

V. b. b.

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 5. No. 74

15th October 1925

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.  
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

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## The Conference of Locarno.

By Georg (Berlin).

Nobody who observes the policy of the German government could doubt that the invitation to the Pact Conference of Locarno would be unconditionally accepted. All hesitations and reservations which were expressed before the opening of the Conference were mere phrases intended for consumption in Germany. While the meeting of the Reichstag Committee for Foreign affairs and the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the German States were taking place, in order, ostensibly, to arrive at a decision regarding the invitation, not only was the draft Pact of the London Conference of the government juridical authorities drawn up, but the unconditional participation of the German government in the Conference had also been decided on.

The latest demagogic trick of the German government which was intended to pacify the nationalist mood in Germany, was the issue of the notorious "oral declaration" of the German Ambassadors in Paris and London regarding the acceptance of the invitation to the Conference. This oral declaration contained very tame formulations to the effect that the German government repudiates the declaration contained in the Versailles Treaty that Germany alone was responsible for the war, which declaration constitutes the "legal and moral basis" of Germany's liability to pay reparations, and requests a speedy evacuation of the occupied Cologne area.

Both questions constitute "points of honour" with the German nationalists. The German nationalist propaganda against the "lie regarding Germany's responsibility for the war" forms part of the stock-in-trade of nationalist demagogy, and the evacuation of Cologne should, "according to the Treaty of Versailles", have taken place in January of this year. The German government hopes by the timid submission of these demands to deceive the national minded masses regarding the act of national treachery which it is preparing. How much seriousness it attaches to these demands is to be seen from the fact that it did not make its participation in the Pact Conference conditional upon the fulfilment of its requests, but on the contrary, declared that it would unconditionally participate in the Conference.

Of course the Entente powers did not fail to express their scorn and contempt for this ridiculous and ambiguous attitude. The English and French governments answered with unequivocal, brutal and insolent refusals to this "oral declaration". Naive observers might assume that, after the German government had received these blows in the face from the Entente powers, the German Nationalist Ministers would categorically refuse to attend the Pact negotiations. Far from it: the cringing attitude of the whole of the "nationalist" press in Germany showed only too clearly how thoroughly the German government is entangled in

the net of English imperialism, and that there is scarcely any way of escape for it.

Before the departure of the German delegation to Locarno Comrade Chicherin, the responsible leader of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, appeared in Berlin. His presence meant a final warning to the German government. Comrade Chicherin made no secret of the fact that he had called the attention of the German government to the fatal results that would follow their plans. The response to his appearance in Berlin shows how closely the interests and the policy of the Soviet Union are bound up with the interests of the suppressed classes, of the peoples suppressed by the imperialists and all the real enemies of imperialism. Even German nationalist ideologists, so far as they have not been completely bought by Entente imperialism and by German heavy industry which is allied to it, could not fail to recognise that the statements of comrade Chicherin entirely correspond to the real interests of the German people. On the other hand, the furious rage of the English imperialist press against Chicherin's visit to Berlin must have made clear to everybody the fear the imperialists have that the Soviet Union can thwart their carefully prepared plans.

This visit of Chicherin to Berlin has thoroughly roused the discussion over the question of the Western or Eastern orientation of Germany. Under the pressure of public opinion, even the social democracy no longer ventured to come forward openly in support of an anti-soviet policy. The German government adopted the elastic formula, "neither Western nor Eastern orientation but a free hand on both sides".

One of the concrete results of the representations of Soviet Russia in Berlin was the agreement, in principle, by the German government to come to a rapid conclusion of a **German-Russian commercial treaty** with full recognition of the Soviet Russian monopoly for foreign trade and of the extraterritoriality of the Soviet Trade Missions. But even in this respect the German government revealed its half and half attitude, its dependence upon the Western imperialists: instead of strengthening its position by the immediate conclusion of this commercial treaty, it attempted to weaken this step by deferring the final signing of the treaty, and tried to excuse itself before the Entente powers by means of ambiguous declarations.

In view of this attitude of the German government it is not surprising that at Locarno bourgeois Germany has become the plaything of imperialist intrigues. The object of the English Guarantee Pact plans, along with the unconditional entry of Germany into the League of Nations, is sufficiently well known and does not need to be gone into here. The Communist press of all countries and the official organs of the Soviet Union have for months, on the occasion of the offer of a guarantee first put forward by England to the German government, explained in all details how English imperialism is endeavouring by means of this pact to organise the fighting front against the Soviet Union. The statements of members of the English government and of the imperialist press have confirmed these assertions a hundred times.

This is the reason why the whole international working class is opposed to these Pact plans. That this correct estimation has penetrated far beyond the circles of the Communist working class into the broad masses of workers is proved by the emphatic opposition of the **English** trade unions to the Guarantee Pact plans.

The **German** working class has, apart from this, another very urgent reason for opposing these plans, a reason which is likewise of international importance. The proposed Guarantee Pact is intended, along with the unconditional entry of Germany into the League of Nations, not only to strengthen the imperialist front against the Soviet Union, not only to include Germany in this front as a vassal state, but to rob Germany of the last remnants of political independence, to rivet still more firmly on it the Versailles slave chains and to render impossible any independent action on the part of Germany. The proposed final recognition of all the frontiers laid down by the Versailles Treaty, the demand for the right of the Entente troops to march into or to march through German territory and also to take sanctions, the proposed separation of the Rhine country, the right of the League of Nations to control all international agreements entered into by Germany, are sufficient proofs of these assertions.

In this sense the Guarantee Pact is not only to be a war pact against the Soviet Union, not only a tremendous increase of the constant danger of war, but a political and military exten-

sion of the Dawes Plan, a holy capitalist alliance for the purpose of holding down the proletarian revolution in Germany. For this proletarian revolution, of course, has also a programme of national emancipation, the only programme for the emancipation of Germany.

## POLITICS

### The Meaning of the Events in Hungary.

By Bela Kun.

The present general situation of the Hungarian people deserves the attention of the International working class for two reasons. First because it constitutes an exceedingly interesting example of social development after the overthrow of a proletarian dictatorship in general, and of the liquidation of fascism in particular. Secondly, because it gives a picture of the labour movement of a country which differs considerably from that of the countries bordering on Soviet Russia, in which the proletarian revolution had likewise suffered a defeat. The defeat of the Hungarian revolution was for a time a good agitation weapon in the hands of the Parties of the II. International. The rapid turn to the Left of the Hungarian labour movement has now deprived them of this weapon.

#### The Legacy of the Hungarian Revolutions.

Neither the bourgeois October Revolution of the year 1918 nor the proletarian March Revolution of the year 1919 in Hungary have solved even one of the inner fundamental questions of social life. The October Revolution did not solve them because it could not wish any final solution. The March Revolution did not solve them because it was crushed by international imperialism. These unsolved questions constitute a cursed-laden heritage for the Hungarian ruling classes and for petty bourgeois democracy. This heritage consists of the following problems:

1. **The structure and form of power** which the possessing classes were compelled to set up during the white terror in place of the state apparatus which had been shattered by the March revolution. The expensive, openly parasitic, military and bureaucratic apparatus constituted an essential obstacle in the way of every, even the least step in the direction of bourgeois democracy. Under this category there comes the **unsolved question of the monarchy, the problem of the restoration of the Habsburg Dynasty**, with all its international complications.

2. **The land question** which was not solved either by the revolution or the counter-revolution. It cannot be solved by the big landowners, who are interested in maintaining the feudal division of the land. The peasantry, which consists mainly of proletarian and semi-proletarian elements, is by no means contented.

3. **The working class, which has already had power in its hands** and was then deprived of all its rights. The working class, which is suffering the most hopeless misery and has learnt from its own experience the difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois dictatorship and in whom the white terror is rousing the desire for revenge. It has been impossible, even with the help of social democracy, to keep the working class in a state of lethargy for any length of time.

4. **The class of big landowners whose alliance with the industrial capitalists has made great headway under the leadership of finance capital.**

5. **The Town and rural petty bourgeoisie**, the upper sections of the peasantry and of the petty bourgeoisie which have not been satisfied either by the revolution or by the counter-revolution. A part of these sections of the population were ruined by the inflation; they are being further squeezed by the usurious policy of the banks.

6. **The Peace Treaty of Trianon**, which has rendered the country incapable of living under any bourgeois regime. The country is incapable of any economic life in consequence of the loss of its sources of raw material and of markets for its industrial products. Nevertheless, industry, thanks to the policy of high tariffs, has almost doubled. From the point of view of foreign politics the country is not in a position to conclude alliances with the surrounding small but imperialist States, owing to the irredentist movement of the Hungarian population in the territory wrested from Hungary.

The questions which played a leading role in the preparation not only of the March, but also of the October Revolution are still waiting solution and have become exceedingly acute.

#### The Fate of the Hungarian Democracy.

In Hungary at present a social process is going on which is approaching more and more to the rule of the big landowners and big industrialists who are united by bank capital. This process is taking place alongside of the liquidation of fascism, as represented by Admiral Horthy, and outwardly bears a certain democratic character. Finance capital is endeavouring to carry out this struggle to its end without the least disturbance.

The parties of the petty bourgeois democracy (among them being the Social Democratic Party) have united in a so-called democratic bloc. This bloc supports the big landowners and big capital. For this reason the opposition has returned to parliament. For this reason the Social Democratic Party has limited, and still limits, its activity to parliament and leaves the streets to the fascist students. For this reason the Democratic Bloc voted in the Budapest Town Council for the candidate for the post of Lord Mayor put forward by Bethlen. By means of the monarchist inclined members of the Democratic Bloc, the big landowners and big capitalists dictate their will and their tactics to those parties, who call themselves democratic and claim to be representatives of the peasantry.

There was recently passed in Hungary the new election law, the most shameful of all up to now. The legitimist supporters of democracy and of general suffrage, after some hesitation, came to an understanding with the legitimist enemy of democracy and general suffrage, Count Bethlen. The fresh defeat of general suffrage in Hungary and the fate of democracy only serves to confirm the general international experience that, as soon as capitalism has reached a certain stage and bank capital gains domination over the big landowners as well as over industrial big capital, the petty bourgeois parties are not capable of abolishing the remnants of feudalism and solving the question of democracy. The working class can solve these questions under the leadership of a party, the aim of which is not confined to "cultural" capitalism, and whose methods do not stop before the barriers of the existing "legal Order".

#### The Position of the Labour Movement.

Already about eighteen months ago there were signs of a revival of the Hungarian labour movement. The oppositional movement is growing in the trade unions. In many trade unions (tailors, shoemakers) the opposition has already managed to gain the upper hand, in other trade unions (metal workers, wood workers, painters and building workers) it has not yet advanced so far. The trade union opposition refuses to subordinate the economic interests of the workers to the policy of parliamentary coalition with the bourgeois parties. The working class has every reason for not permitting its economic situation to become worse merely for the sake of parliamentary combinations, as it is living under very bad conditions (unemployment, abolition of the eight hour day, lengthening of the working day to nine, ten, eleven and even twelve hours, wages down to 58% of the pre-war level with the result that consumption is reduced by 40 to 50%, complete impoverishment of the workers etc.).

Fundamental changes have taken place among the working class since the revolution. The section of highly skilled workers, who constituted a labour aristocracy, has been economically destroyed. The lower section of the proletariat have been reinforced by fresh bodies of workers, especially in the new branches of industry. In general the proletariat has increased numerically in the reduced territory of post-war Hungary.

Since the time of the revolution and counter-revolution the following fundamental changes have taken place in the Social Democratic Party of Hungary:

1. The Party has succeeded in gaining representation in parliament and on the municipal bodies in the capital and in the provinces. The growth of the Party in parliament is weakening the connections of the Party with the masses and increasing the gulf between the members of the Party and the leading politicians.

2. The subordination of the interests of the trade unions to the parliamentary policy is, as a result of the pressure of the masses, arousing resistance even within the circle of the trade union bureaucracy. This is leading inevitably to the weakening of the mechanical unity of the party with the trade unions.

3. From the point of view of organisation the Social Democratic Party has been weakened by the fact that a portion of the inner parliamentary opposition and that many of the old experienced leaders are in emigration. The Social Democratic Party has been further split by the founding of the Socialist Labour Party in Hungary. This party is exposed to the savage persecution of the combined forces of the government and of the social democracy. In spite of this the founding of a semi-legal new labour party means the breaking of the monopoly of legality possessed by the social democracy. The Socialist Labour Party in Hungary has quickly developed and has won the support of large masses. According to the declarations of the Budapest police, within a space of four months it gained, 3700 members who regularly pay their membership contribution. This Party sent its delegates to the Marseilles Congress of the II. International. The opposition movement within the Social Democratic Party has not ceased with the formation of the Labour Party. Big opposition groups, even if badly organised, are opposing the leaders and the parliamentary fraction of the Social Democratic Party.

Thus the Hungarian working class, if one judges it according to the opposition movement, the demonstrations and the splitting of the Social Democratic Party, has roused itself from its lethargy. It is no longer the traditions of the proletarian revolution which are having an effect upon it, but also its lessons, particularly the lessons regarding the peasantry, the State power and the role of the social democratic and of the Communist Parties.

At the same time regard must be had to the exceedingly important fact that, since the defeat of the revolution, a new generation of workers has grown up in Hungary, which can no longer be misled by the various fighting episodes of the pre-war history of social democracy as to the true character of this Party. As regards the fighting capacity of these young workers it must be said that their belief in their own powers outweighs their lack of experience.

One cannot speak with such certainty regarding the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the village, which constitute an essential part of the revolutionary proletariat or are its immediate allies. There is no doubt, however, that their position is hopeless as regards the possibility of their obtaining land or raising their level of existence. The young generation in these sections differs considerably from the old generation, which allied itself without hesitation with the big peasants.

#### The Effect of the Fresh Persecutions.

The policy of the Communist Party of Hungary and its tactics are aimed at winning over the working class and the peasantry. The C. P. of Hungary has in recent times struck deep roots among the working and peasant masses. This is not only shown by the police persecutions and by the expulsion by the Social Democratic Party, which supported the police persecutions, of a whole number of trade union functionaries, but also by the resistance of the working class against the new wave of terror. One can say without hesitation or undue optimism that it is already impossible today to destroy the Communist Party of Hungary. The persecutions have not provoked any panic, either in the leaders or in the masses of the party. The Party is steadfastly following the line of Leninism and is striving to win the majority of the working class and to lay the foundations for an alliance with the peasantry.

## The Liverpool Labour Party Conference.

By Harry Pollett.

It is impossible to understand the decisions of the Liverpool Conference, unless a clear perspective is given of the actual position before the Conference.

For months past the whole capitalist press has kept up a ceaseless attack upon the Communist Party. There is a two-fold reason for this. First the great success the Party and the Minority Movement have had in the unions, and the general success of the Anglo-Russian Union negotiations, secondly, the increased attention the Party has been giving to work amongst the Forces, culminating in the Party's open letter to the Executive Committees of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress, asking

them to take steps to acquaint the workers in the Forces with the true nature of the industrial situation.

Finally, the left turn of the Trades Unions, as shown at Scarborough where resolutions were adopted which placed the Labour Party Executive Committee in a very difficult position, only completed a series of events, which explains the unprecedented nature of the campaign against the Communist Party, right up to the opening of the Labour Party Conference.

It was known before the Scarborough Congress, that the Right Wing were going to fight both against the Communists and the Left Wing. After Scarborough this resolve was strengthened, and many intrigues took place behind the scenes, on the part of the "politicians", to get the "industrial" leaders to support the Executive policy at Liverpool, even when this meant voting against resolutions, that the same unions had voted for a fortnight earlier at Scarborough.

The fight opened with the address of C. T. Cramp the Chairman, which was a frank right wing declaration of war upon both the Communists and the Left Wing. Its laboured defence of the Dawes Plan, met with stony silence, and it was remarkable to contrast the reception between the fighting speech of A. B. Swales at Scarborough and the class Peace speech of Cramp at Liverpool.

Yet it was clear that in all the subsequent fights that ensued, the Communists would be defeated. There is no doubt about it, the entire Conference atmosphere was against us. The careful preparatory work of the Right Wing had been successful, the fight was made to appear to be a straight issue, as between a group of people who wanted "peaceful" means, and another group who wanted to go out immediately from the Conference with "Bombs, Bayonets and Bullets". And the three last words had been constantly used to frighten timid delegates.

Another factor too, (and on this point certain of my own comrades will disagree), that was against us, is that the majority of the delegates present, strongly resent the type of criticism that is leveled against MacDonald and the other leaders. It is idle to deny this fact, the English Movement is used to conducting its politics in a "gentlemanly" way and the acute personal criticisms that has been a rather marked feature during the last 12 months against MacDonald, has not strengthened us, but has certainly made it easy for Mr. MacDonald to play upon it when replying to decisions and has enabled him to leave vital points of principle untouched, while he won the sympathy of the delegates on the personal issue.

An example will make this clear. Mr. Bevin, the leader of the Transport Workers Union, delivered an attack on MacDonald of a personal nature, then he was forced to withdraw his statements (which were true) by the delegates. This is a small thing, but very significant, and must be taken into account by every section of the Movement.

The Conference itself was a triumph for Liberalism, and Ramsay MacDonald. His return as leader of the Party is undoubted and is also, the return to Liberal Party resolutions.

Every item of the working class programme has been dropped. The whole Liverpool Policy has been adopted on the assumption, that "step by step and only by parliamentary means", the workers are to have a peaceful transition from the horrors of capitalism to the glories of the Socialist Commonwealth.

The Conference therefore went on record for this policy, it stated that "parliamentary means" was enough; it endorsed the imperialist policy of the Imperialists; it endorsed the Dawes Plan, the Protocol, the League of Nations, and the necessity of calling a world disarmament conference; it dropped the Capital Levy, and agreed not to confiscate but to pay for the Land when the time comes to nationalise the land; it made no mention of the coming struggles of the workers, no ways and means were discussed of meeting the capitalist offensive, or preparing for the struggle next May; and the Conference crowned all its work by emphatically refusing to admit the Communists as individual members of the Labour Party, and went even further, it decided to recommend Trade Unions not to accept known Communists as delegates to either local or national labour party conferences.

In other words the Right Wing swept the Conference from start to finish. This position therefore is not a defeat for the Communist Party, it is a defeat for the whole working class.

Already there are signs that the various sections of the movement are uneasy at the adulation of the Capitalist Press on the results of Liverpool.

"The New Leader", the official organ of the I.L.P. says, "it is difficult to endure the congratulations of the Conservative Party". "The Daily Herald" has published a leading article round the topic "When thy friends praise thee Beware". "The Daily Mail" points out what the Liverpool Conference has done to the Communists, it now wants to know "what the Government is going to do to the Communists".

The Liverpool decisions are on open invitation to the Capitalists to attack the Communists, and through them the whole working class.

MacDonald talked long and oft about the "Nation". The whole Press of the "Nation", have applauded him, and now invite him to deliver the goods. "The Times" says in relation to the decisions against the Communists.

"The Liverpool Conference has enumerated a principle. So far so good. A policy must follow. Communism must not only be condemned, it must be cast out."

That is not only meant to encourage the Right Wing to split the Trade Unions, it is meant to encourage the known tactics and desires of the Right Wing to sabotage any possibilities of united action on the industrial field next May. The above quotation must be understood in relation to MacDonald's past policy. The attitude of the Labour Government during the strikes in 1924, and MacDonald's criticisms of the General Councils united stand on July 31st this year.

The Liverpool policy is meant to be a denial of the class struggle; an appeal to the "nation" and a vote-catching stunt; and the playing up for an early return to Government as a result of capturing the middle class and liberal vote.

But why could such a policy be so easily adopted at Liverpool?

This is a question now being asked everywhere. There is a simple answer.

Before the Scarborough Congress, the Left Wing and the Communists had been campaigning for a year on common ground. This placed us in a strong position at the Scarborough Congress.

There had been no organised campaigning by the Left Wing in the Labour Party and the Communists, not because we were not willing, but because the Left Wing were afraid of being openly identified with us.

Therefore, the only opposition at Liverpool was Communist opposition. The only alternative policy to the Labour Party Executive policy were the resolutions of the Communist Party.

On every single issue we challenged the Right Wing, almost all the time we fought isolated and alone. Not because their was no left wing sympathy in the Liverpool Conference, but because the Left Wing were afraid of the "Communist Menace" and being accused of being "communists".

Let the facts be known. There was a scare against Communism and Communists, the Left Wingers, shirked the issue and MacDonald has won his temporary victory.

Now that the damage done is realised, there is much wringing of hands that no fight was put up by the left wing. But consolation is being found in the fact, that owing to the new interpretation that is placed on the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Communist question cannot be discussed for another three years, and that means that next year, the Left will put up a "bold" fight against the Right, "unhampered by any communist associations".

This is an idle dream. The communist question will be raised again next year. If the Left and the Right could stop the march of history, then they could stop the question of communism coming up again.

On one point let us be clear. The Liverpool Conference has cleared the air. It is now a straight fight between the liberal party policy of the Labour Party Executive and the working class policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

So far the Left have produced no programme. Never was the moment so favourable for a common campaign by the Left Wing and the Communists for a common working class policy, that can be fought for, without any regard to theoretical differences.

We are willing, and have stated so publicly, to commence now, and so prepare the ground, to make it possible at the next Conference to wipe away the shame and betrayal of the Liverpool Conference.

## The Situation in Morocco and Syria.

By P. Kitaigorodsky.

Madrid is triumphing: finally, after six weeks of bloody struggles, the Spaniards have succeeded in advancing from the Gulf of Alhucemas to Agadir, the alleged capital of Abd el Krim. To advance this distance of 8 to 9 kilometres the Spaniards landed 15,000 men who, after enormous efforts and terrible losses, obtained possession of the village of Agadir, the former headquarters of Abd el Krim.

The Riff Kabyles have offered a desperate resistance, they obstinately defended every inch of ground. While the Spanish troops advanced at a snail's pace against Agadir, the main forces of Abd el Krim attacked the town of Tetuan, in the possession of the Spaniards, and which lies 160 kilometres west of the Gulf of Alhucemas. It is true the French repelled the attack, but they were unable to extend their action on the Agadir front and to capture the positions of Agadir within the time provided by their plan of campaign.

After the occupation of Agadir, which was a rather dearly-bought victory, the difficulties of the campaign against Abd el Krim cannot be regarded as having been overcome. On the contrary, they are only now beginning to reveal themselves. The Spaniards have not succeeded in encircling the main troops of the enemy who, having fulfilled their task of holding up the attack of the left wing of the Spanish army advancing towards Agadir, retreated in good time. And the question now is whether the Spanish army will not meet with fresh surprises such as it has already experienced. The territory on which this wing of the Spanish army is carrying out its attack is a waterless mountain district. Here the Spaniards will be obliged to advance at a snail's pace. Every minute they run the danger of being attacked by the mobile Riff infantry, which often carries out out-flanking operations and falls on the attacking army in the rear.

The victory of the Spaniards, who in the literal sense of the word have only captured barren rocks, has only a moral effect, but is in no way of any far-reaching strategical importance. The cries of victory are at least somewhat premature. It suffices to call to mind the flight of the Spaniards from the Riff area last year.

The situation is much more serious on the Southern front of the Riff army, against which a French army of 200,000 men is advancing. In the last two weeks the French command has succeeded in gaining a number of victories, which however are only of local importance and have no decisive character. The French must hasten in order to gain time and space, so that, should it prove necessary to postpone military operations until the spring of next year, they will have command of important positions. Only under these conditions could they, before the Winter, deliver Abd el Krim, if not a shattering, at least a serious blow calculated to disorganise the forces of Abd el Krim, to shake the faith of the Riff and other Moroccan tribes in their leader — in short to create the preconditions for a final victory in the year 1926.

In about a month the rainy season will set in. The next few days will show how far General Petain will have succeeded in fulfilling his appointed task. Up to the present the main forces of Abd el Krim still remain intact, and so far neither the French nor the Spaniards have succeeded in dealing a vital blow to the enemy.

The French and Spaniards are spreading various rumours regarding the alleged demoralisation of the ranks of the Moroccans, of the breaking away of a whole number of tribes from Abd el Krim and their submission to the French etc. But there is no doubt that in this case the wish is only father to the thought.

Only recently the big Anjarjo tribe and other tribes allied themselves with Abd el Krim and left the area occupied by the French with all their goods and chattels. That the fighting spirit of the Riff troops has not declined is proved by the recent furious attack of the Moroccans on various French positions, and which were only repelled after very great efforts.

Of course, the combined attack of the French and Spanish armies, numbering together 360,000 men, places the Riff army, numbering only 20,000, in a very serious position. Nevertheless this position is not by any means hopeless. We have reason for believing that Abd el Krim has not exhausted by a long way

all those means of defence which are offered him on the one hand by the nature of the country and on the other hand by the great fighting capacity of his army.

It is highly necessary also for Abd el Krim to win time, but in this respect he has the better prospects. The position of the imperialist troops in Winter in the mountains, under enormously difficult conditions as regards supplies and communications, will not be a very enviable one, and it is doubtful, therefore, in which camp the process of demoralisation will first set in.

## II.

We are witnessing a similar situation on the Syrian front, where in the last two weeks the French have likewise proceeded to the offensive. After a struggle lasting for two months the French have succeeded in relieving Sueida and rescuing the garrison in the citadel. The "relief" of Sueida however will just as little decide the fate of the revolt in Syria as the occupation of Agadir constitutes a final victory in Morocco. The Druses can defend themselves for a long time in the mountains.

All Syria sympathises with the revolt of the Druses. In the last few days the **Congress of the representatives of Syrian Emigrants** (there are about 800,000 Syrian emigrants living in America and Europe) and the **Independent Syrian People's Party** sent the following demands to the **League of Nations**:

1. **Recognition of the independence of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine;**
2. **Right of the Arab countries to unite in a Federation;**
3. **Abolition of the French and the English mandates in Syria and Palestine respectively;**
4. **Evacuation of these territories by the English and French troops, and**
5. **Cessation of military operations in Jebel Druse.**

These demands are very remarkable. They bear witness to the revival of the movement for national freedom among the Arabs, whose territory has been split up by the imperialists into a number of tiny states. The Arabs of Syria, Palestine and Arabia are raising the demand for the unity of all Arabs in one National Arabian Federation.

The Druses' army is being reinforced by volunteers from all parts of Arabia.

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The longer the military operations in Syria and Morocco are prolonged, the more stronger will become the stimulus to the national movement for freedom in a number of countries in Near Asia and North Africa. The eyes of the Arabs of Tunis, Algiers, Palestine and Egypt are turned to the scene of the military operations which will decide the fate not only of the Riff and of the Druses, but also of a number of Arabian coast countries on the Mediterranean Sea.

## The Political Situation in Persia.

By A. Sadovsky.

At the end of September, sensational events happened in **Teheran**, the capital of Persia, which throw a strong light on the struggle between the feudal monarchist camp on the one hand and **Resa Khan**, the Prime Minister with the national groups supporting him, on the other hand. The bloody collision between the crowd and the troops in front of the Parliament and the fact that the monarchists forced their way into the Soviet Embassy and abused the rights of ex-territoriality, show that the agents of the feudal lords of the Shah's Court and the imperialists want to attack Resa Khan and the nationalists by stirring up the masses who are suffering under the rise in the price of corn. This speculation on the discontent of the urban population in view of the failure of the harvest (the Government of the **Soviet Union** by-the-bye, gave 100,000 pood of corn for the victims of the famine) and the provocative flight had for their object the undermining of Resa Khan's position and the discrediting of the **Soviet Union**, on which both Resa Khan and the greater part of the Persian nationalists tried to lean in the struggle against the feudal monarchy and imperialism.

The anticipated **parliamentary elections**, which deserve great attention from the point of view of international politics, had already been the centre of political life in Persia.

The attitude of the broad masses have very little significance in the parliamentary elections in Persia. The chief mass of the electors consists of peasants who live in almost slave-like dependence on the large landowners and who can only vote as the feudal large landowners dictate. As regards the urban electors, their votes are usually openly bought.

The position of each of the chief camps in the front of the political battle, the feudal monarchistic and the national progressive is very uncertain. The privileged estates of the feudal epoch, the landed gentry and the clergy, have long ago lost their significance as main factors in the economic development of the country. For more than two years the feudal aristocracy has not had the sole right to the political power in the State; it was obliged to hand it over to the organisation of Resa Khan, the Prime Minister, War Minister and Commander in Chief, an organisation which stands between the classes. As regards the monarch, the Shah of Persia, he has been travelling since the autumn of 1923 between the pleasure resorts of Paris and Nice, without much loss to his country; it is said however that he is about to return with the consent of Resa Khan. The feudal aristocracy however still holds in its hands the most important positions of State in Persia.

On the other hand, the national progressive movement in modern Persia is in a backward state of development. This is explained especially by the lack of a class with economic preponderance which would have at its disposal all the conditions necessary in the fight for political supremacy. At the present moment, in the period of transition, the national progressive forces in Persia represent a social mixture from various political groups, composed of members of most unequal classes. The majority of the Persian nationalists are representatives of the same aristocratic class which at one time was closely bound up with the Court of the Shah, further of people from commercial circles, from the intelligencia of the class of State officials and other strata of society, with the addition of considerable numbers of adventurers and all kinds of political place-hunters.

The national democratic groups deserve much more attention; they are indeed small in number and have, so far little political influence, but the future belongs to them. Their political programme is not founded simply on the rotten nationalism of the previous epoch but on quite real and progressive tasks which are directed towards the liquidation of feudalism, the carrying out of radical reforms, the development of the productive forces of the country and actual liberation from foreign influences. The majority of the national democratic groups represent the interests of commercial circles and of those strata of Persian society which are interested in the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union and which therefore strive for real cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The decisive political factor is Resa Khan, who holds in his hands the only actual force which must be reckoned with, the army. Resa Khan, who has had a dazzling career from a simple non-commissioned officer to the actual head of the State, and is supported by the army which he created and which is entirely subordinate to him, is no doubt, in contrast to the ruling feudal oligarchy, an entirely foreign element, an upstart and usurper, as the aristocratic clique in Persia likes to represent him. Resa Khan has always been in opposition to the groups of feudalists and especially to the Court of the Shah, which has always been hostile to him. The centralisation of the State which he has carried out with an iron hand, has already born much fruit and has led to the subjugation of a whole number of powerful feudal and formerly almost independent border tribes to the Central Government.

Resa Khan however does not serve any definite class interests and his power has no special social foundation. This explains the fact that his policy always follows the line of least resistance and therefore at different moments serves at one time the feudal, at another the national democratic groups. Nevertheless the group which is objectively nearest and most closely related to Resa Khan, is the national democratic.

The recent transformation of the reactionary oppositional minority into a parliamentary majority represents nothing more nor less than a mobilisation of all the forces of feudal reaction in order to have a decisive influence on Resa Khan and to improve their position at the coming elections. In view of a threat of a vote of non-confidence, Resa Khan was compelled to enter into an understanding with the newly formed parlia-

mentary majority, which had the result that puppets of the Shah's Court and of the English were accepted, among them being Prince Firuz (sometimes called Nusret-Ed-Dowle) who gained an undesirable reputation by his active share in the carrying out of the treacherous Anglo-Persian treaty in 1919, as Persia's representative in the League of Nations, and Kavani-Ed-Dowle who can best be described as a Persian Rasputin.

On the other hand, the attack of the reactionary monarchist forces on Resa Khan has resulted in rousing the nationalist groups, a fact which may contribute to the unification of the groups with nationalist tendencies and to the strengthening of their work in organising support for Resa Khan on a large scale. The repeated enquiry of Suleiman Mirsa, leader of the nationalists, regarding the reconstruction of the Cabinet, may be regarded as a beginning of the unification of the national forces on the platform of a fight against the reactionary Anglo-philic coalition.

Great attention should be paid to an external factor, the English influence, which is still so strong, that not even the present Cabinet of Resa Khan, the strongest of the Persian Governments up to now, has been able to shake it off. No doubt exists therefore that England will not only make great efforts to influence decidedly the course of the coming parliamentary elections but also will spare no means to get its puppets into Parliament.

The parliamentary fight in Persia will not settle the fundamental social and political crisis and will not find a solution to the contradictions of the transition period of the disintegration of feudalism. A radical change in the whole social and political superstructure in Persia is necessary and is quite unavoidable in the process of the economic development of Persia, slow as it may be. The growth of economic relations between Persia and the Soviet Union will accelerate this process of the development of the productive forces of the country and the liberation of the Persian market from the predatory abuses of English capital.

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### The Chinese Relief Work of the Workers International Relief and the Shame of the Amsterdammers.

By G. (Berlin).

Right from the very beginning the Workers' International Relief set itself the task of reaching beyond the circle and limits of Communist influence, to the broad masses of the workers and to the middle classes and intellectuals who sympathise with the revolutionary working class, in order to enlighten them regarding the events in China and to appeal for their support.

The first appeal, which was signed by eminent artists and writers and by means of which the WIR. first brought to the knowledge of the Chinese workers that it had commenced a relief action on their behalf, was received as the most welcome news in China. The whole of the Chinese press gave prominence to the appeal. In Peking and Shanghai the appeal was posted up in the form of big placards on the walls and on the houses. At numerous meetings the appeal was welcomed by the masses with the greatest rejoicing. An immediate effect of the appeal was the numerous telegrams and messages from the Chinese strikers and also from the Railway Workers Union and other Trade Unions to the WIR. Of especial significance were the statements of the Peking professors who sent the WIR. an enthusiastic message in reply, and appealed through the WIR. to all mental workers in Europe and America.

In order to strengthen the ties which have been established, a delegation consisting of brain and hand workers is paying a visit to China, while on the other hand a Chinese delegation is to visit Europe under the auspices of the WIR.

In addition, the WIR. has, in the course of a few months, held lectures in over 50 towns and in over a thousand localities on the life and the struggle of the Chinese workers. The campaign of enlightenment by word of mouth was effectively supplemented by a wholesale distribution of leaflets, illustrated papers,

pictures usw. which have been published in various languages, including Dutch, German, English and Norwegian.

The attitude of the social democratic press in Germany towards these meetings as well as towards the events in China generally, is in sharp contradiction to the tremendous importance of this work of enlightenment regarding the situation and the condition of the Chinese proletariat. For months past the Berlin "Vorwaerts" only made use of the struggles and sufferings of the workers in China as material for sentimental articles in its literary columns, and when finally, after the China Congress of the WIR, and under the pressure of public opinion, it dealt with China in a leading article, it only viewed it from the standpoint of the imperialist powers, without devoting a word to the role being played by the Chinese proletariat which is struggling for national and social freedom.

This shameful attitude of the "Vorwaerts" and of the German social democratic press was only an echo of the attitude of the II. International, and before all of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** in regard of the question of relief for China.

In the middle of June last the WIR, approached the Executive of the Amsterdam International with the proposal for a joint relief action for the striking workers in China. The Amsterdam Secretariat declared itself not competent to deal with the matter and postponed the decision until the session of the Executive on the 29th of June. But even this meeting of the Committee was unable to come to a decision and resolved to make inquiries in China as to whether help was desired and if so to what amount, and promised to announce its decision on the 17th of August.

In a telegram which was received by the Central Committee of the WIR, from Peking on the 14th of August, it was stated that no official inquiry from Amsterdam had been received by the Chinese trade union Federation or any individual trade unions whatsoever, but that the Chinese trade unions had only heard through the press of the decision of Amsterdam to make enquiries in China. But all Chinese trade unions who had taken part in the National Conference of the Trade unions have urged the necessity of relief from foreign trade unions for the present strike movement. The organisations of the railway workers, seamen, textile workers and printers, sent telegrams to Amsterdam to this effect with the request for immediate help. The secretariat of the Amsterdam International has up to the present not informed its members of the receipt of these telegrams. These telegrams, which have been published by the WIR, prove that it was not necessary for the Amsterdammers to send inquiries to China as to whether help was wanted. The Chinese trade unions and workers had urgently begged for such help.

On the 16th August, when the press was full of the reports regarding shootings of Chinese workers, there was held in Berlin a "Hands off China" congress convened by the WIR. The purpose of this Congress was to seek to gain the interest of broader bourgeois and intellectual circles for the struggle for emancipation of the Chinese people and for the Chinese relief action of the WIR. The Congress received hundreds of resolutions from trade unions affiliated to the ADGB demanding from Amsterdam the decision to take part in the united front in regard the question of the China Relief, and these resolutions were given expression in a telegram sent at the "last minute" to the IFTU, in Amsterdam embodying this demand.

On the 17th of August the Amsterdammers replied to the Chinese workers (Railway Men's Union, Peking) with a No! We have no money left for you, organise yourselves in trade unions, we sympathise with you and wish you success in your struggle for freedom . . .

The WIR, which was an essential support of the Amsterdam-Moscow movement in England, where, in 1922, it was the first organisation which enlightened the English workers and labour leaders regarding the position in Russia, is now, in spite of the hate of the Amsterdammers and the II. International, playing the leading role in the work of enlightenment regarding events in China.

## THE BALKANS

### The Vehmich Court of Kishinev.

By J. Socor (Kishinev).

To the great disappointment of the Roumanian judges of the vehmic Court, the first act of the trial of the 486 South Bessarabian insurgents had to be performed partly before a foreign audience.

Colonel Maxim, the President, whose hands are stained with the blood of 123 peasants of Tatar-Bunar who have been ruthlessly murdered, tried desperately at least to play the part of a judge of a civilised class Court, and even the bull-dog face of the prosecutor, Captain Zeciu, grinned in a friendly way at the accused whenever he noticed how zealously the foreign lawyers who were present were pursuing their studies in the "Court of Law" — the courtyard of the prison.

Now that the foreign lawyers have left Kishinev and the executioners with their menials in the garb of Roumanian military judges no longer need to restrain themselves, they are beginning to "pass verdicts" according to the old vehmic custom.

That all the accused are guilty, is for them a matter of course from the beginning. Consequently they have no right to defend themselves or even to speak.

It sounded like a reproach when the military judge-advocate remarked: "In Bulgaria they polish off such cases in four days". It is no wonder that the President soon found out how to make a short job of it.

In defiance of the plain regulations of the rules of the Military Court, he now forbids the accused to defend themselves in free speech. The endless tales of horrors, the description of incendiarism, murder, plunder and violation by the Roumanian "preservers of order" in the Bessarabian villages get on the nerves even of the worthy Colonel.

"These are well-known facts", he declared, shrugging his shoulders and he insisted on a still stricter observation of the already very strict regulations of the Military Court by forbidding the accused to do more than answer "Yes" or "No" to direct questions.

If this gagging of the accused is in itself a denial of any right to defence, the newly adopted measure of holding night sittings has entirely abolished any actual possibility of defence.

Forced to be present at the trial day and night standing in a damp and cold hut, the accused soon succumb completely to the physical strain and the excitement and become indifferent to all that happens. They have already suffered so much, experienced so much agony that they accept all that comes with stoic calm and silent indifference. The thirteen advocates however are obliged to carry on the defence while grinding their teeth, for the Court would only too gladly welcome a demonstrative refusal to continue.

Soon it will be utterly impossible for them to fulfil their duties for, in view of the large number of the accused, all the counsels for the defendants must also be present at the proceedings day and night.

On the other hand, the foreign lawyers, returned from Kishinev, bring significant reports of the nature of this trial.

Comrade Ezio Riboldi, the deputy from Milan and Torres, the Parisian lawyer, unanimously state that the revolt of Tatar Bunar is in no respect anything but a natural eruption of the popular indignation. Both also show that the whole accusation is based on a few clumsily forged documents and on the discovery of a few empty munition cases and rusty guns for hunting. There is no trace of this insurrection having been supported by army divisions of the Soviet Union or of any connection with such. Neither is there any trace of an organised conspiracy.

Nevertheless, death sentences will be passed in Kishinev much more quickly than one would expect. The Roumanian Government is only able to maintain its rule in Bessarabia by the most cruel terror. They cannot listen to the advice of the so-called "Democratic" Press of Roumania to let mercy rule. For they regard the Bessarabian population as an enemy against whom war must be carried on, war to the knife.

The accused peasants cannot receive concrete help unless the campaign abroad is increased tenfold or a hundredfold. The workers in all countries must not cease organising powerful

and impressive demonstrations of solidarity and, in view of the wholesale judicial murders which are being prepared in Kishinev, the public throughout the world must be stirred up in every possible way. Committees for defence must be formed everywhere in co-operation with the intelligenzia etc. and, wherever official representatives of Roumania are seen, they must be treated with the contempt and indignation they deserve. Wherever they are and at every opportunity, at meetings, in the Press, at every public performance, the deeds of cruelty of the government they represent, must be held up before them.

The task of the moment is to do everything possible to wrest the 500 peasants from the hands of the Kishinev executioners. Nothing but an irresistible wave of protest and the solidarity of the workers of all countries can bring this about.

## ECONOMICS

### Are Wages high in the United States?

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

Strangely enough, it has remained for a bourgeois Professor of Industrial Relations in the University of Chicago, Paul H. Douglas by name, to shatter the legend of the "high wage" of the American worker in these later years. Even the trade union officials, whose duty it is to examine the wages of their membership, have been complacently pointing to big percentage figures of wage increases, in order to claim achievements for themselves. And in the mind of the ordinary capitalist, or the bourgeois intellectual, it has been almost proverbial that the American worker, especially since the war, has become a sort of semi-capitalist through his "enormous" wages. Mr. Douglas has shattered this illusion very effectively in a work entitled "The Movement of Real Wages — 1890—1924" which is soon to be published under the auspices of the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, a resumé of which is contained in the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. XI, No. 2.

"Real wages" are the actual necessities of life, the bread, butter, meat, and clothes, for which the worker exchanges the money which he receives as nominal wages. How much will the money buy? The answer to this question tells what is the real wage. Douglas set himself to answer this, and to reduce the answer down to a simple set of figures (index figures) which anyone can understand.

Taking the ten-year, 1890—1899, as a base, the index figure for the cost of living for that period being 100, the cost of living is shown to have risen to the following figures in the past eleven years:

1913 . . . . . 158	1918 . . . . . 261
1914 . . . . . 162	1919 . . . . . 304
1915 . . . . . 165	1920 . . . . . 339
1916 . . . . . 179	1921 . . . . . 297
1917 . . . . . 214	1922 . . . . . 276
	1923 . . . . . 281

With prices of the necessities of life at this high peak, how much would the wages — those "high wages" of which American bankers brag or complain — of the American worker, buy?

In 1918, the last year of the war, when wages were supposed to have been so very good, the worker could buy only 88% of the amount, on the average for the entire country, that the worker of 1890—99 could buy. Wages — real wages — had decreased 12% for the country as a whole. This figure is based upon the hourly wage rates and not upon actual earnings which are lower still. For six years the purchasing power of wages, in hourly rates, ran as follows:

1918 . . . . . 88	1921 . . . . . 115
1919 . . . . . 83	1922 . . . . . 117
1920 . . . . . 100	1923 . . . . . 110

In short, in the year 1923, the hourly wage rate had increased over 1890 by a mere 10%.

Still more interesting it is to learn who got the increased hourly rate. Did all workers uniformly find their real wages increased to this amount? Not at all.

Printers in newspaper establishments, for example, are supposed to be well organised into unions. What happened to their

real wages? They had decreased from 100 in the years 1890—99 to 81 in the year 1922. Newspaper printers have gone backward 19% in thirty years.

Whose wages increased the most? Not a strongly-organised craft, but one of the weakest in the "unionised" category, the bakers. Their real wages rose to 169. And the reason for this is, undoubtedly, that in the early days the bakers were so sweated and overworked that the industrialisation of the baking industry worked automatically to raise the bakers to the status of the other industrial workers. The rise in their case is therefore merely an equalising process.

In only one of the industries can it be shown that the increased wages are mainly the result of labour union effort; that is in men's clothing, which saw real wages increase to 155, under the pressure of unionism; but in this industry also, as in the case of baking, the result was in the nature of an equalising process, for the needle trades was one of the most disorganised and sweated during the years 1890—99 and later.

But how about the purchasing power of the weekly wage? How much is a week's pay in real wages? Douglas gives us the following answer for a five-year period:

Year	Weakly Wages (1890—99 = 100)
1919 . . . . .	83
1920 . . . . .	89
1921 . . . . .	93
1922 . . . . .	91
1923 . . . . .	95

"For all branches of industry as a whole, therefore," concludes Douglas, "it seems probably that the American worker can purchase less with a standard week's work today than during the nineties."

How do the various sections of the workers fare when their separate full-time weekly earnings are translated into real wages?

Union trades as a whole for 1922 stand at 95, or just 4 points above the general level for that year, and 5 points below the general level of all workers in the last years of the 19th century.

Building trades just held their own for the same period, standing at an even 100; the book and job printing workers lost a point, standing at 99; newspaper printing workers lost 22 points, going down to 78; farm labour went down to 83; unskilled labour to 30; railroad labour to 97; seamen to 77; government employees to 53; and postal employees to 74. The anthracite miners, who have been under the illusion that they were getting periodical increases in wages, were really down to 97. Bituminous miners went up to 139, but what they gained in weekly rates they lost, as they themselves know only too well, in steadiness of employment.

And all of this actual loss in the amount of real wages to the working class, occurred during the period of the tremendous increase in productivity of industry, during a period when the national production of values multiplied by more than five times, the value added by manufacture (according to the U. S. Census) increasing from \$ 4,831,075,210 in 1899, to \$ 25,041,698,490 in 1919.

Surely the time has arrived for the workers to awaken, to organise, and to begin to fight for some of the wealth which they produce in such abundance!

## IN THE COLONIES

### The National Movement in the Philippines.

By G. Sp.

The Philippines, a group of Islands to the east of the Chinese coast, with 11 million Malay inhabitants, have behind them a great revolutionary past. During the three centuries and more of Spanish rule they revolted again and again against their oppressors. The most important of these revolutions are still fresh in the memory of the population; the first of them took place in 1872, when many of the leaders were beheaded. The next revolution broke out in 1896, but was suppressed by the Spaniards with much bloodshed. In 1898, the Filipinos at last succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke and in establishing the first republic in Eastern Asia. This republic, which won much sympathy by confis-

cating land belonging to the Church and distributing it, held its own in the interior of the main island, Luzon, against the American army corps for three whole years. This revolutionary movement was, in its first beginnings, led by a worker, Andre Bonifazia, who managed to obtain books about the great French revolution and the Paris Commune. The movement sprang from the exploited masses of the tenant farmers who, in 1898, chose as their leader a peasant's son, general Emilio Aguinaldo.

A military government kept a tight rein on the angry people, who did not want to be ruled by new masters as a colony. The Americans sent as governor of the Philippines a man like Taft, who later became President, and even he only succeeded in calming the population to some extent by generous promises of a considerable degree of autonomy as soon as conditions became normal again. As a sort of payment on account for the autonomy which was to be granted later, a kind of Parliament (Assembly) was established which, with the sanction of the American Governor, could pass laws. This institution however was only more or less of an advisory character and had hardly any authority in comparison with the "Philippine Commission" which was composed for the greater part of Americans.

The establishment of a Parliament (Assembly) however, led to another very significant development. While the elections were in preparation, the Nationalist Revolutionary Party was founded, which still exists to-day, though under another name. From 1907 to 1913, the leaders of this Nationalist party carried on an indefatigable propaganda with the object of making their country independent of America. The movement finally assumed such a serious form and spread so widely amongst the people, that American Government circles became seriously alarmed and were prepared to grant further concessions, the more so because the elections of 1912 brought Wilson and the Democratic Party, the left wing of which adopted an anti-imperialist attitude, into power. A majority of Filipinos was then appointed on the Philippine Commission, and a law to this effect was passed in Congress. A new American Governor was also appointed who was in favour of extensive autonomy for the Philippines.

When in 1916, under this new Governor, the so-called "Jones Bill" was passed by Congress in Washington, there was great rejoicing in the land of the Filipinos. The nationalist movement relaxed, the Filipinos had unbounded confidence in America's promise, and America was assured that during the war, no attempt would be made by them to gain their independence. The Jones Bill created an Upper and a Lower House with legislative power; the American Governor however has the right of veto. The franchise for both Houses is given according to a very limited census which is based on property and education. Only 16% of the population has the franchise. The executive power, on the contrary, is entirely in the hands of the American Governor. The promises for the future offered by the Jones Bill were even more important than what it gave at the moment.

**It promises the Philippines independence as soon as they have a stable government.**

It is obvious that this law is nothing but eyewash, as the American Congress has to decide when this condition of "stable government" has been attained. The Bill however had another object as well. It was to check any revolutionary movement against America in the Philippines, as revolutionary movements endanger the "stabilisation of a government".

The Filipinos were so entirely taken in that they waited patiently till 1920, to see what the United States would do with them. When however, neither the President nor Congress concerned themselves with the question of Philippine independence, a new revolutionary movement against America set in, which has not yet reached its height.

This was specially furthered by the victory of the Ultra-Imperialist Republican Party in the election of 1920 and the change of Governor of the Philippines it involved. The present Governor, nominated by the Republican President, is the infamous General Wood, who was formerly Governor of Cuba and who distinguished himself particularly by his cruel use of concentration camps. With his appointment, the worst reaction began in the Philippines. America tried as far as possible to withdraw the concessions she had made to the Filipinos, though, as a matter of fact, this was to a large extent frustrated by the unanimous resistance of the Philippine population.

The Filipinos, whose faith in the honesty of American promises has been shaken and who are poorer by a few illusions and richer by much experience, have realised that they can only

obtain freedom by a revolutionary national movement and that they can never expect to receive their independence as a gift from the American Congress.

It is especially the mass of the workers who have their organisation in the "Labour Party" founded in 1922, and the poor tenant farmers, who are awaking and showing an increasing activity.

## Labour Struggles in the East Indies.

Von P. Bergsma.

Strikes are spreading in the East Indies. More and more printing works are closing down. The movement is no longer limited to Java but is spreading to Celebes and Sumatra. In Semarang almost all the workers in the printing works are on strike. In other places, the typographers are on strike, as for instance in Surabaya and Makker (Celebes). As a result many bourgeois papers cannot appear; others are appearing in a smaller form. Conflicts have further broken out in metal works, sugar and opium factories, hospitals and many other concerns. The struggle in the harbours of Semarang and Batavia has been going on for some weeks and in Semarang is spreading further and further.

Only a small part of the workers is organised; most of the workers first joined the organisation during the strike. In consequence of the lack of a good organisation, the strike cannot be carried on intensively everywhere. The bourgeoisie in the East Indies is using Europeans, especially those who are out of work, as strike-breakers.

The strikes are, as a rule, the result of a refusal to increase wages. In some cases whole staffs of workers have gone on strike because one of their comrades was dismissed. Finally, in Semarang, some sympathetic strikes with the dock-workers are to be reported.

Apart from the intensification of the conflicts, there is a revival of political interest among the peasants, who are attending the communist meetings in large numbers.

Among the persons living on private landed-property, there is a state of ferment. The "landowners", who are assisted by the police in the forcible collection of their rent, are squeezing them dry. The conditions which prevail are absolutely feudal.

The Railwaymen's Union, which suffered a defeat in a strike a few years ago, has so far regained its strength, that the bourgeoisie has to reckon with it. The police and the railway directors are trying to suppress the congress of railwaymen which has been planned, by forbidding assemblies and refusing leave.

Among the soldiers also, a spirit prevails which is alarming for the bourgeoisie. Army Headquarters has issued a list of those publications which soldiers are forbidden to read, among them being the publications of the R. I. L. U. and of the "Inprecorr." The bourgeois Press urges the army chiefs to increased vigilance because, so it maintains, there are close connections between the soldiers and the communists. Demands are also made that the civil population should be forbidden to read certain publications.

The bourgeois Press is conducting a furious campaign against our Comrade Darsono. He was arrested on the charge of having been a leader in the strike movement. The bourgeoisie is trying to enforce his banishment. The editor of the communist paper, "The Proletarian", has also been arrested.

The legal authorities are trying, in common with the police, to intimidate the population. In Soemedang 163 revolutionaries were dragged before the Court; 41 of them were sentenced to periods of imprisonment up to four years. They were charged as a result of a conflict with the police, to which they were provoked nine months ago by a band calling itself "Sarekat Idjoe" (The Green Association), which, in the service of the Fascists, attacks and removes communists by night.

Furthermore, 31 members of the People's Association "Sarekat Rajat" were sentenced because they held an assembly without having obtained permission.

The behaviour of the police is becoming more and more brutal. They follow the directions of the capitalist Press which is always clamouring for the exercise of more force.

In spite of all this, the revolutionary development in the East Indies cannot be arrested by the power of the Government.

The revolutionary movement in China had the effect of establishing fraternal co-operation between the East Indies and China. The Government is deporting revolutionary Chinese teachers and journalists. This however has only resulted in many Chinese newspapers, which previously held a more or less neutral attitude towards the Government, being now in sharp opposition to it. They are now openly making propaganda for Sun Yat Sen's ideas and have declared their sympathy with the Soviet Union.

In this way, constantly increasing numbers are being drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle in this important colonial territory. All the groups of eastern peoples, living in the East Indies, such as the Javanese, the Sumatrans, the Chinese, etc., are expressing their sympathy with the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism in China. This sympathy brings them into conflict with the Dutch bourgeoisie and intensifies the antagonism between the latter and their colonial slaves.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Rescue Rákosi and his Comrades!

Leading Article from the "Pravda" of 9th of October.

According to the latest reports, Comrade Rákosi and a number of other Communist and Left social democratic functionaries will be brought before a special court. The Hungarian Minister of the Interior, Ivan Rakovsky, who only at the beginning of the present year "guaranteed" that a revolution would never again break out in Hungary, now declares that Rákosi and his comrades are accused of having prepared a revolt and will be brought before a special court. The telegrams state that the Hungarian government is causing the rumour to be spread that, in response to the wish of English government circles, it must try the arrested communists by means of a special court.

It is difficult to say to what extent this rumour merits belief. If one, however, remembers that the members of the present English government have proclaimed a holy war against the Communists, and that the same government is the chief financial supporter of the Horty regime, then it can be considered as quite probable that the Hungarian government is attempting by this means to justify the new wave of white terror in the eyes of outraged public opinion both in Hungary and abroad.

The government is perfectly aware that it has no grounds for accusing Rákosi and his comrades of organising a revolt. During the preliminary examination the police obtained possession of sufficient material in order to convince themselves that the Communist Party of Hungary had not prepared any revolt; that in the present epoch between two waves of revolution it had not set itself the aim of calling upon the working masses immediately to seize power. There is not the slightest proof, there is not a single item of evidence, extracted even by means of torture, which would serve to support the charge of organising a revolt. Everything goes to indicate that the Communist Party of Hungary was only endeavouring to obtain the leadership over the recently arisen movement of the Left Wing inclining working masses. But what fills the ruling circles of Hungary with special uneasiness is a revolutionary real policy which is winning the confidence of the broadest masses of the workers and peasants in Hungary. The behaviour of Comrade Rákosi before his accusers has brought the Hungarian government into a shameful quandary; even the reactionary Hungarian newspapers have to admit that this behaviour must awaken a certain amount of human sympathy.

The international campaign against the fresh wave of white terror in Hungary must be strengthened. If we do not succeed at least in having our comrades brought before an ordinary court, then they will be inevitably faced with the gallows. The international proletariat must exercise its utmost energy and determination in order to rescue the victims of white terror in Hungary.

## The Polish Executioners and Torturers.

By Karolsky (Warsaw).

In the prison of Swient Krzyz in the district of Kielce, an insurrection broke out a few days ago among the prisoners who disarmed some of the gaolers and took possession of their guns and munitions. Divisions of police from Kielce surrounded the prison and overpowered the insurgents in an obstinate fight, in the course of which six prisoners and one gaoler were killed and twenty prisoners and two gaolers wounded.

In the voivodeship of Bjalystok, hundreds of workers and peasants were arrested, among them women and thirteen-year-old children. The prisoners are cruelly tortured; they are hung up by their feet and rotated until they lose consciousness and are beaten at the same time; six to eight liters of water are poured into them, they are then hung up by their feet and the water squeezed out of them by pressure on their abdomen. This torture is repeated several times.

The political prisoners in the prison in Lemberg had to resort to a hunger strike as the prison administration refused to grant their most elementary and justifiable demands. The prisoners who were carrying out the hunger strike were cruelly ill-treated, and visits from doctors and lawyers were forbidden and prevented.

Whilst throughout Poland, defenceless prisoners are ill-treated, tortured and murdered, the leading men in the Ministry of Poland, the "literary lights", the "pioneers of progress" publish a declaration in which they defend everything which is happening in Poland.

The White Terror in Poland has prompted even circles who are far enough from communism to raise a voice of protest; French authors, English pacifists, German freethinkers, among them prominent men in art and science. To these, Zeromski, Staff, Sieroszewski, Reymont, the winner of the Nobel prize, and the representatives of the Association of Polish Literary Men have now addressed a despicable declaration to the effect that "the accusations with regard to the White Terror in Poland are mendacious and calumnious", and that Poland must defend itself against the espionage of neighbouring States. This document of shame and hypocrisy, which was issued at the command of the "Defensive" (the political police) and the General Staff is something which has never happened before even in Poland.

In order to throw light on the shamelessness of the defenders of the Polish regime of executioners, we quote a few statements of former prisoners in this torture-chamber, as to the conditions in the prisons of Swientny Krzyz; this will make it easy enough to understand how the victims were driven to their desperate fight.

The prison of Zwienty-Krzyz is about 30 kilometer away from the railway. The journey from a railway station to the prison and back costs about 100 Zloty. The prisons are therefore quite cut off from the world, as the families of the prisoners can of course only afford such expenses in very rare cases.

The prisoners suffer terribly from cold; the climate is very severe, the prison is on a high mountain. The prisoners are cold even in summer. In the cells of divisions II. and III; there are no doors, which increases the cold. Even after three months' residence, the inmates can hardly stand on their feet, they acquire a special gait, resembling that of a drunkard, in consequence of chronic general rheumatism. Half the prisoners are tuberculous. Although new transports are always arriving at the prisons, the number of prisoners does not change as there is a high mortality amongst them.

In addition to this, the food is abominable. They are given paltry helpings, the food is bad and there is no variety. From October to May, the prisoners get cabbage for dinner and supper; from May to October, porridge twice a day. In spite of their hunger, disgust prevents them swallowing the food offered them.

The miserable food is the cause of innumerable conflicts, as, in spite of the extremely strict discipline, the prisoners repeatedly try to protest against this starvation torture. In June 1924, the hunger strike of the political prisoners was followed by one of the criminal prisoners. Attempts were made to compel the prisoners to eat by beating them; this was resisted by force by the prisoners in division III, who were condemned to from 8—20 years penal servitude. Shooting took place, and ten prisoners were thrown into a dungeon.

The prison discipline is simply unbearable. For the slightest offence the prisoners are punished with the "dark hole", in which

their hands, and often their feet as well, are shackled to an iron bar. As warm food is withheld from them, the prisoners come out of the dark hole after a few hours with colds, for it is horribly cold in the dungeon. Most of the prisoners have to be taken straight from there into the hospital, from which they often never return.

In the evening, before roll-call, the prisoners have to hand over their suits and boots, in spite of the ghastly cold. During the night they may neither get up — the palliasses are on the floor — nor pull their blankets over their heads, all this so that the jailers can count them easily at any time. The jailers treat the prisoners very badly.

When at work, even inside the prison, the prisoners are always chained.

When, in June of this year, a commission of the Sejm, headed by Thugutt, wished to visit the prison, the necessary preparations were made for the reception of the honoured guest; the cells were whitewashed, the prisoners were given new suits and new palliasses filled with fresh straw, dishes and even spittoons were provided. After this however, "normal" prison life, with cold, hunger, dirt and ill-treatment resumed its usual course.

At the last meeting of the Central Commission of the trade unions, the adherents of the PPS, rejected the proposal of the opposition in which a protest was raised against the White Terror. Zeromski & Co. deeded the "honour" of the executioners of the working people. In the midst of this cowardice, meanness and hypocrisy, the act of the miners of Upper Silesia stands out as a shining light. In Upper Silesia, 50,000 unemployed are suffering terrible distress. A certain number of workers, who still have work, have scraped together from their starvation wages a little money for the support of their unemployed comrades. The unemployed however unanimously decided to sacrifice the money for the political prisoners. The international workers will not follow the example of the rogues of Polish belles lettres nor of the criminal henchmen of the Polish executioners, the leaders of the PPS., but that of the unemployed miners of Poland.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### On the Road to a Stable Peasant Economy in the Soviet Union.

By A. I. Rykov.

The systematically recurring bad harvests form the worst part of the heritage which Russia of the October Revolution, Russia of the workers and peasants, has taken over from the old Tsarist regime.

Droughts, bad harvests and famine were characteristic of Russia in past times, as for example in the 17th and 18th centuries. In those times the population sought to escape from their misery by mass migration to other and more favourable districts. Russia of the nobles and of the big landowners drove these peasants back again, with blows from the knout, to the parched and barren fields.

There were years, however, in which the rainfall in these districts brought about an excellent harvest, and then the good crops and the abundance of fertile land again attracted the peasants from the more populated and poorer districts.

At present the agricultural population of these districts which are exposed to drought constitute almost a quarter of the total peasant population of the Soviet Union. At any rate, in the year 1921, almost 30 millions of the peasant population suffered from drought and bad harvest. This is an enormous number. Such a tremendous measure of privation deprives agriculture, this important basis of the entire economic development of this country, of any security of return. The bad harvest of 1924 was considerably less, but it affected 7,800,000 of the peasant population.

So long as the conscious will of man, and the organised forces of the Soviet State do not so transform the economic organisation of these districts as to render a recurrence of bad harvests, which devastate millions of peasants undertakings, impossible, so long will the systematic control of the economic and cultural life of the country be interrupted by elementary crises of enormous extent.

Can the peasant economy in the districts exposed to drought be assured of good and regular harvests?

Agronomic science, the experience of agricultural experimenting stations, the experience of co-operative farms and model undertakings say that this is possible.

The failure of the harvests through drought is attributable before all to the backwardness of the methods of farming, the lack of adaptability to the climate, and the lack of organisation on the part of the peasant population. As a result of the united efforts of the Asiatic despotism of the Tsar and of the big landowners, who kept the population in ignorance, and the Asiatic winds which cause the droughts, the Soviet Republic took over in these districts the pre-conditions for violent shakings to the whole State organism. **The first and most important aim which has to be striven for after the October Revolution, is to render such shakings impossible.**

In the fight against the consequences of the bad harvest of the year 1924 the Soviet power set itself more far-reaching tasks than it did in the fight against the famine. The population of those districts suffering from the drought were rendered relief on such a scale and in such a form as to render them capable of carrying on their peasant undertakings. Great attention, therefore, was devoted to maintaining the stock of cattle of the peasants and keeping the land under cultivation in the districts affected by the drought. In addition to this, large scale credits were organised in order to enable the peasants to maintain their stock of cattle, and the population were given considerable help by means of supplies of seed, with the result that in the majority of cases the area under cultivation in these districts increased in the first years after the bad harvest by 10 to 15%.

But the most important feature of the campaign against the results of the bad harvest of the year 1924 consisted in the fact that, in carrying out this campaign regard was had to impressing upon the peasantry the chief question of a thorough combatting of the causes of the bad harvest.

The measures which must first be carried out in order to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of bad harvests and famine consist in the first place of such a selection of supplies of seeds and such a cultivation of the ground as will secure the stability of the harvest even in cases of drought, secondly, in increasing the importance of cattle breeding, and thirdly, in the carrying through of a distribution of the land and of such a distribution of the peasants that the peasants' holdings shall be nearer to their place of residence; fourthly, the carrying out of the necessary measures for improving the soil.

All these measures, taken together, mean a complete reconstruction of agriculture in the districts threatened with drought. This reconstruction can only be carried out by means of the active assistance of the population. The activity of our State and economic organs must be entirely directed to bringing about this activity of the population, to help the population to go over to new methods of farming.

It is necessary not only to make every peasant clear regarding the possibility of an organisation by which he would no longer suffer from droughts, but also that every peasant shall realise the advantage of every step which is taken in this direction. All the efforts of the agricultural experts and of the active and most advanced portion of the peasantry will be in vain, if there is not set up in these districts, in a proper manner, an industry for working up the products of agriculture and of cattle-breeding and, what is of special importance, if a market is not organised for the products. The forms of this industry must be strictly adapted to the nature of the agriculture in every province, every district and every locality.

The enormous, inestimable result of the campaign of the years 1924/25 against the consequences of the bad harvest consists in the fact that the apathy of the population, which was caused by the great backwardness of the peasantry, has been overcome. Only in the first weeks after the ascertainment of the actual yield of the harvest was there a certain panic to be discerned among the population, and efforts were made by the peasants to escape from the bad situation by migrating to more favourable districts and abandoning their own holdings. But in a short time, immediately after the arrival of the first relief, the

panic died down. The relief received in the way of supplies of seeds entirely changed the mood of the peasants and convinced them that the Soviet government will help them to overcome the bad harvests. Thus there was created the most important pre-condition for the success of all the further work in the affected districts.

The ameliorative work (improvement of the soil), the results of which exceeded all expectations, was particularly popular among the peasants.

In the majority of the affected districts the peasants quite voluntarily carried out a part of the work without payment, as they saw in the ameliorative work the guarantee of good harvests in the future.

For the first time broad masses of peasants faced the question of how agriculture should be conducted, how the soil should be cultivated, how and when seed must be sown, in order to avoid a bad harvest. These questions were discussed at numerous meetings of peasants. The demand for assistance from agricultural experts increased. In all provinces special societies were organised, which were participated in by advanced peasants and agricultural experts, in order to win harvests in the districts suffering from drought.

The campaign against the results of the bad harvest of the year 1924 was a severe test of the whole Soviet system. It was carried out without the creation of any special apparatus in the villages, and the entire work was completely and entirely placed in the hands of the Soviets and of the whole of the peasantry. It can now be recognised that the local soviets have stood this test. They have succeeded in drawing broad masses of the peasantry into work, in reviving such organisations as the "Peasants' Relief", in organising the poor peasants, increasing the importance of the co-operatives etc. The "democracy", in the real sense of the word, that is to say, the population itself, the masses of the peasantry, were the organisers in the fight against the results of the bad harvest in the year 1924/25.

In the future this wave of activity among the peasants in the fight against those two great scourges — drought and bad harvests — must not be allowed to decline, but on the contrary must be increased in every way and from year to year fresh sections of the peasantry, and especially of the poor peasantry, must be drawn into the struggle.

The chief means of organising the peasantry and their activity must be the co-operatives. The co-operatives are the chief lever for socialist construction in the village. But they are confronted with very extraordinary tasks in the districts suffering from drought and in the black soil district.

The wholesale decline of agriculture must have led to a differentiation of the peasantry, to the formation of a small group of well-to-do and rich peasants alongside of a great mass of poor peasants. The village poor and the middling peasants must find in the co-operative that organisation by means of which with their united forces they will achieve results which are unattainable by individual undertakings.

The activity of the agricultural experts, of the agricultural experimenting stations and of the model farms must not only obtain help of every kind in the system of Soviet and co-operative organisations, but must find there also that social milieu which makes every achievement of science, tested by experience, the common property of the masses. Of course, the transition of the peasant holdings to new methods will be accompanied in these districts by considerable difficulties, and will here and there experience partial failures. But all these difficulties and failures will be overcome with greater ease if we succeed in breaking down the conservatism of the peasants, in awakening their energy and in helping them to adopt new methods.

The fight against the bad harvests and the drought is not to be carried on in the bad years of famine, but precisely in the years of good harvest. This fight cannot be carried out in a single year or in a single campaign, but must be conducted with tenacity and perseverance for a whole number of years.

The Third Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union, realising the gigantic nature of the problem, decided to create the basis for ensuring harvests in the districts exposed to droughts and to establish a special fund for this purpose.

## The Press of the Soviet Union.

By M. R a f a i l (Moscow).

The press of the Soviet Union is an essential element of socialist construction. During the course of the proletarian revolution it will become a factor of ever increasing importance for the organisation of the broad masses round the Communist Party and the Soviet power.

The powerful economic and social progress in our country has radically changed the position of the press. On the basis of the uninterrupted improvement of economic conditions, the improvement of the material position of the working class and the peasantry, and the gigantic growth and advance of industry, the achievements of the press have surpassed the expectations of even the most confident comrades. This advance is however only a beginning.

Before the war, about 800 newspapers and periodicals, with an approximate circulation of 2½ million copies, were published in the empire of the Czar. On 1. January 1925 a single edition of the newspapers and periodicals appearing in the Soviet Union, whose territory is considerably smaller than that comprehended by prewar Russia, had attained about 7½ million copies, and by 1. July 1925 (according to the data so far received) the circulation was 7,781,952. We have more than tripled pre-war circulation. A single edition of the daily papers attained 5,034,501 copies by 1. July; that is, a single edition of the newspapers was already more than double that of the prewar newspapers. But these figures do not in themselves give an actual idea of the change. The prewar newspapers were sold for the most part in the cities of Moscow, Petersburg, Charkov, and Kiev, and served the ends of the bourgeoisie. They did not reach into working class centres, nor into the remoteness of the villages.

The present circulation of the newspapers is attained chiefly by the collective and individual subscriptions of workers and peasants. The overwhelming majority of the newspapers, about 90%, are subscribed to by workers and peasants only. Our provincial and district newspapers are sold almost exclusively in the works and factories. The workers and peasants are the main consumers of the newspapers output of the Soviet Union. The circulation of the newspapers intended exclusively for the peasantry has already increased to 1½ millions, and exceeds, taken together with the military, co-operative, youth union, and other newspapers, 3 millions. The national newspapers in the languages of the national minorities had reached a circulation of 682,493 copies on 1. July. These figures show that the number of readers increase from month to month in the backward national republics. On 1. April 1924 the edition published by the national newspapers amounted to a total of 257,789 copies, and by 1. July 1925 an increase of more than two and a half times could be recorded. The total circulation of the newspapers was 3,769,179 on 1. April 1924, and has thus doubled by 1. July of this year.

But even this tripled circulation as compared with before the war does not form an adequate criterion in itself; it must be added that the newspapers have gathered around them no fewer than 200,000 worker and village correspondents. Every worker and peasant can take part in the newspaper, can become a correspondent, appeal to public opinion, address inquiries to the government organs, make proposals, and express his ideas on every subject. The worker and peasant correspondent movement is reaching one section after another of workers and peasants hitherto untouched, and is inducing them to take part in social work through the medium of the newspaper. The mass character of this movement, attracting the workers and peasants possessing energy and initiative, proves that the press maintains the most intimate connection with the lowest sections of the workers. The worker and peasant correspondents movement gained for the press, that is, for 620 newspapers, considerably more than 10,000 correspondents up to 1. July 1925. These are the voices of the workers and peasants, scarcely able to read and write, reporting from every corner of the Soviet Union the needs of the people, and relating in simple words the thoughts and experiences of the whole country.

Through means of the newspapers answer is given by the government organs, the trade unions, and the Party, to the burning and urgent questions contained in the letters from the workers and peasants. The material supplied by the worker and peasant correspondents is carefully examined and studied. The

government organs refer frequently to these letters, which are the expression of the opinions held by the broad masses of the workers.

The trade unions possess well made up newspapers and periodicals with wide circulations. The trade union newspapers have already attained a circulation of considerably more than a million. Besides this, the Young Communist League has created a widespread network of communist youth publications, having a circulation of about 600,000 copies. The co-operatives also possess their network of newspapers and periodicals, and the same applies to a large number of other branches of work.

Special emphasis must here be laid upon the fact that many working and peasant women are to be counted not only among the readers of the newspapers, but to our active contributors. Special periodicals meet the needs of the working and peasant women. They participate with ever increasing energy and interest in the worker and peasant correspondents movement. The newspapers have special supplements devoted to the discussion of the special needs of the working women of the Soviet Union.

A new form of revolutionary literature for mass propaganda, is the wall newspaper, a spontaneous creation of the workers and peasants. A year ago there were only a few thousands wall newspapers. By the middle of 1925 there were some tens of thousands. There is not a single factory, not a single works, and scarcely a single village possessing a reading room, which has not its wall newspaper. The wall newspaper literature is so to say the elementary school for the worker and peasant correspondents, and plays an important part in the social life of the factories and villages. It reveals defects, emphasises achievements, calls to account those responsible for negligences and incorrect acts, educates tens of thousands of workers and peasants to create themselves a press as constituent part of the great general work of the proletariat. The wall newspaper literature has already a history of its own. It has passed through a series of stages, beginning at the lowest step of unskilfulness, and has now attained a higher step of more energetic self activity, better organisation, and participation of broader masses.

It is not alone in the literature of the newspapers that we have made such great strides forward, but in the periodical press as well in the publication of periodicals and books. The increasing cultural and political needs of the people, the enormous extension of the network of schools, the courses of political instruction, the technical schools, the growth of numerous social organisations, the great impetus to self-activity in the masses, all this has caused a great demand for books. The whole country, workers and peasants, are eagerly demanding social and political agitation and propaganda literature, serious Marxist periodicals, popular scientific literature, cheap and universally comprehensible books, intended for the masses, and dealing with every branch of the development of socialism in the Party and in the Soviets.

Up to now technical difficulties have prevented this thirst for knowledge from being completely stilled. But of late this has been radically changed. If we compare the output of the publishing establishments, we find that in 1924 the number of works published by the Soviet Union approached the prewar standard with regard to the number of titles (34,630); the prewar standard included however the output of the publishing establishments in Poland, Finland, and other states today independent. In 1925 the prewar figures will be considerably exceeded, if we may judge by the first few months. If the comparison is not made with reference to the number of titles, but with reference to the number of sheets printed, we find that the prewar record was already reached by 1924. (Before the war 800 million sheets, in all languages, were printed; in 1924 764,034,440 sheets in the Russian language alone.) In 1925 this quantity has been greatly exceeded. The greater part of this output consists of the publications of the state publishing establishments, of the Party, and of the trade unions. In 1924 these covered 93% of the total book output of the Soviet Union, only 7% falling to private production.

Our books are chiefly intended for the broad masses of readers. A special place is allotted to peasant literature, and to the literature of the national minorities. The production of peasant literature increases from month to month, especially striking success having been attained in the first half of 1925. The slogan of turning the face to the peasantry has been applied efficiently in the special attention devoted to peasant literature, and the central publishing establishments are engaged in the

cheapening and publishing of mass editions of those books which offer most to the peasantry, and which are held by them in the highest estimation.

On 1. January 1924 115 periodicals were counted in the Soviet Union. The number of periodicals increases from year to year, and their quality improves steadily. The literature of the periodical is adapted more and more to the needs of the active workers and peasants, whose cultural demands cannot be satisfied by the newspapers alone. The quality, contents, and technical arrangement of many of these periodicals ranges them among the best of our publication.

In 1922 the total number of books published was 7842, in 1923 10,810, in 1924 13,126, and during the first six months of 1925 9849. Thus in 1925 the total number of books published will be increased by no less than 50%. In the main these books represent an increase of Leninist literature, for which there is an enormous demand, and of mass peasant literature, which penetrates into the villages through various distributing channels.

We have taught millions of human beings not only how to read, but how to write. Within a few years the workers and peasant correspondents movement has reached 200,000 workers and peasants. In time we shall reach our goal of having every worker and peasant a correspondent, and our newspapers will publish editions of over 10 millions in the year. We shall extend and improve the press in the national districts and republics.

The international proletariat may learn, from the experience gained in the Soviet Union, that the press, like every other sphere of our social life, can only be made into an instrument of socialist advance and of enlightenment for the masses, under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

### The Peasant Movement in Jugoslavia.

A short time ago there was held in Belgrade the sixth Congress of the Peasants' League of Jugoslavia. The decisions arrived at at this Congress are of great importance for the entire peasant movement.

The International Peasant Council (Krestintern) in its message of greetings to the delegates of the Congress indicated a number of practical measures and problems which are confronting the international peasant movement. This message of greeting met with a remarkable response, both in the whole of the Jugoslavian press and among the delegates at the Congress.

In the resolution on the Agrarian Question adopted by the Congress, it was pointed out that in Jugoslavia this question has not yet been solved in the interests of the peasants; the Congress therefore put forward the demand for the immediate drafting of an agrarian law, under which the whole of the land must be placed at the disposal of those who actually cultivate it, of course without compensation for the big landlords. The Congress emphatically condemned the decree of the Minister, Pavel Raditch, the nephew of Stephan Raditch, under which the propertyless peasants receive practically nothing.

The Congress pronounced itself in favour of a comprehensive colonisation scheme, which must be carried out not in the interest of parties, but of the entire nation, and for the abolition of the present miserable situation of the Jugoslavian peasantry.

The Congress demanded the expropriation of all land in the possession of monasteries and of the big landowners.

In the second part of the resolution dealing with the Croatian Peasant Party, the Peasants' League expressed the fear that the Croatian Peasant Party will prove incapable of carrying out the measures which the country urgently requires, as the Party has entered into an alliance with the Radicals (Pasitch), the sworn opponents of the interests and rights of the peasants.

The resolution declares:

The fight for the interests and the rights of the peasants can only be successful if a united front of the peasants and small farmers is set up throughout the country. The new customs duties render the position of the farmers still worse. The new agrarian reform and the entire administrative system, which latter has expressed itself up to now in persecutions, mishandlings and arrests of political opponents, show not the slightest indication of a struggle for the interests and rights of the peasants, but

are merely a continuation of the reactionary Pan-Serbian system with which we are already familiar, and which is entirely directed against the peasants and their interests. The responsibility for this rests entirely upon the present government and the Croatian Peasant Party.

The Peasants' League is following with great attention the struggle of its brother peasants in Bulgaria against the bloody regime of the Zankov government, and condemns the inhuman persecutions and tortures of the Bulgarian peasants who are demanding their human and civil rights. The Congress calls upon them to hold out in their struggle for the eternal principles of Justice and Liberty which are bound to be victorious. The victory of these principles will facilitate the approachment of all the peasants of the Slav countries and will prepare the way for the general struggle for economic and political independence.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### To the Working Youth of the Suppressed Peoples of the East.

On the 7th of November the Russian proletariat will celebrate for the eighth time the anniversary of the day on which the Russian people freed itself from the fetters of its suppressors. All the suppressed peoples of the world look to the Soviet Union, which is not only their example but also their staunchest friend against all the exploiters of the earth. The Russian proletariat has not only won freedom for itself, it has thereby taken the first step to the emancipation of all the suppressed and exploited of the entire world.

Therefore, the eighth anniversary of the Russian October Revolution is of the greatest importance for the peoples of the East. The million masses of the East have no control over their own destiny. They are compelled to sell their labour power in the factories and on the plantations for a few pence, and to send their wives and children there also.

The situation of the youth of the Orient is particularly difficult. They bear the double yoke of capitalist exploitation and nationalist oppression. The least resistance, the slightest attempt to wrest from the exploiters a larger crust of bread and something resembling human conditions of life, are punished with floggings, imprisonment and shootings. The English gentlemen are shooting down the Chinese people with machine guns and are staining the stones in Shanghai and Canton with the blood of the best sons of a people numbering 400 millions.

The French artillery is raining fire and iron upon the courageous defenders of the independence of Morocco. The flames of the burning villages are reddening the skies of Syria.

The sling is being drawn tighter and tighter round the neck of the suppressed Orient. It lies in the dust and the agents of the lords of the world are crawling over its body like worms. Capitalist Europe and America are enjoying the products of the colonial East, to which is clinging the blood of hungry slaves.

Between two portions of the globe, on the threshold of Europe, half way between East and the West, from Asia Minor to the Pacific, from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, on the slopes of the Caucasus and the Urals, on the steppes of the Ukraine and the Don, on the shores of the Volga and in Northern Karelia, on a sixth part of the globe, countless peoples, speaking a hundred different languages, are living and working in freedom. They do not fight against each other, they live in perfect peace and are united and drawn together in one vast union of workers.

That is the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

Only eight years ago these peoples were under the rule of the bloody despots who had conjured up the horrors of war over the world.

For over three years the Russian people fought under the flag of the Tsar; on the command of his authorities they shed their blood in the interest of the bankers of London and Paris.

On the 7th of November 1917 the workers and peasants in Russia lost patience and, having learned the whole truth under the leadership of Lenin and the Communist Party, which calls upon all peoples to unite in brotherhood and leads the workers

in the fight for liberation from their masters, they burst their chains, drove away their masters and began to rule their country themselves. The first steps of the Soviet government aimed at concluding a peace with all peoples, restoring the national economy ruined by the war, and feeding the starving.

All working men and women, young and old, were given complete political liberty.

For several years various generals and foreign armies, in the pay of capitalist states, attempted by force to restore the old order. But with unexampled courage the working peoples of the Soviet Union succeeded in maintaining the liberty they had won. Then came the terrible years of famine, but the Soviet Union also emerged victoriously from these.

And while in capitalist Europe the position of industry grows worse from day to day and the misery of the workers and peasants is continually increasing, in the Soviet Union every day a new factory chimney begins to pour forth smoke and the position of the workers grows visibly better.

The advance of the Soviet Union is enormously great. While the whole capitalist world is oppressing the enslaved peoples of the East still more, the only free State of the world, the Soviet Union, has granted complete freedom and full co-operation to all Republics belonging to it, from the greatest to the least, with equal rights for all.

This free Union of working peoples is the only friend and defender of all the suppressed peoples in the world. The hearts of the workers of the Soviet Union, the hearts of their advance-guard and leaders, the Communists, the hearts of the young communists of the whole world who are united in the Young Communist International, beat in sympathy with the hearts of the suppressed youth of all countries.

The eighth anniversary of the October Revolution is a feast day not only for the workers in the Soviet Union, but for all suppressed peoples, for, thanks to the victory of the Russian workers and peasants, they possess in the Soviet Union a reliable support for the day of decisive struggle between the suppressed East and its suppressors. For this reason the working youth of all countries, united in the Young Communist International, on the eighth anniversary of the Soviet Union cry louder than ever to their exploiters:

**Long live the struggle for emancipation of the suppressed East!**

**Hands off China, Morocco and Syria!**

**Hands off the Soviet Union!**

**Down with threatening imperialist wars!**

**Long live the alliance of the suppressed peoples with the Soviet Union!**

**Long live the united front of the workers and peasants of the West with the suppressed peoples of the East!**

**Long live the Communist International and the Young Communist International the liberators of the suppressed peoples!**

Moscow, 1st of October 1925.

The Executive Committee of the  
Young Communist International.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The C. P. of France and the Discussion in the German Party.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of France has arrived at the following decision with regard to the discussion now proceeding in the Communist Party of Germany:

"The C.P. of France has already in a resolution which was adopted shortly after the tenth Congress of the C.P. of Germany, expressed its complete agreement with the proposals made by the Comintern to the Congress. These proposals demanded a complete change of the methods of work and of the political line of the Party, as well as an energetic ideological struggle against the ultra-Left deviations.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France therefore entirely approves of the recent decisions of the Comintern, which have as their object the removal of the crisis which clearly revealed itself within the C.P. of Germany after

the tenth Congress. It approves the decision which, by changing the composition of the party leadership and by changing the methods of work and discussion from top to bottom, will accelerate the bolshevizing of the Party and which can increase its influence among the working and peasant masses.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of France has confidence in the present leadership of the C. P. of Germany that it will carry through the decisions of the Comintern, and will, so far as this is possible, afford it assistance in fulfilling its tasks by establishing still closer connections with the C. P. of Germany in order to study all the great political and organisatory problems.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France."

## SOCIAL POLITICS

### Fatal Accidents in Mines.

By R. (Berlin).

Innumerable are the victims who fall daily on the battlefield of labour. And it is an incontestable fact that of all categories of workers the miners have to suffer the most from accidents.

We shall here make an inquiry into the statistics of accidents of some of the most important countries, the United States, Great Britain, and Prussia (there are no data available for the whole of Germany), and especially into the statistics referring to coal mining, as the most important branch of mining. The United States, Great Britain, and Prussia (Germany) take the lead among the coal producing countries of the world. The coal production of the United States and Great Britain amounts in itself to more than 70% of the total world output of coal.

The statistics of accident<sup>1)</sup> for coal mining in the above named three states are shown by the following figures:

	No. of workers employed, in thousands		
	U. S. A.	Great Britain	Prussia
1913 . . . . .	507	1128	694
1914—1918 . . . . .	747	1023	583
1919—1922 . . . . .	809	1134	810
1921 und 1922 . . . . .	748	1078	685
1923 . . . . .	—	1203	764
1924 . . . . .	—	1172	—

	No. of workers injured daily absolute		
	U. S. A.	Great Britain	Prussia
1913 . . . . .	2785	1753	1661
1914—1918 . . . . .	2445	1320	1906
1919—1922 . . . . .	2134	1021	1670
1921 und 1922 . . . . .	2355	1244	1799
1923 . . . . .	—	1289	1194
1924 . . . . .	—	1192	—

	No. of workers injured daily out of every 1000 employed		
	U. S. A.	Great Britain	Prussia
1913 . . . . .	3,73	1,55	2,39
1914—1918 . . . . .	3,27	1,29	3,27
1919—1922 . . . . .	2,64	0,90	2,06
1921 und 1922 . . . . .	3,15	1,15	2,63
1923 . . . . .	—	1,07	1,57
1924 . . . . .	—	1,02	—

It will be seen from these figures that the number of workers fatally injured in coal mining accidents in the United States, Great Britain, and Prussia alone amounts to several thousands yearly. During the ten years between 1913 and 1922, for which we possess reliable data, there were 23,545 fatal mining accidents in the United States, 12,435 in Great Britain, and 17,987 in Prussia. We have thus a total of 53,967 coal mining death victims owing to accidents in ten years in these three states.

These statistics only refer to the fatally injured. The number of actual casualties, including the workers who were slightly and severely wounded is very much greater. There are no data available on the non-fatal casualties in the coal mines of the United States and Prussia.

In order to gain an idea of the proportion of fatal to non-fatal casualties, we append the figures relating to Great Britain.

The average number of miners injured in the whole of the mines of Great Britain, the quarries excepted, amounted between 1920 and 1923 to 609,785; of these 4320 workers (0.75%) lost their lives.

In Prussia the number of miners killed in accidents in 1923 was 1194, or 2.33% of the total number injured, 51,148.

Within the period of ten years (1913 to 1922), in which the above figures show 51,148 coal miners to have been fatally injured in the United States, Great Britain, and Prussia, the number of workers injured, though not fatally, must thus doubtless amount to millions!

If we compare the figures referring to the fatally injured (per thousand of the total number of miners employed), the average per year between 1913 and 1922 is 3.15 for the United States, 2.63 in Prussia, and 1.15 in Great Britain. The mines of the United States show the highest average of accidents, those of Great Britain the lowest. The statistics of accidents were frightfully high during the war, not only in Prussia, but also in Great Britain and the United States.

The number of miners fatally injured in the coal mines of Prussia rose from 2.39 in 1913 to 3.27 (plus 33%) per thousand of the miners employed, during the years of the war.

In Great Britain the number of fatal accidents occurring during the war amounted to 1.29 per thousand of the workers employed, as compared with 0.90 per thousand in the years following. In the United States the corresponding figures were 3.27 as compared with 2.64. Thus the number of fatal accidents in Great Britain during the years of the war was 40% higher than in the post war years, in the United States 25% higher. This is undoubtedly a direct consequence of war economics, which removed the proletariat from the process of labour, and left the work to be accomplished, even in the coal mines, by inexperienced youths or old men, or not infrequently by women. And it is superfluous to mention that during this time all measures safeguarding against accidents were completely neglected.

This high percentage of fatal accidents is however not confined to the coal mines. Other branches of mining show similar figures. The following statistics<sup>2)</sup> show the number of casualties in the ore mines of the United States, Great Britain, and Prussia<sup>3)</sup>:

	No. of workers in thousands			No. of workers absolute			No. of workers fatally injured per 1000 workers employed		
	U. S. A.	Great Britain	Prussia	U. S. A.	Great Britain	Prussia	U. S. A.	Great Britain	Prussia
1913 . . . . .	191	27	58	683	32	72	3,57	1,16	1,24
1914—1918 . . . . .	180	23	54	661	23	105	3,67	1,—	1,94
1919—1922 . . . . .	120	22 <sup>4)</sup>	55	367	28	78	3,06	2,21	1,40
1913—1922 . . . . .	157	23,5 <sup>5)</sup>	55	546	26	91	3,48	1,30	1,55
1923 . . . . .	—	—	51	—	11	67	—	—	1,30
1924 . . . . .	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	—

<sup>1)</sup> The following data, here compiled in single tables for the sake of brevity, are taken from: "Technical Paper", No. 339, Washington 1924, "The Ministry of Labour Gazette" (London), and from various numbers and volumes of the "Zeitschrift für Berg-, Hütten- und Salinenwesen" (Berlin). See also "Revue Internationale du Travail" (Geneva), No. 1, 1922.

<sup>2)</sup> These data are taken from the above sources, and from the "Technical Paper" No. 354, Washington 1924.

<sup>3)</sup> In the whole of the ore mines.

<sup>4)</sup> 1919, till 1920.

<sup>5)</sup> 1913, till 1920.

The quarries<sup>6)</sup> show the following statistics of accident:

	No. of workers employed in thousands		No. of miners injured				per 1000 of workers employed	
			not fatally		fatally			
	U. St. A.	Gr. Britain	absolute	per 1000 of workers employed	absolute	per 1000 of workers employed	U. St. A.	Gr. Britain
1913 . . . . .	106	81	7,739	73	183	85	1,72	1,05
1914—1918 . . . . .	86	55	10,581	123	151	70	1,76	1,27
1919—1922 . . . . .	80	63,5	10,680	134	138	48	1,76	10,79 <sup>7)</sup>
1913—1922 . . . . .	86	60,6	10,346	120,3	151	63	1,76	1,12 <sup>8)</sup>
1923 . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	79	—	—
1924 . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	78	—	—

What do these figures tell us? They tell us in the plainest language the frightfully high percentage of fatal and non-fatal casualties among ore miners and stone quarry workers. The average number of non-fatal accidents in the ore mines in the United States in the decade from 1913 till 1922 was 35,258 yearly (25% of the total number of workers employed; that is, one worker out of every four was injured); the number of fatal accidents was 546 (3,48%). For the quarries the corresponding figures were 10,346 (12,03%) and 151 (1,76% of those employed). These statistics of accidents are not only not lower than those of the coal mines, but considerably higher.

A further investigation of the non-fatal casualties allows of the following classification:

	Metal mines: 1915 till 1922	Stone quarries: 1915 till 1922
Severely injured (Incapable of working for more than 14 days)	24,2	20,4
Slightly injured (Incapable from 1 to 14 days inclusive)	75,8	79,6

Apart from the fatal accidents, a very large number of the non-fatal accidents, 20 to 25%, have thus been the cause of serious injury, resulting in the loss of working capacity for periods exceeding 14 days.

The number of workers fatally injured in the Prussian ore mines has been equally high. The figures for 1913 to 1922 show an average of 1,65 fatal accidents per thousand of the workers employed.

In Great Britain conditions are similar. The statistics of accidents as to the metal mines and stone quarries show higher percentages than for the coal mines. Between 1913 and 1920 the average number of workers fatally injured per thousand yearly, was 1,15 in the coal mines (1913 till 1922), in the stone quarries 1,12, and in the metal mines 1,30.

The absolute figures referring to the number of miners fatally injured in the coal, ore and stone mines, during the ten years from 1913 till 1922 are as follows:

	U. St. A.		Great Britain		Prussia	
	Absolute	Per thousand employed	Absolute	Per thousand employed	Absolute	Per thousand employed
Total . . . . .	30,515	—	13,317	—	18,441	—
1913—1922 . . . . .	3,051,5	3,08	131,7	1,15 <sup>10)</sup>	1,841	2,58
Yearly average						

<sup>6)</sup> See the above named sources, as also "Technical Paper", No. 353, Washington 1924.  
<sup>7)</sup> 1919 till 1920.  
<sup>8)</sup> 1913 till 1920.  
<sup>9)</sup> In all mines.  
<sup>10)</sup> In coal mines only.

Thus 62,273 miners lost their lives in the coal, ore, and stone mines alone, in these three states only, in the decade between 1913 and 1922. That is 6,227 victims yearly out of the ranks of the working class. And these are only the fatal casualties; the non-fatal accidents, which undoubtedly amount to many millions, are not counted.

The following statistics show that the present capitalist economic order, based on profits, is to blame for these facts:

Workers employed in Great Britain:

	In coal mines 1920 21		In all mines and stone quarries (incl. coal mines) 1922/23	
	Absolute number in thousands	Per cent of all employed	Absolute number in thousands	Per cent of all employed
Male workers under 16 years of age	47,1	5,2	45,5	4,5
16 and over 16 . . . . .	893,7	94,8	963,6	95,5
Total . . . . .	940,8	100,0	1009,1	100,0
Above ground:				
Male workers under 16 years of age	20,3	8,5	19,7	8,3
16 and over 16 . . . . .	211,0	88,6	246,2	90,4
Female workers . . . . .	7,2	2,9	6,4	2,3
Total above ground . . . . .	238,5	100,0	272,3	100,0

What do these figures signify? Below ground 4,5 to 5,2%, and above bank even more, 7,3 to 8,5%, of the total number of workers employed are under 16 years of age! And how many more are young workers from 16 up to, let us say, 21 years of age! There is no doubt that this number is even higher.

Further: 2 to 3% of the total number of surface workers employed are women, about 10% of these being girls under 16.

This means that more than 80,000 (7,8% of the total number employed) juvenile workers under 16 years of age and women are working in the mines of England, the larger half below ground, and under the worst possible conditions. And this is Great Britain in the twentieth century.

Conditions are similar, if not worse, in Prussia and the United States. Unfortunately no data are obtainable on the matter. All we have to go by are the results, the high figures regarding accidents. For it is an old established fact that there are far more accidents among young and inexperienced workers and women than among adult men. In the United States, for instance, the workers fatally injured per thousand could be classified as follows:

	Age groups						
	15/20	20/25	25/35	35/45	45/55	55/65	65 and over
1890 till 1892	} 15/20	} 20/25	} 25/35	} 35/45	} 45/55	} 55/65	} 65 and over
1900 till 1902							
1910 till 1912							
Yearly average	1,23	1,13	1,3	1,5	1,83	2	2,46

These figures show that the number of fatal accidents occurring to workers between the ages of 15 and 20 is considerably greater than that between the ages of 20 to 25. This latter age group shows fewer accidents than any other. With increasing age the frequency of the accidents increases steadily, so that the age group including 65 and beyond is seen to be more than twice as liable to accidents as the age group from 20 to 25.

In conclusion one question more. What are the mining magnates doing to guard the miners from accidents? Practically nothing. The accident statistics show that accidents are almost invariably the consequence of insufficient preventive means in the mines. The safeguards are frequently entirely lacking, or are inadequate. They cost the mine owners too much. But the commodity, labour power, the cheapest of commodities at the present day, does not enter into account.

What if thousands of workers do lose their lives, the millions of the industrial reserve army are always there...

So it has always been, and so it will continue to be, so long as this capitalist economic order exists. It must be and will be destroyed.

Workers, do not forget the last words of that Ruhr miner who, dying in a mining disaster, wrote on the wall of the shaft in his own blood: "Brothers, revenge us!"