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GERMANY

The Present Situation in the Communist Party of Germany.

A. Thalheimer.

The retreat which the German working class began in October and the difference between the tense expectations and preparations of the Party and the actual course of events has naturally not failed to produce certain reactions in our Party. These reactions found expression in a temporary reduction of activity which found its ideological expression in the cry, „All or nothing“. That is, since the deciding struggle could not be carried out, a strong feeling of hesitation grew up against entering upon the organization of those minor actions which were necessary and possible. This reduced activity became temporarily noticeable in the neglect of the elementary tasks which were laid upon the party by its relegation into illegality and the reprisals of Fascism. Examples of this were the distribution of illegal literature, placards, small posters, the carrying out of illegal propaganda and the other preparations of minor actions. One can say that this condition has been for the most part overcome and that the greater part of the party are taking up the tasks of the present with earnestness and eagerness. Thus for example in Berlin the circulation of illegal literature has been successfully raised from 5,000 to 20,000 copies three times a week within a few weeks. A corresponding increase in the activity of the party is visible in the other districts. In the matter of organisation, the complete illegalising of the party has not caused the difficulties which our opponents expected. Benefitting by the experience of the old guard of Communism in Germany, the Party has been able to adapt itself to this illegal work in a thousand ways. The chief organization work of the party in the present moment is to transfer the focus of the party efforts into the workshops and especially into the party cells there. This work is now being carried out. It is rendered more difficult by the fact that unemployment and short time have affected the members of the party very severely. The employers have made use of the opportunity to „purify“ their works of Communists. However, the party has also found methods of organization to

meet this situation. The numerous arrests of members of the party have left practically no gaps which it was not possible to fill up at once. In this respect the members of the party have shown a wonderful tenacity and self-sacrifice which dispenses any doubt as to whether the long period of legal work has caused the party to lose something of its revolutionary character. Naturally shortcomings show themselves everywhere which, however, are unavoidable in a task of such gigantic proportions. Loss of members on a large scale has not taken place. For the present however, the transfer of members from the German Social Democratic Party is a movement of individuals.

In the domestic politics of the party there are at present three chief currents. The party debates centre themselves around two chief questions: 1. The cause of the October defeat; 2. the general prospects of the revolution in Germany. As to the present tasks, a wide-reaching unity exists in the party. These debates have led to the laying down of theses by the various groups which will shortly be made accessible to the members of the party*).

The group that has so far led within the executive held the view that the reasons for the October defeat are to be found first of all in objective circumstances. It sees the chief cause in the hindering power of the Social Democrats and the yellow trade unions which was underestimated by us. The experiences in Saxony, Thuringia, and also in Hamburg show that not only the Left Social Democratic leaders were not prepared to fight for the defence of bourgeois democracy against Fascism, but that the same held good in the case of the majority of the Left Social Democratic workers. As a result of this it was impossible to fight the deciding struggle in October. With a divided front in the forces of labour and an insufficient technical preparation, it would have inevitably led to a shattering defeat of the party. As to the party, it recognises that a number of mistakes and weaknesses were present, both political and structural, in the preparations, which, without exception can be traced back to one fundamental fact; the over-estimating of the speed of the revolution, the over-estimation of our own strength and the underestimation of the strength of the opponent and above all the hindering power of the Social Democrats and the Amsterdam trade unions. At present the chief task is to call a halt to the retreat

*) The thesis of the centre group was published in No. 1. Ed.

of the workers which is proceeding almost without any effort at resistance, and at every point where the offensive begins, to attempt to build up centres of resistance through the party and to rally the workers around these centres. In the question of the revolutionary prospective, this group is of the opinion that none of the fundamental political or economic questions in Germany can be solved by the Junker-industrial military dictatorship, that the situation still remains objectively revolutionary as it was before, and that the class differences must become intenser. On the other hand this group sees no possibility at present to say at what rate this new sharpening will proceed, and what form it will take in its details. Certainly the party is an essential factor but it is not the only one.

The group which up to the present has been the Left wing of the party considers the real causes of the October defeat and the revolutionary prospect to be quite different. It supports the view that the party should have accepted a decisive battle in October even at the risk of a defeat. In the October retreat it does not see a result of the relative strength, but an essential breaking down of the party and especially of the party staff. As a result, this group demands that the leadership of the party shall be placed in the hands of the Left. That the transition to minor actions has come up against considerable hindrances within the party is to be attributed in a large measure to the effects of this view. In respect to the present task this group lays the chief emphasis upon the propaganda of the final objectives of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism. This tendency within the party is to a certain extent emotionally directed in a large measure by those sections within the working class, the unemployed and short time workers who, as a result of their situation, tend to overlook the objective difficulties of the path of revolution. The revolutionary prospective presented by this group states that within a very short time the situation will once more sharpen into a decisive struggle.

Between these two groups there is a middle group which chiefly criticizes the fact that the October retreat took place without sufficiently making use of the possibilities of minor struggles, and who tend to find the causes of the retreat chiefly in subjective mistakes of the party. It is difficult to give the views of this group clearly, as they are not a unity and it is in the nature of a middle group to unite contradictory elements. Both in the Left and Middle groups there is a disposition, in the same way as after the March Action, to neglect the analysis of the objective situation and the consideration of the role of the party in connection with the strength of the other chief factors. This group also feels that they can now say with certainty that already in the next few months the basis for extensive mass struggles will be present.

In our opinion the debates which are now taking place within the party are unavoidable and they will prove fruitful for clearing up the methods of the revolutionary struggle in German conditions. The process of the proletarian revolution in Germany is not simply a weak imitation of the Russian revolution, and so we must simply regard it as a sign of health that the party is endeavouring in all earnestness, by its own efforts, to draw lessons for the future from the experiences, that it has, already made. In spite of all the sharpness of the debate it is certain beyond all doubt, that the overwhelming majority of the party will not tolerate any shaking of the unity of the party.

POLITICS

The Bloodiest of all Democracies.

The Anniversary of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. — How the German Democracy and the German Social Democratic Party have made a system of Assassination of Revolutionaries. — Noske at Berlin and Hoffman at Munich have prepared the way for von Seeckt and von Kahr.

By R. Albert.

We have again arrived at the anniversary of the death of two of our greatest Comrades. On the 15th of January 1919, Karl and Rosa were assassinated in Berlin, as a result of which the German Revolution was left without leaders. A turning point of History. An irreparable loss has been sustained. The German labour movement has also just reached a crucial point in its history. In November last it stood upon the threshold of a revolution in which the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg would have been so valuable.

After five years the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg have achieved their goal: Noske having refused the dictatorship proffered to him in 1920 by the Fascist Ehrhardt, now stands revealed as the herald of von Seeckt. Ebert nominates von Seeckt. The ex-chief of the staff of von Kluck and Mackensen now reigns like an oriental despot. If his entry into power was only accompanied by the slaughter of eighty proletarians, whose blood cemented the great coalition of Stresemann-Hilferding in August last, and of sixty proletarians killed on the occasion of the occupation of Saxony, this fact is merely due to the German Social Democracy having persistently prepared the way for him over the graves of fifteen thousand proletarians.

How does this come about? In order to commemorate the anniversary of the death of our two comrades let us again turn to some little known pages of contemporaneous history. We shall see what a civilized democracy is capable of doing in order to defend Private Property. We will not deal with the great mass insurrections and the ferocious repressions which succeeded them, in January 1919, March 1920 (Kapp Putsch), and March 1921, nor with the great battles of the class war, but exclusively with the crimes committed by one class — a victorious, illustrious class, claiming to maintain Order and to hold aloft the torch of Liberty, and Progress — against another. By theirs against ours!...

* * *

E. L. Gumbel is the author of a brochure which contains reprints from many documents. Two years of murder. (In 1924 one has to say five years of murder.) The preface is by Professor G. Nicolai the well-known pacifist. M. Gumbel, who is a perfect stranger to the revolutionary movement, has conducted his investigations with a painstaking impartiality, and he cites all the crimes against Right and Humanity which can be charged against the Red as well as the White forces in Germany. He has intentionally excluded from his investigation all cases relating to open fighting, all cases where it was possible to allege with some degree of probability that the responsible persons acted in self-defence, all cases of lynching, and all cases where there exists any doubt. He has not attempted to frame an indictment against Ebert's republic. His intention was, he declared, to perform a „patriotic work“ by helping to inspire in Germany the „respect for Right“.

Since the overthrow of the Kaiser up to June 1921, he concludes, 334 persons have been assassinated in Germany from political motives. Of this number only sixteen have been killed by revolutionaries. Not a single leader of the reaction has fallen a victim. The revolution has lost the most valued leaders: Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Jogiches and, furthermore, Kurt Eisner, Gustav Landauer, Dorenbach, Sylt. The attempts against the reaction have been ruthlessly punished. The crimes committed by the reaction have as a general rule remained unpunished....

Let us look at the facts.

On the 11th January 1919, during the insurrection, some Spartacists had occupied the offices of the V o r w ä r t s, which was afterwards besieged by the Reichswehr. Seven representatives sent by the Spartacists in order to negotiate as to terms of surrender, amongst them also a Social Democratic Editor who had nothing to do with the adventure, W. Fernbach, were summarily shot by order of Major Stephani. No prosecution followed this act.

On the evening of the 15th January 1919, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested. On the same evening Liebknecht, after having been conducted in an automobile to the Tiergarten was shot „while trying to escape“. Seven officers whose names are known were present on this occasion. Only the private soldier Runge, who acted on their orders and who subsequently made a complete confession, received two years imprisonment, whilst the officers were allowed to go scot free. Rosa Luxemburg was killed at the entrance of the Hotel Eden „by an exasperated crowd“. That is to say, by the officers, one of whom, Lieutenant Vogel battered in her skull and ordered her corpse to be thrown into the canal. Vogel was condemned to two years and four months imprisonment but was afforded the possibility of slipping quietly away to Amsterdam.

On the 17th of January, four Spartacists of Spandau were shot in the forest of Tegel „while attempting to escape“ in the very motor lorry in which they were being transported!

On the 21st of January Kurt Eisner, the originator of the Munich revolution of 7th November 1919, was killed in the street by Lieutenant Count Arco-Valley. On being condemned the

murderer was given an ovation by the Munich crowd. His sentence was afterwards commuted to prison for life and he is now serving his sentence, surrounded with every comfort and privilege, in Bavaria.

In March 1919, during the revolutionary fighting some Spartacists were quite falsely accused of having killed a number of Policemen in Lichtenberg (a suburb of Berlin). Under this pretext Noske issued an order to shoot down without hesitation anyone found with weapons in hand. As a result of this order, not only communists, but great numbers of neutral citizens were killed without any justification.

On the 10th March Leo Tychko (Jogiches), the organizer of illegal work in Poland and Germany, was killed in prison by a prison warden named Ernst Tamschik, who afterwards on the 17th May killed the chief of the division of revolutionary Marines, Dorenbach, and was promoted to be Lieutenant.

On the 11th. March Lieutenant Marloh gave orders to mow down with machine guns, twenty nine members of the People's Marine Division who, along with 250 marines, had come to obtain their pay from the Administration. Marloh has been acquitted.

In Bavaria on the 2nd May fifty three Russian prisoners of war were shot down at Graefelfing, although they had in no way participated in the revolution.

At Munich, the troops of the government of the Social Democratic Hoffmann lost thirty eight men while the insurgents lost 519 and the government troops also carried out massacres among the neutral population.

M. Gumbel, after citing innumerable other cases, arrives at the conclusion that the sixteen political assassinations committed by the adherents of left parties have been punished by eight sentences of capital punishment and 239 years of imprisonment, while the 318 assassinations committed by the right parties have been expiated by one sentence to life imprisonment (Lieutenant Arco) and a few short terms amounting in the aggregate to thirty one years three months. In 1919 and 1920, declares M. Gumbel, the reaction has committed on the average one political assassination every two days, all of which have been allowed to go unpunished.

During these years the Social Democratic Party has been several times in office and was a powerful party. It is directly responsible for the greatest of these crimes. The blood of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht brands the forehead of the butcher Noske. The blood of the six hundred Bavarian revolutionaries has been shed by the Social Democrat Hoffmann. In order to save the German bourgeoisie, these German Social Democrats have created the most bloody and the most reactionary of all democracies. They have done good pioneer work for von Kahr and von Seeckt.

“Consolidated” Horthy Hungary.

By Eugen Landler.

The Problem of the Foreign Loan. — Bomb Outrages.

The negotiations for a foreign loan which are being completed and the recent bomb outrages, place the Hungarian question again into the forefront of interest. The present Horthy Government was reckoned by the foreign loan Experts' Commission to be the representative of the great agrarians and of Hungarian financial capital. The Hungarian bourgeois opposition and the Social-Democratic Party stigmatized this government in the last weeks — but always in a very loyal tone — as the leader of the disorganizing tendencies and as the sleeping partner of the „Awakening Magyars“. The latter estimation is only in apparent contradiction to the first one. In a country in which it was possible to set up the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and to retain it for several months, it is already a signal record of the victorious counter-revolution that it can show, besides the capitalistic disorganizing tendencies, also capitalistic tendencies of consolidation.

Of what does the Hungarian process of consolidation stated by the experts and accepted by them as a well-established base for the League of Nations' Loan consist? They stated that, in spite of the overthrow of the Habsburgs, in spite of the past Soviet dictatorship, and in spite of the victorious counter-revolution having favored the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the middle and the petty peasants and the declassed Hungarian Gentry, there exists in Hungary a tendency which cannot be over-

estimated, and which aims at restoring the dominance of the great land owners, and that along with this tendency, financial capital has gained enormous influence over Hungarian economic life

What is the meaning of this statement? Before the dictatorship, Hungary was the classical country of large landed estates. The great landowners almost entirely dominated economic and political life. In spite of this, there took place in the last decades in Hungary an industrialization on a large scale, which fact was already noted by Engels in the nineties in his preface to the „Class Struggles in France“. All this was done under the influence of bank capital, which reached its grand climax in agrarian feudal Hungary during the war. The Soviet dictatorship did not break up the great land monopoly. The victorious counter-revolution was not able in any way to prevent the realization of the effective economic power of the great landowners, although it tried several artifices and especially favored anti-capitalistic slogans, and at first also slogans directed against the great land-owners.

Financial capital is in precisely the same position. Hungary had a comparatively strongly developed great industry, which is controlled by bank capital. Diminished Hungary has lost more than 60% of her original territory, but she has retained more than 70% of her great industry. The great agrarians have for many decades had very close personal and material relations with financial capital which exercised its influence also in agriculture. The Soviet dictatorship inflicted huge damage on financial capital, the immediate consequences of which were to be felt a long time, the Roumanian occupation also crippled its influence for a considerable period. The first period of white terror also, did not at all favor the exercise of its influence. The absurd slogan: „Destruction of Capital and of Great Industry, setting up of the Christian Petty Undertaking by Christian State subsidies!“ could not exercise any permanent hampering influence. The international reactionary aid to Horthy Hungary, the backward condition of industry in Roumania and Yugoslavia, and the existence of certain raw materials, favored the further industrialization of Horthy Hungary and also the influence of financial capital. Indeed, already at the beginning of 1923 it could be stated that one single great bank, The Credit Bank of Rothschild, was controlling 152 of the largest industrial enterprises. In the year 1923, the banks founded in Hungary 320 factories of the following description; 70 textile, 52 chemical, 39 brick, 45 provision, 48 iron and metals, 28 paper, 10 furniture, 16 leather, 5 glass, 5 brush and 2 precious metals.

These facts, these tendencies towards „consolidation“ announced by the Foreign Commission and exaggerated by the paid foreign press, prove that the economic forces are pushing their way to the front in Horthy Hungary also in an elementary manner. But do they at the same time prove that the forces created and transformed by the war, by the proletarian revolution and by the counter-revolution and the tendencies led by these forces have been eliminated?

A brief outline of the converse tendencies will convince everybody that this is by no means the case.

In diminished post-war Hungary the proportion of the great land-owners to petty and middle owners remained nearly the same as before. The medieval survivals are still more effective. The number of adults occupied in cultivating their own plots, and who cannot thereby sustain themselves and their families, amounts, together with the ordinary agricultural labourers, to 1,300,000; after adding infants and invalid relatives this stratum amounts to half the total population. The class of middle and petty farmers is numerically the most important possessing class in Hungary. Before the War, being burdened with debt and unorganized, it was politically under the tutelage of the great agrarians. During the War they paid off their debts with cheap money while grain prices were enormously high, and thus made themselves economically independent. It was the intention of the proletarian dictatorship to neutralize them. The counter-revolution, in its first period, strove by every means to favor their interests. They were the strongest support of the counter-revolution, and not only considered themselves to be the leading class of the counter-revolution, but also created the impression of being so. As a matter of fact, however, this class is, after the war, not the same class as in pre-war times. The antagonism is becoming the more intensified since this stratum is only aware of the one fact, that a consolidation according to the aspirations of the great land-owners and the financial

capitalists would impose an enormous upon them, and would mean the end of their economic independence. They therefore oppose this with all their forces. The very essence of Hungarian Parliamentarism and of the conducting of government affairs, in fact consists in the Peasants' Party, at one time practising extortions against the great agrarians, and the great agrarians at another time doing the same against the Peasants' party. All this, however, behind the scenes. Perhaps the economically greater force would be able to over-ride the peasants, but this course of force, would call forth a disastrous effect, because a much more serious party of the petty peasants might then rise.

And it is precisely because Hungary has experienced a proletarian dictatorship that the great agrarians fear nothing more than that such a party which might also draw in its train the rural workers, numbering more than a million, and who have been betrayed repeatedly by the Social Democratic Party. These circumstances render it easy to understand that the peasants' Party, otherwise conservative, is a very important disruptive element in the present process of consolidation.

The same disruptive tendency is represented by another stratum of the Hungarian population, which, although the greater part of it has long since become dispossessed of its property, has always played a distinct and important role in the history of Hungary: The Hungarian Gentry, the ancient nobility who once possessed the feudal property, together with the magnates (the great feudal barons) and the clergy. Their characteristics are nearest those of the Polish nobility, with whom they always had great sympathies. Circumscribed in outlook, uncouth, averse to engaging in work or culture, with distinct barbarian instincts, this stratum after its economic ruin, became used by the Hungarian oligarchy as a badly-paid instrument of suppression. It formed the chief element in the National Army, which was hurriedly assembled during the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship and immediately after its overthrow, and especially of the so-called officers' detachments. It is from this stratum that the majority of the leaders of the white terror groups of the armed forces have been recruited, they are at the head of the various ministries and of the municipal administrations. Horthy also belongs to the Gentry and they regard him not only as their leader, but as the only hope of the reconstitution of the power of the „Magyar middle class“. The War, the Revolution, and the counter-revolution have also transformed this stratum. The crushing of Hungary — and this is all they perceive in the world-capitalist crisis — has made them aware of their declassed position, at least, in the sense that any kind of consolidation would mean their extermination. Now that they are organized, they are taking the lead in all the legal and illegal patriotic unions, they play a leading role amongst the discontended state officials; being partially armed they live very comfortably upon the legal and illegal means provided by the State, upon subsidies and patriotic extortions, robbery, assassinations and outrages, and they have their protector: Horthy. Thus, those who, in an agrarian feudal country under normal conditions, were the protectors of the oligarchy, are now protecting themselves by means of bombs from an agrarian feudal consolidation in the present unstable state of the power apparatus.

The spirit of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary bureaucracy completely reflects the spirit of this stratum. After the overthrow of the Soviet Dictatorship, the „destructive“ elements were eliminated from the bureaucracy, and the offices were filled with Gentry. Although Hungary has lost the half of her population, the number of State officials is now 60% higher than it was in the pre-war Hungary. An important part of the revenue is expended in procuring for officials, besides their salaries, provisions and other articles of daily requirement at prices ranging from 10% to 20% of the market price. It is easily understood that this stratum is the inveterate opponent of any „tendency to consolidation“, since it knows that it would mean not only the cutting down of the official staffs but also the complete abolition of the subsidies for food etc.

These facts render it obvious that, while the Horthy Government repeatedly concludes a temporary peace with all parties (including also of course the Social-Democratic Party) in the interest of the loan which is to bring about the consolidation, the best supports of the same counter-revolution, peasants and Gentry, with the express intention of hampering the loan and thereby the consolidation, conclude formal treaties with Hitler for the carrying out of an armed putsch, attempt to

attack the French Embassy by means of bombs, and by means of hand-grenades seek to kill hundreds. Further, these facts render intelligible, why all these criminals must remain unpunished and why the great apostle of consolidation, Bethlen, must remain at the same time the highest responsible protector of all the destructive bestialities, proceeding from one and the same tendency.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

By A. Raskolnikov.

From an interview granted by Comrade Raskolnikov, who, until recently was plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, to a comrade of the Pravda.

Although Afghanistan is bordering on Soviet Russia, the working masses, not only of Soviet Russia, but even of Soviet Turkestan have rather vague ideas concerning their neighbour. Afghanistan, being more or less under the yoke of British imperialism, has been artificially isolated from the external world and has been almost inaccessible to Europeans. It was only in 1919 that Afghanistan entered into diplomatic relationships with other countries, especially with the Soviet Republics.

At present, Afghanistan is passing through an extraordinarily interesting period of her history, after having definitely entered on the path of reform and systematic state construction. As far as regards economic structure, Afghanistan belongs to the most backward countries. The population in its overwhelming majority still leads a nomadic existence and is occupied in breeding cattle. The rudimentary industry of Afghanistan is concentrated in the „Machine Kanne“ factory in Cabool where war articles and articles for mass consumption are manufactured.

In order to further develop industry, the Afghanistan Government has fixed high duties on imported goods. The tariffs are particularly high against the importation of British goods. Thus for instance, on textiles, cigarettes and articles of luxury of British origin an import duty of 200 to 300% has been imposed. As a curious feature connected with this struggle, the following example can be cited: when the Emir of Afghanistan observes one of his subjects wearing a costume made of English material, he personally cuts a huge hole in the same by means of a pair of scissors. This opposition to British imports is naturally having a perceptible influence on the interests of British merchants. It must be remembered that the people of Afghanistan have experienced, during the last eighty years, three wars against England and still retain their resentment against the English for their bloody punitive expeditions. The inhabitants of Cabool in particular, cannot forget the last Anglo-Afghan war in 1919, when English aeroplanes repeatedly attacked the capital of Afghanistan.

The force of the elementary hate of the Afghan people against the English is in direct proportion to their most sincere and profound sympathy towards the Soviet Union. The crisis of the Russo-British relations which took place in May 1922 has greatly promoted the growing popularity of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan have become convinced that Soviet Russia, notwithstanding the energetic pressure of Lord Curzon, has not ceased to carry on her own independent policy in the East, and this has increased our prestige to an extraordinary degree. Within recent times our friendship with Afghanistan has become especially strong. This circumstance has given continual concern to Lord Curzon and other agents of British imperialism. The carefully prepared intrigues and diplomatic trickeries of the British representative at Cabool, Mr. Humphry, have not served to provoke results favorable to England. The Afghanistan Government, following the example given by the Soviet Union, refused to follow in the wake of British policy and continued to conduct an independent policy in the spirit of sound national interests. After this, the British authorities could do nothing else but strike their fists on the table and challenge the government of independent Afghanistan by means of an ultimatum. But the actual reasons for the ultimatum lie still deeper. England is persistently troubled by the revolutionary tendencies of the border tribes dwelling between India and Afghanistan. These tribes, though not entirely independent and although they are in a high degree under the influence of England, have enjoyed up till recently a certain measure of independence. England now considers the moment to have arrived

for subjugating these tribes once for all in order to place them in the same position, where they are entirely without rights, as the population of the rest of India. In order to carry out the decisive operations in Asiristan and Afridistan, England requires that she shall not be menaced from the rear. By their ultimatum the English sought to realize a certain part of their far-reaching plan in as far as they calculated on intimidating the Afghanistan Government, on provoking a panic within its ranks and thereby securing the carrying out of their operations.

In the event of the outbreak of an Anglo-Afghan war, the entire sympathies of the 70 millions of British Muselmans would be on the side of Afghanistan. Moreover, the extremely favorable geographical situation of Afghanistan enables her to defend stubbornly the narrow mountain defiles against a British army of many thousands.

Having regard to the enthusiastic attachment of the people of Afghanistan to their recently acquired independence, the chances of a capitulation by the Afghan Government to England are very remote. The Afghan Government realizes that the expulsion of the Soviet plenipotentiary from Cabool would mean a real and practical end to the independent existence of the state of Afghanistan. As a result of the impudent and impertinent ultimatum of Lord Curzon, Afghanistan will become more attached to the Soviet Union than ever before. History is on our side.

The false assertions of the English press, that Afghanistan was menaced not from the British-Indian, but from the Turkestan frontier, where „Soviet imperialists“ are said to be concentrating strong forces for an attack against Afghanistan, have only been invented in order to influence public opinion in England and India, which is to be frightened with the bogey of the „Red Danger“. It is well known that in Turkestan there only exists a territorial army and there can therefore be no possible talk of the concentration of strong military forces.

Before the Parliamentary Elections in France.

**Against the bourgeoisie Block, for the Block of the Workers
and Peasants.**

The majority of the Parliament has rejected the principle of proportional representation, as it would have made all parties in the electoral contest in the Spring, appear under their proper colours. It has retained an election procedure, that falsifies the representation of the parties, and compels them to form coalitions, that is, to an inevitable confusion of programmes.

The Communist Party is of opinion, that the elections of 1924 have a significance far surpassing all previous elections.

The country will be able to judge even better than in 1919 the policy of the war, and of those who brought it about. The Peace of Versailles marked the triumph of French imperialism, whose policy, since the end of the war, has led the world to destruction, France to bankruptcy, and has created prospects of a new war.

Within the country itself, this imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie is essentially anti-labour.

The electoral contest must bring into the field against those responsible for this policy, the mass of their victims — workers, officials and small peasants, tenants and consumers with small incomes. The country must sweep away those responsible for this policy of bankruptcy, famine and war.

The party alignments are already becoming apparent. The block of the left is setting itself in opposition to the National Block which since 1919 was the support of French imperialism and which is directly responsible for the present state of affairs. The Left, if not yet officially, contains the leaders of the so-called Left-bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Socialist and Socialist-Communist Parties.

The Communist Party has refused to enter into such a block, and has persistently warned the workers and peasants against such a trap... The division of the bourgeoisie into a „Right“ bourgeoisie and a „Left“ bourgeoisie is but a superficial one. In reality, all the capitalists have common class interests. The employers of the Right and of the Left have the same interest in exploiting their workers, the property-owners of the Left and of the Right have the same intention of plundering their tenants, the dealers and speculators of the Left bring about increase of prices in the same way as those of the Right.

This struggle between the Left and Right bourgeoisie, is

simply a superficial political struggle for the privileges of power. At bottom the bourgeoisie class is always prepared to defend its prerogatives against the worker and peasant classes whom it exploits. This superficial division was only set up in order to conceal the real class division, and to prevent the struggle next Spring from assuming its true character, the character of a class struggle between all the exploited and their exploiters.

Great masses of workers, employers, peasants, clerks and small men are dissatisfied with the regime that continually renders their lives more insecure, and are prepared to resist, not only the national block, but the very capitalist regime — the thing which is really responsible.

The Block of the Left.

The block of the „Left“ is only a manoeuvre of one section of the bourgeoisie to prevent the expression of this justifiable discontent from injuring the vital interests of the bourgeoisie, and under the mask of the „Left“, still to keep the discontented to serve the profit of the capitalist system, as dividend earners and cannon-fodder. The proletarian parties which join in this movement, hand over a section of the proletariat to the capitalist class, and betray the working class.

It is an absolute fact, that the bourgeoisie of the „Left“ does not differ from the government of the National Block, that it has not ceased to support the imperialist foreign policy of Poincaré, that, immediately after the strike of 1920, it concurred in the anti-labour policy of the National Block, and that it still today helps to support the ministry by means of three radical members. The Senate, which has a left majority, has recently agreed to a scandalous increase in Rents of 104%. Renaud Jean has exposed the details of this out and out capitalistic and anti-labour policy from the tribune of the Chamber.

The antagonism between the Right and the Left is so artificial, that their dividing lines are still very indefinite and they move more to the right every day. This goes so far, that finally even Poincaré will be regarded as an element of the „Left“. An editorial note, which the *Ere Nouvelle* recently made on the occasion of a speech by M. Chaumet, contained the following significant lines, „As soon as Poincaré places himself on the side of the Republic against reaction, he will meet with no more opposition from us“.

And that is the extreme „Left“ of the Radical-Socialist Party, the „socialist“ wing, which issues such declarations! It is not the block of the „Left“, which will defend the interests of the workers in town and country against those who enslave them.

The Workers and Peasants have their own demands.

The workers and the peasants have their own demands for which they can unite on the firm ground of the class war against the whole bourgeoisie.

Together they must:

1. Set themselves against an adventurous foreign policy, which brings destruction in the world, and bankruptcy in public finances.
2. Fight for the annulment of the Treaty of Versailles and its disastrous results.
3. Strengthen the solidarity and the will to peace of the workers.
4. Demand the official recognition of the Soviet Republic.
5. Defend the working class, officials, clerks and small farmers against speculation, increase of prices, high rents, and against attacks upon the eight-hour day.
6. Demand for civil servants freedom of opinion and right of combination, and the 1800 francs bonus.
7. Demand a system of social insurance, under which there can be no fraud or theft.
8. Demand a financial policy which abolishes wage taxes and indirect taxation, and which takes from the huge capital of the war-profiteers, dealers and speculators.
9. Strive for equality of political and economic rights for working men and women.

The Workers' and Peasants' Block.

As against the formation of a block of the Left, the Communist Party is setting up the idea of the creation of a workers' and peasants' block. The block of the Left necessarily signifies the collaboration and blending of classes, the workers' and peasants' block, on the contrary, means the clear and irreconcilable class war.

The Communist Party demands from the other two proletarian parties, the setting up of a united front of all workers

against the bourgeoisie, which is artificially divided into a Right and a Left.

Profound differences of opinion divide us on the questions of defense of native country, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and revolutionary methods. They render a unity of organization of the political parties of the proletariat impossible. But for a definitely circumscribed and important action, in which it is a question of bringing the whole of the proletariat into the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party is ready to set aside the questions which divide us, to set up the unity of the proletarian forces for a minimal program of struggle. In making this sacrifice, it proves its will to see the unity of the forces of labour realized on the solid foundation of the class-war.

The Communist Party therefore suggests to all proletarian organizations, a General Conference, to examine the platform to be set up and the practical problems which will arise in the formation of a workers' and peasants' block.

This general discussion, and the formation of a class block of the workers and the peasants, necessarily presumes two elementary conditions:

1. United tactics throughout the country. It would be making a farce of the working class block, if it were only partly carried through in certain localities, while in others the Block of the „Left“, was formed. The workers' and peasants' Block must at the next election evoke the class war on a national scale.

2. A practice of real class war involving the absolute break with the bourgeois Left parties. A certain number of socialist and socialist-communist Federations have already created, with the radical party, the block of the Left in their districts. Although the two parties have not officially defined their attitude their most eminent leaders are daily working at the creation of the Block of the Left, together with the leaders of the radicals, both in meetings and at public demonstrations, as well as in the special press of the „Left“ Block *Ere Nouvelle*, *Quotidien*, *Paris Soir* etc.

One cannot maintain at one and the same time, the Left Block, and the workers' and peasants' Block, the collaboration of and the struggle between the classes. Therefore, the Communist Party by suggesting to the other proletarian parties the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Block, places before these parties the unavoidable alternatives: with the Communist Party, to create the Unity of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie of the Left and of the Right; or, with the Radical Party against the Communist Party, which latter absolutely refuses to take part in the collaboration of the classes.

The Communist Party is prepared to make the necessary sacrifice for the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Block, whose task it will be, to arraign the whole capitalist regime.

RELIEF FOR GERMANY

The International Workers' Relief for Germany.

Only a few weeks have passed since the executive of the International Workers' Relief began relief work for the starving workers of Germany by issuing appeals to all countries. Today the work is so far advanced that the relief given by the International Workers' Relief far exceeds that which is being done by the other private organisations. Over 50 kitchens have been set up in Berlin and other German cities, and over 15,000 workers, wives of workers and their children are being fed daily by the International Workers' Relief. It was not possible for the bourgeois press to maintain complete silence over the activity of the International Workers' Relief for Russia. Today, however, scarcely a day passes in which papers of all shades of opinion are not compelled to refer to the relief which is being carried on by the International Workers' Relief for Germany.

The scope of this relief activity for the German workers has rendered necessary a re-organization of the International Workers' Relief. Special relief committees of the International Workers' Relief have been set up in the various German cities which have the task of co-operating in the work of collection and distribution of relief. These committees include not only representatives of both proletarian parties, but also of those intellectual bourgeois circles who display an interest for the specifically prolet-

arian relief work of the organisation and who wish to participate in it.

It goes without saying that the activity of the International Workers' Relief differs entirely from all philanthropic undertakings of a bourgeois nature. In the work of relief it is clearly expressed that it is not a matter of the giving and receiving of alms, but that workers are helping workers and that the solidarity of the workers of all lands becomes a real act in the interest of the German proletariat which is at present engaged in the most severe struggle.

Whilst one still sees in the shop windows of Berlin the notorious placards: „Nothing will be sold to Belgians and French“ one can see in a Berlin feeding centre of the International Workers' Relief the sign „French Feeding Centre of the International Workers' Relief“ and 250 proletarians daily during their meals see the inscription: „The French Workers help their German Brothers.“ And they understand the significance of the matter, even if a part of the workers who partake of the meals are politically indifferent. They all agreed with great enthusiasm when one of their number proposed to send the following message to the French proletariat through the International Workers' Relief.

„The proletarian men and women who are receiving their meals in the Feeding Centre „France“ of the International Workers' Relief in Berlin-Weissensee, express their warmest thanks to the French workers. They recognize this work not as a charity, but as a proof of the brotherly solidarity of the French workers, intended to maintain the fighting strength of the German proletariat against capitalism and imperialism. They promise the French workers that they will always prove worthy of this solidarity and over all frontier-posts and bayonets they reach with gratitude the hand of brotherhood.“

Naturally those who are helped in the first place by the I. W. R. are those of the proletariat who are engaged in struggles. Thus at the same time as it fed a part of the striking printers in Berlin during the printers' strike it hastened to Leipzig to help the locked-out metal workers. 6,000 of those locked out in Leipzig were fed daily out of the funds of the International Workers' Relief.

Great as the success of the propaganda of the International Workers' Relief has so far been in all lands, it must find a still stronger support from all Communist parties in other countries. It is not merely a matter of helping a few workers out of philanthropic motives but — and this must be continually emphasized — it is the question of maintaining the fighting strength of the German working class. It is the question of preparing for a great task and the binding together of the workers of all countries by brotherly solidarity, for the common struggle for the realization of Socialism.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

New Class Collaboration Schemes in U. S. A.

Railroad Employers Capturing Shop Unions.

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The unions of the railroad shopmen will, if schemes recently disclosed are successful, soon become adjuncts of the administrations of the various roads and their days as militant organizations of the workers come to a close. That is the meaning of the „Co-operation“ plans, announced by Wm. H. Johnston at a meeting in the Y. M. C. A., St. Louis, and reported in *LABOR*, the railroad weekly of Nov. 24th. Mr. Johnston proposes (and he evidently speaks for most of the officials of the shop unions) that the Unions shall become efficiency auxiliaries to the companies, promising the corporations greater profits from union labour than they can squeeze from non-union labour. Thus it is hoped to gain the favour of Capital so that the unions, instead of being busted up by the bosses, will be invited into the parlour and served with ice-cream and cake.

The scheme is being tried out on the Baltimore & Ohio, Railroad. The unions are hiring efficiency experts to show the bosses how to get more work out of their members. „The idea underlying our service to the Baltimore & Ohio“, said Mr. Johnston, „may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering services extended to railroads by large supply corporations, which have contracts with these railroads to furnish, let

us say, arch-brick, superheaters, stokers, or lubricating oils". The union, in short, is to become a supply corporation to the railroad companies, engaged in the business of selling labour just as another corporation may sell lubricants. It will compete in the market, like any other commodity selling organization, and engage to deliver more work for less cost than non-union labour can deliver. That is the essence of the scheme.

The effect of this proposition, if established throughout the railroad industry, will be to eliminate unionism altogether. It is a method by which the railroad employers will capture the railroad unions and use them for profit-making purposes. It is a direct competitor of the „company unions“, promising the bosses that it will be more effective for them than even such organizations formed by their paid agents. Johnston says on this point: „I want to emphasize as strongly as I know how the fact, that in the task of positive cooperation in the railroad industry there can be no substitute for the genuine unions of the railroad employees“. And later: „I maintain that such a management would never again, as long as it retains its good sense, desire to see the affiliated shop crafts effaced from the scheme of things on its road.“ The „open shop“ drive is to be stopped, in other words, by eliminating everything from the unions that the bosses don't like. Make the unions just the kind of organizations that the employers want, make the unions profitable to the capitalists rather than to the workers, and then „it follows as the night the day“ that there will be no conflict with the employers. It is all so simple!

How comes it that such stuff as this can be peddled to the labour movement by so-called responsible leaders? If such proposals had been made two years ago, there is no doubt they would have been scorned by the rank and file. But now, the shop unions have had a long and unsuccessful struggle; the unions have been wiped out on many lines, and seriously weakened everywhere. Pessimism and hopelessness are prevalent. The disastrous tendency toward leaving the union has been effecting large numbers. It is under such circumstances as these, suffering from the sickness of its bad leadership, that the shop unions are considered to be ready to take a new dose of medicine from the same doctors.

The prime motive for the action of the reactionary officialdom of the shop unions, is the desire to remain „leaders“ with secure and comfortable positions. They were afraid to put up a real fight against the railroads, but were forced by a militant rank and file to go along with the strike. They sabotaged the struggle, however, by complete failure to have any centralized plans of battle, an entire absence of commissary or relief organization, and not the slightest move for unity of the railroad men generally for the struggle. After the failure of the strike they became panic stricken at the result of their handiwork because it threatened to lose them their positions. The one measure that could save the situation — amalgamation of the railroad unions — they would have nothing of. They tried to reorganize the unions with the „selling talks“ of insurance salesmen, boosting the insurance and benevolent features of the unions. This failed miserably. The officialdom, bankrupt because afraid of every really progressive measure, had but one resort left — the employers. And to them they went. „Co-operation“ with the management is the result.

It is no miracle that the capitalist press has greeted Johnston's proposals as „statesmanlike“, and have joyously announced a new era of fraternity between workers and capitalists. They may well rejoice for, if such institutions of class collaboration can be successfully set up with the aid of Johnston & Co., it means that the labour movement is hamstrung for some time. The capitalists should smile, because this „co-operation“ is the cooperation of the lion with the lamb, with the railroad companies in their usual role of lion. That a section of the labour press should echo the satisfaction of Wall Street is another demonstration of the complete muddle-headedness or corruption of the dominating leadership of the American labour movement.

But of course the scheme of collaboration of the railroad shop unions with the railroad capitalists will not succeed. It will fail as surely as water will run downhill. Not the propaganda of the progressive and revolutionary union men will kill it, but the cruel, compelling facts of the class struggle. The rapacity of the railroad companies will soon awaken the workers from any sweet dreams of the millennium of cooperation, and will force them to resume the struggle from which there is no escape. Collaboration is bound to fail. But in the failure it can do terrible damage to the railroad shop unions.

The task of the class-conscious workers in the railroad unions is to fight against this bosses' propaganda with all their energy, pointing out to the rank and file to just what morasses of defeat and disaster it will lead. The spirit of true unionism must be kept alive within the shop unions, despite all the Johnstons and all the collaboration schemes, and the way prepared for the coming renaissance of the railroad unions generally. Amalgamation of all railroad unions into one powerful industrial union — with the power to take from the bosses what the workers demand — that is the slogan of the militant unionists against the collaboration of the reactionary officialdom. That is the slogan that will save the railroad unions from being completely captured by the railroad employers.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Declaration of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria (Strict Socialists) declares that the attitude of Dr. Nicola Sakaroff (who was elected to parliament as a communist deputy) expressed in his speech at the parliamentary sitting of the 24th December last on the occasion of the debate on the reply to the King's Speech, has nothing in common with the position of the Communist Party with regard to the questions dealt with, but, on the contrary, is diametrically opposed to it.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria remains a section of the Communist International. Its present representative on the International is Comrade Vassil Kolaroff. During the September revolt, comrades Vassil Kolaroff and Georgi Dimitroff were not acting merely on their own account, but as members of the Central Committee and in entire harmony with the tactics of the Party. The Communist Party does not deny its participation in the September rising. The masses of the people were provoked and compelled to take up weapons in their own defence. The Communist Party intervened and placed itself at the head of the movement in order, so far as its elementary character permitted, to organize it and to give it a clear and proper aim, i. e. the overthrow of the bourgeois *coup d'Etat* government and the creation of a worker' and peasants' government. The Party lays the whole responsibility for the provocation of the revolt and for the bloody and barbarous outrages succeeding it, at the door of the government.

Dr. Nicola Sakaroff, by his speech against the Communist Party, has placed himself outside of its ranks. By his attitude he has committed treachery against the Party and the labouring masses. The Central Committee therefore expels him from the Party and calls upon him to resign the seat to which he was elected by the electors of the constituency of Siskoff as a candidate of the Party.

The Central Committee declares, that every deputy who in parliament adopts the attitude of Dr. Sakaroff or any other attitude adverse to the Party, will be regarded as having withdrawn from the Communist Party.

The Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.
(Strict Socialists.)

Declaration of the Presidium of the Balkan Communist Federation.

The Presidium of the Communist Balkan Federation has given its attention to the position of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, and to the extremely culpable conduct of some of its representatives in Parliament. It regards the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria to expel from the Party, Nicola Sakaroff and the members of the Party identifying themselves with him, who have placed themselves in opposition to the program and principles of the Party and infringed its discipline, as perfectly correct.

The September revolt and the serious position in which the Communist Party of Bulgaria has become involved after the defeat of this people's movement, was of course bound to bring to light the unreliable, hesitating and spurious elements which had crept into the ranks of the Party during the preceding

periods. The ridding of the Party of these elements is an inevitable and salutary process as well as a pre-condition for the success of its further struggle.

The Presidium is firmly convinced that the whole Party will stand up as one man against the attempt of some of its half-hearted and renegade elements to split the Party and to divert it from the struggle for emancipation against the military fascist dictatorship.

THE WHITE TERROR

How Zankoff retained power.

From the Records of the Foreign Relief Committee for the Victims of the Bulgarian White Terror.

M. Zankoff, the leader of the government of the reactionary block in Bulgaria, friend of Mussolini, recognised by all the powers, great and small, seized power on the 9th of June precisely in the same manner as burglars force open a safe after due and careful preparations. The assassination of his predecessor Stambulinski, and some summary unlawful executions, completed the operation. After which however, the new government did not feel itself to be secure. A strong communist party kept its forces intact throughout the country.

During the night of September 11th and 12th, M. Zankoff suddenly caused more than 2000 communists to be arrested, closed down all the local branches of the party and confiscated all its property. This second coup of Zankoff was not destined to achieve such prompt success as the first. The Bulgarian Communist Party was directing its appeals to masses already in a ferment. Within a few days the workers' and peasants' insurrection broke out almost throughout the whole of Bulgaria. There were moments during which the workers seemed to be on the point of obtaining power. We are able to state that they refrained from all excesses and that there is no other example of a large scale insurrection of a people, which exercised such leniency and magnanimity towards its enemies. Owing to some tactical errors on the part of the insurgents, but above all to the military aid afforded the government forces by the bourgeoisie of Sofia, by the Macedonian bands and by the Wrangel-soldiers, the reaction was finally victorious.

The reprisals which have followed can, in their bestiality, their cruelty and extent, only be compared with the mass-assassinations perpetrated by the bourgeoisie after the Paris Commune of 1871, after the Finnish revolution in 1918, and after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet government in 1919. There is one deduction which can be drawn from these repeated instances: the white terror, which aims at reversing history, and at maintaining a system of exploitation and of violence, is infinitely more bloody, more disregardful of cultural treasures, more cruel in the positive and profound sense of the word, than the Red Terror, to which revolutions have had recourse in moments of extreme danger.

The foreign Relief Committee for the Victims of the White Terror in Bulgaria (Dr. W. Aranoff, G. Naijdenoff, W. Dodoff) has published a small collection of impressive documents on the atrocities committed by the Bulgarian Reaction, from which we shall quote a few facts.

* * *

The towns of Ferdinand and Berkovitz were subjected to a bombardment long after having been evacuated. At Ferdinand 150 prisoners have been massacred. The wounded found in the hospital, were also slaughtered, Dr. St. Ilieff, several nurses and a clergyman were killed. Ilieff had his nose and ears cut off before receiving the final stroke. (The town of Ferdinand has only 6000 inhabitants.)

In some places a great number of insurgents who had surrendered themselves to the authorities upon formal promise of amnesty have been shot.

At Prevala and Gorna-Luka, Wrangel-soldiers massacred 22 peasants. At Tchiprvtsi 35, at Vlashko-Selo 13. Most of the executions were carried out in the public squares before the eyes of the population, after all resistance had ceased.

At Beli-Mel near Ferdinand 33 young men were shot. At Gaganitz 42 young men were also slaughtered.

At Lom, an important town, the whole working population of which had taken part in the insurrection, 2000 suspected persons were arrested and imprisoned under terrible conditions in boats. 30 to 40 executions took place every day. The corpses were thrown into the Danube. The total number of victims which must amount to several hundreds, is unknown.

At Borovan, the director of the college Costa Petroff was tortured in a sadistic manner. He was bound to a motor car going at full speed. His corpse was unrecognisable.

In the village of Gorna-Goynitz, five days after the end of the insurrectory movement, a hundred assassinations were committed.

At Bregovo 300 executions.

At Philippopol, 300 persons who were arrested before the insurrection, have been tortured and shot. In addition more than 200 persons are „missing“.

At Brazigovo, about 200 insurgents who had surrendered themselves have been shot...

The collection of documents of the Relief Committee contains no less, than 64 headings of this kind. One finds there facts of a medieval horror. At Slavovitz for instance, the school master has been literally cut into pieces. The white terror has been particularly directed against the progressive intellectuals, rural clergymen, teachers, lawyers, communist and agrarian leaders. We could easily quote more than 50 names. We only mention the engineer Kurteff of Elisseyne, the priest Ignatoff of Medkovetz, one of the leaders of the insurrection in that region who died heroically, the Communist deputy Titorenko and the lawyer Kamenoff, assassinated at Belogradtsik, the Communist deputy Tzistoff, assassinated at Bregovo, after his wife was violated in his presence; the former mayor of Varna, Dimitri Kondoff; the captain Veltshoff and the lawyer Stoiloff, killed at Stara Zagora; the former Communist deputy Arsen Vassilielf and the well-known organizer Atzeff of Gorna Djumaja; the well-known deputy Boris Sotiroff and the lawyers Kosta Petrunoff and A. Maltshoff of Samokoff, all of them having been arrested before the insurrection and killed, after having tongues, noses and ears cut off; the mayor of Ichtiman, Miltshoff, shot as well as two female teachers of his village; the intellectuals Gineff, Kiradyieff, Shishkoff, Savoff, Hershkovitsh, Galaboff, all of them prominent citizens of Philippopol; the aged Markovski, a respected politician, who died in the hospital of Shumen by poison; the editor of the organ of Agrarian Youth, Radoslaff Noteff...

We give the following admissions by the government press of M. Zankoff: The „Narod“ (The People, social democratic), wrote on the 13 October: „At the places, where the people have revolted, thousands have been arrested, and the schools have been transformed into prisons: The „Utro“ (The Morning, a government paper), of the 8th October states the same fact. The „Radical“ of the 23rd of October says: „Unpardonable acts have been committed in places where there has been no fighting at all, as well as in others after hostilities had ceased.“ „With regard to these atrocities, indignation and disgust are unanimous.“ The „Mir“ (The World) of the 13th October (more than a fortnight after the end of the insurrection) exclaimed: „Enough blood has been shed.“ Five days afterwards, the same paper was again compelled to insist: „Enough of it!“ The „Independence“ (national-liberal) states on the 18th of October that „nine tenths of the victims of the civil war have been killed after the fight“. This paper backed the demand of the Social Democrats for an investigation into the atrocities committed.