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## Seventh Anniversary of the Death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

By Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

The 15th of January next will be the seventh anniversary of the day on which the two never-to-be-forgotten leaders of the German proletariat and of the international labour movement, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were murdered by the German counter-revolution led by the social democrat Noske.

With the cunning which the German counter-revolution displays in all its acts, it perceived that in striking down Rosa and Karl it was striking down the two leaders whose experience and knowledge, whose revolutionary passion and revolutionary will rendered them irreplaceable and indispensable to the German working class and the young Communist Party. During the war German militarism had kept its two most bitter enemies under lock and key. This action of the Kaiser's generals availed them nothing. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht succeeded, with the help of the small Spartakusbund, which took the first steps in illegal activity, in appealing to the masses week after week by means of stirring leaflets and Spartakus letters and in inspiring them to the fight against the imperialist war and for

Socialism. After November 1918 the counterrevolution was afraid that these two most dangerous opponents would soon again escape from prison and continue with greater success their work for the revolution. The physical annihilation of the two revolutionaries was the only sure means of putting a stop to their activity. The January fights had shown to the counter-revolution what force even a still unorganised revolutionary working class is capable of exerting in civil war. How much greater therefore must the danger for the bourgeoisie become if the storms of revolutionary passion were to be led into the channel of an armed struggle systematically prepared and conducted by the Communist Party. The speech of Rosa Luxemburg at the foundation Conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Spartakusbund) showed the counter-revolution the full extent of this danger. Spontaneous and local armed outbreaks were, at this time, not even undesired by the counter-revolution: the cunning social democratic leaders in fact did everything possible in order by their own provocations to kindle such local

outbreaks and to weaken the workers by bloodshed. The appeal of Rosa Luxemburg to undermine the foundations of the bourgeois social and economic order by employing the political mass strike, according to the example of the Russian Revolution in 1905 and by the setting up of workers' and soldiers' councils after the pattern of the Russian revolution of 1917, to draw the semi-proletarian elements in the town and country into the revolutionary stream and then prepare for the final powerful blow — that was the most dangerous threat for the German bourgeoisie. Fritz Ebert and General Gröner, in alliance, by dismissing the revolutionary President of the Police, Eichhorn, provoked the January fights, whose outspoken aim was to render the Communist Party illegal and at the same time render the revolutionary leaders harmless. The revolutionary working class could not avoid the struggle, it had, in the fight, to acquire the experiences which the older parties had acquired as a natural heritage of a longer tradition.

For the bourgeois counter-revolution, which supplied the weapons and officers, social democracy supplied the political and social catch words for the fight against Spartacus. A flood of leaflets was poured forth upon the unenlightened proletariat; innumerable pamphlets, paid for and published by the bourgeoisie, contained nothing else than the assertions of social democrats against the possibility and necessity of the immediate realisation of Socialism. With sham-socialist arguments the Spartacists and Left Independent Socialists were represented as anarchists. Only the confusion created in the working class as a result of this propaganda rendered it possible for the bourgeoisie to prepare the agitation and the armed struggle against the Communist movement in Germany. Only upon the soil which had been prepared by the incitement of the social democrats, could that mood grow up which found its expression in the open appeals for the murder of the revolutionary leaders. The real question is not whether the group round Sklarz and Scheidemann themselves promised rewards for the murders, although there is considerable evidence to prove this. The formation of White Guards, with Noske, Kuttner, Hörning and Heilmann at the head, first encouraged the monarchist officers to stop at nothing and proceed right up to the slaughtering of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and countless workers.

Great as is the shame of the social democracy on account of its counter-revolutionary activity during that time — still greater is the heroism of the German revolutionary working class which in those weeks plunged into the struggle without experience and adequate leadership. This revolutionary will is a proof that in the fight of the working class against capitalism it is neither climate, race, language, frontiers nor historically determined capacities which play the decisive role; the hatred against oppression and misery will lead the German working class to victory; and in these fights the workers will be inspired by the glowing example of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and their numerous fellow-fighters who were slaughtered by the counter-revolution.

## THE BALKANS

### The Renunciation of the Crown Prince and the Preparations for a Bloodless Coup d'Etat in Roumania.

By J. Socor (Bucharest).

The whole official and semi-official Press of Roumania and the bourgeois newspapers in other countries are trying to represent Crown Prince Carol's renunciation of the Roumanian crown as a purely dynastic concern, based exclusively on motives of a family or of an intimately personal nature.

This however is by no means the case. The Crown Prince's renunciation is on the contrary an affair of general political significance. It is already having its effect on the political life of the country, the extent of which can only be estimated on broad lines.

The ex-Crown Prince had made his insubordination talked about as long ago as in 1918. At that time, it was actually a question of a personal concern, the only political consequence of which was the ridiculous offer of the prince to the social

democratic party to enter the ranks of the fighting proletariat. In the present case it is quite a different matter.

The prince has in the meantime shed his skin and turned into a genuine sentimental Fascist. In a number of confessions which he gave to a Warsaw newspaper a few weeks ago, he made no secret of his exuberant sympathies with Fascism.

When, in the Spring of 1925, a Fascist murder plot against leading political personages was discovered, the fact came to light that the threads of this conspiracy lead directly to a number of commanding generals and to the Crown Prince.

By its whole nature, this princely Fascism was by no means a factor which could make even a small number of the Bratianu dictators really tremble in their shoes. The generals who supported him have indeed "grown old in honour" as murderers of workers and peasants, but they possess no spark of political understanding. They may be capable of carrying through a putsch, but not of drawing the full political value out of this military act; that must be reserved for the Liberals.

Their Fascism is directed above all against the Bratianu Government, which is not yet completely Fascist, but which, it is true, has created through its economic and social policy conditions which provided a certain favourable soil for Fascism in Roumania.

The growing discontent and indignation of the broad masses, the plague of corruption which permeates the whole country and the inadequate organisation and enlightenment of the working population of Roumania, in brief, the general condition of despair fertilizes the Fascist idea. The caricature of a Parliament which was elected by force and arbitrariness and is thoroughly corrupt, accentuates this condition of despair, with the result that the demand for a strong man, the panacea of the Fascist dictatorship becomes more and more audible, especially among the petty bourgeois masses of Roumania.

All this is expressed in the fact that almost all the bourgeois opposition parties possess a more or less strong Fascist wing or groups, and that even the Government party feels compelled to equip and organise Fascist and anti-Semitic bands which, in difficult situations in questions of internal policy, are intended to carry out decoy manoeuvres.

In the meantime however the period of legislature of the Bratianu Parliament will soon come to an end. The elections for the Agricultural Chamber which took place in August 1925, in which the opposition parties received more than 60% of the votes registered, showed the Government plainly enough that even elections held under the worst terror cannot bring success to the present Government party. They are perfectly well aware that even the reactionary reforms of the franchise and administration cannot restore their fortune.

The Liberal party, which is in reality nothing but dictatorship of the Roumanian financial and feudal oligarchy is opposed to the Fascist dictatorship of sulking princes and rebellious generals. It is however especially opposed to such a dictatorship when it is directed against itself, when it does not itself direct and organise the dictatorship. It makes use of the military for its own purposes but it wishes to rule alone.

Crown Prince Carol's renunciation opens up brilliant prospects of their rule becoming permanent. By inflating the Panama affair in the air service, which was under the direction of the Crown Prince, and by a finely woven game of Byzantine intrigue, the Liberal party has succeeded in forcing the Crown Prince to make his renunciation.

Mihai, the four year old son of Prince Carol succeeds him as Crown Prince. Because of the minority of the heir to the throne, a regency of three has to be appointed, as is decreed by the Constitution modified by the Liberals, and this fact is to a certain extent the first prize which the Liberal party has at the moment drawn. The King, a decisive constitutional factor in Roumania, has hardly recovered from a severe illness. The doctors prophesy that he cannot live long. His death or his permanent illness however, would mean that the royal power would be taken over by the regency. On the basis of the resolutions of the last Privy Council however, this consists of the following persons: the President of the court of cassation Buzdugan, a fanatical partisan of Bratianu, the patriarch of Bucharest Miron Christea who received his office on the strength of his political and family relations to Bratianu, and the 18 year old Prince Nikolai, an insignificant youth who plays tennis and golf.

In view of the approaching municipal and parliamentary elections this spectre of the Liberal regency has a very great

influence on the political conditions of the country. It is to no purpose to discuss the fact of this regency, and no sham-fights, such as have been carried on up to now by the opposition, will avail against it. The bourgeois opposition, as it does not want to fight, will penitently knuckle under to the Liberals. The Liberals will be able to realise their long cherished plan, the coming election will give Roumania a Government of Liberal puppets. The preparations for a bloodless coup d'état in Roumania have thus arrived at a decisive stage and, in order to complete the picture, this development of things is being vigorously promoted by English imperialism, which realises that the Balkan peoples will only shed their blood on its behalf if they are ruled by all-powerful dictatorships.

To-day there is in Roumania only one single factor which is equal to the task of opposing all these plans and utterly destroying them — that is the Communist Party of Roumania. By tenacious and indefatigable work, by an unrelenting daily campaign, it is organising and leading the working masses to a fight against the liberal regime of robbery and murder, unmasking the sham-opposition of the bourgeois party leaders, and thus preparing the ground for the decisive battle in which will stand, on the one side the Roumanian financial and feudal oligarchy and the Fascist bourgeoisie, and, on the other side, the masses of workers and peasants, of the discontented strata of the petty bourgeoisie and of the oppressed national minorities under the leadership of the Communist Party.

## The "Change of Government" in Bulgaria.

By P. Z. (Sofia).

The executioner Zankoff has come to grief over the internal chaos and the contradictions into which the regime of June 9th has led the country, as well as thanks to the discontent and the disgust of the masses in the country and the campaign of the international proletariat against this murderous regime.

The disintegration had begun to spread to the circles supporting Zankoff. The Macedonian deputies who had been elected by the help of the Zankoff police and who had supported him, proposed in a parliamentary declaration, a vote of censure on account of his policy. The parliamentary majority of the Government sabotaged Stojentschew, the Minister for Buildings who thereupon immediately resigned. All Zankoff's efforts to persuade him to withdraw his resignation, were in vain.

The ministerial crisis became acute in consequence of this first breach in the Zankoff Cabinet. The draft of a Government Bill for a limited amnesty was discussed in the Parliamentary Commission of the Ministry of Justice. Not only the deputies of the opposition but even the majority of the Government deputies in this Commission were in favour of extending the amnesty to all "crimes" which had been committed since April 16th 1925. Minister Boboschewski and a small group of Government deputies were opposed to such an extension of the amnesty Bill so that the question was adjourned without a concrete decision. In the plenary session of Parliament, not only the Opposition but also the Government deputies declared themselves in favour of a wider amnesty and against the anti-"calming" policy of Zankoff.

These are the events which have occurred in the last few days and through which those who had hitherto supported Zankoff have recognised that he must inevitably suffer shipwreck; they therefore resolved to let the ship perish, but not until they themselves had left it.

On January 3rd, three days after Zankoff had declared that there was neither a Government crisis nor a crisis of the "Demokratitshewski Sgowor", he was obliged, having failed to form a new Cabinet under his own leadership, to seek the support of the King, who however also refused it him. Thus, on the same day, he announced the resignation of the whole Cabinet, and Ljaptschew was entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet.

What is the new Government? It springs from the midst of the "Demokratitshewski Sgowor", Zankoff's Government party, which came into being through the fusion of the old bourgeois parties with the Fascist putch organisation "Naroden Sgowor". The following joined the new Government: the representatives of the party groups in the Zankoff party Ljaptschew, Buraw, Professor Moloff and Najdenoff; the ministers of the

former Zankoff Cabinet, General Wolkoff, R. Madjaroff and D. Christoff; the reserve officers of the "Naroden Sgowor" and of the League of Reserve Officers, Colonel Slaveiko Wassileff, Major Kimon Georgieff and Professor Kuleff (up to then President of the Zankoff Parliament).

The Liaptschew Government is characterised by the triumvirate Liaptschew, General Wolkoff and Slaveiko Wassileff. (During the fights after June 9th, Slaveiko Wassileff commanded the Fascist bands in the town of Tatar-Pazardschik against Stambuliski's peasants. He took Stambuliski prisoner and handed him over to Colonel Charlakoff, who murdered him by the way.) The new Government which has come to the helm since the shameful and well-deserved fall of Zankoff, is only a new edition of the government of the professors and generals of the White Terror and of the counter-revolution of June 9th.

## Appeal of the Balkan Bureau of the International Red Aid to the Proletariat of all Countries.

The storm of protest of the international proletariat and the civilised world against the atrocious stream of blood in Bulgaria, is beginning to become uncomfortable even to the cunning bands of murderers who, as rulers of Bulgaria, have slaughtered the best of their own people. As the whole monstrous blood-guiltiness with which the abhorrent regime has burdened itself, is personified in the name of the Prime Minister Zankoff, the wire-pullers of the White Terror in Bulgaria are at present trying to put the person of Zankoff into the background and thus to break the brunt of the attacks against the "Zankoff" regime. In his place they have put the bloodhound Liaptschew, who indeed was a zealous organiser of all the carnage of the Bulgarian people, but is not so well known as such to the general public as is Zankoff.

Inspired by those who are interested, a number of papers are now actually publishing hymns of praise to the "democrat" Liaptschew, and even progressive papers write of the "fall" of the Zankoff regime. This is however by no means the case. Liaptschew is above all the President of that Parliamentary fraction which, under the title of the "Democratic Entente", covered with its name all the Government's deeds of blood and infamy. Liaptschew is the man who, in a Parliamentary debate on the official murders said: "Bulgaria has sacrificed 200,000 persons for the defence of the country, what does it matter if 20,000 are now killed so that the State may be saved." In Vladaia and Grona Banja near Sofia, the same Liaptschew, in his character as Minister of the Interior, had 2000 soldiers slaughtered who had come back from the front, full of indignation that Liaptschew had left the Macedonian army in the lurch. Liaptschew however is also an exponent of the bloody-thirsty Bulgarian big bourgeoisie and owns a large share of the Bulgarian tobacco industry.

The mere fact that Liaptschew is Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior seems to be a sure indication that the blood-stained path followed by Zankoff in Bulgaria will not be abandoned. But the other ministers also are members of the Zankoff party and made themselves prominent in the coup d'état of June 9th and in the subsequent massacres. Wolkoff, the material originator of all the great slaughters which have pushed the Bulgaria of to-day down into the worst barbarism, remains as War Minister. The new Minister of Railways, Colonel Georgieff, is the President of the ill-famed Military League, the Minister of Commerce, Kuleff again, is the President of the Fascist association "Kubrat", a secret society which played the most prominent part in the putch. Kuleff and Georgieff however with Zankoff are members of the so-called "Small Convention", another secret organisation which, during the whole period of the Zankoff Government, actually conducted the affairs of State and made the White Terror the leading principle in the State.

Simultaneously with this feint, another, still more shameful manoeuvre is being tried. The Zankoff agents abroad have recently been spreading the news of an anticipated general amnesty for political crimes in Bulgaria. The communications of the Bulgarian Press with regard to the amnesty project in question, which was submitted to Parliament, show as clearly as one could wish, that it is a question of a sham-amnesty,

which is in the first place to benefit those Bulgarian war mongers and war criminals, who had been accused and condemned during the time whilst the Stambuliski Government was still in power.

Among the real political prisoners, i. e. those upright communists and members of the peasant party who resisted the sanguinary regime of Zankoff, only the few surviving prisoners of the June affair and of the September insurrection of 1923 are to be included in the amnesty; but not even all of these, for the members of the C. C. of the Communist Party and the leaders of the peasant party are excluded. As regards the amnesty for the emigrants living in Jugoslavia, it is very problematical, for up to now all emigrants who have been granted an amnesty and were so naive as to return, have been imprisoned and murdered.

We call upon the proletarians of all countries to make these facts known to the public as widely as possible, in order to check-mate the decoy manoeuvres of the Bulgarian executioners. The campaign against the White Terror in Bulgaria must be continued with all possible resolution and energy, the more so because all that has been done by way of protest, has already produced one great success — Zankoff has retired because, thanks to our revelations, he has been exposed in his true colours to Europe. It is however only a change of persons and not of system. The campaign must therefore be carried on with this in view, on the lines of the slogans already issued.

The Balkan Bureau of the International Red Aid.

## Children as Victims of the White Terror in Bulgaria.

By Robert.

The following article was written before the recent change of government in Bulgaria, but this in no way reduces the importance of the facts given or in any renders less necessary international action on behalf the young victims of White Terror in Bulgaria. Ed.

The children of the working class of Bulgaria are suffering under the White Terror, not only indirectly in consequence of the persecution, arrest and murder of their parents and adult brothers and sisters but, in spite of their tender age and in spite of their "political immaturity" from the bourgeois point of view, they are exposed to the same persecutions including condemnation and murder as the adults. In Bulgaria, dozens of children have been and are being killed, others are condemned to death, hundreds of children were arrested with their parents, especially at the time of the great wholesale arrests, and interned, others again were separated from their parents, left to their own devices and exposed to death from starvation.

After the suppression of the September revolution in 1923, and the carnage organised by the Government bandits among the persons arrested and imprisoned, a campaign of murder took place in the towns and villages among the families and connections of the insurgent workers and peasants. The Government bands and especially the Wrangelists and Macedonians who had been bribed, beheaded and killed even quite small children with the cry of rage: "We must exterminate communism down to the roots; therefore we must destroy the children of the cursed communists also lest they grow into avengers!" Many such murders of children are to be recorded, especially in the villages of the Vratza district, the centre of the September revolution.

In all the other big massacres also which were instituted by the murderous Government of Zankoff-Volkoff among the workers of Bulgaria, children were killed, especially in the last carnage after the outrage in the cathedral of Sofia, dozens of children being killed; further in the incinerated villages of Muchovo (Pazardschik district) Osmanli (Plovdivic district) and others. Up to now the following typical cases of murder of children have been confirmed:

In the immediate neighbourhood of the station of Belovo, 26 persons were slaughtered in a meadow. Not far from this place, a whole family, father, mother and a 6 year old child were also found slaughtered.

It was such a horrible sight that peasants, passing by, fainted.

In the village of Alexandrovo, Svishtov district, a whole family consisting of father, mother, grandfather, daughter, son-in-law and four children between the ages of four and twelve were found murdered in a bestial way.

In Sofia, the wife of Captain Krotneff was murdered in bed with her infant in the same night in which her husband, who was suspected of sympathising with and abetting united front fighters, was arrested and his corpse thrown into the street.

The 14 year old son of the "illegal" Borometschkoff from Sofia whose father fell in a heroic fight, was arrested and cruelly tortured in order to extort from him statements as to the whereabouts and the activity of his father. As he would betray nothing, he was killed.

No small number of the children of the thousands of persons arrested and driven out of the country were literally left to themselves and died of starvation. We will only quote one case of this kind here:

There lived in Sofia in the Czar Simeon street a woman worker called Dimitrova, the wife of an emigrant. After the explosion in the cathedral she was arrested and afterwards interned. Her two children, a boy of twelve and a girl of eight were left without any help. No one dared to stand by them for fear of being suspected of abetting illegal elements. The two unfortunate children were admitted to hospital shortly before they died of starvation. It was too late to save them and their mother went out of her mind in her despair.

The number of children arrested and interned is also enormous. At the time of the wholesale arrests after the September insurrection and the outrage in the cathedral of Sofia, the prisons were inadequate to hold the large number of men, women and children arrested, and barracks, schools and even private houses had to be used as prisons. The children were threatened and tortured in the same way as the adults, in order to extort from them statements as to the whereabouts or illegal activities of their parents and adult relations.

In the trials of young persons, especially of school children, as is well known, boys and girls of 16 and less, were accused of conspiracy (taking part in communist education circles) and the public prosecutor even demanded that they be sentenced to death. The trials of schoolchildren in Berkovitz and Sofia are characteristic examples.

The distress and misery of thousands and thousands of children of the arrested workers, peasants and intellectuals among the people, beggar description. More than 4000 people are at present interned in Bulgaria for political reasons! The thousands of children of the more than 20,000 workers, peasants and intellectuals killed during the 2½ years rule of the sanguinary Zankoff Government, are in similar distress. These children are not only deprived of their parents and relations, the murderous Government even condemns any assistance given them as abetting illegal persons! Even foreign humanitarian and cultural circles are not allowed to give them help. Money sent for this purpose, is either confiscated, as was the case with the sum sent by the English delegation of women or such delegations are turned out of the country (Czech delegation) or are refused entry to the country (Vienna, Austria) and (Basle, Switzerland).

The courageous part taken by a large number of children in the September insurrection and their attitude towards the tortures show how the children of the working population of Bulgaria react to these persecutions. The following examples are characteristic of the psychological effect on the children of the horrible atmosphere of blood in the present Bulgaria.

In the memorandum "Bulgaria's Stream of Blood", published by the "German League for Human Rights", the following report appeared on p. 28:

"The school inspector Dr. N. Pentschiff writes as follows on the effect of the events in Bulgaria: ('Radical', May 27th, 1925): 'Ask them (the children) about the recent sad events in public life, and you will come across incredible curiosities. My son, a boy in the third class for instance, told me three days ago, that they are very fond of playing communists in school, one is Friedmann (a communist hanged in Sofia), another Peter Abadjeff (a communist condemned to death), a third Petrini (a peasant leader and deputy murdered in prison and sentenced to death when he was dead), a fourth Minkoff (a murdered communist) etc. The other boys are the police who are to persecute, arrest and condemn the first group. I was surprised, even children in the elementary schools then live through these events!'"

The inhabitants of that part of Sofia in which Friedmann etc. were executed, relate that children, in playing at a public execution, actually hanged the child who was representing Friedmann!

Two months after the outrage of April 16th, an inquiry was made in some of the secondary schools of Sofia among the boys of 11-13, as to their attitude towards the outrage, with the following result: 70% condemned it; 20% declared it to be a well deserved reply to the speculators, usurers, exploiters and executioners of the people; 10% expressed the opinion that it was an atrocity but that those who carried it out acted from noble motives against the oppressors and tortures of the people.

Both the school teachers and the bourgeois Press were bitterly disappointed at the result of the inquiry. If we bear in mind the sanguinary atmosphere of terror of those times, if we recall the reactionary school regime under Zankoff as Minister for Education and remember that most of the children of the persecuted communists and members of the Peasants' League were excluded from school, we must acknowledge that the 30% of the scholars gave a correct verdict of the children of Bulgaria on the murderous regime of Zankoff and Wolkoff.

On the resumption of the international Bulgarian campaign, the proletariat of the whole world must insist upon:

Immediate amnesty for the parents and adult brothers and sisters of the Bulgarian children who are under arrest!

State support for the orphans whose fathers and mothers have been murdered without any kind of verdict or legal procedure, or by the court-martial!

Permission to give support to the children of the victims of the White Terror!

Permit to leave the country for orphans so that they can be admitted to proletarian or humanitarian children's homes!

An enquiry into the atrocities in Bulgaria and the punishment of the guilty persons!

## POLITICS

### Comrade Lanzutsky before the Appeal Court.

By L. O. (Warsaw).

At the end of December 1925 there took place before the Warsaw Appeal Court two trials of Stanislaus Lanzutsky, a communist member of parliament who has been kept in prison for more than a year under preventative arrest.

The Appeal Court first dealt with the Warsaw case in which the "Defensive" (Political Police) based their accusation on a speech delivered by Comrade Lanzutsky on the 21st of April 1924 at a meeting of the members of parliament in the Starynkiewicz Square.

As a result of statements made by the spies of the "Defensive" — the only witnesses for the Prosecution — Comrade Lanzutsky was accused of having called for a political overthrow, to be carried out on the 1st of May. After the reading of the evidence sent by the Local Court the Public Prosecutor commenced his speech and fully upheld the accusation. Dr. Duracz who defended Comrade Lanzutsky demanded the withdrawal of the charge, as Lanzutsky as a communist member of parliament had at Starynkiewicz Square only given expression to those ideas which he had often championed in the sejm. In so doing he was only fulfilling his duty as a member of parliament. Article 21 of the Constitution states:

"Members of parliament cannot be called to account for their activity either within or outside the Sejm, in so far as it comes within the sphere of their duties as members of parliament".

After a short and passionate "final word" by the accused, which was a splendid reply to the speech of the Public Prosecutor, the judgment was pronounced which confirmed the sentence of the lower court — three years hard labour.

Thereupon the appeal in regard to the Lodz case was heard. In this case also the appeal court carried out a similar comedy. The Lodz trial relates to the meeting addressed by Lanzutsky in Pabjanitz on the 10th July 1924. The witnesses — again consisting exclusively of police spies — of course maintained that Lanzutski had called for the setting up of committees of action, the arming of the proletariat and the carrying out of the general strike.

Comrade Lanzutsky again delivered a sharp and effective speech, in which he stressed the fact that the Lodz Public Prosecutor had addressed a letter to the Sejm demanding that he (Lanzutsky) be handed over in order that he might be made an example of.

"It is obvious, said Lanzutsky, that the political aim of the trial was determined beforehand, that is to set up a "warning" example, in order to terrorise the workers' and peasants' opposition and to compel them to relinquish their unrelenting fight against your system and your government. . . . You want to imprison me for seven years because I have ventured to express communist fighting slogans for a new world order."

The Public Prosecutor in his speech adduced as a proof of the danger which threatens the bourgeoisie from the committee of action, the appeal directed against this committee by the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.). Reference to the counter-revolutionary attitude of the P. P. S. has already become a constant "argument" in the mouth of the Polish Prosecutors when accusing the Communists.

Comrade Lanzutsky in his "final word", basing himself on hundreds of examples, exposed the true character of the Polish constitution. This speech was continually interrupted by the President of the Court, so that Comrade Lanzutsky finally abandoned his speech as a protest against such a method of procedure on the part of the "democratic court".

The court of appeal again confirmed the sentence of the Lower Court, under which Comrade Lanzutsky was again condemned to three years imprisonment with hard labour.

The comedy is ended: Comrade Lanzutsky leaves the court. At the door he sends greetings to his family and his friends, while Vojvodzki, a member of parliament belonging to the Independent Peasant Party calls out in a loud voice: "Long live Lanzutsky, member of parliament!" At once there appear at his side some spies, court functionaries and a police commissioner with the intention of arresting the demonstrator; when they ascertain that he is a member of parliament, they regretfully withdraw.

The fight for the release of comrade Lanzutsky from the Polish prison is an urgent task for the international proletariat.

### The Question of Old Age Insurance in Austria.

By A. Ketzlik (Vienna).

During the last 20 years, the Austrian Parliament has, at various times, concerned itself with this demand of the workers. In 1918 after the revolution, the social democratic Ministers omitted to pass a law as to old age insurance, although, on every occasion, and especially before parliamentary elections, they include the slogan of old age pensions in their programme. In 1924, the Austrian Social Democrats introduced a Bill for the insurance of aged and disabled persons, so as to give the masses the impression that they were fighting for these demands.

The Ramek Christian Socialist Government has also drawn up a draft Bill on the basis of this social democratic Bill, which is at present being discussed in the Social Insurance Committee of the Parliament.

The Social Democrats are in opposition to this Government Bill and declare it to be inadequate. The interesting thing is that the Social Democrats by their opposition are actually opposing the most important clauses of their own Bill. For the Government has taken the most important and decisive measures for its Bill word for word from the social democratic Bill.

The age limit for drawing the old age pension in the Government Bill is, exactly as in the social democratic one, the end of the 65th year. The amount of the pension is, in the Government Bill from 26-75 Schillings monthly. In the social democratic Bill it was 33-60 Schillings, and was then raised by a resolution of the Vienna Chamber of Labour to 45-97 Schillings a month. As in the social democratic Bill, the Government Bill also provides that the pension may be used for paying the costs of the recipient in a home for disabled or old persons or a similar institution.

When the social democratic Bill was laid before the Vienna Chamber of Labour for its approval, the Communist fraction of the Chamber proposed reducing the age limit from 65 to 60

for men and 55 for women since, according to statistics, only 1% of the workers employed in industry live to the age of 65. The Communist fraction of the Chamber further proposed to fix the pension at 90% of the wages arranged by joint agreement, i. e., an average of about 72—180 Schillings per month or, as an alternative in case this proposal should be rejected, to fix the pension, as with some categories of employees, at 30—90% of the wages paid according to joint agreement. Finally, the Communist fraction of the Chamber, in addition to several other proposals, suggested eliminating the regulation according to which the pension could be used for paying costs in a home for old or disabled persons.

All these proposals of the Communist fraction of the Chamber were rejected by the Social Democratic majority in the Chamber in common with the Christian Socialist and German National minority on the grounds that such a Bill could never be passed against the opposition of the bourgeois majority parties in Parliament.

In the present negotiations in Parliament with regard to old age insurance, the social democratic deputies have had the effrontery to oppose, in the Government Bill, these, their own regulations, the alteration of which they rejected when it was proposed by the Communist fraction of the Chamber, with the same arguments with which the Communists opposed these regulations in the social democratic and the Government Bills.

Now, all of a sudden, they explain to the workers that the age limit for drawing the old age pension is too high, since "hardly 3% of the workers reach the age of 65". They find the amount of the pension in the Government Bill too low and demand the sums fixed by the Vienna Chamber of Labour. They describe the use of the pension for paying costs in a home for old or disabled persons as a "confiscation of the pension".

The social democratic deputies can afford to indulge in this shameless demagogy only because, in spite of the repeated demands of the Communists, they have only divulged the contents of the Government Bill to the workers and not those of their own social democratic Bill. They refuse to hear of a referendum by the workers on the social democratic Bill and that of the Government as well as of the amendments proposed by the Communist fraction of the Chamber which the Communists demand.

As far as the workers are familiar with the Bills, they reject the chief regulations which are identical in the social democratic and the Government Bills and approve of the Bill as altered by the proposals of the Communist fraction of the Chamber.

The present negotiations in Parliament do not give any prospect of even this sham old age pension Bill becoming a reality; the workers will not live to see it and as far as they do, to a very small extent live to see it, they will hardly enjoy it at all or only in a very insufficient measure.

As throughout the last 20 years, the Government again declares that old age insurance for the workers can only be passed into law if at the same time the insurance of independent persons also becomes law. The preliminaries required however for the organisation of the insurance of independent persons exist as little to-day as they have done during the last 20 years. The employers on the other hand are of the opinion that old age insurance, of which they approve, can only be spoken of, if the workers are prepared to discuss the legal 8 hours' day and the holiday law. Finally, the Government declares that old age insurance can only pass into law in so far as the "social burdens of industry" permit.

Old age insurance will apparently only become a reality through lame compromises, which is what the social democrats reckon on when they declare that this time old age insurance must become law, because the social democratic deputies will not vote for the necessary laws of the Government in Parliament unless the Government agrees to pass old age insurance into law.

This promise, made by the social democratic leaders to the workers, has not so far been kept. On account of the Geneva negotiations, the Government urgently needed the State Budget. The Social Democrats began their obstruction in Parliament with the negotiations on the Budget, but abandoned it when the Government, in common with the bourgeois majority parties, agreed to prolong the emergency unemployment contributions at the cost of the workers. They forgot to obstruct the abolition

of the rent restriction act and to insist upon the passing of the old age pension Bill.

At present therefore, there is not even a prospect of this shadow of a social democratic old age insurance Bill being passed by a lame compromise. Above all the workers must reject this phantom of old age insurance — and as far as they are familiar with it, they do so and refuse to make the slightest concession for this fraudulent old age insurance.

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The Fight for Trade Union Unity in the Balkans.

By Robert.

The question of the unity of the trade union movement has received the greatest actuality in the Balkans also. The pressure of the masses and of the independent trade unions in the Balkan countries has already succeeded in compelling the Reformists to agree to enter into negotiations. The Reformists had hoped that, thanks to the savage persecutions of the independent trade unions, the mass of the workers would join their trade unions which were unmolested by the authorities. Their hopes were however bitterly disappointed; the workers did not come to them, they are demanding an alliance of all existing trade union forces in order successfully to overcome the offensive of capital and reaction.

As is well known, there are in the Balkan countries, besides the reformist trade unions which are weaker than the Red, independent trade unions, other numerous autonomous trade unions, which belong neither to a national or an international centre. As a result of this disunion and splitting, the workers in the Balkans are in an incomparably worse situation than the workers of other countries. The class-fighting independent trade unions are mercilessly persecuted in every country and are formally or actually placed outside the pale of the law.

The unprecedented economic crisis which is constantly becoming more acute and is expressed in an army of unemployed, numbering hundreds of thousands — incidentally, there is no State support of the unemployed in any of the Balkan countries — and in an enormous increase of the cost of living and a disregard of the simplest regulations for the protection of the workers, compels the workers in view of this intolerable situation, to demand the unity of the trade union movement; the initiative of the independent trade unions in this respect is absolutely prompted by the vital interests of the broad masses of workers.

In the following we give a survey of the present position of the fight for trade union unity in the individual Balkan countries.

#### Jugoslavia.

The fight for trade union unity is becoming visibly more accentuated. The Reformists, having in the beginning concealed themselves under the mask of demagogic confidence-tricks in order to reject unity, resorted to a large scale manoeuvre with the object of splitting up the independent trade unions when, in summer 1925, the pressure of the masses was becoming more and more intense and when they were supported by the treachery of the centralists in the Central Committee for the independent trade unions. It is true, they gave up their demand for unconditional recognition of the Amsterdam International which they had made for the sake of prestige, but demanded instead equal representation (instead of proportional) at the Unity Congress. When however the independent trade unions unmasked the treacherous attitude of the centralists, and the manoeuvre of the Reformists, who only wanted unity from above and put into the background the chief task, that of creating unity from below, and revealed these machinations to the broad masses, the Reformists, supported by the police, changed their tactics to an attack on the independent trade unions. Thus for instance, on October 8th, two days before the "Unity Congress" called by the Reformists, the independent trade unions were excluded from the local Chamber of Labour in Belgrade, on the pretext that they had shown themselves

to be opposed to unity (!), that they were not political but party organisations and kept up relations with the Red Trade Union International etc. The Minister for Social Welfare even declared that as long as these accusations of the Belgrade Chamber of Labour were justified, the independent trade unions could not be recognised as trade unions at all.

The "Unity Congress" fixed by the Reformists for October 10th—12th, was de facto only a Congress of the reformist "Central Workers Federation". It was plainly evident that not only had the manoeuvre to split up the independent trade unions failed but that they had been unable to attract the autonomous trade unions. — There were 100 delegates at the Congress. The nature of the Congress was cleverly characterised by a delegate from Saitchar (Serbia) who said that they were not representatives of workers but paid employees of the Chambers of Labour and of the sickness insurance societies, elected by no one. Even the bourgeois Press described the solemn proclamation of "unity" as a failure, as the delegates at the Congress were not workers but employees.

Simultaneously with this "Unity Congress", the plenum of the independent trade unions was sitting, and it proposed to the delegates of the "Unity Congress" the following as a platform for unity. The foundations of trade union unity shall be; the class war, independence from parties, democratic centralism, the fight for the demands of the day, the right of coalition, amnesty, resistance to the persecution of the working class. The Unity Congress is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation and to decide the question of international affiliation by a simple majority and also to elect the Central Committee in proportion to the strength of the individual groups. The united trade unions shall affiliate to the Anglo-Russian trade union committee.

The fight for trade union unity is being continued on this platform. The centralists who have exposed themselves both by their treacherous attitude and their subsequent denunciation of the other members of the Central Council of the independent trade unions as "paid agents of Moscow", are condemned by their own members and are now completely isolated. — The approaching Congress of the independent trade unions will consider the question of trade union unity as one of its chief tasks and will undoubtedly give a new and vigorous impulse to the movement for unity.

#### Roumania.

After the Congress at Cluj, the organisations which were excluded from the reformist Trade Union Federation found themselves compelled to form the "Unitarian" trade union Federation, which immediately made proposals to the Reformists with regard to unity; these were however rejected. At the present moment, the will of the Roumanian proletariat to strengthen its fighting front by re-uniting the trade union forces, is so strong that this question has become the central question of the Roumanian Labour movement. The Reformists who, until a short time ago, slandered and calumniated the partisans of unity, can no longer directly resist the negotiations for unity. They are therefore turning it into a question of principle.

Apart from the reformist and unitarian trade unions, there are in Roumania a number of autonomous trade unions.

At a conference of a number of unitarian trade union associations, which was held in Temesvar on March 1st and 2nd 1925, the following proposals for trade union unity were made. The foundations of trade union unity are the proletarian class war, freedom of speech and criticism within the statutes, autonomy with regard to the political parties. The Unity Congress will decide the question of international affiliation. The Conference further proposed the appointment of a committee to make preparations for a unity congress.

To these proposals, the Reformists replied:

1) The Trade Union Council joyfully accepts any Labour organisation which has freed itself from the principles of other groups, and which apply for admission in the spirit and the tactics of the Amsterdam International and, in the future, honestly fulfils its functions in this spirit.

2) If the wish to join us is expressed in this spirit, we are prepared to get into touch with the representatives of your organisation with regard to unification or affiliation. We regard as hopeless any efforts to enter into negotiations on another basis.

3) Arrangements agreed upon on the above basis, are only valid when they have been ratified by your Union Congress and the next National Congress."

It is perfectly evident that the Reformists, by insisting on this "fundamental" point of view, sabotage the establishment of unity. The carrying on of the unity campaign continues to be in the hands of the unitarian trade unions; it will again be brought up in its full significance at their approaching National Congress and will receive fresh impulse and new valuable inspiration.

#### Bulgaria.

As a result of the serious defeat of the Bulgarian Labour movement, the General Federation of workers' trade unions which is affiliated to the R. I. L. U. was made illegal at the same time as the whole communist movement. Large numbers of leaders of the trade union movement, were either murdered or condemned to long periods of imprisonment.

As the Red trade unions are actually the only real trade union organisation of the workers in private industry, the trade union movement is, in consequence of their dissolution, weakened, split up and disorganised. The social democratic trade unions even to-day have only organised a very small part of the workers in private industry, and are almost without significance. — The recently formed independent trade unions being new organisations, are also still weak but they are developing a more lively activity and are at present the representatives of the fight for trade union unity in Bulgaria.

Recognising that the disunity between the workers in State and private undertakings is the main source of their weakness, the independent trade unions have issued the central slogan: "unity of the Bulgarian trade union movement!" and have thus opened the campaign for the re-establishment of a strong trade union movement.

Whereas the workers joyfully took up the slogan of trade union unity, the social democratic leaders and trade union leaders opposed it with great acrimony. They even denounced the independent trade unions as secret communist trade unions etc. — In reply to the proposals for unity of the independent trade unions, the Reformists declared that unity was only possible if the independent trade unions joined the free trade unions, if the leaders were chosen by the Reformists and if the affiliation of the united trade unions to Amsterdam were proclaimed immediately.

Under the pressure of the masses however, the Reformists were forced to give up open sabotage and to enter into negotiations. The independent trade unions proposed as the platform for unity, complete equality of rights for both organisations, election of the leaders by the Unity Congress, and decision as to international affiliation by the First General Congress of the united trade unions. The negotiations which were started, dragged on for a very long time and had finally to be broken off, as the Reformists insisted on their point of view.

The independent trade unions however are continuing their campaign for unity. In the number of their organ "Edinstvo" ("unity"), published on December 2nd 1925, they define their point of view as regards this question, by giving expression to their regret at the failure of the negotiations and to their desire for their resumption. With regard to the crisis in the negotiations, they express the opinion that it is to be attributed in the first place to the question of international affiliation. As they are in favour not only of national but also of international trade union unity, and as the re-opening of the question in its whole breadth at the present moment might lead to a revival of the old dissensions and feelings of hatred, which would be detrimental to unity, they propose to leave this question open until the First General Congress of the united trade unions. — Until the Unity Congress, the trade unions of both groups should be under the management of a central committee on a footing of equality, without regard to the number of members. They further propose the resumption of negotiations not only with the free but also with all the other trade unions, on the basis of definite preliminary conditions.

The Reformists however are still trying in every possible way to avoid negotiations and to sabotage the unity of the trade union movement in Bulgaria.

### Greece.

The trade unions in Greece like the whole Labour movement, are suffering under terrible persecution and oppression. Since the beginning of August, the central organ of the trade unions has been prohibited, and altogether only very scanty news reaches us from Greece.

A very large part of the Greek workers is organised in trade unions. Most of the trade unions take their stand on the class war and the Red Trade Union International. The influence of the Yellows in the trade union movement is insignificant, but there are strong reformist and centralist currents in the two large unions of the railwaymen and the seamen.

In the last few months, the Pangalos Government has been making efforts to disperse the trade unions through its paid "agents provocateurs". They also have the trade union offices raided and their leaders arrested. A few months ago they prevented the National Congress of the trade unions of Greece being held. The Fascists are also trying to penetrate into the trade unions. They attack the local groups of the trade unions and the local workers' clubs.

The campaign for the unity of the trade union movement in Greece finds expression principally in resisting these attempts to disperse the unions. Unfortunately we do not know whether the question of unity takes the same important place on the agenda as in other countries.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### Moscow in the Midst of Reconstruction.

By E. Baum (Moscow).

#### I. Finance.

Moscow received severe wounds during the civil war, so that at the end of it, the Moscow municipality was in a condition of complete exhaustion and pauperization.

Even in 1921, Moscow was still passing through a serious crisis of provisioning. The town lacked fuel and the means of transport were entirely worn out.

In 1922/23, the end of the civil war and the transition to the "New Economic Policy" began to show its effect in Moscow with unexpected rapidity. The fight of the Moscow proletariat against the decay of its economic position was rewarded with considerable success as early as 1922, although just in this year a multitude of refugees and homeless children from the famine districts seriously endangered the commencing work of reconstruction.

The year 1925 has shown a progressive restoration in all spheres of economic life. The stabilisation of currency, a necessary preliminary, was finally achieved in 1924. Since that time, an unmistakable ascending tendency has been evident in the Moscow municipality and the economic position of the whole province of Moscow.

The restoration of finance manifested itself in the first place in a slight increase of the budget. Instead of the 137 million roubles which were estimated for in the budget of the Moscow Soviet for 1924/25, it amounted to 152 million roubles, whilst the budget of 1925/26 amounts to 196 million roubles, i. e. exceeds the previous year by 34 million roubles. The budget of 1926 will come up to 80% of the pre-war budget, which amounted to 240-250 million roubles. This improvement in the financial situation of the Moscow municipality has made it possible for it to raise the wages of the workers in almost all undertakings and to introduce a number of improvements in almost all fields of public life.

The budget of 1926 differs from that of the previous year in that apart from increasing the expenses for existing institutions, a number of new works are planned and an extra sum of 18 millions has been allocated for specially urgent purposes. Of this, 4 million roubles are set aside for the construction of workmen's dwellings, 1 million for mending streets and roads, 3 million to the budget of the local Government for the construction of streets, 2 million for the support of industry, 1 million for the support of home industries, 1 million for the support of agriculture, a 2 million credit for the purchase of cattle and agricultural implements for poor peasant-holdings, 1 million for combatting conflagrations in villages, one million for a cam-

paign against begging, distress among children and prostitution, 1 million for public works and a further million for public works from the budget of the municipal undertakings.

#### II. Industry and Commerce.

The economic boom is reflected especially strongly in the industry of the province of Moscow. Industry here is almost exclusively the property of the State, 92.5% of all workers are employed in State undertakings (including the building industry). The significance of the industry of Moscow as regards the economic position of the whole country, is revealed by the fact that last year it covered 20%, i. e. one fifth of all the industrial workers of the country.

The number of workers employed in the Moscow factories has increased by 50,000 in the current year.

Commerce also has shown great fresh activity in the province of Moscow. This is unmistakably manifested by the turnover. Whilst in 1923/24, Moscow's commercial turnover amounted to about 1,723,000 roubles, it reached 4,700,000 roubles in 1924/25, that is to say it had increased to almost two and a half times as much. The Moscow Co-operative Stores can record enormous success; its membership is constantly increasing.

#### III. Agriculture.

Agriculture has kept pace with the general development in the province of Moscow; for the past few years it has exceeded the pre-war norm.

Side by side with the improvement of economic conditions in the towns and the revival of industry, a rapidly developing boom is evident in the villages. This is irrefutably proved by the fact that more land is constantly being taken under cultivation. According to official statistics, the area under cultivation in the Spring of 1925 amounted to 622,700 desiatines. In 1914, the existing area of arable land was only 451,200 desiatines, in 1916, on the eve of the revolution, only 439,100 desiatines. Thus the area under cultivation has exceeded the norm of the pre-war and pre-revolution period by more than a third. A further evidence of the rise of agriculture in the province of Moscow, is the remarkable improvement and increase in the stock of cattle. In comparison to 1916, the number of large cattle has been added to by 51%, and of small cattle by 71%. The following table proves by numbers that this improvement in the stock of cattle does not benefit individual farms or peasants, but means an improvement in the situation of the whole peasant population.

There were on an average

	in each farm			per head		
	1916	1924	1925	1916	1923	1925
desiatines under cultivation . . . . .	1,26	1,72	1,80	0,24	0,31	0,34
Working horses . . . . .	0,61	0,82	0,83	—	—	—
Cows . . . . .	0,74	1,23	1,22	0,14	0,22	0,23
Small cattle . . . . .	2,42	4,35	4,10	0,47	0,79	0,76

The improvement in the situation of farming is also shown by the following. Whereas for instance in 1917, among 100 peasant holdings 45%, i. e. about half had no horse, and about one tenth of the peasant-holdings (8.5 per 100) possessed two or more horses, the number of both had considerably decreased in 1924; not 45 but only 23% of the peasant-holdings possessed no horse and, instead of 8.5% only 5 1/3% of the farms had more than one horse, so that, to a certain extent, things had equalised themselves. The same is true with regard to the distribution of milch-cows; the number of peasant-holdings having no cow sank in the summer of 1925 from 32% to 10%. The number of those which had two or more cows in their stall, rose from 67% to 87%.

In spite of the considerable development of agriculture in the province of Moscow and the indisputable improvement in the situation of the peasants, the cultivation of the land does not produce sufficient to support the rural population and there is a steady increase in the number of peasants who are obliged to seek some subsidiary occupation, as well as of those who, as in pre-war times, migrate into the towns. The backward methods of cultivating the soil, its parcelling out, the low level of means and methods of production and of culture, form a great obstacle



to a more rapid rise of farming in the province of Moscow, as in the whole Soviet Union. They render more difficult but do not altogether prevent the course of development, the socialisation of the peasantry on the basis of the co-operatives. This process is supported in every possible way by the proletarian State. In the course of a year, about 30,000 new farms have been affiliated, so that among 345,000 peasant holdings 95,000, i. e. 27% are organised on co-operative lines. The turnover of the Agricultural Co-operatives has also undergone appreciable extension.

The Rural Departments established by the People's Commissary for Agriculture, attach very great importance to the formation and support of the Co-operatives in the villages. Their development can be judged by the following table:

	1922	1923	1924	1925
Agricultural Co-operatives for the sale of agricultural products . . . . .	54	114	171	264
Agricultural Credit Co-operatives . . . . .	79	179	336	397
Agricultural Production Co-operatives				
Machines, means of improving the soil etc. . . . .	30	51	227	417
Total . . . . .	163	344	734	1078

The Agricultural Co-operatives have, together with the Agricultural Department of the province, bought 40,000 ploughs (in 1924 only 23,000 ploughs), 60 tractors and 600 seeding-machines (in 1924 only 500 seeding-machines).

#### IV. Education and Hygiene.

In the domain of education, the province of Moscow by no means takes a back seat. It has deserved special merit in the liquidation of illiteracy. Whereas in 1923, there were still 120,000 illiterate persons in the whole province, reading and writing has been taught to 50,000 during the last two years. During the current year, 57,500 persons are to be taught to read and write. The Province of Moscow is determined completely to wipe out illiteracy by 1927.

The number of persons attending school has increased by 30,000 (18%) as compared with 1924. In the districts of the province of Moscow, an increase of 22,000 persons attending school can be recorded. The school attendance in the province of Moscow exceeds that of pre-war time by 40%. There are 10,000 children in the kindergartens 31,000 are being educated in children's homes (in pre-war times only 3000 children could be admitted to the latter). In various agricultural training schools, 1500 peasants children are being educated, before the war there were only 400. In the factory workshops — these did not exist at all before the war — 6500 persons are being instructed. In 22 technical schools, 8884 persons are being trained. In Moscow, 90 professional schools are training 17,694 persons; this number is to be raised to 56,265 for 1925/26.

The number of libraries, reading rooms, lectures, lectures with lantern slides, cinematograph performances, in short the whole work of education in the villages cannot even approximately satisfy the awakening hunger for education, although more was spent on purposes of education by 60% than in the previous year. It is easy to understand that the educational work differs fundamentally both in content and character from that of former times.

An important change for the better in the health of the people is associated with the economic, financial and cultural improvement in the Moscow government. In Moscow, the rate of mortality has declined. Whereas in 1913, the mortality had reached 24.8 per 1000, only 15 per thousand died in the past year. Not only has the general mortality of the population fallen, but the distressingly high infant mortality of pre-war times is considerably reduced. In 1913, there were 28 deaths to 100 births under one year. In the last few years, this number has fallen to 17 and 14. The tuberculosis mortality rate has also decreased. Epidemics have also lessened.

The number of persons attending the out-patients clinics has increased by 21%, those attending the clinics for tuberculosis by 23%, maternity and child welfare centres by 77%, and dispensaries for venereal diseases by 219%. In consequence, the number of out-patient clinics has been increased by 15%, and that of doctors by 50%; 200 new beds have been established for general diseases and 725 for venereal diseases. The number of children's beds has been increased from 1500 to 15,000.

There are many causes for these increased figures of sickness. Firstly, 60—70% of the workers in the factories suffer from chronic diseases which are the consequence of the long years of famine and of their many privations during the imperialist war and the civil war. Further the increase in the number of industrial workers who, with their families, are included in social insurance, contributes to the swelling of the numbers of sick persons officially registered. Another factor finally is the growing level of culture of the population, which is more and more forsaking quacks and faith-healers and seeking medical aid. The Moscow Board of Health is making the prevention of disease and the hygienic enlightenment of the people the centre point of its activities. It is devoting more attention than before to studying and combating social occupational diseases.

The workmen's dwellings attached to the factories have been visited by sanitary inspectors and in 285 cases, help has been given. "First Aid" doctors were called in in 11,739 cases. The consequence of this increased attention to the workers in the factories is already visible; a number of measures for the improvement of the sanitary conditions in the factories have already been taken.

It is not however in Moscow alone but also in the districts of the province that the campaign for the improvement of the health of the people is being carried on. The department for health education has, in the course of six months, organised 7056 lectures with a total audience of 625,858 persons and 238 hygiene exhibitions which were visited by 78,714 persons. During the same time, 3130 persons attended 125 lectures on tuberculosis and on how it should be combated. On venereal diseases, 1226 lectures were held which were attended by 105,695 persons. A new institution, which was not known in the old Russia, is that of the so-called health nuclei which have been founded in the factories, the function of which is to control the sanitary conditions in the factories and workmen's dwellings. Commissions composed of groups of representatives of the Party and of women, of women delegates and representatives of the village organisations have been affiliated to more than 120 Soviets in the province. More than 650 health nuclei already exist.

For the prevention of disease, the Moscow Board of Health is extending the network of centres for medical consultation, dispensaries and convalescent homes, which are specially intended for workers in occupations which are injurious to health. They are organising dietetic restaurants. In Moscow alone, 115,782,460 roubles were spent on the maintenance of medical institutions. In 1925, 37,500 workers were admitted to convalescent homes (14 days), as compared with 12,500 in 1924. In the sanatoria, 12,400 persons received medical care and were restored to health this year, as against 9000 last year.

Another new institution which enjoys increasing popularity, especially among the rural population, is the Legal Advice Centre. Special consultation centres for women have been formed, in which the peasant women and women workers on the land receive pertinent answers to their questions from women delegates from the maternity and child welfare centres.

(To be continued.)

## The Municipal Policy of the Leningrad Soviet.

By N. Ivanov.

Director of the Municipal Administration of Leningrad.

The municipal administration of St. Petersburg in pre-war times were in the hands of a census municipal authority. It served the interests of the bourgeoisie, of houseowners in the first place. Not only were the interests of the workers in the suburbs entirely ignored, but even in questions of public institutions in central parts of the town, everything was subordinated to the interests of houseowners. The streets in the town were covered with a variegated network of various kinds of pavement, because every houseowner paved the street in front of his own house, just as he fancied.

The situation was still worse with regard to the drainage. The rotting wooden sewage pipes with the outfall of the wastewater directly into the rivers and canals within the precincts of the city, defied the most modest demands of hygiene. It was a question of life and death for the population of the city that

they should be replaced. Because the costs of re-drainage would have fallen on the houseowners, the town administration constantly postponed the solution of this question for 60 years, leaving the inhabitants to suffocate in filth. The St. Petersburg of the pre-war times was a picture of the whole bourgeois world; externally beautiful — but, on closer acquaintance chaotic, un-economic, rotten to the core.

The welfare and outward beauty of the central parts of the town inhabited by the bourgeoisie — this was the task of the bourgeois municipal administration. The suburbs inhabited by the workers lacked the most primitive measures of public care, they were piles of close, gloomy and stinking houses. In order to carry out with more ease the policy of the neglect of the working-class districts, the limits of the town were artificially kept always in the same place. The town grew and new suburbs were jointed on to the built-on area, but they remained outside the city precincts and the care of the municipality. Thus for instance, the gigantic area of Wolodarski (the town is divided into six districts), which is thickly populated with workers, remained for decades outside the city limits and for this reason the laying on of a water supply was refused to it. The inhabitants were obliged to make use of the uncleansed water of the Neva, which spread infection. It is only under the Soviet Power that the inhabitants of this district have at last got a water supply.

The first step of the Leningrad Soviet was the extension of the borders of the town. More than half the urban territory was formerly excluded from the administration. It is clear that the neglected part was the half which was inhabited by the proletariat.

The Leningrad Soviet is now devoting the whole of its attention to these working-class districts. Its chief work is being done in the parts which were forgotten by the bourgeoisie. These districts have now got 19 km. of water mains. The water supply provides 70,000 persons of the working-class population with water. The municipal tramways are paying more and more attention to satisfying the needs of these districts. In the last three years, a number of main tramway lines have been laid in the working-class areas.

This endeavour to serve the working-class districts in the first place, is also evident in all other fields of municipal work. Thus for instance, 67.8% of the repairs to pavements are in working class areas. The same is seen with regard to drainage. In 1925, 69.1% of the whole repairs were carried out in working-class districts. The new cement drain-pipes were constructed chiefly in the proletarian parts of the town. The Leningrad Soviet took up with determination the work which the bourgeoisie had postponed for 60 years. Even in the years of the most terrible fight against the consequences of destruction, it found the means to lay 41 km. of new cement drain-pipes, thus laying a firm foundation for the solution of the sewage question. In the working-class districts, street planning is being re-arranged, new broad streets are being made, bordered with grass and new gardens and parks being laid out. By far the greater part of all the gardens and parks of the old St Petersburg were in the central parts of the town. There were almost no gardens for public use in the working-class districts, although in these quarters there were two gigantic parks with an area of more than 50,000 sq. km. which however, were surrounded by high walls and were only at the disposal of their owners. The Leningrad Soviet has opened the gates of these parks to the workers. It has extended the parks, carried out the necessary works and turned them into a favourite resort of the proletariat. The Soviet has proceeded in this way in all working-class quarters, has opened a number of private gardens for general use and laid out many new parks. In place of the waste ground and dumps which swarmed with workers' children, new gardens and playgrounds have arisen.

In the last three years, 16 gardens and a number of children's playgrounds, covering an area of 47,000 sq. km. have been newly laid out in the working-class districts.

The fact that this task could be so rapidly accomplished is due to one of the fundamental achievements of the proletarian revolution in the town, i. e. the municipalisation of land and of buildings in the towns. We have already pointed out that private gardens were handed over for public use. The opening of new parks in the place of waste ground would also have been impossible if the land had remained in the hands of private persons.

It is not however in the question of gardens alone that the tremendous importance of the municipalisation of the land becomes evident. All questions of rational re-planning of towns are closely bound up with it. Leningrad is growing, the needs of industry and of the urban population are increasing and, in connection with this, it has become urgently necessary to re-plan a number of streets and open places in the town.

But, great as is the significance of the municipalisation of the land and buildings for rational planning and the development of public welfare, this is not its chief significance. Formerly, when houses were in the hands of private owners, and the municipality, which consisted of houseowners, did not dream of controlling their appetites, the housing question was the most difficult one for the working population. Rents were determined entirely by the wishes of houseowners.

The worker, who was badly housed, paid on an average 19% of his wages in rent.

The proletarian revolution seized all houses from the hands of houseowners and handed them over to the Soviet.

The administration of the houses is in the hands of the tenants themselves. The occupants of every house form a housing co-operative and elect the persons who shall manage the house. All those who have the franchise according to the Soviet constitution can take part in these elections. Workers and employees are in the majority in the house management committees. The number of workers at present in the house management committees of Leningrad is 59.7%, of employees 32.7%, disabled persons and unemployed 3.4%; only about 4.2% are from other strata of the population.

The workers have proved that they administer the houses no worse than the houseowners. All damage suffered by the houses during the war and the blockade are being repaired. The tenants look after their dwellings themselves and have long forgotten the former dreaded houseowner who postponed the necessary repairs for years.

Premises used for trade and industry remain in the hands of the Soviet, and the rent is used for the welfare work of the town, partly for purposes of education and public health.

The rent is fixed by law and no one has the right to raise it. The amount of rent is fixed according to the occupation; for workers and employees in proportion to their wages. Merchants and other citizens who do not live on their earned income, pay as a rule ten times as much as a worker. Workers with wages up to the fifth grade, pay altogether 10% of the pre-war rent. The highest rent paid by workers with top wages amounts to 20% of the pre-war rent. The unemployed pay according to the lowest tariff. Workers and employees do not pay the rent in advance, but ten days after they have completed a month in the house.

The whole income from the house is used for its benefit and maintenance and the tenants themselves dispose of it. It is only in houses where a large non-proletarian element lives that a special rent is now collected. This is used for the construction of new houses in working-class districts, and new buildings are urgently needed. Regardless of all measures which are taken to make it easy for the workers to move into the central parts of the town, they prefer to live near the factories so as not to waste time on the journey to and fro. This question is affected to no small degree by the fact that in the majority of cases the undertaking in which the workman is employed, attaches him to itself by the broad development of social life. The old dwellings however are on the scale of the pre-revolutionary standard of living of the workers and cannot satisfy their present demands. For the purpose of increasing the housing accommodation, a general repair of damaged buildings was carried out. In 1924, 135 houses were repaired by the municipality.

This however was not enough and the Leningrad Soviet proceeded to build new workers' houses. The plans for these were elaborated by competition in which the best architects took part. As the result a number of new blocks of houses were erected. The flats in the workmen's dwellings are comfortable. In the new quarters, so-called "homes of culture" are built at the same time for meetings, entertainments etc., and schools for the children.

In the domain of municipal undertakings, the Leningrad Soviet observes the same policy as in the other branches, that

of making them as far as possible accessible to the working population and of satisfying their needs in the first place. We have already pointed out that the workers' quarters are first taken into consideration in the extension of the network of tramways and the drainage system. In the exploitation of these undertakings also, the same principle is observed. A special tariff for workers and employees has been introduced on the electric tramways. The trade unions issue 5 million tickets for 35% reduction every month. Further, the tariff zones are longer in the workers' districts than in the centre, 5 km. as against 3 km. In order to facilitate the workers visiting theatres, museums etc. situated in the centre of the town, there are reduced return fares to the centre. In this way, the tramways have become a means of transport for the workers. Before the war, there was an average of 149 tram journeys per head of the population annually, in 1925, 224.

All measures of municipal administration are submitted to a detailed examination by the municipal section of the Leningrad Soviet. In this section, 263 members of the Soviet are at present working, of whom 49% are workers and 51% employees. Apart from the plenary meeting, the section has a number of sub-committees for the individual branches of municipal administration. The municipal administration is always kept in daily touch with the workers of Leningrad through the members of the Soviet.

The proletarian class point of view is the basis of the whole communal policy of the Leningrad Soviet. The communal Soviet administration places the requirements of the working population in the centre point of its work. To improve the living conditions of the worker, to give him joyous recreation after his work in the service of the community, to turn the town from a pile of mass dwellings into a healthy, light and beloved place of residence for all workers — these are the chief tasks of the municipal Soviet administration. A new life is being created for us with an easy grace through the initiative and energy of the workers.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### A New American Export.

By Harrison George (Chicago).

Frank Hodges, secretary of the International Miners' Association, Amsterdam leader and civil lord of the admiralty in Ramsay MacDonald's "labour" government, in an interview published in the American press recently (Chicago News, Dec 18), gave expression to a definite new current in the international labour movement. Among other things, Hodges said:

"British trade unionism must look to American trade unionism not only for its practical demonstration of economic power, but for guidance in the industrial crises of the next decade.

American trade unions have gained an incalculable advantage over us by their system of labour banking.

I think American trade unions are to some degree responsible for the generally excellent co-operation between labour and employers. In that co-operation Americans have a happy advantage over us. We are miles from achieving it."

On December 5, at the Amsterdam General Council meeting, Hodges directly spoke of the desirability of the admission of American labour to the Amsterdam International as opposed to the admission of the Russian trade unions — "It would be a much more important event than even Russian acceptance of the (Amsterdam) constitution", said Hodges.

Oudegeest, too, chimed in with this view, saying that the real importance of the General Council's meeting was in the "approach to America and Mexico, which is a question quite different from that of Russia."

"Our difference with America", said Oudegeest, "is one of tactics, not of rules".

These indications of an orientation toward "American rules" by European labour which, synchronized with a reformist manoeuvre to seek support against the movement for world trade union unity by admitting the American Federation of Labour to Amsterdam, make an examination of existing tendencies in American trade unions of great international significance.

Two phases of one thing, class collaboration, may clearly be discerned in the labour movement of the United States of recent and current days. These two phases are; First, the growth, forced by the employers, of "company unions". The second is the growth of the movement for "co-operation with employers" among the trade union officialdom.

Both of these movements, which are taking on a tremendous significance, whether they come from the employers or from the trade union bureaucracy, find a common divisor in the principle of class collaboration, and the only difference between the two positions is one of application of the principle.

Both arise out of the same situation, the lack of a militant policy of intensive organisation of the workers by the trade union leadership, and a complete unwillingness to base even the existing numerical strength of the trade unions upon a clear and implacable policy of class struggle. The absence of a programme for the organisation of the unorganised turns the helpless masses over to the employers to exploit as they will, through company unions if they so chose. Lack of a class struggle policy for the workers already organised not only fails to attract new members, but demoralises the present membership when it faces the employers in battle with no policy but that of retreat and surrender.

With the union membership declining the trade union bureaucracy felt secure for some time in their fat-salaried positions, by the brilliant discovery of "labour" banking, with the dividends from the banking business serving to cover the slackening income from dues. But the field is inherently too limited to take care of the whole species of trade union bureaucrats, and the growth of the "Company union" threatens to reduce the trade union membership to the vanishing point.

With the numerical strength of the company unions of the United States attaining a figure of an estimated 1,000,000, or fully one-third the strength of the American Federation of Labour, the panic-stricken disciples of Gompers saw that their principle of "collective bargaining" would have nothing to bargain over, with their shelves swept clean of merchandise by the company union.

In some cases the company union movement has secured the direct assistance of the government.

This is the systematic working out of a policy by the American employing class which can truly be charged as a conspiracy against the American proletariat. But what do we find the "leaders" of American labour doing about it?

In reference to the railway unions, even as this article is being written dispatches from Washington tell of a grand "agreement" arrived at between fifteen of the "standard" railway unions and the Association of Railway Executives to introduce a bill in the U.S. Congress providing (1). The abolition of the U.S. Rail Labour Board, and (2) for the legalized establishment of "Boards of Adjustment" upon which both the management and the union have representation and concerning which magnificent results are foretold in the line of "co-operation" and "peace".

The details of the bill are not yet made public, but a clear inference that the unions have surrendered the right to strike and other vital policies, can be drawn from the fact that the Pennsylvania railroad, a die-hard enemy of unionism, has voluntarily joined in the scheme, which promises to give the railroad companies more efficient labour at cheaper scales than their own "company unions". This, if it turns out as indicated, will be one of the most brazen and wholesale surrenders of American unionism in many a long year.

This fever to outdo the company unions is voiced by the head of the American Federation of Labour, William Green, speaking at the annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York recently, in the following words:

"Management must either deal with trade unions organised by the workers, free and apart from outside influences, or deal with their workers individually."

This was Green's starting point of argument against company unions. But he goes on:

"The purpose of management which fosters the organisation of company unions is clear and understood. The motive behind their action is a selfish one. They seek to maintain the form of collective bargaining without its virtues or its spirit of independence. They seek control rather than co-operation."

Here we have Green telling the employers that the purpose of the company union is too obvious "clear and understood" by the workers, to be successful in their selfishness. Better methods are suggested:

"They exert the power of compulsion instead of inviting the voluntarily co-operation of their employees."

"Such co-operation", says the dispatch, "Green would have come through agreement between the trade unions and management to make industry more efficient."

Such are the funeral orations being preached over the coffin of the "right to strike" and all semblance of policies of class struggle, by the trade union bureaucracy of America.

The sweep of the class collaboration movement advances. And the key problem of American revolutionary unionists hinges around the fight to win and hold the unions for policies of class struggle as against this collaboration poison that is spreading through the veins of American labour.

## The Seamen's Strike in New Zealand

By E. J. B. Allen (Auckland).

On Monday August 24th 1925, the men on the overseas boats in the Port of Auckland came out on strike. The men held meetings on the Sunday and had been addressed by a local comrade who had taken up the cause of the seamen.

The outstanding feature of the strike was that it was unofficial from start to finish. It was a purely spontaneous action by the men, who naturally were backed up by the Reds on shore. It was a rank and file strike from the word go. With but one exception there was not a single paid trade union secretary or other official that took any part in helping the men. J. Purteil was the only to speak for them, out of all the professional secretaries and officials in Auckland.

The members of the two local Communist groups Bourbeau and Thomas printed the strike bulletin on their press; as a result of which they were raided by the police and sentenced to six and four months imprisonment, respectively. The men in the Auckland Plebs League took up the cause of the men on strike, wrote articles for them, thus proving by deed: that they mean independent working class education as a weapon in the class struggle.

This rank and file strike was complete for six weeks, there then began an influx of local blacklegs, but for ten weeks the majority of the seamen stood firm.

A feature worthy of mention was the splendid solidarity of the members of the New Zealand Federated Seamen's Union. They levied their members 10/- per month, and this, with the voluntary levy of the Waterside Workers, was of great assistance. Many local Unions donated sums from £ 5 up to £ 150. The miners of Waikato stood true to their tradition and sent a large sum along as well as a levy. In Auckland the bulk of working class opinion was with the strikers and this was proven by the amount collected at the meetings held on their behalf, and the collections made in the shops and at the different sports meetings.

The hand of the boss made law fell heavy on the seamen. Some receiving the utmost sentence of three months imprisonment for refusing to obey lawful commands.

The strike was apparently carried on better here than in some ports. Thus instead of calling all the men out at once, only enough were asked to come ashore so that the vessel could not proceed to sea as she had not her full complement, and thus the companies were feeding the men remaining on board for quite a while during the period the ships were lying idle in the stream with their anchors cast. The local leader of the strike committee was a strong Communist sympathiser. He had been in the I. W. W. and had some experience of "Wobbly" strikes. Thus for instance, a large number of the Tainui's men were railed up from Wellington at the company's expense, after they had been got out of jail, were placed on board, kept there for several days when they then refused to take her to sea. Irritation tactics were used in many ways, the whole object being to throw the bulk of the cost on to the owners by compelling them to keep the strikers, as happened in many cases, or on the other hand to make the government feed them in jail. Thus the loyal New Zealand government and its servile magistracy, acting as the faithful tools of the shipping combine, helped to keep the men on strike. They had a better dietary scale in prison than they did on board.

The strike was run here at a minimum of expense and with greater educational results than elsewhere. The hard facts of the class struggle served to teach the men. The operations of the shipping ring and the interwoven interests with the banks were shown to the strikers and the Public alike. The full import of the Dawes scheme was driven home. Many of the strikers were young men, comparatively speaking, and still capable of assimilating the lessons of the strike, whether of the tactics used, the analysis of the Empire's financial position or the rotten tactics and policy of a trade union official who sells his membership in order to safeguard the boss's profits. The treachery of Have-lock Wilson, Cotter and Co opened the eyes of thousands. The creation of the ship committees is a great gain, and even if the men who were on strike should get scattered they will leave the whole crew anywhere. The Shaw, Savill and Albion refuse to take the men back in New Zealand, but all the other companies are willing to do so.

We naturally expected a better fight to be put up in England, but apparently the orthodox Trade Union officials were willing to see the seamen go down to defeat rather than give a hand to rebels who were fighting the treachery of their own officials.

In New Zealand there was a sad lack of co-ordination between the strike committees of the different ports. Had the strike throughout New Zealand been conducted along the same line as in Auckland the complete tie-up would have lasted longer and at a much less cost.

The men were well supported by the rank and file here. Their fellow seamen responded splendidly with financial aid. Had the strike been supported by the unions in England refusing to allow the disruption of Labour's united front, the seamen could have won. The necessity for one industrial union of all the disruption of Labour's united front, the seamen could have won. The necessity for one industrial union of transport workers is demonstrated. Finally, international unity of the trade union movement on militant lines is essential to prevent the downward standard of living that the employers are trying to enforce on all workers.