

already in the hands of the Wahabits. King Hussein and his family have been compelled to flee to the sea-port town of Jidda. English warships were dispatched to this port in order to protect the lives and property of the English inhabitants and in the event of the town being captured by the Wahabits, to provide a refuge for the king and his family.*

There has been put forward as a motive for the attack of the Wahabits, the anti-Hussein influence of the Mohammedan fanatics from India and, on the other hand, French machinations. It is pointed out from other sources that England, after having "ruled" Transjordan, wishes to "help" in the same way the "royal" Hussein and his wife. In any event there are imperialist influences which must lose the long-expected fratricidal war in Arabia, upon the issues of which depends the future development of Arabian politics.

OBITUARY

Anatole France.

By Victor Serge.

After a long life filled with work, enlightened with brilliant thought and profound joy, after the life of a sage, which was almost as harmonious as his prose, Anatole France has closed his eyes for ever. With him there departs one of the greatest bearers of the culture of the XIX. century who has died, having outlived the hopes of his time, on the threshold of an infinitely harsher century.

Anatole Thibault chose that his works should bear the name of his native country, and became one of the most prominent representatives of French pre-war culture, one of the purest upholders of the fame of European culture before Tannenberg, Verdun, the Somme, the Skagerak. We mourn over a poet and a culture, over a sage and over a magnificent illusion.

Through all his equally clear and over-refined shades of thought, Anatole France, in his technique as precise as scientific thought, penetrated by the clear positivism which was founded by the philosophers of the 18th Century, clothed with faultless elegance, the philosophy of a class which had reached its highest point, and having captured the world also believed it understood it, and as it felt itself to be the victor could afford to be generous.

From 1871 to 1914, between the time of the slaughtering of 30,000 Paris proletarians and the great war, the French bourgeoisie in over forty years of peace reached the summit of prosperity. The catastrophe which marked the end of the second empire had been forgotten; the blood on the wall of the Federal empire had become faint. The Third Republic built up its colonial empire, grew proud of its social achievements, converted Paris into the most magnificent capital of the capitalist world, where

* According to the latest telegrams Hussein has abdicated.

dividends appear to be certain, where the division of the world takes place without any great disturbance, where democracy, the sciences, the arts, literature and socialism promise the poor a slow but peaceful and almost comfortable advance into the future collectivist society. In the meantime, however, behind the screen of radical ministers, the financiers with machiavelian cunning, but at the same time with incredible blindness, are preparing the end of this world. The spirit of this epoch is reflected with all its treasures in the works of Anatole France. The poet perceives behind the hopes of his time the black wall of reality. One reads the tragic closing pages of his "Ile des Pingouins" (Penguin Island): "Million of mortals in the gigantic city."

In order to embody an epoch on this vast scale, one must be very great oneself. What, however, renders the greatness of Anatole France in many respects so valuable to us, what often lifts his work beyond the limits of the era of peaceful capitalism and beyond the present epoch is, that he embodied a phase of modern culture in the most sublime and purest forms. The torment of a culture always has its gloomy lower regions: the torment of the enslaved, the blood and sweat of wage slaves, of those who are ground down in the factories, the torture of the barracks, the agony of toil. But over this, like the enormous pillars of a vast cathedral, the best men among the ruling class erect the sublime architecture of their thoughts; and if the whole cruelty of the regime is reflected therein, it is nevertheless reflected in magnificent form. With Anatole France, everything is permeated with the expectation and hope of betterment.

Vain expectation, futile hope! It is we who will create the better future and it will be an arduous task. Every step forward will have to be paid for by our class in suffering and in blood. Since we fully realise this, illuminated by the terrible conflagration of the world war and by the torch of revolution, we understand better what is immortal in the works of Anatole France: lost illusions, never again to be restored, remain therein with all the beauty and the whole force and ideas of a by-gone century.

Other human documents will likewise remain and give testimony to the characteristic features of the thought of our time. The scepticism of Anatole France when he turns to the past has oft-times attained to a height of realism which is pitiless towards all illusions. Pontius Pilate does not know Christ whom he has crucified. The French revolution shattered everything and mowed down heads under its iron law. To understand the past, to cause it to live again and thereby to expose many of the lies of the present, this to-day is peculiar to the socialist thinker.

"The Gods are Athirst". Upon this world there is no longer any place for the figures created by Anatole France, neither for Cranquebille, nor for M. Bergeret, nor for Jerome Cognard, and should they return they would come too late, they have outlived their time. The great artist who has just passed from our midst, the clever and good man, whose works will in the far off time be the apologists of the capitalist culture of the 19th century, carries in his frail and aged arms all that is best in democracy in its closing epoch.

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The International Communist Conference in Cologne.

Report of Proceedings.

On 9 October the II. Interparliamentary Conference was held at Cologne and was attended by delegates of the European Communist Parties.

Comrade Katz (Germany)

opened the Conference. He extended a welcome to the communist delegates from France, Belgium, England, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Switzerland, etc.; to the representatives of the Communist International, to the Rhenish factory councillors attending the Conference, and to all the workers who had hastened to their places of work to attend. Comrade Katz referred to the first Conference at Cologne, and to the international situation obtaining then and the present international situation.

The present Conference appeals to the proletariat of the Ruhr: Be prepared for the coming battles! This signal has already been given at the Rhine-Ruhr Conference on the previous day. The war cry is today being issued internationally, and the plan of battle is being worked out internationally. To combat in detail on measures for combatting the Dawes plan, to raise this opposition systematically to oppose the report of the expert robbers with the report of expert workers — this is our main task, and one which is above all closely bound up with the struggle against capitalist terrorist justice.

On behalf of the proletariat of Cologne,

Comrade Winterich

expressed the welcome extended by the proletariat to the representatives of the European Communist Parties.

Comrade Cachin (France)

drew attention to the titanic struggle being carried on by the Belgian miners (Borinage), many of whom have now been on strike for 17 weeks. He expressed the wish that the Conference should send greetings to the fighting Belgian miners.

After this the presidium was elected, comrades Cachin (France), Thomas (England), and Katz (Germany) being chosen.

The agenda was then announced:

1. The political situation. Speakers François (France) and Ruth Fischer (Germany).
2. Organisatory tasks. Speaker comrade Katz.
3. General discussion.

The Political Situation.

Comrade François

(representative of the Communist International):

I bring you the greetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and the best wishes of the Executive Committee for united co-operation and good results.

At the V. World Congress the political situation, regarded internationally, was characterised as a period of democratic

pacifist illusions. This opinion has undergone certain changes during the last few months. The most essential sign of this may be seen in the fact that in England, the centre of pacifism, the "democratic" labour government headed by MacDonald has broken down after nine months of office. Besides this, we may observe revolutionary struggles in the most important countries. A further important symptom is the national revolutionary struggle going on in many colonised countries: in Morocco, India, Afghanistan.

Please Note, New Address!

The new address of the Inprecorr. to which all communications should be sent is:

Vienna IX., Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213.

The great wages struggles in Germany, though defeated by the treachery of the reformists, nevertheless prove that the German workers are capable of offering resistance to their oppressors.

All this shows that we are emerging from the period of manifestoes and demonstrations, and entering into a period of vital struggles.

In order to recognise the tasks set us, we must obtain a clear idea of the international political situation.

Where are the roots of American "pacifism" are: The decisive driving forces of American "pacifism" are: 1. the agrarian crisis, 2. the superfluity of gold.

The weak purchasing power of the markets of the European continent has caused a surplus production in America greatly endangering the profits of the American capitalists. In order to create fresh markets, America is forced to intervene in European affairs. America adopted a policy of intervention once before, during the war, when production had received a tremendous stimulus. And now in the Dawes report, towards dictatorship in Europe.

But there exist very colonial imperialist states themselves, plans of a dictatorship. Or policy.

The antagonism between more and more acute. It is pound.

The conflicts once more of different kinds. In Great Britain, the revolutionary movements. England on the question of petroleum. The petroleum question will be approaching, ever nearer.

Besides the petroleum dependence of the British empire, the present position is before the war. The British has a tendency to decay. The dependence, the dominions. There are groups in more on America's side than all over the world is threatened. The fact naturally gives rise in bound to lead to the agrarian

American capitalism is dictatorship over Europe and its plan. Europe is to become England is striving to conquer itself. The interests of America again in conflict.

On the other hand, Ireland, France and England.

For France the combination of the mineral ores of French Lorraine is an economic necessity. And a Franco-German trust signifies a severe blow to English industry.

In France itself, voices are being raised against a rapprochement to Germany. It is recognised that an agreement between France and Germany signifies a death blow to the Versailles treaty. England, again, has a powerful weapon in the question of the inter-allied debts, which hangs over the French bourgeoisie like the sword of Damocles. Thus two tendencies exist in France: alliance with England as a protection against Germany, and alliance with Germany as an offensive against England.

Thus the international political situation contains the germs of fresh conflicts, of new and tremendous crises.

The democratic pacifist era is specially characterised by the fact that English imperialism has been more energetic and active under MacDonald than at any time since the war. We only need recollect the attacks made on the strivings after national independence in the colonies. We are still in the midst of the offensive against China. We only need remember the "peace" imposed upon Afghanistan, Persia, and the Mossul area, or the Georgian adventure. On the very eve of its fall, the English labour government still refused the natives of the Sudan the right of self-determination.

Ever since 1917, the force backing up every endeavour towards national independence all over the world has been the

red flag of communism, for the oppressed peoples of the earth see the symbol of emancipation in the Russian revolution. In China, Afghanistan, Persia, etc., we witness the gathering of the masses beneath the red banner.

The press of the II. International has burst into a storm of indignation regarding the attempted putsch in Georgia. False reports have been spread broadcast. In point of fact, the whole affair was a weak attempt at a putsch on the part of the Menshevists. Now that the insurrection has proved a failure, the capitalist petroleum press proceeds to issue mutual reproaches for having participated in the putsch. The English petroleum press reproaches the French for their participation; the French press does the same to the English.

When Fimmen was in Moscow, he was commissioned by the II. International to make representations to the Soviet government on account of its "suppression" of the Georgian patriots. Fimmen, however, declared that he was not an agent of the petroleum press, and must decline to undertake such a mission. The Russian comrades are of the opinion that there can

TIGHTLY BOUND

The III. International, as the strongest power in the world, must not merely strike the balance of the proletariat against the terrorist regime exercised by the bourgeoisie. In particular, the international proletariat will not tolerate the brutal suppression of the German proletariat, at the hands of the German capitalist class and at the behest of the imperialist powers. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Comrade Ruth Fischer:

At this Cologne Conference we must not merely discuss general political questions, not merely strike the balance of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, but we must above all seek to find the political line which may serve as the basis of common action in the Communist Parties. We are here as the representatives of parliamentarism, but it is perfectly evident that we cannot carry out even a parliamentary action, limited though this is, without possessing the broad proletarian masses as our basis.

The great MacDonald has tripped and fallen over the line of the communist Campbell — this is a symbol. The MacDonalds of the future will stumble over the communists, and over events will occur in a very different manner later on. The latest events in England are indeed highly instructive. The English bourgeoisie has been able to overthrow MacDonald because it was able to point out the lack of results attained by the English labour government: No crisis has been removed, and unemployment has not been diminished in the least degree. This development should

surely suffice to expose the pacifist lies of the Menshevists of every country.

But at the same time the situation in Germany is extraordinarily complicated, and this complication is expressed in the events connected with the changes in the government. That which we now see going on before our eyes signifies nothing more nor less than the birth throes of a government which considers the pacifist masquerade to be no longer necessary or possible for Germany, and which intends, after the experience won in six years of acutest class war, to convert brutal force into a system. In Germany there is a broad and steadfast mass of working people who are not to be caught by any pacifist or democratic windle. These masses represent a constant threat against the bourgeoisie, and thus cause the bourgeoisie to employ the most brutal and ruthless means of suppression.

Since the Dawes Plan was agreed upon, unemployment has steadily increased. Here in the Rhenish industrial area one enterprise after another is being closed down. The capitalist press demands the complete and universal abolition of the eight hour day as a prerequisite for the carrying out of the Dawes Plan. This is the trend of affairs in Germany. The position

In Germany we have not limited ourselves to the economic struggle against the Dawes Plan, but have sought at the same time to oppose the workers' report to the robbers' report.

The draft of a socialisation law drawn up by the Communist Reichstag fraction appears to us to be a valuable fulcrum for this purpose. In economic struggles we must look further ahead than the immediate question, we must openly pursue our aim of socialisation and taking over of power.

We propose that the international slogans of the struggle against the Dawes Plan shall, at this Cologne conference, be made the planks of one platform and that this shall be the platform of the workers. Certain premises for this are furnished us by the trade union congress at Hull, which places the nationalisation of the railways and mines first among its resolutions. To be sure we know very well how much this signifies from the lips of the British Menshevists, but still we may declare that fundamentally we cannot demand anything else than the Hull congress demanded, — the further question for us being the ways and means towards the attainment of these aims. We set great value on creating a Cologne platform in opposition to the Dawes platform.

The platform is of course concerned with the interests of the proletariat. But in view of the agrarian crisis in France and of the similar situation in France, we must address to the workers a few words to the small holders, who have fallen into great difficulties. Thus the Cologne Conference must confine itself to the industrial workers, but must include the small holders in its sphere of influence. The Dawes Plan is a small holders as it concerns the industrial workers. The results of the Cologne Conference must not consist in the general acceptance of the conclusions arrived at in discussions, but in the serious consideration of the question that is to be done practically, organisatorically? For we submit a plan of common agitation, of interconnected proclamations, of a common campaign. We must at the close of this campaign there will be a trade union conference in Paris, and that the results of this will be decided by the workers of all countries.

The Cologne Conference is for us not an end, but the beginning of an awakening against imperialism, against the capitalists, against the Dawes Plan.

Another point symptomatic for the situation in Germany is the bourgeoisie and its lackeys wish to crown the Dawes Plan by a complete separation of the German workers from the Russian. Hence the campaign of agitation against the Dawes Plan, in which the German Social Democratic Party has been engaged, is all it has hitherto attained in slander and calumny. In view of such an agitation even a war offensive of the proletariat against Soviet Russia is not impossible — as an example of the "pacifist" era.

The whole of the movements observable in the German proletariat during the last few weeks give the general impression that the defeat of last autumn is being followed by the outbreak of a powerful defensive action of the workers against the Dawes agreement. Great excitement prevails among the metal workers and miners of the Ruhr valley, in some places the workers have left work after putting in eight hours. And now the facts are showing the railwaymen the truth of what we told them months ago.

We are fully convinced that if this Cologne Conference fulfils its task, on an international scale, of organising the struggle against the Dawes Plan, of formulating the economic tactics for combatting it, and of laying down lines of systematic common action, then it will be a landmark on the road to the victory of the proletariat and the realisation of the revolution! (Continuous applause.)

On the suggestion of comrade Katz, the second point of the agenda was set aside, the hour being already very late, and there being no actual necessity for the discussion, as the material referring to the separate organisatory questions had been placed at the disposal of the delegates, and various points are to be debated in detail.

Comrade Katz informed the Conference that a number of workshops have sent greetings to the Conference, and that a Dutch comrade had arrived to take part in the Conference.

Resolutions were received from various organisations, protesting against class justice and against the Dawes Plan. The Conference then entered upon the

General Discussion.

Comrade Cachin (France):

In the name of the French delegation I can assure you of their complete agreement with the views expressed here, and to the decisions resulting on these. We too are of the opinion that the struggle against the Dawes Plan is the first and most important task of the Communist International.

In France we have been carrying on a powerful struggle against the colonisation of Germany, both in Parliament and in the press. But the time has now come to give our opposition a practical form. We in France have special inducements to do so, for we are ourselves experiencing that the Dawes plan is not directed against the German proletariat alone, but that the whole international proletariat will feel its effects.

A few plain facts serve to demonstrate this. France owes enormous sums to American and English capital. Anglo-American capital placed large sums at the disposal of not only the state, but of the cities as well, so that the railways have become financially dependent on America to a wide extent. An American financier, Hurley, recently proposed a Dawes Plan for France: a plan proposing that France should reduce her debt by partially handing over her railways and sea transports to America. From this we see that France is already as financially dependent on America as Germany is. When the French proletariat enters the struggle in defence of the German proletariat, it defends its own rights at the same time.

In order to be able to carry on this common struggle unitedly, we must devote all our energy to enhancing the intimacy of the relations between the French and German proletariats. Recently, during the International Week, we organised more than 200 meetings with German speakers, who received an enthusiastic welcome from the French workers everywhere. Our next task is to organise an energetic agitation for the liberation of the political prisoners in the Rhine and Rhur areas, and for the evacuation of the occupied territory. And then, above all, we must prepare ourselves to resist the offensive against Soviet Russia. The Georgian affair was the first move. The agents of the international bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, who instigated the rising, have their headquarters in Paris — the more reason for us to make special defensive preparations.

Further, the Polish minister of finance recently demanded from the French government a credit of more than 500,000,000 francs for the purpose of financing the attack on Soviet Russia. It is characteristic that the French government, under pressure from American finance, is sabotaging the recognition of Soviet Russia.

For us in France the question of the colonies is of special importance. Thousands of workers from the colonies are working in French factories. We have taken up active agitation and fraternisation action, in order that these proletarians from the colonies may be enlightened, and may become conscious class fighters, who will then unfurl the banner of revolution in their native lands.

The Communist Party of France is making excellent progress, and is extending its influence among the masses. We in France shall do everything necessary towards leading the French proletariat, together with the German proletariat, into the common struggle against the enslavement of the international proletariat, and for the world revolution. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Comrade Tom Bell (England):

The C.P. of England is in full agreement with the propositions made at this Conference. In the present political situation a struggle against the Dawes Plan is the sole possible policy for us. The C.P. of England is at the same time solid with the campaign against class justice in Germany.

For the C.P. the political situation has been rendered extremely favourable by the fall of MacDonald. There has never been so favourable an opportunity for the development of a revolutionary mass party in England as now. English capitalism has not recovered since the war. The number of unemployed runs on an average to two millions. At the same time capitalism has so developed in the colonies that these are already able to enter into industrial competition with the mother country. For this

reason England is no longer able to send her unemployed to the colonies.

The democratic pacifist wave which passed over Europe permitted the Labour Party to come into power in England. It was not by accident that precisely MacDonald, who has invariably stood for the democratic pacifist standpoint, became the head of this government. This was quite consciously desired by the bourgeoisie, for it was aware that MacDonald stood for the restoration of capitalism, and it was anxious that the ever-growing Labour Party should be discredited in the country.

MacDonald wanted to persuade the British workers that his pacifist democratic course would lessen unemployment. The recognition of Soviet Russia and the conclusion of various commercial agreements were to effect this. But although a slight diminution of unemployment was observable at the commencement of his term of office, this was speedily replaced by gradual but steady increase in the number of unemployed. And he has suffered equal shipwreck in his endeavours to bring about peace. He accepted the Dawes Plan, although considerable opposition was expressed among the English working people. The English workers feel that a reduction in the standard of living of the German workers is likely to involve the reduction of their own.

During his nine months of office MacDonald has shown that he is as imperialist as Lloyd George. The bourgeoisie has now got everything out of him which it can hope to get, and so now the campaign against him begins. Even in the question of the Russian Treaty MacDonald was anxious to make concessions to the financial world. He wanted to make the treaty with Russia, not because Russia is a proletarian state, but because he expected the English capitalists to earn great profits from it. Despite this, the English financiers were opposed to the treaty, for they knew that the English worker was to be employed for stabilising economics in Russia; and they knew that this stabilisation would signify at the same time the strengthening of the revolutionary forces of Central Europe. The Communist Party tore the veil from MacDonald's democratic pacifist phrases. The Anti-War Week brought great success to our Party. MacDonald replied with an offensive against the Communist Party. The last conference of the Labour Party resolved that no communist may be a Parliamentary candidate of the Labour Party. It was even resolved that a member of the English CP cannot be at the same time a member of the Labour Party. This decision will take special effect in the trade unions, and is a further proof of the splitting intentions of the II. International.

During the special recruiting week large numbers of members were added to the Party.

After this Comrade Katz informed the Conference that delegates were taking part in the Conference, as follows: 55 from Germany (20 deputies), 3 from England, 8 from France (5 deputies), 1 from Italy (deputy), 2 from Belgium, 1 from Holland, 2 representatives of the Youth International, 2 representatives of the Executive, and 2 representatives of the German CV.

Letters of greeting from several factories were now read. Among others, a representative of 50,000 state employed miners greeted the congress.

It was resolved to send a telegram of greeting to the striking miners of the Borinage area.

Comrade Rossi (Italy):

I declare myself prepared, on behalf of my comrades, to vote unconditionally for the decisions here made.

There can be no doubt but that the combatting of the colonisation of Germany, the fight against the enslavement of the German proletariat is, the most important international political task of the Communist Parties of all countries. Although the Italian Party cannot undertake much, we shall none the less carry out all the measures here decided upon, or at least make the attempt.

Our Party is developing. We have already 25,000 party members, and our central organ, the "Unità" publishes an edition of 40,000. We are fully aware that we may be subjected to greater oppression, but we are on the upward road, and therefore our hopes are unshakable.

Comrade Wieser (Switzerland):

Although Switzerland is a typical neutral country, still even the Swiss working class feels the direct effects of the Experts' Report. It will be impossible for any working class to maintain the eight hours day if this is abolished in Germany for any length of time. For some time strikes have been going on amongst us, and these are for the most part directed against longer working hours. In spite of the fact that the plebiscite held in February decided by a two thirds majority against the abolition of the eight hour day, at the present time almost half of our workers are obliged to work nine or ten hours. A second question is the financial consequences of the Experts' Report. Switzerland is to contribute about 75 millions to the 800 millions of the loan. In consequence of this loan, which is put up for subscription on very favourable terms, mortgage interest and house rents will rise.

Our Party is in entire agreement with the decisions made here.

Comrade Stefan (Youth International):

The Working Youth will be the chief sufferer from the consequences of the Experts' Report. The German government is preparing a so-called work conscription law, which is to compel the youthful worker to work for one or two years entirely without wages. The Communist Party may be assured that the Youth will support it in its struggles by every endeavour and exertion. Our slogan must be: the Dawes Plan must not be carried out. When carrying on the campaign for the liberation of political prisoners, we must remember that 2000 Youth comrades are languishing in the prisons of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Taussik (Czecho-Slovakia)

declared that the Czech CP is in agreement with all decisions arrived at at this Conference. The proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia suffers equally with the proletariat of Germany. Now that our republic has existed for five years, our working class has come to the conclusion that our republic is merely a colony of Central European capital. Anarchy prevails in our country, both with respect to production and consumption. The number of unemployed is enormous, and only a very small fraction of these receive unemployed benefit, a dole too small to live on and too large to die on. The difficulty in finding markets has caused many enterprises to close down. To this must be added that the coalition government, though consisting in part of social democrats, is anxious to cast the 80 milliards of war debts on to the shoulders of the working population.

The Communists, the sole party carrying on a revolutionary struggle against the government, are subjected to the severest persecution. The press is suppressed. But this only results in an increase of influence of our Party among the masses.

Comrade van Overstraeten (Belgium)

expressed on behalf of the Belgian Party his entire agreement with the views on the political situation expressed in the speeches.

In Belgium the effects of the Dawes Plan are already being felt. The mine owners are seizing the pretext of the increasing competition of German coal, and are forcing wage reductions of 5 to 10% upon the Belgian mining proletariat. The miners of the Borinage area have been struggling heroically for months against this brutal attack. The Belgian Party has been able to combine the Borinage strike with the struggle against the Dawes Plan.

Today we are able to state that the Communist movement is growing in Belgium. The discontent of the proletariat increases more and more. A left wing has formed within the social democratic party. In the trade unions a violent struggle is being carried on against reformism by the oppositional "Chevaliers du Travail".

We shall do our utmost to lead the Belgian proletariat into the combat against the enslavement of the German and international proletariat.

Comrade Lakerveld (Holland):

We fully agree with the proposition that the struggle against the Dawes Plan must be an international struggle. The Dutch proletariat will also receive its share of the burdens imposed on workers by the capitalists in the Dawes Plan. We Dutch Communists are entirely agreed that we are confronted by a great international fight against this predatory plan, and that this

fight must be led by the proletarian vanguard, the Communist World Party. We must place the struggle for unity in the trade unions in the foreground.

Finnish actions in Soviet Russia have been of great and favourable significance for us in Holland. We have been able to include the revolutionary struggles in the Dutch colonies in the movement at home, and have here placed the struggle against the cruelty of Dutch class justice in Java in the foreground. In Holland we are only a small section of the CI., but we shall perform our duty in exerting every endeavour to lead the Dutch proletariat into battle against the Dawes plan. (Applause.)

Comrade Remmele (Germany)

described the definitive object and character of the terrorist justice exercised in Germany by the capitalists:

In Germany we see that a not completely revolutionary movement claims more victims than an openly revolutionary storm attack of the proletariat. This was shown by the events following last autumn. During the past half year indictments have been brought against 18,000 revolutionary workers; 7000 and more lie in the prisons. After the fighting in Hamburg 160 workers were condemned to a total of 424 years penal servitude, etc., and there are still about 250 awaiting sentence there. Between the beginning of July and the middle of September alone, over 1700 workers were sentenced to almost 1200 years of penal servitude, prison, and detention. During the 60 years of the labour movement there have not been so many years penal servitude imposed as during the last six months.

What are the motives for this abuse of justice? The government of the Reich has itself given the explanation, the object of this terrorist juridical campaign is to wipe out the revolutionary movement in Germany. The German bourgeoisie knows very well that it has merely a brief pause for breath between two revolutionary waves. Thus it resorts to systematic terrorist justice in expectation of renewed revolutionary storms. The preparations being made by the bourgeoisie for civil war are characterised by the same methods as preceded the preparation and beginning of the world war: Unheard of campaigns of lying and slander are being carried on. The bourgeoisie is aware that the new policy of fulfilment will end in an even more catastrophic collapse than that which followed the Ruhr war, the end of the policy of non-fulfilment. Thus the attempt to throttle the revolutionary movement, thus the atrocities of German class justice.

The proletarian campaign for the liberation of the prisoners cannot be conducted in pacifist and humanitarian tones; it must be carried on with the revolutionary consciousness that nothing but the might of the proletariat can and must break down the prison walls. (Loud applause.)

This ended the discussion.

The whole of the appeals and resolutions submitted to the Conference were passed unanimously.

Comrade Katz (concluding words):

To the fighting plans of the exploiters of all countries we have opposed the fighting plan of the workers. We have laid down the lines of our tactics in the struggle against the Dawes Plan. The Dawes Plan must not be carried out. It must be shipwrecked on the will of the German working class, of the proletariat of all countries. Today we have proclaimed the slogans. The delegates sent by the works and factories have demonstrated that the masses are standing shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Parties. Progress is being made on the Rhine and in the Ruhr. Progress is being made in Germany, progress is being made in every country, progress is being made in the Communist International!

Rebellion is growing in every country, and defensive forces are growing in every country too. The prestige of Soviet Russia gains daily in the eyes of the poor and oppressed of the whole world, whilst the power of capitalism is shaken. The workers look to the Russian Soviet power and to the III. International.

The Communist International, the Communist Party of Germany, the sister Parties in all other countries, the world revolution — long may they live!

The members of the Conference rose to their feet, joined enthusiastically in the cheering, and sang the "International". With this the Cologne Conference closed at 6 o'clock in the evening.

Resolution and Appeals passed by the Cologne Conference.

Decision of the International Conference held at Cologne on 9. October 1924.

The representatives of the Communist Parties of England, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia, met together at Cologne on 9. October, and have subjected the Dawes report and the London Agreement to a detailed examination with reference to the extent in which the interests of the working class are taken into consideration in this report and agreement. After a thorough examination the whole of those present have come to the conclusion that the London Agreement, based on the Dawes Plan, is nothing more nor less than a treacherous attack upon the vital interests of the world proletariat. The execution of the Dawes Plan will make itself felt very shortly in the economic circles of the three main countries: France, England, and Germany.

The participants in the Conference have therefore consulted upon the best means of helping the workers in their countries in their frightful social and economic position. The whole of those present are fully convinced that the London Plan must be opposed by an entirely different plan.

This other plan consists of socialisation, of the expropriation of the mines, banks, and big industrial undertakings, of the nationalisation of large land estates and housing. These socialised undertakings are then to be placed under the control of workers' and employees' organisations. This socialisation can only be secured by the dictatorial power of a workers' government, and by our alliance with Soviet Russia.

In order to insure immediate security for the existence of the working class in face of the capitalist offensive and the

devastating results of the experts' policy, the following minimum demands are to be striven for:

1. Security that the working hours for workmen, employees, and officials, does not exceed eight hours per day and 44 hours per week at most.

2. Security that wages at least maintain a minimum of existence (for Germany at the present time M. 65 per week for workers, employees, and officials).

3. Security that all persons capable of working can find work, counter-attack of capitalist sabotage by workers' control of production.

4. Adequate provision, to the amount of a living wage, for the unemployed, for workers when ill, and for pensioners entitled to accident, old age, and war pensions.

5. Security that all workers in town and country are provided with habitations worthy of human beings.

6. Security that the working population is adequately nourished.

7. Exemption from taxation for all whose income does not exceed a living wage.

8. Cancellation of the indirect taxation borne by the proletariat, security of small holders from the brutal taxation of capitalism.

The working class of all countries, if it is to secure its existence, must exert its utmost endeavours to prevent the criminal plan of the Experts of International big capital from being put into execution.

To the Workers of all Countries!

The last veils are being torn from the pacifist democratic phase of imperialism. The civil war and imperialist intervention in China, the insurrection in the Sudan, the cruel campaign of the Spanish generals against the colonial slaves of Morocco, the feverish continuation of the military armaments in America, in England, and in France all this serves to reveal to the broad masses the true character of democratic pacifism: It is a gathering of the forces of imperialism for a fresh world war, the introduction to mighty and wide-spread struggles among the capitalist classes of America, England, and France, for the dominance of the world.

America stands at the head of the imperialist powers. It is preparing to deal decisive blows against England and France for the sake of dominance in Europe, and against Japan for the sake of dominance in the Far East. The irreconcilable antagonism between the English and French bourgeoisies permit American capital to take the leading place in the colonisation of Germany. American imperialism is beginning to collect the war debts owed by France and England. The American agent for the German reparation payment will speedily become the hailfiend sent to collect the inter-allied debt to America. But American imperialism wants to grasp the whole world. Its greedy arms are stretched out towards the Far East. The enslavement and oppression of the countless millions of the Chinese people are one of its first aims. And its ultimate aim is to surround Soviet Russia, to throttle and paralyse it in a fresh imperialist blockade. The deadly hate against Soviet Russia, the fortress and symbol of proletarian revolution, is the unalterable principle common to imperialist international policy, and remains unchanged by any imperialist competitive struggles. On the horizon of the battlefield of history the shadow of the coming struggle between world imperialism and Soviet Russia is slowly rising, and is assuming the mighty dimensions of the last decisive battle between Capital and Labour, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The path pursued by imperialism leads through the hell of unceasing repetitions of economic crises. From month to month the insolubility of the reparation problem becomes more and

more evident. Though the Dawes Experts' Report has placed Germany completely under the yoke of American-imperialist imperialism, the London Conference already served to show that there is no possibility of a peaceful distribution of the spoils. The coming autumn and winter will be dominated by a renewed crisis in production and sales. The failure of the crops in many parts of the world, and the international agrarian crisis, render the spectre of famine a sad but certain expectation among the working peoples of the world. The mass unemployment in Germany, in England, and in Czecho-Slovakia, is increasing more and more. In the coming famine-winter unemployment will reach a still higher point. The proletariat of the whole world and above all the German working class, is confronted by a fresh capitalist offensive. Already the blows are falling as they do as hail upon the German working class. Reduction of already miserable wages, fresh taxes, closing down of works, higher prices for daily bread, — these are the effects being felt in Germany we see a faithful mirror of the cruel absurdity of capitalist anarchy; ten and twelve hour days, work and simultaneous mass unemployment.

The Experts' Report makes the German proletariat the first and immediate point of attack for the capitalist classes of all countries. But as soon as the first stages of the Experts' Plan have been realised, then its effects will fall with equal severity upon the English, French, and American proletariats, upon the workers of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. The struggle against the Experts' Plan is not merely a German affair, it is a struggle of the revolutionary proletariat of all European and American countries.

It is solely in the organising and revolutionising of the struggles that the European proletariat can create the prerequisites for the destruction of the capitalist dictatorship and the establishment of its own power. The working class has but one friend in its struggle against the Dawes bandits: Soviet Russia. Not only because Soviet Russia is the natural ally of the world class against the bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie would also like to crown its imperialist work by placing even the

proletarian state under the Dawes yoke. Soviet Russia has defied for seven years the predatory imperialism of the whole world. It will continue to be an immovable rock amidst the surf of capitalist greed for profit and robbery.

With Soviet Russia against the Dawes robbers! This must be the slogan of the revolutionary struggle for existence and power.

In addition to the bourgeoisie of all countries, the united imperialist front comprises two other inexorable foes of the working class: the League of Nations and the II. International.

The League of Nations is above all the organ of imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia. With its aid the II. International instigated the Georgian putsch, as harmonious accompanying music to the guarantee pact and security resolution, to disarmament and international peace. The League of Nations is the new holy alliance against the proletarian revolution. It constitutes the most determined and dangerous conspiracy of the most avaricious capitalist robbers against the working class struggle for emancipation.

Its agent in the ranks of the working class is the II. International, the International of MacDonald, the bloody executioner of the masses of Chinese and Hindu toilers.

The II. International continues to regard as its special task the support and realisation of capitalist plans against the working class. It substitutes the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx and Engels by the Experts' Reports of American capitalists. It is the leader of the agitation against Soviet Russia. It is the hereditary enemy of the working class, and persecutes its sole party, the Communist International, with all the hate and rage which only a traitor to a cause can feel. The leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International are its willing disciples, and paralyse every economic struggle on the neutrality, besides acting as the policeman of financial capital, and mercilessly bludgeoning any proletarian resistance against the slave dictates of London and New York.

But its power over the working masses is beginning to wane. Broad masses, who have hitherto willingly followed the treacherous leadership of the reformists, are now beginning to rebel. The events which have taken place in the English trade union movement, the growing impulse within the German and English working class towards the restoration of international and national unity — these are symptoms of the awakening of class consciousness in the European proletariat. The congress of the English trade unions at Hull, where the sabotage of the Amsterdamers failed to check the impulse of the English working masses towards trade union unity with the mass organisations of other countries, above all of Russia, is a mighty stride forward on the road of weary struggle for trade union unity.

The mighty capitalist offensive forces the broad masses of the workers along this road. The indispensable prerequisite for carrying on of the decisive battle is that the working masses gather together in the revolutionary struggle against the effects of the Dawes Plan, and determinedly pursue their aim of uniting the trade union movement all over the world.

Work unwearingly for the reestablishment of trade union unity, and direct your efforts, not only against the open saboteurs,

To the workers in the Occupied Territory!

Comrades!

The interparliamentary Conference of the Communist International sends to you, heroes of the class struggle, its revolutionary greetings. The proletariat in Germany, from the very beginning thrust upon you the heaviest burdens of its lost war. Since 1918 you have repulsed the attacks of your employers in a series of bitter struggles, until at last the poison of the reformist and Christian trade union leaders — after these leaders have regained away the seven hour shift behind your backs and have persuaded you that you should work overtime in the interests of your "fatherland" and of yourselves — have destroyed your united front, and paralysed your powers. The miners by working overtime have been disarmed, for the coal accumulating at the month becomes ammunition to be used against your rights as human beings.

Having brought you into this position, the bourgeoisies of Germany and France consider the right moment to have arrived for fighting out their own quarrels at your expense. The Ruhr followed with its frightful sufferings and devastating con-

but also against the half and half and vacillating elements among the leaders, who support the struggle for unity one day, under the pressure of the masses, only to combat it the next.

Workers! Comrades! Take up this struggle without any illusions or deceitful hopes. Never forget that trade union unity can only be brought about by your own inflexible will, by the united front of the proletariat which is plunged into the deepest wage slavery.

The programme of the proletarian united front is national and international unity in the trade unions, and war to the knife against the Experts' Report now forming the tool of the international Bandits of finance.

Instead of the colonisation and enslavement of Germany, China, and Russia, let us have the alliance of the exploited of all countries against the trusts and syndicates, against the bankers, stock jobbers, and speculators, against the draining of the economic wealth of these countries. Fight for the socialisation of the land, for the expropriation of the banks, mines, railways, and key industries. Work against the lengthening of working hours, mass unemployment, and starvation wages. Fight for the eight hours day, protection of youth and women, of the disabled victims of capital. But these struggles can only be carried on when the broad masses are becoming increasingly conscious that the struggle is to the death, that it is the struggle for the seizure of political power by the proletariat. No economic conquests are possible unless the political power of the bourgeoisie is destroyed. The power of imperialist financial capital can only live on the shattered lives of millions and millions of devastated proletarian and petty bourgeois. It sucks its power from the blood of the countless victims who fall on the battlefields of labour and of war. Proletarian power can only arise on the ruins of imperialism.

The Cologne Conference, held by the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, the Balkans, and Poland, calls upon the working class of every country to take part in this decisive battle for their own existence, for the destruction of capitalist power.

Our faith in the readiness to fight of the working class is unlimited and unshakable. The forces of proletarian struggle and victory must and will arise from the revolutionary battlefields of Europe, damped with the blood of innumerable proletarian victims.

The road to this revolutionary struggle leads at the same time to trade union unity!

Defend it and fight for it with your whole powers! Deadly hostility to all who sabotage this struggle, openly or secretly!

Close the ranks of the united front against every plan of capitalist enslavement!

Long live Soviet Russia, the stronghold of the proletarian struggle against imperialism!

Long live the Communist International!

The International Communist Conference, Cologne.

sequences for you and your families. And it ended with the alliance of German and French capital against you. Whilst you have fought for your work and your lives against capitalism and separatism, those who have endeavoured to lead you astray with nationalistic phrases have deserted into the ranks of those whom they had designated as the worst of enemies, and join these in falling upon you. At one time it was the "Micum", that general staff of heavy capital, which led the international of exploiters against you, and now it is General Dawes.

Your reformist and Christian leaders knowingly deceived you when they declared that the Dawes plan would remove from your shoulders the main burdens imposed by the Micum, and distribute these over the whole of Germany. What is the actual state of affairs? Your burdens have not been lessened, but unheard of burdens have indeed been imposed upon the whole proletariat of Germany, Eight and a half to nine hours for miners working underground, and twelve hours for surface workers — this is the intention of the amalgamated capitalist front and its governments, this and the sabotage of production, mass dismissals, and the renewed tortures of starvation. Tens

of thousands are to perish in unemployment or in the miseries of emigration, whilst the proletariat still engaged in production are to suffer the same fate in the midst of toil unworthy of human beings, and at starvation wages. This is the import of the imperialist "pacifism" whose praises are being sung in all flunkey newspapers. You are to be misused as robbers of work and undercutters of wages for your comrades in England, France, Belgium, and Holland.

Listen to the voices of your foreign comrades. They are fighting against the Dawes Plan, and they call upon you to hold fast to the seven hour shift underground and the eight hour shift for surface workers. They call upon you to fight for wages worthy of human beings, in your own interest and in the interest of the world proletariat. The reformist leaders in Germany are trying to prevent the international united front now forming among the miners all over the world; for the interests of the money bags, of their bourgeoisie, and the maintenance of their counter-revolutionary community of interests with the propertied classes, require that you are to be the coal coolies of the world. In the Ruhr valley they have already thrown eighty thousand miners into the streets, whilst the others have to work overtime to replace them.

The inter-parliamentary Conference notes with satisfaction your intention of holding a conference in collaboration with your comrades abroad, for the purpose of deciding common measures in the struggle. Be assured, comrades, that just as it is intended that you should become the object of exploitation for international capitalism, just as surely will your self-defensive struggle become the defence of the international mining proletariat. The miners of England have already issued an appeal, through their general secretary Cook, for the international struggle of all miners against the Dawes Plan, and for the reconquest of

Against the White Terror.

To the Workers and small Peasants of all Countries!
The bourgeoisie, which is not capable of providing work and bread for the working masses, is carrying on a brutal civil war against the working class in all countries. Revolutionary fighters are being cast in thousands into the dungeons of the bourgeoisie.

Counter-revolution is raging at its worst in Germany, Poland, and Bulgaria.

In Germany, in the period between January and May 1924 alone, 8980 persons were accused of "crimes" against the capitalist state of society; between July and the middle of September 1750 workers were sentenced. Sentences totally many thousands of years of deprivation of liberty were passed. In many prisons the revolutionists are martyred and ill-treated.

In Poland the revolutionary workers are subjected to the severest persecution. Communist workers are maltreated, or shot in the open street by the myrmidons of the Whites. Hundreds languish in the prisons into which they have been cast without a trial.

In Bulgaria the workers and peasants who resist the murderous terror of the Zankov government are imprisoned in thousands, in the prisons they are subjected to brutal ill-treatment.

The bourgeoisies of all countries find ready helpers in the exercise of their terror in the leaders of the II. International.

The social democrats, who take the part of the bourgeoisie in every struggle, do not come to the aid of these victims of shameful class justice, but even deride their sufferings: "You are being too mildly punished!" But on the other hand, Vandervelde, Jouhaux, Wels, Leparat, and their like, demand the liberation of those "revolutionists" who, acting in the service of petroleum and manganese capital, and being in the pay of Lloyd George, Poincaré, Zankov, or Pilsudski, have attempted to raise conspiracies against the Soviet power.

They dare to ask for an amnesty for the treacherous enemies of the first workers' and peasants' state. These socialists are fighting for the liberation of the servants of international imperialism, so that they may be able to renew their efforts against Soviet Russia and against socialism.

These socialists cry: Bravo! Bravo! Still more penal servitude, still more prison! when the bourgeoisie casts into prison the heroic revolutionary champions of socialism.

The bourgeois struggle is for the "to be or not to be" of its rule. It fears the fighting workers, it fears the rebellion of the starving masses.

the seven hour shift in Germany. For this they are decried by the German reformists as the agents of Russia. In these struggles you will recognise that capitalism must disappear, for it is no longer capable of securing a decent human existence for its most important group of slaves. The last attempt at patching up a capitalism which is falling to pieces at every joint this Dawes plan, will suffer shipwreck on your determination not to remain slaves, but to become free human beings. You know that from the very beginning the Communist International has fought against the Dawes Plan, and you may see from the persecution suffered by every section of the Comintern, in every capitalist country, that it has been fighting actively against the Dawes reaction. The Communist Party of Germany is your leader. Sever yourselves, once and for all, from your "tried and tested" leaders, who have betrayed you times out of number, and choose plain proletarians for your leaders.

At your conference on November 2, you must weld a firm fighting front of metal workers and miners, railwaymen and unemployed. Join those who are forced into the struggle. Do not permit the flunkeys of capital to scatter you, you hewers of lignite and coal, you railwaymen and officials! Fight determinedly and unitedly, and you will be victorious, though all the bloodhounds of capital be let loose upon you today. The European proletariat will break its chains, and wrest power from the criminal hands of capitalism. You are the strongest and the best tried army of the proletariat. The whole proletariat of the world looks towards you.

Long live the proletariat of the Rhine and Ruhr!

Long live the international struggle of the proletariat against the Dawes reaction.

Long live the struggle for the conquest of power!

It is trying to frighten you, you workers and poor peasants, so that you will endure starvation in patience. It wants to destroy your leaders. It wants to intimidate you, so that you do not follow the communists, or become communists yourselves.

It wants to weaken the fighting ranks of the communists to disintegrate and disperse them.

And it is trying to prepare the ground, by means of calumnious agitation against Moscow, for a fresh belligerent intervention against Soviet Russia.

The ruling class needs you, that you may starve for their profits; they need you, so that you may die heroically for their profits in the fresh wars which they are preparing. Twelve millions died in the great war.

Workers and peasants!

You are bound in the chains of the bourgeoisie. Tens of thousands of revolutionists are in their prisons. The class influenced courts of justice condemn you to starvation, to serfdom, to wholesale death.

The tens of thousands of revolutionary workers who fought for you are still defying the capitalist world from their prisons. The more they have to suffer, the higher rises the flame of their hate against the capitalists and their servants.

Follow their example! Recognise that every such class verdict increases and prolongs your misery! Fight for the liberation of the imprisoned revolutionists, fight for your own liberation!

The sufferings of the revolutionists are your affair. Protest in meetings and demonstrations against the terror of class justice, against the terror of the prison! Turn your backs on the social democrats, help to break their influence so that they are no longer able to aid the executioners suppressing revolution!

Down with the hypocrites of the II. International, who support the world bourgeoisie in its fight against Soviet Russia and the working class of every country!

Down with all the enemies of the workers and peasants!

Down with the enemies of the first workers' and peasants' state!

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

Long live the fraternal solidarity of the workers of the whole world!

Long live the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the working masses!

Long live the International Red Relief!

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The Lessons of MacDonaldism.

Speech of Comrade Zinoviev at the Opening of the Course of Instruction for Party Functionaries.

I should like to make a few observations regarding the most important question of world politics — the Anglo-Russian relations.

"Democracy" and MacDonald.

The MacDonald government took office about nine months ago. It was the day of the death of Vladimir Ilych. The whole Second International endeavoured to characterise the taking over of the government by MacDonald as a tremendously important historical event. One of the so-called "socialists", the "democratic" president of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, Masaryk, regarded it as symbolic that MacDonald entered office on the same day on which Vladimir Ilych died. He said:

"That is the replacement of one system by another." I noted in my diary on the 21st of January the news regarding the voting in the English Parliament, which decided the entry of MacDonald into office. On the 22nd of this month I noted the news of the death of Lenin. Lenin departed precisely on the day on which the vote took place in London over the new government. . . . In England, social democracy triumphed without a bloody revolution. In Russia it triumphed by means of bloody revolution. That is to say, in England Marxian tactics were victorious. But in England there triumphed the more mature Marx. The revolutionary job the "old tactics", the tactics of blood departed. The revolutionary of the "new" (bloodless) tactics arrived."

This idea is common to many statesmen of "democratic" Europe and of the whole II. International. They all believed that the entry of the Labour Party into office really opened up a new era, and that its rule would mean the greatest blow for the tactics of the Communist International. They wished clearly to demonstrate by the example of this event in England, the richest country in Europe, the advantages of the so-called peaceful democratic tactics of "constructive" socialism.

However the approaching elections may end, there is not the least doubt that they will mark a certain conclusion to the past nine months. MacDonald himself has for long been an apostle of petty-bourgeois, or, as he himself calls it, "constructive socialism". He was often ridiculed by Vladimir Ilych and subjected to a merciless and cutting criticism. The representatives of this "constructive socialism" have only overlooked a trifling thing, and that is, that MacDonald succeeded to power, not through the will of the working class, conscious of its interests and victorious over capitalism, but by the will of the bourgeoisie, and that therefore his rule could not be otherwise than extremely uncertain. Whenever Baldwin and Lloyd George seriously desired it, they only had to wink — and MacDonald was no more. Lloyd George and Baldwin have often attempted to beckon, not only with the eye, but also with money bags, warships and occupation troops in order to "remove", not a sham labour government, but the real workers' government of our country. They found it a more difficult job with us than with MacDonald.