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The Naval Manoeuvres of the Imperialists before Hankow.

By Tang Shin She.

In 1924, international naval manoeuvres were held before Canton at the instigation of MacDonald. They were directed against the measures taken by the Canton Government in the interest of customs' autonomy for China. To-day the Government of Baldwin and Chamberlain is preparing similar manoeuvres in Hankow for the same reason. Whereas MacDonald in his time wanted to uproot the first young shoot of revolution, the capitalist Chamberlain regime has set itself the task of cutting down the tree which has in the meantime grown big and strong.

Even a few months ago, immediately after the Canton troops had taken Hankow and thoroughly defeated Wu-Pei-Fu, Great Britain tried to bring about international intervention through the Wanhien affair. The other Powers however turned a cold shoulder, for it did not concern their interest but those of Great Britain alone.

To-day, Great Britain gives the following reasons for international intervention:

1. The strike and boycott against foreigners in Hankow announced for December 4th.
2. The formation of the Chinese Union of Marine Customs' Officers in Hankow under the leadership of the present Chinese customs' inspector who, amongst other things, is opposed to the preference given to foreign officials.
3. The intended introduction of additional tariffs as in Canton.

The carrying through of this plan — so runs the commentary in the English papers — would mean the abolition of the privileges of foreigners in China, would mean a breach of the treaties, would mean a threat to the lives of foreigners in Hankow!

The outbreak of a general strike against the imperialists after the capture of Hankow by the revolutionary troops, was a matter of course, because the situation of the workers in that town had long become unbearable, whilst any resistance had up till then been vigorously suppressed by Wu-Pei-Fu. Even in recent times, after the Canton troops had actually occupied Hankow, the imperialists presumed to make the most insolent provocations. Thus for instance, in a British tobacco factory, several workers were turned into the street without any reason and, at the post office, an employee, the leader of the Union of Post Office Officials, was dismissed without notice. In both cases, it resulted in a strike. The indignation of the workers in general is increasing from day to day because the employers are trying by every means to prevent the mass organisation of the workers. The boycotting movement — chiefly directed against England — is also a matter of course; for it is one of the principal weapons of the Chinese national revolution; it is at the same time an act of sympathy for the workers of Canton and Hong-Kong, who are still on strike. It will set in wherever the Canton Government comes into power.

As regards the marine customs' officials, it is absolutely inevitable that they should organise resistance in view of the oppression and the treatment they have to put up with at the hands of the imperialists. The annual expenditure on the salaries of customs' officials in China amounts to 7,900,000 Haikwan Taels (1 H. T. = about 3 shillings); of these two thirds are allotted to the 1300 foreign officials, while only one third goes to the 7000 Chinese officials. Officials of equal rank receive, if they are foreigners 200 taels a month, if they are Chinese 100 taels. The foreigner receives a family allowance, the Chinaman does not. The lower grades of service are of course only filled by Chinese. A clerk gets 25—30 taels a month, a messenger 8—10 taels. The main part of the work is of course done by the Chinese. The foreigners only concern themselves with profitable business, such as opium-smuggling. A large proportion of the customs' officials belong to the intelligentsia; they have not only experienced in their own persons the difference in the treatment shown to foreign and Chinese officials, but have also witnessed how differently the duty on goods is estimated with respect to their countrymen and to foreigners.

After the Canton Government had seized the power, they therefore took up an attitude of opposition and declared themselves in favour of the policy of the Kouomintang and of Chinese customs' autonomy. The organisation of the customs' officials in Hankow (they have long been organised in Canton) is the first step in their difficult campaign.

The introduction of additional duties in Hankow is not in any sense an "illegal proceeding". When, on October 19th, these new duties were introduced in Canton, the Canton Government emphatically stated that they applied to its whole territory.

The three reasons for intervention brought forward by the imperialists, especially the English, are the well-known demands of the Canton Government, for which it has been fighting for years, chiefly against Great Britain.

The motives for the attack of the Great Powers are as follows:

1. They wish to prevent the advance of the revolutionary Canton troops on Shanghai; in doing so, they are rendering the greatest help to Chang-Tso-Lin in his plan to march into Shanghai.

2. Up to the present, all attempts at intervention have, to a certain extent, been prevented by the acts of protest of the international workers. The imperialists are now trying, by their active propaganda and with the help of the aristocracy of labour of all countries, to poison the mind of the masses, i. e. they wish to prevent the masses from expressing their sympathy for the Chinese movement for freedom.

Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsung-Chang are making every effort to carry out the plan of General Sutton, their English adviser, and to enter the territory round the mouth of the Yangtse. The population of Shanghai and of the provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Ngan-Huiis protesting vigorously against the entry of the Mukden troops and is demanding democracy and administrative autonomy in its districts and provinces. This movement is so wide-spread that not only the working masses but even the bourgeoisie have joined it. The local authorities and troops decline to have anything to do with either Chang-Tso-Lin or Sun-Chuan-Fang. Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsung-Chang wish to convey some of their troops by rail and some by sea to Shanghai. It is already to be anticipated that there will be a conflict between these troops and the population on their arrival. In view of this "danger", the imperialists have sent their gun-boats to Hankow and Kiukiang in order to oppose the Canton troops, should the latter come down the Yangtse river to help the population of Shanghai in an insurrection.

In view of the present serious situation, it is absolutely necessary for the international proletariat, especially that of Britain and Japan, to raise an active protest against the intrigues and the plans of attack of the imperialist Governments. The working masses must also oppose the shameful policy of the leaders of the 2nd International, who advocate the protection of "civilisation" in the colonial countries. The British workers especially have every reason to proceed against the Mac-Donald clique which, at their Party Conference at Margate in October, declined to bring before the Government the demands of the masses for the withdrawal of the warships from Chinese waters.

POLITICS

The Conflict Between France and Italy and the C. P. F.

By J. Doriot (Paris).

The most recent demonstrations which have taken place in France and Italy have brought into glaring relief the whole seriousness of the conflict which is maturing between the imperialism of France and the imperialism of Italy. These demonstrations have clearly shown how great is the danger of war in Europe.

This struggle between the two imperialisms is a consequence of the peace treaties of Versailles etc.

Italy has a population of 42 millions, two-fifths of whom are compelled to live on a third of the territory of the country. The net increase of population amounts to half a million annually, so that a large number of people are obliged to emigrate every year. Since the great war, both North America and South America are almost completely closed to Italian emigrants. The economic crisis in Europe is also limiting emigration and the crisis which is setting in France is closing to Italy the most important territory into which Italian emigrants have hitherto streamed.

The population of France on the other hand, which also amounts to 42 millions, among whom are three million foreigners, lives on very rich land which exceeds the area of Italy by 200,000 square kilometers.

This is the basis on which Italian imperialism lays claim to the French territories of Nice, Savoy and Corsica, which are principally inhabited by Italians.

In the present conflict between the two Powers, considerations of an industrial nature also play an important part. Italy — a country with a manufacturing industry, which greatly developed during the war — is becoming more and more dependent on the countries which produce raw materials. It suffers from a lack of wood, iron, coal and phosphates. Thanks to the Treaty of Versailles, France has a superfluity of coal and phosphates. As a result of the last colonial wars and especially of the war in Morocco, France has now acquired unlimited possession of vast new beds of phosphates. The crisis in Great Britain and the formation of the Steel Cartel have still more intensified the economic pressure of other countries on Italy. The growth of production in France on the other hand is increasing her predatory lusts. This struggle for markets on the part of France, and for raw materials on the part of Italy is the foundation of the present struggle.

France possesses a colonial Empire of ten million square kilometers with a population of 60 millions, but, when the loot was divided after the world war, Italy only received a few strips of land which were almost completely desert. This has led to Italy's demand for colonies, and a silent struggle between the two imperialist Powers is developing round each of the French colonies.

In the French colony of Tunis, which is immediately opposite Italy in North Africa, the relation of forces is favourable for the Italians. The population consists of 2,000,000 natives, 100,000 Italians (12,000 of them being colonists) and 50,000 French (of whom 5000 are colonists). Italian imperialism is aiming at the possession of Tunis. As a counterstroke to the Italian demands, French imperialism is carrying on a regime of naturalization which is intended to alter the relation of forces. Not only are natives and persons from the Island of Malta — which lies between Italy and Tunis, is populated by Italians but owned by Great Britain — recognised as naturalized Frenchmen, but even Italians themselves.

The Italian Fascists have organised a demonstration in Tunis against this French policy which is intended to change the Italian population of Tunis into a national minority by 1931. The demand for the cession of Tunis to Italy has been made openly by responsible representatives of Fascism.

In Abyssinia, France rules both politically and economically. The only railway is in the hands of France so that France has the monopoly of the connection of the country with the outside world. Italy and Great Britain are now proceeding to divide Abyssinia amongst themselves into spheres of influence, without any consideration of the resolutions of the Conference in 1900 which guaranteed the integrity of Abyssinia. Italy is in the course of constructing a railway which will compete with the French

one. The British wish to tap the water of lake Tana purely for their own purposes.

The French imperialists who have political influence over Ras Tafari, the ruler of Abyssinia, have succeeded in persuading him to raise before the League of Nations a flaring protest the intentions of Great Britain and Italy.

Alongside the struggle for the colonies, a fight is going on for the predominant position in the Basin of the Mediterranean Sea. In this domain, Italy's rivalry has increased, especially in the last few years, and has received the support of Great Britain. In quite recent times, Italy has found a new ally in Spain which is discontented with the distribution of the booty after the war in Morocco.

Italian rivalry is a serious blow to France in Roumania and Jugoslavia, where French and Britain influences are also opposed to one another.

The conflict between France and Italy is also evident in the question of naval and military armaments. On both frontiers technical war-equipment is being constructed, and the navies of the two Powers are competing with one another. Hardly has France begun to construct new warships, when embittered polemics start between the Press of the two countries and Italy begins to demand a reinforcement of the Italian navy.

Recent events in France, especially the affair of the decoy-informer Ricciotti Garibaldi, have thrown new light on the fact of the struggle between the two imperialisms. Briand wished to make use of the Garibaldi case in order to introduce dissension into the alliance between Italy and Spain. It is quite possible that Garibaldi was simultaneously an agent of Mussolini and of the French police. Briand's attempt has failed, but it is very characteristic of the present diplomatic struggle.

In connection with all these difficulties, signs of a war psychology are again cropping up. The French bourgeoisie has begun an artificial preparation by using for its imperialist purposes the anti-Fascist mood of the masses which was, to a large extent, created by our propaganda. The democratic and socialist parties and newspapers, which represent the affair as a struggle of French democracy against "blood-thirsty Fascism", are leading this crusade.

Even in the ranks of our own Party, to whom the significance of war as such had been rendered clear enough by the Morocco war, individual voices were heard, speaking of the necessity of "supporting the French bourgeoisie in case of war, in order to start a campaign against the bourgeoisie afterwards".

The Party has most energetically opposed this chauvinist deviation. At an informative meeting of the Party in the Paris district, a resolution in favour of supporting the lines laid down by the C. C. was passed unanimously.

The chief task of the Communist Party is to fight the bourgeoisie in its own country. Only when we have applied all our forces to the struggle against our own bourgeoisie, have defeated it and taken the power into our own hands, shall we be able to do all that is necessary to attain more freedom and greater force for the fight against Fascism.

As a result of recent events, the Communist Party of France has come to the following conclusions:

1. In the Party, the ideological propaganda on the question of war must be strengthened, a systematic fight must be carried on against the social chauvinist deviations in our own ranks, and the Party must be prepared for the idea of defeatism.

2. In the present conflict, the anti-Fascist bluff of the French Government must be unmasked, and that by the following measures:

a) A proof of the intention of the French Government to form an alliance with Spanish Fascism (the cases of Ricciotti Garibaldi and the Catalonian colonel Macia).

b) Turning to account the legal persecutions of the communists (for offending Mussolini).

c) Protest against all the exceptional measures taken against foreign workers, especially against Italians.

3. The activities of the Fascist parties and of the parties which sympathise with the Fascists in France, who, in quite recent times, have been carrying on propaganda in France for the establishment of a regime in the spirit of Mussolini, must be unmasked.

4. The "anti-Fascism" of the democratic parties must be revealed and it must be proved that they are preparing for war.

5. Social chauvinism which hides behind a mask of anti-

Fascism must be unveiled. It must be demonstrated that its objective role is preparations for war.

6. The anti-militarist work of the Party and of the Young Communist League must be extended, and the members of all workers' organisations must be enlisted in this work. In the army the idea of fraternization must be developed.

7. The work of the communists in the colonies must be intensified, especially in those colonies which have the greatest significance in the present conflict (in Tunis).

8. The work amongst the foreign workers, especially the Italians, must be intensified. A fight must be carried on for giving them equal rights with the French workers.

9. The Party must be prepared for illegal work which may become necessary in view of the reprisals on the part of the Government.

10. The common work of the Communist Parties of France and Italy must be organised.

These are the measures which our Party must carry through. By them alone, can the right lines of the Party be maintained and the proletariat of France and Italy be led to victory over the bourgeoisie of France and Italy.

Mussolini Preparing for War!

By Aquila.

It is still impossible for us to give even an approximately exact picture of the devastations and the acts of violence of the fascist hordes since the "attempt" on Mussolini at Bologna, as the establishment of connections even within Italy itself, between town and town, encounters the greatest difficulties owing to the terror which is still raging with unabated fury. The official report which admits that 522 persons have been condemned to keep within their own homes or to deportation on "account of their being inclined to anti-fascism", is really absurd, as it is generally known that the number of deportees in nearly every one of the 17 provinces amounts to or exceeds these figures which the government gives for the whole country. The number of those arrested in the last months amounts, according to estimate, to no less than 200,000; the prisons are so overcrowded that prisoners can no longer be placed in the cells and have to be lodged in the corridors. The result of this overcrowding of the prisons is the strange spectacle that at the present moment the greatest "freedom" prevails precisely in the prisons, as the prison personnel have lost all control over the prisoners. In fact in the cells and corridors one repeatedly hears the singing of the "International" and the "Bandiera rossa" (an Italian revolutionary song).

Up to the present moment it has been impossible to obtain any news concerning the fate of the leaders and highest functionaries of the Communist Party who were arrested in the first days of November, and who include the editors of the Communist press and the Communist members of parliament, among these being Comrades Gramsci, Grieco, Scoccimarro, Graziadei, Di Vittorio, Repossi and many others. The worst fears are justified. It is not known whether they are still alive. In any event their lives are in serious danger, just as are the lives of many hundreds of other imprisoned comrades who daily have to suffer the greatest physical tortures.

The intensely acute class antagonisms which — furthered by the increasing economic crisis — more and more threaten to break out even in the fascist camp, have already shaken the fascist regime to such an extent that Mussolini sees the only possible salvation in the physical extermination of the leaders of the Italian revolutionary proletariat and in a "victorious" war. Mussolini is making feverish preparations for war. His recent diplomatic and military treaties (the treaty with Roumania, the journey and the speeches of the chief of the Italian General Staff, General Badoglio, in Bessarabia, the treaty with Albania etc.) speak a clear and no uncertain language.

Mussolini does not make any secret of his plans. Professor Verne who, as representative of the Faculty of Medicine of the Paris University, was present at the international congress of scientists held in Bologna, states that Mussolini said in his opening speech:

Do I deserve the honour to occupy the chair at this congress of scientists? I do not think so, as up to now I have not done anything for science and for the Italian scientists. Meanwhile, I recognise that I shall have to do

much for them, as I expect much from them.

I expect from the chemists that they will discover gases more poisonous than those known at present, in order that we shall be able to vanquish our foes the more easily.

And I expect much from our physicians and surgeons who, when the time comes, will have to employ the great experiences they have derived from the last war."

In an interview which Mussolini gave some days later to the "British United Press" he openly stated the subjective motive and also the direction of his war policy. He compared himself with Silla, a figure from the history of ancient Rome:

"Silla was confronted by a situation very similar to the present one. He, too, had his Matteotti in the person of Cinna who was murdered. The populace was so incensed against Silla that he decided — in order to re-establish his prestige — to conduct a war in the East. When he returned victorious from the war he was welcomed in the forum with a triumphal arch and the plaudits of the people."

Truly he could not have spoken more openly!

The bloody regime of terror at home which aims at the physical extermination of the best leaders of the Italian revolutionary proletariat, and the danger of war which has become palpably near, must serve to alarm the working class and the peasantry of all countries, and beyond them all those strata of the population who are immediately threatened by the danger of war, which could not remain localised, in order to hasten to the aid of the whole of the working population of Italy — workers, peasants, middle classes in town and country, intellectuals — who are groaning under the fascist terror, and shatter the military plans of Fascism before it is too late!

Corruption and Coalition Policy in Austria

By W. Schlämm (Vienna).

"The Austrian Party and the I. L. P. are close allies in the International".

"New Leader" (London) November 12, 1926.

The "republic" of Austria, this monstrosity created by the world war and the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, has been swept during the last few months by a wave of corruption scandals. Although it seemed at first as if only the governing bourgeois parties were compromised, it has now come to light that the famous Socialist Party of Austria is more than infected.

For the co-responsibility for everything that has been done and left undone in the glorious Republic of Austria, right from the first day of the existence of this Republic, is borne to the fullest extent by the leaders of the Socialist Party of Austria. This applies not only to the period of the open coalition which, for tactical reasons, was very cleverly and adroitly abandoned by the Socialist Party in October 1920, but also to the period following of the concealed support of the government which is being continued up to the present time. A party which, in a population of 6.5 millions, has 600,000 members and which in Vienna (the capital town embracing almost one third of the total population of Austria) has a two third's majority on the town council; a party which has control in hundreds of towns and municipalities — such a party constitutes a factor against the opposition of which no government could maintain itself. And as in spite of this the government of Austria is an out-and-out class conscious bourgeois government — Austria is the only State in the world the government of which is led by an active, high clerical dignitary, the Prelate Seipel — it is quite clear that the notorious Social Democracy of Austria secures the basis and the possibility of rule of an undisguised bourgeois government.

The fact that the Socialist Party of Austria at the same time conducts that well-known "left" policy and is the sublime ideal for the "Lefts" of the whole Second International, is not so much due to the exceeding cleverness and skilful demagoguery of a few of its leaders, but to very real and quite specific economic-political facts. It is true that a certain tradition also plays a great role in this. The Austrian Social Democrats, already under the dual monarchy — this unexampled State consisting of many nationalities — in "smoothing out" the national antagonisms within the whole Party in order to maintain the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, learnt the art of "left" lack of principle. And this training now comes in very handy for the present S. P. of Austria which is now a past-master of this art. In addition

to this, thanks to the circumstance that during the war the Habsburg government did not allow parliament to meet, the S. P. of Austria was fortunate in being able to avoid giving its approval to war credits, and therefore does not appear to be compromised by the war to the same extent as most of the other social democratic parties. This fact is one of the chief explanations why the S. P. of Austria had been preserved from a serious split.

The essential thing, however, is the unique economic-political situation of Austria. The Austrian bourgeoisie does not in any way conduct an independent policy; it only fulfils the will of foreign finance capital. The economic structure of Austria is such that the greater portion of the raw materials for industry and two thirds of the food required have to be imported. All these circumstances are cleverly exploited by the demagogues, both of the bourgeoisie and of the social democracy, with the result that the masses believe themselves to be confronted in their activity by an "insurmountable" obstacle — the foreign States. The result of these circumstances is that the S. P. of Austria is not faced with any responsible decisions. While for example the Social Democratic Party of Germany has to define its attitude to great problems, such as foreign policy, the revival of German imperialism, the question of the German revolution etc., the S. P. of Austria is living in a happy paradise in which it is not called upon to make any important political decisions. While, therefore, the German bourgeoisie is compelled during certain periods to allow the Social Democracy openly to share the responsibility of government, while the Social Democratic Party of Germany is compelled to come forward again and again openly on the side of the bourgeoisie, the Austrian bourgeoisie, by placing all responsibility on the "foreign countries", can dispense with the open support of the S. P. of Austria, and the S. P. of Austria can enjoy the pleasant luxury of carrying on "opposition". As long as the Austrian bourgeoisie had to "place its new house in order", and for this purpose required the services of the S. P., this party, for about two years after the overthrow of the Habsburgs, stood at the disposal of the bourgeoisie just as any other party of the II. International.

The "Opposition" which the S. P. commenced since then is, as a matter of fact, nothing else than a clever juggling with "Left" phrases. The programme adopted by the party at the Party Conference at Linz in November last provides valuable evidence of this peculiar "dualism". This "dualism" is the actual corruption of Austria.

The recent cases of material corruption have certainly stirred up the whole Austrian rubbish heap. As is known, Austria in the year 1923 received through the League of Nations a "sanitation credit" of 500 million gold crowns (about 115 million dollars). It has now come to light that the government, in three separate cases of corruption, has handed out to its friends 250 million shillings (more than 35 million dollars), that is a third of the sum for which Austria sold its independence. This sum was distributed as follows: For the Central Bank (one of the banking undertakings closely connected with the two governing bourgeois parties) 100 million Austrian shillings; as a "credit" to Bosel (one of the most unscrupulous inflation sharks, like Barbat in Germany, and who is on very good terms with the Austrian Socialist Party leaders) 78 millions; to losses in stock-exchange speculations conducted along with Bosel, 74 millions. The payment out of all these sums was effected in a manner which not only violated the Constitution, but also the bourgeois criminal code.

The Finance Minister at that time, Dr. Ahrer, who has since fled to America, and the present Minister for Trade, Dr. Schurff, are greatly suspected of having enriched themselves at the cost of the State and to the advantage of Bosel. It has become evident that a whole number of leading bourgeois politicians have committed common crimes, and some of them have already disappeared from political life. The present Prime Minister Doctor Seipel, and his Finance Minister are at least politically involved in these corruption affairs.

The social democrats, after the exposure of these corruption scandals, played the role of outraged spectators. They made a big outcry — but never even forced a dissolution of parliament, although they could have done this within 24 hours. The campaign of the bourgeois parties to shift the blame from themselves was and is a serve blow against the S. P. The bourgeois parties seem to have pointed out very clearly to the social democrats that one should not spit in the soup from which one has helped oneself, and that certain social democratic leaders would be well advised to maintain a little reserve in regard to exposing

corruption scandals. It has been proved that one of the oldest leaders of the S. P. of Austria and one of the members of its Executive Committee, Matthias Eldersch, received from the above-mentioned Bosel on the occasion of the sale to this profiteer of the Hammer Bread Factories, which up to then were the property of the S. P. of Austria, an "old age pension fund" of 210,000 shillings (30,000 dollars). The social democratic leader and prominent speaker in parliament, Dr. Eisler, does not deny that he was legal adviser to the Christian-Socialist government of Styria, a government corrupted to the very marrow, and received enormous fees for his services in this capacity. The social democratic leader, member of the Tyrol diet and Vice President of Tyrol, Dr. Gruener, is publishing explanations in the bourgeois press in which he admits that he is a millionaire and proprietor of a castle, and insists that the Party should consist not merely of "workers who receive, but also of wealthy people who have to make sacrifices"! It is interesting to note that the Executive of the S. P. of Austria declared in the Party organ that no reproach could be made against Dr. Eisler for acting in the capacity of legal advisor to the Styrian government, while the provincial Party Conference of Tyrol fully exonerated Dr. Gruener and passed a vote of confidence in him.

These brief examples, showing how the social democratic leaders are permeated with an arch-bourgeois, corrupt and anti-labour spirit, must be regarded from the political point of view: they are the results of the uninterrupted coalition policy of this most "left" Social Democracy. The collaboration with the bourgeoisie infects them not only politically.

Whilst on the parliamentary "first floor" one scandal is followed by another, there is a ferment going on in the basement. The position of the working masses of Austria is unbearable. The real wages of the Austrian workers are the lowest in Europe, with the exception of Italy and Poland. At least 200,000 working men and women are out of employment — out of a million workers. These two facts serve to illustrate how little the strength of the S. P. of Austria implies the strength of the Austrian proletariat.

It is becoming more and more obvious to the working masses of Austria that the Social Democratic Party is no longer a class Party, that in order to win bourgeois votes — "in order to win a parliamentary majority" — it is daily abandoning the vital interests of the working class. There has set in within the Austrian working class a slow but perceptible left wing development. This development is being promoted by the corruption scandals and the miserable attitude of the social democratic leaders.

The Communist Party of Austria, which since its last Party Conference in November 1925 has succeeded to a considerable extent in breaking through its year-long isolation from the masses, has followed a definite line during the corruption period. Through the press, at meetings, in the factories and mass organisations it is making clear to the working masses that corruption does not consist of the personal indiscretions of individual "dishonest" politicians (as the S. P. of Austria tries to make out), but that it is the very nature of bourgeois rule; that the only way to combat this system of corruption is to strive for the workers' and peasants' government; that in the first place a fight must be waged for the overthrow of the corrupt government and for the dissolution of the corrupt parliament; that there must be an end to the partly open and partly secret coalition policy of the S. P. of Austria, and that a united struggle must be undertaken for the essential demands of the workers as formulated by the C. P. of Austria.

The C. P. of Austria, which has to carry on its work under the most difficult circumstances, and in addition to this has to overcome the fatal consequences of years of criminal fractionism, has in a number of campaigns extended and strengthened its influence, as for instance in the workers' delegation to Russia, the elections to the labour chamber, and in particular the factory councils elections. The C. P. of Austria, by constantly voicing the vital demands of the working masses, will continue to batter successfully at the menshevik wall of the S. P. of Austria. It is of the greatest importance for the C. P. of Austria that the brother Parties abroad understand the difficulties of communist work in Austria and help it to overcome them, and in particular that they are quite clear regarding the true nature of the "left" Social Democratic Party of Austria and spread this knowledge among the workers of their respective countries, among whom this "model party" of the second International is being boosted on a truly American scale.

Two and a Half Years of Social Democratic Government in Denmark.

By Ernst Christiansen (Copenhagen).

The following article was written before the elections in Denmark, but it is still of interest as giving a general survey of the record of the social democratic government. Ed.

Writs have been issued for the election of the Folketing (the Second Chamber of the Danish Parliament) for December 2nd. This at the same time puts an end to the period of social democratic government which has lasted for 2½ years.

This social democratic Government with Stauning as Minister for State and Economic Affairs, Borgbjerg as Minister for Social Affairs and Greve, a non-political, or rather reactionary member as Foreign Minister, came into existence in April 1924, immediately after the election for the Folketing which had resulted in a new majority. This majority consisted of 55 social democrats and 20 members of the radical Left as against 73 conservatives and moderates. There was further a representative of the Germans, who seldom votes in internal Danish affairs but is on the whole fairly conservative.

The Government which, with the exception of the above-mentioned Greve, consisted of social democratic politicians, has for 2½ years been based on a coalition between social democrats and radicals. It has, however, been obvious for a long time that deeper and deeper clefs were forming in the coalition. In the normal course of affairs, a new election ought not to have taken place until 1928; its being held earlier is due to the fact that the radicals left the Government in the lurch at a division in the Folketing, so that a situation arose which compelled the Government to issue writs for a new election. This means another complete collapse of the Reformist policy of socialist Ministers which Danish social democracy has carried out in so striking a manner.

From a purely political point of view, this policy reckons with the presumption that a "broad democratic front" ought to exercise the power of the government and should dissolve the Landsting (the First Chamber) in 1928, (taking the majority in the Folketing as its basis) in order to smash the conservative and moderate majority in the Landsting.

The election is now completely upsetting this plan. As a matter of fact, the "broad democratic front" collapsed completely at the elections. The election campaign is branded by great embitterment between the two Government parties and the radicals have declared that after the election they will not support the social democratic Government. Social democracy alone, however, cannot obtain a majority. Furthermore, according to the Constitution, the Landsting cannot be dissolved until the usual four year election period has elapsed.

The direct cause of the election was that a Government Bill for dealing with the economic crisis was only supported by a section of the radicals. The chief cause of dispute is whether three or four million crowns should be allocated to industry. As, in the Folketing, the Government remained in the minority in its demand for a larger allocation, writs were issued for an election. As a matter of fact, the division on the Government Bill took place in such chaotic circumstances that parliamentarism was seriously compromised.

The causes for the ministerial crisis are of course deeper-seated. A survey of the activities of the social democratic Government during the past 2½ years will show this.

In Denmark, the war and the post-war years were accompanied by vast capitalist speculation which ended with the failure of a number of banks. The failure of the Agricultural Bank was the biggest and it demanded State support. This support was nourished by the conservative and moderate Government which was at that time in power. It cost the State 300 million crowns up to 1925 and had a great deal to do with the fact that at that time the crown was only worth 60 oere. Social democracy seized impetuously on this economic policy and demanded that finance be brought into order by a large levy on capital. It was with this point of its programme that social democracy won over the votes of the working class and formed the Government.

Two months after the formation of the government, the social democratic Ministry had to look on while its levy on capital, which was to produce 400 to 500 million crowns, was

buried in the Folketing where the radical Left opposed it. At this time, the Government was actually reduced to a minority as regards the first point on its programme. In spite of this, the Government remained in power. It carried through the stabilisation of the Danish crown in such a way that it was brought up to par. This had the result that certain groups of the capitalists made millions and that huge sums were gained by speculators on the Exchange through the rise of the crown.

In the Spring of 1926 it became evident that the Agricultural Bank had again a large balance on the wrong side. The deficit amounted to more than 500 million crowns. In this situation, the social democratic Government undertook to grant unlimited four year guarantees for this bank of speculators, and that on exactly the same terms on account of which social democracy had so violently attacked the previous Government.

The Stauning Government saw to it that the crown rose but at the same time wages fell. The wages of the Danish workers have been reduced by 17% in so short a time as since February of this year. In 1925, the employers took the offensive in the form of a big lockout which affected about 150,000 workers. By way of reply, the Union of Unskilled Workers declared a transport strike. The Government, however, declared the transport strike to be contrary to the public weal and issued a temporary order by which the workers were ordered to work and a compulsory Court of Arbitration was set up to settle points of dispute, its chairman being nominated by the King. This attack against the right to strike met, of course, with furious indignation on the part of the workers. Numerous trade unions passed resolutions against it, and the split in the Trade Union Federation from which the Union of Unskilled Workers seceded, must be regarded as partly the result of the indignation against the treachery of the Government towards the workers in their fight.

The policy of the social democratic Government with regard to currency had the effect of producing both a fall in wages and an unusual increase of unemployment. When the Government was formed, only a few thousand workers were unemployed; now there are about 60,000 unemployed and the majority of them has been without work since the autumn of 1925. It is to be expected that, in the course of the winter, the number of unemployed will rise to 100,000, as was the case last winter. The army of unemployed is put off by the Government with fair words. The Government entirely omitted to alter the reactionary government law, created by the previous Government. It did not even attempt to do so, although it had promised to in the election campaign of 1924. The Government did not even want to pay out the benefits to which the reactionary law entitled the unemployed. It was only after a campaign carried out in the trade unions on the initiative of the communists, that the Government was compelled to pay to the unemployed that which was their due.

Apart from these disappointments experienced by the workers, the Government has pursued an extremely reactionary taxation policy which is in crying contrast to the attitude of the party before it took part in the Government. In order to ensure the stabilisation of the currency, the Government first of all introduced general taxation. This is all that was left of the levy on capital. Besides this, more indirect taxes were introduced, for instance on beer. The Government also retained a very much hated 10% tax on restaurants and public houses which had been introduced by the previous Government, although the social democrats had promised to do away with it.

Social democracy had promised "disarmament", but the Government finally introduced a Bill which actually meant the disarmament of the working class, whilst the possessing classes were given the opportunity of maintaining their armed corps.

Furthermore the Government worked into this Bill a truly militarist suggestion of the radical Left and finally declared that it was prepared to enter into a compromise with the pronouncedly militarist moderate Left, so that all that resulted from the social democratic "disarmament" was merely a modernised militarism. In addition Rasmussen, the social democratic war Minister so far obliged the Fascist associations that they were allowed to use the various drill-grounds of the army and to have officers in active service as instructors.

The Communist Party of Denmark is taking part in the election by setting up candidates in most parts of the country. The election law which is very reactionary against small parties, demands that 10,000 signatures must be produced before a party can take part in an election unless it has a parliamentary mandate.

This year, the party has succeeded in obtaining these signatures in a very short time. This may be regarded as a favourable omen that the party will be able to obtain the number of votes necessary for representation in Parliament. The election law, however, is so reactionary that it is nevertheless possible that the communist party will remain without its legal representative.

The communist party has placed the attitude of the Government to the trade unions in the foreground of its election campaign, partly in view of the prohibition of strikes already referred to and partly because a new law is to be passed on February 1st, which provides for State Courts of Arbitration in trade union disputes and will establish compulsory arbitration by law. The party is trying to rouse the workers in protest against this attack on the trade unions.

One thing is certain, that with the election an end will be put to the period of a social democratic Government in Denmark. The bourgeois parties have succeeded in getting a number of reactionary measures passed by this Government. At the moment they no longer need any social democratic Ministers.

It cannot be disputed that the end of the period of the socialist Ministry sees the working class in worse circumstances. A deep indignation can be felt among the working masses against ministerial socialism, which finds its strongest expression in the trade unions. The election will show whether this discontent has also led to a political breach with social democracy or whether the working masses will once more be caught by election promises which social democracy distributes freely.

The Situation in Mexico and the Tasks of the C. P.

By A. Stirner.

The struggle between the Mexican Government and the Catholic Church has ended with the victory of the ruling petty bourgeoisie. The bishops who had been assembled in the capital of the Republic, made a proclamation in which they stated that the Church submitted to the regulations of the Republic, but that at the same time it hoped that the regulations restricting the rights of the Church might be revoked by act of Parliament. The churches which had been seized by the Government, were returned to the clergy, and the clergy is continuing the struggle with greater caution and to some extent with different methods.

A number of contradictions which are reflected in the whole economic and political life of the country, are characteristic of the present situation. Above all we must point out the following contradictions: 1. The clash of interests between the ruling petty bourgeoisie and the ruling remnants of the feudal State. 2. The conflicting interests between the petty bourgeoisie with its national ideas and the economic rule of foreign capital. 3. The conflicting interests between national and foreign capital on the one hand and the proletariat and peasantry on the other hand. 4. The clash of interests within the individual groups of those foreign capitalists who are fighting for the exploitation of Mexico and 5. The clash of interests between the Central Government and the individual provincial Governments.

The political power of the petty bourgeoisie in a State in which the feudal remnants are still strong, and in which the rule of foreign capital in industry is unlimited, found expression in the Constitution of 1917. Without an economic basis and being still split by provincial separatism, the petty bourgeoisie could only maintain its power thanks to the concessions it made to the proletariat and peasantry on the one hand and to foreign capital on the other hand.

The defeated reaction has more than once tried to re-conquer its former positions. Supported by foreign capital, it organised counter-revolutionary revolts and instigated the Catholic Church to rouse the population against the Government. These attacks of reaction, however, did not weaken, but on the contrary strengthened the petty bourgeoisie. The latter was forced to form a closer alliance with the workers and peasants and even to arm them.

This revolutionary role of the petty bourgeoisie, however, did not last long. As soon as reaction was defeated and the immediate danger past, the petty bourgeoisie began to abandon its former policy and to turn towards the Right, it began to postpone the fulfilment of the promises made to the workers and peasants and to link up its interests more and more with the interests of the possessing classes.

Whereas the Government carried off the victory in the struggle against the Church and reaction, it is on the defensive in its fight against American imperialism. It is trying to gain a breathing space by way of compromises and to turn to account the conflicting interests of the various groups of foreign capitalists. Mexico maintains particularly close relations with Germany and Japan. Germany which, before the war, had a large export market in Mexico, has been clever enough to re-conquer its former positions to a considerable extent. Japan, whose relation to America is well known, is doing everything possible to consolidate its friendship with Mexico.

In the United States itself there are two tendencies with regard to the Mexican question. The first tendency, which is chiefly represented by financial capital and by the naphtha companies, is in favour of armed intervention. It supports the counter-revolutionary intrigues on the Mexican frontiers and is hoping, by provoking a conflict, to create a favourable excuse for intervention. The second tendency, which is backed by industrial capital, and in which the "White House" prevails, is striving to obtain predominance in Mexico by the method of exporting capital. It regards direct intervention as a too expensive and dangerous affair. It is a much easier matter — and at the same time more "humane" — to "help" the young Mexican bourgeoisie to create a "national independent" industry of its own.

The programme of the present Mexican Government, the programme of the petty bourgeoisie and the Reformists is to develop Mexico on the basis of the industrial and political independence of the country. It is true, that more than two thirds of Mexican industry is already in the hands of foreign capital, there is, however, also a broad stratum of national elements which are financially strong. Furthermore the rich elements in the country, i. e. the reactionaries, are conspiring with foreign capital against the interests of their own country. In spite of this, the petty bourgeoisie keeps up its courage and is eager to accomplish great deeds, but it is afraid to overstep the bounds of the capitalist order and to infringe the laws of private property. In spite of the struggle against the feudal landowners which has been carried on incessantly for fifteen years, the agrarian question is not yet settled. Not only have the peasants received far too little land, but the little they have received is bad in quality. The property of the feudal lords has remained untouched and the miserable sums spent by the Government on the purchase of machines have not benefitted the poor but only the wealthy peasants. The Government has done absolutely nothing with regard to social and labour legislation. The establishment of a national Court of Arbitration which is under the control of Reformist trade union leaders, has only facilitated the sabotage and the rejection of the demands of the workers.

The petty bourgeoisie and the Reformists hold the point of view that the revolution is at an end and that the period of construction is now beginning. They believe that it is possible to create as sort of co-operative republic with the middle class, the small peasantry and small industry as its social basis. They believe that the exchange of goods can take place not through private merchants but through co-operative organisations, for the financing of which the so-called labour and peasant banks are to be responsible. This idea has indisputably its good points. It is also indisputable that the word "Co-operative Republic" sounds well and that it will at least be possible, in the course of time, for the development of the co-operatives to be of practical help to the peasant population. It is nevertheless a petty bourgeois illusion to believe that an industry of this kind can be built up independently of large capital, independently of the American Banks and trusts.

Even to-day the New York Federation Bank and Trust Company has contributed a considerable sum towards the foundation of the first agricultural co-operative bank in Mexico. The New York bank referred to is a financial institution of the A. F. L. (American Federation of Labour), which represents the interests of American imperialists in affairs for which a Reformist label is necessary. The financial operations of this bank are described by the Mexican section of the A. F. L. as an "action of international solidarity", as though in this way the "American comrades" wished to make a present to the Mexican workers and peasants.

The programme of the present Government is thus, in reality, nothing more nor less than a special form of Reformist consolidation of the capitalist order of society adapted to Me-

xican conditions. There can be no doubt that the petty bourgeoisie will not succeed in removing the existing conflict of interests. The more the young national bourgeoisie develops, the more the conflict of interests between it and the United States will grow the more industry develops, the more energetically will the working class fight for its demands. The petty bourgeoisie will not be able to solve the agrarian question without dividing up the property of the large landowners, and the more it veers to the Right in its politics, the more intensively will the process of disintegration set in within its ranks.

A new Presidential election is to take place in 1928. In Mexico this is equivalent to the prospect of a new civil war. Will reaction dare to start a new insurrection? Will the Reformists put up Morones, the present Labour Minister as a candidate? Will Obregon, who was President from 1920 to 1924 and therefore has no right, according to the Constitution, to be elected a second time, take part in the election campaign? Whose side will the United States take? It is impossible at present to answer any of these questions, and in any case it must not be forgotten that the result of the elections in Mexico is not decided by the ballot papers but only by arms.

The worst feature in this situation is the lack of a revolutionary mass party. A large section of the workers and peasants are at present without political leaders. We refer to the trade unions who are fighting against the Reformists and to the revolutionary peasant organisations which are carrying on the struggle for the distribution of all the land. These masses without leaders may easily become a plaything of the reactionary forces.

The young C. P. of Mexico has great tasks before it. It must gather together the revolutionary forces and must unite them with the masses which are under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie and the Reformists. It must support the Government in its struggle against reaction and against American imperialism and must at the same time endeavour to intensify this struggle. On the other hand it must combat the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeois Utopias and the open treachery of the Reformists.

The political platform of the Communist Party for the coming election is — the formation of a worker and peasant Block on the basis of a concrete economic and political programme, the demand for the creation of a worker and peasant government. The party will only be capable of fulfilling this task when it has learnt how to concentrate its forces on becoming a mass party and on creating firm communist supports in the factories, the industrial centres, the trade unions and the peasant organisations.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Results of the First National Conference of the Unemployed in Germany.

By R. T. (Berlin).

The congresses of the proletarian united front are over. Their course and their results have far exceeded all expectations. The two congresses mean an enormous step forward in the development of the united front in Germany. The broad masses of the working class, of the small peasants and of the exploited middle class have succeeded for the first time in organising themselves in a common movement, and have thereby not only strengthened the united front politically, but also organisationally.

It was only natural that the congress began with the national congress of the unemployed; that in the first place it thoroughly and exhaustively discussed all the vital questions of that section of the working class which is most severely hit by the capitalist rationalisation.

The national unemployed conference was attended by 255 Communists, 114 non-party workers, 33 Social Democrats and three delegates from small groups. This composition of the conference is in accordance with the character of the unemployed movement, in which the Communist Party is the leader. This last fact is one of the most important results of the unemployed conference. The whole of the active portion of the German army of unemployed, numbering two millions is absolutely under communist leadership. Neither the Social Democratic Party nor the anarchist groups, neither the syndicalists nor the ultra-Lefts, who have been expelled from the Communist Party and who

have always claimed themselves to be the chosen defenders of the interests of the unemployed, have any influence worth speaking of in the unemployed movement.

The chief results of the conference are the following: 1. The Communist Party is well on the way to overcoming the passivity which undoubtedly still exists among the broad masses of the unemployed; 2. The Communist Party is regarded by the unemployed as the only Party and the only force which is prepared to fight for their demands and whose tactics give a guarantee that the fight for these demands will be carried on; 3. the slogans of the Communist Party have penetrated deeply into the ranks of the unemployed social democratic workers; it has once more become evident that all threats of expulsion, that the whole political and organisatory terror of the reformist bureaucracy, is not capable of preventing the extension of the proletarian united front to the ranks of the social democratic workers; 4. the Communist Party succeeded for the first time in removing from the active unemployed movement all anti-trade union tendencies. More than that, the entire conference unanimously emphasised the absolute necessity of supporting the free trade unions and of the most far-reaching organisation of the unemployed in the free trade unions. When it is remembered with what justifiable hate against the reformist bureaucracy the German unemployed workers are filled, then it is possible adequately to appreciate the value of the revolutionary educational work which the Communist Party has conducted among the unemployed in Germany. The fifth main result of the National Unemployed Conference is the formulation of a clear organisatory line, which on the one hand destroys all syndicalist attempts to form "trade unions of unemployed", and on the other hand knits the unemployed movement together and gives it the possibility of representing its vital interests in all organisations of the working class by developing its own independence and initiative.

The Conference gave a true picture of the really desperate situation of the German unemployed; it laid bare the economic and political roots of the mass unemployment and clearly showed the perspective of the further struggle. In this respect three points of view came to the forefront; first the economic proof that unemployment in Germany is not a temporary crisis-phenomenon, but is closely bound up with the prevailing system of capitalist rationalisation, and that therefore it can only be ended when German capitalism is ended. Secondly all delegates present, without exception, recognised that the most important premise for the fight for the demands of the unemployed is the common front with the workers in the factories, and that this fight must be waged round the demands for the eight hour day and the 42 hour week. Significant of the political maturity of the Conference was the fact that the slogan of increased wages for the workers still employed in the factories was not only supported, but was brought into closest political contact with the unemployed demands. The third important point to which the Conference devoted its greatest attention was the setting up of a system of unemployed demands which not only show the aim of the unemployed movement, but provide a concrete every-day programme which will be capable of mobilising the broadest masses of the unemployed, of drawing them into the struggle, and gives the possibility of achieving real successes both in regard to the municipal authorities and the capitalist government. The Unemployed Conference, in accordance with its revolutionary character, emphasised that the capitalist provision for the unemployed in Germany is nothing else than a refined system for enslaving the unemployed and which secures to the capitalist class the possibility of using the unemployed army to depress wages and break strikes.

The demands of the Unemployed Conference are grouped round the following main points: 1. The rejection of unemployment insurance aiming at establishing a slave system, and which in spite of this has the approval of the trade union bureaucracy. The second group of demands is directed against the programme for provision of work brought forward by the capitalist government, the sole purpose of which is to degrade the unemployed by means of cheap compulsory labour to the position of wage-cutters and strike-breakers. In addition to this the National Unemployed Conference brought forward a whole number of demands with regard to the prohibition of all private employment agencies, the control of the labour exchanges by unemployed committees and the recognition of the unemployed committees by the municipalities, as well as a number of demands for the immediate amelioration of the terrible situation of the unemployed.

The Conference has given the German unemployed movement a firm organisatory frame-work. As the fighting organs of

the unemployed there were established: 1. Unemployed committees in the labour exchanges, in the localities and districts; 2. the district and provincial unemployed committees; 3. the unemployed newspapers which now appear in almost every district in Germany and 4. the National Committee of the Unemployed in Germany. The thoroughly elastic organisation of the unemployed, their gathering together as subscribers to the unemployed newspapers provide the best prospects for the extension of the movement. The Conference declared: "The Unemployed Committees must not lose sight of the great aim of our struggle. The Unemployed Committees are also the political fighting organisations of the unemployed".

The National Unemployed Conference and its results are undoubtedly capable of leading the whole unemployed army, under the leadership of the Communist Party, on the way of struggle: through the struggle for the demands for work and bread on to the road to the proletarian revolution.

ECONOMICS

An International Trust of Financial Capital.

By L...ng (Frankfurt a Main).

An international trust of financial capital has recently been formed. It is under the leadership and administration of American and British large banks which, as institutes of the export of capital to Germany, already play an important part. Ten of the chief large banks in Europe belong to the trust. Of German banks, the Dresden bank — which has for a long time been dependent on American and British financial capital — has taken part in its formation.

The original share capital amounts to 14 million dollars (10 million of first preference shares and 4 million of second preference shares). To these must be added ordinary shares without a nominal value. The amount of the share capital — without the ordinary shares, it is true — is not particularly overwhelming. It is, at any rate, quite out of proportion to the figures (a milliard) the report of which was originally spread when the project of the trust was made public.

The activities of the trust are to consist in granting loans and credits, but especially in buying securities (shares). The territory to be exploited is the whole world. It is an open question whether the trust can be brought into connection with any — at present very abstract — construction with regard to reparations and debts (the mobilisation of the German railway and industrial debentures). In any case, the imagination of certain newspapers which are dependent on the banks involved, knows no limits. Even a trust of financial capital has its advertising department.

The function of the trust will in reality consist in investing capital in some form or other (loans, credits, shares) in all countries in which it is worth while — stable conditions of currency being a prerequisite — (above all in Germany, Austria, Belgium and finally in France also), and in which the conditions of political power make it possible, i. e. not in the Soviet Union, whose doors are closed to exploiters from the circles of financial capital.

The control of the business is in the hands of American and British financial capital (especially American). The banks of the other countries concerned in the trust will in essentials play the part of middlemen, of agents. In return for special allowances they have to see that loans and credits are taken out from the trust, i. e. from American (and British) financial capital, and they have to carry through the purchase of shares and the transactions on the Stock Exchange. Thus, the trust, called the A. B. C. trust after the initials of the words composing its name (American-British Continental Corporation), turns out to be an organisation of American (and British) financial capital with the object of directing the export of capital with the greatest advantage and security, the banks of the other countries acting as agents. The following passage from a New York announcement in the "Frankfurter Zeitung" is characteristic:

"In the opinion of the banks concerned, the present time seems to justify the foundation of the trust, for several States in Europe and other continents can, as the result of the success-

ful stabilisation of their currency, boast of financial conditions better than they have ever been since the end of the war, so that there is considerable security for the investment of American capital."

The A. B. C. Trust means an intensification of competition for the banks which have not been included in it. For this reason, things will not stop at this one trust of financial capital. Under the leadership of American and British financial capital further international financial trusts will come into being, which already exist in their grouping (their dependence on one another). The fight of the international trusts for financial capital amongst themselves is taking place at the expense of the working masses in all countries ruled by capitalism and means an intensification of the danger of war (a struggle for spheres for investment). The international trusts of financial capital also of course involve an increased danger of intervention against the Soviet Union. The sabotage of the financing of German export to the Soviet Union (the 300 million credit), which at one time was carried on for weeks by the German large banks (undoubtedly supported by American and British financial capital), is a kind of model for the economic boycott of the Worker and Peasant State by financial capital. Financial capital can use the dangerous weapon of the economic boycott all the more effectually the more firmly it is welded nationally and internationally and the more uniformly it is controlled.

The fight against the international trust of financial capital is a fight against trust capital altogether. The pre-requisites for its success are the establishment of international trade union unity, the transformation of the trade unions from occupational organisations into industrial unions, the establishment of firm, international fighting alliances between the individual unions and the class war organisations of the workers with the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

The Egyptian Cotton Crisis.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

For decades the cultivation of cotton has formed the basis of Egyptian economy. This is best illustrated by the fact that of the yearly Egyptian export total of about 60 million pounds sterling, no less than 84 per cent. falls to the share of cotton, this item alone rendering it possible for the trade balance of the country to remain favourable despite the very heavy import figure.

Thanks to the special quality of Egyptian cotton (a variety known as "Sakellaridis") its sale long enjoyed a practical monopoly, especially in Great Britain. Prices could be maintained at such a level as would afford the Egyptian peasants, most of whom were engaged in growing cotton on small leasehold lots, a sufficient livelihood.

British manufacturers, however, did all in their power to emancipate themselves from Egyptian cotton. Extensive cotton plantations in various British colonies and finally the separation of the Sudan from Egypt and the reservation there of a vast territory for the cultivation of cotton, a step effected by a British ultimatum against the will of a protestant Egypt, were all measures intended to enable the manufacturers of Lancashire, the most important British textile district, to acquire cotton at cheaper prices.

Added to this, the United States, at all times the most important rival of Egypt in the production of cotton, were able to record an unprecedented crop of 16½ million bales of the commodity, a fact which naturally very materially depressed the prices on the international cotton market.

These circumstances led to the great Egyptian cotton crisis which is at present engaging the entire attention of the Egyptian public. The cotton prices fell rapidly, sales declined, and the Egyptian peasantry saw itself faced with a desperate situation. The budget of the small Egyptian cotton planter, averaging about 60 pounds a year, was encumbered, in view of the impossibility to sell the cotton, with deficits amounting to from 50 to 70 per cent., which spelt either immediate ruin for the farmers in question or else their permanent indebtedness to money-lenders.

To make matters worse, the ground-rents due by the planters to the proprietors of the land, are still reckoned on the basis of the former high price level of cotton, which exceeds the actual revenue of the peasants by about 300 per cent.

The crisis is far too incisive not to necessitate speedy relief

measures on the part of the Government of Adly Pacha, since the latter owes its existence to the national Wafd party, which again relies on the favour of the peasantry. And, indeed, the Government has assigned to the farmers a sum of 4 million pounds for creditary advances, at the same time decreeing that for the next three years the area under cultivation is to be restricted by one third its extent.

These measures have, however, proved insufficient. In the first place, the creditary relief for the farmers is altogether illusory, seeing that, under pressure on the part of the bankers, themselves speculators in cotton, its terms have been made highly disadvantageous, viz., 4 per cent. interest, 4 months' validity, and all transport and other charges to the debit of the farmers. According to a statement by the Minister of Agriculture, therefore, not even one tenth of the allotted sum has actually been taken up. Secondly, it has not been found possible to raise the cotton prices. Nor will this end be attainable by a reduction of the area under cultivation so long as the Egyptian planter is on the one hand exposed to the competition of the cotton produced in the Sudan under conditions of practical slavery, and on the other hand limited to the British market instead of being able to dispose of his cotton in the country itself.

The misery of the Fellahs is constantly on the increase. The newspapers contain detailed descriptions of the want prevailing in the villages most affected by the crisis and even report cases of suicide. Peasant delegations repeatedly implore the governmental authorities to come to their aid. The crisis is spreading to the towns, where it naturally arouses increasing unrest.

The reactionary "Ittehad" party is profiting by the embarrassment of the Government for the purpose of intriguing against it and counteracting its measures by means of the banks and proprietor-associations (especially the "Agricultural Syndicate"), which strenuously opposed the relief action for the peasantry and attempted still further to press down the cotton prices). Meanwhile, the British Press betrays malicious satisfaction and opines that, after the luxurious life he has been leading since the war, the Egyptian fellah will now have to retrench a little.

Even within the Government parties, however, class differences are making themselves felt. Zaghul Pasha's organs have initiated an energetic propaganda in favour of a reduction of rents by the landed proprietors for the benefit of their tenants. The only one to obey this call, meanwhile, has been Saad Zaghul Pasha himself, who has reduced the rents due by small farmers working on his estates to one half, or even one third, their former level. The other members of the Wafd, among them there are several land-owners, have as yet not found it incumbent upon them to furnish practical proof of their patriotism.

The economic crisis in Egypt is thus on the point of turning into a political and social one. Under the stress of wholesale misery, the carefully hushed-up conflict with Great Britain will at length break out, while within the national movement and its stronghold, the Wafd, the antagonism between the suffering peasantry and the landed-proprietors is bound to come to a head.

AGAINST FASCISM

Rescue the Italian People from its Stranglers!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid to the Workers and Peasants of all Countries.

For four years the working masses of Italy have been most shamefully terrorised by the dictatorship of the government of murderers, inciters of pogroms, and provocateurs.

The working and peasant masses of Italy are experiencing a bloody tragedy unique in history. The victims of fascism run into tens of thousands, the prisons are overcrowded, all fighting class organisations, all organisations for the defence of the workers have been destroyed and shattered.

An unexampled worsening of the standard of living of the workers, employees and peasants, the unbounded misery of the working masses on the one hand, and the fascist terror on the

other hand created the conditions under the pressure of which all the oppositional forces of the country, from the extreme Left up to the bourgeoisie Right parties and organisations, are taking up the defensive against the fascist regime.

The fascist regime is endeavouring, by means of unheard-of terror, to retain power in its hands, and the greater the difficulties which stand in the way of the Italian government, the more bloody the dictatorship proves itself to be. Thus the fascist dictatorship has recently resorted to inciting attempts upon the life of the leader of fascism, against Mussolini, and with the increase in the difficulties it becomes necessary to employ this means more and more frequently. The two last attempts followed one another within the space of two months. And each of these attempts was the signal for a bloody pogrom.

It is undubitably clear that the attempts upon Mussolini were prepared by spies of the fascist government. This was clearly to be seen in the case of Ricciotti Garibaldi who was arrested in France.

Now after the last attempt on October 30th in Bologna, the whole country has been converted into one single torture chamber, from which there come to us the cries and groans of the tortured, the death rattle of hundreds and thousands who are being murdered, where in broad daylight thousands of men and women are suffering the most cruel tortures, where the lynch law has become an unwritten law for the State power, where with cool deliberation ten thousands are entered in the "proscription lists" as the next victims for fascist terror, where millions — in fact the whole country — are deprived of the most elementary rights of self-defence, where the military tribunals are raging, where the slightest expression of protest is stifled, the entire opposition excluded from parliament, where all press organs which "think otherwise" are prohibited, where in addition to the death sentence provided by law, the life of everybody is placed at the absolute mercy of the fascist militia and the hired assassins of fascism, drunk with blood, who are drawn from the scum of humanity.

6000 wounded and mutilated, 6000 arrested within the last few days they cry to us for help. In the towns of Italy the gallows newly erected and awaiting fresh victims cry for our intervention.

We call upon the working class of all countries, the peasants, intellectuals, all workers' and peasants' organisations and associations, all cultural and humanitarian societies to raise their voices in protest, to take part in the campaign against the horrors of fascist Italy and to stigmatise with shame and loathing its unheard-of acts of violence against humanity and against human society.

For the sake of speedily saving the lives of many thousands we call upon all to declare immediately by means of the public press their solidarity with our appeal.

The horrors and the cruelties of fascist dictatorship will encounter energetic resistance throughout the whole world.

A whole country weltering in blood cries to us for help!

All come to aid!

Down with the fascist terror!

Down with the system of pogroms and murder!

Long live the solidarity of the workers of the whole world!

THE WHITE TERROR

Stop the Proceedings of the Roumanian Executioners!

By Henri Barbusse.

We shall not tire of unveiling the scandals which are being piled up by the Fascist Governments. Whenever it is necessary we shall raise our voice, which is the voice of those who are being gagged and smothered down in the South and the voice of those who have been killed.

Just now the trial is being taken up again before the Court Martial in Bucharest of Boris Stefanoff and the students B. Zaharescu and Liza Dijur and the two workers Josef Ilijes and Leka

Laszlo, who are accused with him. They are accused of an attack against the safety of the State and of conspiracy with foreign countries, and they are in danger of being sentenced to the severest punishments. The fate of Pavel Tkatschenko, who was accused with them, hangs over them. He was murdered by the Roumanian Government under the pretext of attempted flight, which has since become a legend. The Court Martial was set up to justify this murder and, in advance, the murder of the others.

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It is an old affair. Boris Stefanoff, a former deputy for the Dobrudja was sentenced in contumacia by the Court Martial of Bucharest in 1925 to ten years hard labour. He was arrested at the end of August at the same time as Tkatschenko. The one was murdered, the other most cruelly tortured. In connection with this case, I merely quote a few sentences from a letter which the prisoner was able to transmit to his friends:

".... Then, Bantshulescu, the General Inspector of the Siguranza came and cross-examined me on the same subject. When I gave him the same answers, he handed me over to Georgescu, the commissary on duty. The latter crushed my hands in a hand-iron and then began his "cross-examination". Georgescu, an officer of the gendarmerie and an agent of the Siguranza beat me with a rubber baton and also with their fists and feet. They hit me until I lost consciousness. You will realise the cruelty with which I was beaten, when I tell you that in spite of my robust constitution and good health, which you all know, I became unconscious. When they had restored me to consciousness, the commissary threatened me, saying: "Think it well over, otherwise you will have a bad time! We shall drag out your arms, and then you will admit more than you know." He came again an hour later and demanded once more to know my address. When I stated that I would not denounce the persons who had sheltered me and for whom I did not wish to make things unpleasant, he began to torture me again. This lasted until I again lost consciousness. I remained in that condition till the following morning. I was then taken to Bantshulescu's office where a doctor had to record my injuries. He did nothing however to relieve them. As the result of my hand having been pressed into the hand-iron, a deep and bleeding wound had formed. The doctor ordered the hand-irons to be removed and, instead of bandaging my wounds, he ordered that the hand-irons should be replaced by thick cords which cut deeply into my flesh.

* * *

What are in really the chief accusations? Stefanoff and his comrades are accused of having taken up the cause of the workers and of the oppressed minorities. In order to crush them, the public prosecutor of the Kingdom of Roumania, whose monumental deed of accusation I have before me, actually produced nothing else than the logical and clear demands which every reasonable and loyal person would raise in solidarity with the victims, and these the public prosecutor summarizes triumphantly: That is the crime!

"Ha ha", he thinks, "these are people who protest against the rise of prices and the serious blows aimed at the working class; who protest against the arbitrary arrest, the ill-treatment, the torture and the murder of the political prisoners and of the defenders of the enslaved minorities, and who proclaim their right of self-determination!"

* * *

I extract sentences from the deed of accusation itself, which literally accuses the communist party of intending to try and distribute the land amongst the peasants: "And then they can do what they like with it, and that is preparing for revolution!"

Another heresy which the defender of law and order cannot permit: "These robbers say that the cause of the population annexed to Roumania by the terms of the peace treaties practically cannot mean anything but declaring solidarity with the cause of all exploited people."

Are not these noxious and despicable theories, "which trespass against the interests of the country and serve a foreign Government" and which "call forth hatred and contempt of the Roumanian Government"? The accused even dare to hold the Government responsible for the misery and sufferings of its subjects! They therefore deserve the same punishment as all evil-

doers and that all the more since they are betraying their country to Soviet Russia, whose principles they profess!

It is clear that the conspiracy and the treason of which they are accused simply originate in the fact that they are communists. This is enough to make the law regard them as common criminals.

This insolent and brutal system of oppression displays itself shamelessly throughout the deed of accusation and, for the military judges of Bucharest, it is not only an expose of lying pretexts, but a command.

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These deeds of shame must not be passed over without an indignant protest being raised; the proletariat of all countries which is directly affected by this offensive of the civil war, must let it be known that it will not stand it. There is no well-intentioned person who could not understand that all these are merely pretexts in order to discredit and annihilate those who effectually oppose the reactionary Governments in that they defend a far-seeing, high-minded and positive conception of the vital rights of the exploited and the colonists.

In order once more to pillory the despicable methods used by the Government to enmesh a purely political case in the snares of criminal law, we again turn to the proletariat of Europe in a solemn moment, when several precious lives are in extreme danger. However much it may, at the present moment, be tortured and mishandled by the fist of its executioners, the proletariat of Europe is nevertheless the supreme judge.

The Terror-Sentence in Yugoslavia against Comrade Kosta Novakovitch.

By P. N. (Belgrade).

At the end of November there was held in Yugoslavia the trial of Kosta Novakovitch, the former Communist member of parliament and well-known Macedonian fighter for freedom, and of Peter Boyovitch. Both were accused under the law for the defence of the realm.

Already an hour before the commencement of the proceedings the court room was full. Even the places reserved for journalists were all occupied by representatives of Belgrade and provincial newspapers.

The indictment is read out. Novakovitch is accused of having handed over to his fellow-accused Boyovitch, resolutions and a number of Communist Bulletins for safe keeping. For this "crime" the Public Prosecutor demands the application of clause 1 of the law for the defence of the realm (2 to 20 years imprisonment).

In his speech in defence Comrade Novakovitch protests in the first place against Boyovitch being accused, as the latter had no knowledge of the contents of the documents handed over to him. He himself had received, from Paris a resolution from persons who probably knew him during this the time when he was a member of parliament of the Communist Party, which was perfectly legal at that time.

The present terrorist regime requires this communist trial in order to use it to strengthen the reactionary policy against the working people. On the other hand Comrade Novakovitch demands the legalising of the Communist Party and the abolition of the shameful regime which is based upon the "law for the Defence of the Realm" and which serves to throttle the struggle for freedom of the workers of Yugoslavia.

Comrade Novakovitch further stigmatises the shamefully treacherous role of the social democratic leaders who enjoy the full support of the police. Comrade Novakovitch concludes his speech with a courageous acknowledgement of communism:

"I am a Communist. I belong to the revolutionary Labour Movement. I am convinced that the working class of Yugoslavia will enforce their rights. I will fight right up to the end."

Boyovitch stated that he was not a communist and had only known Novakovitch during the last year or so. He did not know what the packet handed over to him contained.

The Defence points out the absurdity of the law for the defence of the realm which, regarded from the juridical stand-

point, is a monstrosity. In addition to this, in the case of Novakovitch clause 1 of this law does not come into the question, for this paragraph provides for the punishment of an act and in this case there was no act. The documents were discovered in a drawer and in the pocket of an old winter overcoat (in Summer): a proof that they were not intended for propaganda. In addition to this they were for the greater part scarcely legible, and the clauses complained against are not punishable under the law for the defence of the realm. The documents contain nothing which was not already known from the old Marxist literature.

The Defender Pablovic pointed out that the law for the defence of the realm was in open contradiction to the Constitution and therefore could not be enforced by the judges. He called attention to the utterance of the first Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, Stojan Protic, that when anybody is condemned on account of their opinions another opinion is rewarded with money or office.

In his concluding speech Comrade Novakovitch spoke of Stefan Raditch, who in his agitation made use of Communist slogans, with the help of which he rallied the masses round him. Today he sits in the government and makes use of the exceptional laws against those with the aid of whose slogans he came into power.

After his concluding speech the court retired and after scarcely half an hour's deliberation pronounced sentence.

Kosta Novakovitch is condemned under the law for the Defence of the Realm, article 1, clause 1, and as his case is a question of a "relapse" (Novakovitch had already been sentenced to six months imprisonment), he is sentenced to five year imprisonment, while Peter Boyovitch receives six months imprisonment.

The greater portion of those present in court received the sentences with loud cries of indignation and ovations for Novakovitch. There were cries of "Long live Kosta Novakovitch!" "In spite of everything, on with the fight!"

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Jews in the Soviet Republic as Agriculturalists.

By A. Bragin (Moscow).

The solution of the problem of nationality in the Soviet Republic constitutes one of the most brilliant achievements of October, 1917.

The great truths embodied in the policy of Lenin in regard to the problem of nationality has become part of the flesh and blood of all the workers of the Soviet Union and especially of those iron-soul proletarian members who link them together.

Unfortunately, however, the most complicated of all national questions in the Soviet Union, that of the Jewish nationality, could not be solved by a single stroke.

This is not because the policy of the Soviets is any different towards the Jewish workers to what it is in relation to the workers of other nationalities, but rather because the conditions under which the Jewish population had formerly lived, had, during the early years of the revolution, placed them outside the sphere of influence of the fundamental and creative forces of October 1917.

The economic situation of the Jewish masses is an extremely fatal inheritance which the revolution took over from Tzarist times.

A report submitted during the Tzarist regime to the Minister of the Interior on an investigation of the individual districts of the Jewish zone of settlement, pointed out that the majority of the shops investigated in nine of the largest towns of this zone contained goods representing a value, altogether, of from 4 to 15 roubles in each case, while the weekly earnings of the individual dealer figured between 2 and 2½ roubles.

The earnings of artisans in the South-West region ranged from 120 to 200 roubles a year in the case of tailors and figured below 100 roubles yearly in that of cobblers, while seamstresses earned from 25 to 50 roubles yearly, or from 50 copecks to 1 rouble per week.

Such was the economic situation of the two greatest branches, together making up 74 per cent. of the Jewish population; if we add to these the 6.6 per cent. which represent household help and day-labourers and the 5.5 per cent. falling to the share of unproductive or indefinable professions, it will be readily understood that even a Tzarist official, like **Count Pahlen**, who at that time investigated the conditions of the Jewish masses, was forced to admit that the Jewish people were the unhappiest and most pronounced proletariat, and defied comparison with any section of the population in other parts of Russia. In this connection, the conception of a "proletariat" is employed in the sense of poverty and an insecure condition of life. The average percentage of Jews systematically claiming charitable assistance amounted to 20, and in certain towns of the zone of settlement even to 37.7 per cent.

These millions of miserable creatures were destined to experience the pogroms of 1905 and 1906, followed first by years of cruellest reaction, culminating in the **Beilis** affair, and then by the world war, accusations of espionage, hundreds of thousands of refugees and emigrants, more pogroms by the Tzarist army, and years of uninterrupted pogroms at the hands of the hordes of **Denikin** and **Petlyura**.

Even on the basis of political and social equality under the new conditions of peaceful reconstruction, however, the uprooted economic state of the Jews was pregnant with threatening ruin.

As from 1925, finally, the Soviet authorities placed the development of these harassed multitudes into a healthy and productive factor upon the agenda of the revolution. The slight development of our industry, however, made it impossible for the time being for any larger proportion of the poor Jewish population to find employment in the factories. There thus remained a single field of activity open to them, that of agriculture.

The Jewish masses were therefore faced with the alternative of certain ruin or the taking over of land.

It is now two years since the State first took in hand the transfer of the Jews to the agricultural districts.

The results have surpassed all expectations. For the last two years we have had more than 50,000 Jewish farmers, who till their farms according to the latest achievements of agronomic science. Notwithstanding the great difficulties in their way, the Jewish farmers have left the Ukrainian and Tartaric population far behind them and have attained the level of the German colonists.

"I am amazed at the brilliant agricultural success which the Jewish farmers have attained in so short a time," was the verdict of Comrade **Dudnik**, People's Commissary for Agriculture in the Ukraine, after a visit to the new Jewish settlements.

In a number of agricultural branches the Jewish farmers can already be looked upon as pioneers (introduction of Sudan grass in Crimea, also of new sorts of maize, new methods of cultivating the vine on a sandy soil, etc.).

During the last two years, almost 1½ million roubles have been accorded out of the State budget for the transfer of the Jews to agricultural pursuits. Almost 50 per cent. of the entire sum employed in this connection was raised by the Jewish public organisations and advanced in the form of loans.

In the current year, another 150,000 Jews from the Ukraine and White Russia have reported for transference to agriculture. Some 5,000 of them will in the first place be transferred at State expense.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Sixth Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I.

(Seventeenth Session, Nov. 28th.)

The proposal of Comrade **Shatzkin** to postpone a discussion of the programme to the next session of the Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I. was unanimously adopted.

Report of the Representative of the Y. C. L. of Germany:

The general situation of Germany is characterised by the stabilisation of German capitalism and the rationalisation of its industry. The whole burden of this process falls upon the proletariat, in particular upon the young workers. Over 350,000 young workers under 18 years of age are included amongst the 2 million unemployed. The unemployed movement, which is growing, is under the leadership of the German C. P. A struggle must be carried on to win recognition from the trade unions. Young workers under 18 years receive no unemployed support. Other palliatives like the distribution of food, etc. are insufficient. The situation of the employed workers has similarly been worsened. The working day is being lengthened and wages cut.

The special forms of the offensive of capitalism against the working youth are: The attempt to raise the voting age; the introduction of compulsory labour service; the coalition laws directed against the young workers which are already partly enforced.

The situation in the German Y. C. L. is the following: Campaigns were carried out in connection with the delegation to the Soviet Union, the 10th anniversary of the League, the people's referendum, the international Day of Youth, the Congress of the Toilers, etc. In order to win the masses of the youth, it is necessary to penetrate into the trade union apparatus, to continue the campaign amongst the unemployed and to extend our influence in the trade schools. The League is slowly growing and increasing its branches. Our task is to organise the young workers who are more under our influence than is expressed in our membership figures. This has already been done to a certain extent in the **Young Red Front League**. The League is strongest in the industrial districts of the Ruhr, Berlin, Vogtland and the Lower Rhineland.

New methods are necessary against the fluctuation. The reorganisation has only been partly carried out. There are very few young workers in the large factories organised by us. The party supports us better than before, but still insufficiently. The press distribution has increased, but is still insufficient. The trade union work is commencing to show its first successes. Our position amongst the trade union and other functionaries has been strengthened. The trade union membership of our members is still insufficient. The political educational work is good. The League will organise courses now chiefly for its officials. It is the task of the Y. C. L. to draw the working youth into the struggle of the proletariat against the consequences of the rationalisation. For this purpose it is necessary to consolidate the position of the League in the factories and in the trade unions.

After a report of Comrade **Jones** upon the situation of the Y. C. L. in Great Britain, the session was closed.