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## The New United States Tariff

By *Karl Radek*.

The new tariff adopted in America on September 24th, signifies the victory of American heavy industry and the farmers over the banks and export capital. In answer to the wails of European capitalism for American assistance, American capital obstructs the import of European-made commodities, making it difficult for Germany to pay her debts to France, and for the latter and Great Britain to pay theirs to America. This measure aggravates not only the international crisis of capitalism, but enhances Russia's importance as a supplier of raw materials for Europe's industries.

### I.

Ever since the end of the war, European capitalism has anxiously let its glances travel over the Ocean, waiting for Uncle Sam, who helped it to crush Prussian militarism and set democracy and condensed milk into the saddle, to help reconstruct Europe which fared rather badly during the four years of war.

The foremost to harbor this hope was Germany.

For even if Wilson rid Germany of its Kaiser, there could be no doubt whatsoever that America, proud of her democratic infant who saw the light of god's world thanks to that operation, would take care that it was properly nourished. In spite of the fact that Wilson approved of the clauses of the Versailles Treaty strangling Germany, in spite of the fact that America declined to interfere in European matters, the American religion lost none of its followers in Germany.

When it became obvious that Germany would never be able to pay her debts to the Allies, the latter, in order to avoid acknowledging their defeat and the bankruptcy of the Treaty of Versailles, began to cast side-glances across the Ocean.

The European Allies owe America 10 billion dollars:—

Great Britain . . . . .	4,197,000,000
France . . . . .	3,357,000,000
Italy . . . . .	1,637,000,000
Belgium . . . . .	350,000,000
Russia . . . . .	170,000,000
All others . . . . .	300,000,000
	10,005,000,000

If one adds the interest which the Allies did not pay, the American bill totals 12.5 billion dollars. Europe is to be saved by America either renouncing or considerably reducing these demands, which she is little inclined to concede. Renunciation of this demand would mean that America would have to spend a few billion dollars every year to cover the interest on the loans to the Allies, — more than its whole budget amounted to before the war. Renunciation of the debts would furthermore mean renunciation of its gigantic political lever. But if America declines to forego its demands, the question remains, how the Allies and Europe can pay the interest. The only means would be to increase exports to the States. It is not only a matter of paying the interest of one billion dollars on the debts; the balance of the financial relations between Europe and America is, apart from those interests, as follows:—

1. Excess of American exports to Europe over European exports to America . . . . .	\$ 1,600,000,000
2. Seven per cent on the five billion dollars of European pre-war debts to America . . . . .	\$ 350,000,000
Total in 1921 . . . . .	\$ 1,950,000,000
Europe receives from America:—	
1. Interest on European capital invested in America . . . . .	\$ 100,000,000
2. Remittances of European emigrants to their home countries and remittances of charitable institutions . . . . .	\$ 500,000,000
3. Expenses of American travellers in Europe . . . . .	\$ 150,000,000
4. Payments for the services of European banks, freight, etc. . . . .	\$ 50,000,000
Total . . . . .	\$ 800,000,000

Thus Europe would have to pay America, every year, first 1 billion dollars for the interest on government debts and \$ 1,950,000,000 for the excess of American exports and for the interest on private debts; or about 3 billion dollars in all. Europe's counter-demands, however, only amount to 800 million dollars. These figures, taken from an article by John Forster Dallace in the first number of *Foreign Affairs*, published by very influential American circles and edited by

Professor Coolidge, go to prove the tremendous importance of those difficulties with which the new tariff bars the road to an increase of European export.

## II.

The new tariff is the outcome of a struggle between the banks, American industry and the farmers. The banks financing the export of capital to Europe for the purchase of European enterprises and European commodities, are the principal spokesmen for the renunciation of the debts, the granting of credits to facilitate the solution of the German reparation problem, etc. If we take into consideration the usurious rates under which American banks have given credits to European countries in recent years, we will easily understand the anxiety of American banking capital to save Europe.

Besides the banks, it is those circles that import the cheap German goods and sell them at a profit of several hundred per cent, that are also interested in financing Europe and in raising the tariff barriers.

A third group working in the same direction is that section of American capital that goes to Europe to buy factories and exploit the cheap European labor market. To facilitate European imports would however, mean increased competition for American industry which is manufacturing for the home market and is therefore adverse to European competition.

The decline of prices for agricultural products, due to the lowering of the European purchasing power and the appearance of Canadian and Argentinian competition on the local market drove the farmers into the arms of the Republican advocates of a higher tariff, with the result that a tariff was passed which has no parallel in the past. This tariff not only provides for an increase of from 10 to 40 per cent on all custom duties, but it also empowers the president to increase or decrease, on his own initiative, the custom duties by 50 per cent, or in other words, impede or facilitate, as the case may be, the imports to America from Great Britain, France and the other countries.

The fact that the manner by which the prices of imported goods are to be determined is not definitely formulated makes room for other difficulties. The new tariff will cause an increase of prices, and it is quite possible that it will not survive the next presidential election. For the time being, however, that is for the next few years, it will result in an aggravation of the international situation.

## III.

"Many boats with cargoes from Lancashire and other industrial centers are returning with their full cargoes. Custom duties on these commodities are so high that in many instances they put a ban on imports. Great Britain will not, or only to a very limited degree, be able to export these articles to America." (*Daily Chronicle*, the organ of Lloyd George.) It adds: "Sir Robert Horne intends to go to Washington to negotiate the question of English debts. But we can pay only if we have credits in America, to obtain which we must export goods there. At the very moment when America was to help us find ways to pay our debts, it excludes those commodities by which alone we can pay. America cannot at once receive our wares and exclude them."

The conservative "Observer", one of the principal advocates of Anglo-American friendship points out that America is repeating the mistake committed by France when the latter demanded payment of Germany and at the same time handicapped German exports. But these philosophical considerations will very likely effect the American capitalists just as little as the tears of the German Government bemoaning the fact that without an American loan it can not recuperate. All observers of American politics are unanimous in their opinion that public opinion in America, i. e., the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, are opposed to America's mixing in European affairs. This public opinion is all the more influential as its interests coincide with the interests of the most influential circles of American capitalism; and as long as the 3 or 4 billion dollars, representing the increase in the cost of living resulting from the new tariff, do not rouse the masses and make them overthrow the *Republicans*, it is ridiculous to expect the repeal of the new tariff.

Apart from its international significance the new tariff has special importance for Soviet Russia, increasing as it does the interest of European capital in Russian raw material and thus improving our outlook for loans to advance our economic reconstruction.

# POLITICS

## The Overthrow of Lloyd George

By Georg (Berlin).

"Lloyd George falls because the light of truth is finally breaking through the clouds," so the French official *Temps* wrote on the day of his resignation, and then recounted the record of his sins: he has with impunity caused trouble everywhere, not only in the interior of the country, but in regard to the Anglo-French relations, the reparations question, the relations to Russia and the Eastern question, in a word, — in everything he meddles in; and he meddles in everything.

Lloyd George's overthrow means in fact the failure of the attempt of the English politicians to solve the most burning problems of English imperialism. In the oriental question this failure, which at the same time permitted a further advance by French imperialism, was so palpable that it inevitably led to the overthrow of the cabinet.

When the Poincaré press boasts of having caused the downfall of Lloyd George, it is but half the truth. His differences with the French politicians have doubtless contributed to the fiasco, and the sudden attack of the Conservative Party in England is regarded by Poincaré, not without justification, as his victory.

The real cause of the overthrow, however, lies deeper. The Anglo-French differences are only an expression of this cause, which can be traced back to the impossibility of solving the present imperialist conflict.

The central point of English imperialism lies in the colonies and before all in the *Orient*, while that of the French is in *Western Europe*. It was therefore possible for Poincaré, to enter the Orient with a peace programme, and vice versa, for Lloyd who is regarded in Western Europe as a pacifist, to conduct an adventurous war policy in the Orient.

There have for a long time been two subjects of conflict between English and French imperialism: the *reparations question* and the *Eastern problem* with which the relations to Soviet Russia are closely connected. In the reparations question, Lloyd George represented the interests of the English industrial and commercial capitalists who seek a market in Germany and at the same time fight against French competition. In the reparations question therefore, Lloyd George could and had to be lenient and play the part of the "friend of Germany".

In the Orient and in the question of the Straits lie England's most vital interests, in which every partial solution is equivalent to a defeat for England. Lloyd George attempted at a number of conferences to solve the European problem by granting concessions to France in Europe in return for the maintenance of her positions in the East. This compensation policy between the two imperialists however, had its limits, and there came a time when Lloyd George had no more concessions to give in Western Europe, while France had been strengthened through the concessions hitherto made, and also held the upper hand in the Orient.

Lloyd George's policy of the great compromise has weakened English imperialism, to the advantage of France. The English Conservative Party which formally brought about the overthrow of Lloyd George, will attempt to safeguard English interests by a closer alliance with France. The conservative press declared, that the task of the new cabinet would consist in establishing good relations with France and, supported by these relations, to protect the Oriental interests of England.

The program of the provisional cabinet consists in reducing English intervention in Europe, and in a revision of the Eastern policy.

This means that the Conservative Party which represents the *colonial interests*, will give France a free hand in the reparations question, i. e., in the further plundering of Germany, in return for which France will strike an attitude of benevolent neutrality. The most recent declarations of France over her Oriental policy show that she will not abandon her newly won positions in the East for the most far-reaching concessions in Europe, and that she is determined to go her own way in the question of relations to Soviet Russia, unhampered by the English interests.

The English conservatives, as well as Poincaré, claim the greater victory to be on their side.

The position for the moment doubtless decides the quarrel in favor of France who will now conduct an active, independent policy in the East. But though the immediate result of Lloyd George's retreat is apparently a consolidation of the Anglo-French relations, the new situation will in reality only sharpen the imperialist antagonisms.

In the European sphere, in the reparations question as well as in the Orient, in regard to the question of the Straits

and the relations to Soviet Russia, the "understanding" between England and France contains combustible material which must lead to the sharpest crises.

Austria is already a victim of these struggles. The next candidate is Germany, so long as the direction of its economic life remains in capitalist hands. In spite of all apparent momentary success, English as well as French capitalism is on the decline. The English world empire is slowly but surely being undermined. Lloyd George's overthrow marks a stage on this road, and a glance at the conditions of French state finances, shows whither the way of this victor is leading.

It is Soviet Russia alone, who in the midst of the imperialist conflicts consolidates her own political and economic forces and also understands how to take advantage of the irreconcilable differences between English and French imperialism, which have given the death stroke to the cabinet of Lloyd George, for defending England's own interests and strengthening her position.

## Problems of the Far East.

By J. Marchlevsky.

Capitalist development has taken place in Japan during the past fifty years with a surprising rapidity. The World War only accelerated this in two ways. First, the participation of Japan in the conflict increased enormously her own needs of war materials; secondly, Japan became the source of supply to Russia and, after the entrance of the United States into the war, Japan became the chief source of supply of manufactured articles to the Chinese market, neglected by Europe and America.

To the Nipponese capitalists, the years of the war were the fat years of fabulous profits. The Japanese working class also benefited to a certain extent. The demand for manual labor by far surpassed the supply. This situation caused a slackening in the discontent of the country districts, still under a semi-feudal regime.

The bourgeois revolution of 1868 did not in fact abolish the property rights of the feudal nobility, which still owns the greater part of the land. The large landed proprietors let out their land in small parcels, generally under conditions very often resembling serfdom. It is quite the usual thing that the peasant owes to the lord half of his harvest. When we take into consideration the intensity of the peasants' work—rice cultivation for instance, requires a sustained effort—we see that the tribute paid by the farmer to the proprietor represents more than a ground rent; it represents the product of a slave's work, and an inhuman exploitation. The development of industry has thus led to a strong emigration movement from the country districts to the cities, especially among the women. The farmer cannot live unless some member or members of his family work in industry.

After the war, the industrial crisis became inevitable. The needs of the army diminished, the Russian market was lost, American and British competition could be seen pressing upon the Chinese market, and Germany also became a very successful competing factor. To which may be added that the Japanese exchange is very high, which places Japan among the countries with a high cost of living. The rapid decrease of exports naturally brought about a strong restriction on production, followed by unemployment and increase in the cost of living. The numerous strikes and industrial conflicts, of which the Japanese newspapers do not cease to speak, are thus explained.

Emigration of the rural population towards industry ceased, thus increasing the tension of the situation in the country districts. Peasant revolts became very frequent. To combat them, the government used the Prussian method (or Czarist).

As for the workers' movement, lively and interesting, it is only in its beginnings and leans generally to a non-political syndicalism. The Japanese Constitution is largely the cause of this: a system of two legislative chambers, very restricted suffrage for the Lower Chamber, and supremacy of the Upper House.

Nominally, the Japanese nobility, very numerous, has lost its privileges. But it has found a haven in the army, the navy, and bureaucracy. It no longer disdains participation in industry and commerce. The political revolution having done no harm to the old clans of the nobility, there results curious combinations of the clan system with capitalism. The generals and admirals belonging to a clan or fraternity may always be assured of the cooperation of the members of their group mixed in with the bourgeoisie. Thus from top to bottom of the political and economic structures, several cliques, comprising officers of the army and the administration, are orging in the most corrupt practices that can be imagined. Let us not be astonished that the majority of the workers are sickened by the political practices of present day Japan and that non-political syndicalism finds a fertile field among them.

The new revolutionary ideas still plow their way with difficulty. Up to the present time, the achievements of Communist propaganda in Japan have been slight, and the number of organized Communists is very small. The fear which they inspire in their government is all the more remarkable. For fear of Bolshevism, Japan wants no contact with Russia. No sanitary cordon would appear too strong to Japan to insure it against the penetration of the Bolshevik bacillus.

Yet Communist influence makes itself felt in the most unforeseen ways. Lately, for instance, the Japanese press sounded the alarm: *Our soldiers are returning from Siberia, contaminated by Bolshevism!* And it appears to be truth, although a surprising-truth, taking into consideration the vigilance employed by the Japanese police to prevent contact of the soldiers with the inhabitants, and taking likewise into consideration the difficulty of exchanging ideas among people of different languages. Bolshevism must have an extraordinary power of penetration to have reached even the Japanese soldiers in Siberia, and prisoners of both their officers and the police.

The fear of the red peril has led the Japanese bourgeoisie to introduce a bill in Parliament which is an exact reproduction of Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws of 1868. The bill has been temporarily defeated, because it attacked not only Socialist propaganda, but also the tame liberalism which has numerous adherents in the press, and in political circles. But the possibility remains that it will be adopted with some modifications at the next parliamentary session. Confronted by more and more accentuated economic conflicts, the bourgeoisie will not flinch before the most extreme measures.

To procure a diversion to the dissatisfaction of the masses and the penetration of subversive ideas, the Japanese bourgeoisie has found no better remedy than to affirm the necessity for the military expansion of the Empire.

Their arguments are of childish simplicity: Japan is a poor country, incapable of nourishing an ever-growing population. Therefore it must conquer new lands and new sources of raw materials, if it is not to succumb.

The first affirmation is true. Japan is in fact a country which Nature has favored very little. It possesses neither coal nor iron and lacks therefore the primary necessities for industrial development. Its textile industry depends largely upon importation of foreign raw material. Even its agriculture is capable of a limited development.

But it is not true that Japan is overpopulated. Great sections of the Archipelago are but very sparsely populated. If one objects that these sections, especially the Isle of Yeso, are but slightly favored by Nature, we will remark that the countries coveted by Japanese imperialism, Manchuria and Eastern Siberia are no better off. Moreover, experience shows that the Japanese peasant is a poor colonial. At least, all his attempts at colonization in Korea and Southern Manchuria have failed lamentably. Only the small number of three hundred thousand Japanese colonists could find root in Korea. In Manchuria, in spite of the advantages which have been handed to them, the Japanese merchants could not supplant their Chinese competitors. The reasons for this inferiority are many: little capacity for acclimatization, augmented by the conservation of national customs; incapacity to cultivate the earth otherwise than in their native country; the practice of parcelling out the land.

The power of suggestion of imperialist ideas in Japan is very great. One meets even Japanese Socialists who cannot throw them off. The anti-militarist propaganda will have great difficulty to combat this psychosis, but several factors are already working for us. As Germany before, Japanese imperialism is now burning the candle at both ends. It wants both an army and a navy of the first order. The excessive charges on the budget call forth an ever greater opposition. The military party, far from taking this opposition into consideration, attempts to dispose of it by acting on its own initiative. Last March, it discussed the possibility of a war with America, and prepared the most elaborate plans: In case of a war in the Pacific, the oceanic communications of Japan might be interrupted; therefore, Japan must assure its food and raw material on the Asiatic continent. As it is very doubtful that either Russians or Chinese will be too willing to supply Japan, an army of three million men would have to be sent to the continent to occupy the shores of Shanghai. Then, the Japanese militarists could represent such a war of conquest as a war of national defense. Such projects have scared certain bourgeois circles. The liberal opposition to militarism is gaining in force.

Having seen in Europe the powerlessness of such resistance in case of any real danger, we must come to the following conclusion: Either the Japanese workers and peasants will be forced by circumstances into the class war and will oppose the development of imperialism, or sooner or later, Japan will be drawn into a series of military ventures which will set the Far East aflame, and finally debase the Japanese people to the present condition of the German people.

# ECONOMICS

## Rails, Coal, Iron

By G. Fink (Berlin).

Mr. Keynes is the editor of an extremely interesting review, *Reconstruction*, the last number of which (VII) gives to us an article of great value on steel iron and transportation industries of the world.

Railroads unquestionably play a very important role in capitalist commerce. Thus the international iron network continually expanded before the war. During the war it continued to grow, but only for strategic purposes. The wear and tear on the locomotives and trains at this time was very great indeed. Without speaking of railroad materials destroyed in the course of war operations, replacement and repair work were neglected so much that at the end of hostilities, the roads were in a state of general decay. The victor countries requisitioned from Germany 5000 locomotives and 150,000 cars, but that did not suffice to bring back their rolling stock to the conditions of 1914. For Germany however, the damages of war and the surrender of about one half of her locomotives and cars in good condition, had most serious consequences. For months on end, its work shops were busy, solely with the repair of the material to be delivered to the Entente. At the present time, the situation has somewhat improved, but the state work shops are still unable to take care of the current work, and the administration is forced to call upon the services of private industry. Rails and ties cannot be renewed to the desired degree.

Add to this that before the war the German railroad administration had at its disposal the unified railroad system of Austria-Hungary, while at the present time the railroad system of Central Europe has been broken up by customs and political frontiers.

In all the successor states, as well as in Poland and the Balkans, the railroads are in a piteous state. In Serbia they have been almost totally destroyed. The treaty of Neuilly has forced Bulgaria to surrender almost half of its rolling stock. The lines of Eastern Europe which serve for trade with Russia are of great economic importance; they are all totally ruined. The lines of Russia's neighboring states, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, are partly of normal, and partly of Russian gauge, while a great number of branch lines of the same regions are of narrow gauge,—resulting in a maze of complications. All these countries lack railway cars, and possess as a rule old Russian locomotives in bad condition.

Few of the large European railroad systems are run on a lucrative basis from the capitalist point of view. While motoring and aviation have made considerable progress during the past few years, this cannot be said of the railroads. In many cases the transport by automobile is cheaper than by rail; in fact automobiles save the cost of reloading. In the British colonies a new method has come into use:—automobiles moving on rails, (which spares the road and the vehicle), but which may be used without rails when need be. The progress of aviation also holds great promise for the future.

As long as hydraulic power remains insufficiently developed, coal will remain the basis of all industrial development. However, the war has profoundly affected the coal industry,—not to mention the general economic crisis and the effect of social movements. At the present time, the problem of coal depends upon that of reparations.

As a result of the war, Germany who before the war disposed of an annual exportable surplus of 34,000,000 tons of coal, has lost, as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, the Saar Valley, and the greater part of the Upper Silesian basin (of which Poland received 75%). Besides this, Germany must deliver to France enormous quantities of coal on the reparations account. French industry, in imposing such hard conditions, desired to indemnify herself for the destruction of her mines in the North and to supply the foundries newly acquired in Lorraine. However, due to the reduced coal consumption in France, on account of the general crisis, and to the increased production of coal in the French devastated mines, the result is, that the French coal industry suffers from a lack of markets, is harassed by unemployment.

But the French smelting furnaces need coke. Since the Saar does not produce it, the French foundries need that of the Ruhr. Furthermore since France needs coke, and Germany lacks ores, the foundries of the two countries seek to create a large mining trust.

The English coal industry is menaced by the deliveries which Germany is obliged to make to France. Exportation of coal from England to France has been reduced from 11.6 to 5.5 million tons. The industrial crisis which rages in Great Britain has strongly complicated the position of the English mines.

The coal industry of Czecho-Slovakia is in an equally precarious position: lack of market and unemployment.

The economic importance of iron is as great as that of coal. The war and the subsequent peace treaties, have revolutionized the iron and steel industries. There is a shortage of ores in Germany while France needs coke. The consumption of iron scrap from old war materials sufficed for some time to meet the shortage of iron in Germany. But the scrap iron has been consumed. The need of ore makes itself vitally felt and is accentuating the combining tendencies of the German heavy and the French mining industries.

The continued depreciation of the mark at first favored the progress of the German metal industry. But since then, her prices have risen to a level above that of the depreciated mark. While the price of French and English steel has gone down, that of German steel has gone up, even in ratio to the pound sterling. The prosperity of the German metal industries, which are losing their capacity to compete, is therefore seriously menaced.

The British metal industry registers a certain improvement due to the reduction of wages and of cost of production.

On the contrary, the crisis is acute in the Italian and Czecho-Slovakian metal industry. In Italy two trusts have failed involving a large banking house. The attempt is made, however, to maintain an industry capable of meeting two thirds of the country's needs. Czecho-Slovakia, who now possesses one half of the steel production of the old Habsburg monarchy, is hard hit by the economic crisis. Her furnaces are going out one by one.

What conclusions shall we draw from this rapid examination of the data which the bourgeois press furnishes us?

Four years have passed since the end of the imperialist war, and capitalism has not been able to repair the damages caused by the war in the three most vital industries, rail, coal, iron. Far from diminishing, the crisis persists, and grows in certain countries; competition and the fight for markets grows more bitter (the formation of a Franco-German trust would be the signal for an economic war between France and England); and finally the example of Germany proves that the forceful elimination of a competitor from the world market brings no solution to the marketing difficulties and to the crisis inherent in the capitalist system.

## Aserbeidshan

By *Ishak-Sheik-Zaman* (Aadil).

Aserbeidshan, if one takes into account its population of something less than 4 millions, and her territory of about 100,000 square kilometers, is without doubt the richest of the states that have been separated from Russia. If all the riches of this country were taken advantage of by means of the best technical methods the country would then be able to compete with the great powers in many spheres.

Although the exploitation of the natural resources of our country has, as a consequence of the old Tsarist policy, scarcely yet begun, Aserbeidshan nevertheless possesses considerable riches and even some which are of world importance for certain branches of production.

I should like to give a short survey of the economic, industrial and agricultural condition of the country, supported entirely by figures.

The fertile territory of Aserbeidshan was estimated on the 1st of January, 1917, at 5,891,264 dessyatins. If we except the district of Baku, Aserbeidshan is an agrarian country. It is reckoned that two and a half millions are engaged in agriculture. Before the war 60 to 70 million puds of corn, (wheat, barley, maize, rice, sesame, millet etc.) were produced. Of wheat alone 40 million puds were produced. It is estimated that about 150 million puds more of wheat alone could be produced if the agricultural system were improved a little, and if the overflowing of the river *Kur* and its neighboring stream the *Aras*, which causes the adjoining land to be inundated, were prevented by dams. The present statesmen have not only taken this work in hand but they have also begun the irrigation of the *Muga* desert, whose fertility

is fabulous. It has often been written that owing to their hostility to the Soviet Regime the peasants have not cultivated the land sufficiently. The mendacity of this propaganda is especially plain in Aserbeidshan, where, estimating conservatively the present harvest, if it does not exceed the pre war harvest, is at any rate very little below it.

The cultivation of cotton occupies the second place. An area of 12,000 dessyatins is given up to this industry which produces more than 5 million puds of raw cotton. Almost the entire yield is devoted to export. It is seen that by the irrigation of a certain portion of the country it would be possible to cultivate an area of almost 500,000 dessyatins which would yield more than 45 million puds of raw cotton.

Then comes wine growing; but its development was only begun in 1882 when the railway between Baku and Tiflis was constructed. An area of 40,000 dessyatins is given up to wine cultivation and yields more than 500,000 puds of grapes, if one reckons 20 puds of grapes per dessyatin. But there were German colonies in Aserbeidshan which with their perfected methods of cultivation received 550 puds per dessyatin. One could, by an improvement in the technique of wine growing obtain twenty-five times more than the present yield. As our land is very favorable for the cultivation of the vine there could without difficulty be cultivated an area of more than 100,000 dessyatins which would yield roughly from 35 to 40 million puds of grapes.

40,000 dessyatins are devoted to fruit growing which bring in more than 3 million puds of fruit. If more care and better methods were employed this quantity could easily be increased to 50 million puds.

Vegetable growing occupies an area of about 30,000 dessyatins and yields more than sufficient to cover the home consumption. The same can be said of the tobacco production which for the moment is not well developed and covers an area of 600 dessyatins with a production of about 60,000 puds of tobacco.

Aserbeidshan with its enormous reserves of pasture land could become the richest cattle breeding country, but the breeding of cattle is for the present in a much less flourishing state than formerly. In 1918 there were more than 1,211,560 heads of cattle; 240,000 horses, mules and donkeys; 300,000 buffaloes; 15,600 camels; 2,478,515 sheep, and 442,240 goats.

When the peasants are free from their field work they devote themselves to silk production, bee-keeping, and the manufacture of liquorice. Aserbeidjan produces annually more than 200,000 puds of silk cocoons of which the greater portion is sent abroad (to France and Italy), more than 10,000 puds of honey, while the production of liquorice reaches more one million puds.

As Aserbeidshan is a neighboring land of Persia, an enormous number of oriental carpets are woven there. There are more than 200,000 handworkers engaged in this industry. The value of the total product is more than 15 million rubles a year. The greater portion of these carpets are sent to France, England and America.

One of the most important sources of wealth of Aserbeidshan is the fishing industry, one of the first in the world. The waters of the Caspian Sea, of the streams and rivers, (especially of the *Kur* and the *Aras*) and of the Lake of Sakdsha possess an enormous stock of fish of every kind. The fisheries in the Caspian Sea belonging to Aserbeidshan comprise 40,000 square kilometers. There are more than 40,000 workers engaged in the fishing industry and the product amounts to more than 4½ million puds of fish of all kinds. As the population of Aserbeidshan consumes very little fish, the whole amount is exported. But since the catching of fish is conducted in a very primitive manner, it is possible, with improved methods, to greatly increase the present yield.

Aserbeidshan is widely known for its petroleum resources (as its name suggests, which means: "Land of eternal fire"). In the production of petroleum our country is only second to the United States. The average annual production of naphtha amounted before the war to 550,600 million puds. The war has greatly damaged the petroleum industry. Under the government of the Czar and under the nationalist bourgeois government the production and export of petroleum was almost entirely held up. Only the Soviet government has enabled the production of petroleum to increase from month to month. At the present time it exceeds 20 million puds per month.

Aserbeidshan possesses enormous mineral riches, which however, are not or but very little exploited.

The yearly production of copper amounts to 2,835,000 puds. That of iron, to 150,000, which is only a quarter of the amount which it is estimated the district of Dashessau alone can yield, where there are one billion puds, while there are about twenty districts which possess enormous beds of metal. The production of pirites amounts to 350,000 puds. There are enormous lead and copper mines and even silver mines which are not yet opened up.

Our country possesses numerous salt beds which however, are not all exploited. The annual production amounts to something less than one million puds. The Dusdag salt bed alone is estimated at 3,380,250,000 puds; and in the neighborhood of the village of Sust there is a bed with 2,625,000,000 puds. There are a number of others yet.

Aserbeidshan possesses important forests but unfortunately the statistics published concerning them are very inexact, and the figures which they give (for which the Tsar's government is responsible) are below the actual amount. Our forests have more than 300 varieties of trees.

According to Professor Beck, there are in Aserbeidshan enormous beds of cobalt, which can become of world importance; for the present the production is negligible.

There are coal mines in various places; but at present they are not exploited.

There is no special production of gold in Aserbeidshan, although gold is found in the copper ore. Before the war gold was found in the copper mines of Kennebek and Galaken.

Up to the present, Aserbeidshan has by no means been explored.

Aserbeidshan is rich in graphite, chalk, manganese, arsenic, soda, salt peter, etc.

Aserbeidshan possesses a number of mineral and medicinal springs of all kinds, warm as well as cold. We cannot go into details here, that would take us too far; one could write books on the subject.

It will be useful to give a number of figures relating to foreign trade. Although under the Tsar our country was a simple administrative sub-province of Russia, a number of statements were furnished regarding the exports from those districts which now form Aserbeidshan. The figures regarding the most important products were: Naphtha, 375 million puds; cotton, 3½ million puds (gross); wine, 2 million bucets (1 bucket = 30 litres); dried fruit, 200,000 puds; copper, 2 million puds; hides, 250,000; fish, 40 million puds; liquorice root, 75 million puds; carpets, 3 million rubles; salt, 3 million puds; silk cocoons, 2 million puds.

Today Aserbeidshan possesses a quantity of commodities for export: cotton, naphtha, wool, silk, copper, hides, fish, carpets, caviare, etc. That is shown by the *Baku Fair* (October 1st).

We will say a word regarding the concessions which we can grant to the foreign capitalists. Numerous and various mining concessions, (copper, iron, lead, coal, etc.), petroleum concessions, railway concessions, concession for the electric tramways in Baku; we can also concede the fisheries with importance to the whole world.

The riches of Aserbeidshan promise more for the future than for the present. We have mentioned almost every branch of production which it at present carries on. When all the riches of Aserbeidshan are exploited, it will without doubt be one of the richest countries. The present government is fully capable of creating for the country the position it deserves to occupy in the world.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The "Results" of the International Transport Workers' Congress

By J. Wertheim (Vienna).

The two and a half million workers in 19 countries, organized in the International Transport Workers' Federation, were eagerly looking forward to the return of the 119 delegates they had sent to the congress in Vienna from 2nd to 7th of October. Only to be disappointed, however. For instead of outlining the measures proposed to put a stop to the reduction of wages and the extension of working hours, the delegates (if they are honest men), will tell of the nice days they whiled away in beautiful Vienna, and of a few milk-and-water resolutions they passed.

The opening speech of the chairman Robert Williams (expelled from the Communist Party of Great Britain for his attitude in the miners' strike), served as an indication of the measures that were to be adopted against the organizations seriously determined on establishing a militant International of Transport Workers. Williams designated the signatories to the appeal for forming such an International, a "small and insignificant group of transport workers, endeavoring to establish an I.T.F. under the leadership and the supervision of Moscow". This group is, according to Williams, "causing dissension within the ranks of the internationally organized transport workers". The speaker continued to say that he should gladly

welcome the Russian transport workers and railwaymen into the ranks of the international, provided that, "they abide by the program, tactics and principles as laid down in our constitution". In doing this he would be actuated by the hope of "preventing Soviet Russia from deviating, from the path of Communism, its original goal".

The appeal of the International Propaganda Committee to all Transport Workers was then mentioned and in three languages submitted to the delegates who had the choice of either conducting the session in the spirit of that appeal, or dutifully to follow in the footsteps of the chairman and his adjutant, Fimmen. They seem to have preferred the latter alternative, however.

The agenda provided many possibilities for taking the other course. Uniformity of working conditions, socialization of the transport system, International situation,—these were the points on the agenda, and there was reason to believe that the discussion on them would result in decisions for international actions. Nothing even remotely resembling it was said.

In his speech on the first point, Döring contented himself with stating that working conditions differed with the countries and the various categories of workers, that there was no uniformity of wages and working hours and that even in countries where the 8 hour day is laid down by law, it is being disregarded. He emphasized that he was merely stating matters as they were, "to call the attention of the delegates to the difficulties involved in the problem, being, unfortunately, unable to advance any practical proposals whatever".

He went even farther. When a French delegate protested against this treatment of the problem, maintaining that the speaker should have submitted a resolution to enable the congress to ward off the dangers threatening the 8 hour day in all countries, Döring rose and declared complacently that he had not done that, because "it would have meant but another of those resolutions which would never be carried out". . . . . Continuing, he advised the gathering to solicit the help of the liberals and democrats whom governments and employers had delegated to the Labor Bureau at Geneva.

A suggestion of an English delegate that the conference consider ways and means to guarantee in the various countries the real wage and an adequate subsistence minimum was promptly shelved and forgotten. A similar fate befell the statement of another English delegate that the resolution on behalf of the women and young workers, adopted at the conference at Washington had had no visible effects.

The entirely incomplete speech by Döring was listened to, and the conference remained satisfied with having the state of affairs explained to it, without taking the trouble to adopt measures to end it.

Even less in keeping with its avowed subject was the speech dealing with the socialization of the transport system. The speaker, the Frenchman Bidegaray, seemed to care for nothing but the proof that socialization was very, difficult, and that in view of the different property relations in the various countries, a uniform system for socialization was altogether out of question. He followed in the footsteps of the Swedish delegate Lindley who on the day previously had declared at a public meeting of the Vienna transport workers that the experiments in socialization tended to strengthen reaction throughout the world. Bidegaray maintained, that at present there was no time for experiments on an international scale, and that the I.T.W.F. must study this problem nationally.

Then the economic and political situation was discussed. A resolution was passed, stating in substance that unemployment among transport workers is due to the slump in world trade, and expressing the opinion that the instability of the currency acts as a brake on the exchange of goods. The congress furthermore warns the workers against the frightful consequences of a lowered standard of living. . . . The servitude of the nations in Central Europe, it continues, will compel the workers in other countries to submit to a reduction of their wages.

This will serve to show the nature of the resolution.

Nothing was said about actions to put a stop to further pauperization of the toiling masses. The congress merely voices its conviction that "international trade will not improve until Russia resumes her political and economic relations with the rest of the world". Not a solitary syllable on the necessity for the workers of all countries to do their utmost to bring about that resumption! What is behind the "conviction" which could, perhaps, prompt the transport workers of this or that country to stand up for Soviet Russia, can be gathered from Fimmen's speech on the international situation.

"In Russia", Fimmen said, "where the proletariat is ostensibly in power, but where, and this cannot be emphasized too often, there is really a dictatorship over the proletariat, political liberty is restricted to those who submit to the opinions

and the wishes of the clique in power. The position of the Socialist and the independent trade-unions in present-day Russia is no whit better than at the time when Tsarism wielded its knout".

This and similar passages left the impression that at this congress all the hatred engendered by the evil aspects of capitalism was diverted against the Russia of the workers and peasants. The war of the Border States against Russia was likened to the "strangling" of Georgia, and to the campaign the Red troops carried on against the counter-revolutionaries within Russia's borders. In this manner the congress became a training school for spreading hatred against Bolshevism.

All this will of course reflect on the spirit in which they accepted the hasty resolution supporting the International Trade Union Federation in its endeavours against the white terror, to oppose war with all means and, finally calling upon the transport workers of all countries not to work on ships with non-union crews during the struggle of the French seamen for the 8 hour-day.

It was but a true reflection of the wavering attitude and the lack of self-reliance, when, after this resolution had been read, the English delegate Cotter rose and heatedly demanded how, in view of the wide-spread unemployment, and the fact that the French seamen were not affiliated with I.T.W.F., they could adopt such a resolution and expect it to be observed.

The congress was a happy gathering indeed. It gleefully recorded the growth of the organization, and even appointed a second secretary. It was, however, not a session preparing for the imminent defensive struggles of the transport workers in all countries. This task has devolved upon the revolutionary organizations in the *International Propaganda Committee*.

## The Political Significance of the Shop Stewards Movement

By Wendler (Moscow).

The political significance of the shop stewards movement commenced by the Berlin workmen lies in the circumstance that it has given the working masses, a revolutionary centre for their struggle against the frightful and constantly increasing want and misery. This centre has hitherto been lacking. The workmen have hitherto endeavoured to secure their economic existence within the limits of capitalist society, working in common with the bourgeoisie under the leadership of trade unions and Social Democrats.

Lured by the commercial prosperity obtaining since last year, they have believed it possible to attain their object by these means. The overwhelming wave of high prices, and the attendant shrinkage of the real wage, have however, convinced ever-widening masses that it is impossible to ensure even a simple existence as wage slaves, by cooperating with the bourgeoisie.

Ever-increasing masses of workmen have been obliged to recognize that the mere struggle for the maintenance of their existence as workmen signifies war to capitalist society.

The shop stewards movement is thus at the same time a spontaneous manifestation, born of the needs of the moment, for the war against capital, and a direct reply to the policy of co-operation with the bourgeoisie as practised by the ADGB (General German Trade-Union Federation) and to the coalition policy of the SPD (Socialist Party of Germany).

The disagreements between proletariat and bourgeoisie on the one hand, and between reformists and Communists within the proletarian class itself on the other, will shortly form the subject of sharp conflicts in the struggle for the shop stewards' congress and its main demand, the control of production by class organs. This coming struggle will be fought with the full violence of the class struggle. It will be an obstinate and severe fight with alternating successes and defeats, with the ups and downs of battle.

The enormous difficulties to be overcome in the impending shop stewards' struggle may be realized when a comparison is made between the revolutionary fighting elements contained in the political parties and trade unions, and the elements still under the influence of the reformists. The union of the two Social Democratic parties will doubtless strengthen the powers of resistance of the reformists against the shop stewards' movement. And to what degree the United Social Democratic Party and the leaders of the trade unions are prepared to make use of the means of power at their command, may be seen from the resolutions of the committee of the ADGB, and from the measures already adopted by the various trade unions. The reformist leaders of the SPD and ADGB are fully aware of the signifi-

cance of the shop stewards movement. They are aware that the demands of the shop stewards are a direct attack on their policy of economic *Burgfrieden*, and that the movement itself, if attended with success, must lead to definite disagreement with them. It must be either we or the others. That is the real issue.

The trade unions are thus absolutely determined to head the movement off; they show themselves prepared even to permit the destruction of the trade unions in pursuance of this object.

Deeds have followed words with all rapidity. Whole groups have already been excluded. The rigorous methods adopted by the reformists against the Communists, and against the opposition members in the trade unions, show that the trade union leaders are anxious to adopt the offensive in a struggle which has already begun, and are endeavoring to suppress brutally the militant workers leading the shop steward movement.

There is no doubt but that they will succeed at first in repressing the movement to a certain degree by the exclusion of the Communists from the trade unions.

But in face of the inevitable increase of want and misery among the working masses, the ever sharper opposition on the political and economic fields, and the hopelessness of attempting to support a completely rotten economic edifice on a capitalistic basis and by capitalistic methods, even the most brutal organizational measures of the reformist leaders must go to pieces on the ever-growing resistance.

The sole reply of the shop stewards to the gauntlet thrown at their feet must be: *Reinforcements for the campaign in the movement already begun, and efficient rally of the excluded forces and organizations.* Every attempt of the trade union bureaucracy to divert the attention of the masses from the real aims of the shop stewards' struggle, by raising questions of organization and statutes, etc., must be determinedly combated by strongest emphasis on the actual aims of the shop stewards.

So long as the movement continues its forward march steadily and determinedly, it will do it no harm when the reformist trade union leaders cut off organized members from the unions; the movement will still find its way among ever-broadening masses. The difficulties of this struggle will be overcome by the working masses as a whole, and by the workmen organized in trade unions in particular, so long as the shop stewards themselves remain faithful to their aims, and do not deprive the proletarian forces, already gathering for the fight, of the goal to which they are prepared to struggle to the bitter end.

The fight against the shop stewards' movement, first taken up by the reformists behind the mask of combatting Communism, is in reality only the commencement of the impending struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

If these means fail to suffice, that is, if the German bourgeoisie does not succeed, with the aid of the Social Democrats, in obstructing the forward march of the masses at the price of sacrificing or even destroying the trade union organizations, then bourgeoisie and Social Democracy will adopt still stronger methods, they will employ every means of power which class and state have placed in their hands. Should the shop stewards now retreat in face of the first difficulties, it would simply mean trying to avoid a struggle inevitable in itself; it would mean abandoning the fight from its very beginning.

The movement is already firmly and deeply rooted. Within a few weeks it has been possible to make the demand for the shop stewards' congress, and for the control of production, a really popular slogan with an actual hold on the masses.

This circumstance again goes to show how receptive the proletarian masses are for every solution that shows them a path out of their frightful position. The vigor with which the cry for the shop stewards' congress has been taken up is additional proof that the self and class consciousness of the working masses, after weakening last year under the stress of sad economic conditions, is once more on the increase.

The masses who are willing to fight their way forward are becoming greater and greater, and these see the *means* to their end in their union as class with the aid of the shop stewards movement.

The attacks of the reformists will become more and more violent in proportion to the extent to which the movement gains ground among the proletarian masses. They will concentrate the whole of their powers and influence on the struggle. If they again succeed in veiling their attack on the shop stewards' movement under the pretext of combatting Communism, they will speedily let this veil fall when the movement becomes stronger. The struggling masses of the proletariat will behold the naked face of treachery in all its cynical hideousness.

The shop stewards' movement has already passed its initial stages. It has already developed into a serious struggle against the reformist leaders, these outermost outposts of the bourgeoisie.

All signs go to show that the shop stewards' campaign will speedily lead to decisive combats with the employers and with state powers. The Berlin shop stewards, in their call for the shop stewards' congress, and with their demands, have not only adopted an attitude of opposition to reformism, but have at the same time assumed the initiative in the employers' offensive which has been pending for years. The struggle for the convocation of a shop stewards' congress, and for the creation of proletarian class struggle organizations, with the temporary end in view of controlling production, has given the *basis* on which alone the capitalist offensive can be brought to a standstill, and the proletarian masses given the possibility of taking up the offensive themselves.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Terror; How the Italian Communists Die

By U. Terracini.

The tragic and heroic struggle being carried on by the Italian proletariat, and more especially by the Communists, has hitherto been heard of abroad only as a faint echo. Everyone is already aware that the class struggle in Italy has been transformed into civil war; that every village and ever field has become the scene of furious fights; that the horizon is red with the flames of incendiary fires among the houses of the workmen; that the path of the Fascisti terror is strewn with the corpses of workmen and peasants.

But how they fight, how they defend themselves, how they protect their institutions, their property, and their women from the fury of the enemy, all this is too little known. Up to now a certain sense of shame has withheld the Italian proletariat from filling the world with shrieks of pain and cries for help. It is a matter of urgent necessity to disperse the atmosphere of indifference which has formed around the frightful struggle being carried on by the world proletariat.

The word *Fascisti* has become a synonym for reaction among the proletariat abroad, and the situation of the Italian workmen and peasants is confused with that of the workmen and peasants of other countries. In reality the situations cannot be compared. We do not assert this from motives of foolish ambition, but in the hope of stimulating the international proletariat to active solidarity with the Italian proletariat, and as a reminder that the same reaction which oppresses the Italian proletariat today will oppress the workers of other countries tomorrow, if timely defensive steps are not taken.

In Italy dozens of workmen fall daily, and the Italian Communists, who have never abandoned their role of advance guard in all proletarian struggles, fall with their weapons in their hands; unknown and heroic fighters. They are well worthy of being held up as prototypes of heroism and faithfulness to duty.

In Fossobrone, on the 12th of this month, comrade Valenti fell. On the 7th, the Fascisti had organized one of their customary punitive expeditions, and made their way to the comrade's house with the express intention of murdering him and setting the house on fire. The police, who had been informed by the Fascisti themselves of the expedition, took the steps required to ensure that no agent would be in the vicinity at the time fixed for the attack.

Comrade Valenti however, was determined to sell his skin dearly, and to defend his house to the utmost. He awaited the attack, barricaded behind a window. The attack was conducted by about one hundred Fascisti, who opened a furious rifle fire against the house, and threw a large number of hand grenades. Valenti defended himself energetically and cold-bloodedly. With the aid of a rifle he brought two Fascisti to the ground, causing his courageous attackers to abandon the undertaking and to call in the assistance of the police. Comrade Valenti utilized this moment to leave the house and to take refuge in the fields.

On the following day the local directory ordered a general mobilization of the Fascisti, and about a thousand "black shirts" began to search the district for comrade Valenti. In the course of this battle, five other workmen belonging to the surrounding district were killed for refusing to give the Fascisti desired information, and finally, through the treachery of a tenant farmer who had taken our comrade into his house only to betray him, comrade Valenti fell into the hands of his pursuers.

*Comrade Valenti was killed; that is logical and unavoidable; that is the law of war. What is frightful is the manner in which he was murdered.*

The Fascisti bound him with a rope, and placed him on a motor lorry, to take him back to Fossombrone. On the way he was spat upon, cursed, ears and nose cut off, and his whole body torn with dagger stabs. On arriving at Fossombrone, they bound him to the mud-guard of the motor lorry, and dragged him through the streets of the town. The streets were empty, for the inhabitants had withdrawn terrified into the houses when the bestial and yelling throng approached. The police had vanished from the town.

Valenti still preserved sufficient energy not to lose consciousness, despite the torments endured. A few workmen saw how he was dragged into the club house of the Fascisti. His face was disfigured with wounds, his body was bleeding in dozens of places, his clothes were torn to pieces, leaving him half naked, his eyes were dim, a groan of pain broke from his lips now and then. The families of the two Fascisti who had been killed in the attack on Valenti's house were in the Fascisti club house. The wives, horrified at the sight of the tortured man, forgot their thirst for revenge and begged that the torture be given up and the prisoner taken to the hospital. The Fascisti refused to listen to this request. They dragged Valenti into the street again, bound him again to the motor lorry, and continued their terrible drive. Our comrade was dragged half dead through the streets, whilst the Fascisti changed their speed occasionally to gloat over the sight of the quivering body. On finally arriving at the cemetery, they riddled the corpse with hundreds of bullets and dagger wounds.

The first Communists who went in search of comrade Valenti found him as an unrecognizable lump of flesh.

Although the perpetrators are well-nown, they are still at liberty, and the police do not interfere with them in any way.

This is one of the episodes of the struggle, an episode which finds its counterpart every day in every part of Italy. Impartial workmen, Socialists, Anarchists, and Communists are being murdered, martyred, and crippled; the garden of Europe is transformed into a garden of torment; crime, incendiarism, and outrage have become the methods of government of the capitalist class in Italy. Fire, ambushes, and war to the knife are everyday phenomena and normal forms of struggle to the Italian workmen.

*The fate of comrade Valenti is no isolated case, but a symbol.*

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### A Glimpse of Soviet Democracy

By L. Trotsky.

There is in this world such a body as the Second Company of the 153. Russian Red Sharp Shooters. And there is furthermore, in Moscow, a First Standard Printing Plant. This printing plant is the "chief" of the aforesaid Second Company. At the meeting on September 29, the workers of the printing plant received the report on the condition of the Second Company of the 153. Regiment and decided: "Next Saturday we shall work three hours overtime, the total proceeds of which shall go towards the support of our Red soldier comrades of our company."

The delegate of the printing plant in the Moscow Soviet paid a certain sum into the "Overtime Fund". The shop council of the printing plant, in a special letter to its delegate, expressed its appreciation of this *solidarity*.

All this can be gathered from the 3rd number of *The Life of the Printer*. In this large-sized periodical the importance of the *Red chief* institution is explained, and indifference, which is shown by "the insufficient criticism on the activities of the shop council", combatted. We also find in this paper an article on the Cooperative, an article dealing with the clubs of the young workers, an appeal issued by the Revision Commission, and a short story having the gifts of the workers to the Red Army as its subject. The remaining space (two whole columns) is devoted to the struggle against the "green snake" (lead poisoning, a printers' malady).

Can anyone cite a better instance for "Soviet Militarism", and the "regeneration of the Soviet Power"? A printing plant keeps itself informed on the condition of its company and contributes 3 hours overtime to it. The same printing plant publishes on this occasion a large paper dealing with the life in the plant and depicting its relations to its company and to its delegate. This then is the "Red Militarism estranged from, or hostile to,

the masses" (See the papers of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s). Relations like those between the Second Company of the 153. Regiment and the Standard Printing Plant exist between all contingents of the Red Army and the various local and central organizations of the workers and peasants. The *Red chief* institution which has become a genuine public feature, goes to prove the democratic character of Soviet life.

Needless to say that the slanderers of Soviet Russia maintain that this institution is also the outcome of force, that the workers of the Standard Printing Plant are taking care of their company only because they are compelled to do so.

In the opinion of "educated" Menshevik and Social Revolutionary petty bourgeois, the working class is but a gang of slaves herded about by a little band of Bolsheviks.

That gang was simply told to *make the November Revolution*—and there it was . . . .

Then it *dissolved the Constituent Assembly*—everything made to order . . . .

It *defeated all its enemies*—propelled by the fear of the *Tcheka* . . . .

It *sends Communists to the Soviets*—for the same reason, fear of the *Tcheka* . . . .

When the whole of revolutionary Moscow came on the streets to demand severe punishment for the counter-revolutionary S.R.'s, it came driven by the *Tcheka* . . . .

The workers of the various shops are on friendly terms with the contingent of the Army? This friendship has been forced upon them.

During the manoeuvres the peasants are doing their best for the soldiers of the Red Army? They are compelled! They are ordered! They are intimidated!

In this reasoning, the gang of high-brow petty bourgeois is only proving its deep-rooted contempt of the working class, that dark herd whom one can push about at will . . . .

Forged documents, news and rumors on and about Russia, are being circulated. But the paper of the First Standard Printing Plant can not be forged. It is a genuine document, and the reflection of life as it is. It allows us a glimpse of Soviet democracy. If you throw democratic parliamentarism and all that it implies into one scale and that paper into the other, the latter will weigh down the scales of history. And because it is the heavier, we shall be the victors.

## The Communist University of the Orient.

By M. Broygo (Moscow).

The first Communist University of the people of the Orient has already been one year in existence. There, seven hundred students coming from all points of the East and speaking 57 different languages, pursue their studies. In such a diversity of origin and languages, the organizers of the university have made it one of their educational aims to group the students in their lodging houses and study-circles by nationalities, so that they might learn to know one another and to collaborate fraternally. The program of the course has been adopted to the particular needs of the students.

The courses last from 8 to 10 months. After a period of four or five months the students undertake practical work as propagandists, agitators, or organizers in their native countries. Of the 500 students completing the first term, one hundred remained as lecturers, organizers and correspondents attached to the university, while the rest returned to their native countries to begin their practical tasks.

The University has created sections in Turkestan, Baku and Irkutsk. It has sent school organizers to Bashkiria, among the Tchouvashes, to Karelia, etc. The best results have been attained in Turkestan, where they have been able to organize a school now counting 300 students, and where a school for women and one for Red soldiers have been established.

The University students have undertaken the publication of Communist literature in their native languages. The texts are translated and studied among the student groups. These translations introduce a scientific terminology into the Oriental languages and initiate the students into theoretical problems. This summer one hundred students organized a labor commune that one may consider as giving the *University of the People of the Orient* an excellent corps of young Communist educators. The University has assumed the education of 50 children from the famine-stricken provinces, whom it has taken under its charge.