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From Noske to Hindenburg.

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. to the Workers of All Countries.

Moscow, 27th April 1925.

Hindenburg has been elected as President of the German Republic.

The "peaceful, democratic, bloodless tactics of evolution" have placed Hindenburg on the throne. Noske and Ebert have given birth to Hindenburg, the fore-runner of the new Hohenzollern.

"The greatest figure in world history! National hero! The most eminent statesman of Germany! The noblest defender of the Fatherland!" This is how the German social democrats described Hindenburg during the years of the imperialist war. The Socialist Party of Germany bears no little responsibility for the fact that the backward sections of the people regard Hindenburg as a national hero. The Entente imperialists have contributed not a little to the fact that 14½ million votes were cast for Hindenburg. A portion of these votes were cast, not so much for Hindenburg, as against the Entente, for the idea of revenge, against the creators of the Peace of Versailles. In the hands of the Hindenburg clique these votes become weapons of social Reaction, of white terror, of Monarchy.

There are two ways of fighting against Monarchy: The first was indicated by the Russian workers in the years 1917 and 1918. The other, the evolutionary, democratic way, the

II. International, embodied in the German Social Democracy, wished to indicate. The social democrats did not wish to overthrow Wilhelm, but they were the first to come forward in order to overthrow the German Soviets. They destroyed the Soviets in 1918. Noske works for Democracy against every dictatorship, the German Social Democracy maintained. Now, even the blind can see that Noske and the Socialist Party of Germany worked not against every dictatorship, but against the proletarian dictatorship and for the bourgeois dictatorship, which has now brought about the victory of Hindenburg.

By crushing the Spartacus revolt and by murdering Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, you prepared the victory of Hindenburg. In dissolving the Soviets, splitting the Trade Unions, shooting down the revolutionary sailors and workers, casting the best proletarians into prison, crushing the insurrection of the workers in March 1921, placing General Seeckt in power, working heart and soul to save the bourgeoisie in 1923, and in destroying the flower of the revolutionary proletariat, you, social democrats, prepared the victory of Hindenburg.

The Communist International had proposed to the C. P. of Germany that it support the social democratic candidate at the second ballot, if the social democrats retained their own candidate. But, as usual, like true watch-dogs of the bourgeoisie,

the social democrats withdrew their own candidate in favour of the bourgeois candidate Marx. Again and again the S.P. of Germany wished to let the German working class, numbering 15 million, disappear from the stage of world history as an independent political force. The advance guard of the German proletariat could not tolerate this. Once again the leaders of the Socialist Party of Germany proved to the whole world that they are as unreliable republicans as they are bad socialists. There exists not the least doubt that the leaders of the Socialist Party of Germany and of the II. International are endeavouring to cast the responsibility on the German Communists. They will throw sand into the eyes of the masses and will again take up the campaign against the advance guard of the German proletariat.

Hypocrites! Hypocrites! Are not the Bulgarian social democrats supporting the butcher Zankov? And in what way does Zankov differ from Hindenburg? Are not the Hungarian social democrats, a section of the II. International, supporting the hangman Horthy? What difference is there between Horthy and Hindenburg? Is not the Right Wing of the Italian Social Democracy, a portion of the II. International, supporting Mussolini? And is Mussolini so much better than Hindenburg? Are not the social democratic mensheviks of Esthonia supporting the hangman of the Esthonian workers, General Laidoner? Is not the socialist Party of Poland, a Party of the II. International, supporting the torturers of the Polish people? Are not the followers of Gompers in America the supporters of the most brutal reaction of the bourgeoisie? Do not the MacDonalds, the leaders of the II. International, bow down before the king? These are the fighters against monarchy and against the dangers of reaction!

The class-conscious workers of Germany and of the whole world must consider the political significance of the election of Hindenburg. The workers who still sympathise with social democracy must bear in mind that the tactics of Social Democracy lead unavoidably to the victory of the bourgeois world reaction. The monarchist danger is imminent in Germany. The workers and the Communists must clearly perceive this. The Communists cannot adopt the attitude that it is a matter of indifference for us whether there is a monarchy or a bourgeois Republic. The Communists do not remain indifferent to this question but take their place at the head of the real fight against the danger of monarchy. The Communists once again offer the hand to the social democratic workers and propose the united front for the common revolutionary fight against the monarchist danger.

The political map of Europe is becoming more and more painted with the black colour of reaction. In a number of countries reaction is growing stronger. The Communists are leading the struggle in the whole world for the unity of the trade unions.

The II. International is conducting a fierce attack against unity and is thereby showing once again that it is the truest support of the bourgeoisie. And the same German Social Democracy which has brought about the victory of Hindenburg, is, among all the parties of the II. International, the most deadly enemy of international trade union unity.

German workers! is it not yet clear to you that the "victorious tactics" of the S.P.G. is directly leading you under the yoke of the bourgeoisie and to restoration of the monarchy? Is it not yet clear to you that only in uniting all workers of Germany, regardless of Party, can the German proletariat be saved, in uniting, of course not under the Stinnes, Barmat or Wilhelm Marx's flag but under the red banner of revolution.

Close your ranks, set up the unity of the workers of all countries under the banner of the class struggle for the common fight against the danger of monarchism! This is the call of the Communist International. Remember that the election of Hindenburg will not in any event improve the prospects of peace, but will conjure up the danger of new wars. Remember that only the iron unity of the international proletariat can ward off this danger. The election of Hindenburg must compel every class-conscious worker to think seriously. If the working masses do not now turn away from the social democratic leaders, then they will prepare with their own hands fresh imperialist blood baths, new horrors and sufferings. The severe political lessons should not be in vain. The way from Noske leads unavoidably to Hindenburg, and has led to Hindenburg. But the way from Hindenburg must not lead back to Noske.

The 15 million proletarians of Germany could free their country from the yoke of capital and could set up a Soviet Republic in their own country if they were not divided, if they would recognise and repudiate the counter-revolutionary tactics of the S.P. of Germany. Otherwise, the strengthening of reaction, fresh defeats of the working class, new wars and the direct restoration of the monarchy are unavoidable.

The Communist International calls upon you to close the ranks of the workers, to set up the united front for the fight against bourgeois world reaction, and against the monarchist reaction, to fight against advancing fascism, to establish the unity of the trade unions, to fight determinedly against the danger of new wars.

Down with the social democratic confederates of bourgeois world reaction!

Long live the revolutionary fight of the international proletariat!

Long live the unity of the ranks of the proletariat!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Reichs President Field Marshall von Hindenburg.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The Weimar Republic which died along with Fritz Ebert, was solemnly buried on the 26th April to the accompaniment of the fluttering of the black-white-red flags. Field Marshall Wilhelm Hindenburg is now President of the Republic. That is to say: **Germany is only a Republic in the sense of Horthy-Hungary or Bavaria of Kahr and Held. Germany is now a Monarchy without a monarch.**

The 26th of April was a great victory of the black-white-red bloc, a tolerable success for the Communist Party of Germany, and a miserable collapse for the Social Democrats and for their so-called People's Bloc.

With regard to the **Bloc of the Right** this united in the first place two elements: the big bourgeoisie and the fascist masses of the middle class, of the agrarians, officers, students, etc.

The **German big bourgeoisie** by no means desired that **Hindenburg** should be put forward as a candidate. **Stresemann** and the German People's Party fought right up to the last moment against Hindenburg's candidature. It was the **fascist organisations** and the **petty bourgeoisie** which upheld the black-white-red Field-Marshal. **Herr von Tirpitz** and the fascist agrarian **Schlange-Schöningen** were the real wire-pullers of the candidature of Hindenburg.

The big bourgeoisie then, it is true, consented to the candidature. It endeavoured to render the putting forward of the Field-Marshal as harmless as possible. Hindenburg had to grant interviews to foreign journalists, to recognise the Peace Treaty of Versailles and to speak with diplomatic reserve regarding the League of Nations and the Geneva Protocol. The press of German big industry assured the Entente that in the event of his election Hindenburg would continue the policy of fulfilment of the Experts' Report and would not attempt any nationalist adventure.

In spite of this precautionary measure of the ruling German industry, the candidature and the electoral victory of Hindenburg means a certain restoration of German fascism. The chauvinist demagogy has seized hold of the broadest masses of the population. It is not to be wondered therefore that in **Upper Bavaria** and **Last Prussia** Hindenburg received **two thirds**, and in **Pomerania** even **three quarters** of all the votes cast. But the fact that in the **Ruhr** district Hindenburg received almost half a million votes, means that great masses of miners must have voted black-white-red. In **red Halle** Hindenburg received more votes than Marx and Thaelmann together. The same was the case in **Erfurt**, in **Kiel** and even in **Chemnitz**! In all these working class towns a considerable section of the proletariat must have swung round,

— a very serious fact! The same thing was to be seen in Hamburg. The black-white-red bloc, therefore unites for the time being the German big bourgeoisie with the overwhelming majority of the middle class and a considerable section of the proletariat.

It is true this Hindenburg coalition cannot last long. Under the name of Hindenburg the German bourgeoisie will continue the policy of Luther and Stresemann, that is, the policy of national capitulation abroad and of plundering the broad masses at home. Thus a rebellion in the camp of the right bloc is inevitable. The disappointment of the fascist masses will seriously affect the ruling bourgeoisie. The capitalists will be compelled to grant sham nationalist concessions. These will increase the difficulties in the sphere of foreign politics. This in turn will have its effect on the home policy.

The Communist Party of Germany, if it adopts a wise policy, will be able to win the workers, petty bourgeoisie and peasants away from the black-white-red swindle.

The defeat of the Marx Bloc is a severe blow to the social democratic leadership. The Socialist Party of Germany concluded a shabby bargain with the capitalist centre party. The centre believed that, with the help of the socialist votes, it could improve its position within the German bourgeoisie. The social democratic leaders, as a reward for their services, wanted to secure from the Centre the posts of Prussian Ministers. As a result the socialist Party humbugged the masses that their alliance with the Centre was a "People's Bloc" for the defence of the Republic, and that it was against big capital. But this fraud was too obvious even for German Conditions. That Herr Marx, the man of the Bishops and of the catholic industrial magnates would conduct a fight against the Right, was really not to be expected. But the miserable cowardice displayed by the Marx people in the election campaign exceeded all expectations.

The People's Bloc while fighting Hindenburg rendered him the most servile homage and carefully avoided doing anything which would offend the monarchists or capitalists in any way. An election campaign conducted in such a manner could not end otherwise than in defeat. A portion of the social democratic workers, before all in Saxony, rebelled against the command of their Party and instead of voting for Marx voted for Thaelmann. Thus in Dresden the votes for Thaelmann increased from 36,000 at the first ballot to 65,000 at the second and in Chemnitz from 100,000 to 140,000.

It is the task of the C. P. of Germany to encourage this revolt of the social democratic workers against the Barmat leaders. The S. P. of Germany has for seven years, in the name of the Republic, pampered and encouraged the capitalists and monarchists, until at last we find Hindenburg at the head of the Republic. The social democratic press speak of "Hindenburg by the grace of Thaelmann", but the real culprit was Noske.

The situation of the communist candidate at the second ballot was even more difficult than at the first. Everybody knew that this time the decision lay between Hindenburg and Marx. Every vote for Thaelmann therefore was a vote which had no influence on the result. It therefore required a certain political consciousness to vote for Thaelmann as a purely demonstrative action.

If in spite of this the C. P. of Germany was able to increase its vote at the second ballot, it means a success. The two million voters for Thaelmann are of course only a part of the German workers who sympathise with us, as is shown at every factory council election.

The monarchism which is now ruling in Germany is the coalition of big capital with the fascists, promoted by the cowardice and treachery of the social democratic leaders. The fight against Hindenburg is today the fight against German big capital and against its economic, political and military apparatus. The fight against Hindenburg means the fight for the eight hour day, as well as against the Stahlhelm (fascist organisation).

In this fight the C. P. of Germany will take the lead. Today the C. P. of Germany is the only genuine serious opposition Party in Germany against Hindenburg, the only Republican Party, the only party which is for the working masses and against capitalist exploitation, for the national interests of the broad masses of the working population and against the Dawes system. For us the Hindenburg period means fresh difficulties and dangers, but at the same time it means new possibilities of winning the masses and of mass struggle. The Party will approach these tasks with firmness and determination and without wavering.

THE BALKANS

Declaration of the E. C. C. I. as to the Events in Bulgaria.

Moscow, 23rd April 1925.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued the following declaration:

Forgeries and deceptions are becoming more and more the chief instruments of the enemies of the Communist International. Month after month, and in recent times week after week, there appear, now in one country and now in another, clumsy forgeries of alleged letters, orders, decisions and other "documents" purporting to emanate from the E. C. C. I. The fascist Zankov government has beaten all records in this respect. In connection with the explosion which took place in the Sofia Cathedral, this fascist government published some hastily fabricated documents which are intended to prove the participation of the Communist International in this act of terror. It is superfluous to say that neither the Communist International nor any of its sections could have had any connection with the explosion in Sofia, as the Communist International is opposed on principle to individual terror.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International emphatically declares that all documents referring to this event as well as those which are said to mention the date of a contemplated Bulgarian revolt, and which are attributed to the Communist International, are absolute forgeries. The rabid enemies of the Communist International who are conducting a "holy war" against the Communists, are becoming more insolent every day.

The E. C. C. I. calls upon the workers of all countries to prepare to take up the defence and to stigmatise the treachery of the fascist government as it deserves. No white terror is capable of holding up the fight of the workers and peasants for freedom. The sympathies of the advanced workers of all countries are wholly and entirely on the side of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria and their champions who do not shrink from death in their righteous struggle.

The Soviet Union and the Events in Bulgaria.

Moscow, 24th April 1925.

The "Pravda" writes:

The murder gang of Zankoff is endeavouring to divert attention from the horrible blood-shed which has followed the bomb explosion in Sofia by raising an outcry over the "interference of the Soviet Union in Bulgarian affairs".

Almost the entire bourgeois press is shrieking out against Russian interference, although no proofs are forthcoming that there has been any such interference, and although every one knows that we are against individual terror.

We have always insisted that the way to victory is the way of revolutionary mass movement, but we realise that the bomb outrage in Sofia constitutes a defensive act on the part of those who are literally fighting for their lives against the gang of bandits calling itself a government. It is not surprising that Zankoff is raising an outcry as to interference and is appealing to all the enemies of the Soviet Union.

Why is the world bourgeoisie crying out along with Zankoff? Apart from class solidarity there are serious political interests which compel England and Italy to this. England and Italy supported the Zankoff putch in order to prevent Stambulisky arriving at an understanding with Yugoslavia. France reconciled itself with Zankoff because the latter did not undertake anything against Yugoslavia.

The capitalist States supported the Zankoff regime and constantly interfered in Bulgarian affairs. Roumania rendered police services against the popular movement. The Entente allowed the Zankoff army to be increased in order that it might be able to keep down the people's movement.

The capitalists are constantly interfering in Bulgarian affairs in the interest of the counter-revolution. They know that the Soviet Union never interfered in Bulgarian affairs. But they themselves wish to continue interference in the interest of the counter-revolution.

The International Red Aid on the Events in Bulgaria.

Moscow, 26th April 1925.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has addressed a letter to the Bulgarian Ministerial Council containing the sharpest protest against the persecution of those who are engaged in rendering aid to the victims of the regime of terror, especially against the shooting of **Theodor Dimitrow Michailov**, who was to have distributed among the families of those shot or arrested, 5000 Dollars which had been collected by the sections of the I. R. A. in various countries. The International Red Aid demands the return of the confiscated amount and its handing over to the Bulgarian Elementary Teachers' Union for distribution among the families of the victims of the Terror. The sections of the I. R. A. declare their unabated determination to continue their help for the victims of the Bulgarian terror regime.

* * *

The Executive Committee of the International Red Relief has issued an appeal which states:

An unending series of political murders with new horrible tortures is being committed against the workers in Bulgaria by the Zankov bands. The prisons are crammed with workers, peasants and intellectuals, the majority of whom are women and young people. Hundreds and thousands of innocent people who had nothing to do with the explosion in the Cathedral are subjected to fearful tortures. Wholesale massacres are being carried out against unarmed and defenceless people. **The lives of the best sons of the Bulgarian people are in danger. Thousands of families are without bread winners; thousands of children have been rendered orphans and left to their fate.** An enormous number has now been added to the thousands of widows and orphans left after the June and September murders.

It is the highest duty of the proletariat, of the peasants and of all right-thinking people in the world to raise their voice in protest and to compel the murderers and torturers to cease from bloodshed, to demand the release of the arrested in order to save human lives. It is a question of the lives of thousands of innocent victims.

The I. R. A. calls upon all to protest against the acts of murder of the white terror in Bulgaria and to defend the masses of the Bulgarian people.

**Down with the murderous fascists of Sofia!
Hands off the Bulgarian workers and peasants!
Long live international solidarity!**

POLITICS

The Ministerial Crisis in France.

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The Ministerial Crisis in France is only the expression of a crisis of the **capitalist regime itself**. The Ministerial Crisis has been solved for the time being; the crisis of the regime is still developing.

The Enlarged Executive of the C. I. has characterised the present international situation as corresponding to a period of temporary stabilisation of capitalism, a period which constitutes an interval in the present historical era, which is an era of the decay and collapse of the capitalist regime and of the extension of the proletarian revolution which had its commencement in Russia.

It must not be forgotten that France constitutes an exception. The regime here is not entering upon a period of stabilisation but is leaving one behind it.

It is in the first place a financial crisis. It is a question of a floating debt of 80 milliards Francs, 25 milliards of which are repayable in the course of this year. In addition to this, and having far profounder effects, there is the **economic crisis**. The stabilisation of the franc is hampering exports in view of the competition of German, American, English and even Norwegian industry on the world market. If the stabilisation of the Franc is maintained it will lead to the progressive limitation of exports, which means the partial restriction of production and increased

unemployment. For the big and middle export industry, it is vitally necessary to resort to inflation.

The basic industries, and especially the coal industry, the banks which finance them, and on the other hand the deposit banks such as the **Credit Lyonnais** and the **Comptoir d'Escompte** which have no interest, or at least no immediate interest, in inflation, are offering resistance, even if it be weak. This weak resistance is being supported by a section of the National Bloc.

The prevailing tendency, which at present represents the interest of the capitalist class as a whole, is the **inflationist tendency**. The big metal industry, the textile industry, the manufacturing industries, the bank "**L'Union Parisienne**" of the National Bloc and the "**Banque de Paris and des Pays Bas**" of the Left Bloc are unqualified supporters of inflation. The socialists are maintaining a non-committal attitude.

Inflation means an increase in the misery of the workers, the ruin of the petty bourgeoisie and the progressive expropriation of the small peasants. Inflation means progressive bankruptcy at the cost of the workers. The example of Germany from 1918 to 1923 affords a tragic lesson for the French masses.

Caillaux, the new Finance Minister, and his official organ "**L'Information Financière**" openly speaks of paying back the floating debt of 80 milliards by the issue of paper money. It may mean issuing new bank notes or special tokens which are only valid for commercial transactions; it may mean adopting an open policy of inflation or a veiled inflation. At any rate such an operation would mean threefold increase in the not circulation in France. This involves a depreciation of the bank notes and fearful and rapid increase in prices. Inflation means a stimulus for exports, with industry working at full pressure. It means that the capitalists increase their profits at the cost of the proletariat, of the petty bourgeoisie and of the peasantry.

The slogans of our Party must be:

Against Inflation!

For the stabilisation of the currency at the cost of the capitalist! Workers and peasants' control of production!

The setting up of a net-work of factory councils: Proletarian unity committees and Peasants Committees!

Tax on capital and on profits. No taxes for the workers, employees and working peasants.

In order to ensure that the taxes derived by the State from the capitalists shall be expended in the interest of the workers, the slogan must be raised:

A Workers' and Peasants' Government!

It is only with the setting up of workers' and peasants' control and the workers' government that we can talk of nationalising the banks. Nationalisation only leads, as Jules Guesde has already irrefutably shown, to the strengthening of the State. To speak of the nationalisation of the banks without workers' and peasants' control and without the workers' and peasants' government would be a dangerous form of opportunism.

The French bourgeoisie is not only confronted with a crisis at home. Soviet Russia is rapidly restoring its economy. It constitutes an increasingly dangerous example for the exploited of the whole world. Fresh masses of reformist workers in France, in England and in America are turning their eyes to it. The oppressed and exploited colonial peoples in Morocco, Egypt, India and China are turning to Moscow. Thus the stronger Russia becomes, the greater danger it will be to the privileges of the ruling capitalists of the whole world. And in spite of the imperialist rivalries, England and the Continent are realising the necessity of a united offensive against the national revolutionary movements, against Communism and the Russian revolution.

England is abandoning its "splendid isolation". England is conducting a policy which aims at breaking Germany away from the Treaty of Rapallo, and is endeavouring to enter into an Anglo-European Bloc under British leadership which will take up the offensive against the revolutionary dangers and the defensive against American imperialism. Such a policy leads to the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, especially as regards Poland and Czechoslovakia. The idea of the English Conservatives of a Treaty between England, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy is making headway. Sooner or later the new Ministry, or its successor, will abandon Poland and Czechoslovakia.

It must not be forgotten that Briand is the man who, at Cannes, defended the Anglo-European understanding, that Caillaux

is the man who favours the Continental bloc, and that at present England cannot be excluded from the Continental Bloc.

This policy we must oppose by a clear slogan: This slogan can only be: **the workers' and peasants' government and an alliance with the Soviet Union.**

The Communist Party of France must more than ever seek to win the proletariat and draw into the anti-capitalist struggle the allies of the proletariat: the peasants and the suppressed colonial peoples.

The Conference of General Staffs at Riga and the New War Preparations against the Soviet Union.

By Labor (Moscow).

The Russian Press has revealed the fact that a short time ago a Conference of the General Staffs of the so-called Border States took place in Riga, in which representatives of Poland, Roumania and the Baltic States participated. Everyone knows what this means. It is the duty of a General Staff to elaborate military plans. When the General Staff of different countries negotiate amongst themselves, there can only be one object in view, that of a common plan for war operations. And when the General Staffs of Esthonia and Roumania, Finland and Poland sit together round the same table, everyone will grasp the fact that it is a case of planning a war against the Soviet Union.

The governments of the border States made use of the usual official and unofficial apparatus of contradiction, in order to deny even the fact that this Conference of General Staffs had taken place at all. But the denials, as often happens when the Imperialists try to deny their war policy, once again confirmed the revelations of the Russian Press. It happened as in the well-known story of the borrowed jug. First denial: there was no jug at all — no Conference took place. Second denial: the jug had always been broken — the Polish General Kessler had only gone to Riga to visit some friends. Third denial: the jug was whole when it was returned — the Latvian Commander in Chief admitted to the Latvian Parliament that a Conference of General Staffs had taken place, but maintained that it was merely a case of discussing "measures of disarmament" on the basis of the resolutions of the League of Nations. Hardly had he made this declaration than it was contradicted by the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs Skrzynski, who explained that the Riga Conference had been summoned on the basis of resolutions of the Helsingfors Conference of the Governments of the Border States (thus there is no further mention of the League of Nations). The Helsingfors Conference however, as is well known, had for its object the establishment of a politically united front of the Border States against the Soviet Union under the leadership of the imperialistic great powers.

Finally the Roumanian newspaper "Vittorul" gave a report which confirmed all the revelations. It wrote that the Riga Conference had discussed "measures of defence" against "the imperialism of Moscow". As for the "imperialism of Moscow", this is a demagogic lie which is completely played out. This is nothing but a cheap excuse, intended to justify the war plans which are now being openly admitted. As a matter of fact, the war plans are now admitted! The "measures of defence" are obviously war-like measures. As concerns the word "defence", history has shown that up to now every predatory war has been carried on under the flag of "self-defence". When the General Staffs of the Border States which are supported by the Entente, speak of "plans of defence" against the Soviet Union which, being a proletarian State, carries on no policy of conquest, but devotes its whole attention to maintaining peace, it means nothing else than preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

Needless to say it is not the ruling classes of the Border States which are the chief wire-pullers of these preparations for war, they are merely tools in the hands of the imperialistic great powers, in the hands of England and France. If any further proof were necessary, it is afforded by the fact that two high French officers, one of them being the French representative in the Polish General Staff, were present at the Riga Conference.

The background of this policy of the imperialists against Soviet Russia is clearly exposed. In the few years of peaceful reconstruction, the economic position of the Soviet Union under the direction of the proletarian State has tremendously developed. When the attempts to suppress the Russian revolution by military measures had collapsed, the powers of the Entente tried to conquer Russia by economic means. They came to the Conference of Genoa with a fairly detailed plan. Even to-day they have not yet given up this hope, even to-day France and England still demand the payment of the old debts of Czarism and the compensation of private property owners. But the tremendous rise in trade which Russia has developed out of its own forces and the political and economic strengthening of the Soviet power which continues to grow, cuts the ground away from under the feet of all who speculate on the realisation of a Dawes plan in Russia, of which many a French and English politician dreams.

But the development of Russia has another side which is the reason for its great historical significance. The existence of a proletarian dictatorship as a great power in two continents, and the progress of socialist reconstruction are palpable evidence of the fact that the whole capitalist stabilisation is built on sand. The imperialists do not feel safe as long as the Russian revolution asserts itself victoriously. They know that the supremacy of the bourgeoisie is not completely restored whilst the proletariat rules over a sixth of the whole globe; they know that the workers in the capitalistic countries will not permanently allow themselves to be starved and exploited for the glory and honour of capitalist "reconstruction" and "stabilisation", whilst they can watch how the workers flourish in Soviet Russia without exploiters and without oppressors.

And finally the natural wealth of Russia stimulates the appetite for colonisation of the imperialist powers, especially now when the new imperialistic points of dissension are ripening and imperialism is looking for new objects to exploit.

As early as last year one could observe the endeavours of Entente imperialism to construct a new "holy alliance" against Soviet Russia. The negotiations of the League of Nations have shown this pretty plainly. When the Georgian Mensheviks attempted to raise an insurrection, the League of Nations, in which the interests of England and France are predominant, took up an unmistakably provocative attitude towards Soviet Russia. The negotiations concerning the so-called guarantee pact also showed a definite hostility towards Soviet Russia. The paragraphs of this pact concerning common action of the powers of the League of Nations against a so-called "disturber of the peace", were so formulated that anyone could see that it referred to the Soviet Union.

The negotiations between the Entente and Germany regarding Germany's entrance into the League of Nations and signature to the guarantee pact also proved that here it was mainly a question of getting Germany into the ranks of the united front against Soviet Russia, Germany which, through the Dawes plan, had been turned into a colony.

The Riga Conference is not an event by itself but one link of one of the most important events of the whole chain of imperialist preparations for a new war against Soviet Russia. It is then the duty of the workers, of the toilers in all countries to look the danger straight in the face and to be prepared to meet it.

The 2nd International, the social democracy in all countries has placed itself entirely at the service of the agitation against Soviet Russia, which is, so to speak, the "moral" war preparation for a future intervention. The leader of French social democracy, Renaudel, tried, with the aid of all kinds of demagogic tricks, via Georgia, to prevent the recognition of Soviet Russia by France. The forged Sinoviev letter came into being in Macdonald circles, and without his raising a protest. Finally the Russian Menshevik Abramowitsch is making propaganda journeys against Soviet Russia in America. They are all spreading the lie of "Moscow imperialism", behind which the General Staffs take ambush when they are preparing a war against Soviet Russia. As regards German social democracy in particular, it is the most ardent champion in favour of Germany joining the League of Nations and subscribing to the guarantee pact. In this respect it shows a united front with the German national Luther Government. This membership of Germany would mean the incorporation of Germany in the front against Soviet Russia; the German bourgeoisie hopes to receive as payment for its mercenary service

against the Soviet Union, a few crumbs from the table of Entente imperialism and to be given permission to enlarge its army.

The Riga Conference shows in what direction the Entente imperialists and the States which are dependent on them, are steering. It must therefore be a **signal to the working class**. The workers must know that an attack on Soviet Russia would now, more than ever, be an attack on them themselves.

Soviet Russia is to-day the most important factor on the credit side of the international working class. The economic development of Soviet Russia guarantees to the workers of all countries that they have, in the fight against their oppressors, an ally who is steadily increasing in power. The Riga Conference shows up the counterrevolutionary machinations of international bourgeoisie. These must be answered by the readiness of the working class to defend Soviet Russia.

The Result of the "Tcheka" Trial.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

Three death sentences, 74 years hard labour, 8 years imprisonment — that is the result of the Leipzig Trial. The State Court with the President Niedner and the public Prosecutor Neumann at the head, has again proved to be a bourgeois class court against the working class. This Court of Justice, which has not disturbed a hair of the head of reactionary murderers, does not hesitate at any judicial murder of workers. With the help of the German social democratic leaders it works as a prompt instrument of the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

The object of the Leipzig trial was in the first place to discredit the C. P. of Germany and to incite an anti-communist pogrom. This it has failed to do. Recently even in the bourgeois camp there were those who were compelled to dissociate themselves from the spy system and the methods of violence made use of by class justice in Germany.

It is true it is only the communist press which has stigmatised the brutal and odious methods of the ruling German bourgeoisie.

In the speeches of the Defence especially, the accused C. P. of Germany became the accuser. The Public Prosecutor was completely driven to the defensive. Herr Neumann did not even venture to reply to the speeches of the Defence, an unexampled occurrence in the history of great trials in Germany.

The monstrous death and hard labour sentences are brutal terror sentences which are intended to intimidate the revolutionary working class. On the basis of the facts it was impossible to impose such sentences even according to the bourgeois criminal code. Even the chief witness for the Prosecution, the spy Felix Neumann (who is known to be mentally unsound), who mortally wounded Rausch, has definitely stated that he did not intend to kill Rausch; and the other two accused, who as instigators or accessories have likewise received the death sentence, had nothing whatever to do with the death of Rausch. For the German Public Prosecutor, Rausch, the spy, is obviously a much more valuable object than Walter Rathenau. For in the Rathenau trial the Public Prosecutor recommended in the case of the accessory Techow, who drove the motor car of the murderers, only a sentence of hard labour. But this time the Public Prosecutor proposed the death sentence against the accused Szon who drove the motor car of Felix Neumann. In the Rathenau affair it was really a case of planned murder in which Techow was involved. This time it was only a case of a manoeuvre on the part of a spy, without any real intention to murder, so that the charge of murder against Szon was absurd.

In order to impose these monstrous sentences the Public Prosecutor, along with the President of the Court had to commit a whole series of breaches of law. We will not further discuss the fact that Herr Niedner refused to hear any of the witnesses on behalf of the communists, and that the Public Prosecutor designated all the Communist witnesses as thoroughly worthless. A member of the C. P. of Germany, therefore, can only come before the German Courts of Justice as a witness when he happens to be a spy. We will not enlarge on the fact that all the proposals of the Defence with regard to the reading of pamphlets, articles and other documents were also refused. Here we will call attention to three particular breaches of the law, be-

cause they appeared monstrous even in the eyes of bourgeois jurists.

1. Several accused were charged under the law of the German Republic regarding explosives, which provides a penalty of imprisonment with hard labour for at least five years against anyone found in the possession of explosive materials. A box was found in the possession of the accused, which, the Prosecution alleged, contained explosive materials. A photograph of this box was in the hands of the court. The accused, Margies, demanded that it be first ascertained whether the box in question really contained explosives, as such a question cannot be determined by photographs. But the court rejected the proposal as being mere trifling.

2. Huke, another of the accused, was engaged as a courier. On his arrest there was found on him several sealed envelopes containing written material. The charge took it for granted that Huke was aware of the contents of the envelopes. The charge maintained that the writings were found upon Huke in an open envelope. Huke asked that the police officials who first examined him should be brought forward as witnesses that the envelopes were first opened at the police station. The court also rejected this request.

3. According to the principles of German law, an accused can only be condemned on account of crimes which are mentioned in the indictment. The Public Prosecutor, however, proposed that the accused Meus be punished on account of things regarding which the indictment never mentioned a word. Meus' Counsel, who was supported by all the other defending Counsel, declared that such a proceeding was utterly impossible and contrary to law. But Niedner overrode their objections.

As a result of these methods adopted by the Court, the accused found it practically impossible to bring forward any evidence in their defence.

The German bourgeoisie did not succeed in representing the Communist Party as a secret murder organisation. It therefore vented its rage on the accused in the Leipzig trial.

There is no appeal from the judgment of the Leipzig Court. It is now, therefore, the task of the German and International working class to raise a storm against the brutal sentences imposed and to quash them by united action.

The Leipzig sentence will fail of its purpose; it will not serve to intimidate the working class, but on the other hand will rouse its indignation. The working class, under the leadership of the C. P. of Germany, will take care that this sentence is rendered null and void.

The Speculations of Japanese Imperialism in China.

By Tang Shin She.

The foreign imperialist press in China and the foreign representatives are raising a great outcry regarding the bad conditions in China, and are constantly demanding that Law and Order be finally established and that China be made a unified State. As a matter of fact, however, war and unrest mean good business for the imperialists. They are supporting the generals with all their powers and are smuggling arms into China in order to sell them to the military chiefs. The Japanese in particular have been very active recently in this respect.

When, in 1917, China entered into the world war it received large military credits from Japan. From this time on Tuan She Sui became a slave of Japan. Even now he is working not only in the interest of these imperialists but also in the interest of the French. Tchang Tso Lin is likewise an out and out supporter of Japan. In the October war of 1924 — at Shanghai — the Japanese supported Tchang Tso Lin not only with aeroplanes and money etc., but in Tsin Huang Dau Japanese troops fought directly against those of Wu Pei Fu.

On the 6th of March last there took place in Mukden a Military Conference of the supporters of Tchang Tso Lin which was even attended by the local Japanese Consul. The following decision was arrived at: 10 million Chinese Dollars are to be devoted to improving and increasing the army of Tchang Tso Lin; half of this sum is intended for the air fleet, the remaining half for the artillery and for the erection of a gas factory (for war purposes). Among the artillery and the air officers of the Manchu

troops there are a great number of Japanese, as well as their friends, white guardist Russians and French.

It was further decided at this Conference that Tchang Tso Lin's air fleet should undertake a flight to Japan in the spring. During this year many branch lines, for the greater part for military purposes, are to be added to the Southern Manchurian (Japanese) railway. The Japanese are treating Tchang Tso Lin very deferentially not only because they wish him to work for their interests in China (against the Chinese people), but also because they wish to have him as a point of support against America and Soviet Russia.

The above measures are a direct means of insurance for Japan. But the Japanese also like to indulge in speculations. All the defeated Chinese generals are received with open arms in Japan. They not only gave asylum to their own supporters such as the Anfu people, who were defeated in 1922, and General Lu, who was driven out of Shanghai in October 1924, but also to their opponents, the Chili people, as, for example, Chi Schu Yuan. According to the report of the Peking Morning Post of 14th March, Chi Schu Yuan has now returned to Hankou, under Japanese protection (!) where he will again cooperate with Wu Pei Fu.

Kalgan is the head-quarters of the Americans in Northern China. The ally of the Americans, the Christian general Feng Yu Hsiang has now also his general staff in Kalgan. He has the entire Kalgan-Peking and the Peking-Hankau railway lines in his hand. Using Hankau as a base, he is trying to establish connections with the South-West provinces, while from Honan (the central portion of the Peking-Hankau line) he is trying to get into touch with the two North-West provinces Kansu and Shensi. Of course this plan of Feng Yu Hsiang runs counter to the interests of Japan. Tchang Tso Lin is therefore endeavouring to thwart the intentions of Feng Yu Hsiang. The Honan war in February of this year arose solely from this cause. In the middle of March this war came to an end and the opponent of Feng Yu Hsiang (that is the friend of Tchang Tso Lin) suffered a defeat.

When, at the beginning of January last, Wu Pei Fu had to flee from Honan to Hupe and his supporter Chi Schu Yuan was obliged to flee to Japan, he possessed nothing more than two warships. In spite of this he still had an immediate influence in the upper Yangtse provinces. The chief enemy of Wu Pei Fu today is likewise Feng Yu Hsiang. This again provides a good speculation for Japan. On the one hand there is now Wu Pei Fu and Tchang Tso Lin in close connection, on the other side Wu Pei Fu is assisted by a Japanese Lieutenant Colonel as adviser. In January Wu Pei Fu wanted to start a revolt in Hupe; for this purpose the Japanese adviser attempted to procure him a war credit. The plan however was discovered and, on the demand of the citizens of Hankau and Wuchang, the Japanese adviser was expelled from the place. Since the middle of March Wu Pei Fu has been staying in Hunan; according to reports from Peking of the 17th of March, the Japanese adviser is again with Wu Pei Fu, but under another name. Wu therefore has the same master as Tchang Tso Lin.

The Japanese are not conducting any policy in China for the moment but they have an eye to the future. They greatly fear that Tchang Tso Lin, whose power in Manchuria is not quite secure, will be overthrown, and then what will become of their privileges in Manchuria? In October last the Chinese Emperor was driven from his palace by Feng Yu Hsiang and was compelled to renounce the title of emperor. The Japanese are endeavouring to make use of this for their own advantage. In November they invited the emperor to move from his private residence and to come and reside at the Japanese Embassy. There they treated him as a real emperor. On the 23rd February the ex-emperor went secretly to Tientsin under Japanese protection. From thence he was to travel to Japan. Discussions took place in Japan as to how best to receive him. The matter was not only dealt with in the press but the Foreign Minister declared in the Upper House on the 3rd of March that he must be accorded a worthy reception.

The Chinese people are very indignant at the action of the Japanese. A rumour is current that Japan at a given time, if Tchang Tso Lin is unable to retain Manchuria, will place the Emperor on the throne of Manchuria, exactly as was done with Korea in 1897. Many pamphlets have appeared in Japan dealing with the restoration of an empire in China. Out of regard for the Chinese people, which means in reality in order not to lose the friendship of the Chinese (by means of which the Japanese have

obtained an ally against America) Japan altered its plans at the last moment and will not permit the ex-Emperor of China to come to Japan but will send him to Dalny.

We see how the Japanese imperialists are working in China, how they wish to dismember the country and to suppress the Chinese people. On the 20th March a great Japanese newspaper in Tokio mentioned in a leading article the extraordinary expenditure of the government for military purposes for the last ten years from 1914 to 1924. This amounted to a milliard Yen. Of this amount 300 million went to the navy and 700 million to the army. The paper in question fiercely attacked the government (it is said that no Japanese government had ever been so attacked in the press before) and stated:

"300 million Yen for extra naval expenditure, this appears credible, for during the world war the Japanese had to maintain order in the Indian Ocean and in Tsingtau; but the 700 million Yen for the army; to what purpose was this devoted? There has not been a war in the meantime?"

To this question one can calmly reply: the money was required for speculations in China.

American Capitalism's Attempt to Corrupt the Negro Worker.

By I. A. Mter (New York).

There is circulating about the "swell" hotels of New York a pamphlet entitled "Why Mr. George Eastman offers \$ 2,000,000". Mr. Eastman of Kodak fame has subsidized a college, just as Mr. Duke of tobacco fame has done. In late years there has been a veritable epidemic of bequests and donations to the colleges of the country — but based upon the stipulation that these "benefactors" should have the right to determine the curriculum and the staff of teachers.

There are large numbers of workers attending night schools, training schools and colleges. By obtaining a superior education, they hope to "get ahead" and not remain in the ranks of the workers. The great majority of the workers, however, are so exhausted and abused by industrial life, that there is no strength and energy left in them to undertake serious study.

The Negro problem, on the other hand, is of a somewhat different nature. Negro leaders of the last generation, like Booker T. Washington, conceived the idea that the best way for the Negro to command the respect of the white race would be to make himself more useful and efficient in practical life. An ignorant Negro was of no value: a trained mechanic, builder, nurse etc., would be infinitely more valuable to the boss, he would earn higher wages and thus help to raise himself out of the depths in which he has been held since he came as a slave to this country.

The capitalists, on the other hand, have also recognized the value of this movement. A Negro mechanically trained would be able to replace a white worker. The Negro has less wants and needs than the white worker. The Negro is not organised to any degree in trade unions. Most of the unions either have clauses in their constitutions forbidding the admittance of Negroes, or it is a "gentlemen's agreement", whereby they are kept out of the unions. Hence the capitalists and the labour leaders jointly conspire to keep the Negro in a position of subservience.

Negroes, however, can well be used as strikebreakers. Hence they must be trained not as strikebreakers directly, but as workers who, in an emergency, can easily replace the white workers. In the south, there is complete segregation of the Negro also in schools. In the North there is much reluctance at accepting Negro students. Witness the attempt at Columbia University some months ago to compel a brilliant Negro student to leave the University-tokens of the Ku Klux Klan.

Hence Booker T. Washington's plan of making the Negro useful materialized in the establishment of the Tuskegee Institute, at Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1881. Beginning very poorly, Tuskegee Institute has grown into a full-fledged college, and now must be regarded as a serious proposition: so serious, in fact that Mr. Eastman contributes \$ 2,000,000 to it.

What does the pamphlet in question say about the Negro problem? "The only hope of the Negro race and the settlement of this problem is through proper education of the Hampton-Tuskegee type, which is directed almost wholly toward making them useful citizens through education on industrial lines..."

crazy this radicalism manifested itself in the miners' attempt early in July 1923 to obtain permission (refused, of course) from the U. M. W. of A. Executive Board to affiliate with the Red Labour Union International. The miners rejected the leadership of their District Lewis' and solidly accepted the leadership of such militants as Jim McLachlan, then the Secretary of the District. The Communist Party became very popular and influential in the District. It is no wonder the capitalists and the Bureaucracy became alarmed and sought for ways and means to "save Nova Scotia from — — — (no, not from capitalism) from Bolshevism".

Coercion.

This, the reactionary forces attempted first by direct coercion. In July 1923 about 4000 steel workers employed by BESCO in Sydney went out on strike for recognition of their union and better conditions. At the behest of BESCO the Government rushed in the militia. The miners demanded the withdrawal of the military and when this was refused, went out on strike. At this point, the Government, the Military, and BESCO were joined by their ally Lewis, bureaucrat head of the U. M. W. of A., who outlawed the miners strike as a "Violation of contract". The Military coerced the miners, the Government threw the strike leaders into prison on trumped-up charges of sedition, and Lewis served his masters by arbitrarily deposing the radical miners' Executive and appointing his own henchmen. The strike was mercilessly broken — but let it be remembered — not a murmur of protest from the middle classes and "uplifters". They enjoyed the spectacle as heartily as the breaking of the militant Winnipeg general strike a few years ago. In September of the same year, the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the causes of the strike reported among reasons for the strike, the low rate of wages, the long hours, the refusal of the company to recognize the steel workers union, irregular employment, unemployment and the high cost of living. The report of the Commission brought with it, of course, no improvement of conditions. On the contrary BESCO prepared to present the miners with another ten percent wage-cut at the beginning of 1925. The miners meanwhile seized their first opportunity to hold a convention to elect another Executive which was regarded as left-wing and as likely to continue the fighting policies of Jim McLachlan.

Deadlock.

Following BESCO's announcement that wages must be reduced, the Minister of Labour, the notorious Jimmy Murdock who had done so much to break the Postal Workers strike last summer, appointed a "conciliation board" under the Lemieux Act to investigate the dispute. While applying for the Board, BESCO was going right ahead with its provocative arrangements for the lookout. The miners refused to take cognizance of the Board by appointing a man, and the three eventually appointed were all former BESCO beneficiaries. The miners declared that they had no faith in fake conciliation boards under a system where, as a BESCO official brazenly admitted "The cards are all stacked against the men". A special district convention, called to consider the situation, reaffirmed the miners determination to declare a one hundred per cent strike rather than accept a cut below 1924 rates.

Capitalist Provocation.

The corporation resolved to precipitate matters by the drastic weapon of starvation. BESCO ordered its stores immediately cancel all further credits to the miners already on the brink of starvation, and to extend its lockout at the Southern collieries 2, 4, and 6. When the Corporation refused to heed the ultimatum of the Miners Executive to restore store credits and immediately provide at least four days work a week, the miners walked out solidly taking the maintenance men with them. John L. Lewis at once wired Premier Armstrong that the withdrawal of the maintenance men was contrary to the laws and policy of the U. M. W. But the miners paid no attention to him.

The Struggle.

The strike was on — a one hundred per cent strike — but from the very outset its leadership has been giving all true working-class friends of the miners, the gravest concern. The bourgeoisie adopted a method of breaking the strike in accord with

a changed situation. The directors of BESCO itself were unblushing in their frank avowals of their determination to starve the miners out. But the bourgeoisie as a whole is working more cunningly. There is the genuine fear among the middle classes of the hold and progress of the ideas of the class struggle among the miners. They have a real fear and hatred of the influence of McLachlan, of the policies of the "Maritime Labour Herald", of the prestige of the Communist Party. They remember the application for affiliation to the RILU, and they remember the militant strike of solidarity on behalf of the steel workers. The method of capitalist intervention adopted therefore in lieu of coercion, is that of throttling the strike by "kindness". A howl suddenly goes up in the capitalist press and forums that a calamity has struck Nova Scotia. Relief must be sent immediately. The capitalist game is to represent the crisis as due to some sort of natural catastrophe, some earthquake or tidal wave or famine disaster — a pure case for philanthropy. There is never a suggestion now that this misery, whether in Nova Scotia or in Alberta, is caused by the same root conditions of capitalist exploitation as are faced by the miners of Germany or Great Britain, by the workers everywhere. Deep silence on that point. The relief campaign of the "Citizens Committee" is conducted carefully to avoid all implications of class struggle, and carefully to drug the miners into class collaboration. In this way the bourgeoisie hope to undermine the miners fighting spirit, to divert attention from the real cause of the struggle, the ruthless exploitation of BESCO, and to divert attention from the immediate need of the miners — regular employment and decent wages. A game more dangerous to the miners because more treacherous than direct military intervention.

The Game of the Bureaucracy.

As usual the trade union bureaucracy has taken its cue from the bourgeoisie. On behalf of the Trades Congress, President Tom Moore donated the paltry sum of \$ 500. towards relief. He visited the scene of hostilities — gave it the "once-over" and complacently returned to report in his "Congress Journal" that the "days of 'red' leadership of the district were over". Other than that \$ 500, nothing. This Trades Congress, affiliated with the Amsterdam International, has not even convoked an emergency conference to consider active aid to the miners.

And what of the leadership of the strike, the present miners Executive? President McLeod obtained his office by virtue of the support he received from the militants of the District, who were led to believe he was a sincere sympathizer of the left wing programme and of the policies of the former Livingston-McLachlan executive deposed by Lewis. Nevertheless, consciously or unconsciously, McLeod has been abandoning the road of class struggle and has been leaning heavily on the charity and good will of the middle classes and the bureaucracy. This is a one hundred percent strike but there has not been a single mass meeting of the men called since its beginning seven weeks ago. The maintenance men have been withdrawn but there has been no picketing of the maintenance men the Corporation has maintained. But the worst action of McLeod and his associates on the executive — an action tantamount to a betrayal, and one that evoked sharp protest from the rank and file, — has been his behaviour towards the \$ 5000. that the Russian workers sent in the name of International solidarity. The McLeod Executive had allowed all relief activity to fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie "Citizens Committee" formed in Glace Bay. The Russian money was sent through Jim McLachlan and when he offered it to Citizens Committee this crew of parsons, priests, politicians, lawyers etc., flatly turned it down on the ground that its acceptance would hinder the "public" from giving. This was a bare-faced sabotage of the class interests of the workers and internationalism. It was an insult and slap in the face to the Russian workers and the RILU but neither McLeod nor any of his executive registered the angry and categorical protest that was due on behalf of the miners.

These actions of McLeod's have drawn sharp warnings from the Communist Party. The Communist Party would not do anything that could be interpreted as disrupting the ranks of the miners at the moment of struggle. But that is precisely why it has not been able to remain silent, and to abstain from warning the miners of Nova Scotia against the poison of class collaboration. Whatever the outcome of the struggle, the left wing and the Communists have been a thousand times justified in their

They have strong boards of trustees. This fact insures the wise expenditure of their money... This situation is a challenge to every public-spirited American who realises the seriousness of the Negro problem. It must be met."

There are some interesting facts in this statement. Industrial education is the solution of the Negro problem. Most of the operations that the Negro performs in industry are being replaced by machinery. The Negroes on the cotton plantation still do their work by hand because Negro labour is cheaper than machine labour. The work that the Negro is being trained for at the Tuskegee Institute is fast becoming mechanical. The Negro, however, is given such education as will fit him to take the place of the white worker — either at lower pay (because he is not protected by a trade union) or in case of strikes (when he serves the employers well as a strike-breaker). The need of such reserves has arisen by the enactment of the recent immigration law, which excludes the vast European immigration. The presence of the large Negro population in the south rendered it unnecessary to admit so much alien labour. Negro labour was used to American conditions and the very fact that it was coloured labour made it more amenable to American law and custom.

The second fact is that these institutes have "strong boards of trustees". Of this fact one can be sure. On these boards one finds such names as W. H. Taft, Francis G. Peabody, G. F. Peabody, Charles E. Bigelow, W. C. Forbes, A. B. Trowbridge, Julius Rosenwald, Paul M. Warburg, Charles A. Wickersham, J. H. Scattergood. Yes, they are "strong" men — they know what they want and they see that they get it. There is plenty of capital behind them interested in the "proper training" of the Negro.

The "seriousness of the Negro problem" is apparent. The Negroes can and will no longer live in the south as slaves. By the hundreds of thousands they are moving to the north. If this exodus continues, the south will face a serious industrial problem — just as it did in the past few years. If they go to the north in large numbers, they will make the Negro problem in the north more acute. If they are to go to the north, they must be adapted to the needs of industry.

Hence the Tuskegee Institute is of admirable service — not to the Negro, but to the capitalist. It is no wonder, therefore, that Mr. Eastman is willing to part with \$ 2,000,000 and invites other capitalists to contribute the remaining \$ 5,000,000 required. And who should respond but such brutal exploiters as Rockefeller, E. S. Harkness and their fellows.

They are corrupting the Negro with the idea that, fitted with an education, he will be able to rise out of the misery and degradation that has been his lot for generations. They do not tell him that his efficiency will enable the employer to use cheaper black labour for white labour. They do not say that black labour will be used to break the trade unions. No, they say that the students of the Institute "go back to their homes and serve as centres of influence for better living". They do not say that the whole thing is a scheme to corrupt the Negro and make him more serviceable to the capitalist. The Negro worker is becoming disillusioned in the "friendly interest" of the capitalist. He knows that in slack times he is the first to be discharged. He knows that when feuds arise through the antagonisms that the capitalist fosters, the Negro receives no protection from the law. He knows that the Negro problem of the south will soon become a Negro problem in the north, where he is segregated and restricted. He knows that he is discriminated against in the unions.

He will gradually recognise that there is but one solution to the "Negro problem", which the capitalist fears so much. Not in education on industrial lines, but education and organisation on political lines — not organisation on the lines of the Negro petty-bourgeoisie which joins with the white bourgeoisie in exploiting the Negro — not exorbitant rents, disorderly conditions, low pay, longer hours, with peonage on the farms and prison camps in the south; but organisation of the militant revolutionary workers and poor farmers of all colours who recognise that the problems besetting the workers and farmers cannot be settled under capitalism but only by a Workers and Farmers Government. This means a change of system; it means a revolutionary movement. It means a Communist Party to lead it. The Workers Communist Party is the only hope for the American Negro masses.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Miners' Struggle in Nova Scotia.

By Maurice Spector (Toronto).

The immediate causes of the Nova Scotia struggle were the refusal of the British Empire Steel Corporation (BESCO) to restore credit to the miners at the company stores and to provide work on a basis of at least four days work a week. The twelve thousand miners of Nova Scotia inclusive of the maintenance staffs, effecting fifty thousand men women and children, walked out in the completest tie-up in the history of the district. But behind the provocative cutting off of credits and sabotage of production was the determination of BESCO to force a ten per cent wage-cut below the 1924 rates, a determination in line with the whole past policy of the Corporation to reduce the living standards of the miners to the level of coolies, and no less in line with the whole international offensive of Dawes Capitalism on the miners of the world.

BESCO.

The present one hundred percent strike is by no means the first great struggle of the miners against this ruthless Corporation. At the present time when the Canadian middle classes, the politicians, priests, parsons, social service workers, etc. are systematically confusing the root causes of the struggle and the class issues involved by their "Relief" propaganda, in a situation they pretend is exceptional, it is necessary to shout from the house tops that Capitalism and Capitalism only is responsible for the oppression, starvation and degradation of the miners. Nova Scotia is one of the sorest spots in Canadian Capitalism. It is practically dominated by the gigantic British Empire Steel Corporation, one of those war and post-war products of capitalist concentration and the monopoly which represent all the elements of the decay of the capitalist system. BESCO was formed by the merger of all the coal, iron and steel and shipbuilding companies of Nova Scotia. The merger was considerably facilitated by the coal-land leases by which the kept politicians of the Provincial Government graciously gave to BESCO practically all the coal in Nova Scotia — one of the richest fields in the world. From its inception, the policy of BESCO has been par excellence to get something for nothing. In the process of trustification, the already inflated capitalization of its constituent companies was still further watered to the tune of over \$ 19,000,000. Successive Governments have pampered BESCO to a sickening degree. It has received over \$ 8,000,000 in bounties and nearly three-quarters of a million dollars in remission of duties at the hands of kindly capitalist politicians who will not hear a word about "demoralizing doles" for the unemployed. For services to Government Departments, BESCO has received no less than \$ 77,138,459. It has charged the Government \$ 39. a ton for rails which it was able to deliver to the foreign market for \$ 24. a ton. But the appetite of a Corporation which lives by restricting output and intensifying exploitation, — is insatiable. BESCO demands a still higher tariff from the Government and still further wage reductions for the men.

The Miners.

Faced by such an incarnation of Capitalism as BESCO, the miners of Nova Scotia have been driven along the channels of militancy and class-consciousness. Their condition has been that of the direst poverty and semi-starvation. There has been the lowest wage-scale of any district in the coal industry of North America. Working an average of about one hundred and fifty days a year in the last three years, the Nova Scotia miner has averaged between \$ 500. and \$ 1000. a year. Even bourgeois investigators have admitted that miners' families have been living on half the subsistence minimum determined by the official Government Labour Gazette. In consequence the miners have been forced to strike for a wage contract at the beginning of each year when the Corporation would regularly demand a fresh wage-cut. Their experiences with the policies of BESCO has developed these Canadian miners into one of the most radical sections of the United Mine Workers of America and the best class fighters in the Canadian labour movement. To the great alarm of the Canadian bourgeoisie and the Trade union Bureau-

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. on the Importance of the Decisions of the Anglo-Russian Conference.

Moscow, 24th April 1925.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, after taking note of the report of Comrade Melnitchansky on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference in London, adopted the following resolution:

"The Executive Bureau expresses its greatest satisfaction at the results of the London Trade Union Conference.

The rapprochement of the Trade Unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union means a serious step forward on the road to the restoration of international trade union unity, and practically demonstrates that unity is not a dream but a thing which can be realised.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. attaches the greatest importance to the coming together and co-operation of the English and Soviet trade unions and calls upon the revolutionary trade unions of all countries to render energetic, all-round and unconditional support to the Joint Advisory Council set up by these trade unions, and also to support all its steps which are directed towards bringing together the workers of various tendencies and restoring the unity of the national and international trade union movement by creating a united trade union organisation in every country and a united fighting International which would embrace the trade unions of all tendencies in all parts of the world."

The Results of the Visit of the Swedish Postal Employees' Unions to the Soviet Union.

Joint Resolution for International Trade Union Unity.

Moscow, 24th April 1925.

The Delegation of the Swedish Postal Employees' trade unions returned yesterday to Stockholm after having made a detailed study of the situation of their colleagues in Leningrad and Moscow.

Before their departure from Russia there was held a joint farewell session of the Central Committee of the Postal Employees' trade union of the Soviet Union, of representatives of the factory councils and of the Swedish delegation. The representative of the latter, Mattelin, declared that the delegation, after having made itself acquainted with all the positive and negative sides of life in the Soviet Union, had arrived at the conviction that the achievements of the Russian proletariat and the restoration of the national economy were very considerable. The five members of the Swedish delegation were returning to Sweden as friends of the Russian revolution.

The Swedish delegation presented to their Russian brother trade unionists a written address which, among other things, gave expression to the desire for the consolidation of the achievements of the Russian revolution and for the realisation of the closest co-operation between the workers of the Soviet Union and those of other countries, as only by this means will the international working class be able to fight successfully against organised world capital.

A joint resolution, which was unanimously adopted, states:

"The Russian and the Swedish Postal, Telegraphic and Telephone Trade Unions welcome the results of the London Trade Union conference as the most important step which has yet been taken towards International Trade Union Unity, and declare the inclusion of the Postal, Telegraphic and Telephone employees in one united International to be a necessity. The desire of the Russian trade unions to be accepted in the International should therefore be supported."

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Annual Conference of the English Independent Labour Party.

By R. Bishop.

The Conference of the British Independent Labour Party was useful in so far as it provided a key to what likelihood there was of any lead being given to the working class from any source outside of the Communist International.

Since the demise of the Labour Government there had been strenuous attempts made by the proletarian elements of the I. L. P. to try and "recapture the spirit of socialism", which to a certain extent at any rate had inspired them before the war. Consequently, much curiosity was manifested as to what the precise strength of this left wing element actually was.

Some thought it would sweep the Conference off its feet and be able to give a clarion call to the workers to which the latter would respond. Others, among them MacDonald himself, felt that they were a negligible influence and would count for nothing.

As a matter of fact the truth lay somewhere between the two extremes. The Left certainly made its presence felt, but the petty bourgeois influences to which the Party had succumbed in the past were too strong to allow of them achieving anything tangible.

Sooner or later these Left elements will have to realise that there is no room for their activities in the circumscribed limits of the I. L. P. and that in the Communist International only lies the hope of the realisation of their aspirations.

The opening of the Conference by Clifford Allen supplied the key to the whole of the later proceedings. In the same breath as he criticised the actions of the Labour Government he pleaded for the Conference to treat it leniently. Incidentally this is the same Clifford Allen who prior to the formation of the Labour Government had advocated that a Minority Government should go forward with the full socialist programme and when defeated on it go to the country at once asking for a fresh mandate.

When the National Administrative Council's (N. A. C.) report came up for discussion two items were of paramount interest: the Dawes Report and MacDonald's action on the forged Zinoviev letter.

Here MacDonald got the shock of the Conference; he had imagined that everyone had completely forgotten his action in this matter, but when Southall of Birmingham, who for years past has fought the pundits of the N. A. C., demanded that the I. L. P. itself should refer the matter back and itself set up a Committee of Enquiry, the motion was carried by 286 to 261.

The reference back of the section dealing with the Dawes Report was moved by Marcus, a young I. L. Per from St. Pancras who for some time has been showing signs of dissatisfaction with the official I. L. P.

But here the proletarian spirit failed to manifest itself, and the reference back was defeated by a large majority.

The first resolution was on a Minimum wage for all workers, and it called on "the Government to set up a national commission to decide on a living wage and to arrange for the immediate nationalisation of all industries that did not pay such a wage".

It was ironical to see the I. L. P. contemplating the possibility of a Tory Government nationalising industries immediately after they themselves had endorsed the Dawes Report and the consequent denationalisation of important German industries.

Realising that the hope of a government commission in the dim and distant future was not a prospect to enthral the workers, David Kirkwood moved an emergency resolution, full of fine phrases about encouraging a militant spirit amongst the workers and asking for better industrial organisation.

This "left wing" resolution offered nothing tangible, it offered no alternative to the programme of the Minority Movement which E. E. Hunter and other I. L. Pers had attacked so virulently of late.

programme, — when they demanded amalgamation, a clean sweep of the yellow bureaucracy, when they demanded Canadian Trade Union Autonomy and a Trades Congress with real executive power, when they demanded international trade union unity. Whatever the outcome of the struggle the communists and the left wing will continue to make the nationalization of the mines under workers control more of an issue than ever before. The immediate programme that the Communist Party of Canada has been propagating — mines' nationalization, a six hour day, a minimum wage and closer unification of the miners organisations in Canada, must be renewed with the greatest possible vigour.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Question of Trade Union Unity in France.

By P. Semard.

It will be remembered that a short time ago the *Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire* (C.G.T.U., General Unitarian Federation of Labour) proposed to the reformist *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T., General Federation of Labour) to hold a mixed conference between the two federations in order to discuss the question of arriving at trade union unity. It was proposed that a congress of both federations should be held in September, the month in the course of which the congress of each federation was to take place. At the same time it was pointed out that a congress thus held in common might be decisive for the creation of a unified General Labour Federation through the immediate amalgamation of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions.

At the end of March, the National Council of the reformist C.G.T. met, and after examining this proposal, rejected it and declared that the question of unity must be discussed at the reformist Conference which was to take place in August, and that in any case it could only be realised by the return of the wage workers to the organisations which officially belong to the C.G.T. and are affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

This was a brusque refusal as a reply to the proposal of the C.G.T.U. With indefatigable zeal the latter again approached the reformist C.G.T. with another more precise proposal; that of calling a mixed conference of the Executive Committees of both organisations at short notice, in order to discuss the following agenda:

1. That a congress of both associations be held in August after the conclusion of the congress of each separate association.

2. That the way should be prepared for this congress by calling a combined general meeting of the trade unions belonging to the C.G.T.U. and the C.G.T., in order to carry through the amalgamation from below and to make definite plans for the extended and closer direction of the restored trade unions.

3. That congresses of the trade unions of the Departments and of the Industrial Unions be called, in order to carry through the amalgamation under the same conditions.

4. That a committee be formed immediately, consisting of representatives of both federations which should ensure the organisation, the supervision and the carrying out of the measures agreed upon in common for the restoration of unity, until the August Conference.

The C.G.T.U., in making this proposal, expressed the opinion that the amalgamation of the organisations of the C.G.T.U. and the C.G.T. would, at every stage, be dependent on the success of the first joint conference which it had proposed, and on the work of the combined committee of representatives of the C.G.T.U. and the C.G.T. which was to follow this conference. It further pointed out that, in case the C.G.T. did not agree to this simplified method of carrying through the unity, it still would maintain its proposal to call a

combined congress at the conclusion of the two August Congresses.

The National Committee of the C.G.T.U. which met on April 17 and 18, unanimously confirmed this proposal by accepting a report which points out the urgent necessity of realising unity, in view of the threatening economic crisis and of the inflation which will further aggravate the living conditions of the workers; unity is necessary in order that the workers may give a victorious answer to the threats of Fascism and may defend themselves against the rise in prices, the breaking down of the eight-hour day and the unemployment which would result.

At the very moment when the CGTU. was making these proposals and once more placing before the working class the question of trade union unity and the realisation of a completely united front, the leaders of the CGT., side by side with the socialist leaders, were involved in the lowest political intrigues in their efforts to solve the ministerial crisis which was taking place, and to continue the policy of supporting the new Government.

The negotiations with the representatives of the bourgeoisie have shown the working class how far they have already been guilty of treachery. When the renegade Briand was called upon to form a ministry, the socialist leaders called up the national council of their party in order to discuss whether they should accept the proposal made to them by Briand, that they should take part in the Government. It was no longer merely a question of supporting the government but of actually taking part in the Ministry, side by side with one of the worst opponents of the working class. The majority of the active social democrats of the National Council expressed themselves in favour of this participation, but they postponed it to a later date as they feared, in view of the fact that the municipal elections were about to take place, that immediate acceptance might have unpleasant consequences for their party.

The resolution passed by this Socialist National Council commissions the party to examine into the future possibilities of participating in the ministry, and declares that this must be done in agreement with the reformist CGT.

Attention should be called to the fact that, at the same moment when the Socialist National Council came to this decision, Jouhaux in the name of the reformist CGT., paid an official visit to Briand, during which, under cover of a discussion about the economic Labour Council and the League of Nations to which both belonged, the two cronies discussed the possible participation of the socialist leaders and even of the leaders of the CGT. in the Government.

As a result of the momentary refusal of the socialists to participate, the renegade Briand failed to form his ministry. He prepared the way for the formation of a republican concentration government Painlevé, Briand, Caillaux, with regard to which the worthy social democratic leaders have decided on a policy of support, as they supported the Government of their friend Herriot.

Thus, at the same time as they refused the proposals for unity made to them by the CGTU., at the same time as proposals were made to them by the revolutionary organisations for the formation of a united front of all workers in the fight against Fascism, the social democratic leaders accepted the support of a Government which nurtures in its bosom the bitterest opponents of the workers, the most faithful allies of high finance and the reliable accomplices of Fascism.

This last treachery will open the eyes of the reformist workers who are still hesitating; it will bring the whole of the working class into closer touch with the revolutionary organisations, the CGTU. and the Communist Party.

Finally, the campaign for the municipal elections which is now beginning, will afford us an opportunity to pillory the attitude of the leaders of social democracy and of the trade unions and of the political leaders in the course of the political events of these last weeks. It will make it possible for us to intensify the agitation for trade union unity and a united front, and to prove that the CGTU. is the only organisation which is really desirous of unity.

Both these resolutions were passed; this means that the I.L.P. has expressed its belief in Class Collaboration tangibly, and Class Struggle intangibly.

Apparently they are strongly of the opinion that running with the hares and hunting with the hounds is sound political policy.

Then came the item which the optimists declared would show that the I.L.P. still had a fighting spirit. This was the **Parliamentary Report**. But actually, though Buchanan and Stephen, two of the Clyde M. P.'s indulged in some very strong criticism of the Labour Government, the Conference was so weak that MacDonald, with his windy effervescence and appeal for justice and his claim to be immune from criticism, finally carried the support of the Conference for what a right wing Labour member once called "The best Conservative Government of modern times".

It is something new in an assembly of presumably working class delegates when a member, however eminent, can get away with it by objecting to criticism of one so exalted as himself, and can brand with complete impunity all his critics as small minded men.

On the question of **Armaments** the pure pacifism of a small section was promptly squashed by the official bunch, whose policy apparently is to talk peace and brotherhood and to build armaments as fast possible.

Eventually it was decided to allow I.L.P. members of parliament to vote exactly as they liked upon this question. This of course was just as well, because they have always in the past done just as they liked, with but little regard for the interests of the working class movement.

A long debate then took place on **Confiscation or Compensation**. The champions of compensation were Dr. Hugh Dalton and W. Graham. Maxton took up the cudgels on behalf of confiscation.

The line of the Compensationists and their argument was one which has been rendered familiar by generations of Liberal and Tory street corner tub-thumpers. We were referred to the hard lot of the half million "capitalists" in the co-operatives. In order not to antagonise the workers with small savings we must compensate the capitalist. In other words, we must forego the very object of our existence, the establishment of Socialism.

On the other hand Maxton, while making a good destructive speech, failed entirely to face up to the problem of how to confiscate if reliance is to be placed solely on the Parliamentary Democracy that the I.L.P. professes.

This item was eventually referred back to the branches for discussion. This fact alone is proof enough that MacDonald's influence with the working class is on the wane, otherwise the mere suggestion would have been scouted.

Apart from these main items hurried resolutions were discussed dealing with the reform of Parliament, on the lines of the ordinary British bourgeois Municipal council, on India, advocating Dominion Home Rule, support of the League of Nations etc.

If one surveys the work of the Conference, one finds that the I.L.P. is still facing both ways, still unable to make up its collective mind on any working class problem, still largely under the influence of Liberals who have joined the I.L.P. not because they love and admire Socialism, but because they hope to make the socialists love and admire Liberalism.

Still one gleam of hope arises from this Conference: MacDonald, who last year was greeted with the most servile adulation, who in the past was undisputed tyrant of the I.L.P., now finds not only criticism of his action supported by one third of the Conference, but that some elements are striving for a militant policy.

That policy they will not find in the I.L.P., and in the near future the Communist Party should begin to recruit the best of the proletarian I.L.Pers into its ranks.

The Split in the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

By Qu. (Buda-Pest).

The split in the Social Democratic Party of Hungary occurred sooner than had been anticipated. Nevertheless no one was taken by surprise.

A serious organised opposition arose in the SP. of Hungary a year ago at the party conference. This opposition took its stand against the party leadership on principle. Their slogans, passed by a unanimous resolution of the opposition as much as a year ago, were: **Down with the bourgeois coalition! Long live the alliance with the landless peasantry! Down with the sham parliamentary fight! Parliamentary action must be reinforced by the action of the masses!** The opposition further demanded that the **Bethlen agreement be published** and that measures be taken against the persons responsible for this shameful document.

The party leaders of the Second International, being utterly corrupt, have for the past year made every effort to muzzle the opposition. For this purpose they have made use of every means at their disposal. They tried to corrupt the leaders of the opposition and offered them desirable posts. As this was to no purpose, they disciplined those leaders of the opposition who held office in the party. Later they expelled leaders of the opposition by the dozen from the party and from the trade unions. Neither did they hesitate publicly to denounce the expelled leaders as **Bolsheviks** by raising a campaign against them and declaring that the funds of the opposition had been obtained from Moscow through the Red Aid.

All this however was in vain. In spite of changes in the leadership, the opposition gained ground day by day. The discontent with the party leaders and with trade union bureaucracy as well as with the treacherous policy which they continued to pursue, increased in the most important proletarian party organisations, in the various great factories and in the trade unions. Sanitation was accompanied by a fearful crisis. Unemployment, the systematically introduced working on short time, the cost of sanitation and the constant rise of prices which continued in spite of the "stabilisation" of the crown, caused such distress that it became impossible further to support the Bethlen Government in its original treacherous form, since it did not even guarantee a special unemployment allowance.

In order to lead the discontented and indignant working people astray, the swindling social democratic leaders acted the comedy of parliamentary passivity and, after the rascally Bethlen agreement, they concluded an equally treacherous pact with the reactionary bourgeois parties. They formed a "democratic block" with the legitimists, war agitators and Panamists, for better or worse, and resolved to carry through the municipal elections which were to take place in Buda-Pest on May 15th, in common with these reactionary bourgeois parties in such a way that, according to agreement, the great majority should be left to the bourgeois parties regardless of the fact that in 1922 at the elections in Buda-Pest, the social democratic party had gained 40% of all the votes.

The social democratic traitors wished to make the workers believe that they were not strong enough to fight alone, but that the counter-revolutionary supremacy could be defeated with the help of the bourgeoisie.

In vain was it pointed out that the very bourgeois politicians who now figure on the common list have already betrayed the workers innumerable times on similar occasions. In vain was it pointed out that large capitalists and directors of the large banks cannot be expected to fight in the interest of the proletariat, that manufacturers who exploit their workers so cruelly that they have for several years been boycotted by the trade unions, will certainly not fight in the Town Council for Labour interests and against reaction, which is their support. It was in vain that the leaders of all the large local groups in Buda-Pest issued a warning, that in no circumstances could they support the Central Committee unless the latter broke off its connections with the enemies of the workers. The leaders of the SP. of Hungary did not put an end to their alliance with the bourgeoisie, they preferred to risk losing their proletarian adherents!

This decision of the Central Committee of the SP. of Hungary roused a very natural indignation in Labour circles. From all sides it was demanded that the matter should be cleared up, from all sides the demand was made that the newest treachery

should be prevented even though it could only be done by a formal breach of discipline, and demands were made that the party leaders should be made to pay for their old crimes.

The leaders of the opposition had no reason for avoiding the fight which was so passionately demanded. They made a final attempt and, as this failed, they decided to strike out.

In accordance with their slogan "Down with the bourgeois coalition!" the organised opposition resolved to enter the election campaign independently and to form an independent Labour Party.

The "Hungarian Socialist Labour Party" was actually founded on April 14th

The traitors to the working class used every means in their power to prevent this or, if this should not be possible, to discredit the new Labour Party from the beginning.

On April 8th, when the opposition held its inaugural meeting, the heroic social democratic leaders succeeded in smuggling into the gallery of the old House of Parliament, which was filled with workers, 200—300 of their followers; these, under the leadership of social democratic deputies, caused such confusion with trumpets, drums and shouting that the police dissolved the assembly.

In order to prevent the possibility of another meeting, the official social democrat Press introduced a pogrom spirit against the former opposition. Day after day, in leading articles and in other articles several columns in length, they wrote that the new party had been founded by the Bethlen Government and was in the pay of the "Awakened Hungary" movement. When, in spite of this persecution, the inaugural meeting of the Labour Party was a brilliant success and the members of the new party even succeeded in causing a thorough disturbance in a meeting of the Block, other underhand means were brought into action.

The leaders of the socialist Labour Party who a week previously had been branded as "Awakened Hungarians", were suddenly denounced as "Bolsheviki" who "had received an advance of 50 millions for the creation of the party". Not only the "Népszava", but also the bourgeois papers connected with it, daily make denunciations of this sort and demand severe measures.

Karl Payer, the Hungarian Noske, even went as far as to state at a public meeting in the presence of the police, and to publish in the papers, that Vági, the leader of the Labour party, would not long be able to interfere with the party, as he, Payer, was in possession of a photograph which proves that Vági was a "terror-rough" during the dictatorship.

At the same time the partisans of the socialist Labour party are constantly being expelled from the trade unions, and the party leaders of Social Democracy are working provocatively to bring about a split in the trade unions, so as to be able then to denounce the socialist Labour party as the originators of this crime.

In such circumstances, the newly founded Labour party has no easy work in the land of the White Terror. Although at its foundation it already has several thousand members and the workers in the provinces immediately followed the example of the workers in the capital, although the new party is entering the municipal elections with good prospects in spite of the fact that in every electoral district 1000 signatures are necessary to make a candidature valid, it is impossible to foretell what success will be obtained against the utterly corrupt and unscrupulous social democracy.

It is hopeless at present to speak of an ideological solution in a country in which the Hungarian translation of Marx' "Capital" has been placed on the index, in which even the "Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung" has been interdicted, in which Argus eyes watch lest the most innocent literature should enter the country, where anyone in whose possession such literature is found, is threatened with 5—10 years hard labour and in which the communist leaders and non-commissioned officers who were not able to escape, have been exterminated. It is also questionable whether a solution or clear-sighted leadership in the fight will be found. It is also certain that the communists if ever they are free once again to appear on the field of battle in Hungary, will have to fight out a severe fight with the newly formed socialist Labour party. In a country in which the leaders and non-commissioned officers of social democracy have, with few exceptions, sold the dictatorship in agreeing to a "socialist communist party", the communists must, from the beginning, meet the newly formed "socialist Labour party" with reservation and distrust.

This however by no means signifies that the importance of this turn of events is to be undervalued. If we must admit that the split in the treacherous social democratic party of Hungary has been called into being by the elementary discontent and indignation of the working masses, and partly through a class-antagonism on principle, we must, in spite of all reservations, regard this foundation as a step forward.

IN THE COLONIES

The Imperialists and the Revolutionary Movement in Syria and Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem.)

That which distinguishes French imperialism in Syria from English imperialism in Palestine is its militarist character. The commissar and commander of the military forces has acted ruthlessly towards that section of the population which did not submit to the French commands and was hostile to the foreign occupants. As a result, the national revolutionary emancipation movement in Syria in general has assumed an equally sharp character, which is reminiscent of the time when the Arabs defended their independence in the fight against the Turkish despots. Right up to recently, Syria has remained a country of constant revolutionary ferment, continual outbreaks, raids and conspiracies. In September 1924 the daring raid upon Damascus by a "band" which seized possession of some police depots, for some time held a whole section of the town in its hands, and then were able to conceal themselves in the town unhindered, created a great sensation. As this attack was not accompanied by any plundering, this event, like the revolts which broke out at the same time in the South East of the country, bore a purely political character.

The anti-French movement is of course developing under illegal conditions. The most powerful organisation in the country "Hissn-el-Wataniel-Arabi" (Arabian National Party) — carries on its work by illegal committees and has no possibility of coming out into the open. The French system of suppression is seen to be still more harsh as regards its treatment of the press. The opposition press is throttled (for example, the big bourgeois newspaper "Oï Makkikech", ("Truth") has been suppressed). A number of people who had played a leading part in the national revolutionary party were sentenced to terms of imprisonment or expelled from the country.

In spite of the repressions the Arab revolutionary movement in Syria is constantly growing. The Arab national movement is gradually assuming the character of a movement of the broad masses of the people. This is chiefly due to the difficult economic situation in which Syria finds itself at present. The peasantry of the most cultured district in the Lebanon are emigrating in masses as their situation is intolerable. The wages of the town workers are lower than those of pre-war times, while the cost of food has considerably increased. Syria formerly constituted a trade route for Turkey, but it is now isolated and its trade is almost entirely crippled. The native Arabian industry is dying out; on the other hand the French capitalists are enjoying every sort of privilege. The government has not moved a finger in order to improve the existing state of affairs. Not only that; the budget is loaded with the burden of the repayment of the Turkish debts (in the interests of the French finances), with the enormous parasitic official apparatus, and with public undertakings which are not in any way for the benefit of the national economy of Syria, but are necessary to the French for their strategic aims.

The national emancipation movement itself is gradually changing its character. In the past this movement for emancipation formed an integral part of the Pan-Islamic movement, chiefly uniting in its ranks the Mohammedan elements of Syria and aiming at the creation of an All-Arabian State with the Sheik of Mekka, Hussein and his son Feisal at the head. This movement is now becoming a movement of the whole people. Broad circles of one-time mutually hostile Mohammedan and Christian intellectuals are uniting together in a common struggle against France. At the same time, with the defeat sustained by Hussein, there have also been dispelled the hopes of an All-Arabian State under the protectorate of any European State. At present the movement

has lost its bearings and has no clear aim. But the number of supporters of the liberation movement is growing. It is also gaining confidence in its own powers and we shall probably witness in the near future the powerful growth of a national insurrectionary movement in Syria, arising from the profound discontent with the imperialist domination.

Far more clever and refined is the behaviour of the English in the English mandatory area in Palestine. In the first place they refrain from relying solely upon the bayonets of their troops. Just as in the other colonies, they prefer to create a support in the country itself. The French in Beyrout rely upon the rule of their own general, the English in Palestine, however, impose the task of consolidating their power upon the liberal Zionists. Compared with the policy of Gouraud or Weygand in Syria, the policy of Sir Herbert Samuel in Palestine bears a "conciliatory" and "peacable" character. The English act as if they were not occupying the country in their own interest, but in order to fulfil a solemn and repeated "promise" to the Jewish people to "set up in Palestine a national home for the Jews".

In Syria it is the imperialist government itself which appears as the leader of the struggle against the native population. In Palestine, however, the English have created a buffer in the shape of the Zionists. The policy of the Zionists in Palestine is aggressive and absurd, and is regarded by the Arab population as a serious threat against their existence. The Zionists enjoy various privileges and advantages from the English government. A minority, amounting to not more than 13% of the population, enjoy special privileges from the government through the Executive organ of the Zionist organisation, and determine along with the government the number of Jewish immigrants to be admitted into Palestine etc. In order to provide settlements for the Jewish immigrants the Zionist organisation and other Jewish capitalist concerns are purchasing land from the Arab big landowners and expelling the Arab peasants from their little plots of ground.

It is not surprising that the Arab national movement in Palestine is directed in the first place against Zionism. So long as the Arab national movement was led by rich Arab feudal landowners, it had, instead of carrying on a struggle against the English rule, rather competed with the Zionist organisation in seeking to win the favour of the British government. It is only since the English government, which for long played the part of "impartial judge" between the Arabs and the Jews and artificially diverted the anger of the suppressed Arab masses from itself against the Zionists, was compelled openly to admit that it stands on the side of the Zionist Party, that the national movement in Palestine adopted a strong policy and took up the fight against imperialism.

In Palestine the government is directing its persecutions mainly against the young, but well organised Communist Party, which is conducting the most active and successful fight against imperialism and against Zionism. The connection of this Party with the national revolutionary elements and the growing popularity of its slogans among the Arab working and peasant masses constitutes a serious danger for English imperialism in the Near East, as it threatens it with the collapse of its cunning policy in Palestine.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Last Testament of the Patriarch Tikhon.

By M. Raffles (Moscow).

The entire Moscow press has published the last testament of Tikhon, Patriarch of the Russian orthodox church, who died a few days ago. In this testament this erstwhile irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet power calls upon all believers to be at peace with the Soviets as "there is no government that does not come from God". Patriarch Tikhon recognises the Soviet regime as the real government of the people, strongly condemns all counter-revolutionary religious groups and also appoints a special commission for bringing to trial all these orthodox bishops who have been carrying on a struggle abroad for the restoration of the old order. Patriarch Tikhon asserts categorically that all the decrees and practical measures of the Soviet government are quite compatible with complete freedom of all religions. He therefore summons his followers to adjust

the regulations of external church life and activities to the new State order.

Patriarch Tikhon's renunciation of counter-revolutionary ideas and his recognition of the Soviet Power took place already a year ago, and since that time he has again been able to be at the head of the orthodox church. Nevertheless this last appeal of his, written when on his deathbed, by the very nature of its contents is of enormous political significance. What falsehoods have been spread by the bourgeois and Menshevik press, particularly in connection with the question of the church! Here we have a man who is undoubtedly an authority in that connection, and who announces to the whole world that there is complete freedom of conscience in the Soviet Republic. This alone is a blow for the whole counter-revolution, which thereby loses yet another argument in its agitation against the Soviet Republic. But this blow is of still more serious significance. Tikhon and the many tens of thousands of urban and rural priests who follow him (and indeed, the overwhelming majority of the orthodox church), become finally reconciled with the existing Government. Clinging to their old bigoted, formulae, they also declare the Soviet power to be established by the Lord God, exactly in the same way as capitalist power in Europe. We Communists, of course, may reproach Patriarch Tikhon with not having an international point of view and that in his heart he is too easily reconciled to such entirely contradictory governmental systems as the Soviet and bourgeois regimes. But we need not look far to find an explanation for this. Patriarch Tikhon and his entire church organisation are becoming adapted. They desire to conserve their influence over the toiling masses and are thereby compelled to adapt themselves to the political views of these toilers. So that they may still be able to carry on religious propaganda, they have decidedly broken with all their past political ideology. The Patriarch Tikhon and the whole of his huge church organisation were indeed only of value to the counter-revolutionaries insofar as the authority and extensive connections that this church had, among the masses could be utilised for the struggle against the Soviet regime. In Koltchak's army there was a whole detachment of orthodox "fathers". Generals Denikin and Wrangel made connections with the kulak elements in the villages through the intermediary of the orthodox priests. The various scattered kulak risings even in 1921 always had a group of orthodox priests within their midst. Whoever has placed hopes in an armed struggle against the Soviet power — even including the theoretical leader of the International Mensheviks, Karl Kautsky — has up to now always sought his allies for counter-revolutionary blows against the Soviet Government among the orthodox clergy.

How, then can the relations between the Soviet Government and the Communist Party on the one hand and the orthodox church on the other be subsequently consolidated? There is no better way than on the basis of the decree separating the church from the State and the schools from the church. Those "golden days" when the church was an official part of the government will never return. Church ceremony and the clergy have once and for all been thrust out of the State institutions. The Soviet School and the Red army will never see a priest within their precincts nor will they hear his sermon. There is only one territory left on which the priests may preach the "word of god" and that is in the churches.

But, just as in the past, the energetic persistent and uninterrupted fight against religious dope which has been carried on throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Republic, will be continued. During the years of revolution and civil war the orthodox church lost tens of millions of its followers. These were lost as a result of the revolutionary fervour of the masses. They had no need whatsoever for any lords or gods. The church also lost these masses as a result of its counter-revolutionary activities, which helped the people to understand the class character of the orthodox church. What has been lost will never return. And the orthodox church in its attempts to entice back those who have once left, can only meet with failure. At the same time we must not lose sight of the enormous difficulties in uprooting religious beliefs in a huge peasant country, where for the overwhelming masses of peasantry, god still represents an all-important factor in their life, bestowing upon them rainy or dry weather as required. "Religion is the opium of the people". But to stamp out this opium a persistent and lengthy struggle is necessary. Following Tikhon's appeal the orthodox priests will do all in their power

to strengthen their influence among the masses of the town and still more among the village population. They are carrying on their activities and will continue to do so on the basis of the decree on liberty of conscience. But there is yet another decree in the Soviet Republic, the like of which is known by no other State in the world. This is the decree on the State propaganda of Communism. As against the propaganda of the church there stand in full array the entire organisation of State power, the whole apparatus of the Communist Party, the Y.C.I., and Communist children's Sections, and a whole network of Soviet Red Army schools of all degrees through which 600,000 of the peasant youth pass every year. The whole of this organised force is by no means neutral on religious questions, nay, it is a fighting organisation of struggle against religion and against the church. Under the guidance of the Communist Party mass anti-religious propaganda still increases. A wide network of atheistic circles will, during the next few years, embrace the entire working class and peasant youth, not to mention the children who already long ago have been lost to the church.

Let us now draw the necessary conclusions: Patriarch Tikhon's appeal is a blow to the counter-revolution and in itself is a sign of the ever growing strength of the Soviet regime, in fact the appeal still more strengthens the Soviet power. The organs of the Soviet power and the Communist Party, in the future as in the past, will still more consistently carry on their struggles against the opium of religion, so as to prepare for the time when priests will have no connection whatever with the toiling masses of the Soviet Republics.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Results of the Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I.

By V. Vuyovitch (Moscow).

The Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I. was faced by the task of discussing the resolutions of the last enlarged ECCI. as to the political situation and as to Bolshevisation of the communist parties, and of working out instructions for the further development of the mass work of all sections of the Y. C. I. on the basis of the resolutions of the Comintern and of the experiences gained in the practical work of our leagues during the last seven months.

The Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I. unanimously accepted all the resolutions of the enlarged ECCI. and pledged all the groups, especially that of Czechoslovakia, to a really active participation in political life, to join in the work of the communist parties, to the energetic defence of the line of policy of the Comintern and to support the Parties in the difficult task of Bolshevisation.

On the basis of the estimation of the situation given by the Comintern, the Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I., worked out a resolution with regard to the Bolshevisation of the Youth Leagues, in which the opinion was clearly expressed that the chief attention of the Leagues should be concentrated on work in the various concerns and in the factory nuclei, on the fight for the economic demands of the working youth, and on work in the trade unions. Thanks to the vast experience of our French, Italian, American, German and other groups, our Plenum was able this time to concern itself in much more detail with working out the concrete methods and forms of the economic struggle and of the mass work of the Youth Leagues in the factories. On this occasion the Plenum pointed with special insistence to the possible modifications in the fight for partial demands and to the necessity of combining our daily struggles with the outlook of the revolution and of the ultimate victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie.

The second question on which the Plenum threw the necessary light and for the solution of which it made concrete suggestions, is the struggle to win over the youth of the rural population. Up to now the majority of our groups has only done quite insignificant work among the peasant youth. The Plenum pointed out the necessity of developing an energetic campaign for the conquest of the proletarian rural youth and the poorest members of the peasant youth, but at the same time laid emphasis on the class character of the Young Communist Leagues

and the necessity, under all circumstances, of preserving a firm proletarian leadership which will be realised by the proletarian nucleus in the leagues and with the help of constant and firm leadership on the part of the communist parties. For this reason the Plenum resolved that the Young Communist Leagues in the West should only extend their organising activities among the proletarian youth in the villages and among the poorest of the peasant youth. As regards the youth of the middle class farmers, our task is to neutralize it. The Plenum took up an attitude of opposition to the creation of youth sections in the Peasant International, as it was of the opinion that the peasant youth should join the non-party peasant associations together with the adults.

The Plenum took cognisance of the fact that many Leagues had been very successful in reorganising the Leagues on the lines of factory nuclei. The most important sections of the Y. C. I. are about to complete their re-organisation. The Plenum therefore had to pay increased attention to the purport of the work of the nuclei in the West, and to issue a number of instructions which will make it possible for the leagues to increase the activity of their members and to give the daily work of the nuclei a revolutionary purport which interests broad groups of the working youth.

The slogan of the Communist Youth International is: "Complete transformation of the Leagues into factory nuclei before the next International Youth Conference."

The Plenum devoted special attention to the work amongst the youth in the East. In all the most important countries of the East, Young Communist Leagues already exist, and some of these, especially the Chinese Mongolian League, have already done important work in mobilising the youthful workers and peasants for the struggle against feudalism and imperialism. The resolution as to Bolshevisation emphasised the necessity of differentiating our work in the East, and laid down the concrete tasks of the Young Communist Leagues on the basis of the three different types of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In recent times, the Menshevik youth of Germany and of other Western countries has developed an intensive propaganda against the Leninist Youth League and against Soviet Russia, by false statements regarding the economic and political situation of the working youth in the Soviet Union. The Plenum accepted the report of Comrade Tchaplín, who submitted extensive material to the delegates regarding the actual situation of the Youth, on the basis of which all the sections of the Y. C. I. will be in a position to give young Menshevik organisations the answer they deserve.

The central point of the attention of the Plenum was the question of a Leninist education for all sections of the Y. C. I. The present political situation involves great dangers for the ideological clearness of vision and political steadfastness of the Youth Leagues and demands a sound theoretical education not only of their functionaries but of all members of the leagues. The Plenum passed a whole number of resolutions which represent a guarantee that all sections of the Y. C. I. not only promote the Leninist education of their members but will, in the shortest time, bring this work up to the desired level.

Thus the 5th Enlarged Executive of the Y. C. I. created the political and organising basis for further work in the Bolshevisation of all sections of the Y. C. I., and represents a considerable step forward in the development of the Leninist Young Communist International.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Work of the Marx-Engels Institute.

Communication of the Director of the Marx-Engels Institute, Moscow, D. B. Riasanov to the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International, upon hearing my report about the activity of the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow (MEI), acknowledged the necessity of publishing the Complete Works of Marx and Engels as well as separate editions of some of them. The Resolution concerning this point requested moreover all the parties belonging to the III. International and the members of those parties to help the Institute in its task

of collecting all documents relative to Marx's and Engels' lives and works.

The nine months elapsed since have been employed by the MEI for the multifarious preparatory work necessary to the planned edition. The first thing to do was to secure the possibility of an exhaustive study of the literary heirloom of Marx and Engels preserved at the Archives of the German Soc. Dem. Party at Berlin. I have happily succeeded in obtaining this possibility and since December last photos are being systematically taken from all those documents; for the pursuit of scientific research these copies are just as valuable as autographs. Several thousands of them having been taken already in 1923, the moment is not far-off when the photos of the whole collection will be concentrated at our Institute. Meantimes the MEI. has also gathered some precious materials from various other sources, partly in original manuscript and partly in photo copies; it is quite natural however that these documents are not nearly as numerous as those mentioned formerly. Moreover, all kinds of printed materials (books, magazines, papers etc.) necessary for a critical edition of the Works have been collected with the utmost care and good results.

The deciphering of the mss. intended for publishing is going on steadfastly. A whole staff of 12—15 persons — scientific collaborators with their technical helpers — are constantly occupied with it. The work has already advanced considerably enough to allow the first number of the "Marx-Engels Archiv" to appear in May next; it will contain among other valuable contributions part of the "German Ideology".

In autumn two volumes of the Complete Works will follow — Vol. I with the juvenile writings of Marx, of which many have never been published yet, as, for instance, a rather large study upon Hegel's *Philosophy of the State* and an essay upon the *French Revolution*; and Vol. XV containing some unknown manuscripts of Engels, among them his "*Dialectics in Nature*". See for details the prospectus of the Marx-Engels Archiv, of which every Delegate received a copy.

The plan for the separate publishing of some of the works has yet to be discussed. Meanwhile, preliminary steps are being taken for elucidating difficulties which might arise in different countries in connection with the printing of these editions.

I should like to end with the repetition of the earnest request addressed to all comrades by the Fifth Congress: lend a hand to the Marx-Engels Institute in securing the necessary materials! This appeal has remained nearly neglected until now. The Central Committees of the Sections should be somewhat more energetic in this respect.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from a Russian Railway Worker.

To keep up your energy which you need in the continuous struggle against your capitalist exploiters, I will tell you something about our life, the life of the working class in the U. S. S. R. and I can vouch for the veracity of my statement.

Comrades, I am a railwayman and the assistant of the station master in "Savintzy" on the Donetz Railway. We work in four shifts, the number of hours per month is 192 and no more. The monthly wage is 35 roubles which is gradually increased in accordance with the increase of the productivity of labour. It is true that the housing crisis here is very acute. But the housing co-operative societies have already done much in this direction, and new workers' settlements spring up as the result of every building season. Social insurance is on a satisfactory basis: on the birth of a child the local insurance fund gives to the mother 13 roubles and 60 kopeks (prior to that 9 roubles) and 3 roubles per month for the child. Unemployed members of trade unions receive 5 to 10 roubles a month according to family conditions. This is a considerable help. We get regularly every year a fortnights holiday and free railway and steamship tickets, wherever we like to go.

The trade union movement — the surest way to socialism — is developing rapidly. Trade unions derive their funds from fees calculated at the rate of 2% of the wages of its members. There are great achievements to record on this field. For instance three years ago trade union membership in the U. S. S. R. was only a few hundred thousand. Now there are millions of trade union members. Our vanguard — the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) is also growing in strength and numbers and is progressing slowly but surely. Every year brings hundreds of thousands of new forces into its ranks. Interlopers are ruthlessly cleared out by the Party. In this manner all the healthy elements of our country are drawn gradually into constructive work. The country is steadily recovering. Our main slogan now is: "Down with everything that is decayed, and make way for everything that is healthy".

With Communist greetings,
Workers Correspondent
No. 1125.