

murder bands. The wastrel and idler spawn of the British king is allowed, even invited to defile the land of Coolidge's "democracy" with his presence. Fascist officers are feted and dined and congratulated by American bourgeois upon the murder of nine thousands workers of Italy, but these workers who went to prison for the labour movement are "undesirable" to the capitalist government of the United States. This is Yankee Justice under the Dictatorship of Capitalism. Only under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will "justice" mean anything to the workers.

APPEALS

To the Suppressed Peoples.

The following Appeal was issued by the recent Inter-Parliamentary Communist Conference held at Cologne.

The united representatives of the Communist Parties and of the R. I. L. U. organisation of Germany, France, Belgium, England, Italy, Poland, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans, met together in Cologne on 9. October, send to the colonial peoples, exploited and oppressed by imperialism, the assurance of their complete solidarity with the national emancipatory struggles of these peoples.

At this moment, when imperialism is carrying on wars of colonisation in China, in Morocco, in the Sudan, in Syria, in India, etc., at this moment, when the suppressed colonial peoples are beginning to rise up against this enhancement of their slavery, the Communist Parties and trade union organisations represented at the Cologne Conference step forward as the sole defenders of the free right of self-determination of the peoples, as the sole organisations stretching out a fraternal hand to the oppressed of the earth, as the sole organisations resolved to come to the aid, by means of revolution, of the colonial peoples fighting for their freedom.

They make use of this Conference as an opportunity of congratulating the natives of French and Spanish Morocco on their fight for emancipation from the rule of dictatorial and murderous generals; the Negroes of Guadeloupe on their struggle against their oppressors; the oppressed masses of the people in China on their struggle against the generals serving the interests of the Japanese, French, and Anglo American imperialists, and of calling upon all these to carry on their struggles until they have completely freed themselves from the yoke of the white imperialists and of the native imperialists.

Long live the national emancipation of the colonial peoples, the first and necessary stage on the road to their complete emancipation!

PROLETARIAN ART

To the Proletarian and Revolutionary Authors of all Countries.

Comrades!

In the furious class war which is unfolding itself in the whole world, no one is or can be neutral. Art which is and always has been a powerful means of organising the feelings of the masses in conformity with the tasks and condition of a certain class, cannot abstain from taking part in this great historical battle of world-wide significance.

The heralds of those who are "above class" of "non-political" art, the apostles of "pure beauty" only conceal with such fig leaves their decadent civic class-nakedness.

A true artist has in our epoch no alternative but deliberately to join in the proletariat's fight for freedom, for capitalism brings mankind under the sway of depravity and degeneration, whereas the proletarian revolution leads to a social system which guarantees that creative force shall flourish to its greatest possible extent, and that all the forces of the individual and of the collective body shall develop harmoniously.

There are in every land poets, authors, dramatists who have taken an active stand under the red banner of the proletarian revolution. A still larger number of artists of the pen sympathise with this revolution. All these artists of the proletarian revolution

are at present acting individually, with no connecting link. Their voices do not sound in harmony, their works perish without reaching the proletarian reader. And the Labour Press which is not well enough informed on this important question, increases in many cases this want of harmony and offers its readers artistic food which is decadent and quite alien to them.

On July 10th. the conference of the Proletarian Writers of the Soviet Union in common with the delegates of the V. Congress of the C. I. took place in red Moscow, the centre of the world revolution. This conference was unanimously agreed as to the necessity of uniting the proletarian writers of all lands into associations for the separate countries, and these into an International of Proletarian Literature. The conference established a bureau for the purpose of preparing the way for an association of this kind.

The first essential for such an association, such a bond of unity of the literary creative forces of the revolutionary proletariat is that they should get to know one another.

We appeal to you to send us detailed information as to all groups, circles, unions etc., of proletarian and revolutionary writers and their works.

Yours in comradeship

on behalf of The International Bureau for Establishing Connections between Proletarian Writers:

Demjan Bjedny, Etienne Lacoste, Lupion, I. Mutevsky, F. Peluso, F. F. Raskolnikov, Semjon Rodby, A. Besimensky, S. W. Iaitis, Heinz Cagan, G. Lelevitsch, A. W. Lunatscharsky

Address for written communications:
Russia, Moscow, Corner of Sofijka and Roschdestvenska State Publishing Office, International Bureau.

Resolution of the Delegates' Conference of the V. Congress on the Question of Artistic Literature.

The Conference of Delegates of the V. Congress of the C. I. organised in common with the international group of proletarian authors in Moscow and representatives of the Executive Committee of the Association of Proletarian Authors of the Soviet Union recognises that artistic literature, being a powerful means of influencing the mentality and consciousness of the masses, plays an important part in the struggle of the working class for liberty. The working classes can only get the full rational benefit of this if the literary and artistic forces of the proletariat are united so as to form an international standard. The first aim should be to establish in every country uniform associations of proletarian authors (i. e. of those authors who by their work organise the feelings and thoughts of their readers in the direction of communism) similar to the centralised association which embraces the proletarian authors of the Soviet Union. Absolute freedom of creative quest, unconditional participation through their individual creative work in the proletarian fight for liberty, are the fundamental slogans of the association. Its principle of organisation and its task is to attract all poetically creative members of the proletariat and to develop all these creative forces of the lower ranks. The aim should be to make these associations centres of attraction for all writers who sympathise with the fight for communism. The conference institutes an International Bureau for establishing connections between Proletarian Writers which is commissioned to do the preparatory work for the creation of such associations and to prepare the creation of an International of Proletarian Literature. Its first duties are:

1. To start regular connections with the proletarian and revolutionary artists of the pen and the Literary Associations of all countries.

2. To lead the way to mutual information and to gather exhaustive material as to the situation of the proletarian and revolutionary literature in all countries.

3. To co-ordinate the work which aims at the creation of associations of proletarian writers in the various countries.

4. To organize the translation of international proletarian literature into various languages.

5. Starting from the artistic and ideological platform and the statutes of organization of the Association of the Proletarian Writers of the Soviet Union, and taking into consideration the special characteristics of each country, to elaborate a draft platform and constitution of the International Association of Proletarian Literature.

6. To make preparations for convening the foundation congress of the International of Proletarian Literature.

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The Anniversary of the October Revolution.

To the Workers of all Countries!

Seven years ago the Russian working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, laid the foundation stone of the mighty structure of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Seven years of the most bloody civil war, of armed intervention on the part of the most powerful capitalist class against the Russian revolution. Seven years of unexampled heroism and unbounded self-sacrifice of the best portion of the Russian proletariat. Years of gigantic socialist constructive work in the country which had been plunged into the abyss of economic ruin through the imperialist and civil war.

All capitalist expectations have been wrecked upon Soviet Russia. The proletarian dictatorship is embracing every widening sections of the working people, the spirit of socialism is marching on the advance of the construction of the socialist economic basis. The conditions of living of the Russian proletariat are visibly improving. Slowly but steadily wages are increasing. The Soviet government is able to satisfy to an ever increasing extent the cultural requirements of the working class.

The Soviet Republic is increasing in strength both within and without. It is not only the government of the Russian proletariat: the international significance of the Russian revolution created a government which has its basis in the proletariat of the whole world. This is the reason for the irreconcilable hate of all capitalists and imperialists.

You have protected Soviet Russia, the stronghold of the international struggle of the proletariat, from the armed intervention of the imperialists of all countries. You have broken down the blockade of the capitalists. But your work is not yet ended. The international band of exploiters is arming for a new struggle.

Protect Soviet Russia from the intervention policy of the imperialist powers which is still being carried on. Prevent the encirclement of the Union of Socialist Republics by democratic pacifist diplomacy.

But you cannot better conduct the struggle against a new capitalist attack upon Soviet Russia than by preparing, organising and conducting your own revolutionary struggles and, in alliance with the broad masses, leading them to victory.

The chief object of the capitalist offensive at present is the German proletariat which, through the Experts' Report of the American bankers, is to be plunged into the deepest abyss of political and social slavery. Support the German workers in their hard fight against concentrated force of the most powerful financial capitalists in the world.

The imperialists are attacking Soviet Russia not only on her European frontiers, but also through Asia. The campaign of intervention of the French, English and American military cliques in China is intended to be a new basis of attack against Soviet Russia.

Defend the Chinese working masses in their fight against the imperialist blood-suckers masquerading as democratic-pacifists — a fight which is not only for the most elementary rights of these masses but also a struggle for the fraternisation of the suppressed peoples of the East with the revolutionary Russian proletariat.

On the left wing of world imperialism there still stands the II. International, which actively assists in the strangling of every attempt at self-help on the part of the proletariat. It is just in the present era of "democratic-pacifism", which after the overthrow of the MacDonald government is again reverting to

the "normal" capitalist dictatorship, that the II. International is stooping to become the jailer of the revolutionary workers. In spite of its pacifist propaganda in all Europe it does not shrink through its Georgian agents, from inciting armed revolts in Soviet Russia. It is the deadly enemy of the working class. Its twin brother is fascism, which still swings its bloody knout over great portions of Europe.

Form the revolutionary united front against the II. International and fascism, the most deadly weapons of capitalist dictatorship!

Support by revolutionary active solidarity the bitter struggle of the German, Italian and Bulgarian proletariat against the bloody terror of class justice and against the massacring of the best and boldest champions of the proletariat!

Workers, Comrades! Recognise on this Seventh Anniversary of the Russian Revolution that its victory was the ripe fruit of the decade-long bolshevist struggle against all enemies of the working class.

Fill the working class with the spirit of Leninism!

Leninism is the organising of revolution. Bolshevism is the unlimited devotion of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, combined with unwearied, tenacious work for the preparation of the revolution.

The Seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution is marked by the bolshevism of the West-European proletariat!

Long live the world revolution!

Long live Soviet Russia!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Anniversary of the Hamburg Revolution.

By G. Zinoviev.

The brightest spot in the labour movement in Europe in the year 1923, and also, in that of the last few years, is the October revolt of the Hamburg proletarians. The movement of the Bulgarian and Polish insurgents in the autumn of 1923 contains much that is great and heroic. The Hamburg movement, however, stands on a far higher level. The Hamburg revolt was a movement with a clearly defined aim, with a definitely formulated programme: dictatorship of the proletariat. The Hamburg revolt, both as regards those who participated in it and the clearness of its programme and its leadership, which was in the hands of the Communist Party, was a purely proletarian class movement. The revolt of the leading workers of Hamburg, which took place under the organised leadership of the communist advance guard, without doubt saved the honour of the working class of Germany. The Hamburg revolt is the precursor of far more powerful struggles, which will not only decide the fate of Germany, but also that of the working class of all Europe. The Hamburg revolt has shown us, on a relatively small scale, what the near future will bring to the European proletariat on a far more imposing scale. A mere handful of the Hamburg proletariat, with a heroism reminiscent of the finest moments of the Paris Commune and of the Russian revolution fought like lions under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, and with courageous hands have torn aside the curtain from the future and pointed out to the great masses of European workers, who are still groping for a way in order to put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie and of their social democratic lackeys, the line of advance to the proletarian revolution. The revolt of the Hamburg workers was crushed. This defeat, however, belongs to those which have often proved more fruitful of results than many a "victory". The December uprising of the Moscow workers in 1905 likewise suffered a defeat, but nevertheless, in the later history of the Russian proletariat the heroic revolt of the Moscow insurgents in December 1905 has played a powerful part. The revolt of the Hamburg workers will play a similar rôle in the further history of the German revolutionary proletariat. Comrade Lenin characterised the events of 1905 as the final rehearsal of the revolution of 1917. The Hamburg revolt of 1923 bears clear indications of the fact that it is likewise a "rehearsal" of the decisive struggles of the future.

The revolutionary is not he who only decides to take up arms when the chances of victory are a hundred to one. There have been very few situations in history when victory could be regarded as absolutely certain. The revolutionary and communist is he who takes up arms when reasonable chances of victory exist, and when it is the duty of the advance-guard to give the lead to the whole class. Such revolutionaries and such heroic communists, in the true sense of the word, were the Hamburg proletarians in 1923.

The proletarian revolution in Germany is approaching ever nearer, in spite of all the Dawes's, Eberts and Noskes. It is a mistaken idea that in October 1923 a revolutionary opportunity, unique in its kind, was "let slip". The defeat of October 1923 was not a decisive defeat any more than was the defeat of the Spartacus revolt in January 1919. The decisive main struggles, the struggles which decide the fate of a country for decades, have not yet taken place in Germany. These struggles, however, will come before very long. The glorious struggles of the Hamburg advance guard constitute a guarantee that in that time the Communist Party of Germany will be capable of fulfilling its historical task.

The Communist International sends warmest greetings to the Hamburg Communist proletarians, to the glorious troop of proletarians who stood amidst the powder smoke in 1923 and who fought in the front line of all the best elements of the European working masses. It is with special affection that the Russian workers, who in 1917 experienced the joy of victory over the enemy, but who in the past also experienced the bitterness of heavy defeats in the struggle against the furious bourgeoisie and their social democratic hirelings, greet the Hamburg proletarians. Every one who was present at the V. Congress of the Communist International will remember with what enthusiasm the Moscow workers received the representatives of the Hamburg proletariat, and what response every account of the class struggle in Hamburg found among the best workers of the Soviet Union.

The revolt in Hamburg is a powerful episode in the civil war in Germany. The new experience which the Hamburg insurgents have given to the European proletariat must be studied with love and attention by the international proletariat, in like manner as in its time the Russian proletariat valued the teachings drawn by Comrade Lenin from the December revolt of 1905.

Hamburg is a watch-word. Hamburg constitutes an entire programme for the German and for the International proletarian movement. Hamburg is the symbol of the approaching day of the civil war in Germany. Hamburg is a battle flag for the Communist International.

MacDonald the Dupe.

By W. N. Clark.

There now remains not the least doubt that the letter alleged to have been sent by the Presidium of the Communist International to the English Communist Party, and which by some strange means fell into hands of the English Foreign Office, is nothing else than a well-timed election manoeuvre on the part of the political opponents of the Labour Party. Like the recent Georgian "revolt" we have here another desperate attempt to prejudice Anglo-Russian relations, and at the same time to scare the British electors with the spectre of bolshevist plots and conspiracies. The victim of this hoax, however, is neither the Soviet Government nor the British Communist Party, but the bolshevik-hating Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald.

In his handling of the matter of the alleged "letter" Mr. MacDonald has acted with a singular lack of that caution which is characteristic of Scotchmen. One would have thought that Mr. MacDonald would have known better than to have fallen into such a blunder. In his position as a leader of the II. International and particularly as the friend and patron of Jordania and Tsereteli, he must have some intimate knowledge of the many shifts and subterfuges employed in order to discredit the Soviet Government, and this alone ought to have rendered him exceedingly suspicious of any "documents" which might come into his hands and which were calculated to incriminate either the Soviet Government or the Communist International.

It is certain that had it been a question of sending a sharp worded protest to the American Ambassador, or even to the representative in London of Signor Benvenuto Mussolini, Mr.

Donald would have first satisfied himself a dozen times as to the authenticity of any documents involved. But with Soviet Russia it is another matter; she has been used to the insolent treatment of Lord Curzon and is accustomed to being addressed in the language of ultimatums. Besides, here was a chance for Mr. MacDonald to show what a firm attitude he can adopt with regard to any "bolshevik nonsense" and to demonstrate by deeds that he is not prepared to tolerate "any monkey tricks" on the part of Russia. Hence the prompt despatch of the Note to Mr. Rakovsky. Mr. MacDonald now finds that in his zeal to keep Russia in her place, he has fallen into a trap carefully baited by his political opponents, and in addition has made himself ridiculous. He is now questioning how it came about that the Note to Rakovsky found its way into the press so quickly, and also how it is that the contents of the alleged "letter" were also known at the headquarters of the Conservative Party. He now suggests the possibility that he is "surrounded by scoundrels" — a somewhat belated discovery!

The prompt manner in which the contents of the Foreign Office note were made known to the English press — two hours after its receipt by comrade Rakovsky — tends to indicate that some at least of the Foreign Office officials are not unconnected with the plot. There is no question as to the direction in which the political sympathies of the Foreign Staff lie. For generations the Foreign Office has been a stronghold of privilege and reaction. In fact the whole diplomatic service has for years been regarded as the special preserve of English aristocratic families. While in democratic England other branches of the administration are supposed to be "open to talent" by competitive examination, the Foreign Office has remained an exception. It is known that nobody is allowed to enter the Diplomatic Service unless he possesses a private income of four hundred a year, while it is with difficulty that even the successful English bourgeoisie have attained access into this sacred institution. It was not without reason that John Bright, the spokesman of English Textile Capital when it was at its zenith, declared that the whole of English foreign policy was nothing else than a gigantic system of outdoor relief for our aristocratic families. The Foreign Office as an institution was the subject of attack by many pacifists and liberals during the war. I recollect Mr. Trevelyan, the present Minister for Education declaring in 1915, that the "various waves of democracy which had swept over England at different times, had never been allowed even to wash the steps of the Foreign Office". The chances of any wave of "democracy" making a clean sweep of this important position of power of the British imperialists are exceedingly remote indeed! Mr. MacDonald since becoming the nominal head of the Foreign Office has certainly not proved himself to be a Hercules in regard to this very musty Angean stable.

The whole incident of the forged Zinoviev letter serves to show how impotent this "constitutional and democratically elected" labour government really is in face of the firmly entrenched bureaucracy, which in all essential matters carries out the will of the English ruling class. That the labour government is only a screen for the bourgeoisie is not a mere phrase coined in Moscow, but corresponds to the literal truth. It is interesting to contrast the wretched humiliating impotency of the English labour government and the way in which its ministers are the lackeys of their departments, with the firm position of the workers and peasants' power in Soviet Russia, which has made a clean sweep of the old tsarist bureaucracy and has set up the direct rule of the workers in every department of the state. Some time after the October Revolution we had Mr. MacDonald declaring that the Bolsheviki had achieved nothing by their revolution which an English Labour Government could not accomplish by parliamentary and "constitutional" means! His present position gives the lie to this empty boast and also bears witness in a striking manner that which comrade Trotsky wrote in the first of this year in his article, "The Philistine discourseth on the Revolutionary": "Mr. Mac Donald ... pacifies bourgeois public opinion: We have fought against Moscow and we have vanquished Moscow. They have vanquished Moscow? These are the wretched 'little men' ... Today even after all that has transpired, they know nothing whatever about their own government. Liberal and Conservative business people without the least difficulty bait traps for these 'evolutionary' socialist pedants who are now in office, compromise them and intentionally prepare their downfall — not only as Ministers, but also as politicians".

"Ploughing the Ground for Bolshevism!"

By J. T. Murphy (London).

The situation in the English elections may be characterised as follows: MacDonald and his colleagues are at the head of a movement based upon the working class which is diametrically opposed to the Liberals and Tories alike. Through the growing pressure of the workers the Liberals and the Tories have been driven into one camp, have been compelled to unite in the defence of the constitution of capitalist Britain and against the international working class as expressed for the moment in the Anglo-Russian Treaty. Instead of facing the logic of the situation on lines of class realities the Labour Party leaders are playing at 'gap' politics and trying to walk on the thin air between the classes.

Of course they fail and fail miserably. The Liberals and Tories have up to now made the Campbell case, probably more than the Russian Treaty, the theme of the campaign. Instead of MacDonald, Henderson, Thomas and Co bolding taking the fight into the enemies camp as by right they ought to do, and challenging the capitalist parties on the real issues which underlie the Campbell prosecution, they have entered into the game of fishwives in the market place, each calling the other fellow a liar on the incidence of the proceedings.

Not one of them took up the issue raised so sharply by the Communist Party Manifesto to the troops and backed the working class. In fact MacDonald went out of his way to repudiate the whole idea of appeals to the troops and became as rankly reactionary in the name of pacifism as Mr. Baldwin or Lord Birkenhead in the Name of Conservatism. Speaking in his Constituency on October 18th he said "Now first of all I do not agree with what Mr. Campbell has written, and I have said so and written it again and again. No good is going to come from mutinies in the army, from soldiers turning their rifles upon their officers or anybody else. The only good that is going to come for the human race is going to come from men and women turning their brains upon their grievances." What the people are going to do after they have "turned their brains upon their grievances" he does not tell us.

Only one out of the whole of the leadership of the Labour Party in the Labour Government has attempted to take the gloves off to the opposition and give the fight the semblance of a class fight. And that is Wheatley. Wheatley is ploughing the country for Bolshevism in a different way to MacDonald and his colleagues. They are creating the illusion that the workers are going to get things through parliament and the general advancement of the "people". By these means they are awakening the workers to political consciousness only to bewilder them with the policy of class collaboration. Wheatley goes one better: he appeals direct to the working class with a more vigorous fighting attitude towards the opposition, in spite of the fact that he lands into the same kind of specious proposals as his colleagues when it comes to action. He creates the atmosphere of class war and the workers expect more from him than his colleagues as a consequence, but the end is the same. He has no apologies to offer to Liberals or Tories. He has not worried his head concerning the number of deputations to the Prime Minister, but proceeded at once to get what capital he could out of the issue. His challenge to the Liberals and Tories is thus far more effective. He said at Glasgow:

"Perhaps, legally, Mr. Campbell deserved punishment, but whether he was guilty or not was, to his mind, a matter of small moment. The difference between Campbell and Birkenhead was the difference between a poor man's street bet and a rich man's telephone bet. Campbell's whole point was that the military should not be used in trade disputes. That is the reality of the issue."

Campbell's case was more than this. It was a definite appeal to the soldiers and sailors to bring themselves into close political solidarity with their fellow workers in the class fight against capitalism. It was an appeal to them to shake themselves free from the political slavery of the army and navy regulations and organise themselves for common action with the workers against their class enemy. The use of the troops in strikes which is of course the most glaring incident attending class warfare was focussed because of its glaring character. But to present the

issue as if this was the only factor and if the troops were not used in industrial disputes all would be well is only half the story. But let Wheatley proceed.

"Is it a crime to state that view? If so then I am a criminal. I am prepared to express that view on any platform or in any court, and I hope the workers of Britain will see that one of the questions in this historic election is whether the military should be used as strike breakers. The Liberals and Tories' claim that they should be so used is class war run mad."

This is not only a Liberal and Tory claim but many of the Labour Party answered in the same key as they, when the question was raised in the House of Commons. But again let Wheatley say on.

"The idea of using military in strikes is part of the policy of fostering the view that strikes are immoral. . . . the withdrawal from a man or body of men of the right to withdraw their labour is a step on the way to slavery. . . ."

A conflict between British soldiers and British workers which would probably be the outcome of the use of military in trade disputes was civil war. . . .

I want my friends to put this question to every candidate: "Are you in favour of the military being used in industrial disputes?" Any candidate answering in the affirmative should receive not a single working-class vote or the vote of anyone who values law and order."

We can differ from Wheatley considerably but there is in this statement none of the apologetics of his colleagues. He does carry on a fight. He does advance to meet the enemy. He is ploughing the working class deeper than MacDonald.

We are having the same kind of picture in the treatment of the Russian Treaty. The opposition are turning this into a raging anti-Bolshevik campaign. The Liberals and Tories are trying to out-pace each other in their tirades against the Treaty and excel each other in ignoring the contents of the Treaty. Russia is the land of horrors, of ruin, and every excess imaginable. To sign a Treaty with Russia is to make a treaty with murder and so on.

And what is the attitude of the Labour leaders in this campaign? It is to do just what the opposition want them to do. They repudiate with all the vigour at their command any association or sympathy with Communism or the Soviet Republic. Mr. MacDonald swears he is not a Bolshevik as if we ever suspected him. He assures everybody once again that he disapproves of the Russian revolution. The Russians ought to have waited until they could achieve their aims constitutionally. The others of the cabinet follow on in more or less the same strain and proceed then to praise all the capitalist virtues that are in the Treaty and explain away all the tight conditions that would govern the loan. Again Wheatley was the exception by declaring that the loan would be a good thing for Britain even if it was not repaid. But not one of them told the working class that the terms of this treaty were governed by the backwardness of the working class movement, its lack of revolutionary will and power, that the Workers and Peasants of Russia were making considerable concessions by this Treaty because of such backwardness on our part. Everyone has been anxious to show that it meant work and wages and security for the bondholders. Even the Trade Union Congress Manifesto had to include its reflections on the Soviet System and said "We stand for a full and complete diplomatic and economic recognition of Russia, not because we approve of the policy, methods and principles of Soviet rule, any more than we support trade with Turkey because we accept or approve the social customs, political methods or economic system of Turkey."

It has been left for the Communist Party alone to make a straight fight on the class issues that have been raised and the principal feature of the election campaign up to date is the strenuous effort of the Conservatives and the Liberals to make the Labour Party as Red as possible, the equally strenuous efforts of the Labour Party leaders and especially those in the Labour Government to prove that their flag is not the Red Flag but the Union Jack. Nevertheless as Comrade Zinoviev well said they are all very busy "ploughing the land for Communism" and the Communist Party is busy sowing the seed.

The Dissolution of the Reichstag and the C. P. of Germany.

By Paul Schwenck (Berlin).

The German Reichstag was dissolved on the 20th of October. At no time has its character as a screen for the dictatorship of German and international heavy industry been revealed more clearly than during the last five months. The secret bargaining and negotiating which have been conducted during this time, particularly in connection with the Dawes Plan, constitute a record.

It would be quite a mistake if one saw in the eagerly conducted bargaining merely the business haggling which is usual between the various groups of capitalist interests. These, of course, were only a side issue. The main business was that of filling all the important positions of state-power with representatives of German and international heavy capital, and to kick out the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats. The insolence with which the parties of the right have acted, proves how excellent has been the preparatory work of the social democrats, which they have carried on with such eagerness because they hoped thereby to make sure of their partnership in the business which is so fateful for the working class population.

The question of "distribution of the burden", which the social democrats want to put in the foreground in order to delude the masses, has played no part in this. This question had already been decided quite definitely against the workers, with the active help of the social democrats, with the acceptance of the Dawes Report and of the laws connected with it. Reich President Ebert would certainly not have regarded this struggle after soft jobs as an occasion for dissolving the Reichstag if his own position had not been endangered. The heavy capitalists and the agrarian dictators believe they can now dispense with his assistance, which has been so extremely valuable hitherto. In order to maintain his threatened position was, as a matter of fact, the sole reason which induced him to decide on dissolution. If the parties of the right had guaranteed his re-election next year, Ebert would have accepted any conditions, no matter how disadvantageous for the proletariat; and the social democrats would have made no difficulties for him, even if they thereby ran the risk of the discharged functionaries entering upon a disagreeable opposition to the party executive.

The new elections will take place on the 7th of December. The elections for the Hessian and Prussian diets will be held at the same time. All parties, with the exception of the Communists, enter the election campaign with the handicap of having voted for the London Pact, with all its resulting misery for the working class which is already making itself felt. Unemployment, short time, rising prices, falling wages, lengthening of work-time and pressure of taxes — all these are heavily oppressing the broad masses. This is an extremely unfavourable fact for the parties from the social democrats to the German nationalists. But the social democrats believe they have already hit upon the right trick by seeking to make it appear as if the bourgeois bloc and the government of the bourgeois bloc, which was so brilliantly prepared by them and by them alone, would mean the setting up of the dictatorship of capital. They wish to make the mass of electors forget that capital has already for long exercised its dictatorship and now believes that it can dispense with the help of the social democrats. They wish to make it appear that only by the bourgeois bloc government would there be carried through "the taxation privileges of the property owners and the ruthless burdening of the broad masses by reduction of wages, increase of food prices, and lengthening of work-time" (Vorwärts, October 21, 1924.)

The Communist Party of Germany, as against this, has a clear position. Its policy has demonstrated that it is the only Party which energetically stands for the interests of the workers in town and country. It is becoming more and more recognised that the C. P. of Germany is the only workers' Party in Germany. Its unrelenting fight against the London Pact from month to month becoming more and more appreciated by the masses. The emergency programme which it has set against the enslavement plans, is becoming recognised more and more as the only way out. The Gotha demands, which the C. P. adopted as its own, are finding a great response in the factories and work places. The campaign for an amnesty for political prisoners is exercising effect beyond the confines of the Party. Under these circumstances the C. P. of Germany welcomes the

opportunity to lay before the masses in the election campaign its attitude and demands.

The bourgeoisie, and its petty bourgeois social democratic appendage, fully realise the advantageous situation of the communists. They also perceive the danger which the C. P. constitutes for them and they have therefore sought for a long time, by means of the most ruthless employment of white terror, to weaken and to cripple the C. P. of Germany. They will redouble their efforts in this direction. The fact that immediately after the announcement of the dissolution of the Reichstag numerous comrades, who hitherto have stood under the protection of the immunity afforded to members of parliament, have been subjected to domiciliary searches and persecution — some comrades have already been arrested — gives a foretaste of what is intended. It is intended to make use of the most trifling pretexts in order to rob the Party of its best forces and to hinder the C. P. of Germany in its election campaign. No stone will be left unturned in order to prejudice the communists in the eyes of the electors.

The difficulties which thereby arise for the C. P. of Germany will serve as a stimulus to all its members to redouble their energies in order to frustrate the social democratic bourgeois plans.

The Military Coup d'Etat in Chile.

By Rodolfo Ghioldi (Buenos Aires).

On the 9th of September a wild military coup d'etat took place, and this time it was Chile which was chosen as a place for the setting up of a regime of Primo de Rivera.

What has actually taken place there?

Chile is in a very difficult economic situation; the same applies to almost all the countries of Latin America. The state finances are becoming bankrupt; the budget deficit is very great; the state debts are enormous and the currency is depreciated. President Alessandri, a liberal, was not even able to pay the salaries of the bureaucracy, the teachers, the officers and the army. It was under these bad circumstances that parliament passed a law according to which the members of parliament from now on should receive payment. This decision greatly aroused public opinion and therefore the military, who are entirely in the service of the extreme Right, of the Conservatives, regarded the moment as having come for their coup d'etat.

The most prominent officers of the army met in their club and arrived at the decision to demand from the president the resignation of the cabinet. Alessandri complied and the cabinet resigned. At the same time Alessandri made a further concession and empowered the military to take over the formation of a new cabinet. The officers committee, which was appointed by the Club, was greatly encouraged, according to the old proverb: if you give the devil a finger, he takes your whole hand. Thus the committee, after this first success, demanded the dismissal of the president himself. There remained only two courses open for Alessandri: either to resist the military and to prepare for civil war, or to abdicate completely. He chose the latter course and abdicated. The military camarilla took over power without the least opposition. The conservative reactionaries met with no resistance.

The new government actually consisted of three members: Generals Bennetti and Altamirano, and Admiral Nell; these formed a government Directory (Junta de Gobierno), whose first act was the dissolution of parliament. Thereupon they formed a ministry of which all the members are conservatives.

The "Junta" have announced that the reason for this coup was the acceptance of the law for the payment of members of parliament, and the conditions of the state finances. Of course these are also underlying causes. These are to be found in the political and economic situation.

The parliamentary elections were to take place in December next. The Conservatives endeavoured to put an end to the activity of Alessandri, and for this purpose made use of the military. In fact the "Junta" have arrived at decisions which will ensure success in the elections to the Conservatives: dissolution of parliament, change of the constitution and revision of the law of electors. In addition there is another fact to be considered. The policy of Alessandri prevented the land owners and the industrial aristocracy from sharing political power. In spite of the sympathy which Alessandri enjoyed among the workers, his

policy was thoroughly hostile to labour and led to the bloody suppression of strikes. Nevertheless the "liberalism" of Alessandri constituted a bogey for the native bourgeoisie.

The military dictatorship intends to sell the state saltpetre mines to foreign capitalists, probably to English capitalists; to protect the great land owners and the saltpetre industrialists and to facilitate the economic penetration of the foreign, and particularly of the British financial oligarchs.

On the very day of the military coup d'etat, three Chilean banks, the Bank of Chile, Edwards' Bank and the National Bank, which are under British influence, offered the new government the sum of 40 million Pesos. On the following day Messrs Rothschild & Sons of London granted the "Junta" a loan of 7,500,000 Pound Sterling. So much for the independence of South American States!

It is interesting to note that during the last few months the pound stood at 45 pesos and the dollar at 10 pesos. The day after the coup d'etat the pound Sterling stood at 40 pesos and the dollar at 9.30. It is evident that the coup d'etat is favourable to the international financial capitalists. Therefore it may not be superfluous to mention that the former president was planning to set up a central bank which should be under United States influence.

We see therefore in this chapter of the history of Chile the hand of imperialism, which is converting this "free" country into a financial colony of London or New York. Was it a mere chance that during the most dangerous moment of the coup d'etat, M. Alessandri sought refuge in the palace of the United States ambassador? And that Rothschild & Sons supported the military?

How long this new regime will last it is impossible to say. But one thing is certain, and that is that the irreconcilable antagonism of interests of the imperialists in this period of export of capital finds a rich field of exploitation among the rich countries of Latin America. Hence, communist work on this coast of South America is of great international importance.

The Persecution of the Egyptian Communists.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

On the 27th September 1924 there was commenced in the Egyptian Law Court in Alexandria the trial of the leaders of the Communist Party of Egypt. In all, eleven comrades were accused: Husni el Arabi, Anton Maroun, Sheikh Safouan, Abdul Fath, El Shabath Ibrahim, Abdel Hafez Awad, Mohamed Ibrahim el Samkari, Shaaban Hefez, Abdel Hamid Samra, Mohamed el Shaqir and two comrades who could not be found by the police; therefore the proceedings took place with the presence of nine of the accused. Each of these had already spent from four to six months in prison while awaiting trial and some of them had only been let out on bail a few weeks previously.

The charge against the nine communists, which was brought forward by the representative of the Attorney General of Egypt, stated: the accused were charged with having organised a conspiracy for the purpose of overthrowing the Egyptian government and setting up the Soviet Anarchy (!) in its place. The import of the charge, as well as the events which preceded the trial, were the following: The occupation of factories in March of this year, the intervention of the government, the sharp persecution of the communists and the breaking up of a communist conference. Further, the personal sympathy which the accused, especially comrades Husni el Arabi, Anton Maroun and Sheikh Ibrahim enjoyed among broad circles of the Arabian public caused a tremendous attendance of the public at this trial.

Quite at the beginning of the trial the prejudice of the court against the accused showed itself. Comrade Anton Maroun, who was medically certified to be ill and not capable of standing a trial, was brought before the judges in a sick condition and the proposal of the defence that the proceedings be postponed was not complied with.

The first two days were devoted to the cross-examination of witnesses. No less than 38 witnesses were brought forward on behalf of the prosecution. A police official claimed to have heard with his own ears how comrade Maroun, who was a representative of the workers during the big strike, said to the workers:

You are treated like mere cattle, the capitalists suck your blood, you must fight for better conditions..." The manager of one of the factories involved in the strike also stated of Comrade Marroun that "he could have broken the strike by a mere word; the workers had unlimited confidence in him". Other witnesses stated that the Communist Party is against religion; Husni el Arabi was charged with having said this openly. Finally, it is worthy of note that one of the witnesses for the prosecution was asked by the defence whether it was correct that the Egyptian government had sent him to London in order to study there the methods of the fight against communism. The witness replied in the affirmative. Ingram Bey had spent several months in England for this purpose.

On the third day of the proceedings the speeches for the prosecution and for the defence were to begin. The cross-examination of the witnesses had increased the interest of the public in the trial and the court building was literally besieged. Then the prosecution proposed to the court, that in order to secure a peaceful hearing of the trial the trial be continued behind closed doors. The protests of the defence were in vain. The public had to leave the court and the further proceedings were carried on in secret.

On the 6th of October the President of the court, Ahmed Taleat Pascha pronounced judgment upon the communists. It is a class sentence in its most blatant form, which places the government of Zaghlul Pacha on a level with the white governments in Europe. Six of the accused (Husni el Arabi, Anton Marroun, Ibrahim Shehat and Scheich Abdul Fath, as well as the two absent accused) were each condemned to three years hard labour, the rest to six months, which, however, they had already almost served while awaiting trial. The sentences were immediately carried out. The result of the secretly conducted proceedings had a depressing effect upon the great crowd which had gathered in order to hear the verdict. It was generally regarded as an expression of vindictive justice.

On the other hand the bourgeois press raised a great howl of triumph, especially the organs of the English and French governments. "One must know how to draw the moral from this sentence" wrote the "Bourse", "it is sufficiently severe to condemn communist principles and to show the leaders of the strike movement that that which has occurred in Alexandria has incurred the penalty of the law. In this connection we may point to the recent strike in Maassarah (a big cement factory near Cairo in which 700 workers went on strike for six weeks until the intervention of the government put an end to the strike in favour of the factory owner; the factory is an English undertaking, J. B.), and it is time that all those who are responsible for this strike were brought up for trial."

Arabian workers are condemned to hard labour by Zaghlul Pacha, and the French and English capitalist press triumphs. Zaghlul, however, speaks in the name of the Egyptian people and of the Egyptian workers. The "condemned" communist movement in Egypt will do its best to unmask as quickly as possible this two-faced policy.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Defeat of the Belgian Miners.

By J. Jacquemotte (Brussels).

After a heroic struggle lasting for ten weeks the 35,000 miners of the Borinage basin have been compelled to give up the struggle and submit to the employers' terms.

Several thousand workers have not yet resumed work. Several hundreds are being prosecuted on various grounds (refusal to perform necessary work for the preservation of the mines, attacks upon the "freedom of labour", insulting and threatening of representatives of the officials etc.). A certain number are in prison for rioting. Several miners are lying in hospital as a result of the wounds inflicted by the rifle butts and bullets of the gendarmes. A young miner who was killed by the government mercenaries was buried a few days ago.

That is the negative side of this admirable struggle, the defeat of which has been brought about by the reformist leaders, as they desired and intended right from the outset.

After an extremely favourable year for the Belgian coal industry, the market, since the commencement of 1924, showed a great decline. The mineowners accumulated huge stocks at the

pits mouths, and on the other hand made use of the reparation coal in order to prepare for the attack planned by them upon the wages of the Belgian miners.

Already in February 1924 there was launched the first attack. In spite of the increased prices of necessities, the employers proposed to withhold the increase of wages which should follow the index of prices as provided by the tariff agreement. The reformist leaders recommended the acceptance of this proposal, but were compelled, in view of the bitter resistance of the masses, to insist on the application of the index. The employers immediately announced their determination to reduce wages by 8%, using as an excuse that wages in 1923, on account of firmness of the market and of the great demand for labour and of the high coal prices, had been increased beyond the amount provided by the agreement.

After long negotiations the reformist leaders consented to a gradual reduction of the wages by 8%, the first cut amounting to 5%. The revolutionary minority of the miners, including those of the Miners Union as well as the "Chevaliers de Travail" (Knights of Labour), supported by the Communist Party, opposed this reduction.

This gradual reduction of wages was not sufficient for the employers; in June therefore they advanced to a fresh attack. In the Rieu-de-Coeur mines in the Borinage basin the directors, in contravention of the agreement, announced a wage cut of 10%, to which the workers unanimously replied with a strike. The reformist leaders localised the movement. Encouraged thereby the employers in August, again in contravention of the agreement, proceeded to reduce wages in the whole Borinage basin by 5 to 10%, whereupon the miners spontaneously entered upon a strike. In less than 48 hours (on the 13th of August) as a result of the pressure of the masses, a vote had to be taken in which 12,071 miners participated, of whom 9347 were for and 2386 against the strike. When the vote was taken 25,000 miners were already on strike. The reformist leaders were compelled officially to declare the strike and hastened to take over its leadership.

The reformist leaders, right from the outset, endeavoured to prevent the extension of the strike to other mining districts in Belgium, and opposed a vote being taken among the miners not involved in the strike as to a general mining strike being entered upon. They only permitted the miners who were still at work to render financial support, and took good care to prevent the support being systematically organised. The Miners Union and the leadership of the reformists purposely avoided applying to the Trade Union Federation for financial support, and the latter, under the plea that it had not received any request, refrained from organising financial assistance.

It was not until ten days before the conclusion of the strike that the reformist leaders of the Miners Union of the Borinage Basin under the direct pressure of the strikers were compelled to apply for support to the Trade Union Federation, and the latter, on the day of the resumption of work, issued an appeal to support the victims of the movement.

The reformist leaders claimed the first proposal of the commission, comprising an equal number of representatives of the employers and of the workers and which limited the reduction of wages a little, a great victory. A new vote of the miners on the 17th of September, in which 19,643 workers participated, rejected the proposal with 16,962 against and 2,681 for acceptance.

Thereupon, at a meeting of delegates of the trade union sections, the reformist leaders carried through a proposal to submit the dispute to a court of arbitration. The former, social Minister of Industry and Labour, Joseph Wauters, proposed among others, as a member of the court of arbitration a catholic leader Cooreman, a state minister and a director of numerous mining companies. But even this did not satisfy the employers. They rejected the proposal for arbitration.

This embittered the strikers still more, they intensified their struggle and took stronger measures against black-legs. Whereupon the government replied with the proclamation of martial law and enormously reinforced the gendarmerie. In addition to this the governor of the province prohibited all meetings in open and every demonstration or any assembly of more than 100 people. The police proceeded ruthlessly against the strikers. The workers replied with the erection of barricades, the destruction of the tram lines and the sabotage of electric light works. Numerous collisions took place. In some places the police, upon the strikers. There were several wounded and one killed.

In the meantime the Commission again met and agreed upon a wage reduction of 8%. Thereupon the reformist leaders hastily convened the delegates of the trade union groups, and explained to them that this was the last possibility and that if this proposal were not accepted the strike would not be recognised, financial support would be withdrawn and the strikers left to their own resources. By means of this pressure and after a very stormy meeting they carried through the acceptance of this proposal by a very narrow majority. They refused to take a fresh vote and issued orders to resume work. Owing to the demoralisation of the strikers, and the partial resumption of work the resistance of the remainder was crippled.

The disappointed miners are beginning to turn their backs upon the Miners Federation which is under the control of the trade union organisations at all.

The Communist Party has right throughout actively supported the strike and demanded its extension to all mining areas. The reformist leaders opposed the campaign of the communists with all possible means and attempted to sabotage their meetings, and even went so far as to call in the aid of the social democratic mayor of a certain town in order to have open air meetings of the Communist Party legally prohibited. In spite of all, the influence of the Communist Party has increased greatly. A deep impression has been made upon the strikers by the solidarity of the unitarian miners of France affiliated to the R. I. L. U., operatives who sent 1000 Pounds Sterling in support of the strike, and of the International Workers Relief which distributed food among the strikers.

Encouraged by their victory the employers are now launching an attack upon the wages of the miners in the other mining districts of Belgium, as the communist continually predicted they would. This is the result of the carrying out of the Dawes Plan. The Communist Party will again be at its post in the fight. At present its efforts are directed to preventing the withdrawal from the trade unions, which would provide the reformists with the pretext for further compromises with the employers. Trade union unity for the fight against the bourgeoisie, united front of all miners, removal of the leaders who are allied with the bourgeoisie — these are the slogans which the Communist Party is issuing to the miners.

SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Theses for Agitators.

1. The seventh anniversary of the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Power — is a red-letter day, not only for the Russian proletariat, but for the workers of the world. In spite of ever-recurring predictions of the speedy and inevitable downfall of the Soviet Power, in spite of relentless military operations against the Soviets, in which the armies of 14 countries (Great Britain, France, America, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Japan, Poland, Roumania and many others) participated, in spite of the economic blockade and the counter-revolutionary conspiracies of white-guards, mensheviks and social revolutionaries and in spite even of natural calamities (famine and flood), which ravaged the country already exhausted by the world war and the civil war, the Soviet Republic is growing in strength. This fact draws on it the wrath of world capitalism, but the ever-growing sympathy of the workers of the world for the first Workers' and Peasants' Governments is now more than compensating. The death of the creator and leader of the October Revolution, the great teacher of the working class — comrade Lenin, was a terrible loss for the working class throughout the world, but above all for the workers of Russia. But this did not cause us to despond. New forces sprang up from the lower strata of the working class. Two hundred thousand new members joined the Russian Communist Party. The October Revolution is going forward on the right path, its own chosen road; and at the same time complete disintegration is manifested in the white guard camp (Savinkov).

2. We are celebrating the seventh anniversary of the First Soviet Republic at a time when open bourgeois rule has been implanted in Great Britain and France, by a new form of government, which parades in the guise of "democratic pacifism".

Imperialism continues its predatory policy in China, Central Asia and Africa, by oppressing the peoples of the East and suppressing their revolutionary movement and independence. But side by side with them is the Soviet Republic, which the imperialist Powers were compelled to recognise and which is fighting for its own consolidation and is stretching out a helping hand to the enslaved peoples of the East.

3. The October Revolution has achieved the aim for which the revolutionary working class of the world is striving. It has established proletarian dictatorship in one country — in former czarist Russia, which is a seventh part of the terrestrial globe. The conquests of this revolution are firmly established and will remain.

a) Together with the poor peasantry the working class has overthrown the rule of landlords, capitalists and their lackeys — the mensheviks and social revolutionaries.

The revolution has destroyed the apparatus of bourgeois State power. Instead of the false bourgeois "democracy" acting as a screen for capitalist dictatorship (the Kerensky regime), the revolution has built up a power based on true democracy, on Soviets of workers, peasants and Red Army deputies elected every year by the masses. Through these Soviets, hundreds of thousands of foremost workers and peasants are brought straight from the bench and from the plough into the Soviets, the Party and the trade unions, where they take a direct part in the administration of all the branches of social and economic life in the immense Soviet country.

Having done with the shameful sex inequalities, the October Revolution raised women from their former conditions of slavery and brought working and peasant women into the Soviets and trade unions as men's equals.

b) The Soviet Republic is steadily going forward with its task of reorganising society on a socialist basis. It has expropriated the expropriators. It has declared factories, workshops, mines, means of communication, banks, and land, the property of the working population, and has handed over their administration to the Soviets. In strengthening the revolutionary union with the peasantry, the working class handed over the land them for use. Taking into consideration the predominance of small peasant farms and the impossibility for the State apparatus to grapple successfully in the first stage with the economic exigencies of the country, the Soviet Power permitted private trading, leasing of some industrial concerns, and concessions to capitalists in order to accelerate the development of the productive forces of the country. But proletarian dictatorship retained in its own hands the main branches of industry — banks, means of communication, and monopoly of foreign trade. The Soviet Power is concentrating all its energy on the development of State industries and trade and is building up cooperative trade under the control of the proletariat, in order by such means to secure complete State control of the economic activity of the country and its complete reorganisation on a socialist basis.

c) The revolution has put an end to national oppression. It helped peoples which but a little while ago were oppressed by czarism, to establish their own independent national Soviet Republics, and united all of them into one powerful "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics". The peoples of the Moslem East: Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Turkomans, brothers to those who are brutally oppressed and exploited by the "democratic" and "pacifist" governments of Great Britain and France, and by fascist Italy, have become full-fledged members of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Republic has stretched out a helping hand to all colonial and semi-colonial peoples (to Turkey, China, Afghanistan and Persia), thereby giving powerful support to the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East against world imperialism.

d) The 8-hour day, social insurance and all working class privileges provided for by the labour code have become permanent institutions.

e) Courts of justice are under proletarian control, and the proletariat keeps watch over all the achievements of the revolution, dealing out justice to all offenders against the basis of the Soviet order and the rights of the working class.

f) Education and the press, which previous to the revolution were the monopoly of capitalists and landowners, and were used as a means of befooling and doping the masses, are now as a result of the October Revolution under the control of the victorious working class and are being utilised for communist education and training.

h) The Red Army is growing in strength and is increasing its contact daily with the workers of all the peoples within the Union.

4. During the first stage of its constructive work, the Soviet Republic had to work under conditions of extreme disorganisation and devastation caused by the Imperialist War, military intervention and the blockade of the imperialist Powers. Without any help from outside, and only by dint of the energetic work of the liberated working peasant classes, the Soviet Power has already succeeded in bringing considerable improvements into the conditions of the working and peasant classes.

5. Having come into being as result of the first imperialist world war of 1914-18, of the general disintegration of capitalist economy throughout the world and of the complete bankruptcy of the bourgeois and social compromisers' regime (Kerensky Government), the October Revolution in Russia was the first signal of a victorious world proletarian revolution, and is the vanguard of the world proletariat engaged in the fight for freedom and communism.

At present, owing to the treachery of the social democrats of Germany, Austria, Italy and Hungary, the post-war achievements of the working class are reduced to nought, and the working class is helpless and at the mercy of bourgeois violence, the Soviet Republic is the only bulwark of the working class and of the oppressed peoples of the East.

To support the Soviet Republic in its fight against the entire bourgeois world is one of the most important tasks of the entire working class.

6. From its first days the October Revolution was greeted enthusiastically by the working class throughout the world, which did its utmost to protect it from the attacks of the bourgeoisie and social democrats. When Poland attacked the Soviet Republic British workers established "Committees of Action". The workers of Germany and Danzig prevented arms being sent by the world capitalists to bourgeois Poland. During the famine of 1921, the workers of all countries established "The International Workers' Relief" in aid of the famine-stricken districts of Soviet Russia. By its own efforts and by supporting Soviet Russia the working class compelled the bourgeoisie to relinquish armed intervention, and finally induced some European Governments — those of Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Greece to recognise the Soviet Government. At present the British working class is fighting boldly and energetically for the ratification of the Anglo-Soviet agreement and for material support for Soviet Russia by means of a loan, thereby compelling the Labour Party to make the Anglo-Soviet agreement a reality.

7. The disintegration of capitalist economy throughout the world, which compels the capitalist countries to renew their economic relations with the huge country where the proletariat rules, and on the other hand the economic reconstruction of the USSR, which is steadily going on, together with the pressure brought to bear by the proletariat of all countries, have compelled several Powers to recognise the Soviet Union. This ushers in the transition to a new epoch when the bourgeois world, despairing of any possibility to destroy the Soviet Power, is compelled to recognise, side with the capitalist economic system, its opponent — the Soviet Socialist system and thus contribute to its consolidation. The task before the revolutionary proletariat is — to strengthen by every possible means the position of the Soviet Republic in its fight against imperialism by preventing the bourgeoisie from forcing on the Soviet country conditions infringing its independence and its socialist achievements.

8. The Parties of the Second International in Europe and America, which are the faithful servants of world capitalists, and which endeavour to alienate the workers from Soviet Russia, are spreading lying reports concerning the Soviet Government's alleged abandonment of its socialist aims, and concerning the growing economic ruin and the terrorist methods used against the workers, etc. Class conscious workers must learn to see clearly in all these matters, and must offer stubborn resistance to all traitors:

a) The new economic policy of the Soviet Government, while allowing private trade throughout the country and giving a number of concessions to capitalists, has left as before, economic power and control in the hands of the proletariat. Through the Soviets the workers control all the more or less important enterprises and main branches of industry, as well as all means of communication and transport and banks, aiming thereby at the

elimination of private traders. By developing and strengthening all the organs of Soviet State trading, and of cooperative trade under the control of the proletariat, the Soviet Government has achieved considerable successes during the last 12 months.

b) It is essential for the Soviet Republic to have the economic support of wealthy and technically developed countries, in order to enable it to reconstruct its economic system which was destroyed by war. The treachery of the socialists, who have impeded the victorious trend of proletarian revolution throughout Europe, is compelling the Soviet Government to make agreements with bourgeois governments. The fight which the Soviet delegation had to put up in London in connection with the Anglo-Soviet agreement, the conditions of this agreement and the frantic hostility of the British bourgeoisie towards this agreement, show that the Soviet Government has succeeded in vindicating the principles of the October Revolution and the independence of the Soviet Republic. The Soviet Government is carrying on a stubborn fight against international imperialism, which is supported by the Second International, and is defending the achievements of the October Revolution against all attacks.

c) The Soviet Government cannot disarm in the face of the conspiracies of counter-revolutionary groups which still receive the support of world capitalism. It is dealing and will deal relentlessly with the enemies of the proletariat who are in the pay of capitalist governments. The rising in Georgia has turned out to be a bandit action of the Georgian mensheviks, and has proved the lying nature of the mensheviks' and social-revolutionaries' assertion that they have given up all idea of armed struggle against the Soviet Power. The weapons which the Soviet Government uses against such bandit attacks are — imprisonment and exile. The working class and its organisations and the poor peasantry enjoy all the freedom and privileges of the ruling class.

9. The hypocrisy of the German, French, British and other menshevik-socialists, as well as the hypocrisy of the so-called "democratic pacifism" is particularly flagrant in connection with the Soviet Republic. No one is more emphatic and stubborn than the British Labour Party, the main Party of the Second International, in its demand, through the MacDonald Government, for the restitution to British capitalists of the property of which they were deprived by the Russian revolution, and the payment of all debts to these capitalists. It may be taken for granted that the French "socialist party", which supports Herriot, will adopt the same attitude in connection with the payment of debts. The American traitor Gompers is the chief support of Hughes in his fight against the recognition of the Soviet Republic. The Second International is supporting Georgian mensheviks and is providing them with means for bandit attacks, whereupon it raises its voice in protest when the Soviet Republic defends itself against such attacks.

10. The inability of the bourgeoisie to rule by open violence and fascism has compelled it to adopt the new system of so-called "democratic" pacifism, under which the left wing of fascism is brought into power, and social democracy and the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie conceal their intentions by high-sounding phrases about "democracy", "freedom" and "liberty" and "disarmament". The Second International stills into the workers illusions and false hopes about the League of Nations, which was brought into being by the victorious Entente, and which is supposed to grant the world disarmament and a lasting peace. But this League of Nations has already revealed itself as an organisation of imperialist capitalism, intent on enslaving the vanquished nations and making the German working class shoulder the burden of capitalist economic reconstruction. A new Dawes Plan is already in preparation, not only for France, but even for Soviet Russia. A renewed international capitalist intervention against Soviet Russia is being prepared under the flag of pacifism. The Treaty ratified in Geneva concerning "prevention of wars" is but another attempt to consolidate the military conquests of the Entente, and to prepare at the same time conditions favourable to a military attack on Soviet Russia in the future. The desire to draw Germany into the League of Nations is based on the desire to guarantee for France free transit of armed forces via Germany for the military support of Poland and Roumania, which form the armed vanguard of world imperialism in its fight against the Soviet Power. By demanding that the German government should enter the League of Nations, the German social-democrats become partners in the preparation of the future military action against the Soviets.

11. The pacifist phrases of the socialists are meant to conceal from the working class the real reactionary fascist aims of the bourgeoisie and of their echo — the Second International. The inevitable decay of the capitalist economic system throughout the world will make the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and between the imperialist countries on the other hand, more acute. Wars in the future are as inevitable as the world war of 1914-18. In view of its hatred for the working class and for the growing proletarian revolution, world capitalism is bound to make repeated attempts at military intervention in the Soviet Republic. Pacifism will not deceive the working class and will not make it less watchful and stubborn in the revolutionary class struggle.

12. The October Revolution was victorious and triumphantly overcame all difficulties in its path, because the Russian workers, led by the Communist Bolshevik Party, were never deceived by high-sounding phrases about "democracy" and "pacifism". Russian workers were always fully aware that armed revolutionary struggle and support of the working class of all countries are the only weapons with which victory can be achieved. They exposed all "democratic" talkers, and showed to the whole world that "democrats" and "pacifists" — Russian mensheviks and social-revolutionaries are as good supporters of counter-revolutionary imperialism, as the white czarist generals, Yudenitch, Denikin and Kolchak. Russian workers met all pacifist and democratic phrases by taking up arms in October 1917, by creating and consolidating the workers' and peasants' Red Army and by offering determined and stubborn resistance to all hostile attacks. The unity and determination of the working class, the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party, which knew how to effect unity between workers and peasants, and finally armed force as represented by the Red Army, constitute the main sources of the victory of the October Revolution. All workers should follow the same path — victory will then await them.

Supplementary Theses for Propagandist Work within the Party.

1. The victory of the October Revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was the result of the historical coincidence of a whole series of social-political events:

a) The general disintegration of bourgeois economy throughout the world and the bankruptcy of bourgeois rule in connection with the first world war of 1914-1918.

b) The existence of big industries in an advanced stage of technical development, built up by foreign capital.

c) The extreme backwardness of the despotic tsarist regime, which was unable to withstand the destructive influence of the war.

d) The all-round weakness of the Russian bourgeoisie, which had failed during the tsarist regime to create a strong apparatus for the defence of bourgeois rule.

e) The enormous discontent of the hundred million peasants deprived of adequate land.

f) The existence of a revolutionary proletariat in the most prominent industrial enterprises, which had gone through the school of the fight against tsarism.

g) Finally, the existence of the revolutionary Marxist party — the bolsheviks, — in close connection with the masses.

The latter factor has played a decisive role in the trend of the Russian Revolution, and its victories.

2. In the course of the development of the revolutionary conflicts in Europe during the post-war period, there were more than once revolutionary situations which could have been successfully used by the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. All the defeats of the working class must be put down to the absence in the European countries of a party such as the Russian Party, namely of a Communist Party welded together with the masses, and capable of leading the revolutionary working class movement to victory.

Therefore the "bolshevisation" of Communist Parties has become the fundamental task of all the sections of the Comintern.

3. The substance of the "bolshevisation" of communist parties is at present as follows:

a) To achieve theoretical clarity and unity on the questions of programme and tactics.

b) To reorganise the party apparatus in such a manner as to bring it into close contact with masses, and to enable it to

assume at any moment leadership in all spontaneous economic and political mass movements of the working class. This can be achieved by reorganisation on a factory nuclei basis.

c) To bring within reach of the rank and file party members the study of the foundation of Leninism which is a combination of Marxian theory and practice in the proletarian revolution.

4. The Russian Communist Party knew how to combine an uncompromising revolutionary attitude with close contact with the masses. Fight for the capture of the majority of the working class using trade unions and even mutual aid societies wherever the masses congregated. Establishment of mass organs of the working class press, issuing slogans acceptable and comprehensible to the masses, and the ability to combine the fight for these slogans with the revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the existing regime — all these methods helped the bolshevik party to overcome the influence of the mensheviks which made itself felt in the ranks of the working class during the tsarist rule, as well as after its overthrow (establishment of "Pravda" during the tsarist regime, fight for a majority in the Soviets after the February revolution, capture of trade unions on the eve of the October Revolution, etc.).

5. The Russian Communist Party has set the example for a correct coordination of legal and illegal forms of work. It was able to exercise its influence on the masses during its underground existence under the tsarist regime, as well as during the German occupation of the Ukraine, and in the rear of the armies of General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak. At the same time, the Russian Communist Party made full use of all legal opportunities, including a brilliant example of the possibility to use bourgeois parliaments for revolutionary purposes (workers' fraction in the State Duma).

6. While remaining an uncompromising Marxist party and an advocate of proletarian dictatorship, the Russian Communist Party was fully aware of the enormous significance of the revolutionary peasant movement during the epoch of imperialism. The victory of the revolution in February and October, as well as all further victories of the Soviet power over the Russian and world counter-revolution, were the result of the close union brought about by the bolsheviks between the working and the peasant classes under the leadership of the working class and its party.

7. Devoid of any nationalism whatever and of attachment to "their own" national bourgeoisie, the bolsheviks realised the revolutionary importance of national movements and the danger of counter-revolution if these national movements were ignored. It is to the correct tactics of the bolsheviks in the national question that we must ascribe the defeat of all petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionary nationalist parties, despite the support given them by world capitalism, as well as to the establishment of the "Union of Soviet Republics" and the ever-increasing influence of this "Union" on the revolutionary-liberation movement of the peoples of the East.

8. The uncompromising and firm attitude of the bolsheviks have never anything in common with sectarianism or sectarian preference for any one method of revolutionary actions or form of work. It is to the careful study of every change in the economic situation and in the correlation of forces and to the rapid adaptation of its tactics to changed conditions for the sole object of strengthening its revolutionary positions that the Soviet Republic owes its victories (the Peace of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, the march on Warsaw in 1920, the New Economic Policy in 1921, etc.).

9. By persistent and careful work for the formation of strong party cadres, the bolshevik party has been able to become an uncompromising party which at the same time was not devoid of revolutionary suppleness. The bolsheviks were never afraid of splits. They aimed at party unity, but only on the basis of a uniform Marxist programme and tactic. They always endeavoured to probe all differences, and relentlessly exposed and condemned all digressions, including expulsion from the Party of stubborn opposition elements. They stood not for compromise between various tendencies within one and the same party, but for strongly welded unity between those whose minds and actions were filled with the desire for victory for revolutionary communism.

10. The bolsheviks were not afraid to remain a minority in the working class and to be a small but strongly welded party organisation, having made the establishment of a mass communist party and influence over the masses their aim. The

logic of events in the course of the revolutionary class struggle must inevitably assign victory to the communist wing — the vanguard of the working class.

11. The ideological struggle in the ranks of the communist parties during the existence of the Communist International is the result of the experience gained by the working class in its revolutionary post-war struggle. The parties of the Communist International are engaged at present in forming basic cadres capable of getting into close contact with the masses, like the Russian Communist Party, of resisting bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences from outside, so as to be prepared to assume the leadership of the majority of the working class when in any one of the countries the time for the final decisive struggle will have arrived.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Import of the Discussion in the Czechoslovakian Party.

By D. Manuilsky (Moscow).

We give below an article by Comrade Manuilsky in which he deals with a speech recently delivered by Comrade Smeral of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. We have not published this speech in the English *Inprecorr.*, owing to its great length and the fact that its contents could only be appreciated by those who are very intimate with recent events in the Czechoslovakian Party and have been able to follow in detail the discussion which is now proceeding. The following article by Comrade Manuilsky will, we think, enable readers to gain a general view of the position of affairs and the merits of the discussion now being conducted in the Czechish Section of the Comintern. Ed.

The Czechish Communist newspapers which have arrived in Moscow contain full reports of the great speech delivered by Smeral as a contribution to the discussion which was opened after the V. World Congress in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is one of the largest sections of the Communist International. In a country with a population of 13½ millions, it has almost as many members as the German section with its great tradition of mass organisations. Numerically, the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is twice as strong as the French Party. As regards its social composition, it is part of the very flesh and blood of the working class: the non-proletarian elements constitute a very insignificant percentage. We can say without exaggeration that if our Czechish comrades succeed in the near future in throwing off the social democratic remnants inherited by the old Austrian school, if they succeed in increasing the fighting capacity of the Party, the Czechoslovakian section will undoubtedly become the backbone of the Communist International.

Therefore it is not to be wondered at that all the vital and revolutionary elements in the international labour movement are following with intense eagerness the discussion which is proceeding in the Czechoslovakian Party, and are profoundly convinced that this discussion will serve to steel the Party and increase its revolutionary fighting capacity. The Czechish Party discussion is in no way an ordinary local dispute among party leaders struggling for influence. It is focussing its attention upon the fundamental question of the revolutionary struggle in Czechoslovakia: Will there be set up in this country, in the near future, the regime of the fascist dictatorship of the Czechish bourgeoisie over the proletariat, the peasantry and over the suppressed nationalities (Slovaks, Germans, Ukrainians, Hungarians), or will there be set up a workers' and peasants' government, that is to say, a government of the workers in alliance with the left revolutionary elements of the peasantry and with the working masses of the other nationalities who are suppressed by the Czechish bourgeoisie?

That is how the question stands in Czechoslovakia. The young Czechoslovakian state is torn by national conflicts. The national discontent of the Slovaks and Ukrainians with the Prague regime is growing, not only daily, but hourly. The Czechish go-

vernment are confronted with a profound political crisis. They are afraid of new elections because these will bring about their defeat. Their chief concern is to find a basis for support. They are seeking for new combinations, for parliamentary "coalitions". They not only have the national minorities against them, which constitute a good half of the population, but also the strong Communist Party, which cannot be disregarded in the political life of Czechoslovakia.

The elections in Carpathian Russia have shown to what this Party can develop in the event of a further sharpening of the national contradictions and of the class struggle. Therefore the Czechish bourgeoisie consciously raises the bogey of the dismemberment of the Czechoslovakian state, and is endeavouring to mobilise all the forces of reaction against the "Communist danger" by misrepresenting the meaning of the decisions of the V. World Congress regarding the National question.

For the Czechoslovakian Party, it is by no means a mere question whether it accepts the decisions of the V. World Congress or not. It would be a great error in this discussion to be satisfied with the solemn assertions of the right elements of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia who declare that "the workers' and peasants' government is a pseudonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat and that every other interpretation is a petty bourgeois deviation".

In Czechoslovakia, theoretical formulas demand practical application. Alongside of the theoretical bolshevizing of the Party there must proceed the practical preparation for the struggle, the practical bolshevizing of the Party. These are the questions which are raised by the Czechoslovakian discussion, and to these questions the comrades of the Communist International expect a clear answer from the leaders of the Czechoslovakian Party and in the first place from Comrade Smeral, who for some years has determined the policy of the Party.

The speech of Comrade Smeral has given no direct and clear answer to a single fundamental question regarding Czechish political life and the revolutionary labour movement of Czechoslovakia. He has deprived the whole discussion of all political content, and has given a sort of talmudic interpretation to various revolutionary texts. We say quite openly and in a comradely manner, that it is not the speech of a political leader, but the speech of a gifted, clever diplomat, who bases his argument upon formal logical conclusions mixed with sentimental-lyrical phrases.

The Role of the Party and the Bolshevizing of the Party

At the central point of the Czechoslovakian discussion there stands the question of the bolshevizing of the Party. The problem of bolshevizing the Party is by no means exhausted by a mechanical registration by the Party of the decisions of the V. World Congress out of regard for the necessity of international discipline.

A real bolshevist Party is a vital functioning organ, which has a will of its own, and also proceeds upon its own initiative to the process of bolshevizing the Party. A Party which only acts in response to "outer compulsion" is not a real bolshevist Party. We have the experiences of the five years struggle of the Communist International behind us. During these five years our whole struggle for the bolshevizing of the European Communist Parties encountered the resistance of those elements who have retained their old social democratic prejudices in the Parties. Their opposition, however, with a few exceptions, did not possess an active character, but was a passive resistance. The comrades who clung to the old forms of organisation, to the old fighting methods and to the old conceptions did not, in the majority of cases, declare themselves to be opponents of the Comintern; they accepted all international decisions, they accepted them, however, under the pressure of communist opinion, out of regard for discipline. Their usual method of resistance consisted in the fact that while on the one hand they asserted their loyalty to the Communist International, on the other hand they carried on an energetic struggle within their Party against those elements who were really endeavouring to bolshevise the Party. Thus the entire attitude of this right wing of the European Communist Parties to the Comintern was inwardly contradictory. This was the case in France, as well as in Poland and in a whole number of other countries where the struggle for the bolshevizing of the Party began earlier than it has in Czechoslovakia.

This struggle is now proceeding in Czechoslovakia in a precisely similar manner, and is passing through the same stages and is meeting with the same hindrances. In his great political

speech Comrade Smeral speaks just as the centrist elements in France did in their time for absolute loyalty to all decisions of the Comintern.

Comrade Smeral directs the whole force of his criticism against those Czechoslovakian comrades who after the V. World Congress began a struggle within the Party for the correction of the Party line. According to the opinion of Smeral, it is they who are chiefly responsible for the meaningless quarrel which has arisen in the form of a Czechoslovakian Party discussion. They are alleged to have falsely informed the Communist International and to have misled the President, Comrade Zinoviev, who at the V. World Congress censured the C. P. of Czechoslovakia without reason.

How similar is all this to our old disputes with the centrist elements of other countries!

One must really have a very poor opinion of the Comintern if one admits the possibility of its responsible leader, at an international Congress which is of tremendous political importance for the workers of all countries, taking up an attitude to a question on the basis of false evidence. And if we in the Executive had no other material at our disposal than the speech of Comrade Smeral, this alone would provide a sufficient fund of material in order to be able to pass judgment upon the incorrect line of the Party Leadership in Czechoslovakia.

And we must say it right out, that the first difference between Comrade Smeral and ourselves consists in the differing conceptions regarding the role of the Party. Comrade Smeral in his view of the role of the Party lapses into "Chvostism" (a policy of following the crowd). According to his conception, the Party is a sort of object to be moulded by a higher authority, its bolshevizing is not a real revolutionising process from below in which the Party masses themselves play an active role, but according to Smeral it is a more or less formal change in response to pressure from above. The Party is towed forward while it seems as if it were voluntarily participating in this proceeding.

This incorrect conception was to be seen with all clearness at the time of the German revolution in October last year. At a time when the attention of the whole European working class was fastened on Germany, when the fate of the whole German Communist movement was at stake, when a real intervention of all sections of the Comintern in the discussion of the German events which events could have become fateful for the Communist International was necessary, the leaders of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia chose to remain silent regarding these burning questions, and like Pilate washed their hands to show their innocence. Comrade Smeral may say right out: Was it then right or not for the Party leaders of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia to remain silent at the time of the famous discussion of the German crisis?

Comrade Smeral in his speech points out that it was morally difficult for him to oppose some of the great authorities of the International labour movement. This can be understood from a human point of view. Is that, however, an argument for a leader of a great Communist Party?

Bolshevism before all implies courageous thinking, and the capacity to arrive at definite decisions and to carry these decisions through with even greater firmness. The Russian Bolsheviks had the courage during the European war to oppose in the sharpest manner all the recognised authorities of the II. International, although they were accused by sentimental people on all sides of being "barbarians" and "destroyers of authority". We have never been ashamed of having sprung from the old social democracy. Hundreds and thousands of workers, who today are participating in the Communist movement, have passed through this school. We are in no way inclined to spit upon our political past. We must, however, be ashamed when we perpetuate from this past the social democratic prejudices, if we do not quickly and energetically abandon them, and if we hesitate in those moments which require a strong will and firm determination.

The National Question.

Let us now turn to one of the most acute questions of the political life of Czechoslovakia, to the national question. In the first place we remember that the decisions of the V. World Congress on the national question have to be harmonised with the concrete situation in which our Czechish comrades must fight. Nobody reproaches Comrade Smeral and the whole central Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia with the fact that they

interpret the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, even up to complete separation, as in no way being synonymous with separation.

Lenin, during the heat of the discussion over the national question which took place in the Russian Party before the war, explained with great patience to all people who are slow of comprehension that the right to divorce in no way implied that marriages must in all circumstances and at all cost be dissolved. The struggle for the right of nations to self-determination up to separation means such an unrelenting fight against national suppression, and for the creation of such conditions for the national existence of national minorities as would render "separation" quite unnecessary. If, therefore, the bourgeoisie, by their policy of national suppression, actually create a soil for the growth of separatist tendencies among the national minorities, then the Communist Party, with its definite and uncompromising fight against all forms of national suppression, is the only force which is capable of uniting the various nationalities within the frame of one state system. The finest and clearest example of this is constituted by the Soviet Union, which succeeded after a number of national revolutions in 1917 in uniting within itself dozens of nations and nationalities. It is in this sense, and only in this sense, that we understand the decisions of the V. World Congress. Consequently, those comrades are mistaken who believe that the application of the decisions of the V. World Congress to the Czechoslovakian situation requires a special sanction of the VI. World Congress.

We do not believe that essential differences exist between the Comintern and the Czechoslovakian Party with regard to the interpretation of the decisions of the V. World Congress on the national question. The Executive Committee will, along with the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, fight against every effort of the Czechish bourgeoisie which aims at imputing to our Czechish comrades the desire to dismember the young Czechoslovakian state. We Communists have never demanded that it is our endeavour to overthrow the bourgeois state as far as regards its social basis. We defend this standpoint in our programme and no force in the world will compel us to abandon this item in our programme. We are not prepared, however, to incorporate in our programme all those points which the bourgeoisie and its press eagerly ascribe to us in order to sow hate against the communists. Our Czechish comrades will know how to show the masses, on the basis of the decisions of the V. World Congress, that only the realisation of their national programme, the abolition of all national suppression, can furnish the guarantees for a fraternal cooperation of those peoples who are today living in Czechoslovakia.

The decisions of the V. World Congress on the national question have a special importance from the standpoint of educating the working masses in the spirit of overcoming national narrowness and the national prejudices which have not yet been overcome. In our opinion it is precisely in this sphere that there lies the chief weight of the decisions of the V. World Congress. The Czechish working masses were for too long an object of national suppression in old Austria for them to be able quickly to overcome the consequences of the policy of the past. Here the greatest patience and the greatest perseverance is necessary, as national prejudices can in no way be overcome by a simple vote upon this or that resolution. It is a very complicated and painful process and we must have no illusions as to the difficulties involved. It is precisely from the standpoint of this anti-national education that we regard that part of Comrade Smeral's speech as not particularly happy in which he endeavours to convince the workers of Czechish Kladno of the futility of the principle of "right of self-determination up to separation" for the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, by using the argument that in Hungary there exists the Horthy regime, which is worse than that of Benes-Masaryk. Before all we do not desire to separate any nation from Czechoslovakia. We only recognise the right to separation, self-determination.

To this recognition we educate in the first place the working masses, who must learn to see in every nation living with them in a common state organism an equal member of this organism and to admit it to the same rights which they themselves claim. Against all national suppression, for complete equality of the nations — therein lies the propagandist sense of the formula: "right of self-determination up to separation". The task of the Czechish Communists, particularly of the workers of Kladno, consists before all in fighting against their own bourgeoisie.

The Tasks of the Annual Conference of the Party.

We should like to make a few remarks regarding those tasks which confront the Czechoslovakian Party in connection with the discussion which has arisen, and as to which Comrade Smeral has hardly said one word. If this discussion is not a mere chance episode, an echo of the criticism levelled at the Czechoslovakian Party at the V. World Congress — as Comrade Smeral at least believes — if on the contrary it is the expression of a healthier process of the inner growth of the Party and its political ripening, then there is no doubt that the Annual Conference will not only be in a position to put a definite end to the discussion, but will also be capable of extracting all the political teachings from it.

The recent Congress of the factory councils has shown what great tasks are confronting our Czechoslovakian brother Party. The mood of the working class is become more active, the Party has a strong organic connection with the masses. In these circumstances the factory councils can become the point of support of the working class in the fight for the workers' and peasants' government in Czechoslovakia. Only then will the workers' government in Czechoslovakia not become a "vulgar parliamentary combination" when the centre of gravity of the struggle is transferred to a broad mass movement. And our whole dispute regarding the workers' government will only cease to be an abstract theoretical discussion when we really are in a position to show the value of the ex-parliamentary methods of the struggle for the workers' and peasants' government. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to give a stimulus to the activity of the Czechoslovakian factory councils.

The factory councils are of special importance for the defence of the working class against the results of the Dawes Plan on an international scale. It will not be long before its effects will make themselves felt in Czechoslovakia. It will be the task of the proletariat of Czechoslovakia to defend with tooth and nail all those gains which have been wrested from the bourgeoisie and to retain the level of existence which is already quite low enough.

The Party must, with the support and assistance of the factory councils, initiate in the near future an energetic campaign for the unity of the trade unions. It is precisely in Czechoslovakia, where the trade union movement is split, that this campaign, as is to be expected, will meet with the furious resistance of the followers of Amsterdam. Here also it is necessary, in order to achieve the aim we have set up, that the masses themselves actively participate in this campaign and exert pressure through the factory councils upon the trade union bureaucracy.

Further, the factory councils must be made use of as points of support of the mass struggle against the fascist danger. The Party must not overlook this real danger, it must not be contented with mere resolutions when its own fate and that of the working masses in Czechoslovakia is at stake. The capitalist circles in their campaign against the Communist Party are exposing their real intentions. The Czechish bourgeoisie are having communist leaders assassinated, they are preparing, by means of terror and mass persecutions, to have the Party declared illegal, for a legal Communist Party is already too great a threat against the Czechish bourgeoisie. It must not be forgotten that this bourgeoisie has at its disposal, in the shape of the Sokol movement, fully equipped fascist organisations.

Unfortunately up to the present the whole question of Czechish fascism has in our Communist Party, been restricted to ideological preparation for resistance against it. Here again in the speech of Comrade Smeral we find no word regarding this task.

The concretising of the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government in Czechoslovakia demands from the Party a plain and definite attitude to the question of the organisational forms of the worker and peasant alliance. We can only appeal to our Russian experiences in constructing organisational centres for working among the peasant masses. Apart from the strict party work among the proletarian elements in the villages, our Party has in the past never abandoned the creation of non-party revolutionary peasants' unions. Those processes which we observe in the "peasants' parties" which are arising in Czechoslovakia in the form of the crystallising of the left elements of the revolutionary peasantry, indicate the tasks of the Communist Party in regard to the peasantry. It seems to us that the uniting of these radical peasant elements under the active participation of our brother Party in Czechoslovakia must be carried out.

In conclusion there is the question of the youth. In the speech of Comrade Smeral we find ironical remarks regarding the weakness of the Youth League in Czechoslovakia, whose numerical importance is supposed to stand in inverse proportion to its claims "to bolshevise" the adults. We believe, as a result of our whole international experience, that the responsibility for the weakness of the Youth League lies before all with the Party. The Youth League will only become a great power where it enjoys the all-round support of the Party.

We are convinced that the Party will fulfil these tasks. And we believe that, in spite of his speech, Comrade Smeral will not play the least role in the fulfilling of these tasks.

Reply of the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Labour Party's Expulsion Move.

On the 11th of October there was held in London an open session of the Executive Committee of the C. P. of Great Britain, which after an exhaustive debate adopted the following declaration:

The Labour Party Conference took place at a time favourable to the government.....

The Conference met under the atmosphere of an impending election and those elements in the Labour Movement who are critical to the Government were silenced because they did not desire to embarrass it. The attitude of the Government on the Russian Treaty had for the moment attracted the discontented elements to its support and stilled their criticism.

The Communist Party therefore appeared at the Conference as the only section of the Labour Movement which was disposed to criticise the Government. Both the proletarian left wing in the Labour movement and the intellectual left wing led by Phillips Price were overawed by the Conference atmosphere and refused to put up a fight against the Government.

The Communist fraction right from the outset of the Conference had to struggle against the current that was flowing strongly in the direction of the Government. While individual mistakes may have been made by the fraction it performed its revolutionary duties. Right from the start of the Conference, on its criticism of the Report the Party maintained a straight working class line on Kelvingrove, on Russia, on India, on Unemployment, on the question of the Dawes Report, on Armaments; the fraction utilised its opportunities to vigorously criticise the Government. In doing so it alienated for the time being the support of many elements who while agreeing with its general line of criticism did not desire to embarrass the Government at the present time.

While the great majority of the conference refused to follow the Communist Party in its criticism there nevertheless was a strong element of dissatisfaction existing among the delegates and had election atmosphere been absent we might have had quite different results. The Conference showed conclusively that the Communist Party is the only party within the Labour Movement which is prepared to pursue a consistent working class policy.

On the question of communist affiliation the Government through the Prime Minister showed quite clearly that it desired the conference to abandon any association with the Communists. This was necessary if the Government's policy of placating the middle class and appeasing the capitalists was to be continued. The line the Government had forced upon them on the question of the Russian Treaty and the Campbell case laid them open to the charge that they were subject to Communist pressure. This charge had to be repudiated if the allegiance of the middle class was to be won. That is why the Prime Minister went out of his way to refer to the Party in his opening speech. That is why a prominent member of the Government led the case against the Communist Party.

The vote which was given in favour of the Communist affiliation does not in any way reflect the opinion of the masses. This is clearly illustrated by the position of the miners delegation. In that delegation 52 votes were cast for affiliation and 74 against. In one of the largest districts, Lanarkshire, the chairman of the Miners Union, Comrade MacAnuity and his delegation representing 50,000 votes voted in favour of the Communist Party affiliation. Yet when the voting was in process in the Con-

ference the Miners owing to the block vote, voted solidly against Communist affiliation.

The masses represented by the 52 delegates who were in favour of affiliation did not get expression at all. In most of the other delegations similar minorities voted in favour of Communist affiliation but again owing to the block vote system the votes of the people represented by the minorities were cast against communist affiliation. Special efforts were made by members of the Government holding positions in unions and by right wing trade union leaders under their influence to ensure this result by attending the delegation meetings previous to the conference.

On the other hand a large number of local labour parties which had voted in favour of Communist affiliation were unable to be represented owing to the high cost of maintaining a delegation in London during the Conference. In a number of other local labour parties whose delegates voted against Communist affiliation the instruction was given to those delegates on a vote taken at the local labour party meeting which was extraordinarily close.

The result of this vote therefore is not to be taken as an indication that the Party influence in the labour movement is on the decline. On the contrary, on the question of the Dawes Report and on the question of exclusion of Communists as Parliamentary candidates it was clear that we have a majority of the local organisations in the main centres of the country on the side of the Communist Party.

The vote to allow Communists to run as Parliamentary candidates was considerably larger than that in favour of affiliation. This is due to the fact that a number of unions refused to deny communist members the full rights within the unions, and is an indication of our strength in the Industrial Movement.

The exclusion of the Communists from Labour Party membership was not discussed on the debate at the Conference and was carried without the Conference clearly realising its full implications. As a consequence of this many of the unions and local Labour Parties are disquieted and whatever interpretation the Labour Party Executive may place upon this decision it will be no more possible to operate it than it was possible to operate the Edinburgh decision in 1922. So far from this decision weakening the party it gives the Party an unrivalled opportunity of stating its case in the Labour Movement. The question must now be raised in every local Labour Party and trade union and as a consequence the Party position can be carried to the masses of the Labour movement to a far greater extent than heretofore.

This decision demands on the part of our membership increased discipline and activity. There is a tendency upon the part of our membership to react in an emotional way towards this decision. A certain section of our membership claims that the decision should be accepted and that the Communist Party members should sever themselves completely from the local Labour Movement and build up the party outside. It is contended that our members are doing the donkey work of the Labour Party and this is their reward. The members of the Party must realise however, that they are working in the Labour Party not to strengthen the influence of those people who were responsible for excluding them from the movement, but in order to strengthen the struggle against capitalism whose agents these elements are in the Labour Movement. Our work in the Labour Party is not work calculated to strengthen the right wing elements but to mobilise the masses around the Party who are propagating the opposite policy to that pursued by the right wing leadership. The amount of support that we have received in our campaign against Dawes, in the struggle against the decision of the Labour Party Executive shows clearly that our influence in the Labour Party continues to grow. It is because that influence is growing that a campaign of unheard-of violence has been waged against the Party by the right wing leadership. To cut ourselves from the Labour Party in these circumstances would be to do exactly what the right wing leadership wants us to. The Party would be foolish to walk into a trap that is obviously laid before it. The struggle between liberalism and labourism is taking place in the Labour Party and to go away from that Party is to desert from the struggle.

The question of what our Party has to do in these circumstances is one of considerable importance. Disappointment in the result, but the fight against the decision of the conference must be waged in the most energetic fashion.

1. With regard to the position of party members who have been adopted as Parliamentary candidates. The Party fraction in these localities must mobilise sympathy around it, endeavour to get the local Labour Party to turn down the Executive decision and run our members as a labour candidate without national endorsement. Not only so but the party fractions in other localities where a labour candidate has not yet been adopted and where there are possibilities of getting the local Labour Party to adopt a communist as a Labour candidate we must endeavour to see that this position is exploited to the utmost.

2. In respect to the party members who are in the individual sections. Party members must endeavour to get those sections to refuse to operate the executive decision. Should any local labour organisations endeavour to exclude them without calling a meeting of the individual section the party must by canvass of the individual section secure a meeting at which the question can be discussed.

3. With regard to Party members who are delegates from their trade union branches those members must get their branches to refuse to withdraw them from the local labour Parties and Trades Councils. As far as possible Party members should concentrate more on Trade Union branches, as this enables them to effect Labour Party, Trade Union and Minority Movement work at one and the same time.

The Party must energetically expose the political reasons for their exclusion from the Labour Party. The masses must be made to realise that this is a continuation of the policy of refusing to fight for working class interests while pursuing an active Imperialist policy. That this decision is aimed not merely at the Communist Party but at all elements within the Labour Party who are desirous that the Party shall go forward to the fight against capitalism. If this decision is allowed to stand the next people to be attacked will be the left wing trade unionists and other active elements in the movement.

The Joint Committee of Action of the C. P. of France and of the C. G. for the Fight against the Dawes Plan.

In accordance with the decisions of the Cologne International Conference the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions have formed an International Committee of Action. This Committee has as its task of discovering means for the struggle against the carrying out of the Dawes Plan and against its results.

The Committee of action will help to bring about the rallying of the proletariat of all countries in the united front in order to combat the results of the London Conference. The decisions of the Experts urgently call for the realisation of trade union unity. Under the pressure of the workers there has been formed within the Amsterdam Trade Union International a minority who have perceived the necessity of a revolutionary struggle along with the trade unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. in order to resist the new offensive of capital.

The first measures of the Dawes Plan have already led to a further impoverishment of the German proletariat. But the workers of Belgium, England and France are also threatened with a reduction of their standard of living, increase of unemployment and lengthening of the working day. The miners of the Borinage basin in Belgium have already experienced the results of the Dawes Plan. Mass dismissals are already taking place in the Paris factories.

The C. G. T. U. and the C. P. of France are organising their Committee of Action on a national scale in order by a campaign with public and factory meetings and demonstrations to call upon the workers to fight for the following slogans: Against the Expert Plan, against the war in China, against the war in Morocco and in Syria, against high prices, for the recognition of the Soviet Union, for the maintenance of the Eight Hour Day, for Trade Union Unity.

The Tasks of the Annual Conference of the Party.

We should like to make a few remarks regarding those tasks which confront the Czechoslovakian Party in connection with the discussion which has arisen, and as to which Comrade Smeral has hardly said one word. If this discussion is not a mere chance episode, an echo of the criticism levelled at the Czechoslovakian Party at the V. World Congress — as Comrade Smeral at least believes — if on the contrary it is the expression of a healthier process of the inner growth of the Party and its political ripening, then there is no doubt that the Annual Conference will not only be in a position to put a definite end to the discussion, but will also be capable of extracting all the political teachings from it.

The recent Congress of the factory councils has shown what great tasks are confronting our Czechoslovakian brother Party. The mood of the working class is becoming more active, the Party has a strong organic connection with the masses. In these circumstances the factory councils can become the point of support of the working class in the fight for the workers' and peasants' government in Czechoslovakia. Only then will the workers' government in Czechoslovakia not become a "vulgar parliamentary combination" when the centre of gravity of the struggle is transferred to a broad mass movement. And our whole dispute regarding the workers' government will only cease to be an abstract theoretical discussion when we really are in a position to show the value of the ex-parliamentary methods of the struggle for the workers' and peasants' government. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to give a stimulus to the activity of the Czechoslovakian factory councils.

The factory councils are of special importance for the defence of the working class against the results of the Dawes Plan on an international scale. It will not be long before its effects will make themselves felt in Czechoslovakia. It will be the task of the proletariat of Czechoslovakia to defend with tooth and nail all those gains which have been wrested from the bourgeoisie and to retain the level of existence which is already quite low enough.

The Party must, with the support and assistance of the factory councils, initiate in the near future an energetic campaign for the unity of the trade unions. It is precisely in Czechoslovakia, where the trade union movement is split, that this campaign, as is to be expected, will meet with the furious resistance of the followers of Amsterdam. Here also it is necessary, in order to achieve the aim we have set up, that the masses themselves actively participate in this campaign and exert pressure through the factory councils upon the trade union bureaucracy.

Further, the factory councils must be made use of as points of support of the mass struggle against the fascist danger. The Party must not overlook this real danger, it must not be contented with mere resolutions when its own fate and that of the working masses in Czechoslovakia is at stake. The capitalist circles in their campaign against the Communist Party are exposing their real intentions. The Czechish bourgeoisie are having communist leaders assassinated, they are preparing, by means of terror and mass persecutions, to have the Party declared illegal, for a legal Communist Party is already too great a threat against the Czechish bourgeoisie. It must not be forgotten that this bourgeoisie has at its disposal, in the shape of the Sokol movement, fully equipped fascist organisations.

Unfortunately up to the present the whole question of Czechish fascism has in our Communist Party, been restricted to ideological preparation for resistance against it. Here again in the speech of Comrade Smeral we find no word regarding this task.

The concretising of the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government in Czechoslovakia demands from the Party a plain and definite attitude to the question of the organisatory forms of the worker and peasant alliance. We can only appeal to our Russian experiences in constructing organisatory centres for working among the peasant masses. Apart from the strict party work among the proletarian elements in the villages, our Party has in the past never abandoned the creation of non-party revolutionary peasants' unions. Those processes which we observe in the "peasants' parties" which are arising in Czechoslovakia in the form of the crystallising of the left elements of the revolutionary peasantry, indicate the tasks of the Communist Party in regard to the peasantry. It seems to us that the uniting of these radical peasant elements under the active participation of our brother Party in Czechoslovakia must be carried out.

In conclusion there is the question of the youth. In the speech of Comrade Smeral we find ironical remarks regarding the weakness of the Youth League in Czechoslovakia, whose numerical importance is supposed to stand in inverse proportion to its claims "to bolshevise" the adults. We believe, as a result of our whole international experience, that the responsibility for the weakness of the Youth League lies before all with the Party. The Youth League will only become a great power where it enjoys the all-round support of the Party.

We are convinced that the Party will fulfil these tasks. And we believe that, in spite of his speech, Comrade Smeral will not play the least role in the fulfilling of these tasks.

Reply of the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Labour Party's Expulsion Move.

On the 11th of October there was held in London an open session of the Executive Committee of the C. P. of Great Britain, which after an exhaustive debate adopted the following declaration:

The Labour Party Conference took place at a time favourable to the government.....

The Conference met under the atmosphere of an impending election and those elements in the Labour Movement who are critical to the Government were silenced because they did not desire to embarrass it. The attitude of the Government on the Russian Treaty had for the moment attracted the discontented elements to its support and stilled their criticism.

The Communist Party therefore appeared at the Conference as the only section of the Labour Movement which was disposed to criticise the Government. Both the proletarian left wing in the Labour movement and the intellectual left wing led by Phillips Price were overawed by the Conference atmosphere and refused to put up a fight against the Government.

The Communist fraction right from the outset of the Conference had to struggle against the current that was flowing strongly in the direction of the Government. While individual mistakes may have been made by the fraction it performed its revolutionary duties. Right from the start of the Conference, on its criticism of the Report the Party maintained a straight working class line on Kelvingrove, on Russia, on India, on Unemployment, on the question of the Dawes Report, on Armaments; the fraction utilised its opportunities to vigorously criticise the Government. In doing so it alienated for the time being the support of many elements who while agreeing with its general line of criticism did not desire to embarrass the Government at the present time.

While the great majority of the conference refused to follow the Communist Party in its criticism there nevertheless was a strong element of dissatisfaction existing among the delegates and had election atmosphere been absent we might have had quite different results. The Conference showed conclusively that the Communist Party is the only party within the Labour Movement which is prepared to pursue a consistent working class policy.

On the question of communist affiliation the Government through the Prime Minister showed quite clearly that it desired the conference to abandon any association with the Communists. This was necessary if the Government's policy of placating the middle class and appeasing the capitalists was to be continued. The line the Government had forced upon them on the question of the Russian Treaty and the Campbell case laid them open to the charge that they were subject to Communist pressure. This charge had to be repudiated if the allegiance of the middle class was to be won. That is why the Prime Minister went out of his way to refer to the Party in his opening speech. That is why a prominent member of the Government led the case against the Communist Party.

The vote which was given in favour of the Communist affiliation does not in any way reflect the opinion of the masses. This is clearly illustrated by the position of the miners delegation. In that delegation 52 votes were cast for affiliation and 74 against. In one of the largest districts, Lanarkshire, the chairman of the Miners Union, Comrade MacAnulty and his delegation representing 50,000 votes voted in favour of the Communist Party affiliation. Yet when the voting was in process in the Con-

ference the Miners owing to the block vote, voted solidly against Communist affiliation.

The masses represented by the 52 delegates who were in favour of affiliation did not get expression at all. In most of the other delegations similar minorities voted in favour of Communist affiliation but again owing to the block vote system the votes of the people represented by the minorities were cast against communist affiliation. Special efforts were made by members of the Government holding positions in unions and by right wing trade union leaders under their influence to ensure this result by attending the delegation meetings previous to the conference.

On the other hand a large number of local labour parties which had voted in favour of Communist affiliation were unable to be represented owing to the high cost of maintaining a delegation in London during the Conference. In a number of other local labour parties whose delegates voted against Communist affiliation the instruction was given to those delegates on a vote taken at the local labour party meeting which was extraordinarily close.

The result of this vote therefore is not to be taken as an indication that the Party influence in the labour movement is on the decline. On the contrary, on the question of the Dawes Report and on the question of exclusion of Communists as Parliamentary candidates it was clear that we have a majority of the local organisations in the main centres of the country on the side of the Communist Party.

The vote to allow Communists to run as Parliamentary candidates was considerably larger than that in favour of affiliation. This is due to the fact that a number of unions refused to deny communist members the full rights within the unions, and is an indication of our strength in the Industrial Movement.

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This decision demands on the part of our membership increased discipline and activity. There is a tendency upon the part of our membership to react in an emotional way towards this decision. A certain section of our membership claims that the decision should be accepted and that the Communist Party members should sever themselves completely from the local Labour Movement and build up the party outside. It is contended that our members are doing the donkey work of the Labour Party and this is their reward. The members of the Party must realise however, that they are working in the Labour Party not to strengthen the influence of those people who were responsible for excluding them from the movement, but in order to strengthen the struggle against capitalism whose agents these elements are in the Labour Movement. Our work in the Labour Party is not work calculated to strengthen the right wing elements but to mobilise the masses around the Party who are propagating the opposite policy to that pursued by the right wing leadership. The amount of support that we have received in our campaign against Dawes, in the struggle against the decision of the Labour Party Executive shows clearly that our influence in the Labour Party continues to grow. It is because that influence is growing that a campaign of unheard-of violence has been waged against the Party by the right wing leadership. To cut ourselves from the Labour Party in these circumstances would be to do exactly what the right wing leadership wants us to. The Party would be foolish to walk into a trap that is obviously laid before it. The struggle between liberalism and labourism is taking place in the Labour Party and to go away from that Party is to desert from the struggle.

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The C. G. T. U. and the C. P. of France are organising their Committee of Action on a national scale in order by a campaign with public and factory meetings and demonstrations to call upon the workers to fight for the following slogans: Against the Expert Plan, against the war in China, against the war in Morocco and in Syria, against high prices, for the recognition of the Soviet Union, for the maintenance of the Eight Hour Day, for Trade Union Unity.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Solovki.

By N. Krasikov.

At the end of September and the beginning of October, myself and my assistant, comrade Katanyan thoroughly investigated the state of affairs in the transfer prison in Kemi and in the Solovetsk camp as a whole. We did this in the presence of comrade Bokia, a member of the Board of The Amalgamated State Political Department.

In view of the very confused notions prevailing here in Russia, as well as abroad about the nature of this camp, I think it will be as well to make known briefly the results of this investigation.

I.

The Kemsky centre is a transfer prison where those who are either being sent to Solovki or have been released from there are kept for a while either waiting for the arrival of the steamer, or for the expiration of their term of exile, should that coincide with the closing of the navigation season. This year this centre has been thoroughly reorganised, all the buildings (built by the way, by the British for their landing) have been put in thorough repair. They are provided with good stoves, kitchens, an infirmary with a dispensary, and an adequate medical staff. Communication with Solovki is maintained regularly by two steamers, which were thoroughly repaired in the Solovetsk workshops. It takes two hours to cross the Strait to Solovki. Thus, the journey, from Moscow to Solovki takes 36 to 38 hours.

The Solovetsk camp itself and the islands have so many interesting features that it would take a whole volume to describe them. I will limit myself to a general outline. It is a great mistake to imagine that Solovki is a dreary and dark prison where people are lingering in crowded and close confinement. The camp is a huge economic organism in which 3,000 workers are employed in various branches of industry. Space will only allow of a short description of the various forms of work. These include — cutting timber in the vast forests of the island, fishing and catching seals, cattle breeding and dairy farming (this year the camp is almost self-supporting as far as milk and meat are concerned), vegetable growing, keeping the existing canals in order and extending the system of canals which provide the island with electricity and connect up the scores of lakes on the island, navigation in rowing and steam craft on these canals, putting up new buildings and repairing old ones, which are getting out of repair or have been damaged by last year's fire, electrification of the island (a new power station is being built), laying new narrow railway lines, building a distillery, metal, ship building, furniture, pottery and china, bootmaking, clothes making, factories and workshops, tanneries, etc., attendance in the Russian bath, dining halls and kitchens, stables, hospitals, dispensaries, — in fact doing everything which is conducive to making Solovki to a considerable extent a self-supporting economic organism. All this work is carried out by common criminals under the supervision of the administration of the camps with the assistance of a paid technical staff and the staff of the administration. These staffs have at their disposal the services of experts and technicians from among the prisoners. Thus, those who are confined in the camp only rest, eat and sleep in the premises allotted to them, spending the remaining time — 8 hours — at their work in the forest, on the sea, in the workshops, factories, etc., where supervision is not rigorous. It should be stated most emphatically that during the current year much has been achieved in connection with improving economic conditions in the camp and bettering the conditions of labour and life of those incarcerated in the camp. The principle that people are not sent to prison merely to be punished but to be made useful members of society is applied to the full in Solovki where remission of sentences depends on the conduct of prisoners and on the way in which they do the work allotted to them. This year, 350 prisoners were liberated before the expiration of their sentences by a commission consisting of representatives of the regional State political department and of the prosecuting magistrates. These prisoners were conspicuous for their good conduct and efficiency in per-

forming the work allotted to them in the camp. Among them were 10 sailors who had participated in the Kronstadt rising.

Food rations and accommodation are generally speaking satisfactory, although better accommodation is provided for so-called political offenders.

Culture and educational work is by no means neglected, for the camp is provided with a library, with papers and periodicals. Lectures and study circles (literature, art, singing, instrumental music, sports, botany, etc.) are being held, and the camp has also a theatre and an orchestra. The common criminals publish a periodical "The Elephant" which deals with social and political matters. Friends and relations are allowed to visit the prisoners.

Naturally the winter is the hardest time for the inhabitants of the island, as navigation stops for five months, and connection between Solovki and the rest of the world is maintained through post and radio. In this connection, educational and cultural activities assume a very important role.

The parts of the camp where so-called political offenders are kept are entirely separated from the rigorous but regular and busy life which we have just described. They are situated in three former hermitages in various parts of the Archipelagos, ten to twelve versts from the centre of Solovetsk life and activities. The premises allotted them are the best on the islands, — they are former monastery buildings, are well built and provided with wood heating. The rooms are spacious and light with a beautiful view on to the sea and forest. They do not look in the least like prison cells, there are no bars before the windows and no guards inside the buildings. The inhabitants are — anarchists, social democrats and social revolutionaries who are left to themselves in the buildings within a considerable area converted into gardens and a vegetable garden enclosed by barbed wire. Anarcho-socialists do not take part in any work performed in workshops or otherwise, except that they have to prepare their meals from the foodstuffs provided by the administration and received as voluntary contributions. We visited everyone of the buildings of these parts of the camp and found them very satisfactory, except that the floors in the buildings which are in the care of the prisoners themselves were badly swept and dirty. Two of the hermitages are lit by electricity until midnight, while one hermitage has oil lighting, but will soon be provided with a small power station. In the rooms we did not find any trace of work whatever. We were informed that the political prisoners were on principle against regularly organised work which they considered compulsory and an infringement of their right to spend their time as they wanted. The administration of the camp finds it very difficult to enforce the principle of self-service, as far as the prisoners direct needs are concerned. It has not yet been able to make satisfactory arrangements for the preparation of wood for the political prisoners' own needs, although the quantity required does not exceed 250—300 cubic sazhen (1 sazhen = 7 feet) namely no more than two-thirds of a cubic sazhen per person on an average.

The ration provided for political offenders by the administration, as far as its nutritive quality is concerned is much better than the ration for the ordinary criminals on the island and is even a little better than that provided for the Red Army. It consists of two pounds of bread, 48 zolotnik (about half a pound) of buckwheat, 48 zolotnik of meat, 72 zolotnik of sugar or fresh fish, 12 zolotnik of fats, 18 zolotnik of oil, one pound of vegetables, 2 zolotnik of onions, 12 zolotnik of sugar per day and one pound of tobacco per month. There is also a dietical ration for those who require better feeding, which consists of two pounds of white bread, fresh fish, dried vegetables, milk and butter. During the winter, in 1923—24 there were periods when fresh meat, onions and fresh vegetables were replaced by pickled cabbage and preserved meat or fish. Since during the first year of its existence the camp was sufficiently provided with cattle and vegetables.

It should also be borne in mind that political offenders have the great advantage over ordinary criminals of receiving parcels from outside containing wheaten flour, butter, sugar, chocolate, cocoa and other nourishing foods, unlimited quantities of which can be supplied to the political prisoners, about 500—600 poods a year (1 pood = 36 English lbs.). There are at present between 320 to 330 political prisoners, men, women and children. Some of the latter were born on the island and others were brought there by their parents and live with their families.

Walks and outdoor exercise during the winter season are permitted all day long up to 6 p. m. Business intercourse of all kinds between different buildings may be carried on even until later. The prisoners are evidently well provided with warm clothes, for although they insist on a regular supply, they oppose any control over the clothes in their possession.

The exiles are organised according to their Party fractions, and every fraction has its elders for the conduct of affairs within the camp and for relations with the administration of the camp.

There is a hospital in the central camp with an adequate medical staff. Every camp has its own ward under the central of an experienced medical assistant. The infirmary doctors visit the hermitages, and in some cases when necessary the sick are taken to the central infirmary or to the main land. Since the establishment of the camp there has not been a single case of medical assistance having been refused to a sick person. Statements in foreign emigrant papers about the sickness and helplessness of those who are ill are a cold-blooded and calculated lie. In addition to the official staff there are in every hermitage doctors among the prisoners who look after the patients together with the manager of the ward. Provision of medicines has never been refused. To our knowledge during the current year two thousand roubles worth of medicines were provided. According to the statement of the head doctor, only dietical medical stuffs or cosmetics have been refused. Those who stand in need of a climatic change and of systematic treatment are released from Solovki and sent to the mainland.

According to a statement made by the medical staff, political prisoners need much more medical attendance than the other prisoners who lead a busy life. The absence of systematic physical work has naturally a very detrimental effect on their health, as physical exercise is essential in this climate during the winter. It has been proved to the hilt that the worst thing one can do in a Northern climate is — to lie about all day long with a book in one's hands. Such a regime cannot make the organism imperious to scurvy and other complaints. During the spring of 1924 there were signs of scurvy but not in a special "scurvy" rations, and scurvy soon abated.

On the whole we have every reason to say that on the strength of the statistics and material supplied by the sanitary authorities, the state of health of the political prisoners in Solovki is very satisfactory indeed. This is also borne out by the reports and letters of relatives who come to see the political prisoners, as well as by the general appearance of the prisoners themselves. Since the establishment of the infirmary there has not been a single case of death. Serious diseases such as brain diseases, syphilis, tuberculosis, neurasthenia and dental defects already existed amongst some of the prisoners when they came to the camp. The after effects of abortions brought about by the political prisoners themselves might have had serious results had it not been for timely medical assistance. Medical statistics show that women political prisoners suffer much more from gynecological complaints than the other women prisoners who do not live in the same premises with men, this is the case with political prisoners. There is every reason to believe that political prisoners are on the whole hostile to the administration of the Soviet Social order in general, this cannot be said of the other prisoners. The life they lead can be characterised as an anarcho-intellectual form of life with all its negative sides. Continuous idleness, harping on political dissensions, family quarrels, fractional disputes and above all an aggressive and hostile attitude towards the government in general and towards the local administration and the Red Army guards in particular, a decided disinclination to become reconciled with the necessity to isolate them as socially pernicious elements, — all this combined makes these three hundred and odd people hostile to any measure and every attempt of the local authorities to produce regularity and organisation into their lives, even if in connection with individual service. They antagonise the Red Army guards by their disrespectful and hostile attitude to them in the performance of their duty. They are also disliked and treated with contempt by the common criminals because of their idleness and their indolent and anarchic form of life. It is the fact that they receive better rations than prisoners who work eight hours a day. One must not forget that fruits of the labour of ordinary criminals goes to a certain extent to the needs of people whom they consider to be parasites, who receive besides luxuries from their relatives and friends,

which ordinary criminals never have a chance to see or taste. As a rule, common criminals recognise their shortcomings and endeavour against the workers' and peasants' social order, and against the terms of their sentences by their work and exemplary conduct. On the other hand, anarchist, or social revolutionary political prisoners consider themselves, or pretend to consider themselves to have been right when they helped the home and foreign bourgeoisie with all their might to overthrow the workers' and peasants' government. The anarchist political prisoners, who evidently set the tone for the others, do not recognise any organised authority, hence they do not recognise anyone's right to isolate them. They categorically protest against life in Solovki mainly on the plea that for five months of the year they are isolated from direct relations with relatives and people who share their views. All this makes the task of the local administration very difficult indeed, as it is impossible for it to fulfil the main demand of the anarcho-socialists — their transfer from Solovki to the mainland without the decision of the central authority. The local administration has tried to influence these people and to make them amenable to the light duties imposed on them by all manner of small concessions.

THE WHITE TERROR

Against the Persecution of the Communist Party of Germany!

Against the Socialist Traitors, the Stranglers of the German Proletariat!

To the Workers of All Countries!

Raise your voices in a flaming protest against the acts of violence of the German government and of the social democratic bureaucracy.

The history of the German Republic constitutes an unbroken record of reactionary terror and of suppression of the working people. The present persecution of the Communist Party of Germany puts even the reactionary, past in the shade. All the communist members of parliament, the leading members of the C. P. of Germany, editors and functionaries are to be arrested. But not content with this, the social democratic, nationalist counterrevolution does not even stop at the communist functionaries in the factories and trade unions. According to the plans of the government, the Communist Party is to be annihilated by being deprived of all its functionaries in order that the German bourgeoisie and its social democratic wing shall be victorious in the elections.

The Republic of Ebert and Seeckt is stripping itself of the last shreds of democracy. The "socialist democracy" of Severing and his colleagues is proving itself to be even more reactionary than the fascist counter-revolution. It deliberately outlaws four millions communist workers. The Communist Party, bound hand and foot, is to be forced to accept the democratic benefits of this shameful Republic.

The pre-requisite for the carrying out of the Dawes Plan in Germany is that "law and order" shall prevail. "Law and order" are synonymous for unlimited exploitation of the proletariat and the most cruel terror, with the peace of the grave-yard and the order of the barrack yard.

The democratic acts of terror against the revolutionary labour movement are the open expression of the craven fear of social democracy and of the nationalist bourgeoisie of the revolution, of the bolshevising of the Communist Party, of the organising of the revolution by the advance-guard of the revolutionary proletariat.

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Germany is becoming more and more the immediate field of battle between international finance capital and its antagonist, the Communist International. We must form a ring of proletarian-communist fighting solidarity around the German proletariat.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Solovki.

By N. Krasikov.

At the end of September and the beginning of October, myself and my assistant, comrade Katanyan thoroughly investigated the state of affairs in the transfer prison in Kemi and in the Solovetsk camp as a whole. We did this in the presence of comrade Bokia, a member of the Board of The Amalgamated State Political Department.

In view of the very confused notions prevailing here in Russia, as well as abroad about the nature of this camp, I think it will be as well to make known briefly the results of this investigation.

1.

The Kemsy centre is a transfer prison where those who are either being sent to Solovki or have been released from there are kept for a while either waiting for the arrival of the steamer, or for the expiration of their term of exile, should that coincide with the closing of the navigation season. This year this centre has been thoroughly reorganised, all the buildings (built by the way, by the British for their landing) have been put in thorough repair. They are provided with good stoves, kitchens, an infirmary with a dispensary, and an adequate medical staff. Communication with Solovki is maintained regularly by two steamers, which were thoroughly repaired in the Solovetsk workshops. It takes two hours to cross the Strait to Solovki. Thus, the journey, from Moscow to Solovki takes 36 to 38 hours.

The Solovetsk camp itself and the islands have so many interesting features that it would take a whole volume to describe them. I will limit myself to a general outline. It is a great mistake to imagine that Solovki is a dreary and dark prison where people are lingering in crowded and close confinement. The camp is a huge economic organism in which 3,000 workers are employed in various branches of industry. Space will only allow of a short description of the various forms of work. These include — cutting timber in the vast forests of the island, fishing and catching seals, cattle breeding and dairy farming (this year the camp is almost self-supporting as far as milk and meat are concerned), vegetable growing, keeping the existing canals in order and extending the system of canals which provide the island with electricity and connect up the scores of lakes on the island, navigation in rowing and steam craft on these canals, putting up new buildings and repairing old ones, which are getting out of repair or have been damaged by last year's fire, electrification of the island (a new power station is being built), laying new narrow railway lines, building a distillery, metal, ship building, furniture, pottery and china, bootmaking, clothes making, factories and workshops, tanneries, etc., attendance in the Russian bath, dining halls and kitchens, stables, hospitals, dispensaries, — in fact doing everything which is conducive to making Solovki to a considerable extent a self-supporting economic organism. All this work is carried out by common criminals under the supervision of the administration of the camps with the assistance of a paid technical staff and the staff of the administration. These staffs have at their disposal the services of experts and technicians from among the prisoners. Thus, those who are confined in the camp only rest, eat and sleep in the premises allotted to them, spending the remaining time — 8 hours — at their work in the forest, on the sea, in the workshops, factories, etc., where supervision is not rigorous. It should be stated most emphatically that during the current year much has been achieved in connection with improving economic conditions in the camp and bettering the conditions of labour and life of those incarcerated in the camp. The principle that people are not sent to prison merely to be punished but to be made useful members of society is applied to the full in Solovki where remission of sentences depends on the conduct of prisoners and on the way in which they do the work allotted to them. This year, 350 prisoners were liberated before the expiration of their sentences by a commission consisting of representatives of the regional State political department and of the prosecuting magistrates. These prisoners were conspicuous for their good conduct and efficiency in per-

forming the work allotted to them in the camp. Among them were 16 sailors who had participated in the Kronstadt rising.

Food rations and accommodation are generally speaking satisfactory, although better accommodation is provided for so-called political offenders.

Culture and educational work is by no means neglected, for the camp is provided with a library, with papers and periodicals. Lectures and study circles (literature, art, singing, instrumental music, sports, botany, etc.) are being held, and the camp has also a theatre and an orchestra. The common criminals publish a periodical "The Elephant" which deals with social and political matters. Friends and relations are allowed to visit the prisoners.

Naturally the winter is the hardest time for the inhabitants of the island, as navigation stops for five months, and connection between Solovki and the rest of the world is maintained through post and radio. In this connection, educational and cultural activities assume a very important role.

The parts of the camp where so-called political offenders are kept are entirely separated from the rigorous but regular and busy life which we have just described. They are situated in three former hermitages in various parts of the Archipelagos, ten to twelve versts from the centre of Solovetsk life and activities. The premises allotted them are the best on the islands, — they are former monastery buildings, are well built and provided with wood heating. The rooms are spacious and light with a beautiful view on to the sea and forest. They do not look in the least like prison cells, there are no bars before the windows and no guards inside the buildings. The inhabitants are — anarchists, social democrats and social revolutionaries who are left to themselves in the buildings within a considerable area converted into gardens and a vegetable garden enclosed by barbed wire. Anarcho-socialists do not take part in any work performed in workshops or otherwise, except that they have to prepare their meals from the foodstuffs provided by the administration and received as voluntary contributions. We visited everyone of the buildings of these parts of the camp and found them very satisfactory, except that the floors in the buildings which are in the care of the prisoners themselves were badly swept and dirty. Two of the hermitages are lit by electricity until midnight, while one hermitage has oil lighting, but will soon be provided with a small power station. In the rooms we did not find any trace of work whatever. We were informed that the political prisoners were on principle against regularly organised work which they considered compulsory and an infringement of their right to spend their time as they wanted. The administration of the camp finds it very difficult to enforce the principle of self-service, as far as the prisoners direct needs are concerned. It has not yet been able to make satisfactory arrangements for the preparation of wood for the political prisoners' own needs, although the quantity required does not exceed 250—300 cubic sazhen (1 sazhen = 7 feet) namely more than two-thirds of a cubic sazhen per person on an average.

The ration provided for political offenders by the administration, as far as its nutritive quality is concerned is much better than the ration for the ordinary criminals on the island and is even a little better than that provided for the Red Army. It consists of two pounds of bread, 48 zolotnik (about half pound) of buckwheat, 48 zolotnik of meat, 72 zolotnik of salt or fresh fish, 12 zolotnik of fats, 18 zolotnik of oil, one pound of vegetables, 2 zolotnik of onions, 12 zolotnik of sugar per day and one pound of tobacco per month. There is also a dietical ration for those who require better feeding, which consists of two pounds of white bread, fresh fish, dried vegetables, milk and butter. During the winter, in 1923—24 there were periods when fresh meat, onions and fresh vegetables were replaced by pickled cabbage and preserved meat or fish. The cause during the first year of its existence the camp was sufficiently provided with cattle and vegetables.

It should also be borne in mind that political offenders have the great advantage over ordinary criminals of receiving parcels from outside containing wheaten flour, butter, sugar, chocolate, cocoa and other nourishing foods, unlimited quantities of which can be supplied to the political prisoners, about 500—600 poods a year (1 pood = 36 English lbs.). There are at present between 320 to 330 political prisoners, men, women and children. Some of the latter were born on the island, others were brought there by their parents and live with their families.

Walks and outdoor exercise during the winter season are permitted all day long up to 6 p. m. Business intercourse of all kinds between different buildings may be carried on even until later. The prisoners are evidently well provided with warm clothes, for although they insist on a regular supply, they oppose any control over the clothes in their possession.

The exiles are organised according to their Party fractions, and every fraction has its elders for the conduct of affairs within the camp and for relations with the administration of the camp.

There is a hospital in the central camp with an adequate medical staff. Every camp has its own ward under the central of an experienced medical assistant. The infirmaries visit the hermitages, and in some cases when necessary the sick are taken to the central infirmary or to the main land. Since the establishment of the camp there has not been a single case of medical assistance having been refused to a sick person. Statements in foreign emigrant papers about the sickness and helplessness of those who are ill are a cold-blooded and calculated lie. In addition to the official staff there are in every hermitage doctors among the prisoners who look after the patients together with the manager of the ward. Provision of medicines has never been refused. To our knowledge during the current year two thousand roubles worth of medicines were provided. According to the statement of the head doctor, only dietical medical stuffs or cosmetics have been refused. Those who stand in need of a climatic change and of systematic treatment are released from Solovki and sent to the mainland.

According to a statement made by the medical staff, political prisoners need much more medical attendance than the other prisoners who lead a busy life. The absence of systematic physical work has naturally a very detrimental effect on their health, as physical exercise is essential in this climate during the winter. It has been proved to the hilt that the worst thing one can do in a Northern climate is — to lie about all day long and with a book in one's hands. Such a regime cannot make the organism imperious to scurvy and other complaints. During the spring of 1924 there were signs of scurvy but not in a rampant form. They were successfully dealt with by issuing special "scurvy" rations, and scurvy soon abated.

On the whole we have every reason to say that on the strength of the statistics and material supplied by the sanitary authorities, the state of health of the political prisoners in Solovki is very satisfactory indeed. This is also borne out by the reports and letters of relatives who come to see the political prisoners, as well as by the general appearance of the prisoners themselves. Since the establishment of the infirmary there has not been a single case of death. Serious diseases such as brain diseases, syphilis, tuberculosis, neurasthenia and dental defects already existed amongst some of the prisoners when they came to the camp. The after effects of abortions brought about by political prisoners themselves might have had serious results had it not been for timely medical assistance. Medical statistics show that women political prisoners suffer much more from gynecological complaints than the other women prisoners do not live in the same premises with men, this is the case with political prisoners. There is every reason to believe that political prisoners are on the whole hostile to the administration of the Soviet Social order in general, this cannot be said of the other prisoners. The life they lead can be characterised as an anarcho-intellectual form of life with all its negative sides. Continuous idleness, harping on political dissensions, family quarrels, fractional disputes and above all an aggressive and hostile attitude towards the government in general and towards the local administration and the Red Army guards in particular, a decided disinclination to become reconciled with the necessity to isolate them as socially pernicious elements, — all this combined makes these three hundred and odd people hostile to every measure and every attempt of the local authorities to produce regularity and organisation into their lives, even if in connection with individual service. They antagonise the Red Army guards by their disrespectful and hostile attitude to them in the performance of their duty. They are also disliked and treated with contempt by the common criminals because of their idleness and their indolent and anarchic form of life. The fact that they receive better rations than prisoners who work eight hours a day. One must not forget that fruits and the labour of ordinary criminals goes to a certain extent to satisfy the needs of people whom they consider to be parasites, who receive besides luxuries from their relatives and friends,

which ordinary criminals never have a chance to see or taste. As a rule, common criminals recognise their shortcomings and crimes against the workers' and peasants' social order, and endeavour to shorten the terms of their sentences by their work and exemplary conduct. On the other hand, anarchist, or social revolutionary political prisoners consider themselves, or pretend to consider themselves to have been right when they helped the home and foreign bourgeoisie with all their might to overthrow the workers' and peasants' government. The anarchist political prisoners, who evidently set the tone for the others, do not recognise any organised authority, hence they do not recognise anyone's right to isolate them. They categorically protest against life in Solovki mainly on the plea that for five months of the year they are isolated from direct relations with relatives and people who share their views. All this makes the task of the local administration very difficult indeed, as it is impossible for it to fulfil the main demand of the anarcho-socialists — their transfer from Solovki to the mainland without the decision of the central authority. The local administration has tried to influence these people and to make them amenable to the light duties imposed on them by all manner of small concessions.

THE WHITE TERROR

Against the Persecution of the Communist Party of Germany!

Against the Socialist Traitors, the Stranglers of the German Proletariat!

To the Workers of All Countries!

Raise your voices in a flaming protest against the acts of violence of the German government and of the social democratic bureaucracy.

The history of the German Republic constitutes an unbroken record of reactionary terror and of suppression of the working people. The present persecution of the Communist Party of Germany puts even the reactionary, past in the shade. All the communist members of parliament, the leading members of the C. P. of Germany, editors and functionaries are to be arrested. But not content with this, the social democratic, nationalist counterrevolution does not even stop at the communist functionaries in the factories and trade unions. According to the plans of the government, the Communist Party is to be annihilated by being deprived of all its functionaries in order that the German bourgeoisie and its social democratic wing shall be victorious in the elections.

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The persecution of the Communist Party of Germany is the reply of the socialist traitors in the governments to the bolshevising of the C. P. of Germany and to the consolidation of its influence among the masses, by which it will become the leader of the German proletariat.

Germany is becoming more and more the immediate field of battle between international finance capital and its antagonist, the Communist International. We must form a ring of proletarian-communist fighting solidarity around the German proletariat.

We warn the German proletariat against the illusion that the new Reichstag, the new alliance between social democratic and bourgeois reaction, will better its condition. On the contrary! The new Reichstag, as the executor of the dictates of the American and Entente capitalists, will bring fresh starvation and misery to the working class.

German brothers!

We support your struggle by word and deed. We will mobilise the Communist International, we will spring to fill every breach which may arise in the fighting front. We will help you to heal the wounds which the class enemy inflicts on you.

Workers of all Countries!

Organise your solidarity for the heroic struggle of your German brothers!

Forward, German comrades, close the ranks! Intrench yourselves in the factories!

For every arrested leader ten new ones must arise!

Every soldier of the revolution shall be a leader of the revolution!

Forward brothers against the class enemy!

Expose the social democratic counter-revolution!

Social democratic workers! Recognise your leaders by their acts as enemies of the working class!

Every vote for the communists is a vote for the working class, for the fight against impoverishment, for socialism! Every vote for the social democratic party is a vote for capitalism, for counter-revolution.

Against the dictatorship of the Dawes robbers and their social democratic and nationalist agents!

Fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of Germany!

Long live the German revolution!

Moscow October 26th. 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Zinoviev (President); Bucharin, Manuilsky (Soviet Union);
Trotsky (Germany); Trossat (France); MacManus (England);
Kolarov (Balkans); Kuuminen (Finland); Katayama (Japan);
Ercoli (Italy); Wujovitch (Youth International).

The Hamburg October Fighters in the Hands of Class Justice.

By H. Tittel (Berlin).

The 23rd of October marked the anniversary of the Hamburg October revolt. A year has passed since a few hundred Hamburg revolutionaries, with the courageous spirit of self-sacrifice and at the risk of their lives, ventured on an armed struggle against the class enemies of the proletariat.

A year has elapsed since the days when the proletarians of the whole world believed in the victory of the social proletarian revolution in Germany.

The heroic fight of the Hamburg workers from the 23rd to the 25th of October, will, in spite of its short-comings and weaknesses, belong to the most glorious pages of the history of the proletarian revolution in Germany. 300 proletarians fought for days against hostile forces twenty times their number, and which were armed with all the means of modern warfare. In spite of the heroic struggle, the revolt was doomed to collapse; for the Hamburg workers fought as outposts and were left isolated in their fight by the rest of the German proletariat.

Once again it was social democracy which acquired the ill-fame of having, in the interests of the terrified bourgeoisie, performed the work of hangmen against the insurgents.

With the October defeat of the Hamburg workers there set in the revenge of triumphant reaction. Indiscriminate arrests were carried out. The arrested insurgents were ill-treated in the most inhuman manner. We will mention one fact: In the trial of Torel, a locksmith, it transpired that on his arrest which was carried out by a considerable force of police, he was so brutally beaten that he lost his left eye.

After the bloody defeat of the revolt, Ebert, the President of the Republic, issued a decree which permitted unrestrained class

justice to be exercised against the imprisoned fighters. Special Courts were set up. They performed prompt and fearful work. Their sentences were exactly on a par with the special courts established after the defeat of the famous March Action. Here as there, death sentences were pronounced against the proletarian fighters.

The trial of the above-mentioned Thorell, who is only 22, is a typical example. During the fighting he, along with other workers, had searched passers-by for weapons. Along with others he had disarmed a police officer. Thereupon it came to collisions with the police. In self-defence he fired upon a police officer. It is true the Court was unable to prove that any police officer had thereby been killed or wounded. In spite of this on the strength of this evidence, Thorell was condemned to death for high treason and revolt. Besides this he was sentenced to six years hard labour for breach of peace and attempted manslaughter. This sentence was commuted to 10 years hard labour.

Wilhelm Billendorf, a worker, was likewise condemned to death. On appeal he received twelve years hard labour. There are only a few cases proving the enormous cruelties of the special court.

Today, a year after, class justice has not yet pronounced sentence on all the prisoners. It is true in the meantime the Special Court has been abolished. White justice nevertheless performed a fearful work. Up to the 30th of September there have been sentenced altogether, 278 fighters who took part in the Hamburg revolt to 564 years 1 month's fortress imprisonment, 57 workers to 69 years and 7 months imprisonment and workers to 28 years hard labour.

As we have said, the bourgeoisie has not yet glutted its revenge. Hundreds of October fighters are still in prison awaiting trial. In the next few weeks a monster trial will take place. 225 workers. 80 of the accused have already spent a year and arrest. 400 witnesses have been summoned to this trial. It is anticipated that the trial will last six weeks.

Among the condemned revolutionaries there are many young workers, and if the German working class does not enforce amnesty for the 7000 political prisoners, these young comrades will be doomed to spend the bloom of their manhood behind the prison walls of the Ebert Republic. Hundreds of families have been broken up, the women and children are deprived of the breadwinners, some of whom have been condemned to 15 years imprisonment.

The Hamburg October fighters have met with heads proud and erect the terrorist sentences of class justice. With the same fortitude, with the same courage with which they fought on the barricades, they have faced prison and hard labour. The sacrifices of the Hamburg revolt have not been made in vain. The German proletariat has learnt from this defeat. And the example of courage and revolutionary determination shown for three days and three nights in Hamburg during October 1923 by proletarians will be a shining example for the whole German working class, which cannot fail to have its effect.

In Germany there are now over 7000 class fighters in the hands of the enemy. These must not be left in the lurch by the German and international proletariat. May the proletariat respond to the appeal which the October fighters sent out to the workers from their prison fortress in Fuhlsbüttel:

"Never in the history of the Labour movement has there been such acts of unexampled self-sacrifice as the which have been called forth by the work of the 'International Red Relief'. And yet comrades! how much more remains to be done! If the 'Red Relief' is to be in a position to stand at the side of the proletariat, ever ready to help, then every worker must become a paying member. The ever-sharpening class antagonisms are causing white terror to assume forms which it has never revealed before. Therefore the defensive struggle of the proletariat must become more intense. The struggle will cost many heavy sacrifices. Who will be the next? Perhaps you, comrade!

Therefore let each one help, according to his powers, to strengthen the 'International Red Relief'!