly, that at any moment they are prepared to betray us and the masses, as we declare beforehand.

As these minimum demands require for their carrying out a complete decomposition of the present State apparatus of the bourgeois republic, because this last is in the hands of the monarchists, we shall be able by such a manoeuvre to develop a concrete comprehensive propaganda for the proletarian State,

and prove that the Republicans neither can nor will fight and that the Republic is lost.

From: "More Capacity to Manoeuvre".

In the Presidential Election it was our task to show that the black-red-gold bloc cannot and will not conduct a serious struggle against the monarchist danger, that the S. P. of Germany, in spite of or precisely because of this, clings to its bourgeois allies and consciously shatters the class unity of the proletariat for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. This task would have been greatly furthered by a manoeuvre in the sense of the proposals of the German delegation and of the Presidium of the Comintern. We should thereby have shown the working class the road to uniting upon a real fighting candidate against the monarchist reaction, a real fighting alliance on the basis of a republican minimum programme and made plain before the whole public the responsibility of the S. P. of Germany for the victory of the bourgeois reaction. It would thereby have been proved that the only real fighting alliance is the red front of all the exploited under the leadership of the C. P. of Germany. We should thereby have shown more plainly the necessity of the Communist candidature and promoted the disintegration within the S. P. of Germany.

In the Prussian question we have done too little in order to show clearly that our attitude was necessary and to destroy the swindle of the socialists that "the communists are the stirrup-holders of reaction". We must place in the fore-front the question of the government programme, and explain our opposition to the bourgeois coalition governments by their rejection of the most elementary minimum demands. We must proceed in a similar manner in the other parliaments and municipalities.

In a situation in which our Party constitutes the factor which will turn the scale between a Right and a so-called Left government, it is entirely permissible, and under certain conditions necessary to follow such a parliamentary tactic that we render possible the existence of the "Left" coalition. In so doing we must openly declare with all clearness that this is not because the revolutionary working class has anything better to expect from the Socialist Party of Germany and the "Republican Parties" than from the open monarchists, but solely for the purpose of showing to the masses who still believe in these parties that they are just as reactionary and hostile to the workers as the open reactionary parties. If the C. P. G. makes use of such a tactic in order to mobilise the masses outside of parliament against the black-red-gold parties and their government, this tactic has nothing whatever in common with a social democratic or Brandlerist coalition policy. It is, however, only correct and permissible when the possibility does not yet exist of overthrowing such a government by a proletarian mass movement.

IN THE COLONIES

The Scramble for Abyssinia.

By Max Leitner.

The world political struggle among the international rival textile interests, has not come to an end. The Anglo-Egyptian conflict was only a prelude to a policy which is destined to protect the "vital questions" of English textile interests.

The "Soudan Plantation Syndicate" held not only the Soudan cotton plantations in its hands, but also the fate of the Egyptian cotton plantations. England has acquired, through the waters of the Nile, absolute influence over Egypt.

This experience was very useful for England, as it reminded her that, although the whole course of the White Nile is in English hands, the Blue Nile, which carries much more water, is not; for the source of the Blue Nile is in Abyssinia.

The more oppressive English rule in Egypt became, the clearer it was to English politicians and economists, that England's "vital interests" can only be ensured by her obtaining absolute control over the "Blue Nile", that is "influence" in Abyssinia.

Abyssinia, a country twice as large as Germany has, up to the present, played a comparatively small part in the struggle between the conflicting interests of the world powers, and it owes it to this circumstance alone, that it has remained the

only "independent" State in Africa. (Liberia was given an American "adviser".)

Abyssinia was, it is true, cut off from the sea by the great powers, and thus there came into being, in a direction from North to South, Italian Eritrea and French, English and Italian Somaliland (Jubaland), which form a favourable region for assembling troops for a future attack. When however Italy once attempted to conquer Abyssinia, she was driven back to the coast by English guns.

In recent times however, a lively interest in Abyssinia has developed. French, Italian and English expeditions have traversed Abyssinia and special value has been attached to ethnographical and geographical studies. Geographical journals have been able to report that every river and every stream in Abyssinia has been explored from source to mouth. The secrets of the Webi and the Juba have been discovered just as have those of the Blue Nile.

Abyssinia was discovered, and now the country is beginning to be included in a most striking manner in world politics.

England then had to act rapidly, for the "Negro king" Garway (who in the meantime had been sentenced to five years imprisonment for embezzlement) was planning, with the help of the American Government, to found a Negro colony in Abyssinia. The enterprise failed, but America had in this way shown herself to be a keenly interested party.

And so England first of all looked round for allies and secondly sought an excuse for interfering in Abyssinia.

An ally was soon found in Italy, and the Anglo-Italian textile interests soon perceived that the time had now come for co-operation. England did not take long in finding a pretext for discovering her civilising heart for Abyssinia.

In the "slave commission" of the League of Nations a memorandum was presented by the Government of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, according to which "conscientious scientific investigation" had discovered that nowadays — in the 20th century — slavery and the slave trade still exist, which seriously threaten the safety of his British Majesty's subjects, especially of those in Kenya (British East Africa) and in the British Sudan, and that this slave trade was being carried on in Abyssinia.

The English Government asked for a mandate "to establish ordered conditions in Abyssinia in the interest of humanity".

The commission chose a select committee, but owing to the intrigues of French interested persons — who were backed by the Americans — the plan was wrecked, and the commission, called the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that, if in the interest of humanity slaves were to be freed, this could be done equally well in the Indian Empire of the Emperor of India and King of Great Britain. And thus it came about that Reuter was able to report that festivities had been held in Nepal to celebrate the liberation of the slaves. The "Illustrated London News" produced photographs of these celebrations. England no longer has slaves!

Abyssinia was then accepted into the League of Nations, promised to abolish slavery, and the Regent, Ras Tafari, undertook a journey to London, Paris and Rome.

Then began the bargaining. France promised to declare Djibouti (in French Somaliland) a free harbour for Abyssinia, Italy promised concessions, and England gave not only a royal crown (from the Victoria and Albert Museum), but also an "adviser".

Ras Tafari returned home with this adviser.

The first act of this English "adviser" was a revision of the slave question. In the semi-official "East Africa" of Jan. 22, 1923 we read:

"In March 1924, the Regent Ras Tafari issued an edict for the suppression of slavery. Special judges were authorised to draw up deeds of liberation for the slaves, it being the duty of the Provincial Governor to see that they returned to their homes. The governors and chiefs of tribes and villages were made responsible under heavy penalties for the suppression of any further slave trade. The edict was only in force for nine months as otherwise the precipitate liberation of hundreds of thousands of slaves would lead to a crisis."

An interesting document of capitalistic hypocrisy. England was for the liberation of the slaves as long as she was trying to gain influence over Abyssinia. Now that the latter had its "adviser", the slave question was dropped.

Italy and England continued to negotiate uninterruptedly. The commissioner of the "Soudan Plantation Syndicate", the Governor General of the Soudan, held conferences with the commissioner of the "Societa Agricola Italo-Somala" (the president of which was the Duke of Abruzzi), the Governor of Eritrea, and thus it came about that a community of interests was established.

The "Societa Agricola" has cotton plantations in Eritrea, on the river Gash, which is a tributary of the Adbara, and thus belongs to the district watered by the Nile, and in Jubaland in the district watered by the Webi-Shebéli.

Plans were developed on a large scale. Italy's demand for cotton is to be supplied by these countries. It is assumed that 400,000 hectares are needed for this purpose (in 1924, 16,000 hectares were cultivated). This will be brought about by the English Government handing over for this purpose, the Juba river, which up to now formed the boundary between Kenya and Jubaland, with a hinter-land of 92,000 square miles.

The "Soudan Plantation Syndicate" founded a daughter concern on the Gash, where the Italian plantations are also situated, and in Eritrea the frontiers were regulated. The daughter company was founded under the name of the "Cassala Cotton Company" under the presidency of Mr. A. M. Asquith. There is of course a close community of interests with the "Societa Agricola". The company managed so to contrive matters that the so-called Cassala railway which makes a direct supply of cotton to Port Soudan possible, was built with the money of English workers.

The Anglo-Italian agreement was concluded in London on July 15th, 1924. Italy received as its "sphere of interest" the district containing the sources of the Webi and Juba, i. e. South East Abyssinia, England the districts containing the sources of the Blue Nile, North West Abyssinia.

And thus it came about that Italy ventured on April 13th, 1925 to demand that Egypt should hand over the oasis Djarabub (between Egypt and Tripoli), and that England promised neutrality.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Fifth Congress of the Co-operative Societies of the Soviet Union.

The 5th Congress of the Zentrosoyus (Central Body of the Cooperative Association) was opened in Moscow on March 15th. Six hundred delegates from all parts of the Soviet Union and a large number of functionaries and members of the Moscow Co-operative Societies filled the large meeting hall in serried rows.

The opening words of the chairman of the Zentrosoyus were followed by a number of speeches of welcome by Comrade Andrejev (secretary of the C. C. of the C. P. of Russia), Dogadov (secretary of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, Brown (member of the ECCI. and representative of the C. P. of Great Britain), Kujbyschew (people's commissar for the workers' and peasants' inspection), Meschtscherjakov (Cooperative Section of the ECCI.) and finally Comrade Clara Zetkin.

Greetings had been received from more than 40 foreign cooperative centres and from the International Cooperative Alliance.

Comrade Chintschuk read the

Report of the Managing Committee of the Zentrosoyus and said among other things:

On Oct. 1st. 1923 there were 16,188 Cooperative Societies with 20,120 branches. On Oct. 1st. 1924, the number of societies amounted to 20,920 with 27,478 shops. On Oct. 1st. 1923 we had in the towns 1897 societies with 3216 shops. At the end of the year reported on, there were 3656 Cooperative Societies with 7010 shops in the towns. The predominant type of urban cooperative societies is that with several shops, whereas in the country, societies with only one shop prevail. The number of shareholders in the towns has increased from 2½ to 4½ millions. In recent times (October to March) the number of shareholders has been growing more rapidly in the country than in the towns. During the year in question 15 branches of the Zentrosoyus have been transformed into 6 district associations of cooperative societies.

Thirty three provincial associations have been reorganised as 142 local associations.

The turnover of the Zentrosoyus which, in the financial year 1922/23 amounted to 154 million roubles increased to 194¹/₂ millions in the year reported on. The turnover of the whole system of cooperative societies has however increased on a much larger scale. The turnover of the district associations for instance shows an increase from 76 to 196 millions roubles, the turnover of the provincial and local associations increased from 166 to 440 million roubles. The turnover of the workers' cooperative associations of the towns shows an increase from 248 to 650 million roubles and that of the cooperative societies from 139 to 400 million roubles. The rise in the number of members however proceeds more rapidly than the rise in the share capital and than the average sales per member. The cooperative societies serve not only their own members but also other people and the percentage of the sales to members is still less than that to non-members.

The imports of the Zentrosoyus amounted in the business year 1922/23 to 4,8 million roubles or 3,7% of the total turnover, whereas in the year reported on it reached as high as 9,8 million roubles or 5,6% of the turnover. In the same period, the exports rose from 19 to 42 million roubles or, in percentage of the turnover, from 14,5% to 24%. It deserves to be mentioned that the amount of foreign capital employed in the operations of the Zentrosoyus was increased three and a half times and rose from 2,3% to 7,8% of the total capital. The Zentrosoyus exports amount, on the average, for 10 of the most important articles of export, to 12,5% of the total exports from the Soviet Union.

In the coming year the results already obtained must be consolidated and further developed. The turnover of the cooperative associations must keep pace with the growing development of industry and agriculture. With this object in view we must lay great stress on increasing the capital of the associations. It is easy to see from the average figure for Oct. 1, 1924 that, in spite of the considerable increase in the share capital both in the store organisations of the towns and in the rural cooperative societies, the average amount of share capital per member is still very low. In the same way the average purchase per cooperative member and per head of the population is also low. The activities and initiative of the members should increase on parallel lines with the increase of private capital of the cooperative societies.

In the organisations of the cooperative societies, the realisation of the principle of free election for the administrative and controlling bodies should be strictly observed. There should be more life in the general meetings of the cooperative societies, a closer connection must be established between the cooperative societies and the masses of their members and, in the first place the masses of peasants. The reorganisation activities must for the time be left in abeyance.

The relations between the cooperative societies and the other kinds of cooperative associations must be clearly regulated and, most important of all, an exact distinction must be made between the functions of the cooperative societies and the cooperative agricultural associations. The recently created Inter-Cooperative Central Council should serve as a means to this end, and also should contribute towards bringing the various kinds of cooperative societies into harmony with one another.

The relationship between the cooperative societies and State industry must be further developed by banks and commercial bodies granting more favourable loans to the cooperative societies. The State is meeting the cooperative societies in every way, but the cooperative societies themselves must fulfil to the last letter the obligations they have undertaken.

One of the most important duties of the cooperative stores is to maintain a correct policy as regards prices. During the year reported on, the cooperative stores have influenced the general market to a remarkable degree by their price policy. Whereas in June of last year the prices of the Zentrosoyus were almost on a level with the prices in State trading, in October 1924 only one or two articles cost as much as in State trading; in all other articles, the prices of the Zentrosoyus were lower. Thus in trade with articles dealt in by trustified industry, the Zentrosoyus pursued a very active price policy and must continue to do so. Compared with retail prices in private trade, the prices of the Zentrosoyus were lower by 10—15%. In future also, the campaign against private trade must be carried on by energetically influencing prices, by all-round limitation of the expenses, by improving wholesale methods and by continually reducing the difference between the wholesale and retail prices of the cooperative stores.

The

Report of the Central Workers' Section

was given by its chairman, Comrade Sacharow.

During the year reported on, the Central Workers' Section has, in its economic activities kept in touch with 189 Central Workers' Cooperative Societies. In the same period the Central Workers' Section has enlisted 67 new cooperative societies with altogether 866,000 members as members of the Zentrosoyus. Altogether the Central Workers' Section includes 3 million workers, i. e. not less than 50% of the total number of the trade union members. But the Workers' Section has set itself the task of embracing the whole 100% of trade union members in the workers cooperative societies and of seeing that the workers' budget passes as completely through the hands of the cooperative societies.

In this respect important results can be registered for the year reported on. The turnover of the Workers' Cooperative Societies has increased from quarter to quarter; from 97 millions and 213 millions in the second, third and fourth quarter respectively. At the same time the percentage of wages paid into the Cooperative Societies has increased from 46% in the first quarter to 50% in the last. The Central Workers' Section will only completely fulfil its task of embracing the workers' budget in a still higher degree, if they further perfect their methods of working and as far as possible concentrate the commercial activity of the Workers' Cooperative Societies. In the first months of 1925 considerable progress in this respect has been made.

The supply of the Workers' Cooperative Stores is carried out by the Central Workers' Section exclusively on commission, the rate of commission reckoned being no higher than ¹/₂—1%. This work is carried through with the assistance of a comparatively small number of employees. The average turnover per employee amounted in the year reported on to 712,000 roubles and is steadily on the increase.

The chairman of the

Section of the Transport Workers' Cooperative Societies

reported: the transport workers' cooperative society embraces 541,000 workers on the railways, i. e. 70% of all railway workers. The share capital of the Transport Workers' Cooperative Societies amounted on Oct. 1st. 1924 to 2,160,000 roubles or on an average 4 roubles per member. The total turnover of the Transport workers' Cooperative Association amounted in the last six months of 1924 to 81 million roubles and, in comparison to the turnover in the same period of the previous year, has increased threefold. The original stock of the Transport Workers' Cooperative Society amounts to 13 million roubles. The Transport Workers' Section concludes treaties with the official bodies of State industry for the systematic supply of the transport workers and hopes in this way to arrive at a still greater inclusion of all transport workers in and the maximal supply of their requirements through the Cooperative Societies.

After the debate and the closing words of Comrade Chintschuk, the following

Resolution as to the activities of the managing committee of the Zentrosojus

was passed unanimously:

"The 5th Congress takes cognisance of the fact that the activity of the Managing Committee of the Zentrosoyus as regards the consolidation of the cooperative societies and the improvement of the apparatus of the Zentrosoyus is on the whole satisfactory, at the same time however it emphasises that these results might have been better, had the policy of the Zentrosoyus administration been more determined during the most important turning points of the general economic development of the Soviet Union, and if the whole system of the cooperative societies had been better conducted."

The resolution further declares that decentralisation of the commercial activities of the subordinate cooperative organisations is permissible and desirable, that however all grades of cooperative organisations should conduct their commercial operations with State industry in complete harmony with the commercial plans of the organisations of the association.

In the resolution as to cooperative trade, the 5th Congress calls attention to the necessity of increasing considerably the trade in metal and leather articles, which are the articles chiefly in demand by the peasants. It is further recognised that it is desirable to import from abroad, articles of necessity which are lacking, the Zentrosoyus being bound to demand that articles of every-day requirement should be mainly imported through the cooperative

organisations. Finally the resolution points out that it is necessary to apply the practice of general contracts with State industry on the broadest lines.

In the resolution as to the financial question, the Congress spoke in favour of a further extension of credit to the lower organisations of the cooperative societies. The private capital of the Cooperative Societies must be fortified by raising the price of the shares all round to 5 roubles by Jan. 1st. 1926, and by a simultaneous campaign in the towns for subscriptions to a second issue of shares also at a price of 5 roubles. The Managing Committee of the Zentrosoyus is commissioned to do everything in its power to cheapen the rates for bank and goods credits and to demand a change in the time allowed for credits and a better adaptation of them to the conditions and the rate of sale of goods.

With regard to the report on the work of purchase and sale, a resolution was framed in which the Congress speaks in favour of the organisation of the sale of raw materials and agricultural products abroad exclusively by way of commission. The net profits on the transactions by commission must be reimbursed to the consignees immediately after the goods supplied by them have been realised.

Workers' credit should be organised exclusively by the Co-operative Societies. Credits should only be granted to members up to the amount of six weeks' wages, with repayment in instalments in the course of six months. A permanent assortment of goods, varying according to the season should be prepared for sale on credit.

The new Managing Committee consists of 15 members of whom 11 work permanently in the committee while 4 remain in the provincial organisations and establish the connection with the largest organisations of co-operative societies. Comrade Chintschuk was unanimously re-elected chairman. The other members of the Managing Committee are: Kissin, Sacharow, Pjetunin, Nekrassow, Terr, Sjemiriakow, Pankratow, Sykow, Dikunow, Klimentko, Nitkow, Sorokin, Badajew and Henkin. Further, 8 candidates for the Managing Committee were elected.

The Co-operative Societies Council will consist of 81 members and 71 deputy members. Comrade Dogadow, member of the presidium of the Central Trade Union Soviet was re-elected chairman of the Co-operative Societies' Council.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Third Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union against the Brutalities and the Calumnies of the Zankov Government.

Moscow, 17th of May 1925.

The Third Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union adopted the following resolution:

"The third Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union considers it its duty to declare before the workers of the whole world, before all humanity and before all peoples and States that the working class and the peasantry of the Soviet Union are rendered profoundly indignant by the unheard of barbarities of the Zankov government. To destroy the flower of the working population, to shoot, strangle and subject to mediaeval tortures thousands of human beings, to set up gallows in the public squares and to cover all this with hypocritical phrases of defence of Christian civilisation: only that handful of professional murderers which ventures to call itself the Bulgarian government is capable of all this.

The third Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union passes over with contempt the lying accusations against the Soviet Union in connection with the Sofia explosion, which are only intended to hide the cruel acts of the barbarian hangmen. The Third Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union in the name of millions of workers and peasants declares its deep detestation of and indignation against the hangmen who are spattered with workers' blood from head to foot.

The third Congress of the Soviet Union sends its brotherly greetings to the Bulgarian proletarians and peasants, who are

fearlessly fighting for the emancipation of the Bulgarian people. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union express their firm conviction that the ranks of the Bulgarian people which are cemented together with blood, will sooner or later win their emancipation."

All the delegates of the Soviet Congress rose from their places as a mark of respect for the heroic victims of the Zankov regime of terror.

OUR MARTYRS

Dimiter Tchintulov.

Dimiter Tchintulov is one of the many who have been murdered by the Zankov government, without either trial or sentence, as one of the alleged originators of the Sofia Cathedral outrage. Tchintulov was attacked in his lodgings on 22. April and brutally done to death.

Tchintulov was a simple worker, a proletarian. He entered the Labour Movement at the time of its inception. While still a youth he became a "Tesnjak" and in the year 1903, the year of the split, when he was a dock worker in Burgas, he took an active part in the ideological struggles on the side of the "Tesnjaki" (the orthodox socialists — now the communists).

He is known to the Bulgarian working class as a faithful and self-sacrificing fighter. His forty years life was wholly and entirely devoted to the Movement.

His murderers have put an end to his life all too soon. But his faith in the victory of Communism, which is at the same time the faith of the whole of the working people, they could not destroy. With this faith the working people will be victorious, in spite of everything.

Constantin Schulov (Kotzeto).

This young fighter of twenty five years had abandoned his studies and lived only for the Movement. He spoke little, but he worked hard.

After the seizure of our printing office he organised the duplicating of appeals by means of the type-writer. He was discovered by the authorities and arrested. He was subjected to the most fearful tortures in order to extort a confession from him, but without success. When, in March last, he flung himself from the fourth storey of the premises of the Security Police, the people who were passing at the time saw with indignation and horror that nails had been driven into his feet. He devoted his whole life to the working class. His death serves to mirror the bloody regime of Professor Zankov, which "civilised" Europe considers to be a democratic regime.

Ivan Manev.

This Comrade had also been active since his youth in the Labour Movement, but not with us, not in the leadership of our Party. He came to us after the war.

As a bank official he worked with inexhaustible energy among the commercial clerks, and it is owing to him that their union marches at the head of the Trade Union movement.

After the September defeat in the year 1923, he worked actively in building up the Party and in its preparation for fresh struggles.

On 23. April, he was foully murdered, when he was scarcely 37 years of age. He was not able to see the victory in which he believed as firmly as very few believe. The workers of Bulgaria will not forget him.