

First Session of the New Executive.

The newly elected Executive held its first session on June 8 under the chairmanship of Comrade Zinoviev.

The following Vice-Chairmen of the Executive Committee were elected: Comrade Bukharin, Semard, France; Thälmann, Germany.

The following comrades were elected to the Presidium: U. S. S. R. Bukharin, Stalin; Candidates: Kamenev, Rykov, Sokolnikov; Great Britain: MacManus; Candidate: Poff; Germany: Thälmann, Geschke; Candidates: Schlecht, Ruth Fischer.

Italy: Ercoli; Candidate: Rienzi; Ukraine: Manuilski; Candidate: Frimse; Czechoslovakia: Smeral; Candidates: Neurath, Mura; France: Semard; Candidate: Treint; Scandinavia: Schello; Candidate: Hansen; Personal: Kuusinen, Katayama, Kolarov, Vuyovita; Youth: Candidates: Zetkin, Roy, Hessen; Youth: two American comrades.

The following were elected to the Org-Bureau of the Executive Committee:

1. Kuusinen; 2. Geschke; 3. Piatnizki; 4. Humbert-Droz; 5. Treint; 6. Schüller; 7. Bogucki; 8. a Czech comrade; 9. Dunne; 10. an Italian comrade; 11. Mitzkevitch-Kapsukas; 12. MacManus; 13. Bela Kun; 14. Petrov.

The following were elected to the Secretariat: 1. Kuusinen; 2. Geschke; 3. Piatnizki; 4. Treint; 5. Humbert-Droz; Candidates: MacManus, Neurath.

The Budget-Commission consist of the following: Piatnizki, Kuusinen, Geschke, Treint, 1 Czech comrade, 1 Italian comrade, 1 British comrade (MacManus); Candidate: Bogucki.

The following will make up the International Women's Secretariat:

Central Secretary: Clara Zetkin; Secretaries: Nikaver, Russia; 1 German comrade, appointed by the Central Committee of the German Party; 1 comrade from the Eastern Division; the Women's Secretariat: Hertha Sturm.

The following were elected as editors of the "Communist International":

Kuusinen, Martinov and Petrov. The Secretariat was instructed to choose one more comrade and submit his name to the Presidium as a substitute editor.

The Enlarged Executive will hold its first meeting on June 12 with the following agenda:

1. Resolution on Leninism
2. Question of the Organisation Commission
 - a. Work of the Communist Parties America
 - b. Illegal Work
 - c. Work in the Army
 - d. International Red Aid
 - e. Sport International
3. The Revolutionary Movement in the East
4. The Negro Question
5. Propaganda Theses
6. Resolution on Fascism
7. Resolution on the Question of the Intellectuals
8. Japanese Question
9. Polish Question
10. Bulgarian Question
11. Austrian Question
12. Swedish Question
13. Italian Question
14. Souvarine Question
15. Trade-Union Question
16. Swedish Party Congress
18. Co-operative Question

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POLITICS

General Dawes — the International Open-Shopper.

By Harrison George (Chicago).

European capitalism continues steadily to decline. Markets for products of American capitalism grow steadily fewer and smaller. Enormous stocks of manufactured goods have met a non-absorbent wall of no orders and are backing up, closing the factories and mills, throwing unemployed workers on to the labour market in rapidly rising hundreds of thousands.

More than this, four and a half billion dollars of gold, about half the gold of the entire world, lies in the vaults of the American banks, only partly in use, the balance an unassimilable surplus vainly seeking profitable investment. Concentration of commodities and of gold in one country, America, is bringing the crisis in world capitalism into the lives of the American workers. The backwash of the war has reached America.

The tendency is not new, but the degree of its operation is increasing. American capitalists, taking advantage of the growing army of unemployed, are beginning again to attack the wage and hour scale of the employed workers. A new Open Shop Drive is begun concurrently with the drive to establish in the seats of power — Coolidge, the strike-breaker, and Dawes, the Fascist champion of the "Open Shop".

The capitalist government of the United States has watched with increasing apprehension the machinations of European capitalist cliques. First, there were England and France demanding cancellation of the eleven milliard dollar war debts to America (refusing to discuss revision of the Versailles treaty which was wrecking America's market) until war debts were also discussed. By smooth work Morgan broke England away from France by obtaining a funding of the English debt. Gradually France is being forced to yield to American capitalism. The events of the London Conference are proving the dominant role of Yankee capital.

French occupation of the Ruhr and the forced marriage of German coal and French iron had created a menace to America's basis of power — steel production. Germany as a market for both England and America was being destroyed, the mark was sinking into its grave and the German masses were beginning to rebel. American capitalism has been forced to intervene in the reparations problem, forced to end its "splendid isolation". These are the reasons behind the famous "Dawes' Report". These are the reasons why America is actively participating at the London Conference. This is the reason for the selection of Owen D. Young to supervise the German slave pen.

What Dawes Means.

Last October, when the German events gave the Allied brigands a fright, Secretary Hughes, answering Lord Curzon, voiced American apprehension by saying that "present conditions make it imperative that a suitable financial plan be evolved to prevent economic disaster in Europe, the consequences of which would be world-wide". And, later, he recommended to work out such a plan, "men of highest authority in finance, of experience and prestige and honour". Thus selected as the spokesman of American capitalism, there appears upon the stage the fabled savior of imperialist capitalism — Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes.

The famous Experts' Report on Reparations and its most prominent author — Dawes, have been heralded with such a fanfare of capitalist press publicity as the solution and the saviour, that it is a duty as well as a pleasure to point out the characteristics of both Dawes and his report.

An Old Trick for Dawes.

Part of the Dawes' plan is, in effect, for American gold to be taken to Germany and held in a bank as a basis for German finance, remaining all the time under Allied — that is to say, American — control. It shall be German money but, at the same time, shall belong to American bankers...!

From the loud cheers that greeted this item in the Dawes' Report, one might think it a new idea. But General Dawes had experience years ago — to be exact, 12 years ago.

In 1912, an adventurous crook of the banking world, William Lorimer, king of vice and graft in Republican politics in Chicago, had a bank. It was called the "Lasalle Street Trust and Savings Bank". But the savings of the poor — and the rich — were criminally abstracted from the bank by Lorimer and his accomplices, and the bank found itself facing the regular inspection of the state banking auditor, with a shortage of \$ 1,250,000 it was supposed to have but didn't. Lorimer's bank was as bankrupt as Germany is, as capitalism is. Lorimer — needing "reparations" — turned to the author of the Experts' Report on Reparations.

Lorimer went to Dawes, then president of the Central Trust Company, another bank, and an agreement was made between Lorimer and Dawes to have \$ 1,250,000 in cash hauled from Dawes' Central Trust Company to Lorimer's bank — there to be exhibited to and counted by the state banking auditor as belonging to the Lorimer bank — then to be returned to the Dawes bank so that it could be counted again, where it belonged.

This fraud was carried out as agreed, between the crook, Lorimer, and the sanctimonious candidate for the vice-presidency of the American republic, author of the Reparations Report and leading open-shopper of America, Charles G. Dawes.

After Lorimer's bank finally was closed in 1914, its creditors sued Dawes' bank for the \$ 1,250,000, and in May 1917, Judge Frederick A. Smith held the Dawes' bank liable for this sum. All this is a matter of record in Chicago courts. But Dawes was in politics and by tricky work on another political judge, reduced the sum actually paid for this fraud against the state and the Lorimer depositors, to a mere bagatelle of \$ 79,898.

Training for International Role.

Naturally, such men are valuable. Dawes was given the job of purchasing agent for army supplies of the United States Army in its war for "democracy". The astounding sums piled up by the profiteers, the graft that bulged the pockets of every "patriot" — if it did not bulge those of Dawes, at least escaped his attention. When called on to testify before the congressional committee which uncovered some of the graft, he purposefully posed as righteously indignant. He shouted and cursed. He yelled that the "moral issues of the war" were being submerged. He bullied his way through and became famous as the "strong man" who swore at congressmen with a new cuss-word — "Hell and Maria".

Dawes, speaking at the Chicago Union League Club on February 22, 1923, said that the Daugherty Injunction against the railroad shop strikers was, in his judgement, "the beginning of a new era of law and order in this country". In this same speech, Dawes definitely embraced the principle of capitalist dictatorship, saying, "That form of government which history has proved most futile and disastrous is a democracy. Steps taken of recent years towards the principles of free democracy are leading in the direction of tyrannical mob rule under evil leaders".

Exporting the Open Shop.

So much for Dawes as the American Open-Shopper. With the Reparations Report, Dawes becomes the International Open-Shopper. Skillfully worded in the language of financiers, the Dawes' Report is a charter of enslavement to the Morgan banks of, firstly, the German working class and, ultimately, the workers of all Europe.

The Report itself says, "Reparations can only be paid abroad by means of an economic surplus in the country's activities". To reach such a surplus only two means are possible. 1) German workers must produce more and must consume less — get lower wages. Or, 2) the first means failing, German capital must pay the reparations bill out of its profits taken from German labour.

The Dawes' Report clearly provides for taking the reparations out of the veins of German labour. "Wage increases are not to be expected in Germany today", says Dawes. And he advises cutting off all aid previously given the unemployed, together with a wholesale discharge of railway workers. But when it comes to the alternate proposition of making German capital contribute even a tithe by heavier tax rate, Dawes says, "It is a matter for Germany to decide" — i. e., it is a matter for German capitalists to decide if they shall tax themselves or not! As for living standards — "The amount of the minimum is not exactly determinable, it seems to vary between different

countries, between different periods in the same country", etc. — leaving for the inference of the German exploiters that the living standard of the German workers must be cut to that of the coolie with Dawes' blessing and approval.

Reverberations of German Slavery.

To force a surplus out of the German workers enough support not only German capitalist parasites but to export sums named in the Dawes' Report, beginning with a million gold marks the first year and increasing yearly — and to this without precipitating a proletarian revolution, this is a problem for the German government.

But a proletarian revolution in Germany is the only hope not only of the enslaved German workers, but of the English, French and American workers as well. For these huge sums cannot be paid in money, even though the German proletariat submits to the most abject slavery. These reparations can only be paid in goods, if at all. But at present the whole of Western Europe and America cannot find markets for their full productive capacity. This state of affairs is, moreover, not temporary but fairly permanent, however it may fluctuate. What will be the effect, then, to the workers of England and America, the dumping of reparation commodities, produced by German slave labour, upon the world market? Such a "solution" is the best capitalism has to offer.

It will mean that the terrible power of Morgan's Open Shop Drive will be injected with all the force of the German government, backed by the Entente, into the body of Germany — to paralyse the fighting arm of the German proletariat, the Communist Party of Germany. It will mean that the Open Shop Drive, nascent again in America, will spread to Germany from Germany to England and France and back again to increase power to America.

This is foreshadowed by the words of Wall Street's *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* in the following words:

"It is pointed out that once the Dawes' Plan is adopted and manufacturers in Europe get an impetus from a revival of confidence, Europe will probably invade American markets on a larger and more formidable scale, favoured by labour costs much below those prevailing in the United States. If labour does not meet the situation by intelligent acquiescence in reduced wages it will suffer by a lesser demand for its services."

Nothing could be plainer. Operation of the Dawes' Plan will mean for American labour and that of England and France competition with slavery — or unemployment such as has been known — all accompanied with a world-wide attack on labour unions under the Fascist Open-Shopper, General Dawes. And the only remedy, the only cure, is international solidarity of the unions under the banner of the Red International Labour Unions and — the proletarian revolution in Germany.

A New Stage in the Liquidation of the Versailles Treaty.

By Karl Radek.

The Policy of the English Labour Government

The policy of the English Labour Government regarding the Reparations Question is pursuing the same ends as that which the Lloyd George and the Baldwin cabinet pursued. Its aims are: stabilisation of European capitalism in order to re-open the European markets, reduction of expenditure on armaments, limitation of the possibility of the restoration of Germany as a strong competitor, removal of the danger of an economic and military hegemony on the part of France. The policy of the Labour government differs very little in its methods from that of the preceding cabinets. And even that difference in methods which is to be observed is not due to the fact that MacDonald is now occupying the position of Foreign Secretary instead of Lord Curzon, but that MacDonald came into power at a moment when France had become somewhat weakened and there was a certain change in the attitude of the United States.

In order to judge English foreign policy it is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental facts of the economic situation of England. This has considerably improved in the last year or so. The output of coal for last year amounted to 278

million tons and was only 11 million tons behind the output for 1913, the output of iron amounted to 7,04 million tons, while in 1913 it amounted to 10 million tons. The textile industry is still labouring under a crisis. This can best be seen by the fact that whilst in 1913 England imported 19 million cwts of cotton, in 1923 she imported only about 13 million cwts. The import of wool, which in 1913 amounted to 21 million cwts, in 1923 only amounted to 7,04 million cwts. Imports of raw flax etc. fell from 600,000 ton to 265,000 ton. English foreign trade, reckoned according to the index of prices for the year 1913 affords the following picture:

	Price index in million pounds sterling			Percentage compared with 1913	
	1923	1922	1913	1923	1922
Imports	735,7	659,4	768,7	93	85,8
British Exports	404,4	361,8	525,2	74,5	68,9
Re-Exports	94,0	89,3	109,6	81,3	81,5

As is known, England has always covered the deficit in her trade balance by the interest on capital invested abroad, with income from shipping, banking etc. Unlike France she has not the greater portion of her capital invested abroad. This balance of so-called invisible exports, according to the figures of the Board of Trade Journal of 31st January 1924, is made up as follows:

	In million pounds:		
	1913	1922	1923
Income from capital invested abroad	210	175	150
Income from shipping	94	110	110
Income from banking	35	40	40
Total of invisible exports	339	325	300
Surplus of imports	158	170	203
Favourable trade balance	181	155	97

When it is remembered that the pound has lost 42% of value, it is seen that the favourable balance has decreased 124 million pounds. All these figures however do not give clear indication of the economic position of England. Prof. Wey, the English economist, is of the opinion that in 1923 England only reached 87% of her pre-war production. The "Economist" disputes these figures and claims that England reached 95% of her pre-war production. Keynes (in the "Nation" of 12th of April) agrees with the latter, but points out that the population has increased by 2 million. The difficulties in all these calculations are best to be seen by the fact that prices of raw material have increased by 50%, the prices for articles of necessity by 78%, and the prices of exported goods by 90%. It is very difficult on the basis of these factors, which indicate a very different grade of development, to give a uniform picture. That England has not yet reached the pre-war level in industrial production is best shown by the fact of the existence of one million unemployed, even one bears in mind that which the editor of the "Economist", in the discussion over the economic position of England (London "Nation" 3rd May 1924) rightly points out: that the average number of the unemployed before the war amounted to 400,000.

But the English bourgeoisie are not comforting themselves with this improvement in the economic situation. Before all they want to know what will happen, if the economic power of Germany is re-established. Already last year Lloyd George said: "If we assume that the reparations question is settled to-morrow and Europe a real peace; will it bring you prosperity? The moment peace is restored in Europe and the valuta stabilised, you will be face to face with a real competition." Lloyd George returned to this question again in April last, when he wrote: "The surveys indicate improvement and a decrease in unemployment. Can any reasonable man however risk his fortune to calculate that normal conditions will recur in the next years?"

English trade has maintained in the last years that level which it attained as a result of the increase of economic relations between England and her colonies. Whilst imports from Europe since 1913 to 1923 have fallen from 41,6% to 24,08%, the share of English colonies in the imports have increased from 24,08% in 1913 to 29,07% in 1923. Whilst the share of Europe in English exports has decreased from 36,09% in 1913 to 35,02% in 1923, the share of the colonies has risen from 37,2% in 1913 to 39,2% in 1923. This was due in the first place to the fact that the export of English capital was

chiefly directed to the colonies. In 1913 England exported capital amounting to 200 million pounds, in 1922 only 150 million pounds and in 1923, 130 million. ("Statist" of 5th January 1924.) These capital sums are invested as follows: in 1913 England invested 98 million pounds in foreign countries and 99 million in her own colonies; in 1922 foreign loans absorbed about 20 and in 1923 about 30 million pounds less, than colonial loans. If England desires now to participate in the restoration of European economy, she must reduce her export of capital to the colonies which will mean reducing their purchasing power. At the same time she must reckon with the fact that the industrial production of her colonies is increasing and as a result, the prospect of their forming an ever-increasing market for English goods is fading.

In view of these facts the English bourgeoisie at the last elections renounced the utopian ideas of the Conservatives to disregard Europe and rely in the first place on the colonial markets. The English bourgeoisie, who since the Ruhr expedition of Poincaré have looked passively on at the events in Europe, only attempting behind the scenes to egg Germany on to offer resistance, have decided to take an active part in European affairs again. Their role as spectator during the time of the Ruhr adventure was an enforced one; by what means could they hold back France when she had taken the solution of the reparations question in her own hands? They were not only unable to venture on war, from the blows of which they had not yet recovered, they could not even venture to oppose sharply the policy of the French, for this would have meant the breaking up of the Entente. How could England decide to break with France, when she did not have a single ally in Europe, and when she did not know what would be the relations of the United States to her in the future?

The only thing to do was to hope that Poincaré would break his neck against the German resistance, or that he would exhaust himself, even in the event of a victory over Germany. The latter is what actually occurred. The time came when England intervened. Its first form was the participation of England in those manipulations which brought about the fall of the Franc. This led France to recognise the Experts' Plan. The present task consists in compelling France to evacuate the Ruhr basin. This assures in the first place equal conditions for England and France in the attempts to arrive at a bargain with the German coal and iron kings, and abolishes the danger of the creation of a Franco-German coal and iron trust; and secondly, it reduces the pressure of France upon Germany in general, lowers the prestige of France in Poland, Czechoslovakia, in Roumania and Yugoslavia, in which countries England has recently begun very successfully to counter-act French influence. If the loan for Germany amounting to 200 million dollars is carried out, half of which is to be contributed by America and the other half by English banks, then not only Germany, but France also will be rendered dependent upon Anglo-saxon capital. The carrying out of the experts' plan internationalises the German liabilities. Germany will not be the debtor of France. France's place will be taken by the International stock exchange. France will then not be in a position to put pressure on Germany, to disorganise her economy and by this means to limit the English market. So soon as things are proceeding in this direction France will be strongly impelled to reduce her armaments. Thus reckons English capitalism.

France demands as recompense for her concurrence in such decisions, the renunciation by England of the debts owing to her from France. The English government has not agreed and does not agree to cancel the French debts. MacDonald has refused up to now to give any promises in this respect and certainly will not do so unless France makes certain concessions as regards foreign policy and the armaments question. France is aiming at obtaining from England a guarantee for the territory occupied by France and a pledge that she, together with France, adopts punitive measures against Germany in the event of the latter failing to fulfil the obligations taken over by her. England is endeavouring to avoid the last named obligation by depriving the reparations commission of the right to decide whether Germany has failed to fulfil her obligations. This right is to be transferred to the banks who have granted the loan. By this means England seeks to transfer the blame for showing clemency to Germany on to America, without whose help it is impossible to finance the loan. MacDonald, who in Paris was driven to the wall, has thought out a temporary

formula for the participation of a representative of America in the solution of the question of default on the part of Germany, according to which the representative of America will appear as the agent of the Experts' Commission. He hopes that with the help of the Americans he will succeed in arriving at clear decisions at the London Conference which will remove the possibility of the French sabotaging the proposals of the Experts. As regards the guarantee for French security, England is endeavouring with all her powers to transfer the responsibility for this to the League of Nations.

The active policy of MacDonald appears in this light as the result of a weakening in the position of France and of America's participation in the solution of the reparations question.

The Change of Government in Yugoslavia.

By Gj. Cvijic (Zagreb).

On the 27th of July, two months after the coup d'état of the minority government of Pasic-Prbicevic and the introduction of its absolutist-fascist regime, this same government was overthrown and its place taken by the Davidovic government, which hitherto formed the opposition block and which, with the support of the Radic Croatian Republican Peasant Party, constitutes the parliamentary majority. In view of the present extremely acute situation in Yugoslavia, there is little doubt that this change of government means a change of course in the interior policy of the country, which will not be without influence upon the foreign policy of Yugoslavia.

The plan of the overthrown Pasic-Prbicevic government was, by means of their absolutist-fascist methods of national and social oppression, to kindle civil war at a time when they held all the means of force in their own hands. When the Radical Party, after entry of Radic's supporters into parliament and their coalition with the independent democrats under the lead of Prbicevic, were not able to command the majority in parliament, the Pasic-Prbicevic government at the end of May prorogued parliament until the 20th October in order, even though in a minority, still to be able to remain in power. By means of this coup d'état the governing minority, supported by the Court camarilla and the military clique, lent an absolutist character to their regime. Their aim was to maintain the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie and its military monarchy — a regime of national suppression of all non-Serbian peoples in Yugoslavia — by means of absolutism and fascist terror. In this way the Pasic-Prbicevic government intended to prepare for the elections, which are to be held in autumn, in order to obtain an artificial majority.

When the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, which to-day represents almost the whole of the Croatian nation, replied to the proclamation of absolutism by entering the Peasant International, the Pasic-Prbicevic Government brought a charge of high treason against the leaders of the Radic party.

The Pasic government increased the persecutions in Macedonia and did not even shrink from massacring hundreds of peasants and reducing three villages to ashes.

The Pasic-Prbicevic government attached special importance to stirring up chauvinist hatred among the Serbian people against all other nations in Yugoslavia and to providing financial support and arms to the pan-Serbian fascist bands. These bands did just what they pleased in Macedonia and even in Serbia rendering any meeting of the opposition impossible.

The Pasic-Prbicevic government directed its fiercest attacks upon the Independent Workers Party of Yugoslavia, which, on account of its keen opposition as well as its tactics of the united front of the workers and peasants, was beginning to achieve considerable success. Immediately after the bloody encounter with the Prbicevic fascists in Trifail, about a hundred members of the Independent Workers Party were arrested in Slovenia; the majority of them have been brought before a court and their press prohibited. After the first joint action of the I. W. P. with the Radic Party, which manifested itself in a general protest strike in Zagreb against fascism, the persecutions were extended to Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Montenegro. The party organs were continually confiscated and the number of arrested comrades amounted to close on 500.

Threatened by the united front of the workers and peasants which was beginning to be formed, the Pasic-Prbicevic government, upon the suggestion of the Zankov government, formed a

united front with the latter for the purpose of a common fight against the workers and peasants' movements in the Balkans. The government press started a furious campaign against the Communists and the Radic party, which in shamefulness surpassed everything hitherto. After these preparations the Pasic-Prbicevic government on the 3rd of July undertook the general offensive against the working class. Throughout the whole country the funds and the archives of the I. W. P. and of the independent trade unions, in so far as they could be found, were confiscated by the police and the premises sealed. All printing works were forbidden to print anything for the I. W. P. or the independent trade unions. The only "proof" which was brought forward by the government against the accused was the pamphlet of the imprisoned comrade K. Novakovitch: "Macedonia for the Macedonians, the land for the peasants!" As the government could find no legal grounds for dissolving the I. W. P., this party publicly declared that it will continue its work in spite of this illegal prohibition. As a matter of fact the I. W. P., thanks to the preparations for this attack which was to be foreseen and especially owing to the reorganisation of the party upon the basis of factory nuclei, was in a position to continue its work without any particular disturbance.

This however was the last heroic act of the Pasic-Prbicevic government. Their preparations for the civil war against the majority of the population gave rise to a very serious crisis in the radical party itself. The corrupt regime began to decay from within. At first under the leadership of Nastas Petrovic, who is to-day minister of the interior, and later under the leadership of the parliamentary president Ljuba Jovanovic, an opposition began to be formed in the radical party against the Pasic-Prbicevic regime. In order to overthrow this regime the parties of the opposition block, as well as the Radic Party, were disposed to support a government of Ljuba Jovanovic. Even the court camarilla, who felt themselves threatened by the hate roused by the Pasic-Prbicevic government as the latter regime cloaked all its acts of violence under the pretext of defending the monarchy, began to support the opposition in the radical party. But at the sitting of the National Council of the Radical Party, Ljuba Jovanovic still remained in the minority and the king had to decide, either to give the Pasic-Prbicevic government the mandate to carry out the elections and to bear all the consequences of a probable civil war, or to hand the government over to the parliamentary majority. He decided on the latter alternative, whereby the absolute fascist Pasic-Prbicevic government was overthrown and the former opposition block took over the reins of government.

The new government, of the Serbian Democrats under the leadership of Davidovic, of the Bosnian Mussulmen under the lead of Spalio, the Slovenian Clericals gathered round Koroshetz, together with the radical dissident Nastas Petrovic can only maintain itself with the help of the Radic Party. It seems at first glance as if such a heterogeneous majority would find it very hard to agree upon a common programme of action. Nevertheless, the reactionary pressure and the corruption of the Pasic-Prbicevic government have brought about such results that all parties have found a common ground on the basis of liquidating this regime and introducing a parliamentary, mild regime.

The new government will of course not be able to solve the permanent political crisis of Yugoslavia, which has its roots before all in the national question, as the parties forming the new government have very diverging views concerning this question. In the same way it will not be able to solve the agrarian question, as it also comprises the big landowners. Nevertheless the new government means a decided change of course to the left, which can already be seen from the fact that it has abolished some of the violent measures of the Pasic-Prbicevic government, reintroduced freedom of the press, and allowed the sealed premises of the independent trade unions to be reopened again.

The Croatian Republican Peasants' Party in supporting the new government has undertaken a very serious task, i.e. to support it only in so far as it really liquidates the results of the reactionary Pasic-Prbicevic regime, conducts a struggle against corruption and entirely restores political freedom, abandons the reactionary understanding with the Zankov government, conducts a policy of peace and renounces the reactionary imperialist intervention policy against the neighbouring Balkan states, and resumes friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

The Independent Workers Party will, by its persistent opposition, drive forward the new governmental block, and be-

all its chief support the Radic Party, in order to carry out the liquidation of the reactionary fascist and terrorist Pasic-Prbicevic regime, as the struggle against this regime is not ended with the overthrow of the former government, but on the contrary, the supporters of this regime are gathering their forces in order at the first opportunity to come into power again. The I. W. P. will now demand before all: full freedom of press and assembly, the carrying out of legislation for protecting the workers, an amnesty for all political prisoners and the repeal of the defence of the realm act. In addition to this, it will continue its persistent struggle for the full right of self-determination of the peoples and for the solution of the agrarian question in the interest of the poor peasants in order to rally the workers and peasant masses of all nations of Yugoslavia and to prepare for their final emancipation.

GERMANY

How the Panicky German Republic celebrated the 10th Anniversary of the War.

By Wilhelm Koenen, Berlin.

Fritz Ebert copies Kahr. The Reich government follows the methods of Bavaria. In order not to let the nationalists have it all their own way, Ebert and Stresemann, on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the war, themselves organised a nationalist Jamboree. At the Königsplatz, Ebert and Stresemann caused the black-white-red (monarchist) flag to be flown alongside the black-red-yellow (republican) flag. They arranged a programme, which even the Berlin Social Democrats and Trade Union leaders who since 1914 have swallowed a good deal in this respect, characterised as being militarist and nationalist. They felt compelled to call upon the workers of Berlin to boycott this affair.

But Fritz Ebert, supported by Seeckt and Severing, carried out his military nationalist programme, — until the communists converted it into a fiasco. Fritz Ebert, accompanied by his friends, the leaders of the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions) Leipart, Grassmann and Knoll — followed by the capitalist ministers, the monarchist officers and the Christian clergy blessing the weapons of war, assured the German men and women for the thousandth time that the war was only conducted in defence of their threatened native country and that Germany will again win a place for herself among the nations.

Already during the short ceremonial speech there were signs of disorder as well as noisy interjections on the part of indignant workers, whom it was attempted to silence by police attacks. Ebert lost the thread of his speech: his unctuous peroration came to a sudden end. Then came the great, dramatic moment when the music ceased. A salvo of artillery announced the solemn period of silence. Ebert and his henchmen removed their glossy toppers and folded their hands in an attitude of prayer. And suddenly, from the left and the right among the masses of the people, huge compact groups appeared, which visibly increased, and instead of the silence, there sounded forth the singing of "The International". The huge crowd was startled. The official silence only served to allow the strains of the International to ring out more powerfully over the broad open space. The counter-demonstration of the Communists has set in with full force at precisely the right moment.

During the singing of the International thousands of leaflets flutter down among the crowd. All hands stretch out after the communist leaflets. The crowd is set into motion, the great silence has been converted into a communist demonstration. The leaders of the official demonstration are not able to observe the minutes of silence, they cause military music to strike up in order to escape from their embarrassment and to be able to drown the hated tones of the International. The great concourse is partly frightened, partly astounded at the disrespectful communists and see no proper way out of the impossible situation. The great Jamboree has become a farce, the proletarians have broken the spell of the German nationalists. In view of this complete disorganisation the official leaders even abandon the proposed march past of the Reichswehr regiments before Seeckt and Ebert. The Reichswehr retreats!

Severing's security police take their place and carry out the grand finale. The authorities had an idea that the damned com-

munist would put their finger in the pie. They had therefore carefully encircled the Königs Platz with security police and machine guns. Patrols on cycles and horseback were going constantly to and fro. At 11 o'clock, when the workers were expected to arrive from the various local assembly places, all approaches were barred by Severing's green police. But the worried and anxious Republic could not on the occasion of the war commemoration cause a crowd of singing people to be fired upon in front of the Reichstag. The more savagely therefore were they pushed, and beaten and pinched. Indiscriminately and excitedly the republican police flung themselves upon the crowd. 300 "accidents" were reported by the police authorities as a result of this attack. 40 arrests were made, 30 of which had to be immediately released. The Communist Youth, which took a prominent part in the counter-demonstration, exhibited while under arrest a dry humour and a proud proletarian self-confidence. None of them allowed themselves to be intimidated by the police attack. The conclusion of the military-nationalist show was absolutely controlled and dominated by the communists.

The attitude of the Social Democrats was pitiable. The national committee and the trade union leaders took part with Ebert and Seeckt in the official ceremony. The committee of the Berlin organisation have sharply condemned this military nationalist mummery. The Republican Defence League "Black-Red-Gold" partly participated in the official ceremony and partly met elsewhere to protest against it. The party as a whole did not venture to arrange any sort of independent demonstration on this day. Disintegration and confusion prevailed everywhere.

The open fascist German peoples' and German nationalist parties did not hold any independent and united demonstration. Apart from the solitary black-white-red flag on the Königs Platz their colours were not to be seen anywhere in the city. For them, the chauvinists and war mongers, the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the war constituted a palpable defeat.

And what Ebert attempted to save for them and their like was thoroughly destroyed by the vanguard of the proletariat. In spite of the police and Reichswehr, in spite of Severing and Seeckt, the communists alone can claim the honours of the day.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Exchange of Letters between the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation and the All-Russian Trade Union Council.

Letter from the I. F. T. U. (Amsterdam).

On the 22nd of July last the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council received from the International Trade Union Federation (Amsterdam) the following letter signed by Purcell and Oudegeest:

Comrades!

The third regular Congress of the International Trade Union Federation which took place in Vienna from the 2nd to the 7th of June 1924, discussed afresh the question of the entry of the Russian Trade Unions into the International Trade Union Federation. On this question the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"After acceptance of the report regarding negotiations between the bureau of the I. F. T. U. and the All Russian Trade Union Council, the Congress expresses its regret that the trade unions of the Soviet Union, in consequence of their refusal to recognise the statutes and programme of the I. F. T. U. which were agreed to by the fully empowered representatives of the most important trade union organisations of the world, are still outside of the International Trade Union Federation.

The Congress proposes to the bureau, in so far as it is compatible with the dignity of the I. F. T. U., to continue the negotiations with the aim: to bring the trade unions of the Soviet Union into the International trade union movement, under the strict observation of the statutes and the decisions of our International."

The bureau of the I. F. T. U., in view of the telegram of the All-Russian Trade Union Council to the chairman of the

Vienna Congress, decided, at its sitting of the 15th of July last in Amsterdam to bring the above resolution to your notice.

We should be glad to hear whether you are prepared to enter into negotiations with the I. F. T. U. upon the basis of the principles contained in this resolution.

In the event of your favourable decision we propose a meeting with a delegation of the Russian Trade Unions (consisting at the most of six delegates).

In expectation of your reply, we remain, with international greetings,

(signatures)*.

Reply of the All-Russian Trade Union Council.

On the 26th of July the presidium of the All-Russian Trade Union Council sent the following answer, signed by comrades Tomsy and Dogadov, to the I. F. T. U.:

Comrades!

We have received your letter of 16th July 1924. We consider it our duty to express our great pleasure that the I. F. T. U. desires to restore the organisatory unity of the International Trade Union movement.

We consider this to be of extreme importance as this wish coincides with our sincere conviction that the ever-sharpening struggle of labour against capital can only be successfully carried on by concentrating all the forces of the economic organisations of the proletariat and re-establishing the unity of the international trade union movement. The All Russian Trade Union Council is on its part fully prepared to undertake every step which can lead to the realisation of this unity.

We can however not refrain from saying that your enquiry, whether we are prepared to take up negotiations on the basis of the principles contained in the resolution of the Vienna Congress appears to us to be an unjustifiable one.

We have fully expressed our aims regarding the restoration of the unity of the International trade union movement and our intention to do everything in our power for the realisation of this unity in our telegram to comrade Purcell and in the present letter. We believe that the basis of our negotiations should be the discussion of the conditions of this unity. We are therefore of the opinion that it is contrary to the sense of the approaching negotiations and the purpose of this unity, when you make the recognition of the statutes and the rules of your international a precondition of the negotiations.

If, comrades, you feel yourselves to be formally bound by the resolution of the Vienna Congress, we Russian Trade Unions also form a portion of the Red International of Labour Unions and are similarly bound to carry out the decisions of the Russian Trade Union Congresses and the Congresses of the R. I. L. U. In view of this we are directing our efforts to finding a common basis for negotiations, which in our opinion would undoubtedly lead to a greater mutual understanding and a nearer approach of the two portions of the international trade union front which have hitherto been divided from one another—assuming that in the negotiations the decisions of both Internationals upon the basis of equal right and mutual understanding form the underlying principle of the discussion.

As we are of the opinion that success in the cause of uniting the international trade union movement is of greater importance than formal considerations, and that this cause would doubtless gain by our meeting and real negotiations, we believe that it would be more right and proper for both sides to attach no pre-conditions to our meeting.

We are prepared to meet you at any time you propose; we only wish that in view of the conditions of travel this meeting shall not take place earlier than about fourteen days after receipt of your answer. London or Berlin would suit us best as a place of negotiations.

In expectation of your favourable reply, we remain, with revolutionary greetings,

(signatures).

* Retranslated from the Russian. Ed.

The International Metal Workers Congress

By W. WAXOV.

The Red Trade Union International at its recent congress decided to strive with all its powers for the unity of the international trade union movement. It was expected that the congress of the Berne Metal Workers International, which took place from the 26th to the 28th of July in Vienna, would give the first pronouncement of Amsterdam regarding the efforts for unity on the part of the organisations standing on the platform of the R. I. L. U. — and it has given this pronouncement.

On the first day of the Congress the English delegation, in accordance with their mandate, raised the question of the acceptance of the All-Russian Metal Workers Federation into the Metal Workers International. The leaders of the International however, in spite of the English interpellation, evaded the question and proposed a resolution to the Congress which stated that the Congress takes note of the negotiations which have already taken place with the Russian union and instructs the Executive to continue these negotiations. All would have gone off very smoothly if the delegations of the All-Russian Metal Workers Federation and of the French Unity Metal Workers Federation had not appeared at the Congress — or to speak more correctly, in the ante-room of the Congress hall, as they were not admitted. The leaders of the Berne International did not wish to accept the delegations of the French and the Roumanian Metal Workers Federation. They were compelled however to enter into negotiations with the Russian Delegation.

Owing to circumstances over which they had no control the Russian delegation was not able to arrive in Vienna in time. Therefore, when they asked permission to speak at the Congress they received the answer that it was already too late, that the congress had already finished its work. The Russian delegation insisted on being allowed to speak. Thereupon the notorious triumvirate (Robert Dissman, Franz Domes, and Conrad Ilg) granted the Russian delegation 15 minutes in which to speak, under the strict condition that the speaker made no reference to the questions in dispute, of unity and of the class struggle, but restricted himself to words of greeting to the Congress. Not content with that, these gentlemen demanded that the draft speech of the Russian representative should be submitted to them beforehand in order to be censored.

It is obvious therefore that Dissmann and Ilg wished to prevent the Russian delegation from putting their standpoint before the International Congress and expressing their will for unity. Of course the censors of the Metal Workers International did not fear that the delegates would be convinced by the speeches of the representatives of the Russian metal workers. The overwhelming majority of the Congress consisted of people who are quite immune against any relapse into class-consciousness. Dissmann was afraid that at an official sitting of the Berne International the voice of one revolutionary union might be raised demanding the restoration of the unity of the metal workers movement. It happened in spite of this. Of course the Russian delegate, Comrade Axentiev, had very little time in which to speak. Moreover, his speech was postponed to the end of the Congress. Nevertheless, the speech was delivered; it proposed unity to the congress on the basis of the existing statutes of the International. To this the Congress replied by a parliamentary formula intended to shelve the matter.

The Russian delegation demanded to be admitted into the Congress hall. To this Ilg replied that the hall contained no gallery for the public. Is this not characteristic? There arrives a delegation from a federation numbering half a million members which desires to be affiliated to the International and they are told that the hall contains no gallery for the public.

What was the answer of the Amsterdamers to the demand of the revolutionary federations to restore the unity of the movement? The 10th Congress of the metal workers' international declared that there was no particular hurry to restore unity. The 10th Congress of the Berne international constitutes a demonstration against the unity of the labour movement. It is the task of all revolutionary workers and of all followers of the R. I. L. U. to fight for unity with tenfold greater energy. Every worker must come to understand who is preventing unity and who has declared war upon the left wing of the proletariat. By their recent action the Amsterdamers have shown themselves to be the defenders of the blackest bourgeoisie reaction, which is preparing with undiminished energy for a new struggle against the working class.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Terrorist Justice in Germany.

How the German Government is preparing for the carrying out of the Experts' Report.

By Emil Höllein. (Member of the German Reichstag.)

Bourgeois penal law in Germany has never been troubled with humanitarian scruples whenever it has been a question of wreaking vengeance for any attacks by its class enemies against the sacred institution of the capitalist state. Already in the time of the Kaiser brutal sentences, imposed upon honest workers, have often aroused the horror and indignation of the whole civilised world. Everything that happened under the Hohenzollern regime however, appears as a mere trifle compared with the shameful vindictive administration of justice which we are witnessing in Germany to-day. It must be noted that this is occurring in so-called republican-democratic Germany, at the head of which stands the social democrat Ebert and in the government of which a number of social democrats have for years held high and responsible positions.

The influence of the Experts' Report upon the administration of Germany's class justice is quite unmistakable. Never before in the German Republic, not even in the time of the greatest revolutionary tension of the last few years, and especially of last autumn when the misery of the masses in consequence of the inflation reached the highest point, has German bourgeois justice so openly and nakedly exposed its vengeful character against the revolutionary workers as it has since the decision of the great bourgeoisie to carry out this pact of robbery and enslavement on the part of international big capital at the cost of the broad working masses in Germany. Even the special court set up after the October armed rising in Hamburg showed — after the first death sentences intended to terrify the masses, which by the way have been commuted into relatively short terms of fortress imprisonment by president Ebert as a result of the pressure of the working masses, — a far-reaching understanding for the desperate social and political conditions which were the lot of every honest worker at that time. The court to some extent passed milder sentences on the accused revolutionary workers because they had acted from absolutely honest motives.

All this however was changed as soon as the Dawes plan appeared on the scene and its acceptance by the German bourgeoisie appeared more and more probable. It was clearly to be seen before hand that only a completely physically and spiritually enslaved working class would put up with the terrible political, social economic and cultural consequences of the realisation of the Experts' plan without offering the most bitter resistance. For this reason it was necessary before all to defame and to trample underfoot the only genuine revolutionary party of the German working class, the C. P. Germany, in order to break their resistance. A monstrous reign of terror was instituted against it, accompanied by an unexampled campaign of calumny and instigation, which did not shrink from the stupidest as well as from the most blood-thirsty accusations, and which was participated in by all parties from the German Nationalists to the Social Democrats. Of course, under these circumstances, German class justice could not show itself to be behindhand. It let loose a flood of trials for high treason, and glutted its revenge against the revolutionary workers, who in October 1923 had made preparations for the fight to capture political power. Although the latter, contrary to the Hamburg workers who actually began an armed struggle, had restricted themselves to making preparations for the fight, they were sentenced to ever more brutal terms of prison and penal servitude. These sentences expose even to the most undiscerning the true aims and intentions of this undisguised class justice: to create and spread terror among the broad working masses, so that they would shrink from any further resistance against their strangulation by international big capital under the terms of the Dawes plan.

And the choicest and the most characteristic feature of all this white terrorist justice is precisely the fact that it originates from and is supported by the famous state court of justice for the protection of the Republic, which was set up immediately after the Rathenau murder in order to combat the right radical (fascist) murder bands. This famous court of justice, which includes a great number of social democrats, among others the former mi-

nister Wolfgang Heine, the president of the metal workers federation Brandes, the district chief constable Lange etc., has, in those few cases where it has been compelled to deal with white guardist assassins, shown a very striking mildness and sympathy, while at the same time where communists have got into its clutches it has given unbridled vent to its class hate.

We will cite a few examples to illustrate the so-called administration of justice of this model court of justice, against the decisions of which there is no appeal:

On the 7th February 1924, Albert Barthel, a worker of Schwedt on Oder, received one year's fortress imprisonment and a fine of 50 goldmarks, because he distributed among the Reichswehr soldiers "leaflets of a seditious character" which advocate a change in the constitution by means of violence.

On the 15th April 1924 there were sentenced: 1. Max Birke, a miner, to one year's fortress imprisonment and 50 marks fine because in the previous November he distributed seditious communist leaflets. 2. Emil Hagberg, a worker from Altona, to 15 months' fortress imprisonment and 50 marks fine, because he posted up a C. P. G. poster, which called for the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. 3. Lechleitner, editor of the organ of the C. P. G. in Mannheim, to 13 months' fortress imprisonment and 50 marks fine, because he published an article in November 1923, which propagated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On 4th June 1924 there were sentenced: 1. Hotopp, a clerk in Berlin, to 4 years imprisonment and 5,000 marks fine on account of preparation of high treason and having knowledge of a store of weapons; 2. W. Schmidt, a mechanic and Bannert, Prias and Kroll, workers, each to two years and six months imprisonment and 3,000 marks fine on a similar charge as above.

On the 18th June 1924 Alfred Oelssner, party secretary in Breslau, received three years imprisonment and 1,000 marks fine on account of instigating and preparing high treason.

On the 10th July 1924 there were sentenced: Lambert, a tailor of Stuttgart to eight years penal servitude, Brecht, a brewery worker, Rall a turner, each to six years penal servitude; Häusler a turner, to three years penal servitude and Glaser, an iron moulder, to one year penal servitude for possessing hand-grenades and preparing high treason. The accused replied to the announcement of the bloody sentences with cheers for the world-revolution and for Moscow. It should be noted that these brutal sentences were based upon the evidence of a paid agent provocateur, who had been instructed by the authorities to enter the C. P. of Germany and there to arrange the "Tche-ka" frame-up.

On the 19th of June 1924, there were sentenced in Koenigsberg: Delvendahl, a worker to seven years penal servitude and 1,000 marks fine, Kalcher to six years penal servitude and 600 marks fine, Seipold to five years penal servitude and 500 marks fine, Baumann to four years penal servitude and 400 marks fine, Nautsch to four and a half years imprisonment and 300 marks fine, Marwel to two and a half years imprisonment and 200 marks fine, Loreaz, Mecklenburg, Lollies and Hoffmann, each to 18 months imprisonment and 200 marks fine on account of seizing a store of arms upon the estate of a junker in order to defend themselves from a threatened putch and on account of alleged preparation of high treason. The president of the court, Niedner, revealed himself in this trial as an open communist hater. He called the communist flag "a russian rag" and declared that every single member of the C. P. of Germany must from September last year reckon upon being liable to punishment under paragraph 7 of the law for the defence of the republic.

The vindictive class justice of the German democratic republic is not only exhibited in the brutal sentences pronounced by the courts, but also by the treatment of the prisoners undergoing sentences, which is becoming continually harsher and more brutal. Not only are our comrades deprived of all communist literature and not allowed to write to their friends; as a further means of punishment they are not allowed any change of underclothing, many of them are put into chains and beaten and brutally mishandled. The situation of the prisoners has become so desperate that they have been forced to adopt their only means of protest: the hunger strike. For instance, in Gleiwitz in Silesia, 70 of our comrades have entered on a hunger strike. The prison authorities replied to this action by entirely depriving them of water, thereby adding to their torture.

It is admitted that the present administration of justice aims at cowering and terrifying the masses. The German bourgeoisie however are making a great mistake if they believe they will be able, by means of such bloody sentences, to intimidate the working

masses and cause them to shrink from ruthlessly defending their vital interests, which at the same time are the vital interests of the German nation. The terrorist sentences pronounced by class justice will not break the revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class. On the contrary, they arouse in the heart and brain the most powerful spiritual and moral forces, which will one day not only sweep away the terrorist justice and its upholders, but also the rotten state and social order, which provides the soil from which this terrorist justice must inevitably spring.

IN THE COLONIES

Cawnpore Victims of Labour Imperialism.

Case Against Mr. Singaravelu Dropped.

By Evelyn Roy.

The four prisoners condemned by the Judge at Cawnpore to four years' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of "seditious conspiracy" for having attempted to organise a political party of the Indian working-class, have now been denied the status and rights of political prisoners, hitherto accorded them. Thinking perhaps that the world has forgotten these victims of Labour Imperialism and Bureaucratic tyranny, the Indian jail authorities have reduced the four prisoners to the status of ordinary criminals. Though an Appeal against their condemnation is still pending, and though up to now they have demanded and been given certain privileges, such as the right to wear their own clothes, to buy their own food, and to receive a few comforts from their friends, now even these ordinary concessions are denied them, and they are being forced to eat regular prison food (un-speakably bad in India), to wear prison clothes, and to perform prison duty.

Will the British proletariat, so jealous of its own liberties, permit this added insult to the great injury already done by convicting these four students and workers in the cause of proletarian emancipation? Their only crime is having advocated the full social, political and economic emancipation of the Indian workers and peasants by the organisation of a political party based on certain fundamental economic demands, such as the right of Indian labour to organise in its own defence and to strike when necessary; the recognition of trade-unions; an eight-hour day; a minimum wage with insurance against illness, old-age and accidents; protection to woman and child labour, — in fact, the very things that the British Labour Party claims for its adherents in Britain, together with the right of free self-determination of the Indian people. These demands have been damned by the Cawnpore Court as "conspiracy to overthrow the sovereignty of the King-Emperor in India!"

It should be noted in this connection that the case against Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar, one of the co-accused in the Cawnpore case, who was prevented by illness from appearing in court with the rest, has been quietly dropped by the government. What is the reason for this withdrawal of the prosecution at the eleventh hour? The case was scheduled to come up on July 1st, and Mr. Chettiar actually went to Cawnpore to appear before the Court, where he was informed that proceedings against him had been suspended. It now appears that he has in no way changed or modified his views, nor expressed any regret or apology for his actions. The government reserves the right to resume prosecution against him whenever it sees fit. Thus they keep the charge hanging over his head like a Sword of Damocles,

ready to use it against him at a moment's notice, at the same time refusing to proceed with the case at once. The reason is plain. Mr. Singaravelu is a very able lawyer, versed not only in the technicalities of Indian courts, but in his rights as a British subject as well. He knows exactly what right he has to advocate a change of government which shall benefit the Indian working-class as well as the Indian bourgeoisie. He has sufficient money and friends to enable him to fight the case to a finish and to force the reversal of the entire Cawnpore judgment against the other four. He has already cited 100 witnesses in his defence, in Madras alone. Evidently Mr. Singaravelu is not a man to be easily crushed by a mock-charge of "seditious conspiracy" which no regularly constituted Court of Law would uphold on the kind of evidence tendered. Mr. Singaravelu is a person of All-India and even international reputation, well known as a Marxist and champion of the Indian working-class since the days of the first All-India Trade Union Congress. Evidently, he is not a person to be trifled with. He would give undesirable publicity to the case and to the methods of British justice under a Labour regime. Hence it is very easy to see why the case against him has been allowed to drop, without removing the charges against him. It is hoped to avoid further undesirable publicity while at the same time stopping his mouth and preventing any further activities, by "letting Mr. Singaravelu off."

But it should at once be demanded, "Why is Mr. Singaravelu let off when the other four, not more guilty than he, if guilt there be, are languishing in prison, condemned to four years' servitude on the charge of "seditious conspiracy", for taking a less prominent part in the attempts to organise Indian labour than Mr. Singaravelu, who is the founder of the "Labour and Kishan Party of Hindusthan", and the Editor of the "Labour and Kishan Gazette." It was to Mr. Singaravelu that the majority of the letters, written by M. N. Roy and used as the principal evidence in the trial, were addressed. Mr. Singaravelu has never made any secret of his ideas, nor of his international sympathies and affiliations.

Therefore, in view of the hasty retreat of the Government it may be seen how unjustifiable was the Cawnpore verdict, and how necessary it is to push the case of those already condemned to the final Court of Appeal, in order to obtain a reversal of the infamous decision against the four victims of Indian Governmental tyranny and of British Labour Imperialism.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Communication from the Balkan Communist Federation.

In view of the great difficulties which the Balkan Communist Federation has in carrying on its work, owing to the presence of martial law in the Balkans, it has for the time being transferred its headquarters to Moscow.

The Presidium of the Federation requests that in future communications for the Balkan Communist Federation (letters, news, papers, magazines etc., as well as material and manuscripts for the "Bulletin" of the Balkan Communist Federation) be sent to the following address:

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The V. World Congress of the Communist International.

Speech of Comrade Zinoviev on the Trade Union Question.

(Twenty Ninth Session)

Comrades, The Trade union question is of enormous importance. If there were to remain any lack of clearness in this question, it would have an enormously injurious influence upon the whole movement.

A good deal has been heard at this Congress of the necessity of bolshewising the parties, of remaining true to Leninism. We would prefer to hear less about bolshewising the party, but to have the essence of Leninism itself studied more deeply, especially regard to the trade union question.

Bolshewism is against splitting the trade unions.

The standpoint of Leninism in the trade union question is to be seen most clearly in its tactics. You are aware that the first split between the Bolsheviki and Mensheviki occurred in 1903, that is more than 20 years ago. The Bolsheviki have acted quite differently in the trade union question. In spite of the various splits in the political organisations we have neither before, during, or after the revolution caused a split in any trade union. (Interjection of Radek: "Quite true.") This must give us cause to think. Our trade unions even after the revolution were still, to a considerable extent, in the hands of the mensheviki and in spite of this we have done everything in order to avoid a split. Later on when the Mensheviki represented a very important fraction in the trade unions, the Party did everything possible to capture the trade unions from within without splitting them.

If therefore you wish to understand the Bolsheviki tactics you must not forget this fundamental fact: During the course of 25 years whilst there were a number of splits in the political organisations (the Mensheviki called us professional splitters) there was not a single split in the trade unions, neither when we were the minority nor when we had the majority. Therein lies one of the fundamental facts of the history of the Russian Revolution and of the history of Russian Bolshevism.

Whoever calls himself a Leninist, whoever desires to bolshewise the Party (it seems to me that Schummacher claims to desire this — God preserve us from such a Bolshevisation) — will not split the trade unions. This would on the contrary mean supporting the Mensheviki, although Schummacher may regard himself a "Leftist". We have already seen many such "Leftists". If I am not mistaken Schummacher was here three years ago as a representative of the Independent Socialist Party. Now however he acts as if the International was not left enough for him. (Interjection of Radek: "That is often the case.")

If you wish to speak seriously of bolshewising the parties you must take note once and for all: the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement is one of the characteristic features of Bolshevism; that is shown by the practice of Russian Bolshevism over a period of 25 years. We have not split a single trade union. Why? Perhaps because we were so fond of the Mensheviki or perhaps because we regarded the trade unions as a sacred and untouchable form of the movement? No, but solely for one reason, because we regarded the trade unions as a centre around which the mass of the proletariat, the whole working class gathered.

Not long ago in the German party it was: Enough of the Trades Unions, we want a "new form" for the labour movement, and these comrades really thought that their good will was enough to find a new form with ease. That is all they wanted — only no Bolshevism! The trade unions were not discovered by Grassmann, D'Arragona or Lenin they are the historic form of the mass organisation of the proletariat under capitalism. You can't suck a new form of the labour movement out of your fingers. We have a new form of mass organisation of the workers (beside the trades unions) and that is the Soviets. But that is such a form as cannot be called into life at any moment. At the second world congress we had a special resolution on the conditions for the creation of Soviets. Read them through again. There