

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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Trotsky Trounces Eastman

By LEON TROTSKY.

Readers of the DAILY WORKER will remember the controversy aroused by the publication of Max Eastman's book "Since Lenin Died."

The DAILY WORKER was able to smash the campaign of the capitalist press (which was using Eastman's book as part of their propaganda for war against the Soviet Union) by securing a telegraphic refutation direct from Trotsky himself.

In the article below Trotsky follows his telegram with a detailed and crushing refutation of Eastman's book. We print it in full, notwithstanding heavy demands upon our space, because it gives an object lesson in the worthlessness of ninety-nine per cent of the assertions made by the capitalist press—and its dupes—about the Workers' Republic of Russia.

This is the more urgent since the war-propaganda against Russia—altho suspended—may be resumed at any moment.

About Eastman's Book, "Since Lenin Died"

SOON after my return from Sukhum to Moscow, I learned from a telegram from Comrade Jackson, of the SUNDAY WORKER, about the publication of a book by Eastman under the title "Since Lenin Died," which was being made use of by the capitalist press for attacks upon our Party and the Soviet Government.

Altho my reply to Comrade Jackson was published in due course in the paper, I nevertheless think it useful to reproduce here its first part: "Eastman's book, about which you write, is quite unknown to me. The bourgeois papers which quoted it have not reached me. It goes without saying that I repudiate in advance and most categorically all comments directed against the Russian Communist Party." Further on in the telegram I repudiated the absurd insinuations as to my alleged change in favor of bourgeois democracy and freedom of trade.

SUBSEQUENT I received Eastman's book from Comrade Inkpin, secretary of the British Communist Party, who wrote me a letter similar to Comrade Jackson's telegram.

I had no intention of reading and still less of replying to Eastman's book being of the opinion that my telegram to Comrade Jackson, which in the meantime had appeared in the British and general foreign press, would be sufficient.

Nevertheless, some of my Party comrades who had read the pamphlet expressed their opinion that, in view of the references in the pamphlet to conversations with me, my silence might indirectly assist it in damaging our Party.

This has induced me to pay more attention to Eastman's production, and to acquaint myself in detail with its contents.

ON the strength of well-known incidents in our Party life, of the discussion of the methods of Party democracy, of State regulation of economic life, etc., Eastman arrives at conclusions which are unreservedly and entirely directed against the Party and may, if accepted on their face value, bring discredit on the Party and the Soviet Government.

I shall dwell first of all upon one item which is not only of historical but also of the most actual and vital importance—i. e., the Red Army.

About the Red Army.

EASTMAN makes it appear as if the Army, thru the change in the personnel of leadership, had broken up and lost its effectiveness, etc. It is a mystery how and whence Eastman derived this notion. Its absurdity is quite patent. At any rate, we should not recommend imperialist governments to base their schemes upon Eastman's revelations.

Eastman, by the way, does not seem to notice that by characterizing the Red Army thus he supports the thoroughly rotten Menshevik legend about Bonapartism and Praetorianism—since

it is clear that an army, apt to be broken up on account of a personal change in leadership, would not be a Communist or proletarian, but precisely a Bonapartist and Praetorian army.

The author quotes in his booklet a large number of documents, and mentions many incidents not infrequently second, third and fourth hand. There is in this little booklet a not inconsiderable number of obviously fallacious and mendacious assertions, from which we need only select a few of the more important.

Lenin's Letters.

IN several places Eastman alleges that the Central Committee has "hidden away" from the Party a number of most important documents written by Lenin in the last period of his life—such as the letters on the national question, the so-called "will," etc. This cannot be called by any other name than a slander against the Central Committee of our Party.

Eastman's words lead one to imagine that Lenin had intended these letters for the press. This is absolutely untrue.

In the course of his illness Lenin more than once addressed proposals, letters, etc., to the leading organs of the Party and its congresses. All these letters and proposals were, of course, invariably delivered to the quarters to which they were addressed, were brought under the notice of the delegates at the 12th and 13th Party Congresses, and never failed to have due effect upon the decisions of the Party.

Lenin's "Will".

IF all the letters have not been published this is because the author did not intend them for publication.

As for the famous "will," Lenin never left one, and the very nature of his relations with the Party as well as the nature of the Party itself made such a "will" absolutely impossible.

In the guise of a "will" the emigre and foreign bourgeois and menshevik press have all along been quoting one of Lenin's letters (completely mutilated) which contained a number of advices on questions of organization. The 13th Party Congress studied this letter most attentively, and drew conclusions in accordance with the conditions of the moment.

All talk about a secreted or infringed "will" is so much mischievous invention directed against the real will of Lenin, and of the interests of the Party created by him.

No Suppression.

NOT less mendacious is Eastman's statement that the Central Committee had wanted to suppress Lenin's article about the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The dissensions, if one may at all speak here of dissensions, which arose in this connection on the Central Committee were of quite secondary moment, having reference only to the question whether the publication of Lenin's article should, or should not be, accompanied by a statement of the Central Committee that there were grounds for fear of a split. But even this question

was settled unanimously at the same sitting, and all the members of the Politbureau and the Orgbureau present signed an address to the party's organizations saying, inter alia: "Without entering, in this purely informative letter, into a discussion of possible historical dangers, of which the question has been rightly raised by Comrade Lenin in his article, the members of the Orgbureau and the Politbureau deem it necessary, with a view to avoiding possible misunderstandings, to declare with complete unanimity that there are in the internal work of the Central Committee absolutely no data which could in any way suggest the danger of a split."

This document, not only has, with ten others, my signature, but its very text was written by myself on January 27, 1923.

As this letter, expressing the unanimous attitude of the Central Committee towards Lenin's proposal about the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, also has at bottom the signature of Comrade Kuibyshev, another mendacious statement of Eastman's is ipso facto refuted, viz., that at the head of the Inspection was placed Comrade Kuibyshev as an opponent of Lenin's scheme of organization.

Another Falsehood.

EQUALLY false and based obviously upon fantastical rumors is the statement by Eastman that the Central Committee had confiscated or kept back in one way or another my pamphlets or articles in 1923 or in 1924 or at any other time.

It is equally false to assert as Eastman does that Lenin offered me the post of President of the Council's Commissars and the Council of Labor and Defence.

I learn this piece of news for the first time from Eastman's pamphlet.

ONE could not doubt, when attentively reading the pamphlet, point out a number of other mistaken statements or prevarications and distortions. One hardly, however, needs doing this. When making use of Eastman's "information" and quoting his statements, the capitalist and, more particularly, the menshevik press have invariably underlined his near relations to me as the author of my biography, his alleged "friendship" with me—thus trying in an indirect way to lend his arguments a weight which in themselves they have not and cannot have. I am, therefore, obliged to speak also on this subject.

Trotsky's Relations with Eastman. PERHAPS the nature of my real relations with Eastman will best be seen from a business letter which I wrote at the time when there was as yet no thought about his book "Since Lenin Died."

At the time of my stay at Sukhum, I received from one of my other comrades in Moscow, who had to do with the publication of my books, a manuscript by Eastman under the title, "Leo Trotsky: A Portrait of His Youth."

The accompanying letter from my comrade informed me that the manuscript which had been sent by the author to our State Publishing House, for publication in the Russian language, was making a strange and, to us, unfamiliar impression by its sentimental tone.

I replied to this letter by one dated April 3, 1925: "Even without reading Eastman's manuscript I entirely agree with you that it would be a mistake to publish it. Tho you have kindly sent the manuscript to me, I have neither appetite nor desire to read it. I willingly take your word that the manuscript is quite unappetizing, es-

pecially to us Russian Communists."

"Eastman for a long time had persistently tried to convince me that it was very difficult to interest Americans in Communism, but that they could be made interested in Communists. His argument did not lack plausibility, and it was this which prompted me to render him some assistance of a very limited nature: the limits were shown in my letter to him."

"Of course I did not know at the time that he was going to publish this book in Russian. I should probably have advised the State Publications House not to print it."

"Naturally, I am unable to prevent his publishing the book abroad. He is a 'free' writer, has lived in Russia, has collected materials, and is at present in France, if not in America."

"Should I ask him not to print this book as a personal favor to me? I am not sufficiently intimate with him for that. And altogether, it would hardly be proper to do so."

I repeat, the question was about a perfectly harmless booklet relating to my youth, up to 1902, but the tone of my letter leaves no room for doubt that my relations with Eastman differed in nothing from my relations with a number of other Communists or foreign "sympathizers" who have asked my assistance in studying the October Revolution, our Party, and the Soviet State—not more than that.

"Quintessential"

WITH a vulgar self-assurance, Eastman writes sarcastically about my nearest comrades of the Central Committee, whom, according to him, I spoke of in a friendly manner, at the moment of the "acrimonious" discussion. Evidently, Eastman regards himself as being called upon to correct my "mistake" and endows the leading personnel of our Party with such traits as could not be branded otherwise than by the word slander.

We have seen above on what a rotten foundation Eastman is trying to erect his building. He exploits single incidents of the Party discussion in order to blacken our Party and to undermine all confidence by perverting the meaning of facts and distorting all and every proportion. I should think, however, that any serious and reflective reader need not even take the trouble to verify Eastman's references and "documents" (which moreover would not be accessible to everybody), but would find it sufficiently simple to ask himself if the derogatory characteristics given by Eastman to the leading personnel of our Party had been true, how could this Party have gone thru the long years of underground struggle, have made the greatest revolution in the world, have been able to lead the millions, and to assist the formation of revolutionary parties in other countries?

No honest workers will ever believe the sort of picture drawn by Eastman.

It contains its own refutation. It is immaterial what were Eastman's intentions. His booklet can only render service to the worst enemies of Communism and revolution. It therefore objectively constitutes a weapon of counter-revolution.

July 1, 1925.

* On May 22, 1923, I replied to the reiterated requests of Eastman as follows: "I shall try to render you assistance in respect of bona fide information, but I cannot agree to read your manuscript, since it would make me responsible, as it were, not only for the facts, but also for the characteristics and appreciations. It is quite obvious that I cannot do this. I am prepared to bear some limited responsibility for the facts which I shall give you at your request. The responsibility for the rest will have to be borne entirely by you." This work of his only reaches the events of 1902.

Are the Finns Social-Democrats?

By Henry Askeli

Just now, there circulates an ugly rumor among the party members, to the effect that we Finns are social-democrats and supporters of the Two-and-a-half-International tendencies. This character assassination has gone so far that I think it proper to say in a few words just what we are, what we have accomplished and what we are fighting for.

We Finns are too modest. We do not like to praise ourselves, and our work. We believe that our work speaks louder than words. We simply go ahead, doing the best we can today, tomorrow a little better, without asking any glory, honor or fame.

In this respect I may say that our policy has been unwise. This modesty and humbleness on our part has resulted in a condition, where the party membership does not know much about us and now may "lend the ear" to the groundless rumors peddled about us by low-minded plotters. Some honest comrades may believe that we truly are right-wingers, reactionaries and what not.

Brief History.

To place this matter properly before the jury of our party members I must relate a bit of history to prove that we have not "just started." We have been on the job when many of our slanderers were drying the back of their ears and learning their A. B. C.

Finns began to do socialist propaganda in the United States about 1899. During and after that year a number of isolated Finnish branches were organized. In 1904 the first convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio. This convention, however, did not succeed in forming a permanent socialist organization, because these branches were imbued with idealistic, theosophic, philosophic and many otheristic thoughts, altho there was a strong left wing in that convention. Our comrades deemed it wiser, not to split, but to stay in those branches, because the ranks were there and therefore they were the proper place to do the work for socialism.

Their labors were in vain. Two years later another convention was held at Hibbing, Minn., where our federation was formed and affiliation with the socialist party decided almost unanimously.

Then started a rapid growth of the Finnish socialist federation. Its membership rose up to 12,651 in 1913. Then on account of a split, which occurred next year (1914) the membership declined to about 10,000. I will later relate about the ideological grounds of this split. Our present membership is about 8,000 which is a very good percentage, when we consider that there are about 170,000 Finns in this country. We are, therefore, about five per cent politically organized. This is a far greater percentage than any other nationality in the United States.

Altho the Finnish Federation is not numerically the strongest Finnish organization in this country (two religious organizations have more members) we are the most influential. Our influence is felt in every walk of life among the Finnish immigrants. Our three daily papers, which own their buildings and plants, have the combined readers of about 50,000 daily and are very effective factors in forming the opinion of the Finnish reading public. We have built numerous meeting halls and labor temples, where now, not only our own meetings, but also the Workers Party meetings and socials are held. Our dramatic, athletic, musical, debating and other social activities are drawing the workers, young and old, into our meetings and socials, under our influence and propaganda. It was thru our tireless efforts that the Finnish co-operative movement was established and is now the most effective section of the American Co-operative movement.

But we did not stop at merely getting members into our organization. Then started the most thoro educational work. The success thus far achieved by our federation is due to

the elaborate educational work we have done and are doing at the present time. Six and eight week training courses are held every year in the east, central and western states, with elaborate theoretical and practical curriculum. We realize that the unity, enthusiasm and devotion of the labor organization rests upon intelligence and education. Beside these courses, we have one and two week lecture courses, which are held almost in every branch of the federation every year. We also have propagandists and speakers who are touring our branches continually.

Our federation has considered the education of the children and our youth as one of our most important tasks. We realize that they are the ones who inherit our results and continue our work, when we have gone. Of late this has been one of our main functions. The results of this work are beginning to show now. The youth of the Finnish immigrant workers are gradually taking the place of the older ones. It follows naturally from such a training. I may mention as a practical culmination of this work the young workers' summer school just held at Waino, Wis., which has stirred up the American bourgeoisie more than anything else done by our party in the last few years. Education of the workers' youth will attack the very roots of the stronghold of capitalism. It undermines the ideological foundation on which it is established. While our accusers are busy scheming just how they could acquire the leadership of the party, we, besides our other work, were busy making this first Communistic summer school of youth a success.

Our Sunday school work is very extensive. Generally they continue to work the year around and besides these we have summer schools for smaller children.

We do a large publishing business. We have had an opportunity to study Marx, Engels, Plehanov, Lenin, Trotsky, Pannecoek and many other international known authorities on revolutionary socialism and Communism long before their works were translated to English. Large editions of these works has been sold. There are more books by Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Bucharin, Radek, Tjumenev and others translated in Finnish, than there are English. Our collective efforts have made this possible.

I can safely say that about 50,000 Finnish immigrants are under our influence and support our work. And they are the most advanced section of our people.

Where Have We Stood?

But all of the above does not disprove the claim that we are "the most reactionary section of the Workers Party." It only shows that we are practical people and good organizers. But how about the principles? Where do these Finns stand anyway? I will try to answer this phase of the question.

Again a little bit of history is required.

Our federation has always been on the left. This is not a meaningless claim. I have a lot of historical data to prove it.

At the close of the last century there was an ideological controversy in the social-democratic party in Finland. The left wing grew very rapidly as a natural reaction to the ruthless oppression of czaristic Russia and the treachery of the Finnish bourgeoisie. The control of the party was in the hands of the petty bourgeois minded leaders. Finally the left wing got control of the party, and its program and tactics were changed accordingly. Czaristic oppression and economic exploitation compelled a large number of Finns to emigrate to the United States. Previously the Finnish immigrants had been almost exclusively agrarian workers, but now industrial workers were compelled to leave their homes. This industrial proletariat was mostly socialistic. Arriving here, they continued their socialistic propaganda. Some of the half-baked socialists had organized the workers' associations, which affiliated with the Imatra League, an idealistic

organization, masquerading under the name of a workers' organization. In these branches the left wing socialist established their socialist nuclei and started to work to revolutionize them. As I have already stated, in 1906, at the Hibbing convention they finally won their fight. A new organization, our federation was formed there.

That was our first fight on principles of revolutionary socialism. In this controversy we fought for revolutionary socialism and against the petty bourgeois and their ideology and right wingers of all kinds.

In 1912 and 1913 a new controversy arose in our federation. Then we had the Workers' College at Shmithville, Minn., maintained by our federation. Around that institution developed a strong anarcho-syndicalistic group, led by Leo Laukki. He and his followers wanted to make our federation a syndicalist organization and lead us away from revolutionary socialism. They were determined and had well organized their forces. Their weapons against us were the opportunistic tendencies of the socialist party of which our federation was a part of. We admitted that there were undesirable features about the socialist party, but still that was just then, with all its weaknesses, the only political party with some membership, which, with patient work could be trained to revolutionary ways of thinking. At least in theory it advocated the class struggle and an uncompromising fight against the capitalist class. Our syndicalistic comrades attacked the principle of political action and wanted direct action, industrial action and complete abandonment of all political activity. We claimed that the political action is needed in the class struggle and that we must work with the politically organized workers in America. This group of radicals, Laukki and others, told us that they were revolutionary, that only they were genuine Marxians, that they were scientific socialists and all that kind of talk. They were everything in their opinion and we, our federation, was nothing but incapable and inefficient politicians. They wanted to lead our federation out of bondage to the pastures of peace and plenty thru direct short cuts.

We refused to believe that. We saw that they had syndicalistic tendencies and the leadership fever of a very high degree. And finally in 1914 another split occurred. About 3,000 members were expelled and withdrawn from the federation.

Radicals grouped themselves independently and started to fight among themselves on the issue: "Who is the greatest among us." Now this group is almost completely wiped out. Honest workers have come back to our federation and the others, the remnants are now fighting the Comintern, and Profintern.

Again, in this second controversy our federation upheld the banner of revolutionary socialism. Anarchists, syndicalists, leftists, the left Communist who were stricken with infantile sickness, left us and we continued our work as usual. During this controversy the most thoro discussion on principles and tactics of revolutionary socialism was held. Our critics in some extent put up intelligent arguments and we profited much by them. Of course we made many mistakes, which every progressive labor organization will do, but they were corrected at once.

The socialist party was not satisfactory to us, but we tried to revolutionize it and we hoped that with the aid of other revolutionary comrades we would finally succeed. However, other comrades chose to go a different way. They organized themselves into a left wing organization, thereby giving the reactionary leaders of the socialist party enough cause to expell them in 1919. Altho we were on the left, we had different tactics. We did not want to leave the organization in which we had worked so long. It is an easy matter to get out of an organization, but it is a big task to organize one. We realized that and tried to urge our left wing comrades to stay in and come back into the so-

cialist party and then expell the reactionaries. We did not agree with the policy of the party leadership, but the socialist party had an organization, prestige and propaganda facilities, which were worth something. With a little tactic they could be captured and made to serve revolutionary socialism. It was a sad sight to see ten per cent expell ninety per cent; this was the tactic selected by our left wing comrades. They were about ninety per cent of the party. Still they let ten per cent reactionaries expell them.

When the left wing socialists were expelled from the socialist party, they organized themselves, wrote their programs and declarations of principles, which were decidedly leftist documents, so much so that later the Comintern had to correct them in several instances.

Of course we could not then withdraw from the socialist party. We knew that it was not an easy matter to sever such old political ties, with which we were tied to the socialist party. Many of our members were still faithful to the socialist party, and we had to start a strong campaign of education in the federation against the socialist party, and its reactionary leadership, and in favor of withdrawing from it. This took some time, but we could not help it. We wanted to take the entire federation with us when we were ready to withdraw.

Then we were severely criticized. Our left wing comrades criticized us as right wingers and opportunists; and the Socialist party leaders and their supporters, criticized us as Communists, impossibilists, etc. Many unjust criticisms were thrown upon us. We were between two fires and I must confess that it was not an easy matter then to correctly analyze the conditions and find a correct policy to pursue. Had we followed the instructions and orders from our left wing comrades and withdrawn from the socialist party then, we would have wrecked our organization. So we decided to stay until our federation, as a whole, willingly withdrew from it. However, there were other forces working, not always wholesome ones, and we were compelled to withdraw from the socialist party prematurely, resulting in the loss of about 2,500 members, many halls and one daily newspaper. We pointed this to our well meaning left wing comrades, but they refused to believe it. They had the leftist tendencies to very marked degree and our maneuvers were foolish to them. Now every honest "after the battle" observer admits that we were correct in our contention, that our policy had been the better one. However, we could do no better than leave the socialist party to a handful of reactionaries and bureaucrats, when all other left wing comrades were expelled, or withdrawn.

In this controversy we got rid of the right wing element, social-democrats and the supporters of the Two-and-a-Half International. "Principles of social-democracy" and its entire ideology was condemned by our membership.

I do not need to say much about our stand in the Workers Party and the role we played in its organization. Everyone who has been with the party since its organization, knows that we have worked to our utmost to make the Workers Party an efficient instrument in the fight for the workers' rights. We are strong for organization and education. Maneuvers do not, in our opinion, make the Workers Party. We must build the Workers Party first; make it into something, so that it must be recognized when American workers begin to organize politically. As long as we are weak, small and inefficient, we will not be considered as an important social factor in the coming struggles of the American workers. Therefore our main task is to build the Workers Party. Finns are behind this one hundred per cent.

Present Controversy.

Our federation was against the La-Follette and that kind of a farmer-labor policy and all the maneuvers of that sort. We considered them as fu-

(Continued on page 3.)

Are the Finns Social-Democrats?

(Continued from page 2)

tile short cuts, which, in a final analysis are menshevik tactics pure and simple, more simple than pure. We fought against that policy, but when our party decided in favor of such an adventure, like good Communists we obeyed. And then when several unsuccessful attempts were made and the party with the aid of the Comintern finally rejected such a policy, we were delighted. And we hoped that at last our party has gotten over its menshevism and leftism and begins to work earnestly for Communism.

But our joy was short lived. Our party executive was split. A majority and a minority began functioning and these after these were given out! declaration on principles and policies, statements and "facts for workers" were given out, even personal attacks appeared in our party organ. And the only given reason for all of that was: "shall we continue our (menshevik) policy of advocating the farmer-labor party" when historical and purely American objective factors are against that kind of policy. Ninety-nine per cent of our membership is

against that kind of policy. "Let's be something first. Then talk about maneuvering and federating with the other groups." This is what our federation rank-and-filers say. Our membership does not want the high sounding phrases and useless talk about the absolute and correct Communistic policies. We know that the correctness of all the policies of the labor movement is only relatively true and correct. Then when some group of members talk that they are suitable material for the party leadership, because they are true Marxians, and scientific analysts of the conditions, honest, sincere, and characterize themselves with all kinds of adjectives, it reminds us of the controversy we had in 1913 and 14, when we also had such big headed members, who were badly stricken with infantile sickness and the leadership bug.

The amusing feature about this controversy is that the minority of the party is so deadly against us, and denounces us with very bitter terms. They have been busy collecting evidence that we are supporters of "Loreism." Of course they are doomed to fail in their efforts. We have

no opportunistic tendencies, but neither have we any leftist tendencies, which are just as bad. Some of the minority comrades descended so low as to peddle lies about us. And these slanderers and character assassins have been converted only recently to a Communistic way of thinking. Now they are usurping the authority to denounce us, who have worked faithfully the last twenty-five years for revolutionary socialism and Communism.

What do We Want Now?

I feel confident that I speak for every one of our federation members when I say that we want:

1. Immediate cessation of factionalism. Organized groups which are eating the life out of the party, must be liquidated. And we pledge ourselves to see that machines are liquidated and machinists disciplined, or expelled.

2. Only one executive committee, not two, like we have now. We must get over the idea of having a group or factional representation in our executive committee.

We also want an executive committee with nerve, and a sense of re-

sponsibility, and Communistic understanding, so that they can settle questions, without foolishly appealing to higher party bodies on every little question. Hesitation, indecision and a vacillation policy is destructive and must be done away with.

3. We want the shop nuclei form of organization, not so much that it is practical, tried and true, but because theoretically it appears practical and true and this must be shown.

4. We do not want the language federations in the party. All language federation must remain Communistic propaganda organizations, working independently under the ideological leadership of the Workers Party.

In conclusion, I want to say that our slanderers have no patent or copyrights on Communism. They have no exclusive rights on Communistic understanding. They, as well as all of us, make errors. I do not wish to leave the impression that our federation has not made any errors. We have made numbers of errors, but we have also done something. Those pure and good "Marxians" that do not do anything may remain free from any human errors, but in my estimation they are bum Communists.

Cannon Replies to Henry Askeli

By JAMES P. CANNON.

Comrade Askeli's article follows the two statements published by the Finnish Branch of Superior and is directly related to them. The Central Executive Committee has declared that these statements contained a non-Communist tendency and represented the beginning of an ideological preparation for a split in the Party. Comrade Askeli's article is another manifestation of this sentiment. It shows the same tendency in a clearer form and forces us to draw the conclusion that it amounts to an attempt to substitute a program of his own for the program of the Party and the Communist International. At the moment when the serious Communist workers are striving to unify their ranks on the platform of the Communist International, Comrade Askeli comes forward with an attack on the Communist International. Such propaganda tends to discredit the Communist International before the membership.

Comrade Askeli has presented a platform without one sound Communist plank in it. No one can accept this platform without first throwing away the platform of the Party and the Communist International. The loyal followers of the Communist International in the party, and especially those in the Finnish Federation, have no choice but to take up at once the most resolute struggle against the political platform of Comrade Askeli. The unity and integrity of the Party demand such a struggle.

Incitement Against the C. I.

The Communist International is the most priceless acquisition of the revolutionary proletariat of the world. The authority of the Communist International is the surest guarantee that the unity of our party will be preserved and strengthened, that disintegrating opportunism will not be allowed to get a string foothold, that mistakes will be corrected and that faltering leadership will be assisted, strengthened and equipped for its tasks. To make a breach between the party and the Comintern is the aim of those elements in all countries who shrink from the implications of a policy of determined revolutionary struggle. Comrade Askeli is following a policy which leads in this direction. His attack is directed first of all and above all at the authority of the Communist International. He opposes in a more or less direct way all the propositions put before the Party by the Communist International in its recent decisions. He then unites his opposition to the various specific proposals of the Communist International into a complete and systematic opposition with the declaration that he wants a Central Executive Committee with sufficient "nerve" and "responsibility" to

"settle questions without foolishly appealing to higher bodies on every little question." The practice of the Central Executive Committee in turning to the Communist International for advice and guidance and for the solution of disputed questions apparently does not commend itself to Comrade Askeli. He regards it as "Hesitation, indecision and a vacillating policy", which, he says, is "destructive and must be done away with."

What is such talk but incitement against the Communist International? And what could be its effect, but to lead to a break between the Party and the Communist International? To let the Party become the prey of disintegrating tendencies and render it powerless?

Loreism.

With such an attitude of general opposition to the Communist International, it is quite logical for Comrade Askeli to find himself out of line with its specific decisions on the situation in our Party. The Comintern has put before the Party as one of its most important tasks the liquidation of the opportunist ideology of Loreism. Comrade Askeli has nothing to say on this question, except to deny the accusations of sympathy with Loreism. The open statement and direct attack on Loreism which all leading comrades should make without hesitation or evasion is lacking. On the contrary the article makes many concessions to Loreism.

Comrade Askeli says the Finnish Federation got rid of the right wing elements and the ideology of the two and one-half international at the time of the split with the Socialist Party. We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Finnish Federation will demonstrate that they have broken so decisively with this ideology that no one will be able to lead them back to it. But in the light of this article we cannot be so confident of Comrade Askeli. A remnant of this ideology has found its way into his article.

The Labor Party.

Our most important political question is the question of the Labor Party. The future growth and development of our Party is indissolubly bound up with the solution of this problem. The first decisive steps of the American workers in constituting themselves as a class, and entering the political arena as such, will be taken thru the medium of a Labor Party. The solution of the Labor Party problem is therefore of incalculable importance. It is in fact the key to the American Labor movement. Every member of the Party must understand this.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International has solved the Labor Party problem, cor-

recting the past mistakes of all groups in the Party and laying down a clear political line for the immediate future. It is of the utmost importance that every leading comrade take a clear and unequivocal stand on this question. Mistaken conceptions of the past must be openly acknowledged and resolutely put aside. The whole Party, as one man, must consciously swing its energy into the Labor Party movement according to the policy of the Communist International. In order to make this possible all leading comrades in the Party and in the Federations must have a unified point of view. A negative or half-hearted attitude is not permissible.

Comrade Askeli confines his remarks on this question to a couple of sentences that only serve to confuse the issue. He speaks of the questions of the Third Party Alliance, the Farmer-Labor Party and the present Labor Party policy of the Party, making no distinction between them. He throws them all into one pot, labels them all "maneuvers" to be avoided and then concludes with the assertion that "99 per cent of our membership is against that kind of policy." Such a method of presenting the question can only confuse the comrades.

"Maneuvers."

Political adventurism, maneuvers that are not based on a true analysis of all the factors in the given situation, are very dangerous for a party. But to proceed from this premise to a rejection of all maneuvers is to falsify and distort the Leninist standpoint. One of the most incorrect and harmful aspects of Loreism is its opposition to maneuvers and its undialectic conception which arbitrarily separates organization and propaganda from action and maneuvers. Askeli makes this error when he says, "We are strong for organization and education. Maneuvers do not, in our opinion make the Workers Party." This conception is wrong. A fighting Communist Party cannot be built upon it.

Organization and propaganda, actions and maneuvers, must be united in an organic whole. Without ability to maneuver there is no capacity for action and no real Communist Party. The paralyzing dogma of "no maneuvers" must be eliminated from our conception at all costs. The great leaders and teachers of Leninism are constantly pressing this idea as a life and death struggle to the Communist Parties. Only recently, the Executive Committee of the Communist International was obliged to adopt a special resolution against the doctrine of "no maneuvers" which was threatening to paralyze the Communist Party of Germany and which had already lead it

to the most serious errors in connection with the question of the monarchy. "The Communist Party of Germany must learn how to maneuver," said the resolution of the Communist International. Our Party must also learn and in order to do so it must reject the standpoint which is presented by the article of Comrade Askeli.

Shop Nuclei.

The Bolshevization of the Party implies reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei. Our Party is confronted with colossal difficulties in this respect on account of its small membership and many national divisions. The success of our campaign to construct the Party on the shop-nuclei basis requires the active, conscious and whole-hearted support of the leading comrades of the various federations. Comrade Askeli does not give such support. He gives the shop nuclei form of organization only a negative endorsement and attempts to discredit it in advance with the statement that he favors it, "not so much that it is practical, tried and true, but because theoretically it appears practical and true and this must be shown." The transformation of our Party from the social-democratic form of organization to the Communist form of organization, built in the work-shops, will never be accomplished by such a skeptical attitude. The position of Comrade Askeli amounts to opposition to shop nuclei, under the flag of lip-service to it. The Party must oppose and reject this standpoint.

The Federation Question.

The Communist International and the Central Executive Committee of our Party have come to the definite conclusion that the existence of separate language federations must be done away with. The language federations must be fused into a single centralized party. The organization letter of the Communist International gives detailed and specific instructions on this question; and the resolution of the Party commission takes a clear and definite stand for the complete centralization of the Party and the complete abolition of the present federation form of the organization. The energetic carrying out of these resolutions is an indispensable part of the process of Bolshevizing the Party.

On this vital question as well as on all the others raised in his article, Comrade Askeli takes a wrong stand. The letter of the Communist International and the resolution of the party commission, provide for the reconstruction of the present language branches as non-partisan workers' clubs. The proposal of Comrade Askeli to maintain the federations on

(Continued on page 6.)

RUSSIA TODAY! Official Report of British Trade U

(Continued from Yesterday's Daily Worker)

SYNOPSIS.—The structure and activities of the Soviet Union are keenly analyzed in the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia, which is being printed serially in the DAILY WORKER. The trade union leaders exhaustively record the achievements of the Soviet government in finances, and in the form of their government. Transportation, industry and agriculture were then taken up, the trade union leaders showing that production is steadily increasing. The study of agriculture showed that the Soviet Union is manufacturing and importing tractors and other farm machinery. The relation of the New Economic Policy to agriculture was then explained. "Russian agriculture is recovering slowly but steadily" was the conclusion of the British trade unionists. The important subject of the Union's foreign trade was discussed in yesterday's installment.

FOREIGN TRADE OF THE U.S.S.R., JANUARY TO JUNE, 1924. (In 1,000 roubles at 1913 prices.)

Countries from which imports received.	Trade categories.			Total.
	Foodstuffs.	Raw, semi-manufactured, and live stock.	Manufactures.	
Germany	217	12,523	9,689	22,439
Great Britain	797	17,898	3,131	21,826
U. S. A.	240	12,120	3,131	15,491
Sweden	139	50	3,518	3,707
Finland	42	1,130	1,905	3,077
Persia	25	2,083	1	2,109
China	2,097	—	8	2,105
Esthonia	70	36	1,992	2,098
Norway	1,226	139	301	1,666
Poland	6	363	1,272	1,641
Austria	—	97	1,214	1,341
France	13	866	368	1,247
Australia	459	752	2	1,213
Latvia	86	514	235	865
Holland	309	130	13	452
Turkey	68	62	305	435
Belgium	—	—	186	186
Italy	118	204	79	401
Denmark	4	50	77	131
Other	242	626	600	1,468
Total (all countries)	6,208	49,683	28,057	83,948

Countries to which exports dispatched.	Trade categories.			Total.
	Foodstuffs.	Raw, semi-manufactured, and live stock.	Manufactures.	
Germany	21,087	7,601	9	28,697
Great Britain	6,307	14,831	29	21,167
Latvia	8,082	11,382	85	19,549
Turkey	3,738	8,630	85	12,453
Esthonia	5,421	4,159	16	9,596
Italy	6,184	3,125	—	9,309
Holland	5,766	1,513	—	7,279
Denmark	6,355	791	27	7,173
Finland	5,812	76	—	5,888
France	3,875	1,904	—	5,679
Belgium	1,658	2,931	3	4,592
U. S. A.	1	3,948	48	3,997
Poland	221	1,626	5	1,852
Sweden	1,120	431	—	1,551
Norway	842	56	—	898
Egypt	—	391	—	391
Other	8,060	2,191	83	10,334
Total (all countries)	84,529	65,486	390	150,405

Regulation of Trade

(a) **Customs Tariff.**—In view of the complete control and partial conduct of foreign commerce by the Government, the customs tariff has lost much of its importance as a measure of protection for home industry and much of its use for revenue purposes. Because protection can be given to any extent to any enterprises by manipulation of the economic programme (Gosplan). And when more than three-fourths of the profits of commerce go to Government account, there is little profit in taxing them.

Thus in the latest tariff, there is a very considerable departure from all-round protection in the interests of an increase of production and of consumption. For example, agricultural manures and machinery especially, and generally all raw materials and machinery required for industry, are lightly taxed. There has also been a reduction of duties on articles whose importation seems to be in the public interests, such as tea, on which duty has been lowered 40 per cent.

(b) **Commercial Program.**—It is obvious that not only this policy of controlling foreign commerce in the national interest, but even the whole principle of conducting foreign commerce through official organs depends for its success on establishing the Program of Foreign Commerce for the whole Union on an economic basis that represents realities. This requires a structure of statistical information at home and abroad and of systematic investigation of every requirement of the vast and complicated inter-ramifications and inter-relationships of commerce that will take years to complete. And it will always be dependent for its actuality on the General Economic Program which is itself only in process of organization. So far, though progress is remarkably rapid, there is general recognition that until a year ago the general Commercial Plan was largely guess work. There was even some question whether a general plan was possible at all, or whether a general

policy, for example, of encouraging exports and restricting imports, was not the most that could be attempted. And the first plans under the New Economic Policy seemed to confirm this skepticism. Thus, that for 1920-1 was entirely re-cast at least three times in the course of the year.

But already the results of 1922-23 suggested that a plan on broad lines was possible. For example, the plan estimated an export of 228 million gold roubles and the actual exportation was 210.6 million gold roubles. When, however, its details are examined, the difficulties due to insufficient data and incalculable factors, such as abnormal political strain and economic stress, are expressed in wide divergences between the planned allotments and the actualities. Taking the last figures we find as to exports:—

	In Million Gold Roubles.		
Grain	12.7	31.3	plus 18.6
Down	12.0	33.5	plus 21.5
Oil products	27.0	19.5	minus 7.5
Flax	30.0	13.2	minus 16.8
Raw hides	7.5	2.9	minus 4.6
Total exports	228.0	206.6	minus 21.4

These divergences were due to want of statistical information in the central administration. The local authorities being incapable of supplying it, an attempt was made to use the semi-official organizations, trusts, etc., for this purpose. This has given better results, and it looks as though the plan for 1923-24 will be more accurately realized in its details.

The general policy of the plan is to assess exports with reference to the general economic plan and to assess imports with reference to exports. It is assumed that there is no immediate prospect of exporting manufactured goods. Timber and oil products can be increased at will, while grain export will increase steadily and rapidly. Increase in the export of foodstuffs, such as butter, of which the pre-war export was 70 million roubles, and eggs, 90 million roubles, will depend on bringing the foreign demand to the door of the peasant producer, which again depends on the introduction of foreign capital.

Raw materials imported accounted for one-third in 1922-3; manufactures for two-thirds; while in 1923-4 raw materials and semi-manufactures were over half the imports. Imports, such as coffee, tea, rice, stationery, etc., were only 2½ per cent. From which it is evident that imports are pretty severely restricted to what is essential for the equipment and supply of industry. Further, the manufactures imported (1922-23) were in proportion of metal work, 22 per cent.; machinery, 48 per cent.; textiles, 11 per cent.; chemicals, 6 per cent.; fuel, 1-3 per cent.; luxuries, such as are not prohibited, less than 1 per cent.

Contraband

But the contraband trade especially in luxuries of which the importation is prohibited, has reached considerable dimensions with the growing demand, as private fortunes increase. The value of the total contraband importation was estimated at 100 million roubles in 1923. Of this a large proportion was contraband "Polish" tea, smuggled in defiance of the State Tea Administration. This business has been developed by a refugee merchant in Warsaw, V—, whose "Polish" tea is to be got all over Russia. The campaign against contraband is one of the main responsibilities of the Police (G.P.U.), which has a frontier gendarmerie for the purpose. But the long land frontier and the immense profits of the business will make it some time before contraband is mastered.

Financing of Trade

The Government was, in the first years of N.E.P., unable to finance its organizations for foreign trade, with working capital, and consequently merely assigned them funds in the form of goods and raw materials. These, thanks to favorable conditions for export, have now been largely converted abroad into financial valuta. As the operations of foreign commerce came to be put on a business basis by the establishment of Trusts, Mixed Companies, etc., direct financing by the Treasury was replaced by the opening of credits through the State Banks (Gosbank, Prombank). The banks found advantageous such credits to foreign commerce; as they thereby ensured the resources thus loaned from loss by the currency depreciation are eloquent of the enormous extravagance of the system in then still in progress.

This process is illustrated by the following figures:—

	Total of Foreign trade.	Directly financed by Government.
	In Millions of Gold Roubles.	
1920	30.5	252
1921	230.2	303
1922	355.4	128
1922-3	356.0	87
1923-4	548.0	2

The figures of the years 1920-21 under War Communism are eloquent of the enormous extravagance of the system in this respect. Allowing for the fact that in 1922-23, of the 87 million gold roubles financed, 53 million was given in the form of credits, and in view of the figures for this last year, we can conclude that foreign trade is now financing itself on a business basis.

If the value of imports abroad for 1922-23 was as stated, 144 millions, and the exports, 206.8 millions, then to the former to be added for the cost of transport about 25 millions, and to the latter the exporters' profit—say 25 millions. The total to be financed became then about 400 millions, which had to be provided by the trusts and companies, or by the Treasury, or by bank credits, or by the credits of foreign agencies such as

"Who Is Who" of British Delegation

HERBERT SMITH, J. P. N years president Yorkshire Miners' Association. President, Miners' Federation of Great Britain since 1922. President, 1907. Served on royal commissions. President of national Miners' Committee. Member of school board, West Riding county council and other public bodies for many years. Member of primary committee, trades union council, 1913-16, and general council, 1916-17. Appointed J. P. in 1915. Member of central committee, miners' welfare committee, mining exchange board.

BEN TILLET, general secretary of trade unions since 1886. President of Dockers' Union which originated from the Tea Coopers and Laborers' Union established in 1886. A pioneer of trade union movement nationally. Contested several ward elections. Elected for Remained dockers' general secretary until amalgamation to Transport General Workers' Union. Now Secretary of Political and International Department of Amalgamated Union of Marine and Dockers. Member of trades union congresses, general council since 1922. Member of parliamentary committee, union congress, 1892-04.

JOHN TURNER, associate secretary of socialist organizations since 1886. Intimate with founders and leading socialist thought, such as Morris, Belfort Bax, and others. Closely associated with Kropotkin from 1886 until his departure to Russia in 1917. A pioneer of hours legislation and founder of Assistants' Union. Official of union from 1898 until retirement in 1924. Elected general secretary after twelve years in this position until 1924. Elected general council, trades union congress, 1921; re-elected by congress elected to 1924 for period to September 1925.

JOHN BROMLEY, M. P. A pioneer of railway trade unionism and many positions of trust prior to his appointment as branch secretary of the Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, 1904. Elected general secretary of the union in 1914. Elected member of labor executive, 1920 and 1921. Member of trades union congresses, general council, 1922-24. Member of labor party delegation to 1924. Prominently associated with labor and socialist propaganda for many years.

ALAN A. H. FINDLAY, member of United Patternmakers' Association since 1893. Branch secretary in other offices. Elected assistant general secretary, executive department, 1913. Elected general secretary. Formerly treasurer, Engineering Shipbuilding Trades Federation for three years, subsequently appointed president, at present occupying position. Elected to trades union congress general council, 1921, re-elected each year until 1924, for term September, 1925.

A. A. PURCELL (chairman of delegation). Member, Federation of Union since 1891. Member of democratic federation of workers, Salford Borough Council for many years. Sectional secretary, frequently organizer, furnishing Parliamentary candidate, Westford, 1910. Contested Coventry 24. Elected 1923. Successful candidate in co-operative and other districts. Elected to general council, union congress, 1919, re-elected each year. Elected by trade union international conference, Vienna, 1919. President at 1924 union congress. Vice-Chairman of general council. Appointed delegate American labor convention, 1924. Accompanied the delegation to Russia, 1920.

The Union Delegation

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The Delegation

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In the absence of any later information, the financing of foreign trade in 1922-23 during transition to a banking basis may be of interest:—

Indirect Financing:	Millions
The Commissariat of Foreign Commerce of R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine and special Ukraine organizations.....	about 80
Mixed Companies with Foreign and Russian Capital.....	" 10
Cooperatives, Centrosoyouz, Selskosoyouz, etc.....	" 15
National Trusts, Syndicates, etc.....	" 30
Organizations for raw materials (Gosribprom, Centrokishprdo, Khlebprod, etc.....)	" 15
Total	" 150

Direct Financing Under Budget.	Millions
Direct deals in Imports.....	" 33
Credit Loans for Imports.....	" 30
Financing of Grain Exportation.....	" 24
Total	" 87

Russian Credits and Overdrafts:	Export Credits	Import Credits
National Bank (Gosbank).....	68	51
Industrial Bank (Prombank).....	12	6
Russian National Bank (Rosskombank).....	4	4
	84	61
Totals	145	

Note: Of this 61 millions for Imports, 78 per cent was for financing textiles.
Foreign Credits:
 Foreign official agencies (Torgpredstva)..... about 30
 Foreign agency in London (Arcos)..... " 46
Total..... " 76
 Note: Of the above 46 millions, 30 millions were financial credits from foreign banks, the remainder commercial credits.
Grand total..... 458 millions

The excess of about 50 millions in this total over that of the total value of trade is explained by the financing of operations in the following year. This being the first year of the system there was no corresponding carry-over from previous years.

Trade Turnover

The term of Russian credits is mostly for six months, but export credits run up to eleven, and overdrafts are generally for three months; foreign credits are mostly for four months. On this basis we can calculate the respective capital employed in foreign commerce:—

	Gold roubles
Working capital about.....	150,000,000
National capital about.....	87,000,000
Banks, Russian and Foreign.....	115,000,000
Total	352,000,000

And from this again we can calculate that the capital engaged is turned over only every ten months. This at first sight compares badly with an average turnover three times a year pre-war. But here again changed conditions allow of no true comparison. Pre-war turnover was purely commercial and mostly in goods ready for export and re-sold at once on importation. Present conditions cover in most cases the whole transit from producer to consumer.

Foreign Bank Credits

The rapidity of progress depends on the rapidity with which foreign capital, especially in London, realizes that the financing of Russian trade is good business. There is some indication that this realization is spreading. Thus Russian banks have been able for some time to discount drafts of the Russian economic organizations with foreign banks, and are now beginning to be able to discount their bills. Arcos, Centrosoyouz, and other trading organizations are now having no difficulty in this respect.

British and German Trade with Moscow

One reason why it is to be hoped that British finance will not neglect good business with Russia is the probability that if it does, Russian trade will be taken by Germany. Germany is at present negotiating a commercial treaty, and has begun to dispute our supremacy in Russian commerce.

TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY (In percentage of total trade)

Great Britain		Germany	
1921-2—	Per cent	1921-2—	Per cent
Exports.....	25.1	Exports.....	14.7
Imports.....	50.7	Imports.....	88.3
1922-3—		1922-3—	
Exports.....	33.5	Exports.....	61.3
Imports.....	36.5	Imports.....	49.7
1923-4—		1923-4—	
Exports.....	80.0	Exports.....	59.0
Imports.....	51.6	Imports.....	41.5
Per cent of total			
Great Britain.....		23.9	
Germany.....		18.2	

Of the 80.6 millions worth of purchases by the Russian foreign Government agencies in 1922-23, 34 millions, or 42 per cent., were bought in Germany and 30.9 millions, or 38.4 per cent., were bought in England.

Legal Status of Foreigners

Soviet legislation in respect of foreigners is inspired by two contrary principles, neither of which has entered into the foundations of ordinary international law. One is recognition of the international solidarity of all workers, which would bring in foreigners on an equal footing. The other is the determination—the result of bitter experience—not to admit foreigners

to a position and power prejudicial to the Soviet system and national independence. On the whole, however, the present position of foreigners is immensely superior to that under Tsarism and even to that in certain Continental countries.

In the first place, a foreigner is defined as a citizen of a State not organized on a Soviet System. (Constitution of Union, 30-XII—1922.) Foreign workers have all rights of citizenship, and political refugees cannot be extradited. Extradition of criminals and the usual diplomatic immunities are provided for.

(a) Entry

The entry of foreigners is subject to the usual consular visa (which is at present, except in special cases, only given after reference to Moscow). Entry without a visa renders liable to a fine of 500 gold roubles (p. 98, Criminal Code). The Customs regulations are liberal, except one (p. 8), subjecting literature to inspection and possible confiscation by the police (G. P. U.). Money in excess of 500 gold roubles in value is put to the owner's account in the State Bank; jewelry, furs, etc., are allowed in reasonable amount.

(b) Residence

Foreigners must register within two months. They are not given labor cards. Exit from Russia is also subject to the usual permit. The Government reserves the right to deport as a police measure any foreigner whose life is not reconcilable with the conditions of a Socialist society; but time must be allowed him to settle his affairs (par. 73). Any foreigner may obtain citizenship; and wives do not take their husband's nationality unless they so desire. Foreigners' rights may be administratively restricted unless otherwise provided in commercial treaties.

The main restrictions at present are that they must get a permit to travel from one Republic of the Union to another. They may not fish in the White Sea nor the Northern Ocean. They may not wear foreign uniforms.

They enjoy equality before the Courts. They may be prosecuted for action against the Soviet State even outside Russia (par. 314, Crim. Code), but convictions must be communicated to the Foreign Office. (Par. 160 Code, Crim. Procedure.) Judgments in matters of divorce, etc., will be given, apparently, according to Russian law, not as is usual, according to the law of the domicile.

In all other respects—rights of property, profession, occupation, inheritance, they are equal with Soviet citizens. They are liable in principle to labor conscription, but in practice this is now only applicable in cases of national emergency. They are not liable for military service.

(c) Concessions

The legal rights of foreigners can be almost indefinitely extended by concessions, which all have the force of law and can be concluded with foreigners irrespective of whether their country is in contractual relations with Russia. Such concessions may contravene existing legislation and may give the concessionaire a privileged position as respects Russians. The property of a concessionaire may only be expropriated in so far as provided in the concession. Concessions are granted by the Central Committee on Concessions (Decree of March 8th, 1923), and negotiated through the concessions commissions of the Foreign Agencies (Torgpredstva). (For the commercial aspect of such concessions see the chapter on Industry.)

Concessions may also be granted within the limits of law by Provincial Governments for public services, such as gas, tramways, etc.

Foreign Companies

Foreign limited companies can be admitted, by permit, to the rights of judicial persons (par. 8, Decree of November 23rd, 1922). Foreign firms may operate in Russia through establishments, agencies, etc., under a decree of the Executive Committee of April 12th, 1923, provided they obtain a permit from the Chief Committee on Concessions with approval of the Executive Committee on Internal Commerce within a month. Russians in Government employ may not undertake such agencies. The conditions under which foreign companies apply for permits are regulated by decree of May 12th, 1923, which limits such permits to periods from one to three years which can be renewed.

General Conclusion

The information acquired by the Delegation both in the official data, some of which has been reproduced above, and in conversations, has convinced it that, although the centralized control of foreign commerce and its restriction to official and semi-official organizations causes considerable difficulty and delay in opening up commercial connections with foreign countries, yet that the present channels are quite workable with goodwill on both sides. It further believes that the desire for full and friendly commercial relations on the Russian side is such that when foreign traders can show that a minor relaxation of restrictions would be reasonable, the demand might be met. Finally, that great harm is being done to British interests in general and great hardship frequently inflicted on British citizens by the absence of full diplomatic and consular representation in the U.S.S.R. Such representation could be far better spared in countries where the political and economic system is on familiar lines than in States such as those of the Union where immense possibilities of international intercourse are developing under quite novel conditions.

(To be continued in next issue)

Cannon Replies to Henry Askeli

(Continued from page 3)

a national scale. "working independently under the ideological leadership of the Workers' Party," would tend, in our opinion to separate still more the federations from the Party and reduce the control of the Party over them to a fiction.

Factionalism.

There exists in the Party a sentiment against factionalism and factional groupings. Comrade Askeli appears to be attempting to play upon this sentiment and to exploit it for his own factional purpose. The decision of the Comintern demands the liquidation of factionalism and calls for the unity of the Party on the basis of the political platform of the Communist International. Comrade Askeli would make it impossible to accomplish this result. Under cover of acceptance of the first half of this provision, his article reads like an attempt to prevent the unification of the Party and to create a new faction of his own on a non-Communist platform. The members of the Finnish Federation who are against factionalism must be on their guard and not allow anyone to maneuver them into a faction against the Party and the Comintern.

"History."

We would like to find some part of Comrade Askeli's platform which we could agree but this is impossible. The platform is wrong from start to finish. Even the "history" which Comrade Askeli recites is presented in a false light. He attempts to throw aspersions upon the glorious past of our Party and to take credit to himself for remaining in the Socialist Party after the split. It is quite true that the left wing made a tactical error in allowing the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party to force the split too quickly. And it can also be admitted that the first programs of our Party contained some leftist mistakes. But in spite of all, the fundamental line of division at the time of the split, which completely overshadowed all minor, tactical questions, was between revolutionary Communists and reformist social-democrats; and it is no credit to anyone

who, at the decisive moment, remained in the ranks of the Socialist Party. In such a situation, one who has a clear Communist position always unites with the Communists, even though he disagrees with their tactics. This is a fundamental principle.

We do not mean by these remarks to bring up the past in such a way as to cast any reflection on the comrades now in our ranks who took the wrong position in the historical days when the revolutionary vanguard in America was first organizing itself into a party. We know very well that many who remained in the Socialist Party at the time of the split and who later joined our ranks, have done and are doing good work for Communism. The error of the past has been made good many times over and now has only historical significance. It is quite unnecessary to refer to it again, and we would be among the last to do so. But when the history of the Party is considered, one should relate the past events in their true perspective, Comrade Askeli fails to do this.

The Federation Split of 1914.

We take issue with another part of Comrade Askeli's "History"—the part dealing with the split in the Finnish Federation in 1914. Moreover, we are of the opinion that the narrow attitude manifested by Comrade Askeli, may explain to a certain degree, the reason we have not had greater success in healing the effects of that split and in winning over to Communism the Finnish workers who have fallen under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism.

The platform of the syndicalist group in 1914 was politically incorrect, but so was the platform of the socialists. A true explanation of the emergence of syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism as a phenomenon in the labor movement is impossible unless one understands and clearly states that pre-war syndicalism represented an extreme reaction against reformist, parliamentary socialism. Reformist socialism is the father of syndicalism. This is the way to explain the split of 1914 and to show to the syndicalist workers that the Communist Party and the Communist conception of political action have nothing in

common with the Socialist Party and the socialist conception of political action against which they made a justifiable revolt, which led them to extreme and unsound doctrines.

The Communist Party and its Finnish section ought to represent, at least to a certain extent, a union of the best proletarian elements from the Socialist Party and the syndicalist movement. The Communist International was of this opinion when it invited the I. W. W. as well as the left wing of the Socialist Party to send delegates to its first Congress. The Communist International declared many times that the progress of the Communist Parties would be measured in a large degree, by their success in winning over the syndicalist workers to the platform of Communism.

Many of the best revolutionary syndicalists responded to the Communist International and are in its ranks today. They are fully entitled to be placed on an equal footing with the revolutionary workers who came from the Socialist Party, without recriminations with regard to the past being brought up against them. Comrade Askeli has no right to give such a one-sided account of the old fight and to ridicule and attack them in such a bureaucratic and intolerant manner.

Anarcho-syndicalism still finds too much support among the Finnish workers in America. It is one of the most urgent tasks of the Finnish section of our Party to win over the Finnish syndicalist workers to the platform of Communism and to draw the best of them into the Party. This task can be carried out successfully only on the condition that we adopt the correct Communist policy on this question and reject the policy of Comrade Askeli.

Fight for the Party

The great constructive work performed by the comrades in the Finnish Federation is known and appreciated by the Party. The organizing genius of the Finnish Comrades is responsible for many achievements from which the Party has much to learn. We know that many of the greatest undertakings of the Party, such as,

for example, the establishment and maintenance of the DAILY WORKER would hardly have been possible without the loyal support and generous sacrifice of the Finnish Comrades. These facts are so well known as to need no special mention.

Comrade Askeli allows himself to present even these facts in the wrong way. In some of his language he creates the impression of an attempt to arouse among the Finnish comrades a Federation patriotism as against a Party patriotism, and to set them against the Party on nationalistic grounds. The sharp criticism which the party directs against such non-Communist policies as those put up by Comrade Askeli are twisted around by him and made to appear as attacks against the Finnish Federation and against the Finnish comrades as such. The Finnish Communists are bound to repulse such methods.

Any attempt to make a breach between the Party and the Communist International and to lay the basis for a split must be fought against by every Communist. The whole party must mobilize itself for quick and resolute action to defeat such designs, which, if allowed to gain headway, would endanger all the achievements of the past six years.

The efforts of Comrade Askeli to put himself up as the spokesman of the Finnish members of the Party and to identify them with his program does not by any means signify that this is really the case. We are absolutely confident that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Finnish Federation will reject the program of Askeli without hesitation and in such a decisive manner that Askeli and those disposed to support him will be compelled to abandon their plans. The Bureau of the Finnish Federation has set an example to the whole membership by its resolute and determined stand in support of the Party. The interests of Communism demand that the Finnish branches of the Party follow the example of the Bureau and repudiate the policies of Comrade Askeli and those who share his views. We are confident this will be done.

Our Struggle Against Loreism Must Be Concrete

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

IT is always good to begin with a definition of Loreism. It is also necessary to show the historic background of Loreism, how it originated and developed in our party. But one must not stop at that. To expose Loreism effectively, to prove to our membership conclusively the opportunistic nature of Loreism, one must bring forward practical examples of its manifestations in recent party life. One must be able to show, by the everyday manifestations of Loreism, its right wing opportunistic nature. This is what I mean by proposing that our struggle against Loreism must be concrete.

A Few Samples of Loreism.

THERE are at the disposal of the party several significant samples of Loreism that are of very recent date. For instance, Loreism in the Communist fractions in the needle trades. This is a manifestation of Loreism, very much marked, very definite, which the C. E. C. was quite successful in combatting. There is a definite manifestation of Loreism in certain sections of our Finnish Federation. We refer here particularly to the statements of the Finnish branch of Superior, Wis. The C. E. C. and the Bureau of the Finnish Federation have taken up very energetically the ideological struggle against this manifestation of Loreism. But there is also a distinct Loreistic grouping in another section of the party which thus far has received very little attention in the general party press. We refer here to the very definite, very militant, and aggressive Loreistic tendency and group in the Jewish section of the party. It is to this particular group that the present article

will be devoted.

The Loreistic Wing in the Jewish Federation.

IT is perhaps best to study Loreism on the development and present activities of the Jewish section of our party. The reasons for that are manifold. First, because the Jewish section of our party, although small in numbers (comparatively speaking, only about 2,000 members), yet it is a very militant and active section in the party. It is connected organically and intimately with the broad mass movements of the Jewish speaking working masses of the country and is exerting considerable influence upon the everyday struggles of these workers. It is for this reason that the opportunistic tendencies within the Jewish section have quite naturally made themselves manifest concretely in the political, tactical, and organizational policies of our party among the Jewish workers.

Secondly, the present Jewish section of our party is a result of a merger of two formerly distinct groups—a merger which took place when the Workers Party was formed. One of these groups was the Jewish section of the Communist Party of America, affiliated with the C. I. since 1919, the other group was the section of the Jewish socialist federation which split from the S. P. after its Detroit convention. It was this second group (which became a part of our party at the formation of the Workers Party) that brought with it not only a considerable membership, not only much experience in organization work, not only a number of influential mass leaders among the Jewish workers, but also a heavy burden of social-democratic traditions and prejudices. It is these social-democratic and Two-

and-a-Half International tendencies that the Jewish section of our party had to struggle with during recent years. And it is in the struggle to outlive and discard these traditions and prejudices that our Jewish section has grown into its maturity and influence upon the masses.

The history of our Jewish section since 1919 and particularly since the formation of the Workers Party was in the truest sense of the word a history of struggle, ideological and organizational, against Loreism. It began when the Communist International was the central issue of the struggle. The question was, "Shall we join the Communist International unreservedly or with reservations?" It was an intense and bitter struggle which finally resulted in the almost complete victory of the adherents of the Communist International who stood for affiliation without reservations.

It then continued over the question of the now famous 21 points. This struggle lasted for quite a while. The result was the same, the complete triumph of the strategy of the C. I. incorporated in those 21 points.

The struggle against social-democratic traditions in our Jewish section then began to develop over the question of the role of the underground party. The social-democratic and Two-and-a-Half International tendencies in the Jewish section assumed the initiative and became the leaders in a life and death struggle for the abolition of the underground party. The main feature of their struggle was opposition on principle to the underground existence of a Communist Party and to combining legal with illegal work. The result of this struggle again saw the complete triumph

of the Communist International. The underground party was liquidated because conditions had made it possible for the Communist Party to function openly. But, at the same time, it was deeply impressed upon the minds of our membership, and particularly upon the minds of many of those who were still deeply submerged in social-democratic traditions that there is nothing more fundamental in the organization principles of the C. I. than the combination of legal with illegal work.

The Bolshevization of the Jewish Section.

IN the process of this struggle between the Communists and the centrists in the Jewish Federation, four important things happened. Let us enumerate them.

1. Large numbers of the proletarian and basically revolutionary elements of the so-called original Jewish socialist federation group freed themselves of their social-democratic traditions and prejudices and became assimilated with the Communist group in the Jewish section.

2. Several very influential and capable comrades, formerly leaders of the Jewish socialist federation, broke completely with their former centrist attitude in the party and identified themselves fully and wholeheartedly with the Communist International and with the body of Communists in the Party. To realize what that meant for the Jewish section and for the party as a whole, it will suffice to mention the fact that among those comrades we find the names of such men as Olgin and Yuditch.

3. While assimilating and identifying with itself the best proletarian elements and the best leadership of

(Continued on page 7)

The Struggle Against Loreism Must Be Concrete

(Continued from page 6)

the original Jewish socialist federation group, the Communist International and the party have succeeded in getting rid of and discarding a number of individuals who were also very influential and very powerful in the Jewish movement, but who were incapable of and unwilling to accept the Communist International and its policies. We refer here to such individuals as Salutzky, B. Hoffman, and several of their followers.

4. Having won over to the policies and tactics of the Communist International the overwhelming majority of the Jewish section of our party, having brot to complete identification with the C. I. the best and most sincere leaders of the original Jewish socialist federation group, and having gotten rid of the Salutzky-Hoffmann influence, the tremendously increased body of Communists in our Jewish section proceeded to build Communist influence among the Jewish speaking masses. In this work they were very successful. The wide influence of the party among the nonpartisan mass organizations of the Jewish workers and the powerful development of the party's Jewish daily organ, the Freiheit, is a standing monument to the successful struggle of Communism against Loreism in the Jewish Federation.

The Lingering Remnants of Loreism in the Jewish Section.

THERE is, however, yet, in the Jewish Federation, what could be designated as lingering remnants of Loreism. These remnants can be found in nearly every Jewish branch of the party. The comrades of this tendency are easily recognized by a peculiar attitude which is best de-

scribed as veiled hostility to the Communist leadership in the Jewish section which at times becomes open opposition.

In common with Loreism in the party as a whole, these remnants of Loreism in the Jewish section are opposed to what they term maneuvers, and boast of the fact that they are "very strong" on organization and propaganda. The same as Loreism and opportunism elsewhere, the Loreites in the Jewish Federation sabotage and oppose strict party control over the activities of Communists in non-partisan organizations. Thru the whole of the activities of the remnants of Loreism in the Jewish Federation, there runs a thread of sullen anger and disappointment in the defeat of the Salutzky-Hoffmann influence and mistrust in the present Communist leadership in our Jewish section.

The following is a telling illustration of this peculiar mood of the remnants of Loreism in the Jewish section. Comrades Olgin and Yuditich, and several more comrades of less prominence, are being attacked by these Loreites as traitors. Why? Because these comrades have definitely, sincerely, and wholeheartedly outlived their centrist inclination and have identified themselves with the Communist International and with the party.

These lingering remnants of Loreism refuse to make peace with Communist leadership in the Jewish section. Some of them have already reached the point of accepting Communist leadership in the party as a whole but they will not agree to the Jewish Federation being led by the present majority in the Jewish bureau, which is made up of comrades who

have led in the formation of the Communist Party in 1919, plus those like Comrades Olgin and Yuditich who came from the original socialist federation group and have completely identified themselves with the Communist International. The liquidation of Loreism in the party as a whole means for our Jewish section the complete liquidation of these lingering remnants of Loreism.

In this final effort to liquidate social-democratic traditions in our Jewish section, the Jewish comrades must continue to follow the old Communist strategy which has proven so successful thru all these years. This strategy is not to surrender and give away a single working man or truly revolutionary intellectual to the Loreistic tendency in the Jewish Federation. It was this strategy that enables us to assimilate hundreds of workers from the camp of the original socialist-federation group. It was this strategy that enabled us to win for the C. I. men like Olgin, Yuditich, etc. Consequently this strategy must be continued in order to liquidate completely what is now only a small group in the Jewish Federation.

Know-Nothingism as the Most Modern Manifestation of Loreism.

CONFRONTED with the determined campaign of the party to liquidate Loreism, quite a number of Loreites in the Jewish section have adopted the policy of either denying the existence of such tendency, or denying personal knowledge of the existence of such a tendency. It is a modern expression of the philosophy of know-nothing. This innocent-looking maneuver must not fool the membership of the Jewish section, because it is nothing else but a clumsy attempt

to evade the issue, this issue being the liquidation of Loreism.

Why? Why do we call this philosophy of know-nothing an attempt to evade the decision of the C. I. and of the party to liquidate Loreism? Because the existence of this Loreistic tendency is so well known (It functions and finds its leading expression in the London-Salzman-Siegel group in the Jewish bureau), its manifestations in our daily work are so concrete and persistent that no one in our Jewish section can claim ignorance of these facts without exposing himself to the serious charge of either attempting to evade the issue, which is the same as giving support to Loreism, or of being so politically immature as not to be fit for any leading role in our movement.

The way to combat this philosophy of know-nothing is to present the issue in the most concrete form. Not only must we refer to Loreism in the party as a whole, not only must we refer to Loreism in the past, but we must also point our fingers at Loreism in the Jewish section and to its recent manifestations. We must analyze and expose the opposition of the Loreites to strict party control over the activities of our comrades in the unions, the Workmen's Circle and in similar organizations. We must analyze and show the true value of the anti-party spirit of sabotage and opposition manifested by the Loreites in the Jewish section to the policies of the majority in the Jewish bureau. We must also take up the experiences of each city and each branch and show the presence of anti-party tendencies of a Loreistic nature. It is only in this manner that we will succeed in liquidating completely these Loreistic tendencies.

"There Is No More Communism Here"

By Y. ANVELT.

A FEW days ago in the town of Yurief, Esthonia, another attack of vengeance commenced against the class conscious Esthonian workers, agricultural laborers and soldiers accused of having "prepared an armed rising and espionage in favor of the Union of Socialist Soviet Russia.

Comrade Heidemann, whose name the Esthonian bourgeoisie used for the whole "case of the 77" is a former independent socialist who broke away in 1921 from his former comrades (who had now merged into one "socialist" party with the rest of the Esthonian menshevik debris).

He was leader of the local organization adhering to the Comintern, of the labor party and trade unions of Yurief. When all the workers' organizations were smashed up by the secret police in 1924, and all the most prominent workers were arrested (as a result of the trial of the "149.") Comrade Heidemann went into hiding. In September of last year he was arrested at a conspirative flat, in connection with which the secret police asserted that they had found the traces of an organization of fighting troops among workers and soldiers of the Yurief district.

AFTER this the White Guards, who had become thoroly frightened, began to track down all and sundry known workers and agricultural laborers still outside prison walls, and also arrested soldiers in the army who were suspected of Bolshevism. After the December rising all the proletarians arrested in Yurief were heaped together in one bunch and the big "case" was staged which of course will now result in sentences of penal servitude and perhaps of death.

The Reval lackeys informed the newspapers of their London masters after the suppression of the December rising, that "there is no more Communism here" and the next day printed this in Reval for home consumption as being the "opinion of the British press." But the inexorable facts hardly confirmed this. The blood bath prepared by the Esthonian bourgeoisie, after December 1st, and continuing up to the present time,

is more or less powerless to suppress the struggle of the workers and the peasants on behalf of the Soviet power so popular among the toilers of Esthonia.

The tiniest of the Baltic Lilliputians continue to slide into the economic abyss without slackening its speed, and it is not surprising that such an "independent state" is not agreeable to the toilers.

There is no need to talk of the heavy industry which was considerably developed in pre-war days; nothing remains of this but utter ruin in the full sense of the word. A section of agriculture—the farms of the colonists on the former lands of the landowners—is experiencing a serious and long drawn out crisis, since the holders are in the overwhelming majority of cases assessed with high lease payments and are incapable of standing on their feet.

NOW, in addition to this a law has been passed according to which land will be sold to the lease holders as sacred property for the incredibly high price of 90 rubles per dessiatin (without buildings).

There is a complete stoppage in trade since the purchasing power of the masses who are becoming more and more impoverished is negligible, and at the same time imports exceed exports by 25 per cent.

All the quests for rich foreign uncles who are prepared to throw a "loan" into the hands of the Esthonian speculators and embezzlers—even if it be only a million pounds sterling—have proved fruitless up to the present. It is not surprising that the unemployed, whom the menshevik papers recently estimated at 60,000 (out of a population of just over a million) and the village poor, condemned to die of starvation, have been compelled to carry on a struggle for the right of existence.

The weakest elements who have become desperate after the defeats suffered, are emigrating to Brazil and Canada; another section more energetic, but not very disciplined, is trying to slip thru into the U. S. S. R. in spite of the barbed wire entanglements and the frontier troops, and it will be well understood, that the majority of these remain behind,

and that the bourgeoisie carry on a life and death struggle against them. From the very commencement of "independence" the ideal of a section of the Esthonian bourgeoisie has been to transfer the country into a petty-bourgeois Denmark, without heavy industry and its inevitable political appendage—the proletariat; economic disorganization has brot the country to this impasse.

ALL that has to be done now is to settle up with the declared proletariat and—unemployed, and the petty-bourgeois idyll will have been realized. The secret police and the court martial must put an end to the most advanced elements, who still have some work or other, while want and poverty must push the rest over the frontiers of Esthonia, or simply send them to the cemetery. Thus the "independent" court works untiringly.

The old absurd cases are hashed up again, obviously nonsensical accusations are invented, and the proletarians sentenced one by one or in groups to long periods of imprisonment, if not to death. Here the "independent" court does not bother as other bourgeois courts do, about the question as to whether the accused are, in their opinion, members of a "secret society" or simply guilty of possessing or distributing literature, or carrying on agitation against the existing order, etc.

ONCE a worker is discovered, for instance, distributing illegal literature, that alone brands him as a member of the Communist Party, and he receives a heavy sentence. Already since last autumn responsible editors of legal labor newspapers (appearing before the rising) have been sentenced to penal servitude up to ten years. The following is an example of how the court-martials are carried out. A few days ago in Reval the worker of the "Dobroflot" Tondi was accused of participation in the armed rising. When it was made clear to the court that in reality this worker was ill on December 1st, the court decided: participation in the rising not proved, but since Tondi was a worker of "Dobroflot" where only Communists are accepted, and since he was a member of the legal organization—

the Local Transport Union and the Sports Society—in which Communists participate, his membership of an illegal organization is proved, and he is sentenced to imprisonment in a house of correction for three years.

THAT is how the "evil spirit"—symphy for the Soviet power—is being knocked out of the Esthonian proletarians; but the end of these highly cultured operations is not yet in sight. Searches and arrests still continue, those who cannot be brot to trial under any pretext whatever remain under the surveillance of the police or are deported to the U. S. S. R.

But nevertheless the bourgeoisie and the kulaks are trembling, sensitive to the fact that horny hands are waiting for the moment to clutch them by the throat. On May 1 the entire bourgeoisie of Esthonia were armed to the teeth and with shaking knees read the quite ordinary May 1st manifesto of the Communist Party and awaited a repetition of December 1st which now haunts them in their nightly dreams. Their hearts are only tranquil on the days when some foreign fleet or other hovers near Reval, when the British, Italian, Danish, Dutch and American fleets come there, and even the mighty fleet of their neighbor Latvia, in the form of its solitary armed barge—in order to show their teeth at Soviet Russia.

NO, miserable pygmies, you will not be able to uproot from among the workers and peasants the ideas they have inherited from the great October. Continue to imitate the biggest workshops of the White Terror, but your court martial will not exclude the possibility of a return of the revolutionary tribunals of 1917, but on the contrary they will only hasten it.

Dynamite on the Boulevard.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 7.—Four persons were injured slightly and the fashionable Armour boulevard apartments section were thrown into a panic by a dynamite explosion in an apartment house here. Windows were blown out of the Sheridan apartment next door. Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Stephenson, the 22-month-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Morris and Phillip Morris, 2 years old, were cut by flying glass.

British Used Forged Document Against Soviet

NOTE—The following is a verbatim report of a part of the "trial" of representative of the Soviet Oil Syndicate in China, Dosser, who was arrested charged with "hostile acts against foreign nations." Dosser was illegally tried in a "mixed court," the British authorities refusing to bring his case before a mixed court.

Because of the exposure of obviously forged documents by Dosser's defense, all charges except "creating propaganda" were dropped but Dosser was expelled from the Shanghai foreign settlement. The case was prosecuted by the British representatives. When Dosser was arrested three Russian white guards were present.

The report of the "trial" shows to what lengths the British are going to create ill-feeling between China and the Soviet Union.

AFTER their arrest at Shanghai, Comrade and Mrs. Dosser were charged under Article 221 of Chinese Provisional Criminal Code, which article provides for the offence of being in possession of literature liable to cause persons to commit a breach of peace.

Threatened With Death.

The second charge was that the accused were "undesirables"—which offence, however, is not provided for either in any article of the Chinese Criminal Code or any land regulation or Shanghai Municipal bye-law.

Then, after the forged document appeared on the scene, Dosser was charged, under Article 127, 128, 129, and 130, of the Chinese Criminal Code, which provide for the punishment of persons "having committed a hostile act against a foreign state" or "having broken the neutrality of China during war between foreign states;" an offender convicted under these articles is liable to be sentenced to a term of ten years' jail or even capital punishment.

The Mixed Court sat in the persons of Mr. Zau, a Chinese magistrate appointed by the Shanghai Consular Body, and British Junior Assessor Whitmore, the latter naturally playing first fiddle in the whole scandal-

ous frame-up and British-made travesty of justice. The prosecutor was no less worthy a gentleman, a Britisher, Maitland, who prosecuted on behalf of the municipal police.

Questions Right of Court.

The hearing was opened by this Maitland producing a document clumsily forged by his worthy Anglo-Russian white associates and submitting his contention that "the accused made preparations, namely by obtaining a certificate from the Communist Party; he made preparations to create strike committees and also for further preparations the accused went to Hongkong. The strike is a hostile act against foreign States with the exception of Russia."

Dr. Fischer, counsel for the defence, raised the question of jurisdiction, which Assessor Whitmore tried to dodge by declaring that as he "might say, the mixed court has definite instructions from the consular body. The right of this court"—further asserts Whitmore—"cannot be questioned: it is an old established procedure."

Speaks For Capitalist Nations.

Replying to Dr. Fischer, who asks the police to specify the foreign states against which the "hostile acts" have been committed, Maitland enumerates: "Britain, Japan, Italy and every other state except Russia."

Dr. Fischer: "If Maitland is entitled to make a charge on behalf of these other nations, I ask that they be put on the charge list. I wish to know which nations the municipal police is trying to protect."

"Maitland: 'I act on behalf of the municipal police. The treaty rights have put the settlement in the hands of the municipal council; and I act on behalf of the police.'"

Dr. Fischer: "The police might want to protect nations which do not wish to be protected by this court."

The court further agrees to hear Dr. Fischer on the question of jurisdiction, limiting, however, his time to five minutes.

Whitmore: "We have our instructions and we are not remanding the case."

Dr. Fischer: "Then I ask a remand on the ground that negotiations are going on at Peking between the Chin-

ese and Soviet authorities interested in this case."

Whitmore: "That is likewise overruled. We might consider an application at the conclusion of the case for the postponement of the judgment. You have had over your time....The magistrate and I have agreed that it is important to proceed with the case now."

With a similar spirit of fairness and world-renowned British official honesty, Whitmore over-ruled all the other applications of the counsel for the defence, including Dr. Fischer's suggestion that the accused was arrested aboard an English ship, while the Mixed Court has no jurisdiction over rivers, as well as his statement that the defence was not in possession of all the documents and generally all the details of the charges.

Forgery Exposed.

After all those preliminary arguments were closed, detective Sergeant-Inspector Yorke gave evidence, of which the following details may deserve attention:

The warrant was issued when the Dosser's were being deported from Hongkong back to Shanghai, which they had previously left. It was signed by the Senior British Assessor on behalf of the Senior Consul. The Soviet Consul was not informed of the arrest. "Between Hongkong and Shanghai the accused were not arrested, they occupied a two-berth cabin, and so had two clear days and ample chance to destroy all dangerous documents." Having, however, had to make this statement, Yorke—to explain why the accused had not destroyed an incriminating piece of evidence—volunteered the following clever explanation regarding the "silk certificate" allegedly found in Mr. Dosser's book: "I think the document was for identification purposes; therefore, if the accused came back, he would return it to those who gave it to him, as it was not easy to obtain."

This last remark at least of sergeant-inspector Yorke about the document being "not easy to obtain" appears to be truthful, since it took the British officials and their white associates nearly six days to prepare that grossly and clumsily forged "document."

In the course of his evidence, Yorke

stated that Dosser's passport had been twice vided by the British Consulate at Shanghai for going to Hongkong.

Search Revealed Nothing.

Cross-examined by Dr. Fischer about the search and the alleged discovery of the said "certificate," Sergeant-Inspector Yorke said:

"I was accompanied to the ship by three Russian police officers, Bebenin, Kedrolivansky and Boulainin, and a female wardress from the mixed court. The accused were arrested on board the steamer Mantua. The cabin was searched; the luggage was not searched in the cabin, but was tied and taken to the police station. The luggage was searched in the presence of the defendants under my own supervision. Nothing attracted attention except a code book, which I believe to be a commercial code. When first found, this book was roughly examined: I ran through it with my fingers and Bebenin did the same thing, too, but we only found Dosser's business card. This book was left in a rattan basket at the police station. That is all I myself found. The documents found in the attached case have been brought into the court."

"Find" Certificate.

"During the morning search," continues Mr. Yorke, "three Russian police officers were present, and I handed the documents to these Russian detectives to see if there was anything important. Then the prisoners were taken into court, and the baggage was left unlocked in the detectives' room between nine o'clock a. m. and half past two.

"Personally I was not in the room when the 'certificate' was found, as I left the main detective office at about twenty minutes to three, leaving the three Russians alone in the building. At about a quarter to four, Bebenin brought me the 'certificate' with a rough translation of it. He told me the 'document' had been found in the code-book. Kedrolivansky said he found the 'document' and showed how he noticed it between the binding of books; he opened the book and the document dropped out. The accused was locked up and was not present at the afternoon search, it was not really a search, because if it had been I would have been present myself."

Dominick Venturato Must Be Freed

By Max Salzman

FOR three years Dominick Venturato has been suffering in the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, where he is serving a life sentence. The facts in the case of this working class fighter were given in an article that appeared some time ago in the DAILY WORKER. Being framed up on a charge of murder, because of his activities in the 1922 strike, Dominick Venturato is waiting for the time when he will be released from prison so he can again become active in the affairs of the miners' union.

The dastardly frame-up of Venturato has been kept from the masses of workers in this country. The newspapers have given it little publicity and the American Federation of Labor has done nothing to expose this contemptible frame-up.

Here is a man with a record of activity in the trade unions that any one could be proud of. A man who had courage, who was fearless and who understood the struggles of the workers. Here was a worker imbued with class consciousness, and who carried the message of working class freedom down to the rank and file of the United Mine Workers, the union to which he belonged.

Not a strike has taken place in the time that Dominick Venturato was in the union, but that he was on the

picket line, leading the militant membership of the miners' union, encouraging the disheartened ones, and imbuing a spirit of fight and struggle that to a large extent was responsible for the successful termination of the strike.

AND now the United Mine Workers Union is beginning to lose its power in the state of Ohio. The operators are trying to separate mines in various sections of the state under the 1917 scale, and Dominick Venturato, who has helped to gain for the miners their increases in wages and the betterment of their working conditions, must rot in jail while his revolutionary spirit wants to be free to go to the mines again to help them in their struggle, to try to retain the conditions which they have won through years of sacrifices.

Dominick Venturato must be freed. The workers in the coal mines of Ohio need him. The miners demand him and yet Governor Donahey lets him rot in jail.

Governor Donahey, a man who claims to be a liberal, a man who has claimed to be friendly to labor; it is he who is responsible for Dominick Venturato remaining in jail. Almost every day one reads in the capitalist dailies of Ohio that Donahey has pardoned this person and that.

Here he pardons a person convicted of murder, there he pardons a per-

son convicted of robbery and every other crime on the calendar. And yet Dominick Venturato, whom Donahey knows is in jail on a framed up charge, because of his activities in the miners' union, rots in jail and Donahey—a "friend of labor" does not even lift a finger to have him freed.

There has been a rumor spreading through Ohio. That rumor is that during the last election Vic Donahey, who was also governor of Ohio at that time, promised to release Dominick Venturato. Every miner in Ohio will tell you that. Every miner will say that Donahey said he would set Venturato free. Had not Donahey pardoned Dan Agosli a co-defendant of Venturato? To them it was a matter of time as to when this "liberal," this "friend of labor," this man who was elected to office only because of the support the organized labor movement gave—would free Dominick Venturato.

THE workers say that Dominick Venturato is not guilty. No more guilty than is every other member of the United Mine Workers of America. No more guilty than is every other worker in this country.

Dominick Venturato is guilty of only one crime in the eyes of the capitalists. He is guilty of unwavering loyalty and devotion to his class; the working class. For that and that

alone is Dominick Venturato lying in jail.

And you, Vic Donahey, governor of Ohio, "friend of labor" liberal. You are keeping Venturato in jail. You refuse to set him free. All you do is make promises, which you do not intend to fulfil, because you want the support of organized labor.

We say to you Vic Donahey, to hell with your promises. We want Dominick Venturato freed. We will not depend on you and your "promises." We will bring the case of Dominick Venturato to every local union in the state of Ohio.

We will bring it to the attention of every man and woman in the state of Ohio.

We will bring it to the attention of every worker in the United States.

We will see that this case is brought to the attention of the worker in every part of the world.

WE do not beg for the freedom of Dominick Venturato. We demand it. We insist on it. And we will have all the workers join in this demand till we compel the capitalists in the state of Ohio and their spokesmen, Vic Donahey, to open up the gates of prison and let Dominick Venturato again take the militant, active part in the struggles of the American workers that he did before.

ANOTHER INSTALMENT OF "RUSSIA TODAY" IN OUR NEXT ISSUE