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## The Canton Government and the Revolutionary Movement in China.

By Tang Shin She.

In order to suppress the revolutionary movement in North China, that is to say, in order in the first place to demoralise the Kuomintang armies and to bring about their speedy defeat, the imperialists spread the report that Feng Yu Hsiang, along with his family, had fled by aeroplane from Kalgan to Urga. As this false report did not achieve the desired result, Reuter's Telegraph Agency, which along with the Japanese Oriental News Service has the monopoly of the telegraphic news service in China, recently issued the statement that in Canton, Chang Kai She, the supreme commander of the revolutionary troops (whom Reuter had hitherto described as a Red), had carried out a Coup d'etat. But this lying report had soon to be denied by the London "Times", the semi-official government organ. The Kuomintang armies are not in the least demoralised, but on the contrary are putting up a very fierce and unexpected resistance at Peking. The movement of the Chinese people, which is especially directed against the British and Japanese imperialists and against their lackeys Wu-Pei-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin, has now assumed an even more energetic form.

The Kuomintang Party is not a tiny group with a few members, but is a mass party in the true sense of the word, and the revolutionary Canton troops and the revolutionary Canton government are founded on this basis. It is of course impossible there to carry out a coup d'etat over night. The policy of the party, which is aiming at the world revolution and is

seeking a close alliance with the Soviet Union, was again approved at the Second Party Conference held in January of this year. How, therefore, can there be any talk of a sudden expulsion and deportation, and even killing of citizens of the Soviet State with which it is on good terms?

The perspectives for the people's government in Canton were never so favourable as they now are after the Second Party Conference of the Kuomintang. The whole province of Kwangtung, with a population of 14 millions, stands behind the people's government of Canton.

The province of Kwangsi with 20 million inhabitants, which up to then sympathised with the Canton government, in February last closely allied itself to it. The province of Kwangsi will shortly form a Soviet government which will be subordinate to the Canton Kuomintang government. The Kwangsi troops are being organised on the model of the national revolutionary Canton troops. They will constitute the 7th and 8th army of the Kuomintang government.

Moreover, the Governor of the province of Hunan, a follower of Wu-Pei-Fu was driven out in March and a General sympathising with the Canton government has seized power there. The latest reports even state that a campaign has been undertaken from Hunan against the headquarters of Wu-Pei-Fu, which are in the neighbouring province of Hupe.

The governor of Kiangsi, a province of central Yangtsi, who also intends to proceed against Wu-Pei-Fu, has sent a delegation to the Canton government which has assured the latter of his sympathy.

By winning the provinces of Hunan and Kiangsi the influence of the Canton government has penetrated into the Yangtsi area, that is into central China, which implies a great danger for Wu-Pei-Fu and Sun Tehuan Fang. The governor of Kiangsi and the new governor of Hunan have not sought connection with the Canton government out of personal interest; they were to a great extent compelled thereto by the people. In the same way Sun Tehuan Fang, the tool of the imperialists, could not owing to the pressure of the people, openly declare himself in favour of Wu-Pei-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin. That means: the power of the generals, as a result of the pressure of the national revolutionary movement, is beginning to disappear.

The Kuomin government is now proceeding to organise all district and town administrations within the province of Kwangtung according to the Soviet system. The gendarmerie of the village usurers is to be annihilated by the strengthened peasant defence forces. The government also intends, in the speediest and best manner, to complete the harbour of Wampoo and to construct numerous communication roads within the province. That means that the great constructive work of the Kuomin government is in full swing.

The Kuomin Tang is not only striving to bring together the workers and peasants, but it also desires to attract to itself the small traders and the middle class which is being destroyed by the robber attacks of the imperialists. For this reason in February last small traders were included in the strike committee of the workers. The recent closing of the harbour of Canton by the British customs authorities resulted not in breaking the strike, but on the contrary, only extended it. The control, against which the British customs directors in particular raised claims, was rendered more strict and the Canton government only agreed to control the goods after they have been dealt with by the customs authorities.

The development in recent times shows us that the entire attack of the imperialists and their lackeys was unable to injure the national revolutionary movement and the Canton government, but on the contrary, considerably improved their position. The Kuomin armies and the auxiliary forces of the national revolution in North China cannot be annihilated. In the camp of the enemy squabbles are already again breaking out. Wu-Pei-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin are not able to come to an agreement regarding the division of the spoil.

## POLITICS

### The Result of the Referendum in Germany.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

#### I.

The referendum introduced by the Communist Party for the holding of a plebiscite on the expropriation without compensation of the former royal houses in Germany, let loose a powerful people's movement which embraced broad circles of the petty bourgeoisie and of the rural population. More than twelve and a half million people, who are entitled to vote, have signed the publicly displayed petition forms for the referendum. These million votes constitute not only an annihilating people's judgement on the princely robbers, but also on the reactionary Luther government and the monarchist parties who were ready to grant the milliards demanded by the princes.

Both the Luther-Stresemann government and the monarchist parties used every means in order to obstruct the carrying out of the referendum and to hold back the masses of rebellious petty bourgeois and peasants from signing the petition. The agrarian organisations who are completely in the tow of the German Nationalists, did not even shrink from setting up black lists and threatening the severest measures of vengeance in order to prevent the rural population from signing the petition.

The bourgeois centre parties were no less active in holding back their masses of electors from taking part in the referendum. The Centre sent its strongest support, the catholic clergy, against the catholic workers, who announced from the pulpit that the expropriation without compensation of the princes is a serious violation of the seventh commandment.

Just as the bourgeois parties, from the Democrats to the German Nationalists, attempted to hinder the participation of the masses in the referendum, so the social democratic leaders on their part, although they have been compelled under the pressure of the social democratic working masses to introduce along with the C. P. G. the bill for the expropriation of the princes without compensation and the demand for the plebiscite, did not do anything in order, by a determined mobilising of the masses, to render ineffective the counter-action of the bourgeoisie. The social democratic leaders consciously sabotaged the setting up of a common organisational basis for mobilising the masses. On the instructions of the Party Executive the entire social democratic press conducted the sharpest fight against the unity committees propagated by the Communist Party. Everywhere where the working masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, were urging towards united action (demonstrations, meetings etc.) against the robber campaign of the princes, the social democratic leaders attempted to destroy this will to unity.

If, in spite of this, 12.5 million voters have demanded the referendum, this great success is entirely attributable to the political initiative of the Communist Party and to the tenacious and unweary organisational detail work of the Party, in which it found a strong support in the Red Front Fighters' League.

#### II.

With the 12.5 million votes for the Referendum the total votes polled by the C. P. G., and the S. P. G. at the last Reichstag elections on 7th December 1924 is exceeded by almost two millions. This fact alone proves that, in spite of the counter-action of the government and of the bourgeois parties, and in spite of the sabotage of the social democratic leaders, broad sections of electors who hitherto voted for the bourgeois parties have supported the movement introduced and energetically conducted by the Communist Party. The breach in the bourgeois mass of electors becomes all the more obvious when one compares the results in the various constituencies with the election results of the 7th December 1924 and with those of the second ballot in the Presidential elections.

The enormous success of the campaign conducted by the Communist Party had to be admitted even by the most bitter opponents of the referendum. Thus the "Germania", the leading organ of the Centre Party, states that the 12.5 million signatures for the referendum means a great success for its initiators, when one takes into consideration the "novelty of the procedure and the publicity of the election". "The question of the compensation of the princes has really let loose a new form of people's movement, which is characterised by the fact that the number of the signatories is not confined to the social democratic and communist electors". The "Germania" further expressly states "that the people's movement, in spite of all demonstrations of the Centre press has not stopped before the ranks of the Centre electors".

How strong is the rebellion aroused in the circles of the supporters of the Centre, by the hostile attitude of the Party article of the "Germania" of 21st of March, under the heading: "Leadership of the Centre to the referendum, is to be seen from an 'Referendum and party authority', in which the fact is again emphasised that 'in spite of the counter-propaganda of the entire bourgeois parties, broad sections of bourgeois electors have taken part in the referendum'; and the question is finally raised: 'how far does the moral authority of our Party still reach today, how far do the masses of our electors follow the official party slogan?'"

The democratic press, headed by the "Berliner Tageblatt", likewise emphasised the fact that among the millions of signatories there are many hundreds of thousands who hitherto voted for the German Nationalist Party. The result of the referendum is, however, only being made use of by the democratic press

as a means of pressure upon the parliamentary negotiations on the compromise bill.

The social-democratic press is attempting to belittle the great success of the Communist Party by asserting that the Communist Party is beginning to conduct social-democratic policy.

#### IV.

The political importance of the referendum lies in the strong mobilising of the working class and in the will of the working class for unity which is finding ever stronger expression in this campaign. Never in any action conducted by the C. P. G. and embracing the entire German working class has this will found such elementary and strong expression. For the first time the social democratic leaders found it impossible to break this will to unity. The existence of unity committees composed of communist, social democratic and non-party workers, the fact that in many towns the fight was not only conducted on a politically united, but also organisational common basis by social democratic and communist workers, are the expression of the ever-growing and strengthening urge of the working class for unity.

Against this strong will to unity of the working class there stand signs of decomposition in the camp of the bourgeois parties, which have never appeared so plainly as in the course of the campaign for the referendum, and partly came to open rebellion on the part of the membership against the official party authorities. To promote this decomposition, to detach the proletarian and petty bourgeois circles in town and country completely from the political leadership they hitherto followed and to bring them into the camp of the workers, to develop the forces of the proletariat still further, to strengthen the consciousness of power and the will to unity, as the precondition for the creation of the red class front, are the tasks which confront the Communist Party in the near future.

### A Year of the Cabinet of Ismet Pasha.

By K. Just (Angora).

On the 3rd of March a year had passed since the third government of Ismet Pasha took office. This fact is not only worth mentioning because new Turkey has never before had a Cabinet which retained power for a year, but in the history of the Turkish revolution this year has also been marked by a number of very important events.

The fact itself is worth mentioning that the present government of Ismet came to power on the 3rd of March, 1925, precisely on the first anniversary of such important reforms as the law for the abolition of the Caliphate, for removing the "Medress" (and of the religious basis of education in general), the abolition of the ecclesiastical courts of justice, the abolition of the commissaries of religion etc. Ismet had in his time introduced these reforms under conditions of a partial splitting of the forces of the ruling people's party, and in an atmosphere of struggle which was conducted against him by various "moderate" groups who feared the too rapid attack of the revolution, on the strongholds of the previous Order. From this there arose the partial crises which characterised the first two governments of Ismet. Hence the splitting of the people's Party on the 9th November, 1924, and the November Cabinet of Fethi, which consisted of moderate elements with a vague and hesitating programme and which endeavoured to hold up the revolution.

The revolution had, however, far too deeply penetrated into the masses, it had all too fiercely attacked the interests of the feudal land owners, the clericals, the bourgeoisie of the harbour towns and the remaining lackeys of the Sultanate who up to recently enjoyed special privileges, in order for it to be possible to think of any serious "reconciliation" of the antagonisms.

The obvious discontent of these groups assumed a somewhat threatening character, particularly because the revolution was far from being carried out to an end; many old customs and prac-

tices of Islam remained undisturbed, economic measures were not carried out, a new republican secular school had not yet been created and the former legislation had not yet been replaced by a new republican-democratic legislation. The old Order had many supporters and adherents who were only waiting for the opportunity in order to prove their strength. It was for this reason that the "moderate" Cabinet of Ali Fethi which created a situation favourable for the gathering of reactionary forces, was welcomed by them with great satisfaction.

The clerical insurrection of the Sheiks which broke out in February 1925, and which in a demagogic manner staked its cards on the "autonomy" of Kurdistan (but in reality on the autonomy of the feudal reactionary Eastern provinces against revolutionary republican Angora), was a rather forcible lesson for the conciliatory tactics of the moderates. The Cabinet of Ali Fethi collapsed like a house of cards. Some groups of the party, who had been afraid of the "extremism" of Ismet and had therefore supported Fethi, soon began to overcome their illusions and returned like prodigal sons to the ranks of the successful Kemalism. The result was that the people's party, on the 2nd and 3rd March 1925, re-established its former unity and again entrusted Ismet with the destiny of the country, fully and entirely approved his plans for decisive actions and conferred on him full powers.

The past year of the activity of Ismet is characterised by the obvious efforts to continue the revolution both on the economic and political field and thereby thoroughly to remove the possibility of a return to the old order and the danger of a clerical reaction. Along with the military crushing of the clerical insurrection of the Sheiks, Ismet began to make a decisive break with the remnants of the old order which had encouraged the reactionary moods and had fostered among the clericals the hopes for "better times".

All the important measures of this time were directed towards annihilating the feudal-theocratic order in Kurdistan. The most important pillars of this order, even the direct descendants of the Prophet himself (the Suids and the Sherifs), were handed over to the independent courts of justice. The party of the "progressives", in whose ranks the reactionary forces had begun to assemble, was finally dissolved. The necessary measures were adopted against the nuclei which were organised by the foreign promoters of reaction in the country. At the same time a ruthless struggle was conducted against the obsolete customs and practices.

In the purely economic sphere more attention was paid to the needs of the peasants. The material burdens which oppress the villages were lightened somewhat; not only was the "aschar" (land tax) actually abolished, but the taxes on market products which had been temporarily introduced in its place, were also abolished. In addition to this there was commenced an active construction of railways within Anatolia, in order to give the villages the possibility of exporting agricultural products. In a number of agricultural districts corn exchanges were set up and a tractor system was propagated. The credit system was developed, national banks were established which are independent of foreign capital, and a number of other measures were carried out chiefly aiming at establishing contact with the villages.

Not Anatolia for the harbour towns, but the harbour towns for Anatolia: this is the slogan which the government of Ismet issued in the sphere of commerce. If this slogan naturally arouses the profound dissatisfaction of the bourgeoisie of the harbour towns and of their masters, European capital, on the other hand the national economy of Anatolia is reviving and it will strengthen the progressive bourgeoisie of the interior.

As regards Foreign Policy Ismet has carried out the main policy of Kemal Pasha, energetically defended Mosul, strengthened connections with the Soviet Union (Treaty of neutrality), opposed the usurious demands of the French stock-exchange (negotiations on the State bonds) and, generally speaking, has

endeavoured with all his forces to secure the frontiers of Turkey and its political and economic independence.

There is no reason to assume that the tempo of the Turkish revolution will slow down in the near future. Only a few days ago the Turkish parliament, in a single session and without debate, abolished the entire previous legislation of Islam and adopted a European civil legal code. In the course of the next few weeks and months no less important reforms are intended to be introduced by Ismet, and his reforms are still being favourably accepted by the great majority of the population — especially by the peasantry — while the group of the moderates is finally discredited.

## THE BALKANS

### The Change of Cabinet in Roumania.

By D. Fabian (Bucharest).

The government "crisis" in Roumania has found its "solution". The government of Bratianu which was supported by the People's Party of General Averescu, has now been replaced by an Averescu government which is now supported by the Liberal Party of Bratianu. The knot of the Roumanian oligarchy has only been transferred from one hand to the other. The actors have changed but the drama is the same.

This "solution" not only means the retention of the regime hitherto prevailing of plundering the people of their property, the regime of enslavement of the people, of neo-serfdom in the country, of bloody suppression and de-nationalising of the minorities and the state of siege, but this "solution" means at the same time the collapse of the policy of the leaders of the "united opposition" (National Party and Peasant Party) and the beginning of a new stage in the development and crystallisation of the forces of the real opposition in the public life of Roumania.

This is indeed the case, for although the great masses of the country are filled with hate against the government of Bratianu, the conscious and staunch representative of the Roumanian oligarchy, and although these masses rallied round the parties of the "united opposition" and, in spite of the most furious terror, supported them on every occasion, the leaders of this same opposition have nevertheless based their own policy, the aim of which is, ostensibly, the overthrow of the Oligarchy, not upon the action of the masses, but — upon the favour of the Crown, of the royal palace.

By proving to the Palace that they, the leaders of the "democratic parties", are respecters of "Law and Order", that they would never dream of "unchaining" the masses or even of calling upon them to demonstrate in the streets and to disturb the peaceful siesta of the king and the Oligarchy, these leaders hoped to be able to induce the king to entrust them with the reins of government for a time, in order to pacify the discontented masses, to gull them and to let their own followers enjoy the "real" advantages of power. In order to achieve this "conversion" of the king, no treachery against the masses appeared to be too great — this was particularly the case in the last few months when the end of the term of the legislature was approaching.

Thus the leaders of the National Party and of the Peasant Party abandoned the chief item of their programme, which had gained them the confidence of the broad masses, i. e. the abolition of the liberal constitution and legislation. They then renounced taking part in the election campaign on the occasion of the municipal elections in the country, as the king had given them to understand that he would regard it with an unfriendly eye if the peasantry were "incited". And finally, they approved in principle the Mussolini-election law of Bratianu. In the last few days before parliament rose they promised quite openly not to insist on the abolition of martial law.

This whole policy of the Roumanian "democracy" has now shamefully collapsed before the eyes of all. The Crown and the

Oligarchy have accepted the treachery of the leaders of the opposition, they have made use of it in order to compromise these "new" statesmen and to strengthen their own positions — finally, they have administered them a well-deserved kick. Far from handing over power to them, in order to continue the policy of the oligarchy, the Liberals declare today with compelling logic: "We can carry out our policy alone, with our own hands, better and more safely than with the unskilful hands of others!"

The collapse of this policy will, however, form a starting point for the crystallising of the forces of the real opposition in the lap of the present oppositional parties.

These forces are based upon the fighting will of the masses, which is becoming more and more perceptible, and are contributing to the organising of these masses and the conduct of the fight for the overthrow of the oligarchist regime.

The present "solution" of the crisis proves that a sharp division is beginning to take place: a portion of the reactionary elements of the opposition has openly gone over to the camp of the oligarchy. Thus, for example, the vice-president of the National Party, Goldischi, and other leaders of the same party have gone over with their followers to the People's Party and have received as a Judas reward three seats in the Ministry. It is to be expected that other reactionary groups of the right wing of the national party (the followers of the late Take Jonescu and others) will follow their example. They will thereby return to the mother breast of the oligarchy. The same applies to the careerists and propertied elements of the Peasant Party, who will reconcile themselves with the "strength and vitality" of the oligarchy, in order by this means to gain those fruits which they have not succeeded in gaining by the previous methods of "opposition".

When, in addition, we take into consideration the Mussolini election law and the fascist election terror, we must admit that the new government, supported by the oligarchic bloc (Liberals, People's Party, Hungarian Party, a section of the National Party and the seceders from the Peasant Party), has every chance at the coming general election to create a legal form for its dictatorship.

In any event it is certain that the two opposition parties are at present entering on a period of crisis and splits. The capitalist reactionary groups in the lap of the opposition will more and more approach to the oligarchic bloc, the head and centre of which is the Liberal Party, until they are absorbed by it.

On the other hand, however, by the logic of events and under the pressure of the masses, there will be formed at the same time a left wing of the Peasant Party, or it will take over the leadership within the Peasant Party, to which are still directed the hopes and expectations not only of the broad peasant masses, but also of the broad circles of the petty bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals and even of working class circles.

The Communist Party of Roumania will endeavour to create a real opposition bloc which, by mobilising the masses and taking the lead in the struggle, must, in spite of the white terror and the treachery of the "democrats", overthrow the hated regime of the Roumanian oligarchy.

"The proletarian movement is the conscious movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of existing society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole of the higher strata forming official society being sprung into the air."

Communist Manifesto.

"The brutalities of progress are called revolutions, but when they are ended, this fact is recognised; the human race has been chastised, but it has moved onwards."

Victor Hugo (Les Misérables).

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Conference of Action of the English National Minority Movement.

By George Hardy (London).

#### Minority Increases its Representation.

That the Conference of Action called by the National Minority Movement was a huge success, everyone agrees. It was timely, for it followed a series of industrial crises. A few weeks prior to the Conference the Railwaymen had been coerced into accepting the National Wages Board Award. The National Award is an agreement between the Unions and the Companies that will result in lower living standards. It provides for a reduction of from 1/- to 8/- per week for all new entrants on the railways, and thus creates two rates of pay for workers doing the same work, and is therefore bound to produce antagonisms. The steel houses known as "Weir" houses are to be built at Metalworkers' rates of pay, if Lord Weir and the employers have their way. This is an attempt to violate the agreements in the building industry, where wages are substantially higher. In London, 900 engineers, employed at Hoe's Printing Machine Works were locked-out for protesting against the employment of nine non-unionists. The miners are now faced with strike action if they refuse to accept the recommendations of the Coal Commission. The worst of these recommendations are, reductions in wages, district agreements in place of national agreements, and an attempt to induce the miners to accept more than seven hours in one shift, by offering a five-day week of 42 hours, in the hope of dividing the miners by tempting them to work a sixth day in order to increase their starvation wages.

#### Baldwin Preparations.

The defeat of the Government and the mineowners last July came as a surprise to the employers. The threatened refusal of the transport unions to remove coal if the miners were attacked, found them unprepared.

Immediately preparations were made to meet any future and similar crises. The O. M. S. (Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies) was organised with the full support of the Government. A Special Constabulary was created and the registration of all available vehicles and men for strike-breaking purposes was ordered by the Home Secretary; it is almost needless to say that the Fascists immediately enrolled in the Special Constabulary. The country has been organised into ten divisions, each under the control of a Cabinet Minister who will act as a Dictator should a national stoppage occur.

Our Conference of Action was necessary, to meet all these measures and to unify our own divided forces.

#### Conference of Action.

Under the Chairmanship of Comrade Tom Mann the Conference of 883 delegates represented 547 organisations and 967,000 workers, including 84 delegates from 52 Trades Councils. The Defence of Trade Union Rights, The Capitalist Offensive and International Trade Union Unity were dealt with.

The Chairman drew attention to our last Annual Conference decision which predicted a growth of the capitalist offensive and launched an attack upon the reactionary leaders and the Government. He pointed out that the decision of the Board of Trade to allow vessels to put to sea without wireless operators was an act to be deprecated but anticipated by the revolutionary workers. The act showed that Government orders, regulations and even their own laws, would be ignored when profits were in jeopardy in cases where the workers struck against reductions, as in the case of the wireless operators.

Speaking of the Samuel Commission Report he quoted Vernon Hartshorn, who had said "The Report does nothing but make the blackness more intense. It is simply a pronouncement that we have reached a stage where nothing but a dead-lock

can ensue; a settlement on the basis of the Report is impossible". Comrade Mann pointed out that not one workers' representative was on the Commission; that the Report suggested the carrying out of the Baldwin policy by recommending that "wages must come down". The miners' only hope of preventing further and more disastrous attacks is to take the offensive.

Turning to the Feltham strike, where the military had been introduced to take on the work done by civilian and union men he said: "the real object aimed at by the authorities is to encourage antagonisms between civilian workers and soldiers, to widen the gulf between soldiers and the workers".

He said, we declare emphatically, if the officers and generals have a right to influence parliament, we as workers claim, and will take the same right to ask workers who are soldiers to exercise their judgment and to belong to a workers' political party. We demand the right to say "Don't shoot" if the workers who are soldiers are ordered to do so during industrial disputes.

After making an eloquent reference to the imprisoned miners of South Wales and the twelve Communist leaders, the Chairman called upon the Conference to stand in silence as a tribute to those killed in the class-war and those rotting in capitalist prisons.

#### Revolutionary aim of Minority.

In conclusion he declared: "We are out for the abolition of capitalism and all its institutions. That is our ultimate objective and we unhesitatingly declare it. Our immediate objective is a substantial increase in actual control of working conditions".

#### Maintenance of Trade Union Rights.

The first resolution was the Defence of Trade Union Rights, moved by Comrade Alex Gossip, General Secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association. The resolution, after calling attention to the attacks of the capitalist class and the Government upon the rights and liberties of trade unionists, Co-operators and leaders of working class political parties alike, the free scope given to the enemies of the working class to develop strike-breaking organisations for interfering during disputes, such as the O. M. S., supported by the State with its ten Commissioners, Special Constabulary, Fascist organisations, and the threat to use the forces of the State, regardless of the causes compelling the organised workers to take strike action, pledged the Conference "to demand, and by all the means in its power to enforce, the right in all factories, railways, mines and mills:

a) To organise the workers on the job into factory and pit committees; the workshop committees ultimately to become the organisational unit of the industrial organisation, under the auspices of the Trades Councils; and to set up Trades Councils where none now exist.

b) To form (through and under the supervision of the Trades Councils) Workers' Defence Corps, in order to protect working class speakers from bourgeois terrorism, to protect trade union headquarters from Fascist incendiarism, to defend strike pickets against police interference, and finally, build up a powerful working class force, capable of defending the political and industrial rights and liberties of the workers.

c) To demand the repeal of 'Sedition' and anti-Labour laws.

d) To resist strenuously any attempts by local authorities either voluntary or at the instigation of the Government to prevent free association and public expression.

e) To demand the right of soldiers and naval ratings to refuse strike services."

In moving the resolution, which was carried unanimously, Comrade Gossip said he remembered when bodyguards had to be employed to protect J. R. MacDonald and others, and he for one had had experience of mobilising protection for his own members during disputes. He urged that it was our duty to protect our speakers, pickets, meetings and Trade Union

property — that we must not allow our meetings to be broken up or our speakers abused or mal-treated. He condemned the General Council for not taking action to put the Scarborough decisions into operation, and the reactionaries in the Labour Movement for their splitting tactics. However, he said, the political levy should not be withheld, for the rank and file would be able to exert the necessary pressure by persistent and determined work in the Trade Unions, such as we are doing now.

#### The Capitalist Offensive.

Comrade Arthur Horner (Executive Member of the South Wales Miners' Federation), a member of the E.C. of the National Minority Movement then moved the resolution on the Capitalist Offensive, which was agreed to unanimously.

In moving the resolution Comrade Horner vividly outlined the preparations made by the Government and the employers. Capitalism, he said, was rapidly reaching the end of its existence and British Imperialism was therefore on the decline. He pointed out that the continuation of the coal subsidy would only accelerate this decline, for one industry cannot continue to exist at the expense of others for very long. There was only one way out for the workers, and that was to take the offensive against the employers with all the forces at our command.

#### International Trade Union Unity.

The Resolution on International Trade Union Unity was moved by Comrade George Hardy, Acting General Secretary of the National Minority Movement, who pointed out that, the R. I. L. U. and the Unions of the U. S. S. R. called for a united front against war and Fascism in December 1922, but this was refused. In 1923 when the Ruhr was occupied, they again called for united action, with the same result. In every strike important enough to warrant international action the R. I. L. U. always called for united assistance, but on each occasion received a negative or no answer at all from the I. F. T. U. He further declared that, the Russian and British unions, tired of division and defeat, formed the Anglo-Russian Advisory Committee, to fight for unity, and support has been offered them by Scandinavian and Finnish National Unions. Alarmed at the growth of opinion in favour of unity, the reactionary officials of Amsterdam, Oudegeest, Sassenback, etc., turned to the most reactionary union in the world, the American Federation of Labour, with the view of making them an ally to fight our Trades Union Congress and the unions of U. S. S. R. They are doing as Chamberlain and other capitalist diplomats have done — trying to accomplish a "Labour Locarno" against the militants in the International Labour Movement.

Emergency resolutions were passed supporting the Chinese workers and calling for more frequent meetings of the Joint Advisory Board made up of representatives of the Unemployed Organisation and members of the General Council.

Fraternal delegates came from the Workers' Welfare League of India — the organisation in Britain representing the Indian Trades Union Congress — and the Trade Union Education League of America. A deputation was also received from the Indian Seamen's Union from two vessels in the London Docks.

An official welcome was given to the delegates by the President of the Battersea Trades & Labour Council, while Comrade Saklatvala member of Parliament for Battersea, also welcomed the delegates to the Conference.

#### Quite So!

"Supposing Mr. Clynes and Mr. Thomas were to go to the street-corners of Bradford and make there the kind of speech to which many of us have listened with great pleasure at City banquets and on other occasions, is it at all likely that their advocacy would elicit support or enthusiasm? I gravely doubt whether either of those orators would leave those street-corners alive."

Lord Birkenhead at Primrose League banquet.

"The true cause of the workers is being trailed in the dust by the excesses of speech and conduct of men who claim to be on the workers' side, but whose speeches afford the greatest satisfaction to the workers' enemies."

J. R. Clynes.

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### Resolution of National Minority Conference on International Trade Union Unity.

The following is the text of the Resolution on International Trade Union Unity, which was unanimously carried at the recent Special Conference of the National Minority Movement:

This Special Conference of Action of the National Minority Movement views with alarm the apparent deadlock in the negotiations for International Trade Union Unity, caused by reactionary members of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It condemns the maintenance of the trade union divisions in the various countries and the attempts to create reactionary blocs against the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee.

We realise that the attempts being made to lower wages, lengthen hours and take away trade union rights in every country are parts of the bosses' scheme for the stabilisation of capitalism at the expense of the workers.

In order to resist these capitalist methods of passing economic burdens on to the shoulders of the workers; to fight Fascism in all its forms; to stop ruthless exploitation of the native peoples and the repression of their organisations, in all Eastern and African countries; and to establish the legal right to organise trade unions in every country, this Conference pledges its full support to the Trade Union Congress and the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee in their endeavours to bring about an unconditional International Conference of all trade unions including those of Asia and Africa.

The immediate object of the campaigns is the holding of a free conference without preliminary conditions between Amsterdam and the Russian unions. But this Conference declares that there can be no question of expecting the Russian unions to abandon their comrades of the Red International of Labour Unions and merely capitulating to Amsterdam. On the contrary, the only way to world unity was clearly indicated by the Scarborough Trades Union Congress, namely, through the medium of an all-inclusive International Federation of Trade Unions.

Therefore, this Conference declares that the campaign for a World Congress for unity of the Amsterdam International, the R. I. L. U. and all trade union organisations affiliated to either International remains the most practical means of fighting for an effective working class trade union International.

Further, last week's events at Geneva prove that the League of Nations and the Locarno Pact were promoted for the purpose of dominating the smaller nations, of taking away their economic and political freedom, and of creating a bloc against the U. S. S. R. and other States which refuse to be dominated by the Imperialist policy of the Great Powers. Therefore, we urge the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to fight against any further collaboration with the bourgeoisie or the League of Nations, by officials of the International Federation of Trade Unions or its affiliated organisations.

In view of the offensive of the capitalists against all sections of the British working class and also because of their expressed intention of smashing the Trade Union Movement, we call upon the Trades Union Congress to initiate a campaign for the summoning of an International Trade Union Conference of Action to prevent international blacklegging, and to enable a boycott to be instituted against British employers should they precipitate industrial conflicts by their attempts to reduce existing standards.

We further believe that the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee should utilise to the full the support of all those national organisations, at present outside of the committee, which are willing to work for complete International Trade Union Unity.

In order to further the above objects, we call upon the Trades Union Congress to take special measures to gather support in Britain by the following methods:

1. Advising all National Unions and Trades Councils of the important happenings in connection with the negotiations for International Trade Union Unity by the issue of an Information Bulletin.
2. By working for a closer association of all workers' organisations with the trade unions of the U. S. S. R.
3. By the despatch of representative trade union delegations to the Continent in order to place before the Continental trade unions and the workers generally the British standpoint on world unity as laid down by the Scarborough Congress.
4. The encouragement of workers' delegations to Russia in order to examine trade union, social and economic conditions, and to investigate the political situation.
5. Requesting trade union branches, district committees and Trades Councils to arrange demonstrations in their localities and to invite members of the General Council and others, actually engaged in the work of trade union unity, to immediately place the position before the British working class.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### American Capitalism Organises another Frame-Up against Foreign-Born Worker.

By J. Louis Engdahl (Chicago).

European reaction, working through the backward elements in the "foreign colonies" in the great American industrial centres, finds an enthusiastic supporter in "justice" as it is rendered in the courts and by the police power of the United States.

This has just been revealed again in the trial and conviction of Anthony Bimba, editor of *Laise* (Forward) the Lithuanian Communist daily, in the important shoe manufacturing city of Brockton, Massachusetts.

In the 1923 strike of the Brockton shoe workers, the Lithuanians were among the best fighters. After the strike hundreds of Lithuanian families, their breadwinners blacklisted, were forced to migrate elsewhere. Yet shoe manufacturers never ceased in their attacks on revolutionary workers remaining among the Lithuanians.

All the conflicts in Lithuania, under its present clerical-nationalist-social-democratic government, were transferred to the Lithuanian colony of the New England factory town. Upholders of the reign of terror in the "old country" not only launched charges of sedition against Bimba, following a speech in Lithuanian, but American court officials co-operated with them in resurrecting a forgotten statute, 229 years old, under which Bimba was charged with blasphemy, — not only with denying the existence of god, but with defaming him in the eyes of the religiously inclined workers listening to him.

#### Another New England Frame-up.

Bimba was the victim of another New England frame-up, such as nearly caught Joe Ettor and Arturo Giovanitti in its grip, during the Lawrence textile strike in 1911, and now has its talons on Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian workers condemned to death.

Anthony W. Eudaco, himself a shoe worker and former socialist, was the moving spirit in the Lithuanian Citizen's Club, that lined its treasury with contributions from officials of the William L. Douglas Shoe Company and the Diamond Shoe Company.

Eudaco's task was a simple one. He knew that the radical elements among the Lithuanian workers belonged to the Lithuanian-American Workers' Literary and Educational Society and that Bimba had been announced as its speaker for the night of Jan. 26, 1926, at the Lithuanian Hall. Bimba was to talk on "The White Terror in Lithuania". But that made no difference. Eudaco prepared a set of catch questions, schooled his "loyal" Citizens' Club members (a veritable Black Hundred) in how to ask them and then had them all present at the Bimba meeting to carry through the frame-up. It was brought out that Eudaco had even gone to Brockton's city marshal to secure Bimba's arrest even before the meeting took place.

#### No Religious Liberty.

It is popularly believed that the Puritans who came across the Atlantic Ocean in the historic "Mayflower" and landed on Plymouth Rock in 1620, came here seeking religious liberty. They wanted the liberty to believe as they saw fit, but that included the right to inflict this belief on others. Thus the earliest statutes, especially one passed in 1646 provided death for all blasphemers.

It was while Roger Williams was being driven off to what is now Rhode Island, to seek religious liberty for himself, while other exiles drifted down the valleys of Connecticut rivers: while the Salem witchcraft scare was at its worst, with its burnings and hangings (1691—1697) that the blasphemy statute under which Bimba was tried came into existence in 1697.

Vast changes have taken place since that time. But the statute stands.

It was not challenged until Abner Kneeland, editor of the Boston Investigator, was charged with its violation in 1833 when he wrote, "The universalists believe in god, I do not". His case dragged for years. In 1835 an amendment to the Massachusetts constitution separated church from state. In 1838, the Kneeland case was decided against him and he was sent to jail for 60 days. That single conviction stood alone for nearly another century, until Bimba was arrested at Worcester, Mass., for the speech he had made at Brockton.

New England had been settled by faiths springing from the protestant Church of England. That changed with the increasing flow of immigration from Europe. Of every 1,000 of estimated population in Massachusetts, 355 are now members of the once-hated Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic population of Massachusetts is only exceeded by that of two other states of New Mexico and Rhode Island.

It is, therefore, the Catholic church that throws its pall of ignorance and superstition over every mill and factory town in Massachusetts.

Yet at Brockton, in 1926, the protestants and Catholics, forgetting their age-long differences, united in the attack on the alleged blasphemer, Bimba, who came among the shoe and textile slaves speaking the Lithuanian language, urging them to educate themselves in this country, in order to help better their economic conditions, and to struggle against the clerical-nationalist-socialist regime in the old country, where church rule was imprisoning, torturing and putting to death workers and poor farmers, suspected of radical sympathies.

The employers use the situation in Lithuania to divide Lithuanian shoe workers in Brockton, just as they invoke the struggle in Italy to divide Italian mine workers in the anthracite coal fields; the clash of forces in Hungary to divide Hungarian workers in America's steel mills, and continue by duplicating this undermining influence among practically all foreign-born workers in all the industries. In this they receive the support of the native police power.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### The First Volume of the Marx-Engels Archive.

By A. Thalheimer.

The first volume of the Marx-Engels Archive, the journal of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, edited by D. Riazanov (Marx-Engels Publishing Co. Ltd. Frankfurt on Maine), deserves the attention of all who are interested in Marxism and in its history.

The volume contains 550 pages. The foreword by the Editor gives a full account of the tasks which the journal has set itself.

The first part comprises essays and articles relating to Marxism and its history. A. Deborin writes "Studies in the History of Dialectics. I. Kant and Dialectics". This series of studies is to be continued. The essay is, by its positive content, at the same time a criticism of Max Adler's and Vorländer's conceptions of the relations of Marxism to Kantism.

V. Volgin writes "On the Historical Position of St. Simon." The author gives a positive presentation from original sources and expounds the views of Cunow and Eckstein on St. Simonism.

The Editor, D. Riazanov, gives as the first part of his studies on the history of the First International, an essay on "The Origin of the International Workers' Association". The essay is based on a comprehensive study of original sources such as has never been carried out before. It gives a far more concrete picture than any previous treatment of the subject, and in particular gives a detailed description of the English Labour Movement of the time and of those of its leaders who later played a role in the I. International. The indifferent attitude prevailing in the French working class is set forth with far greater definiteness and clearness than has been done hitherto. A number of historical legends are exploded and inaccuracies corrected.

The central piece of this first volume is the publication of that portion of the well-known manuscript of Marx and Engels on "German Ideology", dealing with Feuerbach. This portion is now first made available to the public 80 years after it has been written. The editor in the introduction points out that what

is here published includes everything that Marx and Engels have written on this subject. It is hardly necessary to draw special attention to the great importance of this work for the history of the development of Marxism. But apart from this the reading of this work, which contains so much in embryo which Marx and Engels further developed later on, but in which also many subjects are touched upon which they did not revert to later, are of the greatest interest. "Feuerbach" is preceded by a new publication of Marx's "theses on Feuerbach", based on the original manuscript. This manuscript is at the same time reproduced in facsimile.

The second publication concerns the exchange of letters between Marx and Vera Sassulic on the future of the Russian village community (1881). Of this there was only known up to now the very short answer to Vera Sassulic. Now the various and very detailed concepts of Marx on this subject are published. They show that Marx originally intended to write a very exhaustive reply. The editor is of the opinion that it was only Marx's declining working capacity which prevented him from carrying out his original intention of writing an exhaustive answer. The various drafts of Marx give a striking picture of his method of work.

The section following contains a number of detailed critical reviews of the Marxist literature of the last few years. Of these we mention: The review of Kaal Vorländer's works on "Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Socialism", as well as on "Marx, Engels and Lassalle as Philosophers" (by J. Luppold); a number of writings on historical materialism by E. Kraus, Hans Delbrück, E. Brandenburg, Alfred Brauntal, Julian Borchardt (by J. Rubin); R. Stolzmann's "Criticism of Marxist Economy" (likewise by J. Rubin); a number of works on the English workers in the period of the industrial revolution (by E. Kosminsky); a detailed criticism of the new literature on chartism by Th. Rothstein (H. Schlüter, Frank F. Rosenblatt, P. W. Slosson, M. Howell and I. West); the work of H. Stem on the Cologne workers' association (1846—1848) by E. Czohel.

The fourth part contains a number of communications.

The fifth part finally contains an exhaustive bibliography of literature on Marx, Engels and Marxism since the beginning of the world war up to September 1925, and also of the Lassalle literature for the same period. The bibliography contains not less than 1029 items.

We believe that this volume comes up to all expectations.