

the basis of free trade. But this is no reason for regarding capitalism and free trade as synonymous. For instance: One of our state undertakings of the consistently socialist type buys from another similar undertaking. This is a form of exchange of commodities, not a form of socialist distribution. But it is surely not capitalism. Only on the broadest lines can capitalism be identified with free trade. Nobody will deny that we have elements of state capitalism, elements of private capitalism, and elements of petty bourgeois economics. But the fundamental question is the judgment passed on the state undertakings.

Now to the question of the middle peasantry. I ask: Do many comrades under-estimate the middle peasantry? This question must be replied to in the affirmative. In a programmatic article by comrade Zinoviev, entitled "The philosophy of the Epoch", we found at first no middle peasantry. It was only put in later. The decisions of the Fourteenth Conference are again dealt with differently by comrade Zinoviev than by the Party. These decisions chiefly represent the policy of the firm establishment of a close alliance with the middle peasantry.

Comrade Zinoviev, in his book: "Leninism", writes that: "We must now grant supplementary concessions to precisely the capitalist elements of agriculture."

What does this mean: "Precisely to the capitalist elements of agriculture?" It means that the NEP is a concession to precisely the big bourgeoisie. If we want to formulate the decisions of the Fourteenth National Party Conference precisely as concessions to the village usurers, nobody will lend us an ear. The resolution passed at the Fourteenth National Conference aims precisely at a firm alliance with the middle peasantry. But comrade Zinoviev deems it a resolution in favour of the village kulak!

I expressly declare that it was I who wrote the fundamental part of the resolution for the Fourteenth National Party Conference and the October plenary session, without however encountering an objection from any side.

Comrade Zinoviev, in his "Leninism", fails to deal with the most important question of the alteration of the slogan of "civil war" into "civil peace". Comrade Zinoviev does not touch upon

this with as much as one word. Lenin's words on the reform methods, in his article: "The meaning of gold" are also lacking. Comrade Zinoviev quotes Lenin's formulation of the question of the rich peasantry, his designations of bloodsuckers, vampires, etc. But this dates from the year 1918. And comrade Zinoviev adds that these words should be repeated more than once.

Comrade Zinoviev's book deals with the burning questions of the day, but the immediate line of Party action consists of the extermination of the last remains of war communism. At the present moment we are fighting with other weapons against the rich peasant.

In Comrade Zinoviev's words there lies hidden the idea of a disorganisation of the decisions passed by the Fourteenth National Party Conference: We are to take into account a growing differentiation in the peasantry; in other words, we are to reckon with an intensification of the class struggle in the near future.

Many dangers of an international character exist, since we participate in the international markets. And inner dangers exist as well, for class activity and class differentiation are advancing rapidly. The most important task of all is to unite the working class. The pessimists have not yet grasped that we are confronted with the enormous task of educating fresh strata of the workers.

The Leningrad delegation must admit its errors, just as the one-time secretary of the Leningrad organisation, Salutzky, has admitted his error on the subject of state capitalism. I must strongly condemn the action of the Leningrad delegation in not sending a tested fighter like comrade Komarov to the Party Conference merely because he is loyal to the C.C.

Unity, proletarian discipline, and loyalty to the leading organs are constituents of Bolshevism. We may disagree, criticise, attack; but we must not form fractions. The iron discipline of the Party must be maintained. (Applause.) I am fully convinced that the whole of the delegates will submit to the decision of the Party Conference, like one man, and will acknowledge it to be the sole and final interpretation of the Leninist line of the Party. (Applause.)

V. b. b.
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Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Sections of the Comintern.

Moscow, 13th. January 1926.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has sent to all sections of the Comintern the following information letter on the results of the XIV. Party Conference:

In view of the special interest which is to be observed among our brother parties with regard to the discussion that has taken place in our Party, and in view of the fact that the attitude of the opposition in the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Republics has naturally aroused great concern among the proletarians and Communists of the whole world, and finally, in view of the fact that the social democratic and bourgeois press are exaggerating our discussion in every possible way and systematically distorting the true state of affairs, the C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR, has decided, through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, to send this letter of information to all the sections of the Comintern.

The situation in which the differences of opinion in our Party have arisen consists in the tremendously rapid growth of the economy of the Soviet Union and in the extreme complexity of the tasks confronting the C. P. The foreign comrades must clearly bear in mind that with us, under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship, not only the entire attitude to the every day political questions is changing (for we are exercising the power which we have captured for the purpose of developing socialist construction, while our brother parties have still to pass through the revolutionary fight for power), but all our concrete tasks are becoming extremely complicated. Every word, every decision of the

Party must mean a deed. Only thus can and must a Party work which is leading a victorious proletariat.

The past year was a year of great economic growth. The industrial and agricultural production almost reached the pre-war level. The socialist economic elements have developed very considerably and their specific weight has increased. On the other hand the contradictory transition character of our society, when the majority of the population consists of peasants, inevitably finds expression in that, along with the development of socialist economic forms, the elements of capitalism, particularly in the sphere of commercial capital, and in the country in the form of the so-called kulak-undertakings have grown stronger, even if not to the same extent. The sharpening of the social contradictions in the present state of development of relations, when in the village there exist a great number of superfluous peasant workers and in the town there exists unemployment and sections of semi-skilled workers who are still badly paid, which is especially the case with those who have come from the villages, confronts the Party with the question of the concrete path of development of the Soviet country to socialism.

The retardation of the international revolution and the relative stabilisation of capitalism on the one side, and the strengthening of the class-antagonism within the country on the other side, have created in the Party a certain feeling of depression. This mood has obtained a certain ideological form as a result of several assertions put forward by the opposition, and have become the object of differences of opinion.

They deal with the question of the possibility of socialist construction in one country, in spite of the technical backwardness of our country! Connected with this is the

estimation of the New Economic Policy (whether the latter means nothing else than a retreat, or, from a definite moment, an offensive against capital), and further the question of the character of our State industry (whether this is in its nature, socialist or whether it represents a sort of State capitalism) and finally, the question of the attitude to the peasantry and its various groups. From this great problem there arise several others, each of which possesses great importance.

Should one in the present period of development, from the standpoint of the class war of the proletariat in the village, restrict oneself merely to neutralising the middle peasantry? Or is it necessary, in accordance with Lenin's plans, to conduct a policy of firm alliance with the middle peasantry in the common fight against the capitalist elements of the village, such as the kulaks etc.? Can one, from the standpoint of positive socialist construction, confine oneself to neutralising the main mass of the peasantry? Or must one, as Lenin emphasised, do everything possible to win the middle peasantry by means of the co-operatives for socialist construction? Can we in the fight against the kulaks restrict ourselves to organising the poor peasantry alone against the kulaks, or must we at all costs at the same time win the main mass of the peasantry, that is to say the middle peasantry, in order to establish the alliance of the proletariat and of the village poor with the middle peasantry, for the purpose of isolating the kulaks etc.

Of course we cannot go into these problems here in detail and in a concrete form. We only enumerate the most important in order to emphasise the whole complexity of the questions. We would ask the comrades who are interested in these questions to study them most carefully on the basis of the available documents. In our opinion, there should be studied in the first place the Resolutions of the Party Conference, especially the resolution on the Political Report of the C. C.

The Party Conference recognised that

"the fight for the victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is the chief task of our Party, and that our country possesses everything necessary in order to build up a complete socialist society". (Lenin).

The Party Conference declared,

"that in this manner there is to be seen the economic advance of the proletariat on the basis of the New Economic Policy and the advance of the economic system of the Soviet Union in the direction of socialism".

The Party Conference declared that

"one of the most imperative conditions for the solution of these questions is the fight against the disbelief in the construction of Socialism in our country, as well as against the attempts to regard our undertakings, the undertakings of the consistent socialist type (Lenin) as state capitalist undertakings."

The Party Conference further declared, that

"the chief means for the construction of Socialism in the village consists in the growing economic leadership on the part of the socialist State industry, in the state credit institutions and in the other dominating positions which are in the hands of the proletariat, in drawing the main masses of the peasantry into the co-operative organisations and in securing the socialist development of this organisation by making use of, overcoming and pushing out its capitalist elements".

The Party Conference has emphatically condemned "the fear of the middle peasantry" and declares that this fear objectively leads to the undermining of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Party Conference explained that

"the struggle against the kulaks must be conducted by organising the village poor against the kulaks, as well as by consolidating the alliance of the proletariat and the village poor with the middle peasants for the purpose of separating the middle peasants from the kulaks and isolating the kulaks".

The Party Conference emphatically condemned the deviation which consists in under-estimating the kulaks danger, as well as the deviation which fails to recognise the importance of winning the middle peasantry and their co-operation in socialist construction. The Party Conference especially

emphasised the necessity of combating the last-named deviation, as the Party is better prepared for the immediate fight against the kulaks, while the latter deviation is based upon the failure to understand the complicated fighting methods and endangers the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and with it the whole work of reconstruction.

These are the most important answers of the Party Conference to the questions immediately connected with the discussion. The resolution on the Political Report of the C. C. is based upon the "development and the victory of the international proletarian revolution", upon the strengthening of proletarian solidarity, and upon combating the hypocritical slogans of the League of Nations and of the Second International.

In the resolution on the report of the Delegation of the C. P. of the USSR in the ECCI, the necessity of the fight for the correct Marxist line is expressly emphasised. The attitude of the delegation in the German, Czechoslovakian and Polish questions is approved and the delegation is instructed to adopt the necessary measures for reorganising the Communist International apparatus in the direction of greater participation of all the important sections in the leading work of the Comintern.

Special stress was laid upon the importance of capturing the trade unions and on the fight for trade union unity. The C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR, definitely repudiates all the counter-revolutionary talk with regard to the alleged intended affiliation of the trade unions of the Soviet Union to the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, or with regard to the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. The C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR, declares that in the questions concerning the policy of our brother parties, there existed no essential differences of opinion whatever with the C. P. of the USSR.

The discussion on the inner questions has been settled by the decisions of the Party Conference. The Party Conference has not only adopted fundamental decisions with regard to the questions on the agenda, but has also directed a special communication to the Leningrad Party organisation in which the behaviour of the Leningrad delegation, who put up a co-reporter on the political report of the C. C. and, in contradiction to the vote of confidence of the Leningrad government conference on the activity of the C. C., voted against the confidence resolution at the Party Conference. The Leningrad delegation is now disavowed by the Leningrad proletarians and communists. With this unanimous support on the part of the Party masses of the whole country, including Leningrad, which has been given to the decision of the Party Conference, the unity of the Party is absolutely secured. Under such conditions there is every reason to believe that the Party will, in a very short time, overcome the period of the temporary economic difficulties which have arisen as a result of the economic growth of the country and of which the enemies of the proletariat wish to take advantage.

The C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR, is completely unanimous in the belief that it is undesirable to carry the discussion on the Russian question into the ranks of the Comintern. The C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR, is likewise unanimously of the opinion that the leadership of the Comintern will be granted and must be granted full confidence and support as hitherto. The C. C. of the C. P. of the USSR hopes that the brother parties, along with the C. P. of the Soviet Union, will proceed with closed ranks along the historical path under the banner of the Comintern.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to All Sections of the Comintern.

The Presidium of the ECCI, has sent to all sections of the Comintern the following accompanying note to the informational letter of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, which, through the medium of the Comintern, informs the brother parties regarding the differences of opinion in the C. P. of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades!

The CC. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union has sent to the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. the accompanying letter with the request to forward the same to all brother Parties. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. sends you the accompanying letter and approves the standpoint of the C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union that it is undesirable to carry the discussion in the C. P. of the Soviet Union into the Comintern.

Signed: the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

POLITICS

The Soviet Union, Switzerland, and the Disarmament Conference.

(Leading article of the "Izvestia" of 9th January 1926.)

The official Swiss Telegraph Agency reports: if the Soviet Union should decide to send a delegation to Geneva to the Disarmament Conference, it would, in accordance with the international law, be granted all diplomatic privileges and Switzerland would adopt all necessary measures for the protection of the delegation. At the same time government circles in Switzerland express their surprise at the attitude of the Soviet Union to Switzerland.

Surprise and the appearance of astonishment are doubtless attributes of the art of Diplomacy. We question very much however how far one can with such methods not merely arrive at a solution, but even adopt a correct attitude to the question.

To come to facts: what are political circles in Switzerland wondering at? Obviously at the fact that the government of the Soviet Union is not satisfied with the guarantees which the Swiss government (in accordance with international law) is prepared to grant to the Soviet Union if the latter should send representatives to Switzerland. We are of the opinion that this attitude of the Soviet government is completely justified. For the attitude of the Swiss government in the year 1923, as well as its refusal to admit that its attitude at that time (precisely from the standpoint of the international law) was incorrect, gives sufficient reason for such mistrust.

Unfortunately the Swiss government does not only dispel our mistrust, but on the contrary, it continues to increase it. The hairsplitting interpretation of the authority and the extent of the diplomatic rights of our murdered comrade Vorovsky, the attempts to prove that the Swiss government had reason to regard comrade Vorovsky as a not fully empowered diplomat (in spite of the fact that the diplomatic pass of comrade Vorovsky bore the Swiss visum for diplomats) — all this justifies the assumption that the Swiss government can give a similar interpretation at any suitable moment towards any Soviet delegate.

Having regard to the deplorable events of the year 1923, we are right in regarding mere formal guarantees as inadequate. In order to enable the Soviet delegation to carry on its work in peace, in addition to formal guarantees, proofs are necessary of the good will of the Swiss government to create this peaceful situation. The creation of a situation is necessary in which actual formal guarantees will become superfluous, in the same way as such guarantees are unnecessary when a Soviet delegation proceeds to any country for the purpose of negotiations.

It goes without saying that the pre-requisite, the precondition for the creation of such a situation is the establishment of the normal and usual diplomatic relations. With the existence of the latter all special guarantees are of course unnecessary, for in such a case there is created a firm connection that the generally accepted standards of international law will be strictly observed.

The Swiss diplomatic circles are keeping to the "method of surprise", and declare that the Swiss government already in the year 1923 did everything that could be demanded of it. Among other things, the above-mentioned official agency maintains that the Swiss government, on the day after the murder of Vorovsky, stigmatised the murderer. We are unaware of such an act on the part of the Swiss government. The

outburst of indignation of the broad masses of the Soviet Union over the murder of comrade Vorovsky was considerably increased precisely because the Swiss government at that time adopted a passive attitude and refused to fulfil the demands of the government of the Soviet Union, which demands did not go beyond the limits of generally accepted international usage.

A section of the Swiss press attempted to prove that the government of the Soviet Union had put forward demands which were incompatible with the dignity of a sovereign State. This is contrary to the facts. The Soviet government submitted no demands to the Swiss government which were incompatible with the dignity of an independent sovereign State, nor did it intend submitting such demands.

The statements of the same Swiss press that the Soviet government is obstinately continuing the boycott of Switzerland is likewise incorrect. In an earlier article — on which the Swiss Telegraphic Agency commented — we said the following:

"The boycott was only the result of the attitude of the Swiss government. It is a matter of course that so long as the causes remain which called forth this boycott, the boycott cannot be abolished."

It is perfectly clear that here it is not a question of the bare "insistence on the boycott", but merely an indication that the raising of the boycott is dependent upon the readiness of the Swiss government to meet the justified demands of the government of the Soviet Union.

We intentionally mention a number of details in order that neither the Swiss press, nor any other press, shall be able to mislead its readers. This is all the more necessary as a campaign of lies and provocation regarding this question has already been commenced.

In our first article which was devoted to the approaching preliminary disarmament Conference, we predicted that the refusal of the Soviet government to send its delegates to Geneva would be seized upon by the hostile (and in the first place by the English) press in order to discredit the Soviet Union and to declare it to be an enemy of peace and disarmament.

Our assumption has proved to be thoroughly well-grounded. Reports have appeared in two different countries which were based precisely on such a provocative foundation. The Swiss newspapers declare that the attitude of the Soviet government in this question (that is to say, in the question of relations to Switzerland) is only a pretext in order to "sabotage the preparation of disarmament".

The organ of the German social democrats, the "Vorwärts", which makes use of every opportunity for carrying out useful work for the imperialists, declares in high faluting tones that the objections of the "Izvestia" arouse the not unjustified (!!) suspicion that the Soviet Union is systematically "sabotaging" the work of international peace.

We protest most emphatically against this kind of provocation, which helps the leaders of European imperialism and aids them in their task of discrediting the efforts for peace and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union.

We declare once again that the refusal of the government of the Soviet Union to send a delegation to Switzerland is not in any way influenced by the its positive attitude to the question of disarmament and to the question of its participation in Conferences which are devoted to the work of disarmament. We are thoroughly convinced that the government of the Soviet Union will be prepared to send a delegation to a disarmament Conference to be held in any suitable country, with the exception of Switzerland; it goes without saying that this restriction would be abolished in the event of relations between the Soviet Union and Switzerland being settled at the time of the Conference.

In the face of the attempts at a provocation in this question, we put forward the clear and completely undisguised attitude of the Soviet Union, an attitude which has been laid down in a number of government declarations and which is in harmony with that general policy of peace which the Soviet Union has pursued from the first moment of its existence.

From this attitude we will not depart, and all attempts — both of the open imperialist and of the social-imperialist press — to represent the Soviet Union as "the enemy of peace and disarmament" we shall continue to expose as we have done hitherto.

The Hungarian Forgery Affair and Czechoslovakia.

By K. Kreibich.

In no country has the campaign against the Hungarian bank note forgers been carried on to such an extent and with so much passion as in Czechoslovakia. This country was ten times more French than the French Government and the French press, and the wildest reports as to international complications were spread by the papers inspired by the Foreign Ministry. It was interesting that not only the Benesch Press, but also the papers supporting Svehla actually outbid one another, and that, a rare occurrence, the Foreign Ministry and the Prime Minister worked hand in hand, in the beginning at any rate. Soon however differences arose. The Benesch Press gave the signal "Cease fire!", the Svehla papers followed hesitatingly, but the "Narodni Politika", the organ of the national democrats continued to fume over the laxness of the Government circles and the Press in Paris, recognising that the command to cease fire had been transmitted to Prague from Paris.

Naive democratic and national spirits easily found an explanation of course for the feverish exploitation of the political bank note forgery scandal in Buda-Pest, i. e. the indignation of the respectable Czech democracy at the dirty Fascist monarchist aristocratic business in the Hungary of Horthy, the fight of political morality against political unscrupulousness and corruption, but also the national contradictions between the Czechoslovakian and Hungarian States. It is not our affair to wonder that the Czech democracy, which calmly looked on when thousands of workers were murdered in Hungary, is foaming with rage in its home and foreign politics. The present Czech Coalition Government much a matter of course that, in bourgeois society, property is of more value than human life. As regards morals, it is well known that in bourgeois society they are the twin sister of corruption, for which reason also it is easy to understand that just the party of the Czech socialists, the party of the Foreign Minister Benesch, that chief representative of democratic morality and moral democracy, is at the same time the most corrupt party, the party in which corruption scandals occur most frequently. The truth is that the Hungarian bank note forgery scandal was an extremely welcome pretext for the Czechoslovakian Government to embark on a campaign in its home and foreign policy.

It is an old trick of bourgeois governments, when they have political difficulties and crises at home, to distract the attention of the public from them by staging some affair in foreign politics. The present Czech Coalition Government has indeed enough difficulties of this kind. It got a thorough thrashing at the last election, its parliamentary majority was completely annihilated by the electors. Even now after the extension of the Government Coalition by the addition of the Czech small tradesmen the Government has not got the majority of the electors behind it; its parliamentary majority has only been brought about by a cunning alteration of the franchise law for the worse. The internal solidarity of the Coalition is so weak that it cannot even come to an agreement as to the distribution of the posts of President and Vice-President, in the two Chambers. So far no agreement has been come to with regard to the most urgent legislative tasks. Further there is the unsolved question of Slovakia in which the Government Coalition was almost completely squashed at the election, and that of the national minorities, especially of the German one, problems which for the Government Coalition only exist of course as the question of a compromise with the German bourgeoisie and the Slovak clericals. There is still another serious social question which the Government dare not approach; a movement for higher wages is preparing among the workers of Czechoslovakia whose actual wages come 14th place among those of the capitalist States and are almost 20% behind Germany, whilst the Coalition is planning to raise the taxation of the working masses. In these circumstances it is easy to understand that the ruling circles feel the necessity of giving the population something to divert its attention.

The reputation of our foreign policy however also urgently needs rubbing up. The Treaties of Locarno considerably reduced the significance of Czechoslovakia as guardian of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and the cessation of the struggle between the French and English policy has put an end to the

part played by Benesch as intermediary. The significance of the Little Entente has also been seriously affected, so that the Conference of the Little Entente which was to have been held in January has had to be postponed till April. And, what will remain of the Little Entente if the "Locarno for the Balkans", about which so much has been written in the last few days, and which is backed by English diplomacy, really comes off? Benesch seems to regard the Little Entente as already approaching its end, for he is making desperate efforts to lay a countermine from Warsaw. Poland has through Locarno, got into a similarly unpleasant situation of reduced importance, and has had even less luck with the Baltic League of States which was to be under its leadership, than Benesch with the Little Entente. For this reason, the two brothers, Poland and Czechoslovakia, who, until recently were at daggers drawn — only recently the ratification of the Czecho-Polish commercial treaty was sabotaged by Warsaw and the political-commercial relations almost developed into a tariff war — are now close friends. The countermine to the Balkan Locarno is to be an economic union between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Benesch knows only too well the economic impossibility of carrying out this plan, and he was clever enough to arrange things so that this absurd idea was put forward in the foreign committee of the Sejm. Thus it is quite easy to understand why Benesch seized with such zeal upon the Hungarian bank note forgery affair, that for some days the Government Press was tuned to threats of foreign political complications and interventions. That it did not get as far as a demand for a military march into Hungary is only because Prague received a cold douche from Paris at the right moment. The fact is that on January 8th, the representative of the Czechoslovakian Press bureau in Paris was informed by "an authoritative French source" that "the greatest caution and reserve should be observed" in the affair, that the French Government had "up to the present no evidence of a collective responsibility of the Hungarian Government in the matter and that at present it did not wish to believe in any such participation", that it was desirable "to regard the matter above all as an affair concerning Hungary alone". And, in order to give the Czech Government a plausible motive for calling in its Press pack, the Paris representative of the Czech Press bureau was instructed that there was every reason to suspect that the anti-Hungarian campaign of the Left Press in Vienna was "a cover for efforts to bring about a union of Austria and Germany and similar aims, and to make use of the Hungarian affair for their purposes".

Benesch understood the broad hint from Paris and called off the Press at once. He could not however refrain from carrying out a final manoeuvre to cover his retreat, i. e. the announcement that the matter was to be brought before the League of Nations by Czechoslovakia, for which purpose the pretext was to be used of the forgery of Czechoslovakian bank note dies after the revolution and of Czechoslovakian 50 crown notes in 1920; further the report from Bucharest as to an "exchange of opinion with Belgrade and Prague with regard to the defence of their common interests". This covering manoeuvre shows how glad Benesch would be to rake up the old story of the Little Entente in the light of the scandal of the Hungarian bank note forgers.

The inner political campaign is of course continuing in full swing. The Hungarian forgery affair has come very opportunely for it. The Czech bourgeoisie is preparing for a compromise with the Slovak clericals so as to settle this most important inner political crisis which is also a serious danger from the point of view of foreign policy and of the idea of the State of the Czech bourgeoisie. A campaign against Buda-Pest and against all the oppositional elements in Slovakia must therefore be very welcome just in this situation. For this reason, enquiries have already been started in Carpathian Russia and in Slovakia and attempts are not lacking to connect the radical wing of the Hlinka party with the bank note forgery affair. The danger of a monarchist putsch at the present moment would also be an excellent means of accelerating a compromise with Hlinka. Those who most enthusiastically advocate this are the National Democrats who, if Hlinka entered the Government, would kill two birds with one stone, i. e. a strengthening of the reactionary wing of the Government majority against the Masaryk-Benesch-Svehla group and the sabotage of a compromise with the German bourgeoisie. This accounts for the special wrath of the national democrats

organ at the French Government's interference with the campaign against Hungary.

The Communist Party has very clearly called attention to this connection with the Czechoslovakian campaign in the bank note forgery affair and has sharply protested against the affair being made use of to bring about complications in foreign policy and the danger of war. Our press has most emphatically given expression to the wish that the bank note forgery scandal should be unmasked to its full extent and that it should be made use of for the destruction of the present regime in Hungary; only the working class of Hungary however can carry on the decisive fight and its victory alone would mean the end of the reactionary regime. Any action of the capitalist governments involves the danger of quite different international conflicts arising, because every such action is a cover for quite different intentions from those of overthrowing reaction in Hungary.

The Robber Campaign of the German Princes against the German People.

By Th. Neubauer, (Berlin).

At a time when the broad masses of the people of Germany are sinking into ever deeper and terrible misery, the deposed German princes have come forward with claims on their former States amounting to more than 2000 million marks, with the result that a tremendous storm of indignation has broken out throughout the whole of Germany. In the whole of the working class, and also among the petty bourgeoisie in the towns and in the peasantry, great indignation prevails. In view of the monstrous facts which this affair has brought to light this indignation is not surprising.

A Russian Grand Duke, Karl Michael, who fought as a General in the world war against Germany, was recognised in 1921 by the new "Republican" government as the rightful successor to the throne of the late Prince von Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who committed suicide in February 1918, and was compensated for his "renunciation" of the throne and rule with five million marks.

The "Crown Princess" Militza, a Mecklenburg princess, who has been driven out of Montenegro, was given 8½ million marks by the government as compensation. She did not receive any "compensation" from her Montenegrin "subjects". On her disposal she was not even allowed to take with her her furniture. But the "Republican" government of Mecklenburg gladly and promptly paid her another round million "in order that she might settle down comfortably abroad."

Where there are princes there are also mistresses. The two bed companions of the late Prince of Mecklenburg, a certain Condensa di Matzenau — she obtained this title from the Negro Republic Liberia — and a Countess Bubna-Litic, are claiming an apapanage in return for their strenuous, nightly hard labour in the service of the monarchy.

The former Duke of Sachsen-Gotha, who as an English Prince came to the throne of the State of Gotha in 1906 — at that time with a fortune of 25,000 Pounds — has obtained a judgment from the High Court at Leipzig, according to which he is to be handed over 43,000 hectares of forest land, 13 estates, several castles, five hotels and numerous valuable art treasures. These amount in value to about 200 million marks.

A similar sum of 180 to 200 million marks has been received by the Bavarian Wittelsbach.

In December 1918 the Thuringian Prince von Schwarzburg renounced all his estates, in return for which he was granted an annual pension of 210,000 marks. In 1925 his heir came forward and declared that the prince had acted at the time out of fear, and obtained from a German court of justice a judgment, according to which the Treaty of renunciation of 1918 is "contrary to good morals" and that the princely heirs are to be handed over 36 estates, and 29 hectares of forest land, as well his former castles.

The former Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar was content to receive 5000 hectares of forest land and an annual pension of 300,000 paper marks — 7370 gold marks as "compensation". In 1925 his widow obtained a revaluation of the 7370 gold marks at 100,000 gold marks. This revaluation has meant an increase of 1400%, whilst those with small deposits in the saving banks have to be satisfied with 15% and 25% revaluation.

The former duke of Sachsen-Meiningen obtained a revaluation of 140% from a court of arbitration, consisting of a jurist, a democrat and a social democrat.

The former Duke of Braunschweig, received, in addition to several castles, four estates and 11,000 hectares of forest land, an annual pension of 250,000 gold marks, and this on the basis of an arrangement proposed by the purely social democratic government.

It was likewise a social democratic Prime Minister who granted the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in addition to 2435 hectares agricultural land, 4000 hectares of forest land and five castles, a lump sum of 6 million marks and an annual pension of 389,340 marks.

The most impudent claims of all are, of course, those made by the Hohenzollerns, who hitherto have drawn 50,000 marks a month as an unemployed dole for out of work royalty. They have demanded: four royal castles, 14 valuable blocks of building property in Berlin and Potsdam, 290,000 acres of land and 30 million gold marks. And the social democratic ministers of the Prussian government have already agreed to this.

The demands of the former 20 royal houses amount in all to two to three milliard marks, about three times the amount of the Dawes loan!

Ibn Saud, the Victor in Arabia.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The British government recently published the text of the agreement between Sir Gilbert Clayton, their special delegate, and Ibn Saud, who is now the final victor in the Nedschd-Hedjaz war. With Medina and Djedda Ibn Saud has conquered the entire territory of king Ali. England is hastening to recognise the rule of Ibn Saud and will only secure her own frontiers.

The English government represent the conclusion of the Treaty with Ibn Saud, who is now in possession of the whole of North Arabia from the Red Sea to the Persia Gulf, as a success for British policy. As a matter of fact the extent and the duration of this success is very questionable.

As regards the Treaty itself: In spite of the greatest efforts, Sir Gilbert Clayton could not induce Ibn Saud to renounce the oasis of Hof in favour of England. Contrary to earlier reports, the only concession which Great Britain was able to obtain was the recognition of the English overlordship of Akaba and Masn, which have been occupied by the English since the middle of June. In return for this England, in accordance with the treaty, was compelled to grant Ibn Saud free passage for his caravans to Syria. In addition to this Ibn Saud, contrary to the official British denials, will receive considerable financial support from Great Britain, a sort of tribute in return for his undertaking not to attack the English mandatory area. There exists the danger that Great Britain will meet with the same experiences with Ibn Saud as she did with Hussein. As soon as Ibn Saud feels strong enough, it is quite possible that, just as did Hussein, he will ally himself with the Arabian national movement of the neighbouring countries, in spite of religious differences, in which case he will be a more dangerous enemy for Great Britain than Hussein.

In spite of the satisfaction displayed by the English newspapers, the victory of Ibn Saud can in no way be regarded as a victory for England. He has freed the English from the troublesome Hashimites, but the friendship between England and Ibn Saud is much less firm than the former alliance with Hussein. If Ibn Saud who is today the victor and the ruler of Arabia, retains power, friction will very soon arise between him and England, against which no treaties will be of any avail. Should Ibn Saud be defeated (for example by Imam Jihje, who is the second factor of power in the Arabian Peninsula) then the English will be again compelled to change their orientation. The treaties have created for Great Britain a temporary support (especially in the event of a Mosul war), but their importance must not be over-estimated.

By their open abandonment of their former ally Hussein, which is solemnly confirmed by the new treaty, the British imperialists have sustained another loss, which is of great weight in oriental politics: British prestige in the Arabian countries has fallen greatly as a result of this open breach of faith. When one remembers, for example, that the immediate cause of the outbreak of the Syrian revolt was the

treacherous breach of faith on the part of the French imperialists, and that the prestige of European States with the leading circles in Arabian politics today is still determined by the naive belief in their "honesty", then we are justified in concluding that Great Britain by her treaty with Ibn Saud, has lost just as much in the whole sphere of Arabian policy as she has gained.

THE BALKANS

The Fight for the Amnesty for the Victims of the White Terror in Bulgaria.

Under the pressure of the struggle of the international proletariat and of the martyred Bulgarian people, the bloody Zankov-Volkov government was compelled in its last days to introduce an Amnesty Bill into parliament. Now, after the resignation of the Zankov government, the new Ljaptchev government boasts that it is extending this amnesty bill, which originated from the Party to which both Zankov and Ljaptchev belong. Although the amnesty decree was to be issued during the Christmas holidays, the bill has not yet become law, because the rulers are afraid even of their own amnesty, and have not up till now been able to come to an agreement in this question.

According to the bill of the government, the amnesty is to include the political "offences" committed during the Tirnovovo events in the year 1922, the June events in the year 1923, and, according to the assertions of the new government, the September revolt of 1923. In this connection it should be borne in mind that very few people are now in prison on account of the June events of 1923; and there are to be excluded from the amnesty on account of the September events "organisers", "inciters", "plunderers", and "murderers", so that only a very few of those arrested and condemned in connection with these events will actually share in the amnesty. The thousands of prisoners arrested and condemned after the 16th of April are also excluded from the amnesty, as well as the greater portion of the emigrants, most of whom are at present in Jugoslavia and will not be able to return to Bulgaria after this amnesty.

On the other hand however, the law provides a complete amnesty for the war profiteers and those responsible for the national catastrophe (Radoslavov Cabinet), and also for all house-owners who have been condemned for infringement of the Tenants Protection Act and for all police and other state organs which have been guilty of acts of violence against the people since the June putsch.

Even the press of the bourgeois and social democratic "legal opposition" of Bulgaria criticises this amnesty bill and characterises it as "empty talk" which cannot give the satisfaction that was hoped for it. One reads for instance:

"There is no sense in an amnesty law which does not cover the cases which occurred in the civil war. The government bill not only does not provide a broad amnesty, but it even shows a certain partiality, in that it grants an amnesty in regard to crimes (of government people) committed out of motives of personal gain, and on the other hand excludes from the amnesty a number of political offences committed by political opponents of the government".

From all this it is to be clearly seen that for thousands and thousands of victims of the white terror in Bulgaria, including the emigrants, the amnesty continues to remain a demand which can only be realised by the intensification of the struggle of the international proletariat. From the reports of the bourgeois papers it seems that the amnesty, according to the statements of the new fascist Minister for Justice, Professor Kulev, shall apply in all to 1500 persons. In this number however there are also included the war criminals, government organs etc., so that of the victims of the white terror — there are at present about 4000 political prisoners in Bulgaria — only a third, at the very highest, will come under the amnesty.

Among the 4000 political prisoners who are at present pining in the dungeons of Bulgaria, there are hundreds who

have been sentenced to death and whose lives are in constant danger. Moreover, the Bulgarian prisons contain hundreds of arrested and condemned women and young people. Thus, for example, in the military prisons mentioned below there are in all about 650 juvenile prisoners, distributed as follows: in Sofia over 100, in Vratza over 70, in Philippopolis, Ruatschuk, Schumen, Varna, Plevna and Slive 50 each, in Stara Zagora 40, in Burgas and Tirmovo 30 each, in Haskovo 20, in Tatar Pazardchik 15, etc.

In spite of the savage persecution and threats against all those displaying sympathy for these under arrest, among the Bulgarian masses there is a growing movement which is demanding a general and immediate amnesty, and which movement is finding expression before all in numerous appeals to parliament and in statements in the press. Thus from the town of Triavna an appeal has been sent to parliament signed by 195 persons — the parents, relatives and acquaintances of the condemned "conspirators" — and which states:

"We do not wish here to go into the question as to which side was right in this struggle (civil war). History will pronounce its weighty and just verdict on this. We who have children, parents, brothers, sisters and other relatives, as well as fellow citizens among those arrested as "conspirators", send this appeal to you for an immediate general political amnesty".

In an appeal addressed to parliament demanding an amnesty and signed by 282 persons from the village of Batak it is stated:

"20 families in this village are left to their fate. We tremble to think of the approaching hard winter".

A similar appeal, signed by 23 persons, was sent from the town of Aftos while, further appeals have been sent from Sofia, Wetren, Tirmovo, Haskovo, Varna etc. which are signed by hundreds of wives, children and relatives of the political prisoners.

A letter from the Plevna prison, in which over 300 political prisoners are confined, states:

"If only the participaters in the September revolt and not their comrades involved in the events since April 1925 are amnestied, the emigrants, who for the greater part have been living abroad, chiefly in Jugoslavia, since September 1923, will see in the amnesty no guarantee for their liberty and their lives and will not return to Bulgaria."

The only guarantee for a real amnesty for all the victims of the white terror in Bulgaria consists in increasing the struggle of the international proletariat, which in the present international campaign against the reign of terror in Bulgaria must place in the forefront the slogan of an immediate general amnesty for all political prisoners in Bulgaria.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Red International of Labour Unions to the Sixth All-India Trade Union Congress.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has sent the following telegram to the Sixth All-India Trade Union Congress at Madras:

"In the name of the world revolutionary Trade Union Movement the Red International of Labour Unions sends heartfelt greetings to your Congress and wishes it every success in uniting the wide masses of Indian toilers for national and social emancipation.

Asia's economic development, her industrial growth and the powerful national Labour Movement of such countries as China and India, where there live almost half of humanity, is the most important phenomenon of our time. Even conservative elements of the European Labour Movement who not so long ago looked down upon the toilers in the colonies, their attitude being that of the exploiters, are beginning to

understand the oneness of interests of the workers in the home countries and in the colonies.

From its very inception the R. I. L. U. broadcasted the slogan of the independence of the colonies and the establishment of fraternal relations between the Labour Movement of the East and the West while the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam during all the years of its existence never once spoke in favour of freeing the oppressed peoples from imperialist exploitation.

The Red International's steady work in uniting the workers of all countries into a single powerful organisation has borne fruit. The lack of unity and the narrow national outlook of the Labour Movement inherited from the past is giving way to an ever-growing urge towards international trade union unity. Ever greater masses of organised workers the world over are becoming convinced that only by unifying the workers of all countries, particularly of the Orient and of the Occident, lies the road to the successful day to day struggle for their vital economic interests and to complete class and national freedom. The setting up of a Joint Advisory Committee by the Trade Unions of Britain and the USSR, furnishes ample proof of the growing demand among the broad masses for the united front and unity.

The establishment of connections between the All-India Congress and the Red International of Labour Unions with the unions of China, Corea, Mongolia, Indonesia, Persia, Egypt, Tunisia and other colonial and semi-colonial countries in its ranks would advance the cause of world trade union unity in which the Western and Eastern workers are equally interested. In the North Western Railway strike and in the heroic and victorious Bombay Textile strike the Indian workers displayed not only the will to fight, not only class endurance, but a high degree of proletarian solidarity. The R. I. L. U. expresses the hope that your Congress will display proletarian solidarity likewise in the question of international trade union unity and take the initiative in establishing connections between the labour movement of the East and the West.

All success to the Sixth All-India Trade Union Congress!
Long live the Alliance of the oppressed peoples and classes of the East and of the West!

Forward to World Trade Union Unity!

The Executive Bureau
of the Red International of Labour Unions.

A. Lozovsky,
General secretary."

The "Trade Union Law" of the Italian Reformists.

By G. Germanetto (Milan).

The trade union law, i. e. the Fascist law which Mussolini got both houses of Parliament to pass, in order to subjugate the working masses more and more to industrial capitalism, and the pressure of the communists organised in the C. G. d. L. (Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, General Confederation of Labour, the trade union organisation of Italy which is under the rule of the Reformists) who, in spite of all Mussolini laws refuse to give up fighting, have at last induced the C. G. d. L. to abandon its reserve.

After the communist trade union committees have repeatedly demanded that resolutions be passed with regard to the new situation, the C. G. d. L. has at last issued a communication to the Press — the only document of the C. G. d. L. in this period — which deserves closer consideration.

The Prefecture of Milan forbade the communist "Unita" and the social democratic "Avanti!" to publish the document, parts of which were instead published by the bourgeois Press. The document is a further proof that the Reaction furnishes the Reformists of the C. G. d. L. with a pretext for continuing their anti-proletarian campaign within the Labour organisation.

After the offensive of the Reformists and Maximalists against the trade union cartels (Labour Chambers), which were replaced by the ill-famed Uffici Confederali (offices of the C. G. d. L.), the object of which was to prevent the workers participating directly in their organisations, the offensive is now being directed against the trade unions.

In essentials, the new "trade union law" — one is quite justified in giving this name to the new regulations of the Reformists which followed Mussolini's trade union laws — amounts to a measure for finally preventing the workers making their voices heard.

Both Mussolini and the Reformists have appointed their... Podesta (burgomaster appointed by the higher authorities); Mussolini in the municipalities, the Reformists in the local proletarian organisations. The enlarged Executive Committee of the C. G. d. L. which met in December, after investigating the situation, passed resolutions to this effect.

At this meeting of the Executive Committee a resolution was passed as to the attitude of the leaders of the Printers' Union, who had in a disgraceful way placed the Union at the mercy of the Fascists, in which it was stated that, by their behaviour, the leaders had automatically placed themselves outside the C. G. d. L.; the Conference further approved of the attitude of the leaders of the other graphic occupational unions and commissioned the select committee of the C. G. d. L. to adopt the appropriate measures.

We see that the Reformist leaders of the C. G. d. L., who are ready to expel communists who are guilty of desiring to protect the C. G. d. L. against the attacks of reaction, have taken their time over proceeding against the traitors of the Printers' Union and have waited until events and the pressure of the communists forced their hand.

In consequence of the new trade union law which, as is well known, establishes a Fascist monopoly, the enlarged committee of the C. G. d. L. had to discuss the reconstruction of the C. G. d. L. The following resolutions were passed.

The already existing trade union cartels and secretariats will everywhere be replaced by functionaries appointed by the committee of the C. G. d. L., as far as possible in agreement with the local organisations, who will be assisted, as far as is feasible, by the consultative committees elected by the sections and groups concerned. The only bodies created by the C. G. d. L. which remain therefore are the National Occupational Unions and the Mixed National Union. The occupational unions which are not strong enough either numerically or financially to manage their own affairs, are managed by the mixed national union with the help of consultative committees chosen according to occupations. The cards of membership of the C. G. d. L. are distributed by the national unions which must pay a minimum annual subscription of 20 Lire, the national unions themselves and their local groups having the right to fix higher subscriptions, in agreement with the members concerned, by way of raising national and local extra charges. For every card of membership 10 lire have to be passed on to the C. G. d. L.

Further, the meeting examined the Government Bill as to the unification and further development of social insurance, and nominated the leading officials of the C. G. d. L.

The select committee of the C. G. d. L. will consist of the General Secretary Buozzi and the secretaries Carlo Azimonti and Battista Maglione, who will have far-reaching authority and must in more urgent and important cases consult with the members of the directorate Bentivoglio, Galbiati, Reina, Benzi and Viotto, the enlarged committee having the right to demand reports.

With the exception of Viotto the Maximalist, all the committee members mentioned are Reformists. No single communist has been admitted to the committee.

The enlarged committee is under the obligation of summoning an ordinary national conference as soon as the new membership books are distributed and on the basis of the books actually issued.

Briefly stated, the Reformists have guaranteed themselves complete control of the C. G. d. L., more securely than ever. The trade union cartels and the secretariats are replaced by functionaries of the reformists. The system of management and the determination of the exact tasks of the joint committees of various occupations, are thus postponed for a more suitable opportunity. The anticipated amalgamation of occupational unions into one mixed national union, which will also be administered by the Reformist secretaries of the select committee of the C. G. d. L., is the first move in a campaign against the three national unions controlled by the communists, those of the Wood-Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and of Private Employees.

The leaders of the C. G. d. L. do not desire to carry on a campaign against Mussolini's new trade union laws, as the

masses of workers wish, but to adapt their own regulations to Mussolini's laws. They reject the proposals of the communists which aim at defending the C.G.d.L. But the will to fight of the masses will destroy both the trade union laws of Mussolini and those of the Reformists and Maximalists, over the heads of the reformist and Maximalist leaders.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union on the Closing of the Discussion.

The Plenary session of the newly elected Central Committee held after the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of the Soviet Union has, in pursuance of the decisions of the Party Conference on the political report of the C. C., and in complete accordance with the organisatory traditions of the Party, decided, among other things, that after the passing of the decisions of the Party Conference the discussion must be closed. This was already pointed out in the letter from the Party Conference to the Leningrad organisation.

In so doing the Plenary session of the C. C. has been actuated by the necessity of overcoming with the least possible friction the complications which have been caused by the behaviour of the Leningrad delegation at the Party Conference. The Plenum of the C. C. has therefore instructed the reporters who represent the Party line, to base their reports on the Party Conference in accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference and to be free from personal motives when delivering the same.

The Plenum of the C. C. considered it impossible that responsible comrades of the minority, members and candidates of the C. C. and of the Central Control Commission, should further propagate their views which have been rejected by the Party Conference.

On the other hand the Plenum of the C. C. considers it admissible and necessary that, in the course of delivering the reports on the Party Conference, the standpoint of the minority at the Party Conference and the behaviour of the Leningrad delegation should be subjected to an objective criticism, and that the Party bodies shall possess complete freedom to adopt such resolutions on the reports regarding the decisions of the Party Conference which they consider appropriate, consistent, of course, with complete submission to these decisions of the Party Conference.

OUR MARTYRS

Anna Majmunkova.

By Edda Baum.

On the 6th of June 1925 our Comrade Anna Majmunkova was dragged by the blood-hounds of the murderous Zankov government to the Sofia cemetery where they severed her head from her body. This murder was preceded by cruel tortures: the brutal white guardist officers mishandled the defenceless woman and violated her in the most bestial manner. In the course of 28 days she was repeatedly "cross-examined", which means that she was tortured and ill-treated in the most diabolical manner, in order to extort a confession from her. It was with great difficulty that a comrade was able to recognise in the countenance covered with wounds and distorted with mental agony, our comrade Anna Majmunkova.

"Tell the comrades that I have betrayed nothing", these were the last words of Anna Majmunkova, this was the last greeting, the last charge of the dead to the living. Anna Majmunkova came from a petty bourgeois family and was for several years engaged as a teacher, before she placed her powers, her knowledge and experience in the service of the toiling and exploited masses of Bulgaria. Anna Majmunkova did not belong to those intellectuals who are swept into the proletarian camp on the rising revolutionary flood and who when this flood ebbs, when the proletariat is

temporarily defeated, return back from whence they came, into the bourgeois camp.

Anna Majmunkova belonged to the revolutionary movement since 1910. Ever since then she was an active member of the "Tjesnjaki", the bolshevist wing of the social democratic Party of Bulgaria, which had already separated from the latter in 1903 and conducted an obstinate fight against the treacherous opportunist tendencies of the social democratic Party.

Anna Majmunkova was a member of the Central Committee for work among the women. The periodical "Ravnostvo" (Equality) which she edited, was a flag around which the exploited and enslaved proletarian women in the town and village rallied in increasing numbers. In addition to her work of enlightening and organising the proletarian women in Bulgaria, comrade Anna Majmunkova took part in all actions of the Party and served it continually with her voice and pen. Anna Majmunkova's nature was characterised by an extraordinarily profound seriousness; everything she said or wrote bore the stamp of a strong sense of responsibility. Her speeches were not rousing, but were always carefully thought out and prepared, and therefore left a deep impression. In 1923, after the insurrectionary movement in Chaskovo (Southern Bulgaria), she was arrested, but shortly afterwards released under the condition that she did not leave this town. In spite of this she returned to Sofia, where she placed all her powers in the service of the cause and by her activity won the esteem and confidence of the working masses. In 1924 she edited the women's paper "Robotnitcha" (The Woman Worker). Soon afterwards the paper was suppressed and Anna Majmunkova was again arrested. After some time she was again released and again took up illegal revolutionary work. She remained at her post until, after the outrage in the Cathedral, she fell into the hands of the officers, who did not relinquish their prey alive.

The murder of Anna Majmunkova was not the result of a spontaneous outburst of rage on the part of a furious and misguided crowd. It was not the carrying out of a "judicial" sentence, but nevertheless it was the deliberate well-thought-out act of white class justice carried out in cold blood. Anna Majmunkova had really merited the deadly hate of her class enemies by a life full of work and struggle in the service of the emancipation of the enslaved masses of the people of Bulgaria. The deadly blow which put an end to the life of this self-sacrificing and true fighter, was directed in the first place against the Communist Party of Bulgaria, so hated by the bourgeois pack. The social democratic parties of all countries pass over this act of bourgeois justice in profound silence. They maintain silence not only in this case of the murder of the "guilty" woman champion, they also maintain silence regarding the numerous murders of defenceless women and children, who were only connected with the Communist Party and its Cause by family ties. The social democracy also maintains silence regarding the news of the murder of Anna Dimitrova, a woman of 60 years, because she refused to divulge where her son, a political refugee, had fled. It also says nothing regarding the murder of Mrs. Nemova, who was so ill-treated that it was impossible to remove her clothes from her swollen body. The social democrats remain silent regarding the news of the murder of Mrs. Krotov, who was murdered in bed along with her child at her breast. The "crime" of this unfortunate woman was that the hangmen assumed that she, as well as her husband, who was also killed, sympathised with the insurgent peasants. The fate of the young woman student Zora Dragotchova, who had been condemned to death and whose execution was only postponed because she had been violated and had become pregnant, did not disturb the Second International and the Social democratic Parties affiliated to it.

The social democracy maintains a conspiracy of silence. The workers and peasants in almost all countries also remain silent. But this stillness cannot last for ever. Indeed there are people who in this stillness hear the workers and peasants gnashing their teeth; those workers and peasants who appear docile today, will to-morrow raise the flag that has slipped from the hands of Anna Majmunkova — the flag which will lead them to inevitable struggles and to the inevitable victory of the enslaved proletarian masses in all countries. On this day the social democratic workers will return to the old and, shoulder to shoulder with the communist workers, will fight for the common Cause and for the common victory.

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The XIV. Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

Discussion on the Political and Organisatory Reports and Concluding Speeches of Comrades Zinoviev (Co-Reporter), Stalin and Molotov (Reporters) of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Russia.

Continuation of the Discussion on the Political and Organisatory Report of the Central Committee.

After Bukharin, the next speaker was Rutin. In his opinion Zinoviev makes no concrete proposals. There is not a single member who overlooks the kulak danger, but we see it as it really is, and not in an exaggerated light.

Comrade Postichov pointed out the impermissibility of allowing a co-report to be given in the present situation.

The next speaker, comrade Krupskaja, declared: Kamenev was right in saying that the course of the Party is directed towards the rich peasantry. The poverty among the peasantry is the result of our backwardness, and therefore the whole of the Party forces must be concentrated on overcoming this backwardness. This policy was rightly determined. Bukharin's slogan of "enrich yourselves" is faulty, for it can be applied to the middle and rich peasantry as well as to the poor. The speaker declared herself not in agreement with the policy of extending the NEP in the village. The successes of industry have led to an over-estimation of the economic situation. The same over-estimation may be observed with respect to the state apparatus. The present growing activity of the proletariat must be directed towards rendering state industry completely socialist.

Comrade Krupskaja concluded her speech with the declaration that there is no thought of a split, or of lack of confidence

in the Central. It is solely a question of determining the confines of a collective consultation of constantly recurring questions.

The next speaker, Petrovsky (Ukraine) declared that the speakers from Leningrad had proposed no political programme. Zinoviev's co-report was delivered with the intention of showing that there existed some sort of vacillation in the Party. Comrade Krupskaja had been at fault in publishing an article directly asserting that the Central is pursuing a false policy, and demanding that our policy be altered into one of crushing the kulaks. There is no single organisation which sees a kulak deviation in the policy pursued by the C. C. The attitude taken by the Leningrad comrades is an insult to the Party.

The next speaker, Polonsky, declared that at the time of the Trotsky discussion the Party landed with the right foot in the petty bourgeois bog. The Central dragged it out of the bog again. And now Zinoviev thrusts the left foot of the Party into the bog. Doubtless the Central will again prove powerful enough to prevent this. The Leningrad delegation must not be confused with the Leningrad organisation or the Leningrad working class.

Comrade Lashevitch maintained that no collective leadership exists in the Party. Uglanov was wrong in declaring at the Moscow Conference that our task consists in continuing the