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CONTENTS

| | Page | | Page |
|--|------|--|------|
| Politics | | The Communist Struggle in the Trade Unions of Uruguay . . . | 511 |
| The Assassination of Djemal Pasha. By <i>Karl Radek</i> . . . | 507 | In the International | |
| The New Fight in Constantinople. By <i>Arthur Rosenberg</i> . . . | 508 | The Communist Movement in the Dutch Indies. By <i>Pruiero</i> . . . | 511 |
| The Political Effects of the Fall of the Mark. By <i>August Thalheimer</i> | 509 | An Open Letter to Lazzari, Maffi and Riboldi. By <i>Zinoviev</i> . . . | 512 |
| The Russian Far East. By <i>G. Voitinsky</i> | 509 | In Soviet Russia | |
| Labor Movement | | The Economic Situation in Russia. By <i>Pierre Pascal</i> | 512 |
| In the United States. By <i>Arne Swabek</i> | 510 | Intellectual Life in Russia. By <i>Victor Serge</i> | 513 |

POLITICS

The Assassination of Djemal Pasha

By *Karl Radek (Moscow)*.

Tafaat Pasha, the leader of the Young Turk Revolution and head of the Young Turk Government fell at the hands of an Armenian nationalist. The next to fall was *Djemal Pasha*, Governor General of Bagdad, one of the leading spirits in the Young Turk Party, probably also a victim of the Dashniakists. The old generation is slowly disappearing, that generation which attempted to resist European imperialism and to maintain the independence of Turkey, without divesting itself of any of the old ruling class privileges, and with the selfsame methods that the ruling class had used. And now, the leader of the Young Turks, *Enver Pasha* enters upon a crazy adventure, betraying not only the Soviet Government, the only honest friend of the uprising Mussulmen, but also the Turkish people, and all the oppressed Mussulman nationalities.

What was this Young Turk revolution of 1909? It was not a movement of the masses, although it drew great masses into its ranks. The Young Turk revolution was merely an attempt to rouse the militant, energetic elements of the Turkish land-owning class against the dismemberment of Turkey, which English imperialism and Russian Czarism had decided at Reval.

The regime of *Abdul Hamid* not only tyrannized the Turkish masses, but it drew upon itself the enmity of the very classes upon which his power was based. When the old enemies of Turkey, English militarism and Russian Czarism, united to dismember Turkey, the most energetic elements among the army officers united with the bureaucrats and the priests, and succeeded in overthrowing *Abdul Hamid*. Their well-wishers among the modern publicists applauded the act, but declared that it was insufficient, and that the peasant masses must be drawn into the revolution for that was the only way to secure their victory. Useless advice, for not only has it never happened in history that a ruling class was willing to relinquish some of its privileges for the salvation of the fatherland, without some pressure from the masses, but the political position of this young revolutionary Turkey made such a move impossible. The war of 1911, the invasion of Turkey by the Balkan states, all this did not yet menace the life interests of the Turkish people. From an historical standpoint, right was with Bulgaria in that war,

for it liquidated the expansion policy of the Turkish land-owner, and the road to national unity was smoothed to the Bulgarians and Serbians. In that war, the Young Turks were fighting for the interests of the landowners, and against those of the Turkish peasants. The Turkish peasant was called upon to risk his life, so that a handful of Pashas might live comfortably at the expense of the Bulgarians and the Serbians. The preparations for the defense of national independence against the encroachments of European militarism, the large expenses for the army, which reached into the hundreds of millions, the ever rising taxes, — all this hindered the development of the Turkish peasants' struggle for internal reforms. The Young Turk Party drew its power, not from the newly rising class, but from the old, corrupt, feudal and bureaucratic class, and could not even rid the country of the old corruption which sucked the last bit of vitality out of the Turkish people.

When the World War broke out, and Turkey was forced to enter on the side of Germany, it was clearly realized that this war would decide the life or death of old Turkey. The Turkish peasants drew from this knowledge the force which enabled them to suffer pains as no other country in the war suffered. The ruling class of Turkey, the Young Turk Party, set all its forces to the defense of the nation's independence; they went so far as to decide the extermination of the whole Armenian people. There is no doubt that the robber interests of the local bureaucracy played a great role in this decision, but neither is there any doubt that the leaders of the Young Turks, *Talaat Pasha* and *Enver Pasha* were driven to this act by reason of governmental necessity. The imperialistic European powers were using the Armenians to break up the Turkish front. The Turkish leaders were faced with the question: Life or Death. No less than the Turks, the English lords and the Czaristic Russian diplomats are responsible for the Armenian blood that was shed. And when the Dashniakists, the party of Armenian nationalism, make the Young Turk leaders pay with their heads for the sufferings of the Armenians people, they are betraying this people. For it is not the Allies who can save the rest of that martyred people; safety lies only in a peace treaty with Turkey which recognizes the Armenian independence, not only in word but in fact.

After the defeat of Turkey, the masses turned away from the Young Turks. They condemned the Young Turk Party as responsible for the war, although in truth, war was forced upon Turkey. They condemned the party for the corruption of the officials, who hid their selfish aims behind the flags, "Save the

Fatherland". *Mustapha Kemal Pasha* who organized the Turkish resistance against the Entente had to make another appeal to the masses. The best elements among the Young Turks have never given up their work. Some of them attempted to establish connections with the Soviets. And in justice to Talaat Pasha we must declare that he understood the significance of the Soviet Power at a time when the greatest dangers menaced it. In September 1919, during the Denikin advance, Talaat Pasha began negotiations with the foreign representatives of Soviet Russia, and propagated the idea of a Russo-Turkish understanding. Enver Pasha attempted to come to Russia, in spite of all the danger involved. His pride, his rivalry with Kemal, caused him to turn traitor. He did not understand that to attempt a revolution in Turkey at the time of the war with Greece would not result in a more popular government, but would bring about the victory of the Entente. How lightly he took the revolutionary cause, was proved later by his Bashmakian uprising. Enver Pasha declared that the World Revolution had begun, and that the subjugated Mussulmen must ally themselves with the European proletariat and its vanguard, the Soviet Republic. But when the cause of the Revolution demanded sacrifices from the Musselmen of Middle Asia, which sacrifices roused dissatisfaction among the Musselman population, sorely tried by the intervention and the blockade; when Bashmakian bands took advantage of that discontent and raised their arms against the Soviets, Enver Pasha joined these bands; and he betrayed not only Soviet Russia, but also the cause of Musselman liberation. Djemal Pasha, a man of keen and cool intelligence, condemned the acts of Enver. The Angora Government condemned them also. But words alone are insufficient. The Angora Government must realize that the liberation of the Turkish people is possible only through alliance with the revolutionary proletariat. This does not exclude the possibility of making peace with the Western powers, if the terms of peace be found favorable; but Turkey must realize that these are only passing successes, that the final liberation of the Turks is possible only through alliance with Russia. Turkey must conclude peace with the non-Turkish nationalities living on its territory, in order to remove any field of activity for the imperialistic intrigues. Turkey must make all efforts to raise the status of its working masses. We greet with pleasure the decree of the Angora Government which allows the calling of a Turkish Communist Congress. The Turkish Communist Party is not a proletarian party. It is a party which attempts to unite the peasants fighting for their interests, and those intellectuals who have broken with the past. At the present moment the peasantry and the intelligensia of Turkey have no interest in a revolution. Their present task is to support the movement for national liberation, and to influence that movement so that it will defend the interests of the people. The war will stop in Turkey. But the ravage of war can be healed only when the interests of the peasantry become the ruling interests of the land. The old rats in the palaces of Constantinople will never be able to understand this; but the better elements among the Turkish officers and the intellectuals are beginning to understand. The old Turkey is dead. Turkey must either be a Turkey of the people, or else cease to exist. It seems to us that Djemal Pasha, son of an old noble family, had understood this as well as Talaat Pasha, son of a railway worker. And this must also be understood by all Turks, who have shared the sufferings of the heroic Turkish troops on the Grecian front.

The New Fight in Constantinople.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

Lovers of historical romance will rejoice at the thought that the Greeks have set out once more to wrest Constantinople from the Turk, after the rule of the Crescent in Stamboul from 1453 onwards. Romance is strengthened by the fact that the Greek King Constantine bears the old imperial name of the Byzantine Empire and would thus seem destined to call it once more into being. But in our times, modern capitals are no places for the romantic. They are more adapted to hand grenades and speculation. When today Greece advances on Constantinople, it is no fight between Cross and crescent, neither is it Europe against Asia, but it arises from the intrigues of the Great capitalist powers and the chicanery of the Foreign Offices of London, Rome and Paris, which in turn take their instructions from the Council Chambres of the Big Banks. The modern Leonidas is in the service of a London Petroleum Trust, and the modern Soliman conquers in the name of a good Christian or Jewish Parisian banking house.

The new Greek operations in Smyrna and before Constantinople mean that British capital is trying to get out of an

unbearable situation created by the foreign policy of Lloyd George and Lord Curzon. It is becoming daily more evident, that Great Britain in the East has backed the wrong horse. London underestimated the vitality of Turkey and believed that with the aid of Greek business men, bankers and ship owners they would fall into the old Sultan's inheritance. In the winter of 1918, England occupied Constantinople, allowing the old Sultan to devote himself to his amusements as a puppet monarch. They also allowed the Turkish Government to remain in Constantinople, but the Grand Vizier and the other ministers are more impotent than the famous Egyptian Government in Cairo. Britain is the master of Constantinople. The British fleet commands the seas and British generals rule Constantinople. A few French regiments have been allowed to enter the city to show that the control of the town is under the Entente. But the fact remains that for 3½ years British capital has ruled Constantinople.

In Thracia, the last European Turkish province West of Constantinople, England's Greek friends made themselves at home and Greece undertook the conquest of Turkish Asia Minor from the West Coast onwards. But the Turkish population did not surrender without a fight to the appetite of Anglo-Greek capital. Without troubling about the puppet government in Constantinople, *Kemal Pasha* formed the new nationalist government in Angora and organized the resistance of Asia Minor.

The collapse of Constantine's offensive on Angora and the retreat of the Greek army from Smyrna before the Turks is still fresh in our memories, and above all, the elegant *right about face* of French capital to an understanding with the Angora government.

The situation in the early part of this year was such that no one believed in the possibility of a Greek victory in Asia Minor. But on the other hand, the strength of the Turks was not sufficient to drive the Greeks into the sea. And the mass of Greek peasants and workers began to realize that they were being sacrificed for British capital. The anti-war feeling in Greece is growing. It will be impossible for the Greek troops to remain in Asia Minor forever thus risking the possibility that one day the Greek army will demobilize of its own accord. On the other hand, the Turkish peasant-soldier holds fast to the idea that he must protect his existence from foreign capitalist exploiters. But the concessions made by Kemal Pasha to French capitalists do not mean the open, brutal slavery which a victory of the Greeks and English would impose upon the Turkish masses.

The French are making clever use of the Turkish victories. The difficulties of the English international situation brought about a retreat of the British Government in the East. On March 26th of this year a treaty was signed by the Foreign Ministers of England, France and Italy which in its broadest extent conformed to the aspirations of the Turks. This document signed by Lord Curzon, Poincaré, and Schanzer, recommended a peace between Greece and Turkey on the following basis: The Greeks evacuate Asia Minor, and Constantinople once more unite with the Turkish State of Angora. But the Greeks still hold Adrianople and the Gallipoli Peninsula south of Constantinople. This heavy sacrifice was made by Britain on account of the Indian Mohammedans. The religious solidarity of all Mohammedans with Turkey had led to an intensification of the Indian difficulties. Through the reestablishment of a strong Turkey, with Constantinople as the capital, Britain hoped to smoothe down the opposition in India for a time. The war-famed Gallipoli-peninsula remained in Greek, that is, in British hands. Who holds Gallipoli, holds the Dardanelles, and who holds the Dardanelles, commands Constantinople. Thus, although foregoing much of its power by the March Treaty Britain nevertheless maintained its military position in the Dardanelles.

The decisions of the 26th of March, however, were never realized. The Greek Government refused to admit its defeat by evacuating Asia Minor. They fear an inner-political reaction in Athens which would sweep the jingo capitalist and military cliques. But France demands that the Eastern situation be cleared. The treaty was a strong trump in Mr. Poincaré's hand; it prevented Mr. Lloyd George from retracting his concessions of March 26th. Now comes the London Conference, in which, the conflicts between France and England should be cancelled, at least provisionally. The English Government desires, as it has often done before, to exchange concessions in the East for concessions in Germany. But to exchange one must possess something. And the signing of the March Treaty by Lord Curzon consenting to the return of Smyrna and Constantinople to Turkey, means that England stands empty-handed as far as the Near East is concerned. English capital therefore had to find new securities for the London Conference. And this is being done by the instrumentality of Greece.

Greece remains absolutely a British colony. Only a short time ago the English Petroleum trust obtained a complete monopoly of oil rights in Greece. And now England is playing a

double game. Publicly they deny any support of the Greek adventure. Indeed, they even declare that they will take up arms to oppose the Greek advance on Constantinople, but in reality Greece is playing England's game. The first step was for the Greeks to proclaim the independence of Ionia. That territory is still occupied by the Greeks in West Asia Minor with Smyrna as Capital. The old game of Fiume and Vilna is being reenacted. Formally, Greece is not responsible for independent Ionia. In Athens, the Greek Government will shrug its shoulders and point out that apparently, the workers, peasants and soldiers of Ionia are against Turkish rule. A new factor is thus introduced into the Orient question. The Treaty of March 26th, as far as Smyrna goes, is invalidated. England can now demand a French equivalent for having contributed to the Ionian solution.

The occupation of Constantinople by Greek troops would not effect the position of British Capital in this city but would mean that Kemal Pasha does not receive the city. And this would introduce another new factor. But Kemal Pasha threatens that he will advance from Asia Minor if the Greeks threaten the town. It is doubtful whether in case of a serious advance on the city, the English troops would actually fire on their Greek friends. Besides, the French are too weak numerically to offer any resistance for the present. From a purely military standpoint a Greek attempt on Constantinople is not without prospects. But in such an event France would raise such an outcry against England that Mr. Lloyd George would not dare support such an adventure. But diplomatically, Britain contents herself with the fact that the Greek Army is threatening Constantinople. England can show its good will by protecting Constantinople and sending the Greeks back home. And at the same time, Lloyd George can be paid for this good will.

Greece is thus a helpless instrument of English Capital in its quarrel with French Capital.

The nationalities of the Near East are pawns in the chess game played by the great powers. But Constantinople is not only a question for France and England, but one of vital importance for Soviet Russia as to who rules Constantinople and the Bosphorus.

An agreement in London which disregards the interests of Soviet Russia will not be recognized by her, so that the end of the refined chess party in which Lloyd George is playing with Poincaré will be *Love's Labor Lost*.

The Political Effects of the Fall of the Mark

By August Thalheimer (Berlin).

Thanks to the action of the Independent and Social Democratic leadership, the proletariat's great manifestations of energy, has brought no results. The "democratic" elements of the high and the petty German bourgeoisie breathes freely again. Thanks to the crisis their position has been strengthened against the attacks of the proletarian revolutionary vanguard by the willingness of the Independents to enter into a coalition government, and by their open renunciation of all revolutionary pretenses. The democratic parties, however, were not willing to admit the Independents without more ado. The Independents must first be made to pass under the Caudine yoke. The pressure of the bourgeoisie has brought about the collaboration of the two Social Democratic parties, which may yet result in their union into a single organization. We can see then, that this union will mean a great victory for the democratic bourgeoisie.

And while the democrats draw a freer breath, reassured that the two Social Democracies will be able to maintain the workers in peace, the monarchist reaction is beginning its offensive. They chose Bavaria as their point of attack. Their instinct did not mislead them. The Bavarian Government is supported by a decidedly reactionary petty bourgeoisie, and the working-class, especially in the South, is comparatively weak. This Government is under the influence of the secret organizations which practically rule the country, like the Fascisti in Italy. The federal Government has already capitulated before the Bavarian Vendée. The negotiations which are now going on between Bavaria and the federal Government, serve only to fix the definite form of this capitulation.

The Laws for the Protection of the Republic have already become a meaningless scrap of paper. The facts have rapidly proved the prediction of the Communists. The Independents and the Social Democrats are now trying to break up the *Control*

Committees which the workers formed to conduct their fight against the reaction.

Thanks to the illusions which the Independents and the Social Democrats awake in the heart of the proletariat, thanks to the passive behaviour of these parties, the working-class can look on passively upon the actions of the monarchists and upon the surrender of even the purely paper conquests of their own action.

However, it would be wrong to believe that the working-class is totally apathetic.

Under the influence of the mark's depreciation, the political mass action has now changed to a number of economic actions. Hundreds of "wild strikes" are occurring, to force an increase in wages corresponding to the depreciation. The normal trade union methods are totally useless in the presence of this rapid revaluation in prices, even the short-term wage contracts are of no help. The working-class, however, has instinctively found the right trade union tactics which would meet the extraordinary conditions. And they are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that a pure wage fight is totally insufficient, that all the advantages which they gain along that line, are lost at once through the depreciation of the mark.

They are therefore resorting to the political struggle and to governmental measures, they are beginning to interfere with the anarchy of the present system. The seizure of capital goods, the control of production, trade and prices, appear anew as the only possible solution.

The Communist Party is taking the leadership. The Social Democrats of Scheidemann's cut, who opposed the fight of the workers against the monarchists on the ground that this struggle might result in the abyssmal depreciation of the mark, these Social Democrats are forced, as coalition members of a bourgeois government, to leave the working class in the lurch in this same fight against the fall of the mark.

The mass energy which the Rathenau murder called forth has not disappeared; it has shifted to the economic struggle. We may safely predict that in the end, it will again develop into a political struggle which will be so much the more intense, and the more thorough, the clearer it is recognized as a class struggle. This struggle will reveal the union of the two Social Democratic parties more clearly than even their betrayal of the proletarian cause to the bourgeoisie has done.

The new depreciation of the mark marks the beginning of a period of an intensified class struggle.

The Russian Far East

By G. Voitinsky (Moscow).

The situation in the Russian Far East has entered upon a new stage resembling that of the last months of 1919 and the first months of 1920.

The country around the Amur is again the scene of activities of red propagandists who came there in defiance of the Japanese army of occupation. Proof of this is their appearance on the Russian Island situated but a few versts from the headquarters of Japanese intervention in Siberia, Vladivostok, where revolutionary sentiment runs high.

The brothers Merkulov, the puppets of Japanese imperialism, are nervously dancing on their wires, while the ring of a hostile population is drawing closer and the crowd of Kapelev followers, until recently supporters of the Merkulov government, is dwindling day by day.

Flags of the Far East Republic are in evidence in Vladivostok's environs and even in its suburbs,—to remind everybody that the population is favoring an alliance with that republic. For a few days the brothers Merkulov were obliged to yield to the Group of Three, headed by Boldirev. A few years ago this gentleman was a Czarist general in the service of the S.R.'s. When the Japanese launched their campaign in April 1920, he did not swallow the bait and supported the government of the coast provinces.

The cause of the temporary disappearance of the brothers Merkulov is interesting indeed, and extremely characteristic of the period of liquidating intervention in the Far East. For, although the Japanese soon succeeded in re-establishing power, they failed in gaining that essential balance to the pressure of a hostile population which had formerly been theirs thanks to the support of the Kapelev followers. The cause of the latest coup d'état turned the latter into bitter enemies of the Merkulov government.

According to the Russian press report of the Far East, one of the brothers Merkulov proposed at a recent session of the Committee for Public Welfare, that the Kapelev guard be sent to support Tchansolin in his campaign against the rebelling Ubei-Fu-Isti who then had their headquarters at the station Preganitchno. This bland proposal and the cynicism with which the trader Merkulov unmasked the true character of the Kapelev followers as a mercenary guard at the beck and call of their master (Japanese imperialism), embittered the rank and file of Kapelev's army, thus compelling him to oppose the Merkulovs openly.

It goes without saying that the staff of the Japanese troops in Vladivostok interpreted the attitude of the Kapelev followers as anti-interventionist and, in an attempt to show its "neutrality", prevented the overthrow of the Merkulov government by bringing the wellknown white guard leader *Dietrichs* to its support.

Meanwhile the cause of the interventionists had suffered a set-back in Japan itself. The Cabinet of Admiral Kato had been replaced by the Takahasi cabinet, which declared in favor of evacuation of the coast provinces and even fixed the date on which this should take place. It remains to be seen whether the government composed of the Japanese Democratic Party and the Naval Party can accede to the demands of the middle classes which, together with the intellectuals, the tenants and a part of the urban proletariat represent a great political factor, and carry out its declaration, or whether it will, together with the *Sei-Ju-Kei* party and the militarists, look for a fresh pretext to keep the army of occupation in Siberia. But no matter what the final outcome, the fact that the Japanese government declared in favor of evacuation will intensify the conflicts in the camp of the Russian agents on the Japanese staff. There can be no doubt of the final rupture between the Kapelev followers and the Merkulov troops and, as a logical consequence, with the Japanese staff. Sooner than it could reasonably be expected, the latest Japanese declaration has compelled them to enter into negotiations with the Chita government. This was all the more necessary as the prospects of evacuation of the Japanese troops and their staff, about whose hostile attitude towards the Kapelev troops there can be no doubt, would determine the fate of the latter unless they had previously come to an agreement with the Far East Republic.

On the other hand it is very unlikely that after their battle at Volochaika with the people's army of the Far East Republic the Kapelev troops should risk launching an independent attack.

So the intervention in the Far East is being liquidated from within and is in danger of being cut off from its foreign sources. The international and external factors influencing the intervention are now in conflict with each other.

The Kapelev action in Vladivostok feeds an anti-interventionist current in Japan which, in turn, is accelerating the rupture with the Japanese staff. The next few months will show whether the Japanese will this time really evacuate Vladivostok or whether they will find a fresh pretext and prove the "militarism" of the reds, whereupon the Imperial Government will declare that, unfortunately, the first declaration could not be carried out.

One thing is certain, however. It will be rather difficult for the Japanese to find such a pretext. It would have to be extremely convincing for those at home, where the feeling against intervention in Siberia is growing steadily, while on the other hand the reserves from the Russian white camp with whose help the Japanese realized their plans, are dwindling away.

Proof of this is the Kapelev incident.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In The United States

By Arne Swabeck (Chicago).

Vehement strikes are sweeping the United States, constantly gaining in scope and intensity. The military forces are mobilized throughout the country, and the "democratic" government has been compelled to remove its mask of hypocrisy and come out openly in its true light, as an instrument of coercion in the hands of the dominant capitalist class. It now stands exposed as the chief organ of strikebreaking.

Coal miners numbering 665,000 have been out since April 1st, with no desertions from their ranks. 100,000 textile workers have been out since May, and on July 1st, 400,000 railroad shop workers laid down their tools, since followed by large numbers coming from other railroad crafts in various parts of the country. Every local union of the Maintenance of Way Men's organization,

comprising 400,000 members, demand that their officials act in accordance with the vote taken, of which about 95% were for the strike. Many thousands have left work, while the rest are preparing to walk out, action or no action by those officials.

Railway clerks and freight handlers, comprising about 150,000 members, as well as signalmen and dispatchers, two smaller unions, have voted to strike. Before this appears in print the total of striking railroad workers may have reached 1,200,000. In Chicago, street car men and elevated trainmen have voted unanimously to strike against a 25 percent wage reduction and changes in working conditions. In another large city, street cars are being run by soldiers. Sailors on the Great Lakes have taken a referendum vote on strike against a proposed 14 hour work day and a reduction in wages from \$100 to \$80 a month.

The Government as Strike Breaker.

Following the sound policy of one war at a time, and incidentally moved by the looming coal shortage, the government has shown great anxiety for a settlement of the coal strike before the railroad strike assumes too large proportions. It presented a plan for arbitration, providing for the miners going back to work at the scale of wages obtained previous to April 1st, and a board of arbitration composed of three from the union, three from the operators and five to be chosen by the government, to make a final decision before August 10th. This scheme was quickly rejected by the miners' policy committee, which is composed of delegates from all mine districts. The miners were not willing to resume work and leave the fate of their union in the hands of this tribunal. The trap failed. Many attempts have been made to induce the miners to accept separate settlements by districts and thus split their solid ranks. They were browbeaten by hired gunmen and state cossacks, harrassed by injunctions and industrial court laws. Some of their leaders were arrested, while all the implements of modern warfare were held in readiness; but it produced no coal.

In several places the coal operators succeeded in bringing in strikebreakers to work the mines, and armed gunmen for their protection. Bloody clashes occurred with the striking miners, and many strikebreakers have paid with their lives, while others learned a valuable lesson.

Mine Owners Provoke Open War.

At Herrin, a little mine village in Southern Illinois, the United States Steel Corporation attempted to operate one of its subsidiaries, a strip mine, on its notorious "open shop" basis. All union miners who had worked by persuasion of the union, to strip coal on condition that nothing be shipped, were discharged, and strikebreakers brought in, guarded by heavily armed men and equipped with machine guns. A strikebreaker veteran was placed in charge and they began shipping coal. On Wednesday, June 21st, the striking miners sent a deputation to the mine to appeal to the men employed to join the strike. The guards opened fire; the union men who were unarmed, fled; but not before two of their number were killed.

The news of the murder quickly spread through the county and added fuel to the smoldering fire of suppressed rage. The miners armed themselves and went for the scabs; a battle ensued, and when the smoke clouds cleared away, the imported strikebreakers and gunmen were either killed, wounded or missing, and steam shovels and railway cars were one mighty heap of ruins. The whole community stood solidly with the miners. To the American mine workers there is nothing new in such a bloody clash. They are trained from childhood in handling arms to defend themselves against company gunmen and stool pigeons; but it is the first time that they have won such a sweeping victory and effectively served notice on the mine operators that any attempt to open the mines with non-union labor will be stopped.

Now the United States government has invited the mine operators to reopen their mines under federal protection. Of course, it cannot be expected that these gentlemen themselves will go down into the bowels of the earth and dig coal, but their first aim has been attained. The armed forces of the political state have become definitely committed to their union-smashing program, and the class struggle will be intensified on the American continent.

The Railroad Strike.

The railroad workers are facing their supreme test. The forces new allied against them are so powerful that it will command every ounce of their energy and solidarity to bring this titanic battle to a successful conclusion. Last year, the Five Train Service Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen and Telegraphers had their wages cut 12%

percent, and the national agreement of working conditions for all railroad workers was abrogated. The rank and file voted to strike, the leaders prevented it on the plea that they could not fight the government, and they failed to establish any solidarity among the railroad crafts or a closer amalgamation of their forces. On July 1st, the U.S. Railroad Labor Board which was created by the government and has remained in authority ever since the railroads were returned to private ownership at the close of the war, ordered another wage cut averaging 10 percent, affecting 1,200,000 of the remaining 11 craft unions on the road, thus topping off \$136,000,000 of their annual pay. The 8 hour workday and overtime rates have been taken away and piece work reestablished in the shops. The government Labor Board stands exposed as a tool in the hands of the capitalist class to enslave and impoverish the workers.

One group of Maintenance of Way workers were cut as much as 23 cents an hour. It is significant to note in this connection that one railroad reports, for the first four months of 1922, a net operating income of \$158,709,784 which is \$10,000,000 in excess of their net income for the corresponding period of last year.

The government has issued a proclamation threatening prosecution to the full extent of the law for any interference with interstate transportation and the carrying of United States mail. The eastern section of the shopmen organization replied that the strike would go on until a settlement satisfactory to the men could be reached, even if every mail train had to stop running. Every railroad company maintains a large force of armed guards at the strike shop. Soldiers with machine guns and light artillery have been dispatched to the various strike points and placed at the gates of the shops. Several clashes have occurred between the workers and the military. The striking workers are determined not to give in to this kind of intimidation and the rank and file of the railroad organization, not yet effected by the wage slashes, are demanding strike in sympathy with the shopmen. The officials of the Maintenance of Waymen's organization, afraid of entering the struggle, are pursuing the policy that led to nothing but defeat in the past,—that of attempting to gain favors by negotiating separately with the individual companies, while their membership are leaving the jobs by the thousands in spite of instructions to the contrary. The struggle is becoming ever more militant. The workers are rapidly becoming disillusioned as to the pretended American democracy. The impotence of the present leaders of the American labor unions stands out in bold relief. The A.F. of L. official family has nothing to offer but empty pledges of moral support and while it dare not line up openly with the ruthless master class, it fights tooth and nail against any closer amalgamation of labor forces.

However, the sentiment for amalgamation and the spirit of rebellion, in spite of a recent expulsion of a local union in New York City by the Gompers machine for alleged Communism, is increasing with such tremendous speed that leaders who attempt to resist this natural development will be crushed by the progressive wave in the American labor movement.

The Communist Struggle in the Trade Unions of Uruguay

The majority of the Uruguay Trade Unions are amalgamated in the Trade Union Federation (F.O.R.U.), but there is besides, a whole series of independent unions, which are not affiliated to any leading organization. Whilst the leadership of the Uruguay Trade Union Federation is in the hands of anarchists, the autonomous unions are under Communist influence, which in a few, as for example, in the Seamen's Union, is so overwhelming that the latter declared itself for the Red International of Labor Unions.

Towards the end of May of this year, the anarchist bureaucrats commenced a sharp offensive against the Communists. They announced that all those politically active would be expelled from the trade union organizations. It was evident from the first that this was not directed against those trade union members dealing in anarchist politics, but against those who pursued the Communist policy.

The Communist Party energetically defended its trade union members, whose freedom of opinion was threatened by the anarchist bureaucrats. Our Party formed an alliance with the Argentine Union (Union Sindical Argentina) for the protection of its members. As a consequence, the conflict between the anarchist leaders and the Communist Party grew more intense. The Party members, and those who were organized in the Argentine Union were denounced upon every possible occasion

as "hirelings of Amsterdam", "class enemies of the proletariat", "traitors" and "renegades".

The Party took up the defense against this attempt at splitting the *Union* by the expulsion of Communists and called on the masses for the formation of the trade union united front. A committee for this purpose had already been in existence in Uruguay for a year, but its work was sabotaged by the anarchists. The Communists demanded that its work be continued and stated openly that they were in complete agreement with the committee's plan to bring all existing autonomous unions into the federation.

The slogan of the United Front in gaining in actuality by the fact that an extraordinary Congress of the trade unions to be held shortly, is now being prepared by the anarchist leaders. At this congress the anarchists wish to effect the expulsion of the Communists. In reply to this, the Communists demand that not only affiliated unions be called to this Congress, but also the autonomous unions. They further demand that every organization represented at this Congress be recognized as a member of the Federation; that the decisions of the majority be accepted; and that all delegates and unions, including those belonging to the autonomous organizations be bound to abide unconditionally by the decision of the majority. The Communists hope in this manner to prevent any further splitting of the Uruguay movement and to counter the disruptive efforts of the anarchists, as the majority of workers are firmly determined to form the trade union united front.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Movement in the Dutch Indies

By Prauiero.

Before 1900, 95% of the population of the Dutch Indies consisted of peasants, most of whom owned parcels of land which were in communal possession. The Indian Nobility which is the lackey of the Dutch bourgeoisie, succeeded in subjecting this peasantry to its rule.

Because there was plenty of land, and because the economic living-conditions were generally satisfactory, the political oppression was not felt so strongly. The populace was satisfied, it lived simply and brotherly, and it was very peaceful and hospitable. The people of Java were the most patient people on earth. Thus it slept a peaceful, beautiful sleep that lasted decades.

In 1908, however, a great change began to take place.

The seeds of capitalistic development, carried by foreign (Dutch) capital, began to take root in the Dutch Indies. Numerous plants, small factories and workshops began to spring up as after a Spring rain. In 1916 there were already 200 million gulden of European capital invested in the Dutch-Indies; at present this sum has more than doubled.

It is self-evident therefore, that due to this speedy capitalization, the Indians became proletarianized. According to government reports; 45% of the population in 1921, were proletarians. This is the direct cause of the present movement in Dutch India.

And when European imperialism in India was so widespread that it was compelled by the European labor-shortage, to fill the slave-driving posts (superintendents, office-employees, bookkeepers, etc.) with natives, it chose for these positions the native nobility, (Pri-Ja-Ji). In 1918, this class founded the *Bodi-Oetomo* Society for the purpose of giving their children an education, a commodity heretofore monopolized by the European peoples. Up to this moment, 95% of the population are an-alphabets. Gradually the *Bodi-Oetomo* developed into a national party. Having remained faithful to their slave-driving tasks, this group sympathizes with the European imperialists, and is more militant than passive towards our revolutionary movement.

In 1912, the *Indian Party* was organized. This is the party of the *Indos* (hybrids), who dreamt of a free India. These *Indos* are to be put on a basis of equality with the natives, so that they may be of greater use in the oppression of the people. This party was at first revolutionary in its propaganda; gradually, however, particularly since 1913, when three of its foremost leaders were arrested, all that was left of its revolutionary development was a revolutionary phraseology.

Almost coincident with the formation of the *Indian Party*, arose the *Sarikat-Islam* in 1912. The *Sarikat-Islam* is the party of the native bourgeoisie, which preaches Molianmedan fanati-

cism, and which in this wise attempted to mobilize the people against all foreign capital. However, the native bourgeoisie stands no comparison with the European bourgeoisie or even with the British-Indian bourgeoisie. Domestic industry and commerce are still in their childhood of development, and they were nearly forced off the market by the appearance of European goods. Moreover, the policy pursued by the European capitalists had for its object, the elimination of the natives from the commercial field, and for this purpose to use Chinese, thus forcing the disarmed and oppressed people to a lower economic standard. For this reason, there is no chance for the existence of a strong national capitalist movement in the Dutch Indies, as is the case in British India.

But the Indian bourgeoisie is still in the attempt to displace the Chinese and European bourgeoisies; for this task it needs the aid of the masses. It was therefore necessary to create the *Sarikat-Islam* or *People's Party*. As a result of this party's propaganda, there occurred in the years 1912 to 1914, pogroms against Chinese. The Government stepped in, and suppressed the *Sarikat-Islam*, which since then, turned against the government. In the years of 1914-1916, the *Sarikat-Islam* broke down altogether, deserted by the peasant masses and semi-proletarians, who constituted its main-stay. These masses left the *Sarikat-Islam* and joined the Socialist and Communist movement.

In 1915, a little group of Dutch Socialists organized the Indian Socialist Society, which since the split of the social-patriots, bears the name: *Indian Communist Party, Section of the Third International*.

In 1915 the native members of the Party, partly workers, partly of the proletarianized gentry, began to proclaim and propagate the class-struggle in the *Sarikat-Islam*. In this work they were quite successful among the workers and peasants belonging to the party (mostly owners of land in communal possession). Thus in the years 1916-1921, the Indian Communist Party was the spiritual spur to all strikes and peasant-movements. Under the pressure of the Communists, it was brought about that in 1921, the *Sarikat-Islam* adopted a resolution of principles, in which it proclaimed as its goal, a *free Socialist India*. In the program, many concessions are made to national and religious sentiment, but in a country like Dutch-India, this is historically comprehensible.

However, the Communists supplemented their activities in the *S.-I.* with a sharp critique directed against the old leaders. In this wise the Communists roused the ire of the old leaders, and in 1921, the latter succeeded in ejecting the "godless" and "international" Communists from the *S.-I.* The result was the splitting of the party into a wing led by the Communists, which is constantly expanding and is always prepared to fight, and another wing which is gradually losing the masses. The 200 members of the Communist Party in Java, have a greater influence upon the masses than the old leaders.

An Open Letter to Lazzari, Maffi and Riboldi (Rome)

It is only now that I have been able to read the Maximalist manifesto which appeared in the *Avanti* of July 9th.

We see a possibility that this manifesto, in which they acknowledge their old mistakes and therefore accept the point of view of the Communist International, may be only a tactical move on the part of certain maximalist leaders, especially on the part of Serrati. The former actions of Serrati have taught us, to our great regret, to expect the worst from him. But it is always possible that Serrati realized at the last minute that not he, but the Communist International, was right at Livorno.

At any rate, we do not doubt that thousands of workers who stand behind the Maximalists have honestly recognized that the Comintern was right; we are convinced that they intend to correct their former mistakes. Under these circumstances, we believe that it is the duty of your adherents to make some concessions to the proletarian elements in the maximalist fraction.

You must in any case bring up your own resolution at the Congress. But should it be necessary to support the Maximalists at the final vote, you must do so, but only on condition that you get guarantees, and that the Maximalists agree to break with the reformists once and for all, not only in word but in deed.

The Communist International as a whole, and you, as adherents must do all you can to help the honestly revolutionary elements among the maximalists to join the vanguard of the world proletariat, and help them correct their old mistakes.

We have no doubt that your faithfulness to the cause will dictate the right course to you. We have no doubt that you will help the much tried Italian proletariat to find its way to us, the way which the Communist International has been pointing to you for a long time.

With sincere greetings,
Zinoviev.

Moscow, July 22, 1922.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Economic Situation in Russia

By Pierre Pascal (Moscow).

It is one of the characteristics of the Soviet Government constantly to scrutinize its own political policies, to verify ceaselessly the results of this or that measure, and to define, as often as possible, the actual stages attained. Hence, a thorough examination of the new economic policy is now being made, at the conference of local bureaus of the Superior Council of National Economy (S.C.N.E.) which started on July 24th, at Moscow. With the exception of the Bashkir Republic, all the federated territories were represented: Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Ukraine and the Far East Republic, under the presidency of the Superior Council of National Economy. Besides the state bureaus and the state trusts, the labor unions and the C.G.T. also sent delegates. The report of Bogdanov, president of the S.C.N.E., is a detailed picture of the industrial situation of the Soviet Federation during the first six months of 1922. If, in order to complete our material, we add the statistical information recently provided by certain interested bodies, or published by the Soviet press, we shall be able properly to appreciate the strictly material results—quite apart from social and other consequences—of the new economic policy. The following conclusion is then drawn: a serious situation, depending strictly on a more or less successful harvest, but on the whole, a general progress as compared with the corresponding period of last year; the spring crisis has been more easily overcome, prospects for development are more favorable, the national forces are felt to be capable of sufficiently sustaining the country for as long as it pleases foreign capital to delay the resumption of relations.

The new policy has brought a radical modification into the methods of administration and organization of State industry. The general principle is to encourage private enterprise and to reduce the role of the bureaucracy. The Superior Council of National Economy, instead of directing all industry from Moscow, is limited to the general power of control and direction. Its personnel is reduced, from about 25,000 employees, to about 1,500. The famous "Central Bureaus" of different branches of industry, have disappeared, leaving all responsibility and direction to the state trusts which are directly interested in production. These trusts comprise, in each branch, the most developed enterprises, and thus continue the process of concentration which was already started. Finally, these trusts are themselves grouped into syndicates for the distribution of their products, and for general commercial activity. Such is the scheme which has been developed progressively, through experience, and which is now almost realized. Instead of 235,000, the state industries are now administered by 18,000 officials.

For long years, the Soviet Government has been endeavoring to systematize economic life, that is to say, to draw up and apply methods of production, transportation, distribution and consumption. The new policy had abandoned distribution and consumption (an actual part of production) to private management, but on the other hand, it has succeeded in working out a real program for the State industry and to effect the execution of the program up to 70% (from October 1921 to April 1922).

If we take the most important branches of industry, we shall discover figures which will immediately destroy the fantastic legends of the suppression of all production in Russia, which have been retailed by Whites of various categories. Taking everything into account, the war and the blockade, the former lasting until 1920, and the latter until now, we may say that Russia shows infinitely more vitality and capacity for recuperation than many other countries.

As to fuel, Russian industry has been compelled since 1918, to resort to the use of wood almost exclusively; this is a most bulky material for transportation, and has a low calorific value. This abnormal situation is now beginning to disappear; instead of continuing the devastation of the forests, the exploitation

of naphtha and coal has been intensified. From January to April, 1922, the lumber-cutting yield has been only 13 million *sajen*, instead of the 32 million *sajen* in January-April, 1921.

On the other hand, the Don coal basin has furnished, in the first five months of 1922, 183.1 million poods of coal, instead of the 140.7 poods in the corresponding period of 1921. The monthly output varies between 30 and 40 million poods, without counting that of the small mines worked by the peasants. In spite of the severe crisis last spring arising out of the famine, Bogdanov estimates that in the first 6 months of this year the coal industry has reached 42 % of pre-war production, as compared with 27 % in 1920 and 31 % in 1921.

In Baku, we note the following progress in coal production:

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| September, 1921, | 11.6 million poods |
| December, 1921, | 15.2 " " |
| January, 1922, | 15.4 " " |
| March, 1922, | 16.1 " " |
| May, 1922, | 16.4 " " |

And in the Grozny fields, as follows:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| September, 1921, | 6 million poods |
| December, 1921, | 6.3 " " |
| January, 1922, | 7.1 " " |
| March, 1922, | 9.7 " " |
| May, 1922, | 7.4 " " |

Bogdanov states that in the first six months of 1922, the naphtha industry reached, 43 % of pre-war production. In 1921, the average monthly production was 19.8 million poods for Baku and Grozny; in 1922, it is 22.7 millions. This result is all the more remarkable because all the machinery needs renewing and trade relations with foreign countries have hardly made their effects felt yet.

The metal industry provides us with another indication, no less significant, of the economic restoration of Russia. Up to the Spring crisis, which was caused by the disturbances due to harvest, the number of blast furnaces Martin furnaces and rolling works has increased, as follows:

| | blast furnaces | Martin furnaces | rolling works |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| January 1922 | 11 | 20 | 43 |
| February 1922 | 13 | 24 | 52 |
| March 1922 | 16 | 24 | 52 |
| April 1922 | 14 | 24 | 49 |

This progress is especially due to the activity of the works in the South (Ukraine), whose average monthly production has risen from 146,000 to 313,000 poods.

The whole industry of the South is progressing; the extraction of iron ore, which had completely stopped from 1918 to 1920, was resumed in 1921; this also applies to manganese. The production of coke has risen from 4.8 million poods in 1920 to 7 million poods in 1921.

It must be mentioned here that Southern industry was almost entirely in the hands of foreign capital: 70 % of the Donetz coal, 90 % of the manganese; and 94 % of the coke. Its disorganization was the natural consequence of the departure of foreign capital.

Another branch of the mineral industry in which the Soviet Government has achieved brilliant success in the salt mining. In 1921 the production of salt reached 28 % of the pre-war figure, and, in 1922, it rose to 55 %. The individual output, from each worker, has risen from 42 % to 63 % of the output of 1913.

In the electrical industry, the actual total pre-war production has been reached in cables, accumulators and high and low tension motors. At the beginning of 1922, the Soviet Republic possessed about 1,000 public utility power stations, furnishing about 400,000 kilowatts. Of these, 400 low power motors have been constructed since 1918. Also, the great central stations of Shatur and Kashira were started in 1921 and 1922.

The textile industry has also kept pace with the general progress. To cite just one example, the manufacture of cotton thread has risen from a monthly average of 103,000 poods in 1921 to 260,000 poods in 1922.

Soviet industry has recently encountered a crisis which has greatly interested the bourgeois and counter-revolutionary press. This crisis, which resulted from the bad harvest of 1921 (and the consequent decrease in the purchasing power of the peasants) and the financial displacements arising out of the new economic policy, is now in process of disappearing. The satisfactory harvest of 1922, and the measures adopted for the

restoration of credit, the stabilization of finance and the improvements in the trusts, have all created a situation favorable for the improvement of trade.

An extremely significant symptom of this economic progress is the stabilization of the rouble. After an extremely rapid rise, a first fall in prices took place in the third week of May, and remained steady for some time. After the first week in July, another fall in prices may be noted, reaching the following percentages in Moscow: vegetables, 5 %; meat, 4 %; bread, 4 %; groceries, 2 %. This phenomenon is general throughout Russia, and implies a corresponding gain in real wages. At the same time, the number of paper roubles, given on the market in exchange for the gold ten-rouble piece, is markedly decreasing. We may note, therefore, a stabilization of currency, a stabilization which is still weak, it true (we hear of a slight rise in prices in Petrograd), but which may be consolidated by a wise financial policy such as that of Sokolnikoff.

Thus, in all branches, the figures show a perceptible amelioration of the situation. This betterment is not accidental, as it continues even after the spring crisis, but is derived from various lasting causes. One may then predict its continuation and increase. We thus get an idea as to what Russia can do, of its own power, without foreign aid; and, on the other hand, the use she could make of foreign capital, if an opportunity were given her.

Intellectual Life in Russia

By Victor Serge (Kiev).

I remember that number of *Mercur de France* which by some chance reached us in Petrograd in the first months of 1921, and I also recall the joy of a certain Russian savant, to whom I eagerly handed it over. I recall also the conversation we held after the reading of that precious volume. This Russian was neither revolutionist nor Communist; but his disappointment was as great as mine, and he communicated it to me with great bitterness. The summary of this learned work, like the rest of it, reeked of such a characteristic ignorance that I accepted it as a type-specimen. Three pages devoted to Einstein, (already in fashion), these pages being the best or the least bad of the volume; a minute history of the capture of one of the forts of Verdun by the *Boches*, a revoltig feuilleton, saturated with murder, having for its heroes, Ali-Bey, a count of Rachilde, and containing the desired dose of exoticism, horror, color and eroticism to satisfy any nervous lady after dinner. "This is supposed to be one of the most noted French revues", said the Russian savant. "How will you explain this disconcerting ignorance?" "Undoubtedly", he proceeded, "undoubtedly, the war psychosis still dominates all this . . ." Then he concluded with the following words: "It seems to me that the pre-war bourgeoisie was more intelligent."

At this time, in spite of civil war, in spite of great privations, and in spite of the paper-shortage and the enormous difficulty of accomplishing any great intellectual work in the face of the cold, the famine, the uncertainty of the morrow and the physical and nervous exhaustion of the whole world, there were nevertheless, in Petrograd and in Moscow, centers of intense intellectual efforts, and nearly everything that left the nationalized press was interesting, powerful, imbued with the intense, raw and violent life of the hour. However, that did not prevent us from deploring a certain uniformity in tone and depth, more apparent than real, in revolutionary thought. But when side by side with the hollow and rank post-war literature of one of the leading Paris revues, articles like those of Bucharin and Preobrashinski in the *Krasnaia Nov*, on political economy, impressed us in a new light. There, on the one hand, was not a solitary new idea, not the semblance of an effort to think, not the least preoccupation with the immense problems that confront the man of today, and that are so vital for the future of a whole civilization. . . . Here, on the other hand, an impassioned research, a certain grandeur, an effort wrapped in social transformation. It is a year since Russia began to emerge from her absolute isolation. Civil war is at an end. And already, intellectual life is surging so intensely

over the new soil. Of the old literature and of the old revues, nothing has remained. Instead, new writers are springing up, some of whom will soon be recognized as masters; innovating initiative is developing with great success.

Until this very day, literary and scientific criticism in the capitalistic countries, are often allied with publicity forces, and are usually given second place in the journals and revues, and assigned to "interested" specialists. For the public as a whole there is really no bibliography worthy of the name. Russia should serve the other countries as a model. In Petrograd and Moscow, the necessity was felt, of systematizing and enlarging bibliography and criticism and putting it at the disposal of all. Two excellent revues were founded for this purpose: *Books and the Revolution*, appearing in Petrograd, and *The Press and the Revolution*, appearing in Moscow. Almost all the Russian writers contribute to these revues, each one treating the subject most familiar to him, the sole aim being to formulate a sincere and conscientious opinion of the works revued.

Let us turn, for example, to Volume III of the *Press and the Revolution*; it contains 350 pages with colored illustrations. The revue is divided into two parts: articles of a general nature, dealing with the life of the artist and with the book, and bibliographical notes. A study on Russian engravers, on the psychology of the reader, on the periodical press, on Dostoyevsky and Bakunin. The number in question contains two articles on *Bakunin's Confessions*, both of them signed by noted Russian anarchists, (I. Grossman Rostchin, and A. Borovoy), whose contributions to a work of the State Library are noteworthy. The purely bibliographical part contains no less than one hundred long notices, classified into 22 divisions, beginning with Socialism and Communism and ending with philology and medicine. From the first page, we are struck by the serious nature of this work, and it is sufficient to glance through one of these truly encyclopedic revues carefully, to get a general idea of the present intellectual life of Russia. All one needs to do in order to be instructed on the current works in any field of thought, is to consult the desired subdivision.

In no other country but in Russia, has the history of the labor and revolutionary movement yet been made the material for a permanent work in spite of its vital importance. Often, the most useful documentation, which is of the greatest value to the militant revolutionist, gets lost or is scattered here and there, and it then becomes more and more difficult to learn the facts of the past, and to draw instruction from them. What an Herculean task it would be to gather a documentation on the evolution of French syndicalism! And the number of subjects on which no documentation as yet exists, is great. How are we to get a clear

idea of the white terror that now rages in Spain? Revolutionists neglect their past. Their daily struggle does not permit them to look back at the ground covered. But to whom does this apply more than to the Russians? Yet, the Russians have made good this deficiency in their press, by founding revolutionary historical revues. One is an old one, the personal work of an historian, *The Past*, published in Petrograd, the other, a recent publication, called *The Proletarian Revolution*, published in Moscow, an organ of the Historical Commission of the Party. Both of these are compact, filled with various material, which is presented with great clearness. *The Proletarian Revolution* contains four divisions: articles, documents, memoirs, and bibliography. Among the contributors to number 3 of this revue, we find, besides L. Trotzky and Kolontai, an old impenitent Menshevik, who is one of the founders of the Russian Social Democracy; his name is Leo Deutsch. Being written by those who have actually lived it, this history of the revolutionary movement, has besides its intrinsic value, considerable value as a propaganda vehicle, for it contributes to the making of revolutionists.

Of the Russian revues, let us also cite the *Krasnaia Nov*, a literary, artistic and scientific revue, which corresponds pretty nearly, to the great revues of the East, *Military Science and the Revolution*, a scientific periodical whose title gives us an idea of its contents.

The first volume contains 500 pages, and besides the technical studies on the Russian revolutionary wars, written by men who have led the Red Army in its moments of trial and in its victories, (Frounzé, Tukatchevsky, etc.), it contains various articles signed by a former Kerensky Minister, Verkhovsky, and by an anarchist, H. Sandomirsky. The main divisions are: *Theory and History of Military Science, Organization and Administration, Military Life in Foreign Countries, Foreign Policy and Strategy*.

Not less than 25 to 30 periodicals are appearing in Moscow. The State Library is publishing, among other things, *The Medical Revue and Proletarian Culture*. The organizations of the Communist Party are issuing two *Youth* organs and one woman weekly. The Red Army has six periodicals. The large trade unions have their own periodicals. The private libraries are multiplying and are carrying on as intense an activity as the paper shortage permits. And now to conclude with: In spite of its misery, in spite of the fact that it is today the most devastated country on earth, Russia, which stands on the morrow of the great revolutionary work, is carrying on an intense and original activity. It having become possible to compare the fruits of this activity with the cultural work of the bourgeois countries, this activity seems to us to be superior in quality to that of the latter.