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## The Moscow Insurrection of 1905

By *N. Lenin.*

We here reprint the interesting observations made by Comrade Lenin in the Moscow *Proletarij* (of August 29, 1906) on the lessons of the Moscow Rising of December 1905. (Ed.)

The December rising in Moscow mainly took the form of a peaceful strike with demonstrations. The overwhelming majority of the working masses only took active part in this form of struggle. But the December action in Moscow proved with the greatest clearness that the general strike, as an independent and leading form of struggle, has been rendered obsolete by events, and that the movement overflows these narrow confines and creates a higher form of struggle, the insurrection.

All revolutionary parties, and all trade unions in Moscow, felt, from the beginning of the strike, that it must inevitably turn into a rising. On the 6th of December the council of labor deputies passed a resolution that they would "endeavour to convert the strike into an armed rising". As a matter of fact, however, all the organizations were not prepared for this; even the Central Committee of the fighting troops spoke (on the 6th of December) of an uprising as of some remote possibility, and the street fighting undoubtedly took place without the agreement and participation of this body. The organizations lagged behind the movement both in extent and driving force.

The strike developed into an uprising under the pressure of the objective conditions arising after October. The Government could no longer be taken by surprise by a general strike, for it had already organized a counter-revolution prepared for military action. The general course taken by the Russian revolution after October, as well as the logical consequence of the events in Moscow in December, confirmed with surprising accuracy one of Marx's profoundest theses: Revolution advances by means of creating a determined and firm counter-revolution, that is, by forcing the enemy to resort to more and more rigorous means of defence, and thus evoking means of attack of ever-increasing powerfulness.

The events pursued the following course: On the 7th and 8th of October: peaceful strike, peaceful demonstrations by the

masses. On the evening of the 8th: siege of the Aquarium; on the 9th during the day: attack by the dragoons on the crowd in the Strastnoy Square; in the evening: destruction of Fiedler's House. The atmosphere became charged with excitement. The unorganized crowds in the streets began to erect the first barricades, quite spontaneously and without plan.

On the 10th: Commencement of the artillery bombardment against the barricades and the crowds in the streets. The construction of barricades now took a more purposeful form, no longer scattered, but now possessing an undoubtedly mass character. The whole population was in the streets; the whole town was intersected by a network of barricades at its most important points. For some days there was severe skirmishing between the fighting groups and the soldiery, a struggle so exhausting for the military forces that Dubasoff begged for reinforcements. It was not until December 5, that the preponderance of the government troops became apparent, and on the 17th the Semyoneff regiment mastered the Pressya district—the last support of the rising.

From strike and demonstrations to separate barricades. From separate barricades to mass barricade-construction and to street fighting against the troops. The proletarian mass struggle proceeded, over the heads of the organizations, from strike to rising. Here lies the gigantic historical success attained by the Russian Revolution in December 1905—a success entailing many sacrifices, as earlier ones have also done. The movement beginning with the general political strike, rose to the highest point of development. It forced reaction to resort to the most ruthless measures of resistance, and thus enormously accelerated the moment at which the revolution too grasped the uttermost weapons of attack. Reaction can go no further than bombarding the barricades, houses, and crowds in the streets with its artillery. But revolution can go much further than the formation of Moscow fighting troops, it possesses many possibilities of expanding and deepening its action. And since December the revolution has greatly developed. The basis of the revolutionary crisis has become inevitably broader,—the edge of the sword must now be sharpened.



The changes taking place in the objective conditions of the struggle, and requiring the transition from strike to rising, have been sooner grasped by the proletariat than by the leaders. Here, as always, practice has preceded theory. Peaceful strikes and demonstrations suddenly ceased to satisfy the workers, they asked: What is to be done further?—and demanded more energetic action. The instructions to erect barricades were received after great delay, and after barricades had already been erected in the center of the city. The workers participated in great masses in this work, but it did not satisfy them, they again asked: What next?—and demanded still more energetic action. We leaders of the social-democratic proletariat were in December, like that general who arranged his regiments in such a foolish manner that the majority of the troops could not take active part in the battle. The working masses sought for mass action, and found none.

Thus there is nothing more short-sighted than the opinion expressed by Plechanov, and seized upon by all opportunists, that it was futile to begin so untimely a strike, and that there should have been "no resort to weapons". On the contrary, weapons should have been resorted to much more determinedly, energetically, and offensively; it should have been made clear to the masses that a mere peaceful strike was impossible, and that a determined and merciless struggle was necessary.

This is the first lesson taught by the events of December. The second lesson concerns the character of the rising, the manner of its leadership, and the conditions for winning over the troops to the side of the people.

With regard to the last, an extraordinary one-sided opinion is very prevalent in the right wing of the party. It is impossible, according to the holders of this opinion, to fight against the military of today, but it is necessary to revolutionize the military. If goes without saying that if the revolution does not become a revolution of the masses, and does not spread to the military itself, there can be no thought of a serious struggle. Work among the troops is naturally an imperative necessity, but the bringing over of the soldiery is not to be imagined as one single simple action, the result of persuasion on the one hand and conviction on the other. The Moscow rising plainly showed how empty and mechanical such an idea is. The inevitable vacillations among the troops in every real people's movement, lead to an actual struggle for the soldiery when the revolutionary struggle becomes so acute as to involve actual fighting. The Moscow rising shows a graphic picture of the most furious and desperate struggle between reaction and revolution for the allegiance of the soldiery. Dubasoff himself declared that out of the 15,000 soldiers in the Moscow garrison, only 5,000 were reliable. The government retained its hold over the vacillating elements only by the most varied and desperate measures; by persuasion, flattery, bribery, distribution of watches, money, etc. The soldiers were given liquor; they were deceived, intimidated, confined to barracks, disarmed; the soldiers considered particularly unreliable were isolated from the others. And we must have sufficient courage to admit that it is precisely in this regard that we have been behind the government. We have not made full use of the powers at our disposal for carrying on precisely such an active, courageous, enterprising, and offensive struggle for the vacillating soldiery, as the government has done. We had prepared ourselves for the ideological "preparation" of the soldiery, and shall continue this with the utmost perseverance. But we should prove ourselves miserable pedants should we forget that at the moment of an uprising a physical fight for the soldiery is an equal necessity.

The Moscow proletariat in December gave us excellent lessons on the ideological "preparation" of the troops—thus, for instance, on the 8th December in Strastnoy Square, when the crowd mingled with the cossacks, surrounded them, entered into friendly speech with them, and succeeded in inducing them to withdraw. Or on December 10, in the Pressnja district, when two young women workers, bearing the red flag at the head of a crowd of 10,000, rushed forward to meet the cossacks with the cry: "Strike us dead, for living we shall not surrender the flag to you!" The cossacks were confused, and galloped away among the cries of the crowd: "Long live the cossacks!" These examples of courage and heroism must leave a lasting impression on the consciousness of the proletariat.

But here we have the following examples of our backwardness as compared with Dubasoff. On December 9, soldiers passed along Bolsaiya Serpuchovskaya, singing the Marseillaise, ready to join the rebels. The workers sent delegates to them. Malachoff himself galloped to the spot in the utmost haste. The workers came too late, Malachoff was there in good time. He delivered an enthusiastic address, rendered the soldiers irrefragable, surrounded them by dragoons, conducted them back to bar-

racks and there shut them up. Malachoff arrived in good time, and we did not, although 150,000 people responded to our appeal in 2 days, and these could and should have organized patrol service in the streets. Malachoff surrounded the soldiers with dragoons, but we did not surround Malachoff with bomb-throwers. We could and should have done this, and the social-democratic press (the old *Iskra*) had long emphasized that the ruthless extermination of the bourgeois and military leaders was our duty at the time of the rising. That which happened in the Bolsaiya Serpuchovskaya appears to have happened on similar lines before the Neshvick barracks and the Krutizi barracks; during the attempt made by the proletariat to "remove" the soldiery of the Jekaterinoslav regiment; when delegates were sent to the sappers at Alexandrov; on the return of the Rostov artillery sent to Moscow; when the sappers were disarmed at Kolumna, and on other occasions. At the moment of the rising we were not adequately prepared for our main task, the struggle for the hesitating soldiery.

The December events have also proved the correctness of another profound thesis of Marx, one forgotten by the opportunists. Marx wrote that rebellion is an act, and that the main rules of this act lie in desperate, reckless and ruthlessly determined attack. We have not assimilated this truth sufficiently, we have not learned this art, this rule of assuming the offensive at any price, and we have not taught this rule to the masses. Now we must make up for this negligence with all energy. It is not sufficient to form groups around political slogans; another grouping is necessary according to the attitude to be adopted with regard to armed rebellion. All who are not in favor of uprisings, all who do not prepare for them, must be mercilessly expelled from the ranks of the followers of revolution. They may go over to the camp of the counter-revolutionists, to the traitors and cowards, for the day is not far distant when the conditions of the struggle will compel us to recognize our friends and our enemies by this standard. We must not proclaim a gospel of passivity, of mere "waiting" for the moment when the soldiery "comes over" to us—no, we must ring out from every steeple the necessity of a courageous offensive, of attack with the weapon in the hand, of the necessity of exterminating the leaders of the troops when this attack is made, and of exerting the utmost endeavor in the struggle for the vacillating soldiery.

The third lesson which we may learn from Moscow relates to the tactics and the organization of the forces for an uprising. War tactics are dependent on the level of war techniques. War techniques today are no longer those of the middle of the 19th century. It would be arrant foolishness to throw a mass of human beings against artillery, or to defend barricades with revolvers. Kautsky was right when he wrote that after the events of Moscow it was time to revise Engels' theses, and that Moscow had created new barricade tactics. These tactics were the tactics of a partisan war. The organization required by such tactics must consist of mobile and very small detachments: groups of ten, of three, of even two. Here we often come across social democrats who snigger scornfully when one speaks of groups of five or three. But such cheap sneers are only made by those who do not want to recognize the fact that present day war techniques render fresh tactics and organization necessary for street fighting. If you will attentively peruse the narrative of the Moscow rebellion, gentlemen, you will perceive that there is a connection between the "groups of five" and the question of the "new barricade tactics".

Moscow employed these tactics, but in a by no means developed form, and not on a really mass scale. There were but few defence units ("Druschinniki"), the masses of the workers had received no slogan for courageous attack and applied none, the character of the party detachments was much too uniform, their equipment and their knowledge were insufficient, and their understanding of how to lead the masses almost entirely undeveloped. We must remedy all this, and we shall do so, for we have learnt the lessons taught by the Moscow rising, we shall spread this knowledge among the masses, and call forth a creative activity among the masses themselves. That partisan war, that mass terror, which has prevailed everywhere in Russia almost uninterruptedly since December, will doubtless help us to instruct the masses in the right tactics to be adopted at the moment of rebellion. Social democracy has to recognize this mass terror and include it in its tactics, must subordinate it, must of course organize and control it in the interests and conditions of the labor movement and of the revolutionary struggle in general, and must ruthlessly sweep away that "vagrant" distortion of this partisan war which the Moscow fighters so mercilessly put an end to during the days of the rising, and the Letts equally mercilessly during the days of the famous Latvian republics.

War technics have made further progress of late. The Japanese war has taught the use of the hand grenade. The armament factories have put the automatic gun on the market. Use is already beginning to be made of both weapons in the Russian revolution, but by no means to an adequate extent. We can and must utilize the achievements gained by technics; we must teach the workers' detachments the mass manufacture of bombs; we must help them and our fighting groups to provide themselves with explosives, fuses, and automatic guns. When the working masses take part in a city uprising, when there is a mass attack on the enemy, when a skilful and decisive struggle is being made for the soldiery, now more irresolute than ever after the Duma, after Sveaborg and Cronstadt, when the villages determinedly participate in the general struggle, when the next All Russian armed rebellion comes — the victory will be ours!

Therefore we want to extend our work on a still broader basis, to tackle our tasks more courageously, and to utilize the lessons taught by the great days of the Russian revolution. Our work is founded on the correct estimation of class interests and of the needs involved by the development of the whole people at a given moment. Around the slogan: Overthrow of Czarist power and convocation of a constitutional assembly by the revolutionary government, we group, and will continue to group, an ever-increasing section of the proletariat and soldiery. The development of the consciousness of the masses remains the foundation and main object of our whole work. But we must not forget that such moments as are now being experienced in Russia add fresh and special tasks to this general and permanent one. We do not want to become pedants and Philistines, we do not want to set aside these special tasks of the present moment, to ignore the form of struggle given by the present circumstances, and content ourselves with empty phrases on the tasks incumbent on us at all times and under all conditions.

We must not forget that a great mass struggle is impending. It will be an armed uprising. This uprising must be a simultaneous one as far as possible. The masses must know that they are starting on a bloody and desperate struggle. Scorn of the fear of death must be spread among the masses, and will assure our victory. The attack on the enemy must be carried out with the utmost energy; attack and not defence must be the slogan of the masses; ruthless extermination of the enemy is to be their task; a mobile and flexible fighting organization will be formed; the vacillating elements among the soldiery will be drawn into the active struggle. The party of the class conscious proletariat must fulfil its duty in this great struggle. (Proletarij, No. 2, August 1906.)

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Lessons of the Bulgarian Upeaval

To be duly noted by the sections of the Comintern.

By G. Zinoviev.

#### 1. The Necessity for Criticism.

We hesitated for some time: Is it not too premature to subject the tactics of the central committee of the C.P. of Bulgaria to public criticism? At the moment this party is exposed to the direct fire of the victorious White Fascist bands. The bourgeois papers constantly demand that our Bulgarian party be placed outside of the law. In consultation with the Executive of the Comintern, we came, however, to the conclusion that we dare not be silent, that silence on the erroneous tactics being pursued by the party will not save it from ruin, but rather enhance the danger of this ruin; that it is necessary to track down the errors committed, and to learn the right tactics while events in Bulgaria are yet fresh.

The Communist International is a united communist world party. The Bulgarian example, without doubt, possesses international significance. Each one of the 60 parties affiliated to the Comintern has its own interests at heart when it seeks to ascertain whether the Central Committee of the Bulgarian C.P. has acted rightly or wrongly in the course of events which may be repeated, in a more or less similar form, in other lands.

In the meanwhile, the leaders of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Bulgaria are propagating their "neutrality" theory in the international communist press with a zeal worthy of a better cause. This involves two dangers. In the first place, incorrect views are spread abroad and utilized by our opponents in the 2. International. In the second place, the defence of an erroneous attitude deprives our Bulgarian comrades themselves

of the possibility of rectifying their mistakes, and bars their way to really revolutionary tactics.

We dare not be silent! The question is of too great importance. It is precisely because of our brotherly relations to the Bulgarian workers, and to the Bulgarian Communist Party, to which we are bound by ties of special friendship, that we feel bound to express our candid opinion. Let our enemies smile maliciously. The Communist Parties have often had to subject themselves to self-criticism, and to order their ranks under the fire of the enemy. It suffices to recollect the example given by the C.P. of Germany after the March action in 1921. Despite everything, the future none the less belongs to the Bulgarian communists, not to the reigning Bulgarian Fascists, and not to the "social democratic". Fascists from the party of the "broad" Mensheviks. (When the Bulgarian labor party split, the right wing designated itself the "broad" social democrats, the left wing the "narrow". Ed.)

#### 2. The Role played by the Independent Peasants' Parties.

The latest events in Bulgaria throw a strong light on some of the most important present day political problems, above all on the question of the rôle played by the peasants' parties. One of the most interesting facts in the most recent history of politics is the attempt to form peasants' parties which presume to play an independent political rôle—apparently directed against the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat. We have witnessed such attempts during recent years in the Balkans, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Hungary, in Poland, etc. It is an exceedingly complicated phenomenon. It may chiefly be explained by the fact that during the war, and during the further decay of the bourgeois "order", the city has been constantly pushed into the background by the village—in the sense that the importance of the village, its economic and social significance, has continually increased. This is the basis. On the one hand, the peasants won a certain amount of political experience during the imperialist war of 1914 to 1918, which shook the village to its profoundest depths, and caused much suffering among the broad masses of the peasantry. The young men from the countryside who had been called up in millions to fight in the imperialist armies, afterwards returned to their villages (if they returned at all) bringing with them a certain political energy. On the other hand, the power of the big bourgeoisie is obviously on the decline, and thus the bourgeoisie with its social democratic helpers is forced to devote more attention to the peasantry, to draw them into political life.

The peasants' parties are not succeeding in playing an independent rôle in politics, and are not likely to succeed. In this respect Bulgaria's example is extraordinarily instructive. A *via media* policy is condemned to breakdown more than any other policy during our imperialist epoch. The peasantry has but two alternatives: either to side with the bourgeoisie, rendering the "Bulgarian" solution of the question inevitable sooner or later—or to side with the proletariat, which is the sole effective means of defending the real and fundamental interests of the peasantry. Even those peasant parties existing today, and keeping up the appearance of independence, are in reality nothing more than political cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie. It is not by accident that we find so many parsons, lawyers, and rich landowners, among the leaders of the so-called peasants' parties.

We cannot deny a certain depth and broadness in Stambulinsky's attempts. The biography of Stambulinsky is not that of an ordinary man. There was a time in which he had the courage to tell the truth in the face of the mighty ones of the earth. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and so forth. Especially during the first period of his government, his policy was characterized by a certain broadness of outline. It seemed as if, were it possible for a peasants' party to really play an independent rôle, that Bulgaria was just the country for the purpose. This is actually the fact. In Bulgaria 85 to 90% of the population consists of peasants. The city bourgeoisie is comparatively very weak. The two wars by which Bulgaria was visited were especially disastrous to the peasantry. Stambulinsky's past rendered him for a time an extremely popular peasants' leader.

And yet this miserable collapse!

Stambulinsky's attempt was in reality the first important attempt, if a demagogic one, yet at least at its commencement, an attempt to direct the policy of a peasants' party against the bourgeoisie. When Stambulinsky held a plebiscite on the punishment of the former ministers guilty of the imperialist war, when he deprived the bourgeois officers of their offices and brought in a peasant militia from the villages, when he armed the peasants, etc.—these were efforts calculated to create popularity for Stambulinsky. But all too soon the "peasants' policy" of Stambulinsky began to change into a policy in favor of the large farmers. In recent times, Stambulinsky did not direct his policy so much



against the bourgeoisie as against the working class, and against its leader, the Communist Party. The attempts at keeping to the "middle" line were speedily ship-wrecked. Stambulinsky, in separating himself from the masses, not only forfeited the confidence of the whole working class, but also that of a large section of the peasantry, and himself paved the way for the unhappy fate which overtook him. A "peasants' government" which directs its efforts against both the proletariat and bourgeoisie has proved itself to be an empty and lamentable Utopia, even in an agrarian country like Bulgaria. Nothing but a workers' and peasants' government can help the Bulgarian peasantry to free itself from the clutches of the bourgeois robbers.

### 3. The Tactics of the Bulgarian CP.

The Bulgarian upheaval is a serious historical test of the Bulgarian Communist Party. This crisis, like every other crisis, must serve to show the actual conditions obtaining in the old and powerful Bulgarian Communist Party, which boasts a large membership and is apparently thoroughly adequate to cope with present problems.

Unfortunately, the Bulgarian Communist Party has not stood the test. On the contrary, it has justified the most pessimistic predictions.

We waited on the tip-toe of expectation for the first news as to the attitude adopted by our Bulgarian Party at the beginning of the civil war. But even the earliest reports aroused the fear that the attitude taken would be too passive. The news following exceeded even our worst fears.

"The new government, whose existence is due to a military putsch, replaces the fallen military and police dictatorship of the peasant bourgeoisie by the new dictatorship of the city bourgeoisie, the old bourgeois party."

"The mask of bourgeois legality has been torn aside, and the sole party representing in actual deeds the rights and liberties guaranteed (!) by the constitution (!) is the Communist Party . . ."

"The toiling masses in town and country will not participate in the armed struggles between city and rural bourgeoisie, for such a participation in the struggle would signify that the toilers fetch the chestnuts out of the fire for their exploiters and oppressors."

"In the name of the working people we demand the maintenance and expansion of political liberty. We demand full liberty of speech and press, full rights of coalition and holding meetings. We demand measures against speculation and high prices! . . ."

"Up to the present the new government has not yet raised its hand directly against the Communist Party. But the regime of military dictatorship now established is directed against the rights and liberties of the working people, and thus against the Communist Party. We demand that these rights and liberties be restored, that military law be suspended, and we call upon you to gather under the banner of the Communist Party . . ."

Thus declared the Central Committee of the Bulgarian C.P. in its first appeal issued on June 9, 1923.

"The armed struggle between the adherents of the fallen government and those of the new government is not yet finished. The Communist Party, and the hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants united beneath its standard, take no part in this armed struggle. We do not know how this struggle will develop; but it is one into which the broad masses of the people have not yet been drawn up to the present moment. It is a struggle for power between the city and country bourgeoisies, that is, between two wings of the capitalist class . . ."

"The Communist Party, in clearly pointing out the actual aims being fought for by the city and rural bourgeoisies, and in showing that these aims have nothing in common with the aims of the toiling masses in town and village, calls upon the workers and toilers in town and country to unite, and to fight independently for the preservation of their interests, and for the realization of the slogans issued by the Communist Party."

Thus declared the C.C. of the Bulgarian C.P. in its appeal of the 11th June. The C.C. took its stand on this "neutrality" position, and has not budged from it to this day. Two bourgeois fractions are fighting with one another. That has nothing to do with "us". We "demand" . . . the abolition of military law. And this one day after the White upheaval we are . . . so innocent that we demand from the Fascist government that it confirm its declarations (on freedom and other beautiful things) "by deeds" . . .

The communist workers in the provinces have not all been able to find their way to this "high" pinnacle of statesmanship.

They see that naked Fascist reaction is beginning to triumph, they are taking up arms against it, and are trying to resist the Fascists, who are gaining the upper hand, by joining their forces with those of groups of peasantry. In Plevna and other places, action is beginning among armed communist workers, supported by the peasantry. But the Central Committee takes immediate steps. We repeat the wording of the remarkable telegram sent by comrade Lukanov, secretary of the C.C., to Plevna:

"Plevna. To Wassiliy Tabatschkin (Secretary of the Plevna Party organization). I hear that there are rumours among you in Plevna, to the effect that I have been arrested, and that extraordinary measures are being employed against us here in Sofia. This is a lie. Do not let yourselves be confused by rumours and provocations. You will receive our appeal. Support to the utmost the attitude taken in it! Take no part, either for or against one or the other party. Regards to Tatscha Olga, Asen, and other comrades." (The object of these last words was to prove to comrade Tabatschkin that the telegram was really from Lukanov.)

We have learnt from various telegrams that this Plevna incident was not an isolated one.

As is invariably the case in such occurrences, the errors committed by the Party centrals are ascribed to the workers. The Bulgarian workers are accused of indifference, of lack of fighting spirit, of disinclination for combat, etc. It is thus that the members of the C.C. of the Bulgarian C.P. write.

These are all mere sophistries. We know quite well that the C.C. issued the incredibly wrong slogan of "neutrality" a few hours after the white revolution, that is, that it began to induce our workers to take no part in the struggle between two cliques both alleged to be equally hostile to us. How were the workers to prove their fighting spirit, when their own party, in the person of the C.C., from the very beginning, required non-participation in the conflict from them?

In his article: "The bourgeois military upheaval and the C.P. in Bulgaria", comrade Kabaktschiev himself writes that in the districts of Radomir, Parzardschik, Plevna, Schumen, Karlovo, Popovo, Russe, Bela Tscherven-Breg, Lovetsch, and Drenovo (there are 89 districts in all) an armed resistance began among the peasantry, and that the strength of the armed groups reached several hundreds in the districts of Plevna, Schumen, and Pazardschik.

How then can it be said to be evident, as maintained by comrade Kabaktschiev, that the movement was certain of defeat, even when "supported by the Communists"? At the beginning, the Whites had but slight powers at their disposal—this is acknowledged by comrade Kabaktschiev himself.

But comrade Kabaktschiev has another argument ready. "The working masses of the cities"—he writes—"met the upheaval with indifference, even with a certain relief." (!)

The article published by the periodical of the Bulgarian C.P., the *Novoye Vremya* goes even further:

"The masses of Sofia met the downfall of the Peasants' League government with a feeling of relief and open (!) satisfaction (!)" (The article is entitled: "The upheaval and the situation in Bulgaria.")

The masses are well known to have a broad back. Everything can be loaded upon them. But if ever there was a case in which the party leaders are to blame, it is this. Even today they are still railing more violently against the fallen Stambulinsky government than against the triumphant Whites. This they justify "theoretically" by the magnificent "thesis", that for the workers there exists no difference between the two "cliques" of the bourgeoisie. They name this attitude an "independent" one, but it deserves a very different epithet . . .

This dogmatic doctrinaire method of estimating the different groups of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie is not confined to the leaders of the C.P. of Bulgaria. In this respect they remind us of the worst sectarian characteristics of Guesdism (of the earlier description). So long as this was merely a theoretical fad, a literary subtlety, it was not a serious matter, but as soon as it determined the policy of the party in a decisive crisis, it became a real disaster to the party.

The number of small-holding peasants in Bulgaria, as often confirmed by comrade Kabaktschiev himself, is 300,000. There are as many medium holders (also extremely poor). In this tiny country there are about 600,000 peasants who are potentially our allies. A portion of these was already at the parting of the ways from Stambulinsky to us at the time of the upheaval. And we are told that we are dealing here with a struggle between two equally pernicious bourgeois "cliques".

At the close of the manifesto mentioned, the C.C. of the Bulgarian party salves its conscience with the slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government". But under such circumstances

this slogan is a mere phrase, a dead word, a political corpse. This is not the way to fight for the Workers' and Peasants' government. This is not Marxism.

Stambulinsky has been murdered. The heads of his party have been scattered. Some of them have gone over to the Whites. But the peasants remain. We must unite with them to fight against the bourgeoisie. And we cannot do this without freeing ourselves from wrong and sterile views.

The leaders of the Central Committee probably hoped to save the party from blows by their "neutrality". They did not decide to take up arms. The over-cautious leaders sought to shelter themselves from the impending danger of civil war beneath the torn umbrella of "neutrality". Do not believe the "rumours" of extraordinary measures taken against the Communists, telegraphs comrade Lukanov. A few days pass and—was it so difficult to foresee it?—the "extraordinary measures" become actual fact. The Fascist government hails repressions on the Communist Party; in Plevna alone some hundreds of Communists have been arrested; it is perfectly clear that the party is being driven into illegality. The whole bourgeois press writes derisively upon the "neutrality" of the Communists, and prepares to deal them fresh blows.

It is difficult to imagine a more dogmatic and wrongful attitude, under the given circumstances, than that adopted by the C.C. of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Stambulinsky was the natural enemy of the working class. His policy of repressions against the Communists naturally aroused a justified indignation and a justified hate against him. And it is of course equally true that the heads of the Stambulinsky peasant's party had more and more degenerated into a group representing the interests of the large farmers. But all the same, it is an amazing error, in such a situation as that of Bulgaria, to represent the whole bourgeoisie, including the peasant petty bourgeoisie who are still sympathizing, or half sympathizing, with Stambulinsky, as "a reactionary mass". At the moment when the Fascists and the heads of the peasants' party came into conflict, it was (and remains) the task of the Communist Party to unite with all reasonably honest adherents of the peasants' party, and to join forces with these against the Whites. Was Kerensky no enemy of the workers in September 1917? And yet the Bolsheviks joined Kerensky against Kornilov. And they lost nothing by it. Kerensky was the only one to lose anything. This is the only way in which the Stambulinsky party can and must be opposed.

The attitude taken by the Bulgarian C.C. approaches very closely to a social democratic attitude.

When we say "social democratic", we are thinking of the good old days of social democracy. The present day social democrats naturally go a great deal further. The leaders of the Bulgarian Mensheviks (the "broad" socialists), who form a part of the Second International, participate in the Fascist government, and, it would appear, undertake the rôle of executioners for this government.

In this manner the Second International identifies itself directly, through the "broads", with the glorious international family of the Fascists.

The "neutral" attitude adopted by the central committee of the C.P. of Bulgaria was bound to lead into a blind alley. A waiting policy, combined with a gesture of neutrality, at such a juncture, signifies political capitulation.

The fate of the Bulgarian Communist Party is instructive. It is one of the oldest and most powerful labor parties. The C.P. of Bulgaria can look back upon at least 25 to 30 years of development. It had won over the greater part of the workers and a considerable section of the peasantry in the course of a long struggle against the "broad" socialists. It deprived the "broads" of all serious influence on the working classes. In agitative and propaganda work, the Bulgarian Communist Party has accomplished magnificent work (something after the manner of German social democracy in its best years). The C.P. of Bulgaria is led by a staff of leaders composed of educated and tried Marxist. And yet—this terrible error, this great disappointment. It is fearfully difficult to proceed from agitation and propaganda to revolutionary deeds.

As early as 1921 (in an open letter dated May 4, 1921) the Executive of the Comintern directed the attention of the Bulgarian Communist Party to its weak points. Impress it upon yourselves—wrote in this letter—that victory does not simply fall from heaven. Remember that agitation and propaganda alone do not suffice, that we must know how to make the transition to direct fighting measures at the decisive moment.

The second time that the Executive drew the attention of the C.P. of Bulgaria to its weak points, a somewhat sharper tone was used. This was on the occasion of the last revolution in Greece. The Bulgarian C.C., heading the whole Balkan federa-

tion, maintained an apathy with regard to the events in Greece perfectly incomprehensible to a revolutionist.

What is the cause of this?

The Bulgarian Communist Party has been gathering its forces during a quarter of a century by means of organizational and propagandist work. The question was, whether quantity would be converted into quality in good time, whether the old Bulgarian party would be able to put an end to the preparatory period of propaganda and gathering of forces, and at the decisive moment, plunge into the fight. It has proved incapable of doing this. The leaders of the Bulgarian C.P., during the past few months, have devoted much more thought and care to the protection of the "People's Houses", which were attacked by Stambulinsky, than to preparations for the impending upheaval, though this was foreseen by Kabaktschiev and the whole C.C. Just as in 1914 many a leader of social democracy. . .

The Bulgarian Communists are backed up by the whole of the railway workers, the whole of the post office and telegraph employees. It is obvious that this could have been of immense significance in the first days of the upheaval. But we remained "neutral". . .

The Bulgarian C.P. wanted a revolution "with guarantees". It has never ventured to even think of a war. "On the day following a revolution, Roumania would march against us, etc." But the Whites were not afraid of the Yugoslavs, and they have been victorious, whilst the "caution" of the Bulgarian C.P. has earned a severe defeat.

It is difficult indeed to have to say all this at a moment when the scorpions of Fascism are harassing the Bulgarian workers. But we dare not preserve silence. The bitter lesson of the political defeat of one of the strongest parties belonging to the Comintern must be turned to account by the other parties. It is through these severe and trying defeats that real communist organizations are developed. We had a right to expect something better from the Bulgarian party. But it seems as if we must drink this cup of sorrow to the dregs. It is only from their own errors and defeats that the workers learn.

There are situations in which it is worse for a revolutionary party not to take up arms than to enter into a fight resulting in a defeat. Our Bulgarian Party was in such a situation. To retire behind the cloak of "neutrality" at such a moment means paralysing one's own powers.

We do not doubt for a moment but that those hundreds and thousands of conscious proletarians who have joined the Bulgarian C.P.—those who have instinctively plunged into the fight and have been left in the lurch by the leaders—will know how to save their party. By a reorganization of their forces, by the experience of the bitter lesson just learnt, they will be enabled to more firmly establish their organizations and prepare themselves for fresh decisive battles, and this under the direct fire of the enemy. After all, the civil war is only just beginning. It can only end with the victory of the Communist Party. The slogan issued by the C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria, the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' government, is the right slogan. We do not accuse the C.C. of the Bulgarian C.P. of fighting under wrong slogans, but of *not fighting at all*. The slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' government will find excellent soil in the peasantry which has been shaken out of its indifference by the civil war. The Bulgarian proletariat will follow this slogan to victory through severe defeats, through a period of White Terror.

May our Bulgarian comrades not lose their courage, may they correct the mistakes committed with all speed. But all other communist parties must learn from the Bulgarian example how *not* to do it.

## The Communist Party of Germany on the Imminent Fascist Danger

We print below a Manifesto recently issued by the Central of the Communist Party of Germany, which will serve to inform our readers as to the very critical situation which at present exists in Germany, in view of the open and active preparations being made by the Fascist elements, backed up by large capital, to seize absolute power, and the grave and serious view of the position taken by the leaders of the Communist Party. (Ed.)

To the Party!

Cuno's cabinet is bankrupt! The internal and external crisis threatens to lead to an acute catastrophe within a very short time. Reports accumulate showing that in the occupied territory, all preparations have been completed by the Rhenish-



Westphalian separatists for the separation of the Rhenish-Westphalian buffer state from Germany. Were it not that, at the moment, the leaders of these strivers after separation in the pay of France are quarreling among themselves over the distribution of jobs, the first action for the realization of their plans would have taken place on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. Action has merely been postponed for some weeks. If all proletarian forces are not at once brought to bear against these traitors, then we shall have the Rhineland Republic more quickly than we imagined.

The South German Fascisti, who have a hand in the game, and a part of whose leaders — like the Dorten set — are maintained by French money, have resolved at their conferences to utilize the occasion of the proclamation of the Rhenish-Westphalian buffer state to secede from the Republic themselves, immediately after the harvest, on the pretext of assuming the leadership of the active struggle against the invasion by the French. The marching plans of the "Fatherland Leagues" are complete to the last detail. Ludendorff and Hitler have made all preparations to march against Saxony and Thuringia. The North German Fascist organizations, the associations in Pomerania, Upper Silesia, and East Prussia, have made all preparations for the military subjugation of Berlin and Hamburg. Troops of Fascist horse are being formed in Mecklenburg, the province of Brandenburg, Pomerania. On the Warthe and the Oder pontoons are held ready for the constructions of bridges for the Fascist shock troops. The officers of the Reichswehr give the Fascisti military training. Leading elements of the Reichswehr work hand in glove with the Fascisti. The connection of the Reichswehr with the Fascisti is the military mainstay of the counter-revolution; while the bourgeois parties without exception support Fascism, in order to carry out the Stinnes program against the proletariat.

The Social-Democratic government offices, the deputies in the Reichstag and in the Diets, have mountains of material regarding the preparations of the Fascisti and Reichswehr officers for civil war. They are too cowardly to publish the material, and call upon the workers to resist. They know that the attack is imminent; they are trying, with a part of the German bourgeoisie, to prepare the Great Coalition, in order to present the legalization of Fascism to the proletariat as the lesser evil.

Party comrades!

Severe struggles lie before us! We must hold ourselves in complete readiness for action. No reliance can be placed on the Social Democracy and Trade Union bureaucracy. As in all previous defensive struggles of the revolutionary proletariat against the counter-revolution, the social-democracy, and trade union bureaucracy will, on this occasion also, betray the workers and leave them in the lurch.

The Fascist attack need not take the form of the Kapp putsch; it may begin in action by the Reich against Saxony and Thuringia; it may commence by the proclamation of the Rhenish-Westphalian Republic or by an attack on the defence movement of the workers. Even an attack upon the wage struggles of the workers may be the signal for the Fascist advance. At the moment of the outbreak of the counter-revolution, the S.P.D. will doubtless lament loudly, and give expression to radical sentiments. But the Party must realize that the S.P.D. and the trade union leaders will fail completely in a serious revolutionary defensive struggle against Fascism; that they are unworthy of consideration as leaders of the working class.

We Communists can only be victorious in the struggle against counter-revolution, if we succeed, without and against the traitorous Social Democratic Party and trade union bureaucracy, in leading the social-democratic and non-party working masses into our common struggle.

To this end all preparations must at once be made for an effective defence action.

The Control Committees must make immediate preparations for providing the industrial fighting districts with food, with the aid of the impoverished small dealers and small peasants, as well as of the agricultural workers, and in opposition to the big profiteers, the wholesale dealers, and the large agrarians.

The Common Proletarian Defence Organizations must forthwith be organized from the factories and workshops, despite all opposition.

The Party districts, where the work of forming factory nuclei is not yet complete, must, in the next few days and with a minimum of delay, create efficient factory nuclei.

The communications of the District Lead with the Local Groups of the districts, and with the National Central, must immediately be organized with the greatest care; the same applies to the courier service.

The Party must make its organization such a striking force, that, even in open civil war, not a single district fails it. Should the ordinary means of traffic, such as the railways and the post, be paralyzed by a general strike, or by military struggles, communications between the organizations must be secured, as well as the printing and distribution of propaganda material, etc.

The Fascist plans are, militarily, thoroughly worked out. They have issued the slogan: civil war, to be conducted with the utmost brutality and violence. All workers who resist the Fascisti, shall, on being taken prisoners, be shot. In order to crush the strikes, every tenth man among the strikers is to be shot.

It is only possible to crush the Fascist rising by opposing Red Terror to White Terror. If the Fascisti, who are armed to the teeth, slay proletarian fighters, then the workers must pitilessly exterminate all Fascisti. If the Fascisti shoot every tenth striker, then the revolutionary workers must shoot every fifth member of the Fascist organizations.

The Fascist associations are fully armed. The workers, who still have no weapons today, must know where and how they can procure arms in case of an attack. Generally speaking, the unarmed workers will at first only be able to crush the heavily armed Fascisti by force of numbers; they will have to seize the weapons of the Fascisti in open fight, and so equip themselves that they can follow up their victory.

Our comrades in the old and newly occupied territory will have to bear the heaviest blows. Deserted by the German bourgeois parties; betrayed by the Social Democracy and trade union bureaucracy; under the heel of the violent French Militarism, which brutally and mercilessly pursues its own ends, the Communist Party will have to repel the attack unaided. Since it cannot oppose an armed force to French Militarism, it must make all the greater use of the weapon of the political mass strike.

The C.P. of Germany must lead the whole proletariat into the struggle under its flag. It must, therefore, immediately exert every endeavour to win the social democratic, Christian, and non-partisan working masses for the energetic defensive struggle against the formation of a Rhenish-Westphalian buffer state.

The Party must, however, also make up its mind that, under certain circumstances, it will alone issue the call to battle and will alone undertake the leadership of the struggle.

This action signifies at least the raising of the standard of revolutionary resistance to Entente Imperialism, a resistance which, in alliance with Soviet Russia, prepares the victorious defensive struggle against French Imperialism and which has for its end, the emancipation of Germany.

We are facing decisive struggles. We must prepare ourselves and the masses, calmly, without nervousness, and with clear heads. The appointed time for opening the attack may again be postponed. That in no way alters the danger of the situation.

Party Comrades!

The Communist Party is to-day, as never before in the German Revolution, a factor of power. Throughout the country, new members, new readers of the Party press, are streaming to us in thousands and tens of thousands. In the very near future, the Party will have to undergo an ordeal of fire. If we succeed in mobilizing the broad masses of workers who today are ready to fight, if we succeed in giving them a clear-sighted lead, then this struggle can only end with the victory of the working class over counter-revolution.

Only if we have the will to victory and for the assumption of power, only if every communist is ready to sacrifice his all for the salvation and emancipation of the working class, only then will our Party be the Party of victory. Only then will it set up the revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, which by the seizure of real values and control of production at the expense of the great capitalists, will save the working class, clerks, officials and hard-pressed middle class from ruin and enslavement, and will oppose to French Imperialism a militant and united Nation.

The Party is ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with all those who, from within and without, will resolutely and sincerely fight under the leadership of the proletariat.

Up, close the ranks of the vanguard of the German proletariat!

Let us fight in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg!

Berlin, July 11, 1923.

The Central of the Communist Party of Germany.  
(Section of the Communist International.)

## FASCISM

### Fascism, Ourselves and the German Social-Democrat

By Karl Radek.

The speech delivered by Comrade Radek at the recent session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern on "Schlageter, the Wanderer into the Void" (printed in No. 47 (27) of the "Inprekorr."), has made a considerable impression in political circles in Germany and has evoked criticism in both the bourgeois and social democratic press. We publish the following article in which Comrade Radek deals with his critics in both the Fascist and social democratic camps, and points out the necessity of combatting Fascism politically. (Ed.)

My speech on Schlageter naturally caused the most unpleasant sensation in the *Zeit*, the organ of the German People's Party, and in the *Vossische Zeitung*. The *Zeit* warns the Fascisti against falling into my trap. I can sympathize with them. If the gentlemen of the People's Party are not in a position to exploit the national feelings of the petty bourgeois masses for political purposes, German capital will not be in a position to exploit the German proletariat and German petty bourgeoisie for economic purposes. Any attempt, however diffident, at enlightening the petty bourgeois nationalist masses on the fact that they are merely political cannon fodder for big capital, which plunders them daily, is naturally a blow dealt at the financial backers of the *Zeit*. The Jewish Russian councillor of commerce, Litvin, whose money keeps the *Zeit* going, is naturally — together with his money box — a national *noli me tangere*. And when a Russian Communist informs the petty bourgeois masses as to how they are being taken advantage of, it is obvious that M. Litvin must defend himself against such an interference on the part of Russian Communists in the affairs of his truly German cash box. The *Vossische Zeitung* is also somewhat put out. It is anxious about the Rapallo treaty, which suffers as the result of such interference on my part. We shall be prepared to discuss with the Ullstein publishers (Publishers of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Ed.) as to the best method of carrying out the Rapallo treaty on the day the Ullstein publishers cease to publish the *Rul*, the organ of the Russian counter-revolutionists, which, under the protection afforded by the Rapallo treaty, openly confers its blessing even upon terrorist bands of the description of Vorowsky's murderers. Today we shall confine ourselves to a talk with the estimable *Vorwärts*, which was induced by my speech to bring out a fulminating article entitled: "The new National Hero. Radek extols Schlageter". But first let us deal with a few jokes played by the worthy organ representing German Social-Democracy, the emancipator of the peoples. On whose stupidity is the *Vorwärts* calculating when it writes that I extol Schlageter as a German national hero? I designated Schlageter as "the wanderer into the void". I called him our class enemy. The *Vorwärts* suppresses these expressions of mine. But the *Vorwärts* itself quotes the sentence in which I spoke of Schlageter as a "soldier of counter-revolution". And since when do the Communists extol the counter-revolutionists? If the *Vorwärts* wants to spread lies abroad, it should do so a little more skillfully; even the Prussian police prohibit such a degree of stupidity. And what about the "compliments" which I have paid Schlageter, in that I named him a "brave soldier of counter-revolution"? This is a very simple matter. I am always ready to accord human respect to anyone who stakes his life for his idea, even though he be my class adversary, and I am fighting him ruthlessly. On the other hand, I have anything but respect for people who do not venture to stake their existence, either for revolution or counter-revolution, and can only wail like old women. But let us leave the jokes of the *Vorwärts* and proceed to politics.

Fascism is a great danger, perhaps a greater danger than the gentlemen of the *Vorwärts* have any idea of; they have already shown on various occasions that they are liable to miscalculation. Did they not let themselves be taken by surprise by Kapp? Did they not destroy all possibility of a serious struggle against the Fascist danger, once after the murder of Erzberger and again after the murder of Rathenau? When the *Vorwärts* — and with it the *Leiziger Volkszeitung*, which has equally gone to the dogs — tell us that we should not "finesse with an idea", and "try to transform the Fascist wolves into gentle lambs by trying the powers of persuasion on the political opponents of the proletariat," then we laugh heartily at the *Vorwärts* and the good *Leipziger*. Who was it who believed that the wolves of Fascism, when permitted to graze in the meadows of German

democracy, would transform themselves into lambs? Was it not the German Social Democrats who even appointed their strong man, Noske, to act as shepherd; that he might lead the Lüttwitzers to the meadows and convert them into lambs by the notes of his flute? It turned out differently. They bit him in the calves, and rent those who fell into their clutches. Did the Social Democrats learn anything from this experience? Nothing whatever! The best proof of this is that even today they still protest against the formation of joint defence units among the proletariat, the sole effectual means of resistance against the Fascist bands. And when the party, whose authorized representative—the Prussian minister for internal affairs Severing—prohibits the proletarian defence units, yet presumes to instruct us on the necessity of combatting Fascism, then Messrs. Stampfer, Stein, and Reuter only make themselves ridiculous.

The Communist Party is the sole power which organizes, and will organize in the future, the self-defensive struggle of the proletariat against the armed bands of the Fascisti. It is naturally ridiculous to assume that Fascism can be defeated by weapons only. The movements of small minorities can be suppressed by governmental terror, though even this is impossible in Germany against the Fascisti, for the simple reason that the whole German government apparatus is permeated with Fascisti or sympathizers with them. But even if Severing and Weissmann were Prussian Marats, their terror would not put an end to the Fascist movement.

Fascism is a political movement embracing wide masses of the proletarianized petty bourgeoisie. And if we are to combat it, we must combat it politically. It is only possible to combat Fascism politically, by first opening the eyes of the broad suffering masses of the petty bourgeoisie to the fact, that their justifiable feelings are being taken advantage of by capital, which is to blame, not only for their economic misery, but also for the national misery of Germany. In the second place, Fascism can be combatted by showing these petty bourgeois masses how they can best fight in their own interests. Against what are they fighting? They are fighting against the unbearable misery into which they are plunged, and they are fighting against the enslavement of Germany through the Versailles treaty. Must the working class aid them in this struggle? It is the duty of the workers to aid them in the struggle against impoverishment. Socialism was never merely a fight for a piece of bread for the industrial workers. It has always tried to be a burning torch showing the way for all sufferers. Is Social Democracy helping the suffering brain workers, the great suffering masses of the petty bourgeoisie, in their material struggle; does it point out to them a path out of their miserable situation? It does not; it rages at the demagogues who utilize the need of the petty bourgeoisie for the purpose of forcing it into the arms of big capital. But it is not capable of showing the petty bourgeois masses any means of escape, for it knows of none. They cannot be helped on the basis of capitalism, and this basis is sacred to social democracy. The Communist Party must be capable of awakening in the petty bourgeois masses the great and holy faith in the possibility of overcoming misery, of awakening the conviction that petty bourgeoisie and working class in co-operation are able to overcome misery, and to create the foundations for a new life in Germany. If the working class in Germany is not capable of imparting this faith to the petty bourgeois masses, then it will be defeated, or will at least have to wait for a long time for its victory.

And is it not our duty to carry on a struggle against the enslavement of Germany through the Versailles treaty? The *Vorwärts* cannot deny that it is. But as to how we are to conduct this struggle the *Vorwärts* vouchsafes no reply, because it does not know of any. Anyone who attempted to-day to persuade the masses that Wilson or England will do away with the Versailles treaty would be laughed at, and the *Vorwärts* knows of no other way. And the German bourgeoisie which speaks of a policy of fulfilment knows of no other way either. Neither can we Communists ignore facts, anymore than anyone else. And we do not promise the masses that if a workers' government is established in Germany today, it will be in a position to remove the burden of Versailles from Germany in a twinkling. But one thing we do know, and that is that we should try and remove this burden from the shoulders of the poor and the toiling, and to place it on the shoulders of those capable of bearing it. And another thing we know, that we should and could fight against the Versailles peace, as the Russian people has fought and is still fighting, against all attempts to enslave it. Not only would the mere existence of the workers' government set free latent powers in other countries, which would aid in combatting the Versailles treaty, but the workers' Government would courageously prepare to carry on an armed conflict against the Versailles



Treaty! We declare this openly to the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and thereby show them the lines along which they have to fight. Social democracy has merely shown them how to endure every form of oppression and slavery which it cannot conceal under pacifist phrases. Pacifist phrases in the mouth of representatives of an oppressed and dismembered people are cowardice or lies, and must arouse every healthy instinct in the people against them. If we cannot succeed in awakening confidence among the petty bourgeois masses in the capability of the working class to shake off the national fetters, then these masses will become an instrument in the hands of the jackals of the battle field, who misuse the justifiable national feelings of the people for establishing the rule of reaction in Germany, and thus leading Germany still further into the abyss.

One of the most criminal acts committed by German Social Democracy is that it destroys all faith in socialism, all faith in the power of the masses of the people. German Social Democracy is one of the main factors in the victorious progress of Fascist demagoguery. At the moment when these Socialists deserted socialism, they converted themselves into apostles of national failure. They, who in the war became "patriots" out of fear of the strength of the German bourgeoisie, and who represented the imperialist robbery as defence of the Fatherland, now call into question any real fight for the national rights of the German people, describing this as nationalism. This time they are actuated out of fear of the Entente. The funk-patriots of yesterday have changed into the funk-anti-patriots of today, and on each occasion they have been false to the immediate duty of a socialist labor party, the duty of rightly leading the broad masses of the people in the fight for their interests.

It is the duty of the German Communists to fight if needs be with weapons in their hands, against the Fascist *coup d'état*, for this *coup d'état* would be a catastrophe for the working class, a catastrophe for Germany. But at the same time it is their duty to do their utmost to convince the petty bourgeois elements of Fascism, struggling against impoverishment and the enslavement of Germany, that Communism is not their enemy but their star, showing their path to victory. Should the Social Democratic press denounce this work of ours as an attempt at a rapprochement to Fascism, as coquetting with nationalism, as a trap for the unwary, they are at liberty to do so; the Communist will continue to pursue their path, to the advantage not only of the German people, but of the international proletariat!

## POLITICS

### The Political Situation in the Near East

By Heinz Neumann.

English Imperialism has maintained a passive attitude with regard to the French Ruhr occupation. But that does not imply its passivity outside of Europe. On the contrary, while France has been occupied with her adventures in the Rhine country and in the Ruhr, Lord Curzon has been furthering his oriental policy in a very quiet and skilful manner.

The London and the Paris press are full of articles on the "Deadlock in Lausanne". They frequently devote greater attention to this question than to the whole Ruhr struggle. For 20 weeks, the Conference at Lausanne has not been able to emerge from the crisis into which it has been plunged by the rivalries of the two powers: Great Britain and France. For 20 weeks the Conference has dragged along its tedious and futile course.

At the present time, there exist three points of difference "between the Allies and Turkey", which in reality are antagonisms among the Allies. The points in question are the Ottoman debt, the concession question, and the garrison of Constantinople.

Kemal Pacha's Government wants to pay back the coupons of the "Imperial Ottoman Bank" in French paper francs. France protests violently against this proposal—because it violates the sacredness of the contracts. To what extent it violates this sacredness may be seen from an article in the *Matin*, which states that the coupons were originally issued at 22 Turkish pounds each, which is equal to 20 pounds Sterling, or 500 francs. Should they be paid back in paper francs, they sink to a third of their value. The owners of the securities, the majority of whom are Frenchmen, lose two thirds of their investments. It is clear that this method is a direct violation of the sacredness of capitalist property.

In the concession question, the state of affairs is very similar. The Turkish Government wants to reserve the right of regulating the existing concessions according to its own judgement. France demands that the pre-war concessions be confirmed and compensation paid for war damages.

The final question is that of Constantinople. Turkey had been already granted East Thrace and the Maritzen valley by the Allies after the Turkish army had reached the Dardanelles. The town of Karagatzsch, and with it the passage from the Aegean sea, is also given to the Turks. At the same time the Greek army is still stationed in West Thrace, and is waiting in vain for its demobilization, for a new bone of contention has arisen: the Turkish delegates, Ismet Pacha and Riza Nur, demand the immediate evacuation of Constantinople, before any decision has yet been arrived at on the concession question. While the French Government raises decided objections to the Turkish demands concerning economic questions, it is prepared to negotiate on the evacuation of Constantinople. England, on the other hand, shows but little interest in the Ottoman debts and the Turkish concessions, but for British imperialism, Constantinople and the control of the Straits are indispensable. At the moment, the greatest tension is between Turkey and France, while the relations with England are better. The British Government is utilizing the antagonism with great skill. It has made an intermediary proposal. The political treaty of peace is to be signed first. Special negotiations can then be carried on on economic questions. But as the readiness of the Turks to fulfil their demands is still doubtful, the English military forces are to continue to occupy Gallipoli and the entrance to the Dardanelles. This ingenious proposal would result in the French bondholders losing two thirds of their invested money. England would easily find a pretext for permanently occupying Constantinople. Lord Newton, in an open letter to the *Times* of the 26th June, reveals the sad position of the ecumenical patriarch who was recently beaten in Constantinople. The *Times* utters words of flaming protest on behalf of the "venerable old prelate", and combines this with the proposal that the Turkish police force in Constantinople be further reinforced by English troops.

What does the deadlock at Lausanne mean? The situation in the Near East has changed. England has worked upon the Turkish Government. By means of judicious concessions, Kemal Pacha has allowed himself to be drawn to a great extent from France into the English orbit. Lord Curzon's position in the Near East is today much stronger than the French.

In this manner, the formation of a new constellation is proclaimed. The French oriental politicians recognize very well the danger of the new position. As England has succeeded in thrusting a wedge between them and Turkey, they are seeking other fulcrums. France has turned once more to the despised and betrayed Greece. Constantine has been set aside by the officers' revolution, and in his place good old Venizelos is again energetically negotiating with General Pelé, while General Le Rond is at present making a tour of inspection through Jugoslavia.

The whole Balkan question has cropped up again owing to the upheaval in Bulgaria. France must first make concessions to the English. It is a question of allotting spheres of imperialist activity.

England is neutral in the Ruhr question, and is meanwhile preparing in the Orient to assure her hold of India and obtain a base from which she can attack Soviet Russia. Curzon's Turkish policy is only to be understood as an instrument of the new intervention planned against Soviet Russia. It is not by accident that our comrade Vorovsky was murdered in Lausanne as a result of English agitation.

Whilst France is continuing her European continental policy, and seeking to extend the bloc of the Little Entente to Greece, England is trying to create for herself a mighty counterpoise: a group of vassals extending from Turkey via Bulgaria and Hungary to Vienna, as a jumping off ground against Soviet Russia. As is well known, the English Government was the first to welcome and recognize the ministry of the Bulgarian Fascist putch. England, like Italy, had a hand in the Bulgarian upheaval. Apart from its social aim, the overthrow of agrarian rule by the capitalist class, the Bulgarian *coup d'état* also served another function in foreign politics. Stambulisky had the Macedonians arrested in order to come to an agreement with Serbia, or perhaps even to a South Slavian united state. This would have tremendously strengthened the French Balkan bloc. England, with the aid of the Bulgarian capitalist putch, removed the last link in the chain of the French Balkan plan.

When one considers the Near East, it becomes at once apparent that the English policy, about which the pacifists and social democrats are so enthusiastic, is not one iota gentler or

more humane than that of French imperialism, but just as militarist and at least just as reactionary as French imperialism. The 8 months crisis since the Greco-Turkish armistice, the five years of oriental crisis since 1918, signalize the new war and intervention zone in the Near East. The picture is exactly the same as in the Ruhr: violent and bloody liquidation of the reconstruction attempts of Versailles, military expeditions, futile conferences intended to bring about understandings. In a word, war during peace as the characteristic of the present imperialist advance.

### The Hypocrites Unmasked!

Foreign White Guards will be amazed at the contents of the letter written by the citizen Belavin (the one-time patriarch Tichon) to the Supreme Court of Justice of the Republic. Tichon's letter is of great significance, and gives us the opportunity to draw a number of valuable conclusions.

That the former patriarch Tichon has been the tool of counterrevolutionary plots deeply rooted in home and foreign White Guard circles, this we knew before. Tichon's letter is a complete confirmation of it.

In his letter to the Supreme Tribunal, the one-time patriarch admits his "offence" against the state, that is, he admits having acted contrary to the laws of the Soviet power, and draws attention at the same time to two extenuating circumstances: firstly, that he was "brought up in a monarchist state of society", that is, in other words, he was flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of the reactionary land-owning clique, a component of that ruling class in whose service the church with its wide ramifications was working; secondly, that "up to the time of his arrest he was entirely under the influence of persons hostile to the Soviet power".

Tichon's letter is intended to show that he was solely a tool in the hands of persons hostile to the Soviet power, who influenced him directly or indirectly; but, on the other hand, the letter in which Tichon in a sense strikes the balance of his whole reactionary activity, does not by any means conceal the fact that his passive resistance to Soviet power has sometimes been replaced by own initiative, and that he "passed at times from passivity to action". As to this it must, however, be observed that the one-time patriarch did not merely pass at times to action, but that during his whole life as patriarch he combatted the workers' and peasants' power, thus injuring the working masses. Tichon himself does not deny that the indictment in his trial, which represents a pamphlet of considerable volume, mirrors the whole of his counter-revolutionary actions quite correctly, with the exception of "some inaccuracies", which he does not, however, specify, but which, as may be gathered from the sense of this reservation, scarcely play an important role.

Thus we have Tichon's confession of his activities up to now. It is a perfect confirmation—and completely convincing to anyone who has but a slight grasp of the essentials of the matter—of the generally known fact of Tichon's relations to the foreign land-owning and capitalist clique, of his deliberate striving for the overthrow of the Soviet power—by excommunicating the workers' and peasants' government, by aiding the White Guards at home and abroad, by summoning to resistance against the decrees of the Soviet Government, by active and passive resistance to the surrendering of church treasures for the alleviation of the famine, etc.

Thanks to Tichon's confession, all the ingenious slanders contrived by the White Guards and the whole international press of the capitalists and their flunkies collapses like a house of cards. These capitalist elements had intended to use the case of the former patriarch as a pretext for a new "holy crusade" against the Russia of the workers and peasants, or, to put it more plainly, for the purpose of a fresh intervention.

At first it did not appear perfectly clear in what relation this international clique and our White Guards—who can certainly not be regarded as faithful followers of the true church, at least not the social revolutionists—stood to Tichon, and why they have shown such lively interest in the fate of individual servants of God. The Curzon note, and the attempts at interference in Russia's internal affairs preceding it, revealed the true political import of the "noble" indignation of the capitalists and their servants, who were anxious to attack the dignity and independence of the Russian people on the pretext of alleged persecution of religious liberty in Soviet Russia.

Now—if somewhat late—Tichon repents of his deeds. He has arrived at his present attitude after a long struggle against the Soviet power, after he has become convinced of the complete shipwreck of his whole policy, and has recognized that this has not led to the hoped for victory, but to schisms and confusion within the church. As soon as he became conscious of this, he expressed his penitence before the whole world. The Soviet

authorities now deemed it possible to comply with Tichon's petition, and release him. This magnanimous action on the part of the Soviet power further accentuates the fact that it has never been influenced by any thought of vengeance against Tichon, or by any intention of persecuting the church or any individual priests as such.

The whole bourgeois press took up the defence of Tichon, regarding him as an innocent man wrongly persecuted by the Soviet power. Now Tichon himself declares that he was culpable, and puts his uninvited defenders in an unenviable and ridiculous position. After Tichon's open confession, everyone will admit that all the talk of religious persecution has been empty gossip or impudent slander on the part of the enemies of the working masses, and that the Soviet power has pursued one aim only in its fight against the counter-revolutionary leaders of the church: the security of the rights and liberties won by the workers' and peasants' revolution.

### The Decay of the Bloc National in France

By Pierre Franklin.

After the war and the Versailles peace, the victorious reaction of France founded a great nationalist party, the "Bloc National". Its program was: to secure the peace, and to propagate the idea that "the Boche has to pay". Now, four years later, Germany has not fulfilled expectations. The elections are approaching, and if Germany has not paid, if the Ruhr occupation proves abortive, Poincaré and his "Bloc National" will collapse.

The French people is already quite aware that the Poincaré policy is bankrupt. The French franc is falling, the cost of living is rising, taxation is increasing and the budget is a calamity. The frightened French petty bourgeoisie, which only longs for peace and quiet, follows Poincaré no longer. The national bloc, which received the overwhelming majority in 1919, is now going to pieces. This decay set in within one year after the last elections—it is only necessary to recollect that our comrade Renaud Jean was elected as a communist deputy in an agrarian province in the year 1920—and has been becoming more and more evident every day. For about a year the "Bloc National" has been defeated everywhere, at every election. The first defeats were on the occasion of the demonstrative election of Marty in Paris and all over France. In nine out of ten cases the candidates of the national bloc have been in the minority.

And now we have the elections in Seine-et-Oise. After the result of the first elections, the "Bloc National" saw itself compelled to withdraw its candidates in favor of those of the so-called Left Bloc. Here it is remarkable that in 1919, Seine-et-Oise was a stronghold of the "Bloc National". We know the final results of these elections: the candidates set up by the Left Bloc were elected with about 76,000 votes; the communists received 55,000 votes. If it is remembered that four years ago, the Seine-et-Oise preliminary elections yielded a majority for Poincaré, it will be seen that the communist results themselves are a great victory.

The French people has now fallen under a fresh delusion. It has already forgotten its pre war experiences. The next elections to Parliament are sure to end with a victory for the Left Bloc. The French people will, however, experience a disappointment. The majority of the men at present forming and leading the Left Bloc are astute politicians, as for instance Franklin-Bouillon and others, who foresaw the bankruptcy of the "Bloc National" and have therefore deserted Poincaré. It is already almost certain that Briand will join the Left Bloc. And as to the social democrats and the Frossard set, these too will not stand alone; they also will join the Left Bloc.

At one time the radical party was a great party in France. But for twenty years it has had no program. Should the Left Bloc secure the majority at the next elections, it will not hold its position long. Victory will speedily be followed by decay.

### The Salvation of German Social Democracy and the Test Case of Poland

By Z. Leder.

The *Vorwärts*, in a recent article entitled "Salvation from the Catastrophe", pointed out the "road to salvation" from the impending collapse of the German realm. This consisted, in the first place, in demanding from the government a public declaration of the absolute necessity of immediately adapting wages and



salaries to the rise in prices; other demands are: the transition to wages of stable value, and the following measures: calculation of the budget and taxation in gold; adaptation of tariffs and levies to the depreciation of the currency; restoration of the export duties and resumption of the old free list; increase of the compulsory loans; multiplication of the advance payments on income and corporation taxes; thorough reform in the assessment of income tax and capital levy; reform of the Reichsbank policy; introduction of security centrals and resumption of the action in support of the mark; granting of gold credits only on a gold basis and on gold interest; opening of gold accounts; confiscation of export securities; floating of a long term gold loan.

The program of salvation thus issued by the social democrats and trade unions consists of two parts, differing in significance. The first part relates to the guaranteeing of wages, these being made to correspond to the depreciation of the mark; the second part aims at preventing the depreciation of the mark, of stabilizing it.

As the problem of wages of stable value has already been repeatedly discussed, we shall not enter further into it here, but rather examine thoroughly the second part of social democracy's program of salvation, regarded in the light of the test case afforded by Poland.

As a matter of fact the German social democracy's program of salvation is contained, with certain variations, in the program drawn up by the Polish minister Grabski for putting Polish economics on a sound basis. For a whole year, plans for putting Polish finances on a sound basis have been before the Polish people. For the Polish bourgeoisie is fully conscious that, if it does not succeed within a reasonable time in restoring the financial and economic balance, it is at the end of its tether. But scarcely had the Minister of Finance Michalski attempted to force the working class to submit to the abolition of the eight hours day, and the propertied classes to the payment of somewhat higher levies, when he thereby let loose such violent class warfare that he was obliged to make his exit, and the financial reform fell through.

The next attempt to lay down a "sound" economic basis dates from January of this year. This followed the downfall of Pilsudski and the murder of his substitute Narutowicz. In February M. Grabski began to carry out his reforms. We find in his program: Calculation of the budget and taxation in gold; increase of direct—but also of indirect—taxation to pre-war rates; adaptation of tariffs and levies to the depreciation of the currency; adaptation of the customs and export duties to the depreciation of the mark; granting of gold credits on a gold basis and for gold interest; opening of gold accounts, etc. Some points contained in the German social democratic plan are missing—for instance, confiscation of export securities and establishment of security centrals—but the general tendency of the reform was the same as that of the salvation program of the German social democrats. Grabski's fundamental idea was to reform the economic position of Poland, mainly by the employment of a purely financial medium—the introduction of gold calculation. But he did not venture at the same time decisively to restore the equilibrium of state finances by an attempt at forcibly reducing state expenditure by "heroic" measures, and by resorting to equally forcible means of increasing the revenues. The Prime Minister, Sikorski, declared in his exposé that he would not lay a finger on the expenditure for military purposes, nor on that for the enlightenment of the people, labor protection, of securing the support of military circles, and of retaining the aid and social provision; this declaration served the double purpose of allegiance of the radical petty bourgeoisie. But Grabski was not willing to undertake a new capital levy, which would have meant a real replenishment of the state treasury. For, after the failure of the gold loan—after three months of energetic propaganda, 20 milliards of paper marks, that is, about 3½ million gold francs, had been subscribed—it was perfectly evident that the necessary funds could only be raised by the seizure of the real values in the hands of the propertied classes. But the Sikorski-Grabski Government was as little willing to take this step as are the German social democrats and the trade union leaders. Grabski's reform program was nothing more nor less than an attempt to make omelettes without breaking the eggs. But the "wages and salaries of stable value"—at least for civil servants—were not lacking in Grabski's program either. Automatic adaptation to raised prices, by means of an index figure based on the starvation wages of February 1923, was provided for.

But Grabski—occupied with the execution of his reform—failed to suppress the class conflicts inevitably bound up with it; these led first to the fall of Sikorski's ministry, and then to the sweeping away of the rule of the Pilsudski clique. The new government, equally desirous of having Poland's economics placed upon a "sound" basis, left the non-partizan Grabski his

position in the finance office; he was permitted to go on "reforming", while every section of the bourgeoisie sabotaged one taxation proposal after another.

The result? For three or four months the Polish mark was almost "stabilized". The fluctuations of the Polish mark in relation to the dollar varied from 40,000 to 84,000. In the third week in May the dollar cost 48,500 to 48,800 marks in Warsaw, as much as in the last week in February. After the German mark had for a long time been weaker than the Polish—a change set in, and so rapidly that the Polish mark fell again below the value of the German. The government declared itself unable to stabilize, for lack of securities. On the very day on which the *Vorwärts* published its program of salvation, telegrams from Warsaw reported a collapse of the mark and the bankruptcy of the Polish program of salvation! On June 21, it was already reported that the Polish ministry of finance was issuing one regulation after another, ordering the closing of the exchange, the confiscation of all banks deposits and securities. But all this is of no avail. Grabski will have to resign after the complete bankruptcy of his "reform". His successor is reported to be Michalski, who has begun at the "right" end—with the abolition of the eight hour day. And Grabski's plans for a sound economic basis have failed, although Poland has no reparations to pay, suffers from no occupation of its territory by foreign troops, but is a "victorious" country, planting the heel of the victor on German soil!

The catastrophic fall of the Polish mark after a whole year of "reform" is only an expression of what is bound to happen when financial jugglery is employed to cure a rotten economic organism. There is no possibility of stopping the economic decay, except by the appropriation of the surplus created by the working people or the seizure of real values. Politically, the way to this end lies either through Fascist dictatorship in the interests of the big bourgeoisie, or through the workers' government and its dictatorship in the interests of the toiling masses!

## The Determined Advance of Counter-Revolution in Czecho-Slovakia

By Karl Kreibitz (Prague).

The Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie, like others at the present time, reveal two separate tendencies, both aiming at the same goal: surmounting of the capitalist crisis at the expense of the proletariat, and the complete and unrestricted despotism of the bourgeoisie. The one party believes that the co-operation of the social patriots in the first part of the work will be harmless, and that the government coalition with the social democrats and socialists must therefore be maintained, and the working class further demoralized, split up, disappointed, and weakened, until the situation is ripe for giving the finishing stroke to "democracy", and setting up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This opinion is held by the agrarians, under the leadership of Svehla, the present Prime Minister, of whom it is said that he alone has been and still is in a position to hold the all-national coalition together. The national democrats, with Kraniar at their head, now, however, consider the moment to have come to prepare for the removal of the coalition government by a *coup d'état*. The complete failure of all attempts hitherto made at organizing a Fascist movement has not in the least damped the ardour of those who cherish the idea of establishing an immediate bourgeoisie dictatorship; they carry on their endeavors unwearingly, and in the East of the republic they have already secured a firm hold with the aid of three outspoken Fascists—Ehrenfeld, governor of Carpathian Russia; Klima chief of police in Kaschau and one time private detective of the archduke Franz Ferdinand; and Gajda, general commanding the eastern troops and former general under Koltschak. It is not long since Kraniar inspected these, his united Fascist fighting forces, and was received with all the ceremony due to an official personage. Since then Kraniar has been arming with furious haste, not only against the Communists, but also against Czech social democrats and socialists; and the governor of Carpathian Russia, has been issuing decrees to the authorities, calling upon them to falsify the electors' lists in view of the coming municipal elections, and promising large sums of money if only the followers of state supporting parties be included in the lists, and all anti-state elements, above all the communists, be erased. This artifice is one of the most dangerous which we can encounter, and is up to now the basest trick played by counter-revolution, which is however employing every artifice and using every endeavor to overthrow the present coalition system, and to remove the last remnants of so-called democracy.

## The Nationality Question in Roumania.

By Al. Badulescu (Bucharest).

Before the great war there was no nationality question in Roumania. Although many hundreds of thousands of human beings of foreign nationalities had been living there for a long time—in 1911 there were about 300,000 Jews in Moldau and Walachia, and 140,000 Bulgarians and Turks in Dobrukscha (these latter were included in Roumania after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877)—still the ruling classes of Roumania contrived to hush the matter up. The Jews adapted themselves rapidly, and have never made any national demands. The peoples of Dobrukscha had, since they spoke a foreign tongue, no opportunity of bringing up the national question; this province was regarded and treated as a colony for more than 30 years.

Today the situation is very different. At the present time Roumania is a state containing nationalities in the fullest sense of the world. The statistics show that out of a population numbering about 17 millions, one third is of foreign nationality. In the separate districts of Roumania the proportions are as follows: In Old Roumania 69.9% Roumanians, in Bukovina 34.4% Roumanians, in Transylvania 57.7% Roumanians, in Banat 524,637 Roumanians and 442,345 persons of other nationalities, in Maramuresch 78,284 Roumanians and 488,382 of other nationalities, and in Bessarabia 1,688,000 Roumanians and 954,000 of other nationalities. The peoples who speak a foreign tongue are represented, as regards numerical strength, in the following order: Hungarians, Jews, Germans, Ruthenes, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Russians, Poles, Slovaks, etc.

Thus, although Roumania possesses a foreign population numbering over five million souls, the Roumanian bourgeoisie still thought to solve the nationality question "alone". The discontentment and the desires of the national minorities began to be heard in Parliament. The Government, the Liberal Party headed by Bratianu, added the following clause to the Constitution: "All Roumanians, irrespective of origin, speech, or religion, enjoy all the public liberties granted by the laws and constitution, as liberty of opinion, instruction, press and coalition." The deputy for Transylvania demanded, in opposition to this, that the term "Roumanian" be altered in the constitution to "Roumanian citizen", and that the liberties enumerated in the Constitution be granted equally to all citizens, that is, also to the minorities. This motion was not accepted.

This time the bourgeois opposition parties were not entirely on the side of the minorities, for in their struggle for power they simply opposed the Constitution. It was only from time to time that some "independent" newspapers ventured to maintain that "the nationality problem is one of the utmost importance, and the internal peace of the state will be dependent on its solution".

The nationalities are formally represented in Parliament, but their representatives fight in the interests of the bourgeois parties. Thus, for instance, the Germans from Transylvania form an expressly conservative party, and the Hungarians will go completely over to the camp of the Bratianu party as soon as the latter has contrived a partial solution of the nationality problem (one section of the Hungarians has already joined this party). The "Federation of native Jews" sells itself to the most powerful. The Bulgarians do not yet venture to speak, the Russians still less. The Ukrainians are branded as "suspicious elements", and their every footstep closely followed. And, above all, so long as the majority of the people, the working class, has not yet gained its most elementary rights as citizens in this country, so long can there be little hope of acquiring rights for the national minorities.

A few recent examples of the persecution of nationalities will confirm this: The teachers in Bessarabia were prohibited from speaking Russian with the parents of the school children.—In the initial stage of their struggle for the "numerus clausus" the Transylvanian students distributed leaflets against the rights of the nationalities.—In Oradia Mare the Police President ordered that the gipsy (Hungarian) bands should learn to play the Roumanian national anthem within 3 days (1).—Many thousands of Hungarian officials were discharged because they did not know the Roumanian language. Courses of instruction in the language have not been given for four years.—The Hungarian school in Oradia Mare has been closed.—Many Hungarians, although Roumanian subjects, have been deported from the country. After the general strike in October, 1920, thousands of workers were driven across the border into Horthy Hungary.—Many Hungarian teachers are being discharged, and are not accorded the pension to which they are entitled by law. Thousands of Hungarians, Russians and Ukrainians are being thrown into prison for risings, attempted assassinations, irre-

The present governmental system is of a character peculiar to Czecho-Slovakia. The supreme representation of the state, at home and abroad, is in the hands of two politicians, Masaryk and Benes, who do not belong to any definite class. They are the representatives of a thin layer of pacifist "progressive" intellectuals who deal in humanism, sociology, and rostrum socialism; they are thus pure ideologists, and ideal representatives of the chimeras of the so called "pure democracy", in which perhaps to a certain extent, they even believe themselves. They have been appointed to these positions because, at the moment when the state was founded, neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat—the latter however only through lack of determined revolutionary leaders—was able to take over the government itself. Thus Masaryk and Benes became symbols of the coalition between bourgeoisie and proletariat, democracy and moderate nationalism. In home and foreign policy alike, in social and national questions, they are the representatives of the middle line, of trimming between the extremes of right and left, as those political infants and forsakers of social revolution like to express themselves, who believe and hope that it will be possible to escape from the great decision—dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat.

It witnesses to the strength of the Czech bourgeoisie that it is already beginning, under the leadership of the national democrats, to ruthlessly dispel the emancipation legend enshrouding Masaryk and Benes. It does not hesitate to tear at the laurel wreaths which the nation unanimously entwined around the brows of this pair during the period in which the state came into being. It is aware that the destruction of these national heroes is the pre-requisite for the establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Hence the hail of direct attacks on Benes and indirect attacks on Masaryk in the national democratic press. The right wing of the Czech bourgeoisie is of the opinion that it can dispense with both.

The lamentations at the ruthless brutality of the capitalist bourgeoisie, now filling the press of Benes and that of both tendencies of governmental socialism, are as loud as they are impotent. Behind the clamour and abuse against Kraniar, an attempt is made to conceal not only actual cowardice, but the many concessions granted to the national democrats. How is it possible to proceed otherwise, considering that the national democrats control home affairs by their hold over finances, bureaucracy, judges, officers, and police, whilst in foreign politics they are intimate friends of Poincaré and marshal Foch, who are the masters of Benes? Thus the present government, in which the national democrats, or rather the *Zlynostenska* Banka, has the most important financial hold, and holds the agrarian minister for internal affairs on a leading string, vacillates backwards and forwards in foreign politics; in the Russian, Polish, and German questions, Benes is skating on the thinnest ice.

Without their own leadership, without rudder, both shades of social patriots follow Benes like a flock of sheep. Thus the leadership of the non-communist proletariat has fallen into the hands of a man and of a tendency which, precisely because they are not rooted in any class, are bound to be the first victims of the advancing bourgeoisie. The power of the reactionary bourgeoisie is growing from day to day, and the day is rapidly approaching when it will deal the decisive blow against the representatives of the present democracy. But these representatives are themselves helping reaction to prepare for this blow, for they conceal and support all its deeds of treachery and violence against the revolutionary labor movement.

In 1918 and 1919, the social patriots betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat to bourgeois democracy; today they are betraying the "democracy" to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They shriek aloud at the dangers alleged to threaten democracy from the left, but at the same time shut their eyes to the attack being made on it from the right.

The moment draws ever nearer in which the reactionary bourgeoisie will deal the decisive blow against the present system, embodied in Masaryk and Benes. The Communist Party will not be able to remain neutral in this struggle, it will summon the revolutionary proletariat to overthrow the Fascist counter-revolution, but not for the purpose of permanently establishing the present regime of Masaryk Benes, which is but a pace-maker of counter-revolution, but for the purpose of freeing the workers and peasants from the vacillating leadership of the ideologists and social patriots, and from the counter-revolutionary leadership of Svehla, and making them capable of standing on their own feet. The first violent attack made by counter-revolution must be the signal for the commencement of the fight for the workers and peasants' government, or it will signify the immediate victory of counter-revolution.



dentist propaganda, etc.—In Cadrilater the Bulgarian schools are not only not supported by the state, but even the private schools suffer severe persecution.—The orthodox church has been proclaimed as "dominant".—The Hungarian Protestant students are not admitted to the orthodox theological faculty.—Anti-Semitism is supported by the bourgeois parties.—The Russian students are excluded from the universities; on the other hand, they are prohibited from travelling abroad.

All this naturally does not prevent the bourgeois circles of Roumania from continuing their national agitation. The only parties really doing serious work towards the solution of the nationality problem are the labor parties, and they are doing it in spite of the obstacles put in the way of their continued existence and activities. To be sure, great differences exist even among these. The Social Democratic Party, true to its democratic principles, declares that questions of languages and schools are questions of democracy and culture; that the language in which instruction is given in the public schools is a matter of the nationality of the district in question; that, in intercourse between the authorities and the population, every nationality has the right to tender its requests in its own language, and to be heard and answered in its own language; that in all public corporations the minorities must be represented in accordance with their size. The Social Democratic Party demands a national school as well, in which the Roumanian language forms one of the subjects of instruction. All this is demanded without any mention of the fact that the nationality question can only be solved when the class question is simultaneously solved. The social democrats declare instead that the nationality question is "only partially a class question". The Communist Party, on the other hand, true to its revolutionary principles, true to revolutionary Marxism, is already conducting a real struggle for the rights of the minorities, and maintains the following standpoint: The emancipation of the oppressed nationalities can only be achieved by the victory of the proletariat, and by the overthrow of the oligarchy. The nationality problem of Roumania is a part of the nationality problem of the whole of the Balkans, which are inhabited by so many different nationalities. These nationalities can only obtain complete national liberty through a Socialist Federated Balkan Soviet Republic. The correctness of this revolutionary standpoint is proved by the fact that, despite the world-wide carnage, alleged to have been let loose for the "emancipation of national minorities", the nationality question remains the most difficult and disagreeable problem of the states of Central Europe and the Balkans. The Federation of the Soviet Republics of Russia shows us the only way to the real solution of this problem.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Our Struggle for Trade Union Unity

By A. Lozovsky.

Our struggle for the united front in the trade union movement aims at the re-establishment of trade union unity. This must be made clear to all communist organizations. Here we have obstacles of two different natures to overcome: on the one hand, the resistance offered us by the reformists, who sabotage all unity and are anxious to expel the revolutionary elements from the trade unions at any price; and, on the other hand, we encounter resistance from a section of our followers, who are of the opinion that they should remain for ever in the independent revolutionary unions which necessity compelled them to form.

With regard to the resistance of the reformists, this can only be overcome by the utmost activity of the Communist Parties within the trade unions. Today it is no longer possible to paralyse the whole opposition in the trade union movement simply by expelling a few communists. The opposition has increased to such an extent, it has adopted so many different forms, and it comprises such large numbers of workers of the most diverse tendencies, that it is no longer possible to set it aside. The reformist leaders themselves have given up all hope of suppressing the opposition, but they continue to try and organize it. This object is served by the expulsion of individual comrades, of groups, of whole organizations, and by the bureaucratic pressure exercised by the trade union leaders. The reformist leaders, otherwise so enthusiastic for democracy, would like to transform the trade unions into barracks. They throttle any initiative among the workers, and, in pursuit of their reformist policy, carry their centralism to such a pitch as to deprive it of all proletarian democratic character. The history of the German labor movement during the last few years shows that the heads of the trade unions have violated even the most

elementary principles of labor organizations. They are opponents of the class dictatorship of the proletariat, but, in place of this, they are in favor of the personal dictatorship of the bureaucracy, regardless of the wishes of the masses. It is therefore our task to oppose these tendencies by reviving the initiative of the workers organized in trade unions. We must awaken their energies, we must force the bureaucrats to pay attention to the opinions and wishes of the working class. Every question of interest to the working class must be discussed in the trade unions. The ossified bureaucrats must be compelled to account regularly for their actions. The more the masses participate in the life of the trade unions, and occupy themselves with the solution of urgent questions, the more the possibility of splits and expulsions is removed.

The struggle against schism, and for trade union unity, must be carried further, into the factories and workshops. The very broadest strata of workers must be drawn into the struggle. We must not close our eyes to the danger which still exists. The more the opposition in the trade unions increases, the more the reformists incline to a split. They are willing to risk the life of the working class rather than acknowledge their defeat. The number of expulsions has somewhat decreased of late, for the reason that the expulsion of the revolutionary elements aroused the dissatisfaction of the masses. At the present moment the trade union bureaucrats have adopted another line of action; they are trying to reach the same goal by another route. Here, as elsewhere, the Communist Parties must hold fast to the rules laid down by the last Congresses: No concessions to the splitters, exposure of the bureaucratic machinations, and a determined fight against them. Trade union unity despite the bureaucracy!

As already mentioned, we have also to combat the opposition of a section of our own party comrades in our struggle for trade union unity. These are the comrades who would rather live alone in their little unions than participate with the reformists in great common organizations. The split brought about by the reformists in France, in Czecho-Slovakia, and in a number of other countries, has generated such intense hatred that it appears to be absolutely impossible to remove this. We must remember that our comrades in France acted correctly from the very beginning in giving out the watchword of trade union unity. No doubt, the "Committee for Trade Union Defence", and the Frossard Party, composed of all sorts of odds and ends, shriek the same watchword to the world. But the workers are not in the least impressed by these shrieks. They see that all these speeches of intellectuals are purely platonic in character. On the other hand, the systematic struggle carried on by the C.G.T.U. for trade union unity, and its constant efforts towards the formation of a united front, have extraordinarily increased the respect felt for this organization by the masses, and have at the same time drawn to it the attention of the bourgeois reaction.

In Czecho-Slovakia the revolutionary trade union federation has hitherto carried on no such systematic agitation for the restoration of unity, and this is a decided error. In Czecho-Slovakia, just as in other countries, the working masses passionately desire unity. If the communists do not seize the initiative, it will pass into other hands. The International Trade Union Federation of Czecho-Slovakia, and the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, must draw the attention of the workers of their country to the question of unity. In a country where the national struggles penetrate even into the ranks of the working class, the struggle for unity is of peculiar importance; for only by unity will it be possible to emancipate the working class from the inheritance bequeathed to it by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and by reformism. The Congresses of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions have carefully considered this question, and corresponding resolutions have been passed; but, unfortunately, the principles on which our tactics are based have not yet sufficiently penetrated the minds of all the followers of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions. There are many excellent revolutionists who do not yet understand that the increase of our influence in the trade unions is entirely dependent on the energy and determination with which we carry on the struggle for unity.

### The End of the Silesian Agricultural Laborers' Strike

By H. Rau (Berlin).

The greatest strike ever undertaken by the German rural proletariat, the strike of the Silesian agricultural laborers, has collapsed. After the agricultural laborers had held out courageously for 4 weeks, and still confronted their exploiters with

undiminished fighting spirit, the D.L.V. (German agricultural Workers Union) strike leaders called the strike off. The Silesian agricultural laborers being little experienced in such struggles, the D.L.V. bureaucrats were enabled to accept the dictates of the landowners, and break the strike.

The reason why the strike was broken off was that it was dangerous for the coalition policy of the German Social-democratic Party, and for the D.L.V. policy of collaboration with the employers. This danger was increased during the last days of the strike by the initiative taken by the strikers. The social-democratic Minister for the Interior, Severing, and the social-democratic Provincial Governor Zimmer, called in the "Technical Emergency Aid" and the Security Police against the strikers, in the interests of the Great Coalition in Prussia. Zimmer declared all work in hand to be "work of necessity", and demanded that the strikers perform it. In actual practice this would have meant the abandonment of the strike. The agricultural laborers in a large number of districts responded by ceasing to perform the actual works of necessity. They thereby came into sharp conflict with the measures taken by the state and its social-democratic Minister for the Interior.

At this moment, when the agricultural laborers were passing, on their own the initiative, to an intensification of the struggle, the D.L.V. bureaucrats urged that the strike be abandoned. On June 18 the Silesian landowners called upon the social-democratic Provincial Governor to inform the D.L.V. on what conditions the landowners were prepared to take up negotiations. The following were the preliminary conditions to the negotiations: 1. Issue of a general summons to call off the strike; 2. The assurance that for the future, the D.L.V. will faithfully abide by its contracts; 3. No payment for the period of the strike; 4. No dismissals to take place for participation in the strike, but it should be left to the judgment of the individual employers to dismiss those workers who have committed punishable acts, or have acted as ringleaders.

The D.L.V. still made counter-demands. On the 18th of June the Silesian landowners held a meeting and passed resolutions to the effect that they regarded the strike as a breach of contract, and, as the D.L.V. had not agreed to the demands made, this signified the dissolution of the collaboration policy. It would only be possible to consider a renewal of the agreement with the D.L.V. if the latter would accept the demands of the landowners. Thereupon the D.L.V. bureaucrats sought eagerly to save the collaboration policy, at the expense of the agricultural laborers. On June 23 the D.L.V. began negotiations, during which it was resolved to resume work on the 25th. Upon what basis work was to be resumed was not mentioned. It was merely stated that the representatives of the German national "Central Union of Agricultural Laborers" had rejected the basis of negotiations agreed upon, so that the breaking off of the strike had not been brought about immediately, to the regret of the D.L.V. bureaucrats. On the 28th June the D.L.V. leaders announced their unqualified submission to the terms dictated by the landowners, and called upon the workers to end the strike. The result is that the tariff of February 16 has been made valid again (!), and there is said to be a prospect of fresh wages negotiations!

The D.L.V. bureaucrats deem it necessary to save their own collaboration policy, and the coalition policy of the German Social-democratic Party, at the cost of plunging the Silesian agricultural laborers further into want and misery, at the cost of delivering them to the terror of the landowners and into the hands of white justice. 40 to 50 years penal servitude are predicted by the district leader of the D.L.V. in Silesia as the result which may be expected.

Now that the D.L.V. has abandoned the agricultural laborers to the despotism of the land-owners, the reactionary chairman of the Silesian land-owners' organization, Count von Keyserlingk, declares that there is no object in an agreement with the D.L.V. In an article published in the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* of July 1., he raises the question for the whole of Germany: Should tariff agreements still be concluded with the D.L.V. or not? Having performed the dirty work required of it, the D.L.V. can go!

The D.L.V. bureaucrats have, however, by their actions, dealt a severe blow to the policy of collaboration, for they have opened the eyes of the Silesian rural proletariat to the consequences of this policy. Not only has a large section of the Silesian rural proletariat been roused to intense hostility to the leaders responsible for this policy, but it is being supported by a number of district leaders who are in close contact with the agricultural laborers. At the forthcoming district and provincial conferences, the agricultural laborers will call their leaders to account. The sooner this is done, the better will be the chance of avoiding a breakdown of the free trade union of agricultural

labor, the D.L.V. The agricultural workers in Silesia will develop the powers of their organization, and will arm for the struggles which will confront them in the future as much as in the past.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Organization of Russian State Industry

By N. Sviatizky (Moscow).

The question of the organization of state industry was on the agenda of the last Party conference. Some light may be thrown on this problem by the consideration of a few figures. The figures relating to the 105 most important trusts refer to February, and are furnished by the trusts themselves. As regards the other trusts the figures have been taken from the statistical department of the Supreme Political Economic Council, and refer to January 15, 1923.

The state industry of Russia numbers 458 so-called trusts and 28 combined groups, 486 in all. With regard to the number of trusts, the provisions industry and the metal industry take the lead with 63 and 61. The textile industry follows with 55 trusts, the wood industry with 48, the glass industry with 47, the leather industry with 46, the chemical industry with 39, mining with 29, book printing with 29, electricity with 29, clothing industry with 11 and paper industry with 7.

The number of persons employed in trustified industry is about 887,000. The total number of workers employed in industry in Soviet-Russia was 1,216,000 on 1st January. The trusts therefore employed 73% of the workers. Each trust employs on an average, 1832 workers, but this number does not give a fair idea of the importance of our trusts. Despite the considerable number of trusts our industry is by no means so split up as might be assumed at the first glance.

Let us take the textile industry for instance. It comprises 55 trusts with 335,000 workers. But the 10 most important trusts alone account 216,000 of these workers, that is, 64% of the total number. Nine further trusts comprise 5—10,000 workers, a total of 66,848, and nine more have 3—5,000 workers, a total of 34,146. Out of the 55 trusts there are therefore 23 which have more than 3,000 workers each, these comprising 316,587 workers, that is, 94 per cent of all textile workers. Of these textile trusts, the 28 large ones have an average of 11,000 workers each, whilst the 27 smaller ones have only 18,000 workers in all, an average of 666 each. Out of these 27 trusts, 7 possess fewer than 500 workers, and 5 are merely separate independent factories. One half of the textile trusts therefore consists of small groups extending over a single district, and hardly justifying the title of trust.

The case is similar in the metal industry. The metal industry numbers 61 trusts with 214,000 workers. Each trust has, on an average, 3500 workers; 6 metal trusts have more than 10,000, a total of 142,000 workers; four others have 5—10,000 workers, a total of 28,400; four further ones have 3—5,000 workers, a total of 15,100. In this manner 14 trusts out of the 61 trusts in the metal industry have a total of 186,500 workers, that is, 87% of all the metal workers in the trustified industry. Each of these great metal trusts has an average of 13,000 workers, the remaining trusts totalling 27,900 workers, an average of 590 each. When all the large trusts belonging to the state and numbering over 3000 workers are taken into consideration, the following survey is obtained.

	With more than 10000 Workers		From 5 to 10000 Workers		From 3 to 5000 Workers		Total	
	Trust	Workers	Trust	Workers	Trust	Workers	Trust	Workers
Textile . . . .	10	216,193	9	66,248	9	34,146	28	316,587
Metals . . . .	6	142,92	4	28,483	4	15,165	14	186,569
Electricity . . .	—	—	—	—	3	11,644	3	11,644
Mining . . . .	—	—	—	—	1	4,105	1	4,105
Chem. industr.	1	13,010	1	6,554	1	3,170	3	22,734
Wood . . . . .	1	10,420	—	—	—	—	1	10,420
Paper . . . . .	—	—	1	7,964	—	—	1	7,964
Glass . . . . .	1	10,000	1	8,794	—	—	2	18,794
Leather . . . . .	—	—	—	—	2	6,900	2	6,900
Clothing . . . .	1	12,096	1	5,493	1	3,708	3	21,243
Printin . . . . .	—	—	1	7,303	—	—	1	7,303
Foodstuffs . . .	1	84,625	2	11,826	—	—	3	46,451
	21	489,295	20	242,611	21	73,838	62	660,744



Our great state industry therefore comprises 21 large trusts with a total of 439,000 workers, 41 per cent of the total number. Of these, 7 trusts employ more than 20,000 workers, as follows: 1. Textile trust at Ivanovo-Vosnessensk 54,895 workers; 2. Gomza 58,502; 3. Yugostal 41,421; 4. Sugar trust 34,625; 5. Textile trust at Orichovo Zuev 28,238; 6. Textile trust Bogorodsk Stchelkovo 23,559; 7. First Linen Management 20,470.

The following 14 trusts number 10,000 to 20,000 workers: Textile industry at Tver 19,853. Textile industry at Presnia 18,976. Metal industry South Ural 17,700. Textile industry Serpuchov 13,774. Caoutchouc trust 13,040. Trust Kama-Volga 12,785. Bogoslov 12,700. Clothing industry Moscow 12,096. Mossukno 12,880. Metal industry Perm 12,000. Second Linen Management 11,555. Mechanical buildings of the South 10,598. Forests of the North 10,420. Malzev 10,000.

20 trusts have 5-10,000 workers, totalling 142,61. There are thus 41 trusts each counting over 5,000 workers, a total of 581,000 workers, that is, two thirds of the collective workers employed in state industry. There are further, 30 trusts with 3-5,000 workers, a total of 78,738. If these three groups are taken together, we find that out of the 486 trusts 62 alone comprise 660,744 workers, that is, 74% of the total number. Each of these 62 trusts has an average of workers as follows: Textile industry 11,306 workers; metal industry 13,300; electricity 3,800, mining 4100 (1 trust); chemical industry 7500; wood industry 10,400 (1 trust); paper industry 7,900 (1 trust); glass industry 8700 (1 trust); leather industry 3,400; clothing industry 71; printing 7300.

The 62 large trusts comprise 74% of the workers, the remaining 42 have only 226,000 workers altogether. Each thus averages 536 workers.

It is not quite evident why these groupings have been named trusts, a name reminding us of the mighty American undertakings. Our little trusts often only employ 100 to 200 workers, sometimes even less. That such trusts possess no justification for their existence is shown by the recent strong inclination to organize local industry in the form of local groups. In these groups all the local undertakings are united, even when they belong to different industries. When this re-organization is completed, there will only remain some dozen large trusts, comprising the whole of our big industry.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Bloody Reaction in Roumania

By Ovid Receanu.

Since the anti-Russian movement among the Western capitalist states has again come into the foreground, the Roumanian "liberal" government has also greatly intensified the illegal persecution of the working class and the Communist Party.

In the four provinces of Roumania: Old Roumania, Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukowine, which belonged to four different states until the conclusion of peace, the development of the labor movement has proceeded on varying lines. The governmental terror exercised in the different countries has also assumed various forms. In Old Roumania, where the trade union organization is less advanced, and the activity of our comrades has thus been chiefly confined to the development of the trade unions, the government is mainly directing its attacks against the newly founded trade unions. Day after day local and central craft unions are dissolved, workers' quarters closed, meetings forbidden, and trade union leaders persecuted and beaten by the police. The work of winning adherents in the industrial districts of the provinces and among the agricultural laborers, is hindered in the most brutal manner, for the labor movement is being carried on in Old Roumania almost exclusively under the leadership of our comrades. It is true that the legal political activity of the CP., and the publication of a bi-weekly—*Socialism*—are tolerated in Old Roumania under the pressure of the radical oppositional press, but the leaders of the party are subjected to every kind of persecution. Hundreds of workers and peasants languish in the prisons and fortresses, under conditions worthy of the middle ages. Among these prisoners is one of our best, comrade Buyor, sentenced to penal servitude for life, a victim to an inhuman regime. And yet in Old Roumania the position of the working class is more favorable than elsewhere. Here at least there is a formal toleration of public activity on the part of the

Communist Party; there is still some endeavor to preserve the legal forms.

But in Transylvania and Bessarabia there prevails the most unscrupulous and bloody terror which the ruling class of any country can exercise. In Transylvania, workers and youths are wrongfully arrested almost every day, thrown into the torture chambers of the security police—a sort of Ochra—, and there tormented to death, or delivered over to a court martial after false confessions have been wrung from them, where they can wait for years before being brought to trial. At the present time there are more than 50 young comrades in the hands of the security police or court martial, who have been kept imprisoned for two months, although no unlawful act has been proved against them up to now. The secretary of the Transylvanian section of the Roumanian CP, comrade Berger, as well as several leading comrades, were also recently arrested, and handed over to the court martial without any concrete charge. The labor press has been completely suppressed in Transylvania. After the only Communist paper in the Hungarian language, which was at the same time the sole daily paper of the working class, had been unlawfully prohibited, the government issued regulations preventing the founding of fresh newspapers. Meetings are completely prohibited, even the meetings held by the trade union groups are strictly controlled by the police. The gendarmerie is continually active in the villages and forest districts. Workers who make the slightest attempt at organizing the peasantry, or the forest and timber workers, or distribute harmless labor papers, are mercilessly beaten and deprived of their means of livelihood. The labor premises established in the various towns are frequently visited by the police, and looted under cover of "domiciliary visitation". All cultural work among the working people is prohibited. In one of the most important towns, Targu-Mures, the centre of the wood industry district, the labor quarters, the best in Transylvania, was closed six months ago without any reason. Postal communications are strictly watched. Printed matter from abroad is not admitted, even the labor papers of Bucarest are confiscated by the post office. Private letters are systematically held back and examined.

Bessarabia is treated altogether as an occupied enemy country, and the administration is in the hands of the military authorities. There is no talk of rights, of liberties, of individual security—except the perfect freedom of the officers' corps to beat, arrest, imprison, and shoot the inhabitants, mainly the workers and peasants, at their pleasure.—The hue and cry is chiefly raised against Bolshevism, and as the peasants in Bessarabia have to thank Russian Bolshevism for their emancipation and their land, the rulers of the country fear the Bolshevik ideology and pro-Russian sympathies of the peasants, and accuse them one and all of Bolshevism. And this bare accusation suffices for arrest, torture, and execution.—It is impossible to obtain a complete picture of the cruelties exercised in Bessarabia, for this district is shut off from the outside. But the interpellations periodically brought up and debated on Bessarabia in the Roumanian parliament throw a vivid light on the bloody and hellish proceedings taking place there. Workers and peasants under suspicion are for the most part simply transported on foot from one town to another, and shot on the road for "attempting to escape". After three days of debate, held recently on the murder of 30 peasants' leaders, the cynicism of the Prime Minister went so far that he neither attempted to deny or excuse the facts, but produced a small statistical statement to the effect that the number of "Bolsheviks" shot by the officers did not yet equal the number of victims among the good patriots of Bessarabia who fell as a result of the Bolshevik attacks. He accused the deputies of Bessarabia of being Bolsheviks, enemies of the country, and friends of the "enemy", for having taken sides with the murdered, and for having demanded the abolition of the military administration. . . . The result was a governmental decree, in accordance with which the province of Bessarabia is to be "purged by the police" of all strangers by the 31st. October.—Under "strangers" the police will of course understand solely the workers, peasants, and their leaders.

In Roumania, there are dark days ahead for the workers and peasants. The impending war against Soviet Russia, demanded by the Entente powers and financed by a loan of 100 million francs, has to be made possible. Hence the labor movement has to be drowned in blood, the resisting powers of the working people systematically broken. It is the duty of the labor movement, and of the labor press of the world, to enlighten all workers on the torments being endured by the working population of the four provinces of Roumania.

## Further Mass Arrests in Hungary

According to police reports from Budapest, 74 workers have up to now been arrested in the capital of Horthy Hungary, and in various provinces, on the charge of being members of a communist conspiracy. The police report gives exact details of the events preceding the arrests. On May 1. posters were posted on the walls in the workers' quarters in Budapest, by unknown persons, containing "Mayday tidings", and bore the signatures of Bela Kun, Bokanyi, and other well known communist leaders. Workers were kept under observation for some time, and finally arrested. The police report naturally does not omit the customary references to communications between the arrested and Moscow and Vienna, or to the sums of money sent to support them, and the secret instructions they receive. But even the dull brains of the police have been compelled to admit that the documents and correspondence found have referred to the formation of the political united front, and to the struggle against the bankrupt reformist trade union leaders. In Horthy Hungary therefore, it is a "communist conspiracy" to fight against the reformist leaders within the labor movement. The Horthy government appears to have set itself the task of protecting these leaders from the discontented working masses. The report mentions a number of names; the arrested are all of them workers.

An interesting side-light is thrown on these mass arrests by the following: on the very day on which the new "communist plot" was discovered, the government released all the murderous bandits who had been arrested in connection with a widely ramified Fascist conspiracy. The mass arrests following so promptly were necessary in order to distract the attention of the world from this release, and to meet the objections of the opposition by a reference to the threatening "red danger".

In view of the fact that at the last recent communist trial, penal servitude was meted out for a total period of over 100 years, the working class must be again prepared for the worst in this new trial. The first signs of an awakening in the Hungarian working class are to be drowned in blood.

## A Further Arrest in Turkey

By Henri Saulmier.

Comrade Nizameddin Nazif has been arrested on orders from Angora. It is the fifth time that he has been arrested. He was chief editor of the newspaper *Yeni-Hayat* (New Life) and contributor to the *Yeni-Duniat* (New World). These newspapers appeared in Angora, and were suppressed by Mustapha Kemal Pacha.

Two years ago this comrade was sentenced to eight years hard labor for high treason. He was granted an amnesty but a short time later he was again condemned to 6 years imprisonment for crimes against the state power.

As delegate to the IV. Congress of the Communist International he had been staying in Constantinople for some months.

He has now been once more arrested on account of his communist work. He has been taken to Angora, and will be brought before Kemal's judges in company with the comrades already imprisoned in this town some months ago.

The proletariats of all countries must raise their voices against the persecutions now being carried on by the Kemal government.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Working Women of Baku

By E. Arlore Ralli.

On the occasion of the International Women's Congress in March last, the daily paper of the Communist Party in Baku, the *Bakunski Rabotchi* (The Baku Worker), threw a vivid light on the history of the labor movement, and on the part played by the working woman in this movement. We append some of the data thus published, as also descriptions of the lives of some of the women most active in the movement. The working women of Baku have participated in the labor and socialist movement since 1902. The first of these, who took part in the illegal organizations of the workers, were dressmakers and milliners in the centre of the town. The first to form social political circles were Jewish social democratic dressmakers from the western provinces, members of the "federation".

These circles were able to take the form of schools for adults. Besides the dressmakers and milliners circles, which were not only attended by the working women from outside the town, but also by the natives of Baku, who at first crowded the schools in their eagerness to learn to read and write, there were also similar circles formed in the five tobacco factories of the city. The number of working women taking part in these circles was, however, still very small up to 1914. Propaganda and agitation were chiefly carried on by the youth of Baku (male and female students). There was no special organization for women. The women propagandists even visited the petroleum works, in order to get into communication with the workers. It is remarkable that up to the war, the number of working women in Baku was comparatively much fewer than in Central Russia. Whilst in Russia, according to the official reports issued by factory inspectors in 1900, 25% of the workers were women (this percentage rising to almost 45% by 1912), in Baku the proportion of female workers had only reached 28% by 1920-21.

In 1914, and during the years of the war, the proletarianizing of women made rapid progress, and at the same time the women workers movement began to be better organized. The working women are gradually entering the trade unions, are taking active part in the trade union movement, and even becoming members of the trade union committees. In 1914, the working women took part in a strike of the petrol workers. The wives of the workmen revolting against exploitation by the government, organized a demonstration in the streets of Baku. The police dispersed them with knouts. 40 women were ill-treated and sent to prison. 2 of these women were seamstresses who sympathized with the striking workers. In 1916, the membership of the tailors' trade union had already risen to 100. In 1915-16 the need for special propaganda among women became apparent, political consciousness being insufficiently developed. In 1915 the International Women's Conference was celebrated for the first time in Baku, by a meeting of trade union women workers. On the 8th of March 1916, another meeting took place, participated in by 3 trade unions. Since this time the women workers' movement has developed rapidly in Baku. Questions relating to women's work are discussed at all trade union conferences. At the 1. trade union conference in Trans-Caucasia, the question of labor protection for women and children was placed on the agenda. In 1917, the municipal administration of Baku created a labor section dealing chiefly with this question. The organized workers speedily realized the importance of the participation of women in the organizations. Despite this, in 1918 there were still only 2 trade unions into which women entered as members in any large numbers, these being the trade union of the textile industry, in which the percentage of women was 15.8, and in the sewing-workers trade union, in which the percentage was 4.8. Among all the 22 trade unions in existence, the men held the majority in 17, whilst women were represented in greater numbers in 5 unions only. The provision workers trade union with 70.3% of women, the textile trade union with 75.7%, the trade union of the employees of public health with 62.5%, the trade union for school teachers with 56.1%, and the sewing workers trade union with 58.8%.

In 1917, the women workers movement in Baku suffered from the influence of the bourgeois Women's League for political rights. It is since 1920, when the Azerbaijan republic became a Soviet state, that the women workers' movement has been really proletarian in character. Since this time, large numbers of women have found their way into the various branches of industry, and the political movement amongst women has spread greatly.

In 1922, since the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the number of female members of the trade unions fell from 28% to 14.7%; but although there has been a stagnation in the development of the economic movement, the political class consciousness of the working women of Baku has continued to develop. Since 1920 the Communist movement has extended not only to the working women of Baku, but also to the unenlightened masses, and even to the Mussulman peasant women. The Mussulman woman participates in the election the same as the man, and is even herself elected to the Soviet. One of the most active women in the movement is comrade Nazrova. Since her youth she has been interested in socialism, and, at the age of 52, she is as energetic and active as ever. She was a seamstress and member of the trade union, and entered the revolutionary movement in the year 1917, at the age of 47. At that time she worked in a hospital, and became a member of the trade union committee for health. In 1919 she was a member of the communist secret organization in Baku, and was frequently commissioned with the execution of dangerous tasks. Since 1921, she has been working in the women's section for propaganda among the women of the party, and has been a member of the municipal council for 3 years.



Comrade Mamedova Okima, a Mussulman working woman, has undergone all the hardships to which an oriental woman is subject. At the age of 12 she was sold to a rich merchant, with whom she lived 11 years. In the year 1920, she heard for the first time words concerning the emancipation of the Mussulman women. In 1921 she entered the women's club, attended various courses of instruction there, became a member of the Communist Party, and has been working since 1922 in the women's section at Baku. She is chiefly occupied with work for the children's homes, creches, and schools. At the same time she is a member of the municipal council, and works in the section for public instruction. She acts as advocate in women's trials, and energetically defends the rights of mothers.

In 1918, Comrade Provoka, the daughter of poor peasants, entered the asylum for founding children as a servant girl. She could neither read nor write. She made the acquaintance of comrades who were spreading propaganda for the revolution, and from 1915 she took part in this work. In 1918 she entered the trade union, and since 1919 she has been a most energetic member of the Communist Party, at that time still existing in secret. Although she continued her work in the hospital, she carried on active propaganda among the women at the same time; she is one of the most popular women agitators in Baku.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Capitalism - Murderer of Children

By Nat Kaplan.

There are over two million child wage slaves in the United States of America. This country therefore ranks second best, in international capitalism's profit-bearing pastime — the murdering of children.

It is said that there are 260,000 words in the English language, and we dare say that every one of them has been utilized by the many benevolent philanthropists, politicians, statisticians and useless society women, who have been shouting about the horrors of Child Labor, but who at the same time admit that "nothing can be done".

At the annual convention of the government labor officials of the United States and Canada held in Richmond, Virginia, in May, 1923, a delegate made the following statement:

"It is now clear that the National Government—the government to which you and I owe first allegiance, the government which can draft our boys for war and take away every dollar's worth of property for lawful use — cannot move a peg in taking care of its children, its future citizens, even if they are being worked twelve hours or longer each day."

Hence, while the children of the rich are living in luxury on the wealth robbed from the workers, the children of the workers are robbed of even the bare necessities of life.

Senator Copeland tells us that while only \$50,000 is spent by the Federal Government for the babies of this country, \$4,000,000 is spent for hogs. Thus this hog-loving, child-hating government, the instrument of American Capitalism, is forced to admit that "it cannot move a peg in taking care of its children".

This is the same government which is so highly praised by the school teachers, and the bosses' children's organizations, such as the Boy Scouts, the Junior Section of the American Sentinels, the Good Citizens' Club and others. Boys' weeks and parades are being staged throughout the country, where empty phrases, such as "give the boys a chance" and "be the boys' friend", are dished out in plenty to the boys and girls of the working class.

Camps are being financed by the bosses, not mainly to give the children a chance, but for profiteering reasons. Special repair shops, for example, are to be found, making the undernourished kiddies of this country fit to enter industry.

We quote the following from a leaflet of the Arden Shore Association Camp, Lake Bluff, Ill:

"Many families in Chicago desperately need the financial help of their 14-year old boys and girls, but these children are not allowed to work without a working certificate from the Vocational Bureau of the Public Schools. If a child is undernourished and physically handicapped, this certificate is refused. Arden Shore takes these children — the boys in winter and the girls in summer — and scientifically builds them up until they are fit to enter industry."

In the face of all these facts the working class cannot remain inactive. Action must be taken, both to protect the children of the working class and to win them away from the

Bosses' children's organizations. The Young Workers League has therefore resolved to organize the children and with them to wage an intensive campaign against Child Labor and against the poisonous propaganda of the so-called friends of the boys and girls of the working class.

No empty promises will be made to them, but they will be shown that as long as capitalism exists, children will have to work as long as 14 hours a day, in the mine, mill and factory, in order to contribute to the insufficient family income. The Young Workers League will portray the life of the bosses' children in its luxurious playgrounds and surroundings. The child will then be in a position to judge for itself, that the dogmatic phrase "equality and justice" is nothing but the loudmouthing of a degenerate capitalist class.

The organization of the children of the workers will demand from the ruling class: That they be provided with more playgrounds, with better school accommodations (less children in each class, clean schools, etc.) with better living quarters, with meals and clothing for children needing same; namely, the children of the underpaid adult workers.

The Young Workers League of America is conducting a special week for the children of the working class from July 15 to July 21. During this week meetings are being held where the aims and objects of working class children are explained. No empty talk of giving the children a chance will be tolerated, but concrete demands to the capitalist government will be formulated. Propaganda will also be carried on urging all working class organizations to join in the fight for the children of the working class.

## ECONOMICS

### The Foreign Trade of the Ukraine

The greater part of the foreign trade of the Ukraine passes through the hands of the people's commissariat for foreign trade. The figures for the year 1922 and for the first quarter of 1923 are as follows (in thousands of gold roubles):

	1922	1st. quarter, of 1923
Export . . . . .	6,794.3	3,978.6
Import . . . . .	11,868.9	1,213.2
Balance . . . . .	- 5,054.6	+ 2,765.4

These figures do not include the values of imports by various organizations for combatting the famine. These amounted in 1922 to 22,873,000 gold roubles, and in the first quarter of 1923 to 3,638,500 gold roubles. The trade balance for 1922 is still an adverse one as a whole, the imports exceeding the exports. But if the business transacted by the people's commissariat for foreign trade is taken by itself, the balance which still was adverse in the 2nd. quarter, had attained an equilibrium by the 3rd. quarter, and showed an export surplus by the 4th. quarter. In the present year, the total trade balance of the Ukraine has been active up to now. The exports from the Ukraine amount to 8.2% of the total exports of Russia.

## RELIEF FROM RUSSIA

### An Act of International Proletarian Solidarity

The conference of the railwaymen of the Moscow-Casan line, held at the beginning of the month in Moscow, after hearing the report of a German delegate, unanimously resolved to place at the disposal of the International Red Relief 150,000 roubles (150 million marks), from the funds of the union, in aid of the victims of the revolutionary class struggle, and to send 1,200 puds of flour as a special aid to the struggle being carried on by the Ruhr proletariat. The address delivered by the German comrade was greeted with enthusiastic applause. The resolutions witness to the spirit of self-sacrificing solidarity existing among the Russian railwaymen, and will meet with a joyful response among the victims of revolutionary class warfare and among the fighting Ruhr proletariat alike. Above all, this action should serve as an example to the international proletariat, and induce it to show the same readiness for self-sacrifice as the Russian Proletariat.

## Special-Number

### Session of Enlarged Executive of C. I.

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## The Enlarged Executive Eleventh Day of Session

June 23, 1923.

The session was opened at 2 P. M. Comrade Böttcher was in the chair. The agenda was as follows:

1. Report of the Mandates Commission. (Reporter, Com. Hörnle).
2. Report on Bulgaria. (Reporter, Com. Radek).
3. Reports of the Commissions.
4. Resolution on the Fifth World Congress.
5. Election of the Presidium.

Comrade Hörnle (Germany)

reported on the work on the Mandates Commission. All the mandates had been examined and found to be correct. The Workers' Parties of America and Canada, which had been invited as sympathizing parties of the Communist International, were present only in a consultative capacity.

After submitting the report of the Mandates Commission to the vote, Comrade Radek, on behalf of the Executive, and submitted the following Manifesto to the meeting, which adopted it unanimously:

### Manifesto on Bulgaria

to the vote, Comrade Radek, on behalf of the Executive, sub-Forward to the battle against the Government of the white coup d'état in Bulgaria!

Up with the government of Workers and Peasants!  
To the Bulgarian workers and peasants!  
To the international working class!

Comrades! Brothers and sisters! In Bulgaria a small clique of bankrupt bureaucrats, unemployed officers and profiteers have seized the Government by means of a military coup d'état. The very same people who drove the Bulgarian people into the world-war, who have 200,000 lives upon their consciences, who have been thrice kicked out of office by the Bulgarian people in democratic elections, this very clique has dared to seize power. It introduces a reign of the most atrocious terrorism against the great majority of the population, against the workers and peasants. The prisons of Bulgaria are being filled with workers and peasants, the villages are abandoned to the mercy of reactionary adventurers, under the guise of so-called punitive expeditions. They shoot the leaders of the peasantry, but they have not the courage to confess their responsibility for their deeds. Tomorrow they will begin the assassination of the leaders of the working class.

The white coup d'état of the Bulgarian bureaucrats, generals and profiteers was perpetrated with the aid of the Social Democratic Party, which is part of the Second International. This Party, which shares the guilt for the crime of the Bulgarian war-government, is a Party upon which all workers have turned their backs, so that it has shrunk to nothing, and serves only as a fig-leaf to the counter-revolutionary coup d'état. By this it has proved itself worthy of Noske, Turati, and their like, who paved the way for the white coup d'état in Germany and Italy respectively.

The coup d'état was consummated with the aid of the scum of the European counter-revolution, with the aid of Wrangel officers and with the support of Horthy's hangmen and the Roumanian bayars. Capitalist Europe, which has so hypocritically attempted to arouse the so-called civilised world against the Red terror, makes haste to recognise these murderers and incendiary adventurers. The British Government, the Government of the English junkers and manufacturers, supports them, in the hope that Bulgaria will become a bulwark against Soviet Russia. The Italian Government supports them because it considers the military adventurers of Sofia, as a possible aid in a campaign against Jugo-Slavia. The capitalist world has approved of the white coup d'état in Bulgaria. The Fascist bands of all countries see in it the proof that the desire alone is sufficient to enable one to put his foot upon the neck of the people of the working class. We, the Communist International, the union of all the militant workers of East and West, call the Bulgarian workers and peasants, and the international working class to the battle against the Bulgarian usurpers of power.

Peasants of Bulgaria! To you the victory of the white clique is a lesson which you ought to assimilate, if you wish to throw off the yoke that is being imposed on you. The peasant Government of Stambuliski was overthrown because it failed to form an alliance with the workers of the cities. The interests of the great majority of the Bulgarian peasants, who are poor, go hand in hand with the interests of the workers and artisans of the cities. Stambuliski persecuted the working class. He lost the only support which he might have gained in the cities, against the clique of bureaucrats and officers who had been exploiting and enslaving the Bulgarian people during four decades, and will now continue to do so, since Stambuliski has paid for his policy with his life. But the Bulgarian peasants continue to live. They will be compelled to fight, if they do not wish to be further treated like cattle. We call upon them to unite with the workers of the cities and to start the fight under the slogan of the establishment of a government of the workers of the cities and villages.