

## Fraternal Greetings to the Comrades of the Lenin Enrolment.

In the fatal hour, when the heart of our great teacher ceased to beat, the working class of the Union of Soviet Republics, which indicated new paths to the oppressed and dispossessed of the whole world, gave its best sons to the Communist Party in order, by combined efforts, to continue the great task of the emancipation of labour in accordance with the tenets of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The Lenin enrolment is not only a demonstration of the confidence enjoyed by the Russian Communist Party, but also a source of new strength and courage in the march along the stormy path of the struggle against the world robbers.

Dear comrades! Not only have the toilers of the Soviet Union looked with admiration upon your efforts to strengthen the Communist Party after the death of its founder and leader, but the toilers of the whole world, with bated breath, watched events in the first republic of labour during those sad days when toiling humanity lost its greatest leader. We all find consolation in the fact that Lenin lives in the great heart of the working class which brought about the October Revolution. We are profoundly convinced that your example will be followed by the proletariat in other countries which regarded and still regards Lenin, not only as the leader of the Russian Revolution, but as the leader and teacher of the oppressed of all countries. At the same time the Communist International, through its Fifth Congress, regards it as its duty to remind you that, having taken your place under the banner of Lenin, you have undertaken a great but difficult responsibility.

The Russian Communist Party has been and remains a model of steel-like discipline and indomitable energy for the Communist Parties of all countries. You have entered the ranks of this party after you lost your teacher and leader. The moment you chose to enter the ranks of the Communist Party is evidence of the fact you clearly understand the tasks which confront the working class of the Soviet Union and of the whole world. These tasks are enormous. The robbers of all countries would rather drown the whole of humanity in blood than surrender their position. We have a long intense struggle before us, full of trials, which will demand the concentrated efforts of the toilers, particularly of the vanguard of the working class, as represented by the United World Communist Party.

The Communist International is aware of the great part of the working class of the Soviet Union. The working class of this country has occupied first place in the ranks of the fighting proletariat since 1905. The greatest accomplishment of the working class of the Soviet Union is its Communist Party, which was able to carry the first labour revolution to a victorious finish, amidst incredible difficulties. You have joined the ranks of this party, and in greeting you, the Communist International is convinced that you will justify the confidence which the working class of the Soviet Union, which put you forward, has in you as the banner bearers of Leninism.

Long live the Russian Communist Party!  
Long live the Lenin Enrolment!  
Long live the Communist International!

Thereupon the session was closed with the singing of the International

### Second Day of Session.

Moscow, June 18, 1924.

Comrade Kolarov opened the session at six o'clock and informed the Congress that the Moscow workers had already assembled on the Red Square and that therefore the reports on the first point on the agenda "Lenin and the Comintern", should be delivered from the Lenin Mausoleum.

The delegates marched in serried ranks led by a band of the Red Army to the Red Square where already thousands of Moscow workers, delegated by the factories, with bands and innumerable red banners, had assembled in order to hear the reports on "Lenin and the Comintern". Arrived at the grave of Comrade Lenin, the delegates to the Congress filed past the bier of our dead leader. The delegates from 52 countries, from all parts of the globe, many of whom had seen him last in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, many who had seen him at the height of his work, and many who saw him now for the first time, lying embalmed on the bier, gazed at Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He lay in the coffin, his face pale, but almost unchanged, as though he only slept. It was a mournful and yet noble sight, the mortal shell of the man who had given the greatest to mankind.

The Presidium of the Congress then mounted the Mausoleum tribune. Comrade Kolarov called upon Kalinin to report upon

## Lenin and the Comintern.

Kalinin:

Comrades, long before the Congress every one of you knew that the first word at the Congress would be devoted to the leader of the Russian Revolution and of the Communist International. The study of his work in all its phases is one of the most important tasks of the international proletariat. His teachings have enriched not only the Russian Bolsheviks but also the Communist Parties of the whole world, with so great experience from which we should be able, for many years to come, to derive our replies to the most complicated questions.

The three main ideas of Lenin are the alliance of the workers with the peasants, the solutions of the national question and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The idea of the alliance between workers and the peasants occupied him from the earliest days of his activities. He put the question in such a way that every one could understand it.

Closely connected with the peasant question is the national question, to which Lenin also devoted the greatest attention. The population of the Soviet Union is comprised of many nationalities at various cultural levels. The national question is therefore an urgent question for the Soviet Union. Lenin on this question carried on a bitter fight against all deviations.

The treachery of many of the leaders of the western European workers severely affected the Russian proletariat, but under the influence of its leader it realised that only the Soviet state could only the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the way to socialism.

### Severing (Germany):

The first word of the Fifth Congress must be dedicated to the memory of Lenin, the creator of the Russian Communist Party, the creator of Soviet Russia. His work has not only taken root in the masses of the workers and peasants of Russia. He is the symbol of world revolution in every country; he is especially the symbol of revolution for the German proletariat. The German Communist Party, which is painfully conscious of the fact that it has not yet destroyed its bourgeoisie and seized power, knows that it can triumph only under the banner of Lenin. The thought of Lenin has taken deep root in the German working class. In opposition to the nationalist demonstrations it is trying to create memorials to Lenin. A town in the heart of the Silesian coal and industrial area, which is named after the murderer of the world war, Hindenburg, has now a Communist majority. Our comrades have decided to change Hindenburg to Leninburg. This has enraged the bourgeoisie and they know they have no more dangerous enemy than the Communist Party which under the banner of Leninism, will triumph. The Communist International was founded by Lenin and in spite of all difficulties it will force its path from Russia through Europe and through the whole world.

### Roy (India),

the representative of the Indian revolutionary movement, who now being severely repressed by the British Labour Government. On this day, when the representatives of the revolution of the world are assembled here in the heart of the world revolution in order to bring you the greetings of the exploited of all countries, we must remember that this is the World Congress of the Communist International which is taking place without our beloved comrade Lenin. Lenin, indeed, is dead but he has left behind him a compact army, an army of millions which under the banner of Leninism will triumph. This is the whole world proletariat, owes to Lenin. There is only one thing to declare what the Communist International, indeed, I should like to deal with here. It was Lenin who created the international. The old internationalists, under the leadership of social patriots, were only national affairs of the European and American workers. It was Lenin who was able to rally himself not only the proletariat of Europe and America but the oppressed and exploited of the colonies and semi-colonies. We know that the world revolution will triumph only under the banner of Leninism. Long live Leninism! (Stormy applause.)

The session closed with this speech. Led by the Comrade Presidium, the delegates, walked past the front of the tribune amid the greatest enthusiasm, which increased as the crowd recognised Comrade Zinoviev and Trotsky, who received a great ovation.

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## The Coming Tenth Anniversary of the World War. Prepare for the Propaganda Week against Imperialism and Social Democracy.

By D. Petrovsky (Moscow).

True to the charge entrusted to us by our teacher Lenin for one moment to forget the world war, the Executive of the Communist International has decided to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its outbreak by mighty demonstrations throughout the whole world against imperialism and the socialist traitors. In doing this we are not actuated with the idea of tearing the still unhealed wounds. The view of the Communist International is directed towards the future, and it is making every effort to mobilise the working masses of the whole world in the victorious struggle against imperialism — the cause of all modern wars. But the struggle against imperialism will only be successful if we really take to heart the lessons of the past. The teachings of the world war have a special and actual importance for us at the present time, when a new war is approaching every day.

The old tale that the world war was the last war no longer convinces anybody. The danger of fresh bloody slaughters is plainly before the eyes of millions. The germs of fresh slaughters are to be found in the offices of the banks, of the syndicates and the trusts. Preparations for fresh massacres are being made in the factories, workshops and laboratories; fresh slaughters are being organized by the general staffs and administrations of the ever-growing empires.

The new war is approaching. The ruling classes are directing their intelligence to the discovery of new and terrible means of annihilation and destruction. In order to prevent this war there is required the united and heroic efforts of the workers of the whole world.

The refusal of military service, the strike against war etc., as Lenin on the 1st of November 1914, "is a simple piece of stupidity, a miserable and cowardly dream of an unarmed fight against the armed bourgeoisie, a longing for the annihilation of imperialism without a desperate civil war or a number of wars."

These pitiable cowardly dreams are more out of place now than ever. We will not avert the approaching war-tempest by resolutions, declarations and avowals.

War can only be averted by the victorious revolution of the workers, which will overthrow the power of capital, at first in Europe and then throughout the whole world. The demonstrations in the week's campaign against imperialism and socialist treachery must therefore pursue the task of mobilising the workers of the whole world, under the banner of the Russian October Revolution, to the decisive struggle against capitalism — the original cause and organizer of new slaughters.

The fight against imperialism will naturally be a fight against the socialist traitors. The honeyed words of the heroes of the 2nd International in the year 1914 regarding the fight against war could only appear as a piece of sheer stupidity. In the year 1924 we have no longer to deal with cowardly dreams, but with conscious and brazen betrayal.

Before the world war the 2nd International had given a number of promises to protect the banner of proletarian solidarity against fratricidal wars. At the Stuttgart Congress it recognised it to be the duty of all workers, "to fight with all means against the preparations for war on sea and land, to expose the class character of bourgeois society and the motives which actuate it to support national antagonisms, and to refuse to give any financial support to this policy". This resolution recommends an energetic and united action, "in order by every means to avert war". In the case of the outbreak of the war, the congress recommends that use be made of the crisis called forth by the war, "in order to stir up the most profound social forces and expedite the overthrow of capitalist domination". The same ideas were repeated by the congresses in Copenhagen (1910) and Basle (1912).

Independent of the resolutions of the world congresses, the socialist parties of the various countries, among them the Labour Party of Great Britain, which now has the reins of government in its hands, have sworn not to permit a world catastrophe.

But in the fearful days of the end of July and beginning of August 1914, when the world slaughter began, the socialist parties of the 2nd International handed over their red flags to lend a sacred appearance to the world war which was undertaken in the interests of the cliques of imperialist rivals. And when, after the war, those crises arose which the congresses of the 2nd International had spoken of before the war, then the 2nd International did not devote itself to "expediting the overthrow of the capitalist domination" but to the struggle to defend capitalism against the revolutionary fight of the working masses.

These flunkeys of imperialism and facism now venture to assure the masses that they will reply to war with the strike. Through these assurances they not only mask the preparations for war, but take immediate part in them. The MacDonald government which faithfully preserves the traditions of English imperialism, strengthens the military power of the British Empire. The French friends of MacDonald vote the military credits and the French imperialists in the realisation of its predatory plans.

We are therefore obliged to brandmark the pacifist assurances of the leaders of the 2nd International as a conscious attempt to overcome the watchfulness of and lull to sleep the masses of the people, by which means the unhindered preparations for the new war will be secured. And our Week therefore must not only be directed against imperialism, but also against the preachers of social reconciliation, who mask and conceal the military preparations of the ruling classes. In order to secure the success of this week, it is necessary, not only to rally the masses of the workers who follow the Communists to the active fight against imperialism and socialist treachery, but also the workers and peasants of the suppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, who have all experienced the horrors of the so-called "Great War" on their own bodies.

We must begin at once with the organizing of committees of action. It is desirable to include in these committees, not only representatives of the trade unions which follow the R. I. U. and representatives of the Communist Youth, of the Peasants' International, of the International Co-Operative Union, of the I. W. R., but also representatives of such organizations as the Union of Ex-service men, the War-Invalids Union etc. In other words, every effort must be made in order that the demonstrations shall be of a really impressive character and as far as possible include the whole population.

While striving to bring the broad masses into the struggle against the danger of a new war, we must at the same time adopt all measures to insure that our demonstrations shall not assume the character of pacifist manifestations, the noise of which in no way disturbs the ruling classes in carrying on their affairs as usual.

Our whole agitation and propaganda must be dominated by the idea that the war can only be prevented by revolution; and if a war breaks out it can only be ended by opposing it by militant methods, that is to say by, converting the imperialist war into the civil war for the capture of power by the workers.

Therefore the fight for the Union of Soviet Republics must occupy a very important place in all our preparatory work. The workers of the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party of Russia, succeeded under Lenin's leadership in freeing themselves from the imperialist war by means of revolution, that is by civil war, as a result of which the power of capital in one of the largest countries of the world has been overthrown. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has been the first to proceed along this difficult road. The workers of the whole world will find it easier to fight against war by revolutionary means, as they are not only supported by the first attempt at a victorious proletarian revolution, but also by the fact of the existence of a powerful workers' and peasants' country which is protected by the Red Army, the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the revolting masses of the peoples.

The slogans of our week are:

Down with war; long live the revolutionary fight!

For the power of the workers!

Down with the Socialist betrayers! Long live the Communist

International!

Long live the Union of Soviet Republics!

Long live the World Union of Soviet Republics!

## TEN YEARS MASS MURDER

### Theses for the Tenth Anniversary of the World War.

(Theses for agitators.)

#### I. Results of the War: Prospects of New Wars.

The years of war experience, and the post war disillusion, capitalists of the world hurled the people into fratricidal war. Contending among themselves for the colonies, for the markets, for spheres of investment for their capital, the imperialist cliques perpetrated the dreadful crime which was foreseen by the theoreticians of socialism, and awaited with terror by the proletariat.

The years of war experience, and the post war disillusion, shattered all the illusions of grandeur with which a servile ideology had clothed the terrible picture of war. The masses of the people learned by bitter experience what was really meant by such phrases as "the last war", the "fight for civilization" for the "sacred rights of the people", for democracy and the liberation of oppressed peoples.

The roar of artillery, the bursting of shells, the suffocating gases, the misery of millions of refugees, the heaps of corpses, the epidemics of disease during and after the war — this is the face of capitalism which has been stripped of its mask in the eyes of the people. Capital now stands before humanity in all its repulsive nakedness. In place of the mountains of gold which were promised to the workers by the capitalists after the victorious conclusion of the war, which they called a "righteous war, the last war, etc.", the capitalists undertook a determined offensive against the working class. In a number of countries the eight hour day was lost; workers organizations were destroyed in a debauch of Fascism, and all the burden of the post war taxes, levies and reparations, fell on the backs of the working class. The working class, having already left millions of fallen workers on the battle fields, may wonder in anguish when the capitalists will kindle a new world conflagration. The monstrous lie of the bourgeoisie about "The last war", and the principles of justice and humanity would triumph after the war, has been burnt into the consciousness of the most backward sections of people. Capitalism is, by its actions, making it impossible to prove the correctness of the contention of the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat, that the war of 1914 was only a first link in a chain of imperialist wars, which could only be brought to an end by the international proletariat, when they should be able to mobilize all the working masses to vanquish imperialism by a decisive civil war against capital, and thus annihilate the very cause and source of wars, the class domination of capital.

Six years have passed since the time when the victors triumphantly celebrated their cannibal victory, proclaiming of the bones of millions of victims, the victory of civilization, eternal peace, and the development of international agreements, under the leadership of the League of Nations. Now it is clear even to the blind, that capitalism has given no peace, that it could not and cannot give peace.

The wounds of the war are still bleeding. The millions of participants of the war, invalids and cripples, have not yet forgotten the horrifying pictures of the war, and capital is already preparing new great wars. It is not only preparing them, as rehearsals, it makes small wars and military expeditions. Since the Versailles peace, the cannons have never remained without work, expeditions have been undertaken into the colonial territories, against the "self-determined" natives. A large portion of Central Europe is an armed camp. Belgian, French and English troops mixed with coloured soldiers, have been stationed in the service of the capitalist system. The poverty of the masses, the disorganization of economic relations, lack of reconstruction notwithstanding all efforts of the quack doctors of capitalism, the rogan military rule, the foul cancer of militant Fascism, the insatiable appetite of great and small capitalist states, ruled behind the scenes by financial kings, by committees of the industries, by banks and stock exchanges, a mad competition of armaments, screened by pious prayers about limitation of armaments, a rush for ever newer means of annihilation of human beings, — this is what capitalism has given us after the war which was called, by one of the servants of capital, one of the organizers of the world slaughter, the former French Premier Millerand, "the most glorious of all the wars".

Hopes of the possibility of successful reconstruction of the world economic organism are definitely buried by the occupation of the Ruhr, and new inevitable military conflicts, which no parliamentary or extra-parliamentary combination of bourgeois parties and their Socialist satellites will be able or willing to prevent. The two great nations of the Entente, "welded together" in struggle for the great common cause of saving civilization from "Prussian militarism" — France and Great Britain, are making ready to attack each other.

The antagonism of their interests grows daily, and becomes manifest everywhere. In middle Europe, in Asia Minor, in the Balkans, in Northern Africa and in Eastern Asia. Great Britain watches with the greatest alarm the growth of French territorial armies and aerial squadrons, the military conventions entered into by France. Similarly, the elements of imperialistic conflict between the United States and Japan grow incessantly.

Thousands of inventors labour over the problem of finding devilish means of extermination, the governments are striving to discover the military secrets of each other, and to out do each other in inventiveness. An English Minister openly declares, in the House of Commons, the necessity of "creating an air fleet to defend the fatherland, which would be able to withstand the attack of the strongest air power near enough to make such an attack possible".

In 1914, on the eve of the outbreak of world War, there were seven million men under arms in all the countries of the globe. In 1921, after the Versailles peace and the disarmament of the vanquished countries, the number of all the armies of the world on a peace footing had reached eleven millions, i. e., they increased almost twice. The United States spent for military purposes in 1914, 49,000,000 pounds sterling, in 1920, 501,000,000. The military expenditures of England grew between 1914 and 1920 more than three times. France maintains an army larger than the pre-war German army, although her population is one third less. In Poland, which has armed with the aid of French money against the Union of Soviet Republics, there is one soldier to every 100 persons of the population. There has never been such a ratio even in the notorious militarist Prussia against which the Entente conducted, from 1914—18, the "last", the "just" war.

But faster than the number of men under arms grow every day the power and the force of those means of extermination which the nations will use against each other when the inevitable new war comes.

Preparations for that war still continue, independently of whether a bourgeois group heads the government or a camouflaged "labour" government screens the real mainsprings of bourgeois government. The government of MacDonald is preparing mad thoughts and building aeroplanes in the same fashion as was done by the governments of Curzon, Baldwin, Lloyd George and the others. The government of the left Bloc will serve the end of imperialist war with the same zeal as Millerand and Lincarcé.

The pacifist fables about the possibility of disarmament, of agreements concerning the limitation of armaments, of international tribunals to prevent conflicts, only screen the energetic preparations for war. Nations in possession of strong navies are adverse to a serious general limitation of territorial armies; nations which have prepared stocks of ammunition for many years to come are trying to bring about a limitation of the production of poisonous materials for suffocating gases, in order not to be outstripped by other nations in the same field.

The League of Nations, whose appearance was heralded as the beginning of a new peaceful era, has proven nothing else but anything in the hands of imperialist nations, or an arena for covert struggle.

The Communist International has incessantly unmasked the substance of the League of Nations, it has shown the deception of the bourgeoisie and its social-patriotic agents, and now this bourgeois deception ought to be clear to everybody. The epic of the Ruhr stands out as the most striking illustration and the most telling proof, of the falsity of the bourgeois speeches, of the bankruptcy of the "peaceful" policy of bourgeois circles.

The logic of events steers the reparations policy again into the channel of imperialist conflict. The clash of interests inevitably grows. The centrifugal forces in the development of world capitalism, become more and more rampant. (America, Japan, China and its colonies, with their growing young capitalism, and the American capitalism, etc.)

Tens of millions of killed, wounded and maimed, enormous amounts of wealth annihilated, moral deterioration, poverty, degradation, — all this in order that the world may again face the inevitability of ever new wars, ever more menacing, more horrible in their destructive power — this is the logic of imperialism.

#### II. Who is to blame for the War. — The 2nd International as the Criminal Abettor of the Imperialist War.

When the war was over, when the rapacious Versailles peace was being concluded, the bourgeois bands, in order to avert from themselves the anger and scorn of the masses hypocritically occupied themselves with a search for those who are to blame for the war. They wanted to place at their door the responsibility for the world conflagration. The proclamation of the German Emperor Wilhelm as the one responsible for the war, could not erase from the consciousness of the advanced workers and peasants the firm conviction that all capitalist cliques, all financial captains of all nations, the bankers of all creeds, the manipulators of finance-capital and heavy industry, both in Germany and in France and Great Britain, are equally to blame for the world war. World capital, imperialism, in friendly co-operation with the remnants of the nobility, the dynasties and the priests — these are the real perpetrators of the slaughter. The working masses and history will never forget that, in the decisive hour of military trails, throughout the entire war and post-war period, capital found in the leaders and functionaries of the 2nd International willing servants and aiders and abettors in the work of the world war.

History and the working masses will never forget that the 2nd International criminally betrayed the interests of the working class, the interests of the toilers, the interests of humanity.

Long before the beginning of the world war, international socialism had foreseen its inevitability, had shown its causes and factors, had outlined a plan of struggle.

Year after year partial wars — such as the Russo-Japanese, the Balkan, the Italian-Turkish war — substantiated the warnings of international socialism.

Long before the imperialist war of 1914, International socialism had established leading principles for the attitude of socialist parties towards the war-preparations of the imperialists and the conduct of socialists' and workers' organizations in case of war. This was done at the International Congresses (especially in the Stuttgart Congress of 1907, and the Basle Congress of 1912), and at a series of national party conventions (Chemnitz Congress of the German Social Democratic Party, etc.).

In passing a resolution on the war, the 2nd International took upon itself definite and unequivocal obligations.

The resolution of the Stuttgart Congress reads:

"The Congress deems it the duty of all the workers and their representatives in Parliaments to fight in every way against armaments, both on sea and land, to unmask the class character of bourgeois society, and the motives which impel it to maintain and support national antagonisms, and also to refuse any kind of financial support for such a policy, and to strive towards educating the proletarian youth in the socialist ideals of international brotherhood, and towards maintaining class consciousness among them."

The resolution of the Stuttgart Congress contains approval of the activities of the Russian and Polish workers and peasants, who conducted a mass revolutionary struggle in order to prevent Tsarism from conducting the war, in order to put an end to it, in order to make, to the people and the proletariat, in the midst of this conflict, an appeal for civil war.

"If however, notwithstanding all these measures, the war has already begun," so reads the end of the Stuttgart resolution, "then it is the duty of the socialists to make every effort to secure its termination as speedily as possible, and to make every effort to use the economic and political crisis created by it in order to stir up the most profound social forces and expedite the overthrow of capitalist domination."

On the 29th of October, 1912, on the occasion of the Balkan war, the International-Socialist Bureau passed a resolution the concluding part of which reads: "The near future will probably bring for the Socialist Party and for the proletariat many trials, and will demand of them responsible actions. The proletariat will be able to meet them with the necessary courage... Let the governments know well that to play with fire is dangerous for themselves. Should they start a monstrous conflagration in Europe, they will not remain unpunished."

In November of the same year the International emergency Congress at Basle adopted a manifesto against the impending imperialist war, against any help whatever in this war and to the bourgeois governments and parliaments who would be taking part in it:

"It (the International) was in favour of the workers of all countries opposing the might of international proletarian solidarity to capitalist imperialism.

The Congress gave a clear indication of the path to be followed by the workers if the crime were to become a reality, if the war were to break out, — the path of civil war. By pointing out that the Franco-Prussian and the Russo-Japanese wars caused the proletariat to rise and engage in civil war, the Congress invited the socialist parties and workers' organizations to respond again by civil war in the event of war breaking out anew. They would be madmen if they did not understand that the thought alone of the horrors of war rouses the proletariat of all countries to anger and indignation. Workers consider it a crime to shoot each other for the benefit of capitalists."

Such were the promises and pledges of the Second International. And how did they keep them?

On the eve of war, when the excited proletariat demonstrated against the war in the streets of Berlin, Paris and Petersburg, the leaders of the Second International were already negotiating secretly with the bourgeoisie and were preparing to betray the working class.

On the 30th of July the German Social-Democrats placed all their hopes for the preservation of peace on the Kaiser. The cowardly betrayers of the cause of Socialism were seeking access to imperial thrones and ministerial portfolios.

"While being opposed directly and in principle to the monarchic form of government" they wrote "and determined to maintain this attitude also in the future, and while carrying on frequently a determined fight against the imperial crowned head, — we nevertheless declare, and not for the first time, that Wilhelm II has by his conduct shown during the last few years that he is a lover of peace, which he is determined to maintain." This is how the imperialist socialists, the socialist followers of Wilhelm II, prepared the masses for the acceptance of the lying story of the bourgeoisie about the war being forced on Germany and about the necessity to defend the fatherland.

Was the conduct of the opportunist heroes of the Second International in France and in other countries any different from that of the German Social-Democratic leaders? Not in the least. They too were concerned not so much with the unmasking of their governments, as with representing them as lovers of peace.

The declaration of the French parliamentary socialist group of March 29th 1914 supported the illusion of the peace-loving nature of the policy of France, that is, of the French government, and of its peaceful influence on Europe.

But these patriotic notes were still submerged by the tumult of protests and declarations against the war. As soon as war broke out, the picture changed as if by magic. Opportunist ideas, which sprang up and ripened in the opportunist circles of the Second International, were allowed by the leaders of the center — Kautsky and others — to rise to the surface, and became the slogans and military programme of the entire Second International, in lieu of the decisions of Stuttgart, Brussels, Chemnitz, Paris, etc., which were dishonoured, forgotten and buried.

August 4th is a significant date in the history of socialism. The Social-Democratic fraction of the German Reichstag carried out the decision, adopted the day before by 78 to 14 votes, to vote war credits. The declaration of the Social-Democratic fraction which the lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the betrayers of socialism placed before the Imperial Chancellor for examination and approval, was as follows: "We must now vote not for or against the war, but we must rather decide the question of credits for the defence of our country." The Russian peril was the justification for this treachery. "It is absolutely necessary to avert this peril, and to save the culture and independence of our fatherland. Let us therefore act up to our professions, for did we not always maintain that we will never desert our country in the hour of peril. We maintain our solidarity with the International, which always recognized the right of every nation to national independence and self-defence, and together with the International we condemn all wars for aggrandizement."

All obligations and promises were forgotten and trodden underfoot, and Social-Democracy became the servant of the German bourgeoisie, the servant of Wilhelm II. It adopted the official "defence of the country" attitude, and placed the powerful appa-

ratus of the Party of the Social-Democratic press and of the trade-unions at the disposal of the military clique.

There is not a base action under the sun which these betrayers of socialism did not commit during the first days of the war. They lowered the red banner of the working class and brought it into dishonour. The "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, wrote as follows on August 4th 1914: "We shall never forget the day of August 4th... The picture presented by the German Reichstag, the representative of the entire nation, will remain for ever in the memory of the German peoples and will be recorded in the annals of history as a day of a mighty and proud uplifting of the German spirit." The proletariat will never forget this day.

And on the Tenth Anniversary of this day it will show its fierce hatred for the originators of the war. It will not forget their helpers and lackeys — the Social-Democrats, and will say that, having made common cause with the bourgeoisie, they must share with it the contempt and the hatred of the working class. French socialists have declared that they consider it their duty to defend the independence and the inviolability of republican Europe, which is thirsting for peace.

The General Council of the Belgian Labour Party declared "Social-Democracy cannot be made responsible for this terrible bloodshed. It does not stop at anything to warn the peoples, in order to prevent the mass competition in armaments, and in order to avert the catastrophe which threatens to overcome the entire population of Europe.

But the terrible evil is already upon us, and fate has decreed that our only thought should be: to do our utmost to protect our territory against enemy invasion.

We will put our heart and soul into this fight, for we know that by defending neutrality and the very existence of our country, we are serving the interests of democracy and the political emancipation of Europe."

The British Socialist Party said in its manifesto:

"The great war, which was threatening us, has broken out. Austria's attack on Serbia has drawn into the struggle the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and our country was drawn into the war by Germany's declaration of war against Belgium, the direct cause of which was this little country's refusal to violate the neutrality guaranteed to it in the interests of the attacking Power."

The majority of the leaders of the Social-Democratic party of other countries (with few exceptions) betrayed the working class with more or less cynicism, adopting the view point of the bourgeoisie, or descending to its level.

The socialist traitors converted the big and powerful German trade-unions into recruiting centers for the German government and trade-union leaders acted as recruiting sergeants.

The French trade-union renegade, Jouhaux, one of the president defenders of the patriotic bourgeoisie.

The parties of the social traitors made their members bourgeois governments (Jules Guesde, Sembat, Thomas, Henon, Vandervelde). They used the authority of the Second International as a cloak for the crime committed by the bourgeoisie and shared with it the responsibility before the peoples. The traitors of the Second International — Kautsky, Victor Adler and others — undertook the dirty work of explaining, excusing and camouflaging the treacherous attitude of the socialist-patriot logical social-patriots supported the war, while the center anti-militarism, and thereby only impeded true international in their revolutionary fight.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more shameful than the complete bankruptcy of the Second International.

The originators of the war, the imperialists and their lackeys — the social-patriots, asserted at the beginning of the war that they were only defending their country. The trend of their policy showed them in their true light. German imperialism showed itself for what it is at the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and by its deeds in Finland and in the Ukraine. The Entente powers betrayed their imperialism and their predatory nature by the ties of Versailles, Sevres, and others. The Second International followed faithfully in the wake of imperialism. The Second International branded itself for ever by its shameful opposition to the Russian revolution, and by the murder of German, French and colonial workers. The blood of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and of thousands of the German proletarians, as well as of

tions of those killed in the imperialist war, is on the conscience of the Second International.

The working masses will never forget that the predatory Versailles Treaty was ratified by the Second International. Among the signatures to this Treaty is that of His Majesty's Socialist Minister, the pride and glory of the treacherous yellow international — Vandervelde.

In the person of MacDonald, the Second International has shown itself in its true light to the masses of India and other oppressed colonial countries, by its bourgeois policy, which only benefits the nobility, and finance and industrial capital.

The Second International has besmirched itself by open collaboration with the executioners of the working class — the fascists of Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, and a number of other countries. The bourgeois government in Germany was saved in the autumn of 1923 only with the help of the Social-Democrats, for at that time the German revolutionary movement had reached its climax, and the disorganization of the bourgeois camp was complete. With the systematic support of the Social-Democrats, the German bourgeois republic is gradually assuming the character of a monarchist military dictatorship.

This being so, all the declarations of the Second International, of the Amsterdam International, and of the trade unions, about a general strike in the event of a new war, sound hollow and insincere. After the experiences of the world war of 1914-18, and after the continued collaboration of the heroes of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals with the black hundreds of capitalist reaction, one is safe in prophesying that the fine promises of a general strike in the event of war are nothing but a piece of colossal political humbug... The Second International will not be able to keep these promises even if it wished to do so. There is no doubt whatever that, as soon as a new war breaks out, international Social Democracy will offer its services to the bourgeoisie of the belligerent countries, and will call upon the workers on both sides of the front to support their bourgeois countries.

Victory over the Second International, and over working class opportunism is an essential pre-requisite of a successful anti-imperialist campaign.

At the present juncture, the power of the Entente countries, (Great Britain and France) is being transferred to the left elements within the bourgeoisie which adhere to the Second International. We are seeing an attempt to come to a settlement in the relations between the victorious and the defeated countries (the findings of the Committee of Experts) together with a recrudescence of pacifist agitation. This attempt, which has the support of the Social-Democratic parties, and of the Amsterdam International, is pregnant with colossal burdens for the German working class, at whose expense the German bourgeoisie hopes to pay off the Entente... But, in spite of the efforts of the German Social-Democrats, the German working class will refuse to accept this new yoke, while the German bourgeoisie, inflamed by chauvinism and nationalism, will not surrender its position voluntarily.

The well-being of the Entente countries cannot be insured at the expense of an utterly ruined Germany, even with the consent of the German bourgeoisie. The attempt to smooth away the contradictions of an imperialist peace, and to relegate the menace of a new war to the dim and distant future by putting into practice the Experts' Report, will give nothing to the workers of Europe and the whole world but new illusions and a new betrayal. What is needed for the prevention of war, which is already on the horizon, is not alliance between the bourgeois and the Social-Democracy, but a revolutionary fight of the working class headed by the Communist International, not capitalist dictatorship endorsed by social-patriotic hypocrisy and treachery, but the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. For us the best reminder of this is the tenth anniversary of the world war. It calls upon the working class and the workers throughout the world to mobilize their forces against capitalism and against the social traitors — against the instigators of the war and their helpers.

World war, for which preparations are being made quite openly in all imperialist countries, with the direct assistance of the social-traitors, can only be averted by the triumph of proletarian revolution, at first in Europe and subsequently throughout the world. But if war breaks out, the struggle against it can only be successful if this struggle takes a revolutionary form. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, led by the Russian Communist Party, and following the precepts of Lenin, were able to emerge from the imperialist war by revolutionary methods, namely by civil war, which gave rise to the first proletarian republic. During the week of the tenth anniversary of the declaration

of the world war, Communist Parties are called upon to mobilize all the revolutionary forces for the revolutionary struggle for power, for a Soviet government on a world scale, which alone can save mankind from the horror of new wars. At the same time, if war breaks out, the workers of the world must be prepared to make war on war, like revolutionaries.

## POLITICS

### Manifesto of the Communist Party of France against the Governmental Declaration of the Herriot Cabinet.

The C. P. F. have expressed in a manifesto their opposition to the Herriot-government. We give below an extract from this manifesto. Ed.

The bourgeois so-called Bloc of the Left, which has come to power through the efforts of the city and rural petty bourgeoisie, the small and middle industrialists and bankers, has by the election of the 11th. of May only achieved a parliamentary victory. Already before their entry into the government they have shown their readiness to make every compromise in order to come to power. In order to maintain power, they make one concession after the other and immediately prove themselves to be a perfectly ready tool in the hands of big capital.

The participation in the ministry of a general, a representative of large commerce and of high finance, several former ministers of the right Bloc, the governmental declaration all show with perfect clearness that neither the question of the evacuation of the Ruhr area of amnesty, of the reparations, of high prices, of workers' houses, of financial restoration nor any other of the great problems which stand before the country, will be settled in the interests of the workers.

In spite of their election promises the bourgeois so-called Left Bloc refuses in the interest of state finances in order to remove the scandalous enrichment, the wage taxes and the terrible war consequences, to take those bold and effective measures, which would stop the fall of the Franc and could remove the burden of direct and indirect taxes from the masses of the people of our country.

The fundamental question of reparations, that is to say, the question whether the workers or the capitalists shall pay the terrible war debts, is in spite of the contrary appearances, becoming more urgent and tragic every day, for the consequences lead in every country to the working class standing more irreconcilably opposed to the capitalist class and on a world scale to the greatest antagonism among the imperialist great trusts.

The approval of the government to the Experts' Report, which has been worked out in the Bureau of international high finance is very characteristic. The carrying out of the Dawes plan which apart from this will in no way secure the solution of the reparations question means the colonising of Germany, the enslavement of the German workers, the enforcement of the ten hours day along with starvation wages and as a result there of the French workers will in the future suffer the same lot.

But this Left Bloc showed from the very first its complete inability, its entire refusal to take up the struggle against the forces of social reaction.

It is a shame that instead of the general amnesty, which was solemnly promised a measure of pardon is adopted, the application of which, as at the time of the national bloc, is left to the good will of the government.

It is an insult that in spite of the will of the people certain conditions are attached to the recognition of Soviet Russia.

The civil servants are treated with contempt while they are given a mere caricature of the right to combination.

It is in fact a challenge to the working class when in the government declaration the present sabotage of the Eight Hour Day is sanctioned, when a few days ago it was definitely promised that the Eight Hour Day would be respected.

#### The Socialist Betrayal.

This policy of the immediate dropping of the few reforms, which were promised even yesterday, emphasises in the clearest manner the socialist treachery. The temporary election coalition is followed by the policy of support, which means a veiled collaboration in expectation of actual participation in the ministry.

This is the complete abandonment of the traditional policy of

opposition to the capitalist bourgeoisie, which the 2nd International has followed up until 1914. And in their treachery the Socialist Party are accompanied by the reformist leaders of the C. G. T. Both deny the class interest and the revolution in the name of evolution and in the interest of the community as a whole. Both proceed to play the historic role as the last bulwark of bankrupt capitalism.

At the beginning of the session of parliament, which will lead to an increase of misery and aggravation of the social conflicts, the Communist Party through the mouth of its parliamentary representatives issues a solemn warning to the workers of this country.

They appeal to all: "Defend your vital material interests, if you do not wish to become the victims of the inevitable capitalist bankruptcy, if you do not wish to be drawn into the new and horrible capitalist war. Workers and peasants, close your ranks, unite in your class organizations, the Communist Party, Trade Unions, Co-operatives, Factory Councils, form a workers' and peasants' bloc against the nationalist and imperialist so-called left Bloc!

Prepare your resistance against bourgeois violence and lawlessness, which your resistance against increased exploitation on the side of your masters will call forth.

And before all do not allow yourself to be hypnotised by the parliamentary comedy.

The bourgeoisie whenever it feels the need gives you an example of the violation of democratic liberties.

Prepare for your historical mission, for the final carrying out of the work of revolution, which your fore-fathers, the proletarians of the Commune, attempted. The Soviet Republic which the Russian workers and peasants have set up under the leadership of our great leader of the 3rd International, Lenin, must be your inspiring example!

Long live the Russian Revolution!

Long live the 3rd International!

Long live the workers' and peasants' bloc!

Long live the French Soviet Republic!

The Communist Party of France.

## The New Cabinet in Japan.

By S. Alexeyev.

The formation of the new Japanese Cabinet has been taken over by Viscount Kato, the leader of the so-called opposition party Kensekai. Viscount Kato is 65 years of age. He does not belong to the nobility by birth but has arisen from a capitalist environment. After concluding his studies at the university in Tokio, Kato entered as a simple employee in the service of the very important Japanese firm of Mizubissi, the proprietor of which was the well known Japanese millionaire Iwasaki and which was the daughter Kato shortly afterwards married. It was from whose daughter Kato shortly afterwards married. It was from this moment that he began his magnificent career as a diplomat. For a long time he occupied the post of ambassador in London and during the war with Germany was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of the Marquis Okuma. The Kensekai party, of which Kato is the leader, is the party of the city industrial and commercial big bourgeoisie. In Japan, as is known, not one of the political parties, before the opening of the program. As a rule the party members, before the opening of the parliamentary session, discuss the approaching tasks at local meetings, while the party leaders tour the most important centres of the country and deliver program speeches and then the whole business is settled.

In order clearly to describe the tasks which this or the other political party in Japan sets itself, one must refer to the declarations which have already been made in parliament by the various parties. In order to answer the question as to what is the program of the Kensekai party, it is necessary to become acquainted with its activity during one of the last sessions of the Japanese parliament.

For this purpose we can consult the proceedings of the 46th session of the Japanese parliament which took place in February and March of last year.

During this session the leader of the Kensekai party, Viscount Kato, delivered a long program-speech in which he surveyed the home and foreign politics of the country. The activity of the Kensekai party in the sphere of foreign politics is characterised by two facts: The relations with China and the relations with the Soviet Union. As regards China, the Kensekai party and its leader Kato advocate an active imperialist policy.

During the time when the Kensekai party governed the country, that is, at the time when Kato was Foreign Minister, very tense relations existed between Japan and China. It was precisely the leader of the Kensekai party who drew up the famous twenty one demands to China, while also among the members of the Kensekai party there are quite a number who played a particularly prominent role in the consolidation of the power of Japan in Manchuria and even in China.

Their criticism of the foreign policy of the government developed into self-adulation as regards the period when the twenty one demands were submitted, and they reproached the government on account of its non-intervention in the interior affairs of China. In his parliamentary speech, Viscount Kato showed his anxiety for the fate of his offspring, the twenty one demands, and criticised the withdrawal of the troops from Manchuria.

Such a policy is only a logical consequence of the fact that the members of the Kensekai party are closely connected with China through the capital they have invested there.

Since that time the policy of the Kensekai in regard to China remains unchanged as regards its main features. The party organ, "Hozu", voices the most irreconcilable chauvinism as regards China.

It is true they do not at the present time speak of an increased aggressiveness towards China, but they do not abandon it. The objective political situation compels them to put forward more "modest" demands, that is, "to keep what they have and to prepare the country for a further extension of territory in the future".

It is to their advantage to conclude an agreement with the Soviet Union and therefore they support this step, but as good business people they endeavour to extort a high percentage as possible and hence regard as the most important question the negotiations between Japan and the Soviet Union that of the debts and the old agreements which granted privileges in the way of concessions to the Japanese. They have therefore hitherto only advocated the conclusion of a commercial agreement with the Soviet Union, but as regards the question of recognition they follow the example of France and America.

There is no doubt that the change of relationship with America and the new situation in France will greatly influence this attitude of the Kensekai party. They already have shown change of attitude during the unofficial conversations between Joffe and Kava Kavakami. One can therefore assume that in negotiations now being carried on, these questions will form the chief point upon which the remaining questions will turn. These are the immediate tasks of the Kensekai party in the sphere of foreign politics.

As regards home politics the Kensekai party stands before all for increasing the power and the influence, as well as securing the interests, of the city industrial and commercial bourgeoisie.

In accordance therewith the chief demands of the Kensekai party in the sphere of home politics are for a reform of the election laws, in the sense of increasing the votes of the bourgeoisie, and for transferring the burdens from industry and commerce on to the big landowners.

Under these circumstances the question of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan under the new government assumes greater clearness.

It is to be presumed that the negotiations will take a more concrete form than hitherto and will lead to an understanding.

## The Events in Albania.

The Revolt in Albania ended with the seizure of power by the Fan-Nolis group. The apparent cause of this revolt is the struggle of the Albanian landless peasantry for better human conditions of life and political freedom and rights. Regarding from this standpoint the story of these happenings is not yet at an end. Apart from this apparent cause there exists another driving force which remains hidden from the distant spectator of the struggles in this small country: their manifesto on the occasion of the revolt in Albania, the Balkan Communist Federation and the Communist Party of Italy have therefore protested against the intervention of imperialist powers in the interior affairs of Albania and especially against the intervention of Italy and Yugoslavia. At the same time they warned the Albanian people against allowing their bloody struggle for freedom being taken advantage

by foreign interests. We describe below the play of intrigues that has now come to light, in spite of the nationalist veil, with which the bourgeois European press endeavoured to screen the events in Albania.

During the stay of the Yugoslavian prime minister Pasio and of the foreign minister Nincitsch in Rome the Italian government proposed a peaceable solution of the Albanian question. After long negotiations an agreement was arrived at and the question was "solved" by a secret treaty, in accordance with which Italy and Yugoslavia solemnly declare, that in the defence of the "national" interests in Albania they will not fight against each other. According to this treaty Italy had the right to the possession of Valona and Yugoslavia of Skutari. It was also provided that in the event of Greece, under the influence of England, opposing such a partition of Albania, Greece would be given a portion of the islands of Dodekanez. France was not informed of this arrangement.

Open intervention in the interior affairs of Albania was to be initiated by Italy. It was precisely for this reason that already before the beginning of the revolt considerable military forces and almost the entire fleet were concentrated near Sicily. This concentration was very skilfully masked. Before the opening of the Italian Parliament Mussolini made a "pleasure trip" to Sicily, ostensibly at the invitation of the local fascists. This "pleasure trip" was prepared and carried out with great pomp. Mussolini travelled in a submarine in company with the minister of the marine, accompanied by numerous "escorts" which constituted almost the entire Italian fleet and great bodies of Infantry. There he remained for a few days, delivered some jingoistic speeches, in which he praised the bravery of the Italian fleet, and particularly that of the Sicilian seamen, and called upon them to be at their posts as soon as the fatherland called to them. From here Mussolini suddenly journeyed to Rome, ostensibly on private affairs. He travelled, however, alone, the whole fleet and the troops remaining in Sicily.

The concentration of the Italian troops created great unrest in Turkey, Mussolini, however, invited the Turkish Ambassador to him and gave him assurances and guarantees that these troops were not directed against Turkey. The French representative in Rome, M. Barrès, energetically protested against the intervention of Italy in Albanian affairs. In the protest he mentioned, among other things, that the intervention of Italy in Albanian affairs could cause a new European war. The same pressure was brought about Yugoslavia. Two days after this protest the Italian foreign minister declared, that Italy in view of the friendly relations to Yugoslavia, would not interfere in Albanian affairs. The military intervention of Italy and Yugoslavia in the affairs of Albania was prevented. The uprising in Albania extended and assumed great dimensions, as Italy in her declarations continued to support it. Behind Mussolini there stands, as is known, the great Sinclair petrol Company. Shortly before the revolt in Albania Mussolini had concluded a concession treaty with this Company, according to which the entire south and central half of Italy was conceded to the Company for the purpose of investigation and exploitation of petroleum springs. This concession was ratified by the cabinet as well as by a royal decree, but was kept secret. The news of this concession was first announced when the newspapers reported an incident relating to this concession. This concession was bound up with the question of the penetration of American capital into Albania. The American petroleum magnates endeavoured to capture the petroleum sources in Albania and to shut out English competitors. In the negotiations leading to this concession the American Petrol magnates granted economic advantages to Italy in return for which she would organize the Albanian revolt and leave to American companies the leading role in the exploitation of the Italian spheres of influence in Albania. Mention was even made as to the future of Albania. For this position the Italians proposed an agreement with the Americans however put forward Sinclair. It is clear that the revolt in Albania was organized by the government with the concurrence of Yugoslavia and with the aid provided by the American oil magnates. In making use of the revolt Mussolini reckoned upon the government crisis in Italy. Intervention however was prevented by the crisis of the government within his own country.

Yugoslavia was unable to intervene on account of her government crisis. The revolt, also from the standpoint of imperialist interests, is not yet ended. It is hard to say how the events in Albania will further develop. In view of

the fact that the Albanian question is bound up with the question of peace in the Balkans it is in any event the duty of all Communist Parties of the Balkan countries to follow this development with attention, and to be ready at any moment to prevent the governments of their countries from mixing in the inner affairs of Albania. And by this means to help the Albanian people in their struggle for economic and political freedom and before all to prevent imperialism from kindling the fire of war in Albania.

## ECONOMICS

### How does Great Britain Stand?

I.

The Financial Situation.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

Is British capitalism entering into a deepening of its crisis or is it emerging from its difficulties?

This question is tormenting the minds of the writers in almost every economic and political journal in this country. Sometimes they feel optimistic about the position, sometimes pessimistic. More often it is the latter, covered up with a peroration about the virtues of the English race — we always have come through and we always will. So there, we must stop arguing about it.

1913 is taken as the standard or the normal year, as if there were some peculiar static condition of capitalism to which we must return to ensure the reassumption of "normal progress". This kind of approach to our question is valueless if we would be free from illusions. It does not follow that when we reach the 1913 figures of trade returns that this is a proof that capitalism is on its feet again and free from the condition of crisis. It may, in fact prove the opposite when those figures are placed in relation to the conditions of production and distribution of wealth, the size of population, the magnitude of debts, the rivalries which exist and the whole host of factors dominating the world situation to-day. Our references to the figures of 1913 are intended therefore for comparative purposes, as a means of throwing light on the changes that are taking place, 1913 being the year prior to the dislocations of the war.

First we will examine the changes in the National Budget. The following figures enable us to compare the revenue changes both nominal and real:

	1913-14	1924-5 estimates	1924-5 estimates in 1913
From Customs . . . . .	£ 35,450,000	£ 101,800,000	63,635,000
" Excise . . . . .	£ 39,590,000	£ 135,900,000	84,637,000
" Motor Vehicle Duties . . . . .	—	£ 15,600,000	9,750,000
" Estate Duties . . . . .	£ 27,359,000	£ 56,000,000	35,000,000
" Stamps exclusive of Fee and Patent stamps . . . . .	£ 9,966,000	£ 21,000,000	13,125,000
" Land Tax . . . . .	£ 700,000	£ 1,250,000	718,500
" House Duty . . . . .	£ 2,000,000	—	—
" Property and Income Tax . . . . .	£ 47,249,000	£ 265,000,000	165,000,000
" Excess Profits Tax . . . . .	—	£ 8,000,000	5,000,000
" Corporations Profits Tax . . . . .	—	£ 20,000,000	12,500,000
" Land Values Duty . . . . .	£ 715,000	—	—
" Postal Service and Telegraph . . . . .	£ 24,270,000	£ 53,500,000	33,437,500
" Crown Lands . . . . .	£ 530,000	£ 900,000	562,000
" Interest on Loans . . . . .	£ 1,579,972	£ 12,250,000	7,842,275
" Ordinary Receipts, Civil Debts . . . . .	£ 2,300,000	£ 11,850,000	7,406,250
" Special Receipts . . . . .	—	£ 30,000,000	18,750,000
	£ 191,708,972	£ 733,050,000	457,363,525

The increased revenue from customs and Excise do not indicate a proportionate increase in trade, but the heavy growth of indirect taxation. A comparison of the total import and export figures for 1913 and 1923 respectively will prove this contention.

Total imports for 1913 were £ 768,734,739. The total imports for 1923 = £ 1,098,015,585, which in turn = £ 660,000,000 in 1913 prices.

Total exports in 1913 = £ 634,820,326. The total exports in 1923 = £ 885,901,350, or £ 532,000,000 in 1913 prices. The increase in revenue due to increase in taxation = 250% while trade returns show 15% less than in 1913.

But neither the decrease in trade nor the increase in taxation reveal the true state of affairs without they are related to state liabilities and current expenditure. It is then that we can see the catastrophic slump towards insolvency. In 1913 the aggregate of the liabilities of the State amounted to £ 716,288,421 and involved an interest payment of £ 24,500,000 per annum which included a £ 5,000,000 sinking fund. In 1923 the National Debt amounted to £ 7,680,000,000 involving a payment of £ 305,000,000 per annum interest charges, plus £ 45,000,000 sinking fund.

The fluctuations of the National Debt since 1919 reveal how heavily it hangs upon the national finance.

March 31, 1919	the National Debt totalled	£ 7,434,949,000
" 1920	" " " "	£ 7,828,779,000
" 1921	" " " "	£ 7,574,358,000
" 1922	" " " "	£ 7,654,301,000
" 1923	" " " "	£ 7,742,223,000
" 1924	" " " "	£ 7,680,000,000

Of this debt approximately £ 1,000,000,000 is external debt to America. The remainder is internal debt. By making big payments and pursuing a process of funding and loan conversion, aiming at removing the debt from immediate call and spreading it over a long period, drastic attempts have been made to produce financial stability. But when all these methods have been allowed for the situation is not at all rosy. The total payment off of the national debt since 1919 amounts to £ 650,000,000. This appears to be a tremendous achievement. But it is discounted by the fact that this sum is exactly the equivalent to the sums received during the same period for the disposal of war stocks, which both Mr. Snowden and Mr. Baldwin announced could not be counted on to yield any revenue after this year. In the present year's budget this source is expected to yield £ 30,000,000. From the moment this is exhausted the full burden of the debt falls upon current taxation. Thus debt reduction can only be achieved by: 1. an increase of taxation; 2. re-payment of foreign loans, which amount to approximately £ 2,000,000,000; 3. confiscation; 4. inflation of the currency.

**The nearness of Inflation.**

The first three methods are at a discount. No 4 is tempting and the bankers and industrialists are fingering nervously with proposals in this direction. At present they are much like Hamlet debating "To be or not to be". Some capitalists see red ruin staring them in the face if the plunge is taken, others think they can play fast and loose with the currency, inflating and deflating at will and make money out of both policies. An examination of the bankers returns, the state finances, and the general condition of trade seem to me to point very definitely to the nearness of the adoption of this course.

The purchasing power of the £ is at least 40% lower than in 1913. At one time, 1921, it sank to 60% lower than in 1913. To-day its relation to the dollar, in spite of all efforts, moves in the direction of continued depreciation, reflecting both the heavy payment of £ 30,000,000 per annum to America and the inability of British industry to secure a favourable export balance with America. During the last year the £ has declined from 4.71 dollars to the £ to 4.30 dollars to the £.

Again, the bank returns show that deposits (private) have been in continuous decline since 1922. "The monthly deposits of the ten clearing banks in 1923 averaged only £ 1,670,000,000 as against £ 1,770 millions in 1922, that is a fall of £ 100 millions in the monthly average or 6%." On the other hand the average amount of bank advances has risen to £ 766 millions as against £ 750 millions in 1922. "The tendency is to approach the point when the banks feel themselves unable to extend their commitments in trade and industry, unless provision is made for an increase in their deposits and cash resources." (Economist.) The choice will have to be made soon whether to restrict credits and thus contract still further, or extend credits beyond what the bankers consider the "safe" point and land into further inflation. The demand thus presses from two directions 1. condition of state finances, 2. the position of the banks in relation to credit. Neither of them can afford a further contraction of trade. The Federation of British Industries is already conducting propaganda directed towards the inflation policy on the plea for an "expansion

of the basis of credits". The process has been held in check for more than a year since the great fright following the demobilisation crisis when the capitalists created a "boom" by inflation. The following table illustrates the process since 1913.

	Notes issued	Holdings of gold coin and bullion	Percentage of gold to Notes
1913	34.6 Millions	35.0 Millions	101.1%
1914	79.6 "	88.0 "	110.5%
1915	144.9 "	80.0 "	55.2%
1916	195.8 "	83.5 "	42.4%
1917	266.0 "	87.7 "	32.9%
1918	299.0 "	108.5 "	27.1%
1919	449.0 "	119.8 "	26.6%
1920	486.0 "	156.8 "	32.2%
1921	439.4 "	156.9 "	35.8%
1922	404.2 "	154.5 "	38.2%
1923	403.5 "	154.5 "	38.4%

The present year is therefore a most critical period with all the indications pointing in the direction of another dip in the curve of money depreciation.

**The Flow of New Capital.**

The serious nature of the situation is born out by other important factors, not the least of which is the direction taken by new capital issues. The new capital applications in

1910	were	£ 267,400,000
1911	"	£ 191,800,000
1912	"	£ 210,900,000
1913	"	£ 196,500,000
		£ 866,600,000

Annual average £ 216.7 millions

These figures include Government borrowings which are very large at this period. But from 1919 to 1923 the average exclusive of government borrowings, is £ 233.1 millions. This must be reduced for comparison with 1913 by 40%. But without worrying on this point for the moment, let us observe the direction in which this money flows.

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
To Railways		1,116,000	630,000	21,275,000	3,162,000
To Industrials including mines iron coal steel manufacture etc. etc.	193,778,800	270 m	82 m	90 m	45 m
	194 m	271 m	83 m	111 m	48 m

With the exception of £ 6,552,900 invested in British railways in 1922 the railway investments are in foreign and colonial railways. Then, assuming £ 50,000,000 (a too large an amount to be the total of government borrowings, to be deducted from the pre-war average of £ 216 millions, we are left with an average of £ 160 millions invested in industrials. The fall in 1922, especially if we deduct 40% from the £ 90 millions in 1922, especially if we deduct 40% from the figure on account of the depreciation in the value of the £ is terrific. This would mean a drop from £ 166 millions to £ 100 millions new capital issues to industry, and speaks volumes concerning the over capitalisation of industry and its inability to reabsorb and develop its surplus. The investors are thus compelled to fly to state securities which become increasingly precarious.

Nor are the British capitalists finding much consolation in foreign and colonial avenues for their new money. The real destiny of capital in terms of the countries to which has gone over a period of years reads as follows

Country of Investment	1911	1912	1913	1920	1921	1922
United Kingdom	£ 26 m = 13%	22%	18%	89%	71%	77%
British Dom.	34%	34%	39%	9%	23%	13%
Foreign Countries	53%	44%	43%	2%	6%	10%

It is easy to understand in the light of these figures the significance of the tremendous propaganda for imperial development, Empire Conferences, exhibitions and the like. An analysis of these investments in the dominions and the Foreign Office would reveal the same characteristics as the Home Office — an overwhelming dependence upon state securities as distinct from direct industrial investments. In all these avenues the increasing competition, both from the colonies and foreign

tries, the full severity of which will be shown when we examine the economic position.

The fact stands clear that while British capitalism has vast wealth at its disposal, it is faced with increasing difficulties with regard to the disposal and re-investment of its surplus. In order to meet its competitors it attacks the workers and increases its rate of profit, it over capitalises its industries and drains the capacity of the masses of the people to purchase what has been produced. It gluts itself and intensifies the social crisis as it tries to escape.

For example, according to the census of production in 1909, Sir G. Askwith shows that 7,000,000 workers produced goods to the value of £ 1,757,000,000. Of this, £ 1,232,000,000 went to the employers and £ 525,000,000 to the workers. That is, the employers received 2 1/2 times the amount received by the workers. In 1919 Dr. Stamp estimated (for the Sankey Commission) the census of production to be £ 3,140,000,000 and of this the workers received £ 840,000,000. This means that the ratio of wages to profits has changed from 1 to 2 1/2, to 1 to 3.77. Since the year 1919 wages have come down with a rush and to-day are 10% lower than in 1913 whilst profits have risen enormously. The actual figures are not yet available but it is certain that the process already revealed has been intensified.

**The Crisis of German Capitalism.**

Since the end of April the German crisis has been steadily growing more acute. The collapse of small and middle capitalists, the collapse of small banks, of small business and undertakings is followed by greater ones. On all sides the capitalists are putting their workers on short time, are partially closing down their works. In the Rhenish-Westfalian province the small iron industry is working only three days a week, the textile industry in Rhineland, in Saxony and Thuringia is working on short time, many works in the potash industry are being closed down; in the chemical industry a great number of workers are being dismissed, while similar conditions prevail in all other branches of industry.

What is the reason for this crisis?

German industry can no more compete with that of other countries. The German industrial apparatus has remained at the level of pre-war time. The wear and tear of the productive means during the war has been made up in the following years, but the whole apparatus has been extended and improved but the result of this is that the German industrial apparatus produces much dearer than that of the foreign capitalist countries.

This difference has been made up by the German capitalists by means of increased exploitation of their wage slaves and by means of enormous wage cuts. In the long run they could not reduce wages below a certain minimum. Therefore they adopted the method of prolonging the working day. This increased exploitation resulted in a temporary recovery in the period from January to April last.

But the crisis is breaking out afresh and growing worse. German capital is almost incapable of competing with foreign capital. Very detailed instances as to this fact have been furnished by the former president of the Statistical Department, present member of the Board of Directors of the machine factory Augsburg-Nuremberg, Guggenheimer, in his speech on 16th of this year, when he declared that for almost all products of the country in question and of the products of other countries imported into that country by 10 to 100%.

In addition to this German capital is losing more and more the possibility of investing that part of its surplus value which needs for the extension of its undertakings, for accumulation. The surplus value which must be accumulated, are becoming more and more restricted in consequence of their becoming capitalist. The German bourgeoisie has realised the impossibility of investing the surplus value which ought to be accumulated. The president of the National Bank, Schacht, in his speech in Augsburg on May 25th clearly expressed the desire of the German bourgeoisie for colonies, when he said: "Germany must be kept for ever excluded from the colonies".

The crisis in Germany assumes the form of a credit crisis, the lack of capital in the form of money.

The hirings of the capitalist press from the "Vorwaerts" to the "Deutsches Tageblatt", as well as the scientists of the capitalist class attempt to explain this lack of capital in money form by asserting that a great amount of capital has been destroyed by the inflation. This statement is obviously intended to convince the proletariat that the capitalists have sustained losses through inflation in the same measures as the proletarians and the petty bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact the inflation brought about an enormous expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie and partly also of the small capitalists to the advantage of a few big capitalists. On the other hand capital has, during the period of inflation, changed from money form into means of production by renewing and improving the productive apparatus, which had become more deteriorated than in pre-war time, or into raw materials or unfinished products. A further portion of capital was sent abroad and used there for the purchase of means of production (as is proved by the big possessions in foreign countries owned by the German heavy industrialists), a certain portion remained in the form of money, partly converted into foreign valuta. This is the reason why in Germany the amount of circulating money is much smaller compared with pre-war time. This money amounting before the war to about 3 milliards is now reduced to 1 1/2 milliards (400 millions reserve of the National Bank and about 2 milliards in foreign notes, which represent a pre-war value of 1 milliard).

It is a matter of course that this crisis is affecting in the first place the small and middle capitalists who, in this as in any other crisis, are being expropriated by the big capitalists. The latter are accelerating this crisis by their endeavours that no credits whatever shall be given to the small and middle capitalists, as Schacht has stated in his speech on May 26th, while the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" wrote on June 7th: "It is not surprising that capitalist circles are busy seeking to enforce from the National Bank a departure from its policy of restricting credits. The National Bank is refusing this from economic interests and with perfect right... This policy of restricting credits carried out by the National Bank has already shown its beneficial results." (To which we remark that the credits from the National Bank are no credits at all but merely an increase of the circulating means.)

This is the usual course of crises. Unusual features, however, are added. While credits given abroad yield 3-5% interest annually, in Germany interest up to 5% monthly has to be paid, that is 30-50% yearly. One would presume, that capital which only seeks after profits, would pour into Germany where profits are so high. But we see that this is not the case. Only small credits have been granted to German capitalists from their allies. No less than 35 banks participated in the small sum of 25 million dollars, which was raised in America for increasing the credit funds of the Gold Discount Bank.

Which is the cause for this strange attitude of the foreign capitalists? There are two reasons. Firstly it would be necessary to extend these credits to enormous sums if they are to fulfil their capitalist purpose, i. e. to make the German production apparatus again capable of competing. The greatest portion of the necessary money, however, is in the hands of industrial concerns which have no interest at all in increasing competition in the markets which are becoming smaller. On the contrary, they take advantage of the Experts' Agreement to lay altogether idle a great part of the German means of production. The other capitalists do not intend to invest such enormous capital in Germany: they are frightened by the German proletarian revolution.

They know perfectly well that the crisis in Germany is ever increasing. By the Experts' Agreement great portions of German production will be laid idle. An enormous army of unemployed means the proletarian revolution. The unemployed know perfectly well that they have no other alternative but death by starvation of 25 million workers including their wives and children — or the proletarian revolution. The other portion of the workers, which will still be employed in the factories, have no other prospect than a greatly prolonged working day and slave wages. They must stand by the great army of unemployed and fight along them for the proletarian revolution.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Class Struggle in New Zealand.

The revolutionary wave which has been rising throughout Europe since the beginning of the present year on account of the worsening of the conditions of life, has also reached the far off colonies in the Southern Pacific. The dominion of New Zealand, the area of which exceeds that of England, has only 1,250,000 inhabitants. It has for the most part a petty bourgeois, small farming community. Apart from the mines there are no large concentrated industries. Auckland is the largest city comprising 250,000 inhabitants. All the other towns are much smaller.

There is a reactionary government in power led by the Reform Party, which represents the interests of the big landowners. The Liberal Party, representing the city business men, carries on a seeming opposition but in fact always votes with the government. The Labour Party is obtaining the increased support of the workers and it is expected that it will gain a third of the parliamentary seats at the next election. This party still includes every section and tendency of the labour movement, from the purely liberal inclined trade unionist to the revolutionary class fighter.

During the last weeks in April the workers employed on the state-owned railways went on strike. For weeks their trade union representatives had carried on negotiations with the government in order to obtain an increase in wages commensurate with the rise in the cost of living. The 1914 standard was 10/ per day or £ 3 per week. According to evidence furnished by the government's own department, the cost of living figures, as compared with 1914 showed an increase of 64 per cent. This entitled the railway men to £ 4-18-5 per week. The railway men asked for an increase of 2/6 per day which would bring their wages up to £ 4-14-10. In other words they asked for 3/7 less than they were entitled to as shown by the government representatives at the Wages Board enquiry. At the same time they demanded the maintenance of the 44 hour week instead of 48 hours as proposed by the government.

Unfortunately the workers on the railways are divided in about four different unions. There is the Railway Officers Institute for the clerical staff and head men, then there is the Engine Drivers Firemen and Cleaners' Association, and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The latter body comprises most of the other employees, though many men employed on construction work by the Public Works Department are organized in a separate union. The R. O. I. and the E. D. F. C. A. members remained at work whilst the men in the A. S. R. S. came out on strike.

The spirit of the strikers was excellent, they met twice every day to receive reports from their strike committee which consisted of 50 members drawn from all districts involved in the strike. At the first meeting a proposal was made to invite the wives of the strikers to take part in the strike meetings in order that they should become acquainted with the reasons of the struggle. The strike which lasted a full week had a tremendous effect upon the whole trade, transport and shipping, and the government sought by every possible means to obtain black legs to run the railways. It must be noted that there was no real solidarity among the workers. Different sections of the railwaymen did their usual work, while the drivers of horse and motor vehicles took goods to and from the stations to the wharves where the dockers or waterside workers loaded or unloaded cargoes. Thus it came about that the strike had to be called off, the government scored a complete victory and the railway men were obliged to return to work with the only concession that their demands will be considered by a wages board.

The workers of New Zealand will learn from this and other more embittered fights that they must build up united revolutionary trade unions, as well as a Communist Party, which, joining the united forces of the workers of New Zealand with those of the whole world, will earnestly lead them in their fight against the forces of capitalism.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Trial of the Participants in the Cracow Revolt.

The following appeal has reached us somewhat late, but we publish the same on account of its interest for our readers. Ed.

To the Working Men and Women of all countries!

Comrades!  
On the 2nd of June there will take place in Poland (Cracow) the trial by jury of 50 workers on account of their participation in the general strike and the armed uprising in Cracow on the 6th of November last. At the same time there begins the trial by court material of the soldiers, who are charged with fraternising with the workers. The trial will last about 6 weeks. The accused are threatened with the most severe sentences.

The Polish bourgeoisie intends by means of this trial to show its strength and to intimidate the working class of Poland so that the latter will not venture in future to protest against the cruel exploitation and suppression, the victims of which are the Polish workers and peasants and the national minorities.

In October last year there began the decisive attack of the Polish bourgeoisie against the working class, the attack on the Eight Hour Day and on labour legislation. In addition to this the employers began, at a time when the cost of living had risen enormously, to reduce the wages which without this were already at starvation level.

The government of the bourgeoisie, the big landlords and rich peasants, the so-called government of Chieno-Vitos, had recourse in their fight against the starving workers to the police and the armed forces. There commenced mass arrests of the communist workers, who called for the general strike. In the course of a few days about 2000 Communist workers were arrested.

Not content with that the government issued an order to the troops and the police to fire upon workers' meetings and processions. The blood of the workers was first shed in Lodz, Cracow and Tarnobrzeg.

Under the given circumstances it was the duty of the central committee of the trade unions to call upon the workers of the whole of Poland to enter on a general strike, which was demanded by the working masses.

The leading trade union organ however, which was in the hands of the Polish Mensheviks, of the social patriots of the Polish Socialist Party, the followers, of the Amsterdam International, not only failed to carry out the demand of the majority of the Trade Unions but on the contrary helped to sabotage the movement of the working class and gradually liquidate the strike in the various branches of industry.

Scarcely was the strike in industry at an end, when an elementary strike broke out, which extended to all the railways and then to the posts and telegraphs.

In Cracow and in whole Galicia especially the strike increased every day.

The leadership of the Railway Workers' Union did not see the strike but attempted, after it lasted for three weeks, to throttle it by sending lying telegrams which declared the readiness of the government to fulfill the demands of the workers. The government which reckoned by this means to pacify the industrial workers who had been exhausted by their strike and disappointed as a result of their defeat would not come to the help of the railway workers and also knew, that the Polish Socialist Party wished to liquidate the strike, decided to proceed to an energetic offensive in order to destroy the centre of the strike in Galicia and at the same time to terrorise the workers of the People in Poland.

Taking advantage of a law passed by Pilsudsky in 1921 the government placed the railway workers under military law and set up a court martial. The participants of the strike were threatened with death penalty. And even in this moment the Polish Socialist Party, the sheep-like followers of Amsterdam, did not call the masses to the struggle. Only when the workers threatened to withdraw en masse from the Polish Socialist Party to enter the Communist Party did the S. P. of Poland and the Trade Union Centre declare the general strike. But the Communist Party immediately proceeded to liquidate it. In the first place issued no slogans, which called the working class of Poland

the struggle, secondly they immediately began secret negotiations with the government, which encouraged the Chieno-Vitos government to commence the attack.

In Borislav and Tarnow (Galicia) the government carried out a fearful blood bath. There were many dead and severely wounded. In Cracow the bourgeoisie employed in its fight against the workers not only the police but also the whole garrison, comprising over 10,000 bayonets, launched infantry and cavalry against the starving and unarmed workers and used machine guns, cannons, armoured-cars and aeroplanes against the masses.

On the 6th of November 1923 the police and troops began to fire on workers' demonstrations, in which over 10,000 persons were taking part. Contrary to expectations the workers did not take the flight, but attacked the troops with bare fists.

Hundreds of severely wounded and a many killed lay on the street. After a heroic struggle lasting some hours the workers gained possession of the city. The peasants among the troops fought from the beginning had fought most unwillingly against the workers and then fraternised en masse with the workers.

The Cracow revolt threatened the existence of the bourgeois government in Poland, for it would have been the fighting signal to the working class of the whole country. But this time again the Social Patriots of the 2nd International and the followers of Amsterdam came to the rescue of the bourgeoisie. When it was known that Cracow, the former capital of Poland, was in the hands of armed workers and that the peasant-soldiers are fraternising with the workers, the social patriots of the 2nd and Amsterdam International immediately called off the strike.

The reformists have consciously betrayed the working class and declared that the government of the bourgeoisie, of the landlords were prepared to grant the demands of the workers and to put back the news as to the armed revolt in Cracow, the victory of the Cracow proletariat and the fraternising of the peasants with the revolutionary workers.

It was only some days after the liquidation of the general strike when the bourgeoisie with the help of the Polish Socialist Party had disarmed the Cracow workers, that the workers and peasants of the whole of Poland learned of the events in Cracow, Tarnobrzeg and Borislav.

The whole previous treacherous policy of the Polish Mensheviks of the 2nd and Amsterdam International pales before this fresh betrayal.

In November 1923 the working class of Poland and the millions of landless and poor peasants stood on the threshold of victory. The bourgeoisie, the landlords and the exploiting peasants had lost the ground under their feet. They were filled with indescribable fear and were terrified by the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants, by the spectre of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

The treachery of the alleged defenders of the interest of the working class has saved the bourgeoisie.

To-day when the bourgeoisie and the landowners have ceased to fear, when they are endeavouring to take vengeance on the workers, peasants and soldiers, they hand over the heroes of the Polish Soviet Republic to the court and charge them with "treason".

Comrades, working men and women, and peasants!

We call to you to protest energetically against the condemnation of the workers and peasants in soldier's uniform who took part in the armed uprising in Cracow.

Protest against the Polish bourgeoisie and the landowners, the misbegotten and bloody hangmen of the Polish workers and peasants!

Protest against the suppression of the national minorities in Poland!

Stigmatize the betrayers of the Polish working class!

May the accused workers and peasants, serving in the army, who are to be condemned, see that they are opposed by the revolutionary workers, the proletarian and the peasants of Poland and of all countries!

Honour to the fallen heroes of the armed uprising in Cracow!

Down with the contemptible government of the bourgeoisie and the landowners!

Long live the solidarity of the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world!

Long live the workers' and peasants' government of Poland!  
Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!  
Moscow, 22nd of May 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

### Against the Fascist Terror in Yugoslavia.

To the Workers and Peasants of Yugoslavia and of the whole Balkans.

To the Workers and Peasants of all Countries.

In Yugoslavia there has set in a new wave of fearful terror. The hegemonic Serbian bourgeoisie has recently been compelled to realise that they cannot maintain their reign of violence against the working masses in Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and other districts in Yugoslavia by "legal" means. The bourgeois government of Pasic-Prebicevic is an arbitrary minority government and does not even enjoy the confidence of the majority in parliament, not to speak of the people. It has forcibly adjourned parliament in order to maintain power. Pasic has openly declared that the Serbian bourgeoisie are prepared to defend their "gains" and privileged position with fire and sword. And since that time they have quite openly had recourse to a fascism, which they have organized and equipped precisely after the pattern of Mussolini.

On the 1st of June the Yugoslavian fascists carried out a fearful blood bath in Trifail, a big coal mining district of Slovenia. The miners, who were holding an election meeting, were maliciously challenged and attacked by a band of 500 Fascists, accompanied by a military band and armed with revolvers and hand-grenades. The Slovenian workers did not allow themselves to be intimidated by this hired band of ruffians. They held their ground with a courage and energy which could serve as a magnificent example to all class-conscious workers. They taught the fascists a lesson they will not easily forget and did not shrink from their own sacrifices. In this encounter the fascists lost four dead, among them three leaders, ten severely wounded and several slightly wounded.

But the great losses of the miners testify to the sharpness and extent of the fight. Six workers were killed and fifteen workers were seriously wounded. After this act of murder, workers were seized and held as hostages, whereby a quite innocent worker was most cruelly murdered in a stone quarry.

The workers' leaders are to-day out-laws in Slovenia, and considerable sums of money have been placed on their heads by the fascists. 36 workers were arrested, some of whom are threatened with the death penalty and the remainder with severe terms of imprisonment.

The government is preparing for further bloody deeds. In the industrial districts the municipal authorities are removed and their places taken by willing instruments of the government. The municipal council in Laibach has been dissolved as being friendly to the Communists. It is in this way that the fascist government is preparing for the new elections. In all industrial districts there will be shed the warm blood of the workers: this will be the picture presented by Pasic election-democracy!

Workers and peasants of all countries!

The miners of Slovenia, who have not meekly bowed down before the fascists, but have taken up the revolutionary struggle against them, fought not only for themselves but also for the proletariat of Yugoslavia, of the whole Balkans and the other countries. Therefore the sympathies of all workers should be on the side of the Slovenian workers, who boldly repelled the armed attack of the Yugo fascists.

The solidarity of the workers, however, must not be limited to mere demonstrations of sympathy. The support of the victims of the courageous defensive struggle and their families is the solemn duty of all workers. Bring them the speedy and practical help which they urgently need!

The victims of this fight prove to you that you yourselves must prepare and organize for the struggle against fascist reaction, in order to be able at the given moment to take up the struggle in a similar manner. Form proletarian defence units against the fascist hirelings!

The Yugoslavian reign of force maintains its existence thanks to the loans granted by France and other countries. Protest

against the governments of your countries giving further support to this bloody regime! Not a penny more to these murderers of workers!

Long live the miners of Slovenia!  
Long live the revolutionary proletariat of Yugoslavia!  
Down with the fascist reaction!  
Long live the victory of the proletarian revolution in Yugoslavia and in the whole of the Balkans!  
Long live the Federative Balkan Republic!

The Presidium of the Balkan Communist Federation.  
The Secretariat of the Balkan Federation of the Communist Youth.

## APPEALS

### Appeal of the V. World Congress to the Italian Workers against the Fascist Crimes.

The V. World Congress has adopted the following Appeal:

#### Workers and Peasants of Italy!

Fascism has just added a fresh crime to the long list of murders, plunderings and crimes which stand to its account in its furious fight against the Italian proletariat. After massacring hundreds of revolutionary workers and peasants, imprisoning and torturing thousands of communist and socialist workers, it has killed Matteotti, member of parliament and secretary of the reformist party. The so-called liberal bourgeoisie, which called reformism to life and supported its anti-proletarian actions, is now howling with indignation. It is in vain that it hopes to transfer from itself the burden of its direct blame for the criminal activity of Fascism and to escape its responsibility as an accomplice. The reformist leaders who preached resignation and passivity to the masses when Fascism was raging against thousands of workers of all parties, seek today, even in face of the murder of the secretary of their party, to allay the growing bitterness of the working masses, to keep alive the pacifist illusions and to pursue the utopian idea of a restoration of parliament and democracy. By this policy they help to preserve the foundation of the Fascist dictatorship; the state and military apparatus.

The V. Congress of the Communist International sorrowfully sinks its banner before this new victim, and before all the other uncounted and little known, but no less heroic victims, who have fallen in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Meanwhile it regards it as its duty to bring to the notice of the workers and class fighters of Italy and all other countries the political lessons to be derived from these events.

Whilst the proletarian masses, without distinction of party, show the firm will to conduct the struggle unceasingly until the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the reformist party and the trade union federation supported by the shilly-shallying attitude of the maximalist leaders, refuse to unite together the demonstrations of protest of the proletarian masses into one single action which would rally the whole working masses and set them in motion; and once more they throw the Italian workers at the feet of fascism. Thus these counter-revolutionary leaders, with their defeatist tactics, reveal their lack of faith in the fighting capacity of the Italian proletarians and their political co-responsibility for the criminal tactics of the white guardists.

#### Comrades!

Fascism can only be fought by the unity of all workers and peasants who are determined to organize their defence and to answer the violence of fascism by the revolutionary action of the proletarian masses. But the reformist leaders, blinded by their pacifist and democratic prejudices, have avoided the fight and attempted to avert the blows from themselves by making compromises with fascism. In collaboration with the ever-hesitating maximalist leaders, they have first concluded a pact with fascism, which allows the fascists to shower all their blows upon the revolutionary workers and peasants, and which split the proletariat at the moment when it was necessary to unite it in a powerful struggle against the terror under which it already suffered.

#### Workers and peasants of Italy!

The crime of which Matteotti has fallen a victim, is placed before the eyes of the masses by the party of the constitutional opposition and the social democrats as a question of criminal justice. You must oppose this evasion, and on the contrary, fully raise the question of the governmental system. The unity of your action, the strengthening of your class organizations and of your trade-unions, the re-establishment of the factory councils and the united front of all your revolutionary class forces — this is the only way which can lead you to the victory against your oppressors.

#### Workers and peasants of Italy!

The slogans which the Communist Party have long since stood for and which shall lead your endeavours to the determined fight against the fascist dictatorship:

1. Disarming of the armed fascist bands, dissolution of the national militia;
2. Overthrow of the government of murders
3. Fight of the workers and peasants against the terror
4. Formation of armed proletarian hundreds;
5. Formation of factory councils;
6. Liberation of the imprisoned workers;
7. Freedom of organization, of assembly and of the press for the working class.

Unite your wills and your efforts in the struggle for the slogans, which contain the immediate needs of your defence!

#### Workers of all parties!

Unitarian and maximalist workers! — By this murder against fascism, you must be convinced of the error and danger of the reformist tactics, which crippled your efforts without saving you from blows. You will condemn them, and finally discard them in order to unite with the Communist workers, to combine your forces with theirs in an iron front in order to fight pitilessly your oppressors under the banner of the Communist International, this proletarian and revolutionary international, the inheritor of the approved tactics of Lenin which in tsarist Russia led to the victory of the workers and peasants and will lead to victory the proletariat of the world.

Long live the united front of the workers and peasants of Italy!

Long live the revolutionary class struggle against fascism!  
Long live the Communist International!

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## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Second International Conference of Communist Co-operators.

By Algo.

Since the III. World Congress in July 1921 the Communist International has taken up Co-operative work as a component part of political work. As is known, the II. International at its congress in Copenhagen in 1910 dealt with the Co-operative question from the point of view of the class struggle, and for its work within the Co-operative movement drew up theses of an ambiguous character with the result that in certain countries very radical phrases could be made use of, while in other countries, on the ground of the same theses, the most blatant opportunism was possible.

Now after three years there exists in the III. International a clearer plan which accords with the Co-operative resolution which comrade Lenin submitted as member of the Co-operative commission of the II. International in 1910. In order to meet beforehand the reformist danger of the individual party members acting as they wish in this important section of party work, the Communist co-operative theses lay it down as the absolute duty of every Communist to be a member of a co-operative society and at the same time to form nuclei of the numerous co-operative societies in order that a systematic work by party discipline is assured.

Already in November 1922 there took place in Moscow the first International Conference of Communist co-operators. Its task it was to lay down a theoretically based attitude towards the class conscious proletariat with regard to the co-operative question and at the same time to approve the theses by means of which the co-operatives under reformist leadership could be got into the hands of the class conscious proletariat. This task which the conference undertook, was completely accomplished and was embodied in the co-operative theses of the IV. World Congress. The Enlarged Executive at its sitting in June 1923 extended the co-operative theses in a comprehensive manner and expressly called the attention of the sections of the Comintern to co-operative work.

From the 11th. to 17th. of July there took place in Moscow the second international conference of Communist Co-operators. Its task on the one hand to sum up the results of the co-operative work accomplished in the various countries and on

the other hand to state in concrete terms the practical work lying ahead. The Conference was attended by 43 delegates from 17 countries and 10 institutions. To the presidium were elected comrades Chintchuk, Algo and Marran. The conference dealt with a very extensive agenda which included the report of the section and the reports from the various countries. The first two speakers dealt with "the role of the co-operatives in the present period of proletarian revolution", while comrade Algo dealt with the role and the task before the capture of political power by the proletariat. The co-operatives can not only serve as tribunes for revolutionary propaganda among the masses of proletarian housewives and the politically indifferent among the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, but they also have the possibility to render moral and material support to all trade-union and proletarian campaigns and to act themselves as class organs by setting up strike funds and acting as suppliers of provisions for the fighting working class. As regards illegal work there are many possibilities offered within the co-operative organizations, whilst co-operative work is admirably suited for the important task of the proletarian united front from below, for the revolutionising and neutralising of the masses.

Comrade Chintchuk dealt with the highly important role of the co-operatives during and after the proletarian revolution. Comrade Meschtcheryakov spoke on the international task of the co-operatives, comrade Marran dealt with the question of the trade-unions and the co-operatives, while comrades Strömer and Ostrovskaya spoke upon the women and the co-operative movement. Under the item "miscellaneous, comrade Tjshomirov gave an interesting report on the housing co-operative societies in Soviet Russia. All the reports were followed by detailed and thorough discussions.

In the resolution of the section report, it was pointed out that the old decisions of the congress must be carried out with all energy, that a co-operative section must be set up in the party central of every country and that in the general political campaigns, as well as in the press the co-operative work must form an essential part. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that there must be a better mutual exchange of information, that an international co-operative journal, "the co-operatives in the class struggle", must appear regularly, that visits must be arranged to the various countries and a national communist co-operative conference take place, that co-operative courses must be arranged in the various countries for the education of trained Marxist functionaries etc. The first three reports are embodied in theses, which lay special stress upon the importance of co-operative work as regards the political education of the backward