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The International Situation and the Soviet Union.

By L. B. Kamenev*).

The past year has been, as regards our foreign policy, a year of fairly complicated and contradictory events. On the one hand the year has been full of attempts on the part of the capitalist countries to come to an understanding among themselves and to form a united front. This period includes two events of such significance to the capitalist States, as the acceptance of the Dawes plan and the Treaty of Locarno. The object of the Dawes plan was the economic stabilisation of Europe, the object of Locarno the political consolidation or the political coalition, as the case may be, of the largest countries of Europe.

*) From Comrade Kamenev's report on the activities of the C. C. of the CP. of Russia at the Party Conference of one of the Moscow districts on November 22nd 1925.

On the other hand, along with this process of coalition and of the apparent external strengthening of the capitalist countries, there is proceeding the revolutionising of the broad masses of workers in Western Europe and the revolutionising of the colonies and semi-colonial countries which is even a more prominent feature. It is in the midst of these two processes that we have had to lead our Party and our country onwards.

What is the task we set ourselves in doing so? This task was already formulated by Lenin and still remains in full force. It is, to gain time to increase our economic and political strength. Every day which we gain in the midst of the fight among the various forces of the different groups of the bourgeoisie, increases our own forces. We have deliberately carried out and continue to carry out this policy of gaining time with, as I believe, no small amount of success.

In the international situation there is a certain temporary partial stabilisation of the capitalist powers. It would be folly not to recognise this fact. On the other hand however — and even a blind man can see this — this stabilisation only conceals the fact of continuous internecine struggle.

This is also how the Locarno Agreement is to be understood, for on the one side it has the character of an apparent pacification of Europe, while on the other side it is the result of an acute internal struggle and contains the germ of a whole series of future conflicts.

It might have been expected that, with the stabilisation of capital, the revolutionary movement would have subsided, but nevertheless it is constantly flaring up in ever fresh countries. The so-called stabilisation of capital has simply to put up with such facts as a number of colonial wars (Morocco, Syria) and a revolutionary movement such as we see at present in China.

Thus the struggle between various forces goes on under new forms, the fight of the capitalist States among themselves, the fight of all the capitalist countries against the revolutionary elements in the East.

As is well known, the capitalistic countries hoped that we should not succeed in the reconstruction of our country, that we should not be equal to the task of building up our economics, that our forces would automatically disintegrate in consequence of the incapability of re-establishing industry which they had anticipated.

They cherished these hopes for a good long time. For the time being they have postponed the question of exercising military pressure against us. Now they see that we have completed our economic tasks, that our economic position improves from year to year, that our forces are constantly increasing and that, if they do not succeed in putting a stumbling block in our way, we shall be, in a few years, if not the richest, at any rate one of the richest, the most united, energetic and self-confident countries of the whole world.

This prospect must alarm those States whose power is based on the oppression of colonial peoples. It is not difficult to see that the idea of a war which would disturb our further development, is based on the view that the Soviet Union must be strangled before it finally gets on its feet and collects its forces. We must not regard our enemies as fools, they are extremely clever when it is a question of defending their class interests, and they see that every month lost may prove fatal to them.

Why do the capitalist countries not try to attack us at once?

Mainly because they cannot agree amongst themselves. Locarno is the first attempt to come to an understanding which is to open the way through Germany to the frontiers of Soviet Russia for English and French capitalism. As however Germany, which was recently shattered up by them, feels herself to be an oppressed and plundered country — and this is felt not only by the working masses but also by the bourgeoisie of Germany — the agreement on the part of England and France to act in common with Germany, meets with considerable difficulties. It is much more important of course that the working class should realise that Locarno is the first step in the attack planned against us, and that all the capitalist governments are afraid that any attempt at hostile action against us would demoralise their own forces.

It is precisely the growth of the revolutionary movement which guarantees that the war to which I have referred, and which is undoubtedly in the minds of the capitalist Powers, in spite of the passionate desire of Churchill, Poincaré, Millerand etc., will be postponed, and in fact will not be realised at all if the growth of the Labour movement in Europe continues.

The revolutionary movement in Europe itself is progressing. It suffices to call to mind the most recent events in order to see this. I need only refer to the elections successes of our brother parties in Czechoslovakia, Germany and Belgium. In France we see a really strong Communist Party backed by the working class; we see an extraordinary change of attitude in the English trade union movement.

In the English Labour movement especially, the tactics of the united front have led to very important results. As is known the development of the English trade union movement led to

the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee whose task it is to carry on a common fight against war as such, and consequently against the foundations of capitalism in general. This committee has not remained a mere pious wish, it is developing a real activity of its own, is initialing actions and carrying the masses with it. This change in the English Labour movement, the connection which has been established between the English trade unions and our trade union council, is a great success for the tactics of the united front.

If we take all these facts into consideration, we see that the situation is one in which Churchill and Millerand, however much they may wish to fight against us and strangle us before we have arrived at our full strength, will not do so, that is, will not have the power to do so.

They will not by any means whatever, be able to arrest the revolutionary movement in the East, for it is a historical movement, backed by hundreds of millions who want to burst their capitalist chains. The proletarian movement in Europe, on the other hand, will develop further.

We have then every reason to assume that, in the immediate future at any rate, we shall have a breathing space for our work of reconstruction.

POLITICS

The Offensive of American Imperialism in Asia and Africa.

By F. Raskolnikov (Moscow).

Imperialist America, who was working behind the scenes at the Conference of Locarno, succeeded in realising her programme in Western Europe. In its chase after new markets, American imperialism is now developing a feverishly active policy in the East, it is making convulsive efforts to extend its "sphere of influence" on the Asiatic and African continents.

In China. American capitalism is supporting the Chili group with Wu Pei Fu at its head and is egging him on to definite acts of war.

America appears in China under the banner of the policy of the "open door" and professes, in words, to be a "friend" of the Chinese people, but in reality is carrying on an independent imperialist policy of oppression which aims at ousting America's competitors from the Chinese market and taking possession of the natural wealth of China. At the Peking Conference on Customs, America is also pursuing a line of her own which deviates sharply from the interests of Japan and the other competing imperialist Powers.

In Persia. The American General Administrator of Persian finances whose sphere of activity is Teheran, has, since autumn 1922, actually directed the finances of Persia. But that is not enough. American imperialism is at present attempting to extend its field of activity. Only recently, the Persian Parliament, on American initiative, passed a law which allows the Government to appoint twelve more American specialists for 3—5 years. One will be nominated director of agricultural policy, another is to be expert at the head of the railway department, and the rest will concern themselves with directing the affairs of the country. Agriculture, railways, finances, foreign trade, tariff policy, in one word, the whole economic life of Persia is threatened with the fate of falling into the clutches of American imperialism.

In Syria. American imperialism has for a long time been interested in this country. As early as in 1919, at the time of the Versailles peace negotiations, an American commission went to Syria to study its economic resources on the spot. The war of the French troops against the Druses, the insurrection in Damascus, Homs, Hama and other places in Syria have attracted America's attention. Two American torpedo boats were recently sent from Gibraltar to Beirut, the chief port and centre of administration of Syria.

Morocco. The deposits of ore in the territory occupied by the Riffis, attract the capitalists of all imperialist countries. The French and Spanish capitalists who ruled in this territory even before the imperialist war, carried on a desperate fight against the German firm of Mannesmann & Co. which was trying to gain an economic hold throughout Morocco. After the war,

German imperialism, which had lost all its own colonies and its possessions in the colonies of other imperialist countries, disappeared from the scene. In the place of the German capitalists, there are now active in Morocco: numerous French firms, the English firm of Gardener, the Dutch firm of Müller, which possesses more than 7000 hectares of land in the Spanish zone, and finally Italian capitalists. In quite recent times however, American imperialism has appeared in the Moroccan arena. The American capitalist Otto Kahn, who in April of this year carried out personal explorations in Morocco, is at present working at the creation of an American syndicate which, by agreement with Abd el Krim, is to exploit a territory which stretches for 80 versts along the coast, east and west of Alhucemas Bay, and reaches to the borders of the French zone.

The Otto Kahn & Co. will work the zinc, iron and anti-mony deposits in this district, is preparing to construct railways and roads, is planning to undertake extensive irrigation-works and to equip some water power works. American capitalists are investing a capital of 200 million gold francs in these undertakings.

Liberia, nominally the independent negro republic on the West coast of Africa, has long attracted the attention of American imperialism, which is at present engaged in consolidating its rule there.

The fact is that the gigantic American rubber trust, Garvey-Firestone, has succeeded in obtaining a very advantageous concession for rubber plantations in Liberia. The Firestone Co. which is closely connected with Ford, the motor car manufacturer, acquired one million acres of land for rubber plantations and assigned 100 million dollars for the equipment of the plantations. A plantation of 1000 acres which belonged to the English and was in full working order, has already been bought by Firestone, and its whole production of raw rubber has passed into the hands of American imperialism. This is not all however. According to the plan of American capitalists, 300,000 workers (mostly negroes) will be continuously engaged for five to six years in building harbours, railways and a whole number of towns, in a district which, to-day, is impenetrable jungle.

This undertaking on so large a scale will cause a complete revolution in the international rubber industry. Whereas to-day America holds 3% of the world production of rubber, and 97% is in the hands of English (partly Dutch) imperialism, America will, when the plantations in Liberia are equipped, produce 250,000 tons of rubber annually, which represents more than 50% of the present world production. This will put an end to the present Anglo-Dutch monopoly. It is interesting to note that Liberia was only chosen for this purpose when American imperialism arrived at the conclusion that the Philippines, Mexico and Central America are unsuitable in view of the growth of their revolutionary movement.

It goes without saying that, as a result of this American economic penetration, Liberia will become a colony of American imperialism without any rights of its own.

* * *

Thus, American imperialism, which since the war has generally shown a tendency to conquer new colonies, is now receiving a new impulse to increase its activity. The aggressiveness of American imperialism in Africa and Asia will necessarily grow. This circumstance will inevitably lead, and is already leading, to conflicts with other imperialist robbers who have divided up the colonies of the whole world amongst themselves. In the Far East, the efforts at expansion of American imperialism clash with the interests of Japan, in the Near East they encounter in the first place France's interests and finally, in Liberia, those of England.

The increasing bellicosity of American imperialism which intensifies the world conflicts, involves the danger of new wars. For this reason the working masses of the Soviet Union and of the whole world must carefully follow the activities of the imperialists and of their fights among themselves. In this connection it should not be forgotten that the conflict of interests between the imperialist Powers is a powerful ally of the Soviet Union. Looked at from this standpoint the increase of the activity in the colonial policy of American imperialism, which intensifies the contradictions, implies that the creation of an imperialist united front against the Soviet Union and against the national revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonial countries will become more difficult.

French Imperialism in Syria.

By G. Peri (Paris).

The "Chicago Tribune" a few days ago, published very precise and serious information from its correspondent in London which very clearly exposes the purely aggressive character of the co-operation between France and Britain in the Near East. According to this report M. de Jouvenel's visit to London and his discussions with Chamberlain have led to an understanding on very important questions.

The first part of this agreement aims at creating a united front against the claims of the Turks in Iraq concerning the Vilayet of Mosul. If the Turkish troops were to attempt to cross the borders of Iraq, they would meet with firm resistance from Great Britain.

In return for this — this clause forms the second part of the agreement — the two imperialisms will set up a common policy in the administration of the mandatory territories of Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan.

Finally, the last part provides for "appropriate measures for facilitating a common policy in the Balkans, with the object of bringing about unity in the Balkans and of preparing for common action in the defence of the Balkans against Turkey, should this be necessary".

If the Turks should dare to defy the decision of the League of Nations as regards the determination of the frontiers of the Vilayet of Mosul, the Balkan States are, by order of the League of Nations, to drive the Turks from Europe and to confine them within the frontiers of Asia Minor.

French imperialism, which is greedily trying to maintain and extend its rule in the Near East and to restore its shaken prestige in Syria, is allowing itself to be taken in tow by its powerful British neighbour.

As was to be expected, the British Foreign Office has questioned the truth of this communication, but the modesty of the denial alone is enough to make things clear to us.

It is indeed not the first time that a predatory treaty of this kind has been concluded between France and Great Britain, and the history of the negotiations between these two Powers in the last few years provides us with valuable data in this respect.

When the world war broke out, all the "friendly and allied" States were eager to seize upon the advantages which Germany had gained in the East in the course of her powerful campaign to further her "advance towards the East". In May 1916, a treaty was concluded between the Tsar, France and England for the division of the Ottoman Empire.

Constantinople was promised to the Russians. The other Turkish provinces, inhabited by Arabs, Armenians and Kurds, were divided between the three allies. Immediately after the treaty was signed Russian troops penetrated into Armenia; the English marched forwards in the South East, France prepared to undertake an expedition against Alexandretta, when the attack on Verdun upset all these attractive plans. The French leaders thereupon formed the Oriental Army, which consisted to a large extent of Syrians and Armenians to whom France promised independence. A short time before the armistice, first Beirut and then Jerusalem were wrested from the Turks.

In the meantime other events had taken place. Proletarian Russia had naturally withdrawn from the competition between the rival imperialisms. A new treaty was concluded between France and England, who this time were joined by Italy. This treaty, the so-called "Three Party Treaty of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne", recognised the equality of the economic treatment of the three Powers, but granted France a prior claim to Cilicia, Upper Mesopotamia and Kurdistan.

The French zone of influence embraced altogether the Syrian littoral and Cilicia, and secondly the hinterland, including Mosul, where the independence of an Arabian State was to be protected.

The English zone of influence consisted first of all of Iraq (Mesopotamia, Bagdad to Samora), and secondly the adjacent part of the desert of Syria, where also an Arabian State was to be protected. As regards Palestine, it was to be subjected to international control.

British troops however conducted military operations in the whole country from 1917 onwards. At the same time, England put Faisal, whom she had bought for gold, into that part of the zone where she had to "protect" an independent Arabian State.

France however completely disregarded Arabian independence in that part of her zone in which she was expected to "protect" an Arabian State.

The result was that England soon gained undisputed political and military supremacy throughout the country in both zones of influence. The English Government proposed to France that she should yield up her "rights" to Syria; it egged on the Emir Faisal to make a victorious entry into Damascus and to lay claim to the throne of the independent Kingdom of Syria.

At that time, the famous Craen Commission intervened. The United States sent a commission of investigation under the leadership of the American Craen to the spot and pronounced France to be in the right. A British protocol was signed in London in September 1919 which laid down that French troops should be substituted for English troops in the French zone of influence in Syria and Cilicia. Two months later General Gouraud sailed for the East, provided with a recommendation from Clemenceau: "Put a French soldier wherever there is at present a British one." General Gouraud had only 7000 men, at his disposal but was to relieve 23,000 British soldiers. In withdrawing their troops, the English informed the inhabitants that their departure was only provisional and that the Britain nation was little inclined to forgive those who served other interests than its own. Thus, fear of reprisals combined with hatred of the French intruder roused the Armenians and Syrians, Arabians and Turks against France. The population revolted on all sides against the French occupation.

In Syria, the French had to fight against the adherents of Faisal, in the North and in Cilicia they were obliged to organise the defence against the Turks, the Kurds and the Armenians. The Syrians gained one victory after the other over the French. From 1919 to 1920 more than 100,000 men had to be sent to Cilicia, and military credits for over 650 millions had to be granted. The result nevertheless was the evacuation of Cilicia. The Near East has always been the arena of embittered rivalry between France and England. But the episode of Cilicia is perhaps the most characteristic and at the same time the most tragic episode of the violent conflicts between the two imperialisms.

To-day the British Foreign Office and the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs are thinking of uniting against the Syrians who demand their independence, and against the Government of Angora, which wishes to enforce its claim to Mosul. During the 6th Session of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva, it was said that Great Britain was demonstratively inclined to replace Faisal by a man from Iraq who was friendly to the French. At that time, the "Times" wrote that after all, unity between France and Great Britain is the chief thing in the Near East. And in these last few days, since the decision of the Arbitration Court at the Hague on the question of Mosul, the Paris "Temps" protested, in common with the organ of the City of London against the unyielding obstinacy of the Turks. At the same time, de Jouvenel returned from London rejoicing.

Co-operation between England and France in the Near East is being carried on in the spirit of Locarno. The spirit of Locarno is the spirit of robbery.

The Seizure of the Italian Trade Unions by the Fascists and the Fascist Trade Union Law.

By G. Germanetto (Milan).

After the conclusion of the agreement in the Vidoni Palace between the Fascist trade union corporations and the industrialists, Fascism is now proceeding with the greatest violence against the red Labour organisations, that is against the trade unions led by the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* (Italian General Confederation of Labour).

How small is the influence which the Fascist corporations exercise over the working masses is to be seen from the number of votes they received in Milan and Turin at the election of the members of the Interior Commissions (Factory Committees), which are the representative organs of the masses. According to the fascist newspapers the number of the supporters of the corporations amounts to about 2 millions. That

these figures are an absolute fraud has never been denied, even when one takes into account the fact that certain fascist employers have registered the whole of their staffs with the fascist trade unions en bloc.

The only strength which the corporations possess is that which they derive from the government and through the lack of any line of action on the part of the leaders of the *Confederazione*.

The Reformists have, with the constant assistance of the Maximalists, crushed all the fighting spirit in the *Confederazione*. We have learned from the recent polemics between the Reformists and the Maximalists that every proletarian action has been held up by the political interests of the bourgeois Bloc of the Aventino, to whom the social democrats of both schools, the Reformists and the Maximalists, belonged.

The activity of the Communist Party in the whole period following the murder of Matteotti up to the case of Zaniboni had always for its chief aim to summon the great masses to the political and economic struggle. It is obvious that the sabotage work of the social democracy was bound to favour the plans of Fascism and of the corporations.

Thus the present situation has come about: Agreement of the Vidoni Palace, that is trade union monopoly of the Fascist trade union corporations, and occupation and dissolution of the most important trades councils of Italy which still existed, i. e. those of Milan and Genoa.

The same method is being employed against the sick clubs and mutual benefit clubs and the co-operatives which have not yet come under control of the Fascists.

Two weeks after this *coup de main* the *Confederazione* had not given expression of its attitude nor issued any slogan to its affiliated organs. The National Federations and the trades councils have, therefore, remained without any directions.

* * *

The Bill for the "unified trade union organisation", which now lies before the Fascist parliament, can be considered as already passed, for, apart from the votes of the communists, it is sure of unanimous acceptance. The application of the new law renders the existence of other trade union organisations than the Fascist, which without this already have the monopoly, simply impossible.

According to this law, there can only exist one single organisation of workers and employers for every branch of industry. Their recognition must follow a royal decree. Civil servants, members of the army etc. are not allowed to be organised.

The law, apparently, permits the existence of other trade unions, so far as they do not have international connections. But juridical personality, which is necessary in order to enter into agreements, is only granted to the Fascist trade unions.

The bill provides imprisonment and fines in the case of strikes and lockouts.

According to the bill, trade union organisations can be legally recognised when the employers who enter the organisations, employ a tenth of the workers in the undertakings in the relative branch of industry in the district in question. The workers' trade union organisations can be legally recognised when those who organise themselves constitute a tenth of the workers of the relative branch of industry in the district in question. That is to say, when a mere tenth of the workers are forced into the Fascist employers' organisations, such organisation will be legally recognised as the only permissible trade union organisation.

The recognition of the organisations is carried out by a royal decree on the proposal of the responsible (Fascist) Minister in agreement with the (Fascist) Minister of the Interior.

Further, the legally recognised organisations shall represent all the employers and workers of the branch of industry concerned. The contributions of the workers are to be deducted from their wages and paid into the funds of the unions.

The chairman and the secretary are elected at meetings, but their election must be confirmed by royal decree on the

proposal of the responsible minister, in agreement with the Minister of the Interior. The confirmation can be withdrawn any time. The President and the Secretary of the provincial, district and parochial organisations must be approved by the Prefect of the province. The President or the secretary can be removed at any time on account of "moral or political misconduct".

The Prefect or the Minister, as the case may be, can dissolve the leadership of the unions and, for the period of a year, delegate all powers to the President or Secretary, and in special cases to a Commissioner.

The appeal authorities shall "judge according to law and justice and reconcile the interests of the employers with those of the workers, and in all cases safeguard the higher interests of production". The Italian workers know what is meant by the "higher interests of production".

* * *

Fascism is seeking to accomplish the impossible, it wishes to put a stop to the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Experience will prove that this is impossible.

The bill goes much further than the law which Tsar Nicolas II. introduced for the "recognition" of the Russian trade unions. The police-controlled trade unions of the Russian bourgeoisie were, however, unable to keep the Russian proletariat in bonds. Today the Russian proletariat is free.

Italian Fascism cannot and will not succeed for long in holding down the trade union movement of the proletariat which is based on the class consciousness of the workers.

THE COMMUNIST PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND

To all Young Workers and Peasants!

Comrades, the reactionary Baldwin Government has concluded its preliminary attack upon the working class and the working class youth, by sentencing Comrade Rust (Secretary of the British Youth), and Comrades Gallacher, Hannington, (Secretary Mopr organisation), Inkpin (Secretary Communist Party) and Pollitt (Secretary of the British Trade Union Minority Movement) to 12 months imprisonment, and Comrades Campbell, Murphy, Arnot, MacManus, Wintringham, Bell and Cant to 6 months imprisonment, on the charge of "conspiring to publish and utter seditious libels and words, conspiring to incite persons to commit breaches of the Incitement to Mutiny Act of 1797, and endeavouring to seduce from their duty persons serving in His Majesty's forces". The law officers of the Government, as well as the judge in the court, declared the Communist Party and the Young Communist League illegal organisations, striving to accomplish their object (change of government) by unconstitutional methods.

The myth of free speech, of free press, and the right of organisation, even in democratic England, is now exploded. British capitalism can no longer grant the hitherto privileged British workers the restricted "liberties" of Parliamentary democracy. For the first time in modern British political history bona fide working class political organisations have been savagely attacked, declared illegal, and their leaders sentenced and imprisoned, on a purely political charge.

The arrest and imprisonment of the Communist leaders is an important link in the chain of the British capitalists' present political policy. The bungling attempt to smash the Communist Party and the Young Communist League is part and parcel of the mass offensive on the Trade Unions and the whole Labour Movement. The first order of the capitalists is, "smash the working class vanguard". Today, miners, railwaymen, Civil servants, and building workers, are faced with demands for wage reductions, in face of a rise in the cost of living. "Wages must come down" declared Baldwin. The workers' answer was the united front. The Communist policy of international and national trade union unity, the formation of the workers Industrial Alliance, and the granting of more power to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, became the workers' slogans.

The slogan of the Second National Conference of the Minority Movement, "Prepare for the coming struggle" found its re-echo

in every industrial district, in every Trades Council and trade union, in the heart of every class-conscious trade unionist. The working class united front was rapidly cementing. Baldwin and Joynson-Hicks realised its danger. Split the working class ranks, was their order. This order was well and faithfully executed by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald at the Liverpool Conference of the Labour Party. The organised attempt by the Right Wing to exclude the Communists from the Labour Party and the Right Wing to exclude the Communists from the Labour Party and the subsequent decisions accepted by Liverpool were a defeat of the whole working class movement by MacDonald and Cramp, and a victory for Baldwin and Chamberlain. Their immediate results were the resolution at the Brighton Conference of the Conservative Party, calling for the suppression of the Communist Party and the arrest and charge of the British Communist leaders.

While the Communist leaders are in prison, unconstitutional Fascism is legalised and encouraged by the government: From the attack on Pollitt to the burgling of working class offices, to the smashing of the "Daily Herald" van, and the Attorney General conveniently withdrawing the charges against them. The farcical nature of British class justice is now evident to all. The attack on the Communists is an attack on the labour movement, on the trade unions, on the workers' wages and conditions of labour. The reaction is growing. All over the country Communists are being charged and sentenced on the flimsiest pretexts. Fascism is preparing. The imprisonment of our comrades is of world significance, it is an attack on the world Labour Movement. The answer of the workers must be the United Front. Despite imprisonment, chicanery and the O.M.S., the steel bonds of working class unity, are being forged on the anvil of struggle.

The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. calls on all its organisations to organise a mighty world-wide protest against British class justice and demand the release of our imprisoned comrades. It calls upon all British young workers to rally to the trade unions, and urges the British workers to inscribe upon their banner "Form the workers defence corps for the defence against fascism". "Organise the Industrial Alliance against the capitalist offensive". "Form the factory committees". "Release the imprisoned comrades". Let the answer to the attack of the capitalists on the Communist Party and Young Communist League be the counter-attack on the Baldwin wage-reducing and war-fomenting forgers' government.

The reply to the capitalist attack is a mass Communist Party and Young Communist League in Great Britain.

The Executive Committee of the
Young Communist International.

Protest of the Central Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union against the Communist Persecution in England.

The Central Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union has learnt with profound anger and indignation of the sentences to imprisonment which have been pronounced against the twelve leaders of the Communist Party of England, who at the same time are members of our English brother Trade Unions. There is not the least doubt that this class sentence is not only directed against that portion of the workers who are organised in the Communist Party, but also against the whole English proletariat, including the Trade Unions.

This sentence not only affects the vital interests of every English worker, for it creates the possibility of persecuting militant Trade Unions and enables the bourgeoisie to carry out an attack along the whole line, but it also acquires international importance, as it constitutes a link in the general chain of repressions against the workers in the various capitalist countries.

The Central Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union expresses its firm conviction that this sentence will only result in the working class of England becoming still more firmly united and will serve as a further proof of the necessity of strengthening proletarian solidarity and establishing the unity of the international Trade Union movement.

THE BALKANS

Reports on Bulgaria.

By P. F. (Vienna).

The French lawyer Marcel Willard, advocate at the Court of Appeal in Paris, was in Bulgaria for a short time this summer. In the course of eight days, he managed to procure authentic proofs of the gruesome conditions in Bulgaria by discussions with leading politicians, by visiting the central prison of Sofia and above all by attending the trial of Kabaktchiev and his comrades. He has recorded the results of his investigations in a book which has appeared in French and German*).

Willard had detailed discussions with leaders of the opposition and of the Government. Even the former Minister Kosturkoff, leader of the opposition "radical party", who, by the bye, believes in the League of Nations and is naturally a sworn enemy to the "agrarian-communist united front" which is to blame for everything — but which, as is well known, came into being, not before, but after the Zankoff putsch — declared that the whole country is opposed to the Zankoff Government. He confirmed the reports of the thousands and thousands of political murders and deeds of violence which have been committed by the Zankoff Government.

The opposition party of the "Democrats", of which Malinoff is the leader, like the party of the Social Democrats, voted for the monstrous law "for the defence of the State". By this law not only were serious members of the opposition excluded from Parliament and from all public bodies and services, but any determined member of the opposition, along with his relatives and friends, was at the mercy of Zankoff's blood-guilty justice. Willard cross-questioned Malinoff and, lo and behold, the noble democrat, declares that, just like his accomplices, the social democratic leaders, he is in favour of martial law, and of the dictatorship of the Right as long as they may be necessary. (At some future date, bourgeois "freedom" will be restored to the people.)

The dictator Wolkoff, the Minister for War, who, in common with Zankoff and Protogeroff, organised the wholesale murders and crimes, showed himself to be a "man of the world". Questioned by Willard as to the number of persons imprisoned, hanged and killed in the streets, the woods and the prisons, he gracefully waved the question aside. He cynically declared that the Government had not exceeded any limits, "that it did not even do what should have been done in the circumstances". And yet it was this "executioner with the well-manicured hands" who issued the famous secret order commanding the slaughter and pillage of the communists and agrarians and of those in sympathy with them.

Willard describes the conduct of King Boris and the very similar conduct of — the social democrats. He brings documentary evidence to prove that these social democratic jackals, Sakasoff, Kasasoff, Pastuchoff, who, as is well known, took part for months at first in the Zankoff-Wolkoff Government, and gave it further valuable support in Summer 1925 by protesting against the reports of the English Labour Party Delegation which had visited Bulgaria a short time previously and by defending the necessity of the Zankoff "law and order" against the infamous "agrarian communists".

Willard's book further gives a picture of the fury of the exceptional Courts and the conditions in the prisons. Willard succeeded in seeing and speaking to a number of the prisoners, so that his reports on this subject are absolutely authentic.

The book is particularly valuable because of the exact description of the trial of the communist leaders Kabaktchiev, Kolarov and Dimitrov which was being carried on just at the time of his stay at Sofia. The documents which he produces, especially the protocol of the great speech of defence of Kabaktchiev himself and the speech of Stomaniakov, the public prosecutor, a remarkable "opening speech of the counsel for

the prosecution", as it practically confirms Kabaktchiev's representation, unfold the whole historical development up to the Autumn of 1923 and beyond it; they characterise the part played by the Communist Party and reveal Kabaktchiev and his comrades as the staunch champions of the workers of Bulgaria.

Further valuable documents reproduced in the book are: the law "for the defence of the State" in its exact wording and a "protest of the Association of Bulgarian advocates" in which is reported the ill-treatment of advocates under the Zankoff regime.

The interesting and thoroughly objective book of Willard's is an important contribution to the elucidation of conditions in Bulgaria, and serves as an appeal to the broad public to call a halt to the doings of the militarists in Bulgaria.

Even before Willard's book, the eight page brochure on Bulgaria appeared*), written by Colonial C. L. Malone, who, with Colonel Wedgwood M. P. and W. Mackinder M. P., was visiting Bulgaria just at the time of the bomb outrage in the cathedral. The brochure in the first half depicts in brief outlines the development in the Balkans before and during the great war, describes the effect of the Peace Treaty of Neuilly, the development under Stambulisky and finally the Zankoff putsch, as well as the White Terror which has raged in Bulgaria ever since. His exposition culminates in a severe indictment of the "so-called socialist party of Bulgaria", which "has taken the part of reaction against the workers and peasants" (Malone's words). He stigmatises the reactionary policy of the social democratic party leaders as Zankoff's accomplices, not only in Bulgaria but also outside Bulgaria, where they help to corrupt and poison the whole bourgeois and socialist Press. This brochure is supplemented by the report of Wedgwood, Malone and Mackinder on their experiences and doings in Bulgaria, which has since appeared and which is horrifying by reason of its plain matter-of-fact presentation of facts. Malone demands that the Bulgarian social democracy should be excluded from the Labour and Socialist International.

The bloody White Terror in Bulgaria still continues. Trials are still carried on, persons are condemned to death and hanged. It is therefore imperative to continue and intensify the campaign against this terror. In this campaign, Willard's and Malone's reports, as well as the other descriptions which have been published in the mean-time (Renault, Riboldi etc.) should be disseminated as widely as possible.

The International Red Aid against the Continued White Terror in Bulgaria.

Moscow, December 4, 1925.

At to-day's session of the Executive of the International Red Aid a Report was accepted on the situation in Bulgaria.

In spite of the formal abolition of the State of Siege, the White Terror is raging in Bulgaria more furiously than ever. Political mass trials are still going on, death sentences are still being imposed. 73 trials involving 1242 accused persons are to be held in the near future.

It is forbidden to render aid to political prisoners. The wives and children of the victims of the Zankoff terror are deprived of all support. The sending of children abroad to be brought up in orphans' homes is likewise prohibited.

The Executive of the IRA. decided to increase the struggle against the Terror in Bulgaria and to call upon the working masses to continue the persistent and energetic campaign under the slogans: Abolition of death sentences, legalising of relief for the political prisoners and their families, collections of money! The Executive decided to devote special attention to the Bulgarian children.

*) Marcel Willard: "Was ich in Bulgarien gesehen habe", translated into German by Guido Zamis, Münster Verlag,

*) "Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Labour and Socialist International" by Col. C. L. Malone, Plebs League, London SW. 1. 1925.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Pronunciation of the Verdict in the Trial of the Peasants at Kishinev.

By J. Socor (Kishinev).

As has already been reported in the press, 234 of the accused were acquitted and the rest were sentenced to long periods of penal servitude. Baditshev, the chief person among the accused, was sentenced to penal servitude for life. Editor.

"The Kishinev Military Court has for three days been considering the verdict against the 485 Bessarabian peasants." In this way, Roumanian official circles are trying to conceal from the public the fact that the verdicts are in reality pronounced by the vehmic court of the Siguranza and not by the Military Court.

As a matter of fact however, one verdict is already certain. That is the verdict of the whole public opinion of Europe on the Bratianu Government's policy of murder and on its organ of execution, the Kishinev Military Court.

Now that nothing more remains to be done in this trial but the formality of pronouncing the verdict, we may, in broad outlines, give a survey of all the events in Tatarbuniar which led up to this trial. This possibility is now offered to us by the statements of the accused and witnesses as well as by the plea of the defence.

The course of the trial has, above all, brought absolute proof that the insurrection of Tatarbuniar was an entirely spontaneous movement, and in no respect could any interference on the part of the Soviet Union be proved. That this is true, is further proved by the sensational statements of Captain Chiriac the prosecutor in the trial of the Roumanian lieutenant and wholesale murderer Morarescu, who, without the slightest contradiction from the Bucharest Military Court, maintained that officers of the type of Morarescu are the real instigators of the insurrection in Bessarabia and especially of the events in Tatarbuniar.

But even the prosecutors in the Tatarbuniar trial finally dropped the supposition according to which agents of the Soviet Union had instigated the rebellion, and their proposal to acquit 200 of the accused is only a logical sequence to this.

It is thus an indisputable fact that the insurrection in Tatarbuniar was nothing but an ordinary peasant revolt such as have already occurred 86 times since the occupation of Bessarabia by Roumania. If greater significance has been attributed to this insurrection both at home and abroad, it is because since the Chotin revolt, in which 11,000 peasants were slaughtered, no single revolt has been followed by such bloody reprisals. The district in which the insurrection took place is near the delta of the Danube, and this fact alone imparts international significance to any movement in that part of the country.

The immediate cause of the general revolt was the wholesale arrests and tortures in the village of Nikolajevsk, where the Mayor and two gendarmes were murdered by masked men. Cases of murder of this kind occur almost daily in Bessarabia and are only a proof of the general insecurity which prevails in that country. The fact is, that the so-called guardians of the peace, the police and gendarmes, are too much engaged in the discovery of conspiracies and in thinking out new atrocities against the population, to be able to preserve public safety.

When the official persons in Nikolajevsk were murdered, the gendarmerie arrested the whole of the inhabitants of the village and actual orgies of torture began. Almost half of the persons arrested were thrown into the Danube when they had "survived" their trial, others were shot on the way between Cilicia and Caramachmet. The relatives of the murdered persons were not allowed to bury the bodies, dogs dragged the bones of those who had been shot about the village streets for weeks.

Not only the village of Nikolajevsk, but other villages also had to suffer for the incapability of the authorities. The same fate overtook all the villages in the neighbourhood. Everywhere there were wholesale arrests, tortures, shootings etc.

All this happened before the insurrection at Tatarbuniar broke out. These terrible reprisals produced panic and despair in an atmosphere which was already tense enough owing to the general and growing discontent of the Bessarabian population and to the famine in South Bessarabia. One spark was enough to cause a conflagration of general popular indignation.

This spark was provided by the shooting of a peasant in the market place of Tatarbuniar without any legal justification.

The communique of Colonel Maxim, President of the Kishinev Military Court, who was at that time entrusted with the task of suppressing the rebellion, the communique which was mentioned in the trial, shows how absolutely unpremeditated the whole insurrection was and how poor an organisation and how small a store of arms were at the disposal of the rebellious peasants. The communique contains the following:

"The great mass of the inhabitants of these villages did not rise at all. In the remaining part of Bessarabia, absolute peace prevails, as result of the preventive measures we have undertaken. The inhabitants of these districts are peacefully following their occupations."

Why then these bloody repressions, this horrible cruelty which is surely unique?

When the first divisions of troops approached Tatarbuniar, they set it on fire in several places. At the same time the whole of the population, without distinction of sex or age, were driven together in the churchyard, where a large number of them were shot on the spot. Another group, about 250 persons, were slaughtered outside the village. A third group, more than 700 arrested persons, were crammed into the cellar of the public school of Tatarbuniar, where the majority died of suffocation in three days, the rest being shot by Colonel Maxim, the present President of the Military Court. Altogether, ghastly scenes occurred in this cellar. As the prisoners were given no water for weeks, they paid as much as 10,000 lei for a glass of water, others drank urine. When some of the prisoners tried to burst open the door, the guards fired blindly into the cellar with a machinegun. Among those shot were also numerous very rich peasants who had only been imprisoned in order that money could be extorted from their relatives.

A great number of prisoners were burnt or buried alive. Murder, violation, incendiarism, torture and robbery are the best expressions to describe the "battle" of Tatarbuniar, which was in reality nothing but gruesome slaughter.

In Nerusai more than 100 peasants were shot and their bodies thrown to the dogs.

In Cimisia, 280 peasants were shot after horrible tortures. At that time the Minister of the Interior and the Minister for Bessarabia travelled through the district in revolt and promised the peasants that no more shootings would take place.

Nevertheless the murders continued. A fortnight after the insurrection had been suppressed, 18 peasants were shot in Galilesti, in Podkova 30 peasants were executed after hideous tortures. In the latter place, a red-hot iron ring was placed on the heads of the peasants during the examination in order to force them to make confessions.

These reprisals lasted till the beginning of December (the revolt broke out in the middle of September).

All these statements can be clearly and indisputably gathered from the trial of peasants at Kishinev. The trial with its whole make-up was intended to justify this fearful carnage. We may regard this attempt as a complete failure.

To our Readers!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England	2 sh.
America	50 cents
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Norway	2 crowns
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These subscriptions include all Special Numbers besides the Regular Number.

Readers in England can also obtain the "Inprecorr" from the Communist Bookshop, 16, King Street, London W. C. 2.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Trade Union Week of the Working Youth.

To the Working Youth of the Whole World.

Young Working Men and Women!

The offensive of capital against the workers' wages and the eight hour day is still proceeding. The position of the working class, especially of the young workers, is growing worse from day to day in all capitalist countries.

Unemployment is steadily increasing. Millions are starving because the bourgeoisie is incapable of abolishing the inner contradictions of capitalist society.

The systematic blockade of Soviet Russia with her 130 million population and immeasurable natural resources is resulting in a growing menace to the whole world's economics.

Comrades! Brothers!

The bourgeoisie has established its united front in the struggle for the reduction of wages, for the lengthening of working hours, for a new war against Soviet Russia on an international scale. On the other hand the inner differences within the camp of the bourgeoisie, the competitive struggle, threaten to plunge the world into new bloody imperialist wars. The working youth are again threatened with the danger of being employed in the not distant future as cannon-fodder in the interests of capital.

Young working men and women!

The Young Communist International calls upon you to conduct an energetic revolutionary fight

against starvation wages,
against the lengthening of working hours,
against the dissolution of the trade unions in Italy,
against Reaction and White Terror,
against new imperialist Wars!

The fight of the young workers can, however, only be successful if it is supported by the whole working class and its fighting organisations, the trade unions. We therefore call on you:

All young working men and women — enter the trade unions!

Establish the united front of the young and adult workers!

The fighting capacity of the trade unions has been extremely weakened as a result of the Reformist splitting policy of the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The prerequisite for a successful fight by the working class is Trade Union Unity.

The million army of the English working class has recognised this and has concluded a fighting alliance with the Russian, and through them with all revolutionary trade unions.

The young workers of the whole world must support this alliance with all their forces.

Young working men and women!

The Young Communist International is organising a Trade Union Week of the Working Youth of the whole World from December 14 to 20, 1925.

During this week the millions of young working men and women must be mobilised for the fight for Trade Union Unity and for the economic and trade union demands of the working youth.

We call upon all of you to rally to the fighting ranks of the Young Communist Leagues in order, by united forces, to ensure that this first International Trade Union Week of the Working Youth becomes the starting point of a permanent, energetic and successful struggle:

For International and National Trade Union Unity!

For improving the position of the working youth!

For the most powerful support of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee!

For organising all young workers in the trade unions!

Moscow November, 27, 1925.

The Executive Committee of the
Young Communist International.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Decline of Unemployment and Development of Provision for Unemployed in the Soviet Union.

By L. F. Vinov (Moscow).

Unemployment in the Soviet Union has, to a large extent, other causes and is of a different character from unemployment in the capitalist countries. Whereas in the capitalist countries, unemployment is a symptom of the economic crisis, unemployment in the Soviet Union must have quite a different cause as, in spite of the rapidly increasing industrial production since 1923, it shows a tendency either to increase also (economic year 1923/24) or to decrease only slightly in comparison to the economic boom (1924/25 and presumably 1925/26). The economic boom, it is true, is so great in its extent, that even this comparatively slight decrease in unemployment represents in absolute numbers hundreds of thousands.

The source of unemployment in the Soviet Union lies chiefly in the disproportion between the agricultural and industrial population. The peasant population, numbering hundreds of millions, (22 million farms), send its surplus population to urban production which employs 7 million workers.

A few cursory figures for comparison:

Membership of the Trade Unions:

April 1st 1924	5,882,682
October 1st 1924	6,430,470
April 1st 1925	6,950,484

On October 1st 1925, the number of trade union members was far more than 7 million (exact statistics are not yet available).

Actual Number of all Unemployed (from both registered and unregistered), according to the Estimates of the Institute for Planned Economics:

April 1st 1924	1,600,000
August 1st 1925	1,265,000

(There are at present 900,000 registered unemployed.)

We thus see that, from April 1st 1924 to April 1st 1925, the number of trade union members increased by 1,067,802, which implies a somewhat greater increase in those employed in production. Unemployment however only decreased by 335,000 during almost the same period. The prospective proportions for the current economic year 1925/26, are similar. In this economic year, a total of about a million new workers will be employed in all branches of work (industry, agriculture, mining, transport, commerce, civil service, etc) while it is calculated that unemployment will only decrease by 400,000 to 500,000. The annual immigration from the villages, is calculated at, in round figures, half a million.

It is symptomatic of the nature of the unemployment that the unemployed spring largely, not from urban, proletarian circles, but partly from the surplus agricultural population and partly from the classes employed in the specially bourgeois occupations which have become superfluous in consequence of the revolution. Only the smaller part consists of industrial workers (mainly unskilled) and officials. Thus, in another country, a large number of the unemployed would not be included at all in the statistics of unemployment. The significance of the comparatively large number of unemployed must not be overrated.

There are hardly any skilled workers among the unemployed. In many branches of industry there is indeed a lack of skilled workers.

In spite of all, the question of unemployment in the Soviet Union is of course an important problem which urgently demands solution, all the more because the proletarian State, in contrast to capitalism, has really not the slightest interest in the existence of an industrial reserve which forces down wages. The Soviet Union therefore devotes more attention to combating unemployment than any other country in the world.

Above all, the Soviet Government is fully aware that the chief evil of unemployment is due to the primitive condition of agriculture. Endeavours to intensify agriculture and to develop agricultural industry are the most important means for combating the growth of unemployment. Apart from this general task, various other measures have been and are being taken to reduce as far as possible the immigration of unemployed agricultural workers into the towns. Thus for instance, unemployed agricultural labourers are trained to manage tractors (10,000 labourers in the current economic year). The construction of new roads will give employment to about 60,000 agricultural workers this year (instead of 40,000 last year). The settlement of unemployed on uncultivated land is also being carried out with great energy. In the current year, three million roubles have been appropriated from the State budget for this purpose.

In the towns, unemployment insurance is at present the most extensive but no longer the only means of alleviating unemployment. The sums appropriated for the support of the unemployed by the bodies for social insurance amount in the current economic year to 50 millions (25 millions last year), by the trade unions, to 6 million roubles, altogether 56 millions (121 million marks). Apart from this, about 20 million roubles are spent for productive care of the unemployed. More than 100,000 unemployed are being employed in public work in the towns for six months. The productive co-operative societies of the unemployed are in the position this year, to provide the possibility of earning for 120,000 unemployed (by 50% more than last year). A considerable relief will result from the re-education of unskilled workers who are being trained in skilled work and will thus more easily find employment.

On the basis of this and other measures which, for want of space, are not mentioned here, we can calculate, in view of the uninterrupted, progressive economic boom, that unemployment will disappear or almost entirely disappear within two years. We cannot yet reckon out to what degree a lack of workers (which, as already mentioned, is even now felt in some branches) may develop. Should, when that time arrives, the Soviet Union still be the only proletarian State in the world, it will, in two or three years, certainly be in a position to offer shelter and work not only to political but also to many economic refugees who have fled from capitalist oppression, thanks to the rapid development of proletarian economics and also in consequence of the impossibility of capitalism developing.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the Workers Party of America on the Decision of the ECCI. regarding the CP. of Germany.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America, fully conscious of its duty, makes all efforts possible to advance on the road to the Bolshevisation. It fully realises that as a part of the world Communist Party its strength will enhance the strength just as its weakness will increase the weakness of our International Party.

The Workers (Communist) Party also realises that in the process of its inner strengthening and the raising of the level of its revolutionary quality the aid, the advice and support, of our International Party, the Comintern, as well as the active interest of our brother Parties are indispensable. The problems of our Party are those of the International, the problems of the International are ours.

True to this concept the Workers (Communist) Party of America has been watching with keen interest the recent discussion and developments of the Communist Party of Germany.

The continuous encroachments of the American imperialists in Germany tend to increase among the broad working masses of both countries the consciousness of the need of united action of the international proletariat for the overthrow of all capitalist dictatorships. The growth and development of the powerful section of the Communist International in Germany has thus become a matter of special concern for the Workers (Communist) Party.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America sees in the last decision of the Comintern

on the situation of the Communist Party of Germany a tremendous step forward in the Bolshevisation of our International. It agrees with and accepts unreservedly these decisions of the Comintern. Our own experience has strengthened us in the conviction that only a vigorous execution of the proposals of the Communist International will ensure the Bolshevisation of the Communist Party of Germany and will make it the leader of the German working class.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party declares that it sees in the advice and instructions of the Communist International the invaluable help that can grow out of the experiences of the Communist Parties of the whole world embodied in the Communist International. At a time when the ebb in the revolutionary tide tends to create an unhealthy pessimism which is very conducive to the development of opportunist deviations, it is of double importance that the Communist International should make available to its affiliated parties this experience.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party declares itself to be in full accord with the declaration of the Communist International against the pessimism of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow group and its leftist allies, against the latter's neglect of trade union work, against its opportunist deviations, its narrowness in directing the Party work, the attempt to revise and destroy Leninism, and its dangerously wrong attitude to the Communist International.

The C. E. C. of the Workers (Communist) Party of America welcomes the change of the composition of the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany as an effective guarantee for the loyal application of the new methods of work by the membership.

The C. E. C. the Workers (Communist) Party expresses its confidence in the new leadership and feels certain that under its guidance the Communist Party of Germany will make rapid strides towards its Bolshevisation and the winning of the working and farming masses for the victorious proletarian revolution in Germany.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

The American Negro Labour Congress.

By M. Rabinovitch.

On the 25th October there was opened in Chicago the Congress of Negro Workers and Peasants. In "democratic" America Negroes are entirely without rights. It is sufficient to mention that Negro children have no right to attend the elementary schools, in order to have some idea of the hard lot of the Negroes. The Negroes are in their great majority workers and proletarians. In addition to bearing the full hardship of the ordinary worker's life, they have to suffer from racial persecutions, racial isolation and deprivation of all rights. The most important task facing the Negro labouring masses, as well as all the class conscious workers of America, consists in the full and unconditional abolition of all racial subjugation; and the Negro workers, who already constitute a seventh of all the workers in the United States and whose role in industry and agriculture is irresistibly growing, are now faced with the task of organising themselves into a fighting section of the worldwide workers' front.

The Congress aroused the Negro workers, working farmers, and agricultural labourers. There gathered together representatives from the coal fields of West Virginia, from the steel foundries of Pennsylvania, of the Pottery workers in Ohio, of the dock workers, of the workers on the cotton and sugar plantations, of the workers and farmers of Texas, of Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. There were present in all 40 delegates, representing both organised and unorganised Negro toilers.

In a number of places the employers had threatened with immediate dismissal any one who dared to attend the Congress. In other places the authorities employed the services of the clergy, who from their pulpits made every kind of attack upon the Congress and called upon the workers to have nothing whatever to do with it, in order not to imperil the safety of their souls. Notwithstanding this, the workers arranged meetings for the election of delegates in Chicago.

The Congress opened with great enthusiasm on the part of the assembled public.

The agenda, among other items, contained the following:

Negroes and the Trade Unions. Racial persecutions and restrictions. Negroes and American political life. Negroes and the anti-imperialist movement (India, Egypt, Syria and Morocco). Semi-serfdom and organisation of Negro farmers.

As regards the question of **Negroes and the Trade Unions**, after a discussion which was participated in mainly by members of the workers' organisations, who dealt with the means and methods for organising coloured workers and who stressed the necessity of the united front on the part of white and coloured labour against the yoke of capital, the Congress unanimously adopted the resolution, which condemns the bureaucratic heads of the **American Federation of Labour** for their refusal to admit negro workers into the ranks of the **AFOFL**, and also those betrayers of the Negro race who assist in the recruiting of blacklegs among coloured labourers, and demands the immediate abolition of all restrictions to free admission of Negroes into all labour unions.

On the question of **racial persecutions and restrictions** there was adopted a resolution demanding the abolition of all restrictions based on racial differences as regards residence, as well as demanding admission to the schools, and claiming the right of Negro workers to the same right and privileges enjoyed by white workers.

Regarding the problem of **Negroes and American Political life**, the Congress passed a resolution which, after a careful analysis of the legislation of the past few years and after having drawn the conclusion that this legislation is inspired with the spirit of the **Ku-Klux-Klan**, exposes the character of the latter and the class nature of the government which gives rise to and protects such organisations, and calls upon the workers of all races and nations to unite for the fight against the **Klan**. The Congress resolved to declare the **Klan** an enemy to mankind, to carry on a life and death struggle against it and to unite with all foreign-born and persecuted workers. The resolution submits to an annihilating criticism the system of trial by jury, and also **Jim-crowism** in the army and navy.

The resolution on **Negroes and the anti-imperialist movement** exposes the endeavours of the imperialists to enslave the workers and toilers of the colonial countries. The resolution hails the **Soviet Union** which is the first State to realise full social, political and economic equality of all peoples and nations, regardless of colour or race.

As a first step towards establishing a connection between the fight of the Negro workers in America and the world fight of the workers against imperialism, the Congress of the Negro workers and peasants instructed the **National Executive Committee** to convene a **World Congress of Negro workers**.

The **Constitution** adopted by the Congress states the aim of the organisation to be to unite the efforts of all organisations of all Negro workers and peasants, as well as of mixed organisations of Negro and white workers and peasants and of organisations sympathising with the Negro movement which have taken upon themselves the defence of the Negro race, as well as of the toilers in general, against inequality, persecution and exploitation. One of the special aims was declared to be the organising of the Negro workers in trade unions and bringing them into the general labour movement of the white workers, the abolition of all restrictions and limitations against the Negro and other races, in order that all races may enjoy full equality in the labour movement. The next aim is declared to be the emancipation of the coloured and also of all workers of the world.

Other resolutions demand equal pay for equal work for juvenile and adult Negro workers; a minimum wage; complete prohibition of child labour; a six hour working day and a five day working week for workers under eighteen; no Negro troops to be employed in strikes or in imperialist undertakings; abolition of corporal punishment for young Negro workers on the farms and plantations; a weekly rest of 44 hours for all workers.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Declaration of the Norwegian Workers' Delegation.

Moscow, Nov. 22nd 1925.

Before its departure, the Norwegian workers' delegation addressed the following declaration to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union:

The Norwegian workers' delegation, consisting of 13 representatives of all political shades of the Norwegian Labour movement, and chosen on the basis of a resolution of the **Norwegian Trade Union Congress**, expresses its warm thanks for the brotherly hospitality. We visited many towns, districts, numerous factories, workers' clubs, schools, hospitals and sanatoria and had a number of discussions with trade union functionaries. The latter, as well as the Soviet authorities, treated us as friends and class comrades and gave us every facility for visiting all factories and institutions we desired and of receiving any explanations we wanted, with regard to the conditions and structure of the organisations.

The Norwegian workers' delegation draws the following conclusions from its visit to the Soviet Union:

Firstly, all the organs of the Soviet Power, in common with the trade unions and the political and co-operative organisations of the working class, are working energetically at the restoration of the economic power which suffered in consequence of the world war and the great revolution. This work of reconstruction in agriculture, transport and commerce is rapidly progressing. We are convinced that the workers in official factories, whom we met, were, without exception, keenly interested in the development of industry and devote all their powers to this work. In connection with this the standard of living of the working class is being raised.

Secondly, the Russian working class and the peasantry achieved the tremendous task of capturing the power from the bourgeoisie. They have succeeded in retaining this power and in defeating all the enemies of the Soviet system.

We are further convinced that the final task, the construction of a socialist society is approaching nearer to its solution. This work has only just begun but already production, trade, finances, exports and imports are being carried on systematically and everywhere there is the will to create order and security in economic and social life, which is very promising. Whereas in the capitalistic countries, financial and industrial capital has the whole power in its hands and rules in politics and industry, in the Soviet Union the workers and peasants are at the helm of the State and are completing the heroic work of improving the situation of the working class. We observed the gigantic amount of work that is being expended on raising the productivity of labour. New machines are being installed, new factories built, the electrification of the country is making rapid progress, and it is in the interest of the working class of the whole world that this work should be allowed to thrive without disturbance or interference on the part of the capitalist Powers.

Any attack on the Soviet Power is an attack on the working class and must by all means be averted.

Thirdly the delegation recognises the two most important results of the victorious revolution, the growth of the co-operative movement among the workers and peasants and of the trade union organisations of the workers. The latter already embrace, both absolutely and relatively, a larger number of workers than the trade unions of any other country.

The trade unions in the Soviet Union enjoy more authority among the working masses and in their relation to the power of the State than in any other country. They take an active and direct share in the building up of the workers' and peasants' republic. The trade unions are working energetically and systematically at raising the conditions of living of the working class. The delegation is fully convinced that the economic and politico-social lines of activity of the trade unions are absolutely in harmony with the interests of the working people. Workers arriving from capitalist countries can fully

appreciate the efforts which are being made to improve housing conditions, to develop maternity and child welfare, workers' sanatoria, the care of the unemployed and disabled as well as the gigantic work in the workers clubs and in the sphere of physical culture. The trade unions are carrying on a gigantic piece of social and cultural work which deserves to be a model for the trade unions of all countries.

Fourthly, the delegation has observed, among the workers of the Soviet Union and within their trade union organisations a great endeavour to re-establish international trade union unity. This was clearly expressed in the factories and at the numerous workers' meetings we attended. Of the 23 national trade union organisations of the Soviet Union, only the organisation of the food workers is affiliated to a corresponding international federation, whereas, for the other trade unions of the Soviet Union, the way to their Internationals is barred.

The work of the All-Russian Trade Union Council which is being conducted through the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, is meeting with serious hindrances. The delegation declares that these hindrances should be regarded as a disgrace and an injury to the proletariat of the whole world. The whole of the working class of Norway supports the efforts towards unity made by the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. International trade union unity is a necessity in order that the capitalist attacks may be repulsed with united forces, and that the working class of the capitalist countries may be helped to conquer power in the State on the basis of economic and social freedom, as has been done by the workers and peasantry of the Soviet Union.

Fifthly, the Norwegian workers' delegation will elaborate a complete report on their impressions of and opinions about the Soviet Union, and will publish this in the whole Norwegian Labour Press and send it to the trade union organisations of other countries. In this way we hope to strengthen the brotherly alliance between the trade union organisations of these countries and contribute towards inducing them to affiliate to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee and to promote the unity of the international trade union movement.

ORGANISATION

Better Organisation in the Utilisation and Distribution of Our Party Forces.

By Otto Unger.

Complaints of lack of numbers and overburdening of our officials are as old as our Parties. The more extensive the tasks before the Parties the more the Parties want to do justice to the tasks of real Bolshevik Parties, the louder and more persistent is the cry: we are overburdened, we have not sufficient forces at our disposal! The main reasons for the lack of forces and the overburdening of the present officials are as follows: the general inactivity of Party members, inadequate distribution of labour, lack of a continuous selection of forces and of their proper training, inadequate organisation in connection with the realisation of the tasks before us (lack of system, overlapping, insufficient preparatory work, etc.). All this is connected with and has its root in the fact that there is still a great deal of confusion with respect to the role of our Parties and their tasks.

In theory the role of the Party has no doubt been recognised more or less. But in practice things are different, and not only with respect to the very important questions of our Party work. For instance in theory we say a great deal and we say it very well, about the Bolhevisation of our Parties, but nothing serious is done with respect to trade union work among the peasants, and the same is the case with respect to the small everyday questions of our Party activity. Concerning this many of our comrades are frequently of the opinion, although they do not say so, that Party work may be restricted to attendance at meetings, occasional collaboration in various Party functions, participation in the elaboration of Party decisions, etc. But the most important, the application of these decisions among large sections of workers and peasants is frequently "forgotten" or left to be done by a handful of officials who "were elected for this".

This is where we must make a beginning: the role of the Party must be continually kept before the rank and file members

until everyone of them has entirely assimilated it. This is the foremost prerequisite for our Party becoming the real united, strongly-welded, and active vanguard of the proletariat and the peasantry. But this too will remain a beautiful theory without any results if we do not at the same time make up our minds to rid ourselves of the shortcomings described above.

Let us now consider these shortcomings and how to get rid of them.

Inactivity on the part of a large section of the membership is no doubt a well-established fact in most Parties. We have already pointed out some of the reasons for this. Another important reason is that, up till now, reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis has not made much progress in most Parties. It has already been established, and our own experience has shown, that reorganisation is one of the most important means for the activation of the most important section of our Party members.

In this connection we must also lay stress on the important question of democratic centralism, of the internal policy of the Party. Democratic centralism does not only consist in the participation of the entire Party membership, in the elaboration of the policy of the Party and of its decisions, but also in the responsibility for the carrying out of this policy and of the decisions arising from it. This joint responsibility must find its organised expression in the continuous active collaboration of every individual member. Up till now we have been able, in the best of cases, to bring about such individual collaboration only when the political situation was very acute or when campaigns had to be carried out for definite objects.

This brings us to the question of the methodics of our work and to the question of the organisation of this continuous general collaboration. We are justified in saying that on the whole the work of our Parties has assumed a very spasmodic character. To a certain extent there are objective reasons for this: the rapid succession of political events, crises, etc. However, we have got into the habit of working spasmodically also with respect to our ordinary everyday tasks, such as recruiting work, etc. Hence a surfeit of some forms of special work: campaigns, recruiting weeks, etc. In the CP. of Germany for instance, three recruiting weeks were partly carried out in September 1925. We must get out of the habit of working in this spasmodic manner where ordinary Party work is concerned. Instead of this we must carry on continuous systematic work and must continually endeavour to draw large sections of rank and file members into Party work*).

In most cases this is a question of a proper distribution of labour and of careful control over the collaborators. Hitherto this was very rare. It frequently happens that new work is assigned to those who are already over-burdened with work. There are also cases when there is distribution of work on a large scale but when the method of this distribution is based on wrongly interpreted, wrongly applied, or to use another expression on mechanical discipline. Almost the same is the case with respect to control over the collaborators and the carrying out of their work. Communist discipline is one of the most fundamental organisational principles of the Communist Party. But it cannot be brought about by mechanical instructions and "orders", although sometimes it is also necessary to give such "orders"**. One of its important features is voluntary and conscious subordination to the self-elected Executive in all questions of Party work for which every member makes himself responsible by participation in the elaboration and carrying out of the decisions of the Party. To create such Party discipline by means of systematic Party education within the framework of every day Party work is one of the most important functions of Executive bodies from the nucleus up to the CC. In this connection the lower Executive bodies have no doubt the most responsible task. They must be able to create that collective

* This does not mean that we are categorically against every campaign and every kind of special activity. But we think that they should be reduced to a minimum and should not serve as a means to make up for the lack of activity among the rank and file.

** In this connection it should be emphasised that within our Parties there are deviations which forget that democratic centralism is nevertheless centralism.

love of work and willingness to work in their Party unit, without which the Party cannot do justice to its gigantic daily and future tasks, by aptly drawing all comrades into the work according to their capacities, by helping with advice and otherwise those comrades who have been entrusted with special work, by criticising in a comradely fashion work which has not been properly carried out and by meting out praise for well-accomplished tasks.

We are always saying, and justly so, that every Communist must be able to win the confidence of the exploited non-Party and Social Democratic workers in whose midst he lives. In order that this should become a reality we must lay still greater stress on this point, and must see to it that the elected Executives of the Party units do the same with respect to their members. It is only in this manner that we will establish discipline in the Communist sense of the word, that we will arrive at the proper distribution of labour and that we will be able to get rid of the old complaint that the few are overburdened with work, that the many are idle and that there is a shortage of forces.

If work is distributed on this basis and if all Party members are drawn into the every-day Party work, then the training of Party workers will make steady progress and we will always have a choice of forces. It is only in this manner that the Executives will be able to judge of the capacities of individual comrades and to make proper use of them. It is only in this manner that Party members will be able, some more rapidly than others, to improve and develop their own capacities. And it is only in this manner that the Executive will be able to give the finishing touch to the knowledge acquired by their members through every-day work and theoretical courses.

This, taken together, is a formidable task. It implies a prolonged process of development which is in fact an important part of the process of the creation of real Communist Parties, of the Bolshevisation of the Parties. Many of our overburdened Party workers will think this task which will be mostly on their shoulders, too difficult. At least they will fail to see how this is to be done. We shall certainly hear them exclaim: "We cannot do justice to our own work and yet we are asked to help the other comrades with their work. Moreover, where is the proficiency to come to teach other comrades something?" But it is not as difficult as all that. If they know how to draw others, namely, most of the comrades into Party work, their own share of the work will be all the lighter for that. They will have some leisure for themselves, leisure to learn something and to help other comrades to learn.

But this is not the only means for solving the problem of our times. We give below an extract from an article by Comrade E. Doering which was published in the Berlin officials organ "Der Funke" on November 14, 1924. This "extract from the life of a Party official" shows in a very drastic manner how wasteful we are with the forces of our Party workers.

This is what the comrade says in his article:

"That the work of individual comrades within the Party is not always in harmony with their work outside the Party, is not only due to the wrong conception of some comrades, but also to certain organisational shortcomings within the Party. One of these shortcomings is for instance, the above-

mentioned wrong distribution of control measures. Moreover the time of the officials is too much taken up with various functions, sessions, etc., within the Party. I will give as an example a list of my engagements during the last week in August.

Monday: Trade Union fraction.

Tuesday: General meeting of the Trade Union.

Wednesday: Nucleus day.

Thursday: Nucleus chairmen.

Friday: Officials meeting in the district and factory council plenary meeting.

Saturday: Trade Union conference at 4 p. m., invitation received at 1 p. m.

Sunday morning: other Party work.

Moreover it frequently happens (see engagements on Friday) that several important sessions are held on the same day. Of course every week is not as bad as that. Otherwise how should an official find time for his other tasks? He has to prepare himself for his sessions, at least for those under his guidance. Apart from reading his daily paper he must read reformist papers and the revolutionary trade union organ and at least the "Funke" and the "Internationale" and probably also the "Imprecorr", the "Arbeiterrat" and the opposition press. Then there is the study of theses, circular letters, and the newest pamphlets to which reference is made nearly in every report. There is also this to be considered, that a worker who is not an intellectual needs more time to digest a pamphlet or theses a metre long than comrades whose profession it is to manufacture theses and directions."

Every comrade who is an active Party worker could probably give dozens of such examples. Is it really necessary to play such a havoc with the forces of our responsible Party workers? Certainly not. This must be remedied first and foremost and there are many opportunities for this. Lack of space prevents us from dealing very fully with them. We will only mention: fewer sessions; removal of all superfluous questions from the agendas of these sessions; limiting agendas on the whole to that which is most important (unimportant or administrative matters should be disposed of by correspondence or by discussing them with the comrades whom they concern), combining sessions dealing with the same questions (for instance reports on Congresses, etc.); sessions to be held more systematically, making certain that there should not be several functions on the same evening, careful preparation of all, and even the smallest session, beginning all functions punctually, etc. There are many other ways and means. All future Executives should see to it that the mechanism of the Party apparatus and of discussions of work do not become too cumbersome and beyond the strength of the leading comrades.

To sum up: we must still learn not to waste our time and our strength and forces and to draw all the members of the Party into Party work. To put it briefly: we must develop our organisational capacities with respect to the utilisation, choice and distribution of the forces of our Party! This is one of the most important tasks of reorganisation and over and beyond it of the Bolshevisation of the Vanguard of the working class.