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Trotsky on World Politics

The following is a summary of the *Pravda's* report of Comrade Trotsky's answer to a number of questions put to him either verbally or in writing by various foreign correspondents in Moscow.

The World Revolution.

To the question of the correspondent of the *Giornale d'Italia*, whether he believed in the imminent outbreak of the world revolution, Comrade Trotsky replied as follows: —

I hope to be able to answer this great and complicated question in the course of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. Here I will merely mention one thing. It goes without saying that I believe the socialist revolution to be inevitable. Its date and its form, however, depend to a large extent on the attitude of the ruling classes and their governments. Throughout the last year the European governments have unwittingly done their utmost to accelerate the outbreak of the revolution and to intensify its vigor. The world situation can in a schematic manner be summarized thus: the recent imperialist war was proof of the utter impotence of capitalism to develop mankind any further, while at the critical hour the working class has shown itself incapable of taking over the heritage of the bourgeoisie.

Capitalism is already impotent while the working class is not yet competent, — that is the outstanding feature of our epoch. After the peace of Versailles, the reformist-pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie tried to bring about, by means of an agreement between the various nations and classes, a radical change of the situation in Europe. Genoa represented the greatest of these attempts, everyone of which ended in failure, however, with the imperialist wing continuing in control. The latter took it for granted that because the revolution did not materialize immediately after the war, it would be postponed indefinitely. This belief explains their savage and irreconcilable attitude both in the Russian question and in the reparations policy. But it is just this attitude and its immediate effects which by bringing about one catastrophic situation after the other, accelerates the revolutionary process in the working class.

The question as to whether the failures of the Genoa and the Hague conferences will not compel the Soviet Government either to retreat still farther to the right or return to the principles of pure Communism, I must answer in the negative. Genoa and the Hague have overwhelmingly demonstrated the impotence of both bourgeois pacifism and reformism, and are in

that respect of great pedagogical value for home politics in Europe. Their failure, however, cannot influence our economic policy.

Two weighty considerations were responsible for the adoption of the new economic policy: firstly, it was essential that stable connections be established between the state industry and the peasantry, and secondly, that the forms and methods of capitalism be used for developing government industry itself. As these two reasons are of a lasting character, we have neither the intention nor the possibility of abandoning the new economic policy.

I cannot, on the other hand, see why we should march to the right in order to gain the sympathies of capitalism. Needless to say, the capitalist world would hail with delight our renunciation of Socialism for capitalism. But the condition of capitalism cannot in the least induce us to revise our program.

Disarmement.

The correspondent of the *New York World* inquired what proposition Russia could make regarding disarmement or, at least, restrictions of armaments.

Comrade Trotsky's reply was as follows: Our delegation in Genoa held in readiness a number of carefully defined schemes drawn up in the spirit of uncompromising pacifism. We were willing to agree either to a complete demobilization of all armies or to their reduction to a minimum. Regarding disarmement, we would have supported all propositions eliminating all possibility of an armed attack by or against any country. Even now, we are always ready to accept as a basis for negotiations, every proposition in either of those directions. It would serve no practical purpose to dwell here in detail on the merits of the various pacifistic systems. The difficulties lie not in the plan or in its realization, but only in the political good-will. Capitalist Europe, as it emerged from the inferno of Versailles, is incompatible with disarmement, which present-day Europe neither wants nor can be expected to want. This was proved beyond a vestige of doubt in Genoa, where our antagonists, blandly refused to accept the disarmement question on the agenda.

To the inquiry of the correspondent of the *United Press of America*, as to how large an army Soviet Russia needed under existing conditions, Comrade Trotsky answered as follows:—

We have reduced our standing army from 5,300,000 to 800,000 men. A further reduction is not possible without a radical change of the international situation preceding it. The refusal of our neighbors to agree to our proposition of a disarmament conference naturally does not facilitate the solution of this problem.

Russia's Economic Forces.

Whether we can pull through without large credits from abroad? Most decidedly so! I am convinced that a people of 150 millions will not perish even if it cannot get credits from abroad. Needless to say, however, that a continuation of the present economic and political blockade will retard Russia's development. Forge ahead we shall, nevertheless. The gigantic productive forces of a people shaken to its very foundations by the revolution, are at present regrouping themselves and crystallizing. And they will successfully carry out their tasks.

Genoa and the Hague.

To the question of the correspondent of the *International News Service*, Comrade Trotzky replied as follows:

I would rather put than answer questions regarding Genoa and the Hague, for I must confess, I do not know to this day, why these conferences were really convened. The Genoa Conference was designated by Lloyd George as the "greatest event of its kind". There were actually 40 states represented. But for what purpose, I fail to understand. Were the promoters of this conference really laboring under the delusion that Soviet Russia, overawed by the pomp of the conference, would accept obligations which it refused to accept before? It is difficult to believe that grown-up men could entertain such childish notions about Soviet Russia and its policy.

It is, I hear, true that professional parliamentarians and diplomats, because they value highly the black and white magic of diplomatic oratory, are inclined to ascribe a mystic power to "negotiations" and "conferences". Now, one cannot deny that the Soviet diplomats are human after all, and for this reason can appreciate everything human, including the advantages of fine rhetoric. *But we are above all, realists, and the Soviet Republic is a real fact, and the program of the Communist Party likewise. The underlying principle of this program was, is, and, with the kind permission of all parliamentarian and diplomatic magicians will continue to be, the fundamental principle of the Soviet policy.* After the failure in Genoa, followed the Hague. Why? Was this conference called to camouflage the object failure of the "greatest congress in history?" Or were there some politicians who believed that the same Soviet representatives who in Genoa had "tenaciously clung to their principles" would capitulate before the ultimatum of capitalism at the Hague? Such a policy would indicate complete failure to grasp the essence of things. The Hague did nothing to soften the fall at Genoa; on the contrary, it accentuated it, though no through any fault of our own.

We shall Work and Wait.

You ask me, "what are your intentions now that Genoa and the Hague have suffered shipwreck?" *We shall work and wait.* Europe and the whole world are no whit less dependent on Russia than is Russia on Europe. The lust for adventure on the part of a few statesmen, will necessitate new sacrifices and fresh misery, but the economic needs which cannot be denied will force a way for themselves. If *these* statesmen refuse to recognize us, *others* will replace them and do so.

The most stupid demand, was that for the return to the foreign capitalists of their former property. The October Revolution was the political victory of labor over capitalism. The fruits of this victory were the wealth created by the working class and amassed by the capitalists to whom only a successful counter-revolution (the victory of capitalism over labor) can return this wealth. This our antagonists have repeatedly tried to do. Now these crafty heads fondly believe that they can accomplish by juridical and diplomatic arguments what military intervention failed to bring about,—the overthrow of the workers' revolution.

Our railways, factories and the soil belong to the state, and although many may not like this, it remains a fact none the less.

This year has witnessed an important change for the better in agriculture. We shall not only be able to supply the industry with food, but also start again exporting grain, if only on a moderate scale. 1923 will be even more favorable than this year. Any corresponding influx of foreign capital would, of course, accelerate this process. But even if that fails to materialize, we shall consolidate our economy.

The favorable development of Soviet Russia's economic life means on the one hand, an increase in wealth for the workers' state, and on the other, an increase of capitalist relations within the country. But the economic system, the economic control of free trade remains in the hands of the state which retains as its property the most important parts of the production apparatus, and which has a monopoly on foreign trade. The foreign capitalists and their governments cannot get around these facts.

And again — Disarmament.

One and a half years ago, we still had 16 classes under mobilization; today we have only one.

In Genoa, we proposed general disarmament. Europe even declined to discuss this question. Then we submitted the same proposal to our neighbors; with the same result. For these reasons we are still compelled to maintain the reduced army of 800,000 men. We are ready to demobilize this army and even liquidate our very successful military schools, — if our neighbors adopt our disarmament program. If the United States Government were to take the initiative in this respect, we should support it to the full extent of our strength.

This is also my answer to the question as to whether we expect any military intervention on the part of France, Roumania or Poland. We think there is no immediate danger and have accordingly reduced our standing army to so great an extent. There is, however, always the possibility of such danger, compelling us to improve continually both the size of our army and its technique.

The S.R. Trial.

The trial of the Social Revolutionaries, on which you wish to hear my opinion, sounded the political death knell for that party in this country. Our petty bourgeoisie and our would-be democracy were but the agency of foreign governments. Utilizing this occasion, the bourgeois and "Socialist" press abroad launched a savage campaign of calumny against the Soviet Republic, and systematically deluded its readers as to the real facts of the trial, whose crushing revelations were almost entirely withheld from European and American readers. The lies fade, however, but the facts remain.

The indignation at the decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, regarding those S.R.'s sentenced to death, should not be taken for more than it is worth. The S.R. "Party" has reserved for itself the "right" to commit terrorist acts on members of the Soviet Government whenever it happens to disagree with the policy of the latter. One must therefore accord us permission to reserve for ourselves the right to shoot the leaders of the S.R. "Party" whenever the latter refuse to submit to the present regime in Russia. Our Party is fully conscious of the fact that it is executing a great historical mission, and, no less than five years ago, it refuses to yield on the question of revolutionary power.

Preventive Humanity.

You ask on what grounds we justify the deportation from Russia of elements hostile to the Soviets and whether this could be interpreted as meaning that we fear them more within than outside the country.

The answer is quite simple. You have witnessed the trial against the S.R.'s whom the court has sentenced to death. The majority of your press has launched a desperate campaign against us on account of our "cruelty". If after the October Revolution we had forbidden the S.R.'s the country, we should have saved you this indignation.

The elements deported by us, although they have no political significance, would become potential weapons in the hands of our possible enemies. In the case of fresh military complications all these elements would prove themselves military and political agents of our enemy, compelling us to court-martial them under our military law. For reasons of consideration, therefore, we prefer to deport them while there is yet peace, and trust that you recognize and defend before public opinion, these, our humanitarian efforts.

As to America.

I should myself like to have an answer to the question, how long American capital will hold aloof from Russian trade.

American capital is in an incomparably better situation than European capital. The Americans are empiricists; they wish to see everything with their own eyes.

The A.R.A. while doing tremendous work for Russia's famine stricken, was at the same time the eye of America's ruling class in the heart of Russia. America was in a better position than any other country to see us as we really are. There is nothing left for us but to wait till the public opinion of the American ruling class has sifted the material collected and drawn the logical conclusions therefrom.

POLITICS

Reparations Hubbub

By Karl Radek.

A week ago the dollar stood at 2,000 marks. The German Government was seized with the greatest panic. The trade union fakirs who up to now had bound themselves to the Versailles Peace, telegraphed appeals to the leaders of the Amsterdam Union, to come to Berlin in order to stand by them in their misery. Mr. Jouhaux was to mount his battle steed and take up the fight with Poincaré over the German reparations question, although it had never occurred to him to give the signal for combat to the French workers in a similar difficult situation.

The Amsterdam Union, which but a few weeks ago expressed its solidarity with the striking American coal miners by the absurd means of sending them £ 10,000, now takes up the role of the saviour of Germany. At the same time, the German Prime Minister declared that they must first have bread for the people before they could think of paying the reparations. A noble declaration! But neither this declaration nor any other diplomatic statement corresponds to the truth.

The German Government uses every possible means in order to avoid a breach with the Entente, but above all with France. The English and French representatives of the Reparations Commission, Bradbury and Mauclairé demanded, as guarantees from the German Government, the mines and forests of the Ruhr district. The German Government refused this demand, for if it has to give such a pledge for the moratorium, what would it have to give in order to obtain credits without which there would not be the least sense in the moratorium. The German Government therefore proposed another combination. They offered 50 million gold marks as a guarantee for the punctual fulfillment of the obligation to deliver coal and timber. The representatives of the Reparations Commission declined this offer, but behind the scenes further negotiations are taking place, which, as far as can be seen, are tending in two directions. Two new mediators entered upon the scene of negotiations: on the one side, the German iron and steel industry, on the other, certain American financial circles.

Upon what concrete matters Mr. Stinnes will negotiate with the French industrial interests is as yet unknown. But that he is negotiating with them is to be noticed from the tone of the article by Paul Lensch in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the leading organ of the Stinnes press.

Lensch, who up till now has written with regard to France in the most aggressive nationalist tone, now speaks in a practical business language with regard to the conditions of an agreement between the iron and steel industry and France. He declares such an agreement to be possible if France would only deal with the German industrials on a basis of equality and not as with a vanquished party. The provincial press of the German iron and steel industry, takes up this strain and declares that if the agreement will not be advantageous for both parties, German industry has no ground for entering into these negotiations.

The Paris correspondent of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, who is to be regarded at present as the herald of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, slightly raises the curtain before the scene of these events. He thereby indicates that the intentions of M. Poincaré in essence coincide with those of Herr Stinnes. The uniting of the Ruhr coal with the Lorraine mineral ore could serve as the basis for a new arrangement of the reparations question, as well as of the plan for new German finance reforms, which by the raising of indirect taxes would benefit not only Poincaré but also Stinnes. The reason why Mr. Stinnes cannot carry out his finance plans is, that the government "over the masses", counts with the working masses. But what Stinnes is not in a position to do alone, he can do with Poincaré.

Another plan whose vague outline is beginning to reveal itself in the French press, runs as follows:

If England would withdraw her demands against France, then France would renounce her claims for the 80 billions of the so-called *Z Bonds* of the German reparations debt. These bonds are only a scrap of paper, as the London Treaty of May 5th, 1921, has not determined when they are to be paid. In this manner the German indebtedness would amount to 52 billion gold marks, for the payment of which American financial concerns would grant a credit. In consequence of this credit, the financial control which shall guarantee the payment of the debts would pass into the hands of the Americans. And as the American

uncle has a kind heart and does not intend to send black soldiers to Berlin, the German Michael could thus live happily under the financial rule of America.

All these rumours awaken new hopes in Germany. The mark recovered a little, the government changed its underwear and will for some days or some weeks, until the next crisis comes, again rule over the country. In the meanwhile, it will send out heart-rending letters to all sides, calling for assistance, and with protestations of its innocence. But the position of the working class is getting worse every day, and history cannot be deceived by sleight-of-hand tricks.

On his return from Cannes, Rathenau declared that after his speech the atmosphere between the Allies and Germany cleared up as if thirty years had already passed since the war. And at that time the dollar stood at 275. That was an illusion of Spring. Today the mark is dancing. At one time it reaches 2000; sometimes it rises to 1300; but it can also fall to 800. The present day illusion of the German Government is not only an Autumn illusion, an old wives' Summer, it is the illusion of one sentenced to death, whose execution has been postponed for 24 hours.

The Conflict in the Near East

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

Barely four weeks have passed since the heroes of the Amsterdam International issued their vaunted proclamation under the heading of "No More War", and the guns are once more thundering from front to front in Asia Minor. It may be argued that it is a trifling episode, if far away, in distant Turkey, the peoples are slaughtering each other. But two little facts will teach the credulous pacifists otherwise. In the first place, the Turkish divisions are fighting under the command of French officers, with Lieutenant Sarroux as chief of staff of Kemal Pasha. In the second place, the Greek battle front is fortified with English barbed wire and English concrete, and between Ismid and the Black Sea it is protected by English cavalry battalions and English gunboats. Not only in the political but already in the most actual military sense, English imperialism is engaged in fighting French imperialism in Asia Minor. The Turks and the Greeks are nothing more than the ammunition which the English and French use against each other. The "restoration of the Islamic Caliphate in Constantinople" is just as much a weapon in the hands of the French oriental interests as the "delivery of the Christian minorities from the Turkish yoke", is a war instrument for the defense of English rule in Asia.

The sudden outbreak of the Greeco-Turkish struggle, signifies the further intensification of the Anglo-French differences over the Near East. But imperialism recognizes artificial frontiers just as little as does the law of capitalist accumulation. The growing differences between England and France do not stop at the coasts of Asia Minor; they directly influence all the conflicts between the two rivals on the European political arena. What happens before Smyrna and Brussa has its effects on the decisions of London and Paris. The rapid firing at the Dardanelles is not unconnected with the sanctions on the Rhine. The opposing aims of England and France in the Orient are a component part of the same world-political forces which dictate the course of the reparations crisis.

The events in Asia Minor develop consistently. On the 10th of August 1920, the Peace Treaty of Sevres was concluded. It has not been ratified to this day. England, who at that time was at the height of her power, wished to limit the European portion of Turkish territory to Constantinople and a narrow strip of land in the straits, whilst important parts of Asia Minor, such as Smyrna and Armenia were to be taken from Turkey. But the Turks upset Lloyd George's calculations. General Kemal Pasha, supported by the warlike mountain-folk and by masses of the small peasantry of Inner-Anatol, organized resistance against the British oppressor. The government of Angora thrust the helpless Sultan of Constantinople on one side, and successfully advanced against the Greek and English troops.

The victory of Kemal Pasha created a new situation. On the connecting route between Europe and India, at the gateway of Asia, on the borders of South Eastern Russia, a serious danger began to threaten British imperialism. In the meantime, the differences between the interests of England and France, particularly with regard to the attitude towards Germany, have become sharper. England threatened to make difficulties for the French reparations policy; Lloyd George placed himself in opposition to the French domination of the continent of Europe. The French bourgeoisie found it necessary to look around for new allies. They found a strong support in the

United States. But still more dangerous for the English world empire was the open wound in Asia Minor. The French diplomats recognized this quite well.

It happens that France herself has great interests in the Orient. Seventy per cent of the Turkish bonds belong to Paris financiers. The French bourgeoisie is in search of foreign capital investments and spheres of influence in order to extend the industrial foundations gained by it in the war. Asia Minor offers a very promising field of exploitation for capitalist colonization, working with modern technique and financial elbow room. For these reasons France shattered the already dusty piece of Sevres china, and made an approach to Turkey. Kemal Pasha found assistance in his struggle against England.

On the 20th of October 1921, Briand, of all the French ministers the most friendly to Britain, caused the Angora Treaty with Kemal Pasha to be signed by the financier, Franklin Bouillon, in which France pledged herself to support the Turkish aims. In addition to the openly published economic conditions, the Treaty of Angora contains a number of secret clauses which plainly provide for close political and military cooperation between France and Turkey. This was a direct blow against the oriental policy of London. Lord Curzon answered with a number of notes expressing dissatisfaction, whose only result was the enriching of the archives of the French foreign office.

France now possessed an excellent means of exerting pressure. Each time the English government rebelled against the French reparations policy, France used Asia Minor as her trump card. On the occasion of the first Rhine sanctions and the decision on Upper Silesia, this policy secured the triumph of France. After the overthrow of Briand, Poincaré who as a Senator had protested against the policy of friendship with Turkey, promptly adopted the policy of his predecessor. The oriental crisis is the barb with which France prods the trunk of the British elephant, every time it attempts to break loose.

Lloyd George attempted again and again by means of Entente conferences to remove this dangerous source of conflict. It was just as futile as similar attempts made in regard to the German or Russian questions. The last oriental conference met on the 26th of March of this year in Paris. Fresh "peace conditions" were put forward there for terminating the Greeco-Turkish war. They already betokened the surrender of the Sevres Treaty by England. The Turks, it is true, were to receive Smyrna, but with unendurable restrictions; they were to receive back Constantinople, but under the control of an international, i. e., English Commission; Andrianople, the center of European Turkey was ultimately to be handed over to Greece. The Turks, instigated by France, refused these proposals. Greece too, was dissatisfied with the impairment of the Sevres Treaty. The decisions of the Paris oriental conference intensified the Anglo-French conflict. This fact was strengthened when some weeks ago, Greek troops landed at Rodosto and threatened to advance on Constantinople along the Tchatalush line. Since the time of the armistice, Constantinople has been under the control of the Entente. It is occupied by English, French and Italian troops. England, however has the upper hand. The British general Harrington, is officially in command of all the Allied forces. The Turks announced that they would reply to the Greek advance with a general assault upon the straits and Constantinople. Through the close cooperation between France and Turkey therefore, there exists the danger of a direct collision between the English and their Greek protégés on the one hand, and the Turks and the French on the other. Everyone can imagine what an enormous world political danger exists in this formation.

Kemal Pasha has now carried out his threat. After his envoy, Fethi Bey, during his stay in London, was not given a single audience by the Ministry, after Lloyd George undisguisedly pronounced himself in the House of Commons in favor of the maintenance of Greek interests, the Turkish army was put into movement along the whole line. On the eve of the Venice Conference at which the Entente governments together with representatives of Greece and Turkey intended to settle the war in Asia Minor, the bloody campaign was resumed on both sides with the greatest bitterness.

But the Greeks have met with misfortune. According to the latest information, Kemal Pasha has already achieved important successes. The Greeks have suffered enormous losses. They have been forced to evacuate their important position at Afium-Karahisar. Thus Kemal Pasha has reached the Anatol railway line. The Turkish forces on the West front amount to at least 100,000 men. Smyrna, the chief town of Asia Minor, is the objective of the Turkish operations.

Should the offensive of Kemal Pasha prove successful, the Greeks will be hopelessly driven to the sea. A further danger from the first victory of Kemal is the cutting off of the Greek

northern army which is assigned to the single railway line between Brussa and Smyrna. That opens the way to Constantinople for Turkey. In all likelihood Kemal Pasha is making preparations on the Black Sea and Marmara front for the final offensive. In the neighborhood of the little city of Adabazar in North Anatole, (50 Kilometers before the English lines), he has assembled a body of shock troops consisting of 40,000 men (4 infantry divisions and a cavalry division). The operations will be conducted by that genial Turkish strategist, Fewsî Pasha in concert with French general staff officers.

In addition to the bravery of his peasant soldiers, the support of Soviet Russia and the inner Asiatic powers of Persia, Afghanistan and Bukhara, Kemal Pasha owes his victory over England, in the first instance to French imperialism. The *London Daily Mail* reports that the Turks used new French artillery material as well as French rapid firing guns. They were openly handed over to the followers of Kemal on the occasion of the evacuation of Cilicia by the French Marshall Gouraud. The Turks have mobilized three further groups of recruits who likewise will be equipped with French weapons. At Eskishehir and Afium-Karahissar there are two aeroplane stations which are fitted out with French aeroplanes and manned by French aviation officers.

Much more important than the particular events in the Asiatic war arena are their incalculable effects in Europe. Today, Asia Minor is the place where there exists the danger of the greatest imperialist explosion. The proletariat of the whole of Europe can overnight become the victim of this catastrophe if it does not remain watchful and prepared for struggle.

Already the world bourgeoisie is raising the cry: "War again soon!" The preaching of peace by the Amsterdamers is not worth a grain of powder against these forces. Only the revolutionary action of the working class supported by the Russian proletarian state can overcome the death crisis of the imperialist world without world war and without famine.

The Reparations Problem

By Gerhard Fink (Berlin).

The London Conference was the thirteenth of its kind since the signature of the Treaty of Versailles. It has left the task of finding a solution to the reparations problem to the Reparations Commission, which does not seem to be any more capable of it than the conference.

The chief point to be noted as a result of this conference, is that for the first time the conflict between the French and the English imperialists is so sharp as to preclude any such compromise as in the past. A new turn of the road has been reached, slowly but surely.

For the first time we have a clear realization of the reparations policy of big industry. French capital aims at the domination of Europe. The possession of the Rhine is a step in that direction. Mr. Poincaré acts as the zealous servant of French capitalism. French capital, in possession of the Lotharingian iron, occupied the Saar Valley to obtain cheap coal. It now sees that the hard coal of the Ruhr and the industries of the Rhine are further necessary for its plans. In possession of the Ruhr and the Rhine, and master of Upper Silesia, it would completely dominate Germany. That is why the new reparations plan demands the partial destruction of the Rhine railways, in order to achieve a complete union of the Rhine and French industries. That is why the chief demand of the French Government at the conference was the inclusion of the Rhineland in the French customs boundaries, and the 26 % participation of France in the Rhine industries. A proposition which English capital would never accept, for continental homogeneity under French control would close the European market to England. An agreement was therefore impossible. The Reparations Commission where French and English points of view are naturally again in conflict, postpones its decision. But every delay aggravates the German situation. The German government sees itself in the impossibility of meeting its obligations. Its monthly payments to the Allies, at the present rate of exchange, require 23 to 24 billion paper marks, when the total monthly income of the country does not exceed 20 billions. The French Government takes advantage of Germany's insolvency to proceed to so-called measures of retorsion, and place England at the next conference before an accomplished fact.

At the present rate of the mark, Germany must make deliveries in goods to an amount of 390 billion paper marks. The German Government can never meet this fabulous expense, even by the continual issue of new paper money and the increase of the German floating debt.

What is German capital doing behind the scenery? Having long lost its independence, it is attempting to reach an understanding with French capital. German capital, in this way, would keep a considerable part of the profits to be made from the exploitation and the misery of the German proletariat. Since Poincaré has demanded French participation in the Rhine industries, the industrial stocks of that region have risen considerably. We know that negotiations are going on between the German and the French captains of industry. We know that Mr. Stinnes, whose press is carrying on an insidious propaganda in that direction wishes nothing better than an understanding with the *Comité des Forges*.

But nothing is more dangerous to German industry and especially to the German workers than an understanding between the two capitalist groups. The first result would be a more intense exploitation of German industry. The German worker might then give up all hopes of ameliorating his wretched condition. He would be made to bear the combined pressure of French imperialism and German plutocracy.

Will the German working class be able to force its demands,—the seizure of all capital goods, worker's control of production,—before the French and the German capitalists effect their alliance? It must act rapidly and against its own Social Democracy, which is ready once again to betray it.

The International Significance of the Austrian Collapse.

By V. Stern (Vienna).

Alarming reports fill the air. Hungary is concentrating troops on the Burgenland frontier. Jugo-Slavia is mobilizing, in fact she has already entered Kärnten. Italy is preparing for a counter-stroke. Czecho-Slovakia in conjunction with Jugo-Slavia is preparing to occupy the whole of Eastern Austria. Such are the reports which appear almost daily in the press, and the phantasy of the Austrians tends to create the most romantic forecasts with regard to the near future of Austria, though no one is much excited over it. Very few people concern themselves with regard to the consequences which will follow if only a portion of all these phantastic stories is realized. The position of Austria is such a hopeless one that it is very difficult to imagine it getting worse.

It would be as well to know quite clearly in the face of all these sensational reports, what up to now can be accepted as fact. It suffices to recognize the great importance which the Austrian problem possesses for Central Europe and also beyond it. It suffices to point out to the international proletariat, that no less than the Austrian proletariat, it must follow the course of Austrian events with the greatest attention, and prepare itself to influence by its intervention the events which may result.

It is an indisputable fact that Austria cannot be saved by its own strength, from an imminent and complete economic collapse through capitalist methods, and that foreign aid can only prolong its death agony at best. A few figures will suffice to illustrate this. The cost of living in Austria, has, according to official statements, increased by 129 per cent from July 15th to August 15th; (in reality the increase is much greater). On August 26th, however, wages in general were increased by 124 per cent. In the meantime, that is to say, within ten days, a further increase of prices by 83 per cent took place. At the moment most favorable to the workers, when the index prices were almost realized by the wages, the actual wage was reduced by at least one third, compared with the last miserable wage paid at the end of July. And these wages will now remain at this rate for another four weeks in spite of the more rapidly increasing prices. Moreover, the beggarly contribution which the employers will have to grant to the workers, beyond the fixed figure, is annihilated by the methods of the employers in passing this extra payment on to the prices.

In spite of this absurd, automatic wage depression and extortion, the economic situation of Austria compels the government money press to a progressively increasing activity in the printing of paper money. Within barely three and a half months, the circulation of notes prior to the payment of the index rate of 124 per cent-extra wages, increased from 366 billions to 1,000 billions. At the same time the weekly increase mounted from 10 to 80, and then to 100 billions. And yet, the 1000 billions now in circulation are of less value than the previous 366 billions, so that the scarcity of money is increasing more and more. It would be absurd to assume that the example of Russia has shown that such a development can go on definitely without the state collapsing. Russia is great, she has inexhaustible sources of wealth, and a proletarian government; Russia was

also blockaded. Austria is small; without imports it would immediately collapse. Besides, Austria is governed by capitalists to whom their profits are more important than the existence of their own capitalist order. Such a country is doomed if the depreciation rate of its money has once reached a certain limit. On the other hand the depression of wages cannot be continued beyond certain limits, which when reached must lead to a crisis in the market, and to unemployment. The Austrian is merely vegetating on the basis of a constant progressive depreciation of wages.

In this situation the purely capitalist government of Austria has had recourse to a desperate measure. It has threatened the capitalist world with the political and economic suicide of Austria. The effect of this threat was to be twofold. The Austrian proletariat was to be intimidated by the menace of foreign bayonets, and held in check. The Social Democrats were to be forced to abandon their sham opposition and openly enter the government. The fact that the bourgeoisie is at its wits end, is for the Social Democrats everywhere a compelling reason for coming to its aid as its angel of deliverance. Prime Minister Seipel, however, on his journey abroad, was to bring pressure by the threat that the sacrifice of Austria's independence would create international conflicts the effect of which could not be foreseen. The chief motive of his political journey was everywhere: *either you give us the necessary assistance or we shall give up our independence.*

Everywhere, in Prague, in Berlin, and in Verona, he willingly offered Austria, in the case of the refusal of credits, at the same time hinting that otherwise he would apply to a rival. Where the appetite for the savoury morsel of Austria was not sufficiently great, the fear that a neighbor would seize the ripe fruit was to influence the decision.

Seipel's tour has not produced the desired effect. The prelate has overlooked one fact, namely, that Austria can only give up its independence provided that there is somebody for whom these grapes are not too sour. If there was any state that was prepared to risk a war for Austria, then that state had no need to wait for the invitation of Austria. Prague and Rome replied in the negative and gave it to be understood at the same time, that they would not permit the seizure of Austria by another state. Neither could they guarantee him any financial assistance, and only comforted him with the League of Nations. Herr Seipel came back empty handed and with very questionable hopes.

In spite of this it would be a mistake not to perceive that the step taken by Seipel could have very serious consequences; the greediness and the jealousy of the powers concerned have been doubtlessly aroused. However small, poverty stricken, and plundered Austria may be, its control is of great importance from the imperialist point of view. By means of Austria, Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia can be connected and Hungary encircled. By means of Austria, Italy can be brought into connection with Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia held in check. In view of the dependence of the Small Entente upon France and the relations between Italy and England, important interests of the two rivals in the great Entente are at stake.

All these things acquire importance through the simultaneous intensification of the reparations crisis and the friction within the Entente. In Turkey there is already a war raging between England and France. Under such conditions, the border states doubtless consider the timely securing of important positions like Austria as very urgent, and the fear of unchaining conflicts is so much the less actual as these conflicts are already there. Austria is a good subject for later, by means of which, one or the other of the powers can secure new allies and break through the ring of hostile groups of powers. On the other hand the control of Austria means such an important position of power that a serious seizure by one group of powers must constitute a challenge to the other. A conflict between Italy and Hungary on the one side and the Small Entente on the other would be unavoidable, and the localization of that conflict, exceedingly improbable.

It is true that the capitalist powers still shrink back from the risk of war. They will certainly try to avoid decisions or find at least a solution by means of compromise. But the question is how long will this be possible. And so far as Austria is concerned, its position is such that if the proletariat does not intervene in time, Austria will soon be prostrated and her neighbors will no longer be able to avoid a decision.

It is this situation which has led the perfectly bankrupt Seipel government to adopt a very cool, in fact, humiliating attitude towards the offer of coalition made by the Social Democrats. The tactics of Seipel towards the Social Democrats have met with complete success. The Social Democrats have declared themselves to be prepared almost unconditionally to "cooperate" and already exhort the proletariat to make "the necessary sacri-

fices". But Seipel still prefers to wait. If the "League of Nations" grants the credits for the sake of peace, then he will take unto himself the laurels for accomplishing the "salvation" and improvement of the country which of course can only be temporary. Should the credits not be forthcoming, then he will see if there is not a neighbor of Austria who will take pity and act as "deliverer". Only in the event of all these failing, will he condescend to take the Social Democrats into office so that they may take a share in the responsibility for the collapse.

It is not necessary to explain that all these "solutions" can bring no relief to the proletariat. They are only attempted by those who will not follow the only possible way, that of forcing sacrifices from the possessing class through the struggle of the whole proletariat. They show, however, that the beginning of the end is approaching.

Present-Day China

The social classes. — The Army. — Provincialism. — Intervention of foreign capital.

By S. Maïski (Kharbin).

The economic structure of a country always has a great influence on its social life. In China the peasant class of small landowners is the most important one. It is a characteristic of the peasant class the world over that it is narrow-minded, and politically inactive. This is especially true in China where a thousand years of tradition form a sort of second nature. If we take into account the crass ignorance of the Chinese peasant, his proverbial resignation, and the influence of the religions which teach him forbearance, we can understand his passivity with its sudden savage movements of revolt, like that of the Boxers.

The Chinese proletariat, numerically of little importance (2-3 % of the population) is concentrated in a few large centers and consists primarily of unskilled workers: laborers and coolies. The skilled workers form a very weak minority. It is natural that this proletariat possesses little class consciousness. It is still in the first stages of its development. Unions are being formed; strikes sometimes take place to gain some slight amelioration of conditions from the exploiters. The proletariat does not as yet constitute an active political force.

The bourgeoisie is also weak. It is restricted to internal commerce, all other fields of activity being monopolized by foreign capitalists. That is why the social influence of the Chinese bourgeoisie does not correspond to the capitalist development of China. A bourgeoisie like that of Europe may be found in the large cities, such as Shanghai, Canton, and Hongkong; in other places it does not exist.

Finally there is the infinitesimal class of intellectuals of which the students constitute the vanguard. Their position and their social significance is like that of the Russian intellectuals before 1905. They are too few to have any real importance.

The Chinese bourgeois is still largely provincial. He has no consciousness of national interests. He will defend obstinately the interests of his province, but it is only a few advanced intellectuals, and some enlightened bourgeois of Shanghai or Canton who is concerned with the general interests of the country.

The Chinese bourgeoisie, conscious of its weakness, is politically passive.

We must not forget a very important social group, peculiar to China,—the bureaucracy. From time immemorial, it has formed a closed caste, living at the expense of the State and monopolizing all administrative positions. This bureaucracy has maintained its position till the present day. It has no political character, and is ready to serve anyone who is willing to pay it.

We see then that socially active elements are rare in China. Indifference and passivity are the chief characteristics of Chinese society; which means that any active, organized force can easily rule the country. In China this force is the army. In the past, the army has played a decisive role in all internal revolutions, or rather changes of dynasties. The last dynasties, the Mongols (1280-1368), the Mings (1368-1644), and the Manchucs (1644-1911), were overthrown by the army, which still plays an important role in the political life of the country.

The Chinese provincialism is a thing peculiar to that country. The old empire was composed of 22 provinces. Eighteen formed China proper, the other four (Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Eastern Turkestan) were really vassal provinces. These twenty-two provinces were completely autonomous. The distances between them were enormous, the means of communication miserable, travel very difficult; the primitive state of the industries created no interdependence, the ethnographic differences were great. No less than 70 dialects are spoken in contemporary China, 30 of them in China proper.

The government is purely provincial. This is especially noticeable in the administration of the finances and the army. Financially, the province is divided into districts which collect their own taxes, pay their own expenses, and contribute the remainder to the provincial treasury. The provincial administration, once it has covered its costs, sends the remainder to the central government in China. The governor who collects his taxes without too many chicanes, and regularly sends his allotment to the central government, has always been considered a good governor and enjoys complete independence. In the same way the military governor of the province, disposing of provincially maintained forces was until recently practically independent from the capital. The imperial dynasty disposed for its defense of a special Manchu army, encamped around Peking.

We see then, that in the ancient empire each province formed an autonomous government. To counter-balance this, the dynasty took care to impose a vigorous separation of the civil and military powers. Each province always had two governors. These were never chosen from the functionaries of the same province, but from a neighboring province. The civil or military governor maintained his power for only three years in the same place. Several provinces were formed into a vice-kingdom. Under the monarchy there were nine such vice-kingdoms. The Chinese Republic is direct heir of this provincialism which is playing a nefarious role in the civil war now raging in China.

The intervention of foreign capital is one of the most important factors in the social life of China. Before the Revolution, foreign capital, supported by dreadnoughts and expeditionary forces cruelly exploited the Chinese people, and controlled the political life of the country. Chinese and Russian imperialisms were fighting in Northern China, Manchuria and Mongolia. England and the United States occupied the center and the extreme south, Germany possessed Chang-Tong; France had installed herself a little everywhere, north and center; Italy wanted her share; Belgium invested in Chinese railways. These capitalist pirates were interested in maintaining the weakness of the Chinese Government. They therefore opposed the creation of a rigorous, central power and encouraged provincialism, the quarrels of high functionaries, the intrigues of the various factions.

Japan especially displayed a total absence of scruples. The Tokio Government did not hesitate at any means to prevent the consolidation of the Chinese state. During the dictatorship of Yan-Chi-Kai, Japan exiled the revolutionary leader Sun-Yat-Sen. In 1916, it supported the Republicans of the South against the monarchists of the North, and vice versa in 1917. We may say that there are no purely Chinese movements in the political life of present-day China.

As each event takes place, we should ask: what foreign interests determine these new events? When an insurrection, or a change of government takes place, we may be sure that some foreign group of capitalists believes that it can thereby achieve its ends.

In the New Turkey

By G. Astakhov (Angora).

Angora does not look like much. As far as the eye can see, small groups of old gray houses hugging the gray mountain side. The center of the city has been burned down. The streets have been blown open. People are working, trying to build new ones. In the daytime it is one intolerable gray dust cloud, and at night, absolute darkness. But there is a building in this city which makes us forget the grayness about us. That is the building where the Great Turkish National Assembly is meeting.

Not much of a building. A small, one story, stone house, solidly and comfortably built. Above it floats a red flag which can be seen from all parts of the city. Built ten years ago at the expense of the *Union and Progress Committee*, it was for a long time the club house of that party. Today, the *Union and Progress Party* exists no longer. But in its old club house, the Turkey of today is working indefatigably, forging the arms against western imperialism, and laying the foundation to a new political and social order.

During a respite at the front the *Medjilis* of Angora (the Turkish Parliament), has just passed a law of decisive importance. It is a great event in the internal life of the New Turkey. Up to now the president of the National Assembly, *Mustapha Kemal Pasha* presented to Parliament his candidates for the various People's Commissaries. The *Medjilis* could only choose among them. A bill was introduced to the effect that the ministerial candidates should be named by a commission

composed of representatives from all the parliamentary committees. This was rejected as being still too far from the ideal of direct popular government. It was finally decided that the People's Commissars should be chosen directly by and from the Assembly, without any prior appointment of candidates.

Slowly, a Republic without a president is crystallizing, in which Parliament holds both the legislative and the executive power.

This structure necessarily requires the formation of a homogenous majority, and therefore of a great party. The old slogan "No party during the war of independence", is being revised. A great party is necessary, or at least some powerful political organization, invested with an incontestable moral authority. This position is occupied for the time being by the *Group for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Eastern Roumelia*. This group, formed after the armistice, has carried on the tasks of the first period of the war of independence. All the leaders of the Anatolian movement, all the members of the government, and about one third of the members of the National Assembly belong to it. It maintains branches and committees in every province. The new law gave it the occasion to come out as a political organization.

The *Group for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Eastern Roumelia* had named its candidates for the various governmental posts. With one exception, they were all elected by the National Assembly. At the same time this group made known its statutes. This new parliamentary majority, unified by party discipline, renewed Mustapha-Kemal-Pasha's commission as General-in-Chief with extraordinary powers for an indefinite period, until "Smyrna and Thrace will again be free". And they safeguarded appearances so well that they met no opposition.

Mustapha Kemal's tactics were those of a real statesman. He carefully avoided any show of attachment to personal power, and in his speech to the Assembly said: "I will be doubly happy when Smyrna and Thrace at last return to us; for on that day I shall again return to my modest post of deputy. And there is nothing more beautiful than the fate of the humble citizen in a free country"

From all these recent events we may draw the following conclusions:

1. Even if the new Turkey is far from forming a perfect democracy, the principle of popular government has been strengthened and affects all governmental reforms.

2. Parties, which had been totally unknown during the first period of the war of independence, are entering into politics. One of them, the largest, has been finally constituted. It is but a beginning. Slowly the formation of military, bourgeois-industrial, bourgeois-intellectual, workers' and peasants' parties will continue.

At the present time the commissions of the Assembly are studying a project to grant self-administration to the small districts. This project will introduce the election principles into the remotest corners of peasant-Turkey. Elected councils will have charge of local finances, police, etc. This law will mark the first step in the way of the great social reforms. It will prove that Mustapha's saying "Our peasant will be master of the earth" is no vain word, but has the significance of a political program. If such reforms are possible in war time, what may we not expect when the new Turkey has at last gained peace.

The *Medjitis* meets four or five times a week. On the other days the committees keep on working. The government is working feverishly to obtain peace from Europe, to borrow from it a parcel of its economic power and use it to stir the latent energies of the country, but, at the same time, to escape the economic domination of rapacious Europe and to maintain its full national independence. These are the aims of the New Turkey. The future will show how far it will succeed. Peace and the emancipation of the Near East depend upon it.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Trial of the Esthonian Mission

By R. A.

Speculation, theft, spying: those were the occupations of the Esthonian diplomatic representatives in Petrograd.

The democratic, yea, Social-Democratic Esthonian Republic maintains in Russia a numerous diplomatic and consular delegation, enjoying extra-territorial rights and corresponding with the home government by means of diplomatic couriers. But the Esthonian Republic has not followed in vain the lessons which

international spies and speculators installed in Reval to watch for a possible weakening of red Petrograd, have been giving it for years. During the last week of July and the first days of August a characteristic trial has taken place before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Fifty defendants were brought before the proletarian court on charges of espionage for Esthonia (that is to say, the Entente), thefts, export of precious objects to Esthonia, traffic in alcohol and narcotics, etc. The diplomatic baggage of the in-coming Esthonian diplomats was laden primarily with alcohol and instructions to spies, and carried back regularly military documents, miniatures, jewels, art works, furs, and even valuable icons, hidden from the requisitions made for the benefit of the famine sufferers.

The Esthonian Mission recruited its agents among the employees and petty officials of the army and navy, and the petty bourgeois who hate the new regime from the bottom of their hearts, and are rather tired of leading a miserable existence. It exploited those who laid claim to Esthonian nationality. It even found a few victims among some vague adherents of the Communist Party.

The Esthonian spy-system paid in foreign currency and food products, very poorly, of course, ferociously exploiting the misery of the poor devils whom they were sending to a possible death.

Its recruiting agent *A. Wessart*, has been condemned to death together with several defendants convicted of delivering various secret documents of the army and the navy, among them the plan of action of the Red Navy for the coming year. But the principal leaders remain in security in Esthonia.

What lessons can we draw from this scandalous trial which has revealed to Red Russia the sordid undercurrent of corruption, treason, and deceit which reigns in the diplomacy of this petty Baltic "democracy"? It proves what dangers of corruption lie in the neighborhood of bourgeois states however insignificant in power.

And we are certain that this verdict of the Revolutionary Tribunal of Petrograd will again rouse the indignant protests of "Socialists" of all shades against the "Red Terror".

THE WHITE TERROR

The Bloody Regime in Horthy-Hungary

By George (Vienna).

In Budapest, two prisoners of war returned home from Russia, have been *condemned to death* on account of participation in the Russian Revolution as members of the Red Army. A *third home-comer* is faced with a similar sentence.

The Hungarian Government, which seeks outwardly to take on the appearance of a democratic government, and which with the help of the Social Democrats has succeeded in creating that impression in certain circles, has in no way altered its bloody regime. Today, thousands of Hungarian revolutionaries are languishing in the prisons and internment camps of the land of Horthy; today every movement of the working class is replied to with machine guns and bayonets; and today also, the Hungarian bourgeoisie continues with its execution of revolutionaries, a process begun some time ago with the approval of the Social Democrats. Two Hungarian proletarians are to be executed because they have rendered help to the Russian workers in their struggle against their oppressors and enemies. The international solidarity of the counter-revolution is fully proved to the whole working class by these sentences.

The Hungarian Social Democracy sabotages every serious struggle of the working class against the bloody regime of the counter-revolution. Not only have its ministers given their sanction to the executions in the early stages of the white terror, but the parliamentary fraction of the Social Democratic Party, regards it as its sole task to disown all connection with the proletarian revolution, and to deliver over the revolutionaries, the most active portion of the working class, to the hangman's justice.

At the Vienna inter-parliamentary conference, in which the Hungarian democrats took part unitedly, as the guardians of the Horthy Government, even Bernstein was compelled to stigmatize the bloody regime of Hungary. It does not require much courage to tell the Hungarian gentry unpleasant things to their faces

in Vienna. For the rest, Bernstein contented himself with defending the bourgeois, radical emigration group. An invitation to the Social Democratic parliamentarians to visit Horthy Hungary was refused by them. This refusal was perfectly intelligible. They would be compelled in Hungary to state facts, to take up the fight against the Hungarian white terror. At the same time Bernstein and Vandervelde who is also in Vienna, would have to acknowledge the equal guilt of the Hungarian Social Democrats for the white terror. The heroes of the Second International had to evade this.

Mr. Vandervelde would also have had good opportunity of defending the Hungarian proletarians sentenced to death. For him, however, a defense, is only urgent when it is a case of the counter-revolutionary murderers and spies of the Social Revolutionary Party.

The only power which came to the assistance of the Hungarian proletariat in its most difficult and fateful hour, and which by its strength rescued hundreds of proletarians from prison was the Communist Government of Soviet Russia. It will this time also not abandon the proletarians sentenced to death, and will find ways and means of delivering them from the clutches of the hangman. It is to be hoped that in Soviet Russia there are sons of the Hungarian bourgeoisie whose lives remain hostages in the hands of the international proletariat. The Hungarian Social Democracy will again have opportunity of protesting as they did in the case of the S.R.'s, against the "odious hostage system" by means of which hundreds of Hungarian, Finnish, and Polish revolutionaries have been saved, and by which it is also hoped to save those now condemned to death.

APPEALS

To the Miners of All Countries!

Comrades,

The International Miners' Conference has betrayed the American Coal Miners in their struggle. The conference has even refused to allow real assistance for the strikers to be placed on the agenda, and to organize the boycott of the American mine owners. The conference would not forbid the employers to sell coal to the American capitalists, and have by this means stabbed the struggling American proletariat in the back. It is not the first time that the leaders of the Amsterdam International have shown themselves to be traitors. The English coal miners, during their great struggle against their employers, were forsaken by their immediate allies, the railwaymen and transport-workers, and the miners of the other countries did not come to their aid. During the strike of the English coal miners, the American, Belgian, German and French miners continued to work and thus gave the English mine owners the possibility of breaking down the powerful organization of the English coal miners, of reducing their wages and lowering their standard of living, whereby the condition of millions of English proletarians has been thrown back for many years.

The same thing is now occurring with regard to America. The self-same English coal miners who but recently were obliged to suffer through the lack of solidarity on the part of their comrades of all other countries, are now doing the very same thing, i. e., they are prepared to supply the American employers with English coal.

Thus the tactics of the Amsterdam International begin with the isolation of the struggling groups of workers within one country. Then these tactics are carried out on an international scale, and the workers in a struggle in any branch of industry (the coal miners, the metal workers in England, the coal miners in America, the metal workers in Germany, etc.) are left to their fate and betrayed to their masters. As soon as the employers have finished with the workers in one branch of industry they deal with another category of workers and so defeat the proletariat one portion after the other, and destroy its organizations with the aid of those who have the impudence to call themselves leaders of the labor movement and members of the great proletarian family.

Comrades, coal miners. How many defeats on a national and an international scale are necessary to make you understand once and for all, that your reformist leaders are only a tool in the hands of your exploiters? How long will you endure that the class solidarity of the workers shall, in the hands of your leaders, be transformed into a solidarity between workers and employers against the struggling workers? Look about you; the whole world is seething. The bourgeoisie has created a solid united front and is advancing against the working class whom it forces from the positions it has won. And at the time of this terrific

attack on the part of the bourgeoisie, when the enemy is already hammering at the gate, those who ought to be at the head of the battalions of labor, those who should occupy the front rank in the defense, not only negotiate with our enemies, but willingly surrender one position after the other, and thus destroy your solidarity and disorganize your ranks.

The American coal miners have been betrayed. Nobody can dispute this fact. The European coal miners are adopting towards them the role of strike-breakers. Thus, conservatism, lack of enlightenment, narrow craft and national interests are destroying the proletarian united front, and are delivering the workers, bound hand and foot, over to their exploiters. That which many workers previously did unwittingly, is now being done with full consciousness by their leaders who are proud of having created an International. They have raised their treachery to a principle, and regard their refusal to fight as the highest piece of virtue. The first victims of these tactics of the Amsterdamers are the coal miners. After them follow the metal workers. Thus one category of workers after the other will be involved in the offensive of capital, without giving each other mutual assistance, so long as the workers follow their reformist leaders, the same leaders, who instead of propagating the class struggle, advocate the cooperation of the classes.

The Red International of Labor Unions has constantly exposed this treachery. It has warned the workers without regard to their political outlook, of the destructive Amsterdam tactics against the united front. And now, the R.I.L.U. addresses itself to you, coal miners of all countries, and warns you that, if you do not desire to be thrown back for many years, if you do not wish to lose everything that you have gained by many years of persistent fighting, you must examine all questions not only from the point of view of the present day.

International capitalism is very well organized. It can only be successfully fought today on the international field. Only through the formation of a revolutionary international, an international of deeds and not of phrases, an international of the class war and not of class cooperation, only through the establishment of such an organization can you regain what you have lost and recapture the positions from which you have been driven. Only then will you be able to proceed on the road to your final emancipation.

Down with the reformist leaders! Down with those who compel you to act as strikebreakers against your class comrades! Help the American workers not with words alone but with deeds, regardless of the fact that you on your side have received but little help. They are fighting against a powerful enemy; they have the enormous political and economic forces of the American bourgeoisie against them. If they are defeated you will have to suffer with them. Their fight is your fight.

Long live the real solidarity with the fighting American coal miners!

Long live the revolutionary class struggle!

Long live the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions.

NOTICES

The International Conference of the Children's Group Leaders.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International has decided to call an international conference of the children's group leaders, to take place in Berlin on *September 16th to 18th*. The importance of this conference may be seen from the following agenda:

1. Report of the Executive Committee.
2. The principles of Communist educational work (speaker: Hoernle).
3. The methods of the Communist work among the Children (speaker: Ziegler).
4. The relations between the Communist children groups and the other proletarian organizations.
 - a) The Communist Party and Youth and sympathizing organizations.
 - b) Hostile organizations.
5. The press and agitation (speaker: Reussner).

This conference will offer an opportunity for an important exchange of experiences in the work carried on in the various countries, and will prove valuable in the future development of the Communist children's movement.