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## The Ebert Slander Case.

By R. Albert.

There was a time when the German social democracy was the brain and the hope of the Labour International. There was at this time in the saddlers union an active man, who was certainly more inclined to a cautious policy of reform than to preparations for street fighting, but nevertheless was sufficiently eloquent and red: Fritz Ebert. Bygone times! What a foul vapour is more and more blotting out this glorious past of the greatest Party of the II. International is shown to us in a most striking manner by the trial in Magdeburg.

We had believed that we had seen and heard everything possible in Germany: the Reichstag vote of the 4th of August 1914. Scheidemann who agreed with the court flunkies that he and his Party should cry "Hoch der Kaiser" on the occasion of voting the war credits. Noske, who caused to be shot down the proletarians who had taken his own socialism seriously. The "Vorwärts", which incited the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the "Vorwärts" which clings to the official legend regarding this crime. The fascist Ehrhardt, who a year ago made the revelation that before offering the dictatorship to Kapp he offered it to Noske. The Social Democratic Party Executive which approved of the march of the reactionary Reichswehr into Red Saxony. And so many other execrable

things which have been spoken, written down, posted up, proclaimed and committed! So that we had to ask ourselves repeatedly: When will there be an end to this cesspool of iniquity?

No, it appears we have not yet seen everything, we have not yet learned everything. From this cesspool, still further stenches arise and mingle with the thick vapour which covers the memory of Bebel and the great founders of the German Social Democracy. This is shown by the trial which is now being held in Magdeburg.

A German Nationalist of the name of Rothardt now, after eight years, accuses the Reichs President Ebert of having, in January 1918, on the occasion of the great strike in the munition factories — the first great mass rising of the German workers against the imperialist slaughter, the true forerunner of the November revolution — declared that the general strike must be continued as it would shorten the war. Abominable calumny! The citizen Ebert starts an action for libel against the base slanderer.

Hindenburg, Ludendorff, Mackensen drove their last reserves of cannon-lodder into the slaughter. The empire cracked in

all directions, the realm began to collapse. The general strike in the munition factories in 1918 was a "wild" strike, instigated by spartacist agitators. When the strike broke out the social democratic Party Executive, of which Ebert was the chairman, joined in the strike and sent its representatives into the strike committee. These are the facts. Now witnesses appear before the reactionary judges, who sit there with malicious joy. It is a pleasure for these judges to see the good social democratic servants of the bourgeois order oscillating between treason to the old regime and treason to the working class.

President Ebert disclaims that he ever wished to shorten the war: that would be a contradiction of his whole past. The honest man smites his bosom: the witness Scheidemann will explain everything.

Scheidemann has done so. At the hearing of the trial on 11th December, he deposed that it was thanks to the social democratic Party that the Monarchy did not fall some months earlier than it did. "If we had not been on the strike committee, then this Court would probably not be sitting to-day, and the war and everything else, according to my firm conviction, would have been already settled in January 1918." These are the actual words of Scheidemann. The nationalist Court of Magdeburg is one of the Courts of plutocratic Germany, in which over 8000 proletarians are pining in prison. "You ought to be grateful to us" said Scheidemann. That is also our opinion.

Questioned by the President of the Court in a cynical manner regarding the influence of the social democrats at that time, Scheidemann evaded the answer and only said that if the social democratic Party had attempted to oppose the strike, it would have been like attempting to check an avalanche. In the further course of his evidence Scheidemann made a statement regarding a very interesting sitting of the social democratic Reichstag fraction on the 28th September 1918. In this sitting it was decided to participate in the then still existing imperial government of the lost war, and Scheidemann now related that when Ebert received the last news from the front, tears came into his eyes and he said, one must enter the government in order to save what still remains to be saved.

To save what? The dynasty? The Army? The Colonies? The shattered hopes of profitable annexations? The bourgeois order? To save what? Everything that can be saved at any price. Of course, with the exception of Socialism.

When Scheidemann was reminded that the strikers of January 1918 had put forward the demand for an amnesty, he pointed out that the Party Executive had rejected this in the same way as it today rejects that of the Communists. It never occurred to him that anybody having the least pretensions to honesty would, even though hypocritically, have made a distinction between the prisons of the Hohenzollerns and those of the Republic. It is true that we find practically no difference.

It would be worth while to follow all the statements of the witnesses word for word. After Scheidemann and Hermann Müller, came the turn of Dittmann, who, among other things, declared on oath, that the social democrats only entered the strike committee in order, by skillful negotiations, to bring about the resumption of work: in plain language, to sabotage the movement. That is true. One can fight the working class better from within than from without. Treachery is the sharpest weapon against it. The witness Wutschik, confessed to the lack of political influence of the social democratic Party Executive at that moment, which, as it was no longer able to lead, only had the possibility of betrayal; the witness stated that the strike had already been entered upon up to the last man when the Party Executive sanctioned it.

The trial is still proceeding. The exposure of social democratic betrayals promises still further revelations. For the present we will quote the concluding words of Scheidemann:

"If we had not entered the strike committee, then the 'Deutsche Zeitung' would not be in a position today to abuse me; a Tscheka would have come into existence which would have put an end to this paper and probably hanged me."

Scheidemann is right. But what did not happen in 1918 can still happen one of these fine days.

## POLITICS

### A Great Moral Victory of the C. P. of Germany.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

It was all in vain: the terrorist justice, the police actions, the mass arrests, the silencing of the communist members of parliament, the Dawes and stabilisation swindle. In spite of the terror, which reminds one of the elections under Stolypin or Mussolini, the C. P. of Germany on the 7th December received two and three quarter million votes. The C. P. of Germany remains the great mass Party of the German proletariat. If it could achieve such a result under such unfavourable conditions and such severe persecution, it shows that the C. P. of Germany is unconquerable.

If one examines the results in detail the result in Greater Berlin is simple astounding. It surpassed the expectations of the greatest optimists in our ranks. It was precisely in Berlin that the terror of the social democratic police authorities had been able to prevent any of our well-known comrades from speaking during the elections. In the election meetings sometimes the "greatest guns" of the Social Democratic Party had to be replied to in the discussion by our Communist Youth comrades. In addition to the abuse and calumnies, the whole press tried to make use of mass suggestion by continually repeating that the C. P. of Germany was dead. In spite of everything, the C. P. of Germany on the 7th December received in Greater Berlin 400,000 votes, that means it has maintained the level it reached on the 4th of May last.

In the suburb of Wedding, where the workers in the great industries are concentrated, we even polled 1200 votes more than on the 4th of May. The victory of the C. P. of Germany in Berlin is due to the unwearied organisatory and political work of our Berlin comrades. The furious campaign of the S. P. of Germany against the former Berlin Left wing in the C. P. of Germany and against the present Party leadership has availed nothing.

For the communists, of course, the various results of the elections are not of equal value. For us, the decision of the great industrial working class in the big cities and industrial centres are of the greatest importance. Therefore it is important for the whole future of the Party that it was victorious in Berlin. Hence also the result of the Hamburg elections is very remarkable. In Hamburg we have gained 10,000 votes as compared with the municipal elections at the end of October. The C. P. of Germany has maintained its position in the Central German industrial district of Halle-Merseburg. In the big industrial district of the Rhine (Düsseldorf), the majority of the proletariat stood by us; the same was the case in Upper Silesia. The fact that the C. P. of Germany has a firm hold on all these decisive districts is of enormous importance for the coming movements.

The more regrettable therefore is the defeat we have suffered in the Ruhr district. In this area, under the impression created by the evacuation of Dortmund, and influenced by all the talk regarding pacifism and stabilisation, 100,000 miners have gone over to the Social Democratic Party. Nevertheless we have received in this district, in the electoral division of Westphalia-South, 155,000 votes. Therefore, in spite of this local defeat, the C. P. of Germany is by no means "dead" in the Ruhr district. But the Party will put forth all its energies in order to retrieve this defeat and to win back among the Ruhr proletariat the position which is due to it and which it formerly possessed.

The increased vote polled by the Social Democratic Party in the rest of Germany was not, for the greater part, gained at the expense of the Communists, but came from the vacillating and indifferent workers who decided this time to vote for the Socialist Party, because they believe that a stable currency and the outward appearance of calm prevailing in Germany marks the beginning of capitalistic prosperity. It must be specially emphasised that the Social Democratic Party did not gain its votes by giving expression to oppositional tendencies, but by its attitude as a conservative Party, content with the existing state of affairs, and possessing a firm belief in German capitalism. That the growth of the social democratic vote was not gained at the expense of the communists is shown, for example, by the election result in Berlin, where the social democrats

polled a greatly increased vote without the Communist Party losing anything. But it will be impossible to persuade the German working people for long that the Dawes Plan will bring peace, prosperity and wealth.

Among the reasons which prompted the ruling classes to expedite the Reichstag elections, not the least was the fact that they knew that in another six months the disappointment of the deceived masses would have shown itself in quite another election result.

There still remains the interesting question whether the Social Democratic Party has succeeded in drawing to itself some of the remnants of the shattered fascist hordes. An examination of the detailed results of the election shows that this is not the case. A decisive proof in this respect is furnished by the electoral district of Franken, where in May last the fascists polled an enormous number of votes, but where at the same time, in Nuremberg etc., there exists a strong organisation of the Social Democratic Party. This time the fascists here have completely collapsed, but their loss has been in favour of the German Nationalists; the Social Democratic Party gained nothing from them.

Throughout all Germany we have lost about a million votes as compared with May last. Of this million it is possible that a third, especially in the occupied districts, have gone over to the Social Democrats, whilst two thirds have this time, for various reasons, abstained from the polls. How much greater the influence of the C. P. of Germany is even to-day than in the year 1921, immediately after the amalgamation of the Spartacus Bund with the left Independent Socialist Party, is shown by the Prussian election results. In the last Prussian Diet, which was elected in 1921, some time after the founding of the united Communist Party, we had 27 seats. In the present Diet, which was elected on December 7., the same day as the Reichstag elections, we have at least 44 seats.

In the same way as the positions of the Party have been maintained among the industrial workers, so have we also held our own in the rural districts, where the Party already enjoys sympathy. Especially welcome was the election of the communist representative in agrarian Pomerania. Among the 80,000 communist voters in East Prussia, there are doubtless a great number of poor peasants. The comrade elected in Baden has also received a great number of peasants' votes.

The C. P. of Germany emerges from this election struggle with the firm conviction that the line of the V. World Congress and of the Frankfurt Party Conference is the only correct and possible one. Where the election result has shown shortcomings in our equipment the Party will exert the necessary energy to mend matters. The C. P. of Germany is and remains the Party of the class conscious workers of Germany. That is the import of the election result. The German Federation of Industry will nominate the new government, which the Reichstag must meekly recognise. In the fight against the concentrated power of German big capital, which can at the same time rely upon the support of foreign capital and upon the black-red-gold social democrats, the C. P. of Germany will this winter and in the coming year have to defend the vital interests of the German proletariat. In the approaching great economic struggles which must arise from the carrying out of the Experts' Plan, the Party will, after its fiery test of 7th December, march forward reinvigorated and with unshakable confidence.

### The English Trade Union Delegation in Georgia.

The English Trade Union Delegation at the Session of the Enlarged Trade Union Council of Georgia.

At the Session of the Enlarged Trade Union Council of Georgia, held on the 2nd December, Comrade Purcell conveyed the fraternal greetings of the English proletariat and said:

"It is our task to annihilate that abominable campaign of lies against the Soviet Union and that net of lies which entangles the working class of the whole world. The working class demands a final solution of the question of the unity of the labour movement. I believe that the self-sacrifice, the discipline and the steadfastness of the working class of the Soviet Union will help to realise this unity in order to conduct the fight against world capitalism with united forces."

Comrade Ben Tillet declared: "When the delegation set out for Georgia, some of my nearest friends said that Georgia at present presents a picture

of anarchy and murder, that 500,000 members of the red Army are suppressing the liberty of Georgia, threatening women and children with the bayonet, and that as a result all Georgia is seething with discontent.

After having become acquainted with the situation in Georgia on the spot, we became convinced that the bourgeois lies emanate from white guardist sources.

For Curzon and Churchill the Russian Revolution is an outrage. They represent the Bolsheviki as brute beasts. But we found them to be human beings. Instead of the "nationalisation of women", we find that nowhere is the woman so protected and nowhere does she enjoy such rights as in the Soviet Union. The Russian proletariat is engaged in such a work of reconstruction as we have never been able to find outside the frontiers of the Red Republics. The Russian Trade Union movement is full of life and energy. The great solidarity upon which your work is based will conquer the whole world.

### Interview between the English Trade Union Delegates and Former Georgian Mensheviki.

On the 3rd of December the English trade union delegation had an interview with a group of former Mensheviki, among them being: Farinev, Ruchadze, Dzamanashvili.

The members of the delegation questioned them regarding the cause of their leaving the Menshevist Party. To the question of comrade Bromley, as to who had promised them support from abroad, Dzamanashvili replied: "MacDonald, Snowden, Tom Shaw, Vandervelde and others in 1920 and afterwards". Thereupon Bromley declared:

"Neither MacDonald, nor Snowden nor Shaw were representatives of the English workers, they were representatives of the II. International. Therefore the English workers cannot accept any responsibility for what they said. We, however are the representatives of these workers, representatives of their trade unions, and declare that we are for supporting the Soviet power".

To the question of comrade Purcell, Farinev replied that in 1920 the Georgian Mensheviki paid their last membership contribution to the II. International. In 1918, Zeretelli and two other mensheviki were elected as representatives to the II. International. It is clear that their mandates have long since expired. Jordania was only sent to the League of Nations by a small group of members of the Central Committee.

The English comrades still showed interest for a number of economic and political questions. The interview made a profound impression upon the delegation. Bromley declared:

"I bow to your courage. You have perceived your errors and have courageously and honestly come over to the side of the working class."

After his departure from Georgia, Purcell sent the following telegram to the Tiflis paper "Sarja Wostoka" (The Dawn of the East):

"We are tremendously sorry to have to leave Georgia, but at the same time we greatly rejoice that we are able to express our exceedingly great and enthusiastic satisfaction over the Soviet discipline and over the great devotion of the population to Soviet Georgia which we have witnessed. The efforts of Soviet Georgia for economic reconstruction testify to a profound belief in the final victory of the Soviet system. The result of these efforts also proves the great capability of the working class to administer the State, when it has succeeded in capturing the State power. With fraternal greetings in the name of the delegation,

Purcell  
Chairman of the Delegation.

### Farewell Greeting of the General Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to the English Trade Union Delegation.

(Special telegraphic Report to the "Inprecorr".)

Moscow, 17th December 1924.

The General Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union has published a farewell greeting to the delegation of the English trade unions, which states:

"You have observed the conditions of living, the state structure, the activity of the public and state institutions and the

conditions of labour in the Soviet Union. We will give heed to your authoritative opinion regarding our achievements and our short-comings. We are aware of our short-comings, of which there may be many. The achievements have been won at the cost of enormous struggles and efforts, thanks to the enthusiasm and the solidarity of the workers of our country. Many short-comings are perhaps the result of our mistakes, and are to be explained by the inexperience of the workers and of the peasants in the state administration and by the complexity of the objective situation.

Our achievements have been won in the midst of a furious campaign of hate and calumny on the part of our class enemies. Therefore your sympathy, your recognition of our achievements, your brotherly advice regarding existing short-comings, are highly appreciated by us. This is especially valuable, as it is not your personal standpoint, but the expression of sympathy and of understanding on the part of the representatives of the English working class.

Your visit is of world historical importance for the international labour movement, because it has created a brotherly rapprochement between the working class of the Soviet Union and of England, which is an import pre-condition for the formation, strengthening and development of brotherly solidarity of the workers of all countries, and for the unity of the international trade union movement.

The trade unions of the Soviet Union are aware that the truth which you will proclaim in England regarding the Soviet Union will encounter a furious campaign of hate and slander on the part of the bourgeois press, not only against the working class of the Soviet Union, but also against you, who, following your proletarian conscience, will proclaim the impartial truth regarding the Soviet Union. We know that you are confronted with a severe struggle. We bid you however to be mindful of the fact that millions of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union will follow all your steps and all the difficult moments of this struggle with hopes and with the warmest sympathy.

Finally, we express the conviction that the cause of the unity of the international labour movement, which is dear to both of us, will be realised in the near future thanks to our common efforts.

## A Historical Declaration.

(The English Trade Union Leaders on Georgia.)

By Karl Radek.

On the occasion of the murder of the English commander in Egypt, General Lee Stack, Ramsay MacDonald delivered a speech. He not only shed tears over the murder of the English Satrap, he not only wished to prove that the English general had served the Egyptian people with utter devotion, but he added for the information of the public of the whole world, that if a labour government had been in power, it would have demanded satisfaction for the death of its agent no less energetically than the present Conservative government has done. When a Russian worker reads this servile declaration he simply says: "a flunkey of the bourgeoisie!" MacDonald, however, delivered this speech in public; the whole of the English working class reads his speech, and in spite of this does not repudiate him but, in its majority, still regards MacDonald as its representative. It is evident that we are here confronted with a deep-going phenomenon.

The English working class, up to recent times, thought in regard to international questions, in so far as their thoughts extended beyond their immediate interests, with the brain of the bourgeoisie. England lives by her world trade. A delay in the supply of cotton from America, Egypt or India means unemployment for hundreds of thousands of workers. The more quickly the industry of England grows, the greater becomes the dependence of English industry upon its own colonies. The English workers are probably opponents of imperialism as a system of force. So long however as they saw no other historical way before them than the way of the bourgeoisie, just so long they tolerated the economic system of imperialism with its exploitation of the colonies. Of course, it is impossible to carry on exploitation of the colonies without force. The demonstrations of protest of the English workers against the acts of violence of English imperialism only served to appease their consciences but had no practical importance. As a matter of fact, the majority of English workers regarded the world from the point of view

of the English bourgeoisie, and estimated all world-events from the standpoint as to whether they were or were not advantageous for the world situation of the English bourgeoisie (they called the latter "England").

The leaders of the MacDonald type brought the workers to adopt this standpoint, they helped them to find hundreds of excuses for quieting their consciences, for deceiving their own class feelings. But the whole of this work of MacDonald was only possible because the overwhelming majority of the English working class had inseparably bound up its fate with that of the bourgeoisie. The whole fight which the Trade Unions and the English Labour Party carried on was only a fight over the share in the plundering of the colonies, over a share in the exploitation of the world market.

But at the same time as the declaration of MacDonald we read a number of declarations of the trade union leaders who are at present in the Soviet Union. Their recent declaration regarding the Georgian events is of historical importance. When the English trade unionists with Purcell at the head testify that they have seen in Georgia an enormous cultural and economic work on the part of the Soviet Union, that they not only failed to find the least national suppression in Georgia, but on the contrary, they witnessed a gigantic work on the part of the Soviet government for the development of the Georgian schools and of Georgian culture, then this is a direct blow in the face of all the liars of the II. International, who represented Georgia to the world proletariat as an unfortunate victim of the Moscow dictators.

When the English trade unionists write regarding the gigantic demonstrations of the Georgian working masses under the banner of the Soviet power, then this constitutes a blow in the face of the liars of II. International, who tell the European workers that the Georgian Soviet government is an alien rule which is only supported by the bayonets of the Russian Soviet Army.

But however valuable this declaration of the English trade union functionaries, of whom nobody can say that they are bribed and who possess such a wide practical experience as prevents them from falling victims to deception, may be, it is not this which constitutes the significance of their declaration.

The most important thing about this declaration is the manner in which the English trade union leaders deal with the Georgian question; the general situation on the basis of which they estimate the importance of the Georgian question; the most important thing in their declaration is the criterion by which they judge this question. They say: The world today is in the hands of a number of capitalist great powers. All the small capitalist states are only puppets in the hands of the capitalist robbers. If Georgia had remained under the rule of the Menshevik government it would have been a plaything in the hands of world capital. It lies on the high road to the East; behind it there lies Azerbeidjan with its petroleum wells; if it were not in the Soviet Union, then its territory would be converted into an object of struggle for access to the oil wells. Its membership of the Soviet Union assures it peace, economic reconstruction and national and cultural progress. Therefore we English trade unionists repudiate every attack made upon the government obtaining in Soviet Georgia.

What is there new in this declaration, which must fill the heart of every internationalist, of every revolutionary worker with joy?

The English trade union leaders know very well that the Caucasus, if it did not form a portion of the Soviet Union, would be the object of the intrigues of English capital. The Caucasus lies on the Black Sea, and every country in the Near East lying on the sea coast comes within the sphere of influence of the English fleet. The mineral-oil of Baku would fall into the hands of English capitalism. It is only the fact that the Caucasus belongs to the Soviet Federation that prevents the English capitalists from grabbing it.

Regarded from the old standpoint of the English Labour Leaders, all this would speak against us, against the Soviet Union, as, regarded from the old point of view of the old trade unionists, what is advantageous for the English bourgeoisie must also be advantageous for the English workers. The clever politicians mask this egotistical standpoint behind beautiful words as to the freedom of the Russian border territories, but this does not alter matters.

Now Purcell, Smith, Bramley, Ben Tillet, Findley, Bromley discard this traditional standpoint of the English Labour poli-

ticians. They judge the Georgian question from the standpoint of the world proletariat. There is a system of capitalist countries against which the revolution has set up the Union of Soviet Republics. In the fight between the capitalist state system and the proletarian state system which is now arising, these trade unionists place themselves on the side of the proletarian state system and say: It is a good thing when things of international value and importance are in the hands of the Union of Soviet Republics, and not in the hands of the capitalist powers. It is good from the point of view of the small nations, who in the hands of world capital are only mere pawns, but allied with the Soviet Union, proceed along the broad way of historical progress. The standard of values of the English bourgeoisie has given place to the point of view of the interests of the international proletariat.

This it is which is new and of world historical importance in the declaration of the English trade union leaders. When English communists so speak it is a good thing, for it shows that a small revolutionary centre has already been formed in the English working class. When however the representatives of the English trade unions speak in this manner, when the old miner Herbert Smith — who up to the age of fifty had worked in the mines and of whom one would think that he would consider the whole world as divided into miners and non-miners — expresses such sentiments, then this means that in England, not only a small communist kernel views the world with the eyes of a class-conscious proletariat, but that already a considerable portion of the English working class has adopted this way of seeing things. The leaders of the English Trade Unions are not advance guards in the struggle of their class, but they are people who reflect very slowly and cautiously the changes of mood and feeling of their class.

We know how difficult the way is from English craft-unionism to proletarian class-consciousness. But the fact that such a declaration on the part of responsible functionaries of the English trade union movement is possible at all, proves that the cause of the world revolution is marching on. The press of the II. International and the press of the Amsterdam International is fiercely attacking Purcell and his colleagues and heaping up lies and slanders against them. This press has a strong class feeling, i. e. a bourgeois class feeling. It understands quite well what such a change of feeling means and what dangers it brings with it.

The leaders of the II. International, the Amsterdam leaders, are the chief dam in the way of the stream of the world revolution. The most important part of this dam is formed by the English trade unions, as England is the strongest counter-revolutionary power. Hence, the II. International and the right Amsterdam leaders are exerting the same strong pressure upon Purcell and his comrades as they used in their attempts to confuse Edo Fimmen. Perhaps they will succeed in stopping up the breach for a moment, but the dam is already overflowed if not washed away.

The fact that declarations like that of MacDonald over the murder of the English Over-Commander of Egypt, or the shameful speech of J. H. Thomas in Derby against the class struggle, and a declaration as that of the leaders of the English trade unions over Georgia are possible at the same time, bears witness to the struggle of tendencies which is taking place in the depths of the English working class. The world situation of the English bourgeoisie is growing weaker; and the weaker it becomes the greater will become that portion of the English workers who will seek salvation, not in solidarity with the English bourgeoisie, but in solidarity with the international proletariat and the international revolution. The leaders of this portion of the working class will be stigmatised as betrayers of the interests of England. When under the term "England" one understands not the interests of the Sudanese Cotton-Syndicate, or of the "Shell" petroleum trust, but the interests of the English working masses, petroleum trust, the left trade union leaders can calmly say: The revolutionary way not only rescues small nations such as Georgia, which sought refuge from the storm within the Union of Soviet Republics, but it is the sole means of rescue for the great nation of the English working masses. The time will come when the Indian and Egyptian peasants will rise in revolt against the rule of English capital, when English industry, which has already outgrown the demands of the home market, will be left without markets and without raw materials. Then only that portion of the English working class will be able to

save itself from famine, cold and death, which, by breaking with the bourgeoisie, will find the way to an alliance with the workers of all countries and with the peasants of the colonies.

## ECONOMICS

### Economics and Economic Policy in the Third Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

VI.

Special Section (continued)

Japan.

This country is still suffering from the effects of the great earthquake. Although a great part of the damage has been made good by the erection of new buildings, there still remains very much to be done.

The following figures show the economic depression. Amounts of fresh capital invested:

First half of the year in million yen	
1920 . . . . .	4179
1921 . . . . .	1177
1922 . . . . .	893
1923 . . . . .	849
1924 . . . . .	515

("Japan Chronicle", 26. July 1924.)

Of these fresh investments 471 million have gone to the interior, 15 million to Manchuria, 14 million to Formosa, 14.5 million to Korea. These figures show that at the present time the imperialist expansion of Japan is proceeding very slowly. Just now Japan is not in a position to invest capital in its colonies or in China to any great extent, as its foreign trade balance already shows a considerable debit balance. The foreign trade figures, in million yen, are as follows:

	Import	Export
1913 monthly average . . . . .	60.5	52.4
1923 . . . . .	166	121
May 1924 . . . . .	224	177
June . . . . .	176	146
July . . . . .	153	137

The foreign trade balance thus shown is extremely unfavourable, but this is tending to improve. The adverse trade balance corresponds to the depreciation of the currency. Whilst the yen was even over dollar parity in the first post-war years, and stood almost at par even after the earthquake, it has since depreciated, and is still depreciating. New York exchange quotations were as follows:

	Cents for yen	
Parity	18. October 1923	16. October 1924
49.85	48.75	33.30

The depreciation, in round figures, already amounts to 23%. This development appears to originate entirely from the adverse payment balance, as there does not seem to be any inner inflation. On the contrary, the circulation of bank notes is diminishing. This has been as follows, in million yen: (Economist Monthly Supplement Sept.)

End 1913 . . . . .	424
End 1923 . . . . .	1696
May 1924 . . . . .	1364
June . . . . .	1235
July . . . . .	1181

It is also extremely remarkable that wholesale trade prices do not rise abroad to correspond with the depreciation of the yen. These prices are as follows:

1913	1923	1924: January	May	June
100	199	211	205	199

Considering the very low level of prices — as compared with the foreign value of the yen — the country should be capable of exporting. But this does not appear to be the case. The Japanese press complains that important raw materials, iron for

instance, are 30 to 40% dearer in Japan than in competitive countries. There are also complaints of high wages and low working output of the Japanese workers.

With reference to wages, a Japanese newspaper publishes the following survey of wages in Tokio ("Japan Chronicle", 30. July 1924):

1914 . . . . .	100
1916 . . . . .	107
1918 . . . . .	157
1920 . . . . .	284
1921 . . . . .	393
1922 . . . . .	319
1923 . . . . .	321
1924 first half . . . . .	331

According to these statistics, working wages have risen far beyond the cost of living. But even the "Japan Chronicle" points out that the statements made by a Japanese capitalist monthly journal do not correspond with actual facts. One thing however appears to be certain, and that is that even in Japan the days of low wages and endless working hours are a thing of the past. But it was just this which always rendered Japan capable of competition in the Asiatic market. Thus the prospects of Japan's economic development are by no means so favourable as was formerly supposed.

### China.

In view of recent belligerent events in China, the economic situation of this country requires to be dealt with in detail. But in China there are unfortunately no economic statistics kept (or any statistics whatever), and there has never even been a census of the population, so that it is impossible to say much regarding the economic conditions. The newspapers appearing in the English language only publish matter of interest to the English merchants trading with China.

China is developing into a capitalist country. This is the sole fact which can be gathered from the scanty data at our disposal. In the general section of this report we drew attention to the importance of the capitalist Chinese cotton industry. At the present time this takes the fifth place as cotton consumer among all the countries of the world, although the number of spindles accords it the 14th place. The number of spindles has increased as follows:

1913 . . . . .	1 million
1921 . . . . .	1.8
1922 . . . . .	2.3
1924 . . . . .	3.3

The further expansion of this industry is demonstrated by the extensive and steadily growing export of spinning and weaving machinery from England to China reported by the English export statistics.

As compared with 1913, the import of textile goods into China has greatly decreased; especially, those from England, whilst those from Japan have increased. ("Manchester Guardian", 16. October 1924.)

The milling industry is also developing rapidly. The old and primitive rice husking machines are being quickly superseded by modern mills. The consumption of wheat is growing. Imports from Canada are increasing steadily.

It is important to note that not only foreign capital, but at the same time Chinese capital, is participating to an ever growing extent in the industrialisation of the country. If we assume the data given by the "China Yearbook" to be correct, we gain the impression that about one half of this capital is Chinese. The capital invested in the cotton, silk, and milling industries appears to be chiefly Chinese, whilst shipyards and similar enterprises are more in English hands. To a certain extent the investment of foreign capital is in accordance with geographical areas. Japanese capital preponderates in Manchuria and in Tsingtau, English in South China, Canton, Shanghai, etc. In the interior the investment of capital follows the railway lines; where foreign capital is in possession of the railways, industrial capital participates as well.

China's foreign trade, although still very small per head of the population, is steadily growing. The following are the figures in million dollars (data from Statesmans Year Book, 1923 and 1921):

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Imports . . . . .	58.9	86.0	119.1	145.7	204.9	258.8	179	177
Exports . . . . .	54.3	80.3	110.3	127.5	190.8	183.9	119	123

The most important articles of import and export are:

	Exports in million taels:			
	1918	1919	1921	1922
Silk and silk goods . . . . .	108	138	112	137
Beans and bean cake . . . . .	44	73	84	94
Raw cotton . . . . .	38	30	16	23
Bean oil . . . . .	25	21	21	99
Tea . . . . .	14	22	13	17
Tin . . . . .	11	8	6	8

	Imports in million taels:			
	1918	1919	1921	1922
Cotton goods . . . . .	151	210	209	219
Metal goods . . . . .	38	58	53*)	47*)
Rice . . . . .	23	8	41	80
Cigarettes . . . . .	24	21	40	42
Coal . . . . .	13	13	14	11
Textile goods . . . . .	13	11	14	17

The main line of development of China's export has been: Diminution of exports of tea and silk between 1879 and 1919. In 1879 these two descriptions of goods formed no less than 86% of the total exports; in 1919 only 26%. They have been chiefly replaced by beans, bean oil, and cotton. The opium import, in 1879 44.43%, has been entirely replaced by metal goods and machinery.

China has no uniform currency. The tael counts as a unit, but in different districts there are taels of different values. The difference amounts at times to 20%.

It is interesting to note that the confusion of affairs in China at the present time had not had any unfavourable influence on the value of the Chinese currency on the New York and London exchanges.

Duties and taxes are very low. The former because the imperialist powers forbid China to increase the duties on industrial products, the object being to hamper China's industrial development. The taxes amount approximately to 1.50 dollars per head, as compared with 16 dollars in Japan, 5.50 in French Indo-China, and 9.50 in Siam. The rapacious taxes raised by the various military powers are, however, not included in this estimate.

The present struggles are of a very complicated nature: on the one hand they represent a reaction against foreign capital and the privileges enjoyed by foreigners in general, and on the other hand many of the struggles arise out of the conflict among the imperialist powers themselves for decisive influence in China. In Southern China this situation is further complicated by social struggles. The Chinese bourgeoisie, like every colonial bourgeoisie, is placed between two stools. As the Chinese bourgeoisie it struggles along with the other strata of the Chinese people against China's oppression by foreign imperialist capitalism. As the bourgeoisie it is carrying on a conflict, in co-operation with the foreign bourgeoisie which has found its way into the country, against the now awakening Chinese proletariat.

### The Other Overseas Countries.

The economics of the other overseas countries — Canada, Argentine, Australia — will probably develop favourably in this economic year, under the influence of the high prices for agrarian products. That is, should these prices be maintained. In Argentine and Australia the prospects of the harvest appear to be favourable, and for these countries this is the decisive factor.

## Do the American Elections Promise Prosperity?

By I. Amter.

In the early part of 1924, there was a positive drop in employment, the country seemed to be upon the verge of an immediate crisis. The condition of the farmers was acute, hundreds of thousands went bankrupt, hundreds of thousands were abandoned (and still are), millions of the farming population went to the city.

\*) Machinery etc.

In the months of September and October, a change took place in the farming situation. There has been a partial failure of crops in other countries: Argentine, Canada, Australia, Roumania, Germany and Soviet Russia cannot supply the world market as before. There was a shortage of grain on the market and the American farmers who reaped big crops this year are benefiting by it. Their buying capacity has increased, according to report, by one billion dollars. This has been heralded as the beginning of a new era of prosperity, if not of a boom.

Steel production has risen and has now reached the figure of 66 per cent of capacity. Textile mills, especially in New England, which have been idle for months, have opened again. The railways have reached record loadings, due chiefly to the movement of grain. Exports in October attained the high total of \$ 527,000,000, the highest since 1921, leaving a balance of \$ 217,000,000 over imports. This is the highest trade balance since 1919, the year of "prosperity" in which the workers and farmers of the country launched the Farmer-Labour Party.

These are the economic factors that act despite elections and led to the defeat of Davis and La Follette — aside from the threats of discharge made to the workers in case they supported the "socialistic schemes" of the progressive movement. The workers and farmers acting under the good influence of the momentary situation, voted to preserve the status quo.

The big capitalists of the country were not bothered about the outcome of the elections. They knew the economics of the country, and the threat of La Folletteism did not worry them. In spite of a temporary relief in the farming situation and a slow, slight expansion in industry they did not predict the dawn of renewed prosperity. On November 3, just before the elections, the New York "Annalist" published reports from different parts of the country. Detroit: "Local automobile companies as a whole are buying less steel than they were a year ago." Kansas City: There is some hesitancy about booking ahead very far on dry goods lines, and country merchants continue their policy of buying as they need." Detroit: "The industrial barometer of local conditions says election week will open with 2,000 less men employed than was the case the first week in October, and the majority of industries are not hiring men." Against these statements were others indicating increased buying power of the Farmers, the opening of the New England textile mills and an increase in the operations of the steel mills. Coal operators, on the other hand, reported lower diggings.

Did the elections alter matters? The "Annalist" of Nov. 3 points out that although elections have some effect on capitalist investment, in so far as the administration inspires "confidence" or not, nonetheless, the vital element is the economic situation. The Department of Labour published a report on wages and employment in September, 1924, compared with September 1923. In 6,400 establishments, 2,219,000 persons were employed in 1923, compared with 1,931,000 persons in 1924, a reduction of 13 per cent. Similarly there was a reduction in the amount of payroll of somewhat over 14 per cent. The "Commercial and Financial Chronicle" of Nov. 1 states that "There is no denying the fact that trade, after the sharp partial recovery of the late summer, has latterly been slowing up again . . . No business boom is in prospect."

On Nov. 10, after the elections, the "Annalist" writes: "The two outstanding features of the post-election situation are: First, that the confidence following the election is not based on positive economic changes in the business prospect, but on the failure of an apprehended political change for the worse actually to take place; Second, that what are loosely called the "fundamental conditions", of business have undergone no change whatever in consequence of the elections and have not changed materially from what they were even two or three weeks before." The farmers are not buying much. They are paying the interest on their mortgages and putting the rest by. Those who are buying motor cars, are purchasing used cars. "The fact remains that the increased farm purchasing power from which so much has been expected has so far failed to show itself decisively in increased demand for goods, and there is no other definite area of buying power to which business can turn with clear prospects of greater markets" says the "Annalist".

Exports, which are adding considerably to the country's "prosperity", depend upon the outcome of the Dawes Plan. Should Germany succeed in obtaining a slice of the world's market, the leading exporting nations, including the United States, will suffer. Should walls be erected to Germany's penetrating the international market, the European markets, which

are counting upon their rehabilitation through the restoration of Germany, will collapse. The export trade of the United States, which goes chiefly to Europe, will suffer a fearful blow. (These are only the economic effects of the Dawes Plan.) These are the external factors militating against economic prosperity in the United States.

Disregarding the conservative attitude of the "Annalist", wild speculation on the Exchange ensued on November 5. Railway and industrial stocks rose with a boom. Millions of shares changed hands every day. On Nov. 13, 2,000,000 shares received new owners. This was a "boom" such as had not been witnessed since 1901. One occurred in 1920, after the election of Harding. There are serious dangers of this inflationary Exchange "boom" being followed by a collapse, such as took place in 1920.

The "boom" seemed to be justified by the fact that the railways were placing orders for rails, locomotives and cars, which were held in abeyance pending the outcome of the election. Building plans were held up on the same grounds. Even though the railways might have feared adverse legislation in case radicals were elected to Congress, nevertheless such holding up of orders is also an election manoeuvre. The "Annalist" comes to the conclusion that "in the main, the problems and the prospects of business are precisely what they were before November 4."

In prospect, however, of the Dawes Plan and the general offensive of the capitalists against the workers, manufacturers all over the country reiterate the demand for the cutting of wages. With the assurance of the assistance of the reactionary government of Coolidge and Dawes, not only the workers but also the office personnel will have to face the issue of foreign competition. Longer hours and lower wages, and for the office forces in addition a cutting down of personnel.

This will lead force the workers into the struggle against greater exploitation. It will lead them to conflicts with the capitalist government, which will use every form of force to crush them. This will lead the unpolitically and less political minded workers to an understanding of class political action. This is the prospect not of a remote day, but of the immediate future.

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### A Turning Point in Chinese Events.

By Musin (Moscow).

Events in China are developing at a speed unprecedented in her history, becoming profounder every day the struggle continues, and in their development changing the very character and direction of the struggle. If at the beginning of the armed conflict we were chiefly witnessing the struggle of two imperialist groupings operating through the different military cliques in China, whom they instigated to armed conflict in order to extend the spheres of their influence, to-day events are more and more assuming a character favourable to the struggle of China for her emancipation from the yoke of imperialism.

That the attack of Feng-Yu-Tsiang against Wu-Pei-Fu was not the result of any agreement between him and Anglo-American capitalism, is demonstrated by the fact that his relations to the latter since the revolution effected by him in Peking is becoming steadily more acute. The arrival of Wu-Pei-Fu in Hankow, one of the largest towns in Central China, and his preparation for a fresh campaign directed from this wealthy industrial base, confirms the fact that Wu-Pei-Fu continued to enjoy the support of Anglo-American capital against Feng-Yu-Tsiang. Without such support he would have been unable to escape from the northern front at Shanghai-Kwang and Tientsin, and from thence to Hankow (by sea and along the river Yang-Tze) nor to prepare for a fresh campaign against Feng-Yu-Tsiang.

But does the action of Feng-Yu-Tsiang really denote a triumph for Japan? Was the revolution in Peking merely a substitution of Anglo-American influence by Japanese influence and the recovery by the latter of the position she held in China four or five years ago? There is no doubt that the defeat of Anglo-American capitalism in Peking is a matter of great importance to Japan. The increasing acuteness of the relations between America and the new victors in Peking is bringing the former Japanophile groups and individuals to the political forefront. But at the same time the collapse of the Chihli clique, which during recent years held the country in the grip of reaction,

is also bringing sharply to the fore the party of the national emancipation movement, the party of Kuomintang headed by the old revolutionary, Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen.

The growing acuteness of the relations between General Fang-Yu-Tsiang and Anglo-American capital and the uncertainty as to the strength of Japanese support, is compelling the new victors to seek for a wide national basis for the consolidation of their victory and for the maintenance of their power. The fact that agreement has so far not been reached between America, England and Japan as to concerted action for the partition of China, is enabling the national emancipation movement to develop its forces throughout the country and to become a powerful factor for all future political developments.

Hence, the arrival of Sun-Yat-Sen in the North must not be regarded from the point of view of a possible agreement between him and the military groups opposed to Wu-Pei-Fu (Feng-Hu-Tsiang, Chang-Tso-Lin, Tuan-Chi-Jui, etc.), but from the point of view of the strengthening and extension of the national revolutionary movement. The chief aim of Sun-Yat-Sen is to summon a National Assembly consisting of "representatives of industry and commerce, educational institutions and students, the army, the trade unions, and peasant organisations" for the purpose of discussing the fundamentals of the future political life of China. The National Assembly is to be based on the direct vote of the various organisations, preceded by complete freedom in the election campaign and a general amnesty for all political prisoners. The Kuomintang Party is preparing for the National Assembly and for the election campaign; it is drawing up its national programme which consists of the demand for the abolition of the double yoke of imperialism and militarism, the democratisation of the country and the development of its productive forces. The programme of the Kuomintang party is likely to rally all the national revolutionary forces of China who now find it possible to appear in the wide arena of political life.

Thus, the action of General Fang-Yu-Tsiang, and the revolution effected by him in Peking, may become an important factor in the national emancipation movement and create conditions favourable to the further release and development of the revolutionary forces of the country.

We cannot of course expect that the present victors — the militarists, Fang-Yu-Tsiang, Chang-Tso-Lin, Tuan-Chi-Jui and the others — will adopt the programme of the Kuomintang or will so easily come to an agreement with Sun-Yat-Sen regarding even the summoning of a National Assembly. On the contrary, they will endeavour to make him fall in with some agreement which would temporarily increase their authority in the country and which they would then reject. But the situation which has been created and which compels them to seek support among the Chinese population will permit Sun-Yat-Sen to develop his programme for fighting foreign capitalism and uniting the country. His very journey to Shanghai was accompanied by a characteristic incident: The British Press demanded that he should be prohibited from landing in Shanghai. In response Sun-Yat-Sen declared: Shanghai is a part of Chinese territory, the masters there are the Chinese people and the foreigners there are but guests; the moment has come when China demands the abolition of all limitations introduced by foreigners in the territory occupied by them. Thus, the possibility has been created for Sun-Yat-Sen to rally around the Kuomintang all the revolutionary forces of the country over the heads of the militant cliques.

Such a revolution in events cannot but arouse the extreme alarm of the representatives of foreign capital, and in particular of America and Great Britain. The Anglo-American press, while refraining from all comment on the recent events in China, is beginning to grow nervous. On November the 7th the London "Times" wrote threateningly that the time had come for British policy in China to be more firm and decided. The New York "Times" cynically stated that a new Dawes Plan would be an excellent form of American intervention in Chinese affairs. The success of the Dawes Plan in Europe, which has bound Germany hand and foot, is rousing the emulation of the imperialist politicians in the Far East. Of course, this would require an agreement with Japan, without whose cooperation the new Dawes Plan could not be applied to China.

But as we know Japan cannot consent to free competition with Anglo-American capital and makes a point of this in all her negotiations for agreements regarding China: She is continually emphasising her "special rights" in China, her "special interests" in Manchuria, Mongolia, and other parts of the country. But to speak plainly, Japan (which is indebted to America

to the extent of 212 milliard dollars) may be compelled by financial pressure to accept America's conditions for the proposed agreement regarding the application of a new Dawes Plan to China.

The scheme for a new Dawes Plan is especially significant at the present moment. The preparations for the summoning of a second Washington Conference to map out the scheme are already going forward. At the same time the diplomatic corps in Peking, highly alarmed at the turn events have taken during the last few weeks, is preparing a note to the Chinese Government demanding an assurance as to the sanctity of the treaties which have been forced upon China.

The danger of intervention by the imperialist powers in China is particularly great now that open reaction has assumed power in America and Great Britain. The tendency to create a new Dawes plan for the complete seizure of the railways and finances of China, those two main nerves of the political life of the country, has long existed and is becoming particularly strong at the present moment. There exists a real danger of a concerted campaign against China by world capitalism to crush the growing national emancipation movement. This may lead to a temporary settlement of the differences between Anglo-American and Japanese capitalism.

The international proletariat must therefore be extremely watchful of all steps taken by the imperialist governments with regard to China. The international proletariat alone can compel the international plunderers to abandon their scheme for a crusade against the national liberation movement in China.

## IN THE COLONIES

### The Approaching Storm in Egypt.

By A busyam.

Cairo, 2nd December 1924.

In Cairo the nationalists have shot the English General Lee Stack. General Lee Stack had come to Cairo in order to proceed from thence to the Sudan, where he was to act as a sort of commander of the new Sudan in its "independence".

Since the negotiations between Zaglul and MacDonald, which, as is known, did not achieve any result, the relations between England and Egypt became much more acute.

At the same time, however, the mistrust of the extreme nationalists regarding Zaglul greatly increased. Zaglul, the popular hero, at one time the recognised and sole leader of the Egyptian revolutionary movement, is still the embodiment of the revolutionary traditions, but is no longer the active leader in the fight for emancipation. The attempt upon the life of Zaglul in July 1924, the strengthening of the opposition in the Egyptian parliament, the growing hostile criticism of various newspapers — all this is the expression of the discontent of the Egyptian nationalists with the methods of conciliation employed by Zaglul recently in his policy towards England. The more Zaglul was inclined to compromise with England, the more radical and irreconcilable became the demands of the Nationalists, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Liberation of the Sudan and the setting up of an independent Egypto-Sudanese State.
2. Evacuation of Egypt by the English military forces.
3. Dismissal of all higher English officials from the Egyptian civil service.
4. Internationalisation of the Suez Canal.
5. Abolition of English control over Egyptian finances.

In order to placate the extreme nationalists, Zaglul Pasha attempted to wring at least apparent concessions from the English government. The English imperialists, however, who on their side had followed the development of the nationalist movement with the greatest attention, refused every concession, and on the other hand began serious preparations in order to meet the revolutionary danger which has arisen in Egypt.

Instead of liquidating the military occupation of Egypt, the English began, by degrees, to reinforce the army of occupation with fresh troops; the English fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean; munition supplies were transported to the Sudan by land and sea. Along with this, the attitude of the British officials grew more domineering and insolent.

At the same time important political "reforms" were introduced. After the insurrectionary movement broke out prematurely,

as a result of English provocation, and was quickly nipped in the bud, it was intended, by the formation of a Sudanese state, along with the separation of the Sudan from Egypt, to create the basis for the continuation of the imperialist policy of England. An "independent", i. e., an English Sudan offers incalculable possibilities, not only for maintaining a constant economic control over the inhabitants of Egypt (through control of the Sources of the Nile), but also for creating, by means of energetic "propaganda" and bribery, a division between the population of the Sudan and of Egypt, instead of as hitherto, the two peoples working together to throw off the English yoke, which would arouse a fratricidal struggle between these two peoples in order to secure the undisturbed control over both by Great Britain. General Lee Stack, the English General of the Sudan, was to have had the chief task in this cunning game. What wonder therefore if the nationalists directed their weapons of vengeance against the man who had been sent to bring about bloody fratricidal war, misery, devastation, and finally, the complete enslavement of the Sudanese and of the Egyptian people.

There is no doubt that the English officials and military have consciously provoked the outburst of desperation which this murder implies. It was in a similar way, as the records of English colonial history show, that various provinces of India, South Africa, in fact in the last decade of the past century Egypt itself, was captured by the English. These tactics were once again employed successfully: Lord Allenby, a few hours after the assassination, handed the Egyptian government an ultimatum embracing seven points which contained, among others things, the following:

The Egyptian government shall place at the disposal of the English Sudanese government 30,000 feddans of land under cotton cultivation.

It orders the evacuation of the Sudan by all Egyptian soldiers and officers in this territory within 24 hours.

It grants the English officials who give up state posts in Egypt, double compensation.

It must see that no anti-English demonstrations take place. The brutality of this ultimatum is unexampled in the history of predatory imperialism, even within recent years. The outrageous Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, and the ultimatum of Italy to Greece after the Janina murder failed to come up to this English note as regards its tone and the extent of its demands. It has been left to the iron logic of English reaction to find the connection between the death of Lee Stack and the handing over of 30,000 feddans of land to the English government. Even pro-English liberal papers are surprised at this step of Allenby, who openly makes use of the favourable opportunity in order to extort material benefits for the English bourgeoisie.

Zaglul Pasha did his utmost possible, right up to the last minute, in order to save the situation. He apologized most abjectly, ordered the arrest of not less than 160 persons among whom the murderer might be found, paid the demanded money indemnity and issued a prohibition of anti-English demonstrations. He rejected the remaining three demands.

This put an end to Zaglul's career as prime minister. The news of the Egyptian note in reply was received by parliament with the liveliest indignation. The item that, in accordance with Allenby's wish, anti-English demonstrations were forbidden, called forth a storm of discontent. Zaglul resigned, and King Fuad — true to his rôle as a marionette — appointed another ministry favourable to England under the "moderate" Sijud Pasha.

Allenby, however, went on undisturbed with his punitive measures. The Customs House of Alexandria was occupied by the military. English dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts appeared in the harbours of Alexandria and Port Said. Tanta, an important railway junction, was likewise occupied by British troops. The Egyptian troops in the Sudan were disarmed and 32,000 transported back to Egypt. The new Egyptian government was submissive to the British imperialists. The increased enslavement of Egypt is in full swing.

### Against the British Ultimatum to Egypt.

Fellow Workers,

The Conservative Government of Great Britain renewed its activity by a murderous attack against Egypt. Using the assassination of General Lee-Stack as a pretext, the British Conservative Government has taken a decisive step towards the destruction of even that pseudo "independence" which Egypt was presumed to have. As compensation for the assassination of the General, the British Government imposed on Egypt a fine of £ 500,000 and demanded the severe punishment of those guilty of the assassination.

The British Government has compelled the Government of Egypt to withdraw the Egyptian troops from the Sudan.

Taking advantage of this assassination the Conservative Government managed to get its own way, namely to leave the management of the internal and economic life of Egypt, as before in the hands of the British financial and legal advisers. Thus the British imperialists will continue to control the internal and economic life of Egypt, and will establish their rule of violence in that oppressed land.

In order to instil into the minds of the Sudan population respect for British bayonets, several officers and soldiers of the Egyptian and Sudan army have been hanged and shot by British generals. This plan of action was devised by Ramsay MacDonald who mentioned it in his letter to General Allenby in October last. The British plunderers desire to utilise the assassination of General Lee-Stack as a pretext for carrying out their predatory plans in Egypt and the Sudan.

To compel Egypt to accept its truculent and cynical demands, the British Government is shaking its mailed fist in the face of that defenceless country.

From all sides: from Malta, Gibraltar and Cyprus, British cruisers and gun-boats are hastening to the shores of Egypt. British military units are being despatched to Egypt itself. The British air fleet is hovering over the doomed country like a herd of vultures, seeking victims for their bombs.

Final preparations are being made to seize Egypt by the throat and compel her to consent to allow herself to be plundered.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Egyptian bourgeoisie together with the landlords are shamefully capitulating to the imperialist bandits.

In spite of these traitors the revolutionary national movement will grow and become stronger until the chains of imperialist oppression are completely broken.

British Workers!

Ward off the criminal hand of your aristocrats from Egypt! Rectify the terrible crime committed against the Egyptian people by the Government of Ramsay MacDonald. Confound the piratical plans of the Baldwin-Curzon and Chamberlain Government. Compel your leaders to come out actively in defence of the independence of Egypt. Fight against the predatory ultimatum! Form a united front with the Egyptian workers and peasants!

Workers and peasants of Egypt!

Do not despair. Keep a brave heart. The advanced workers of all countries are coming to your aid. Expose the shameful conduct of the Egyptian Government! Unite around your Communist Party! Demand the release of the imprisoned communists! Demand a determined and irreconcilable struggle against British imperialism for the complete and real independence of Egypt!

Workers and peasants of all countries!

Raise your voices in protest against the British Government's ultimatum! Compel the colonial pirates to restrain their appetite! Demonstrate your solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the East!

Down with the colonial pirates!

Long live the fight for the independence of Egypt!  
Long live the fighting unity of the toilers of the world!

For Eastern Bureau of Comintern:

Polit,  
Marranne,  
Sen Katayama,  
Roy.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Workers' Blood is Being Shed in Esthonia!

Appeal of the E. C. C. I.

Moscow, 11th December 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued an appeal entitled, "Workers' Blood is Being Shed in Esthonia!"

This appeal first describes the rule of the Esthonian militarists and profiteers, who have destroyed all organs of the lawful trade union, co-operative and political labour movement, and thereby deprived the working class of all means of legally protecting its interests. The trial of the 149 Esthonian revolutionaries was a cynical challenge to all the Esthonian workers.

Behind the Communist Party there stands the whole of the Esthonian working class — a fact which has been proved by various "parliamentary" elections, some of them even having taken place under the regime of white terror, and also by the struggle within the trade unions. The Esthonian Social Democracy has long since lost all influence among the working class.

A number of rapidly following provocative acts finally led to the armed action of the Reval Communists. In this the workers fought with the courage of lions. They were almost unarmed and left to their own resources. Without receiving support from any quarter, they made a desperate attack upon the bourgeois reaction which is drunk with blood.

The fearful terror which followed upon the defeat of the workers puts even the blood bath of Mannerheim in Finland in the shade. The whole country is groaning under the yoke of the white terror. All workers, without exception, are controlled by the police, and arrested workers are cruelly tortured. Full power has been handed over to the military dictator Laidener, who has been known as the hangman of the workers since his participation in the Yudenitch campaign against the Russian Revolution, and for which he was rewarded by the English government with an Order of Merit.

The workers of all countries should ponder over the meaning of the events in Esthonia, where the class struggle has assumed the form of civil war.

The Esthonian Social Democracy has not only left the working class in the lurch, but is entirely supporting the hangman of the workers, the blood-hound Laidener, in whom it has expressed its confidence, and in addition has taken over the rôle of denouncer of the workers.

The whole European bourgeoisie welcomes the white terror in Esthonia. The government of the Conservatives in England and the government of the Radicals in France congratulated the President of Esthonia on the crushing of the working class.

The Esthonian revolutionary champions of the working class merit the highest esteem of the whole world proletariat. The insurgents of Reval, like the revolutionary fighters in Hamburg last year, have proved that the best sons of the working class, in the most difficult situation, know how to fight for their cause in a life and death struggle. The Esthonian gang of jailors known as the Esthonian government, will have to pay for every drop of workers' blood they have shed.

Udying memory to the fallen champions of the Esthonian proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of Esthonia!

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### "Mr. Shaw's Tip to Moscow"

By Max Beer.

Mr. Bernard Shaw recently addressed a letter to the "Izvestia", and which was also published in the "Daily Herald", in reply to a request for a pronouncement on the Russian question. In this letter Mr. Shaw combined an attack upon the Third International with a criticism of Marx, declaring the latter to have been left as far behind as Moses (Mr. Shaw has furnished proofs of his own up-to-dateness by repudiating Marx and issuing the slogan of "Back to Methuselah!"). We publish below a reply to Mr. Shaw by our comrade Max Beer. Ed.

Had the "Izvestia" asked my opinion as to the advisability of inviting Mr. G. B. Shaw to pronounce upon Soviet and Bolshevik affairs I should have strongly urged it to leave Mr. Shaw alone, knowing as I did the sort of pronouncement he was likely to make on such a subject.

Mr. G. B. Shaw's mind is essentially Protestant, Liberal, i. e. of the English middle class type. But God in His abounding mercy upon a sorely afflicted humanity has blessed him with an eye to discern the diverse symptoms of the decay of capitalist civilisation. This critical faculty, acting through the medium of an alert and acute intellect, predisposed him to perceive the

#### Bernard Shaw on Himself.

"Here am I, for instance, by class a respectable man, by common sense a hater of waste and disorder, by intellectual constitution legally minded to the verge of pedantry, and by temperament apprehensive and economically disposed to the limit of old-maidishness."

Preface to "Major Barbara".

ludicrous aspects of the meretricious virtues, playful illusions, clever futilities and endless shifts and stratagems of the ruling men and women of a highly polished and cultured society, whose foundations are trembling under the impact of new subterranean forces. This is the anvil on which Mr. Shaw forges his satirical shafts, which, while levelled at society, are never meant to kill, but to graze and sting. Such a mind must need have a liking for criticism of existing conditions, for Fabian reforms, for sermonising in social dramas, but never for any downright serious fighting against capitalist civilisation, and still less for social revolution.

It is this character of his life-work which endeared him to the smart set and the intellectual gourmets of Great Britain and Germany. They know his true English middle class heart, which never believes in the working class rising to power, and which has an aversion from proletarianism. No wonder, then, that he dislikes Karl Marx, that he has never taken the trouble to understand the man, whose genius, whose life-work, whose heart and brain were devoted to raising the working class to power. It was no small matter to publish in 1867, at the height of Liberalism, a work in which the advent of the working class to power was stated to be inevitable (Marx: Capital, Engl. edition 1889, page 494), in which, contrary to J. S. Mill, it was shown that competition, far from destroying monopoly, must ultimately result in monopoly, in the centralisation and concentration of the means of production, transport and finance in

#### Pap for the Fabian Nursery.

(Specially prepared by Bernard Shaw.)

"Now Marx was by no means infallible: his economics, half borrowed, and half home-made by a literary amateur, were not, when strictly followed up, even favourable to Socialism. His theory of civilization had been promulgated already in Buckle's History of Civilization, a book as epoch-making in the minds of its readers as Das Kapital. There was nothing about Socialism in the widely read first volume of Das Kapital: every reference it made to workers and capitalists showed that Marx had never breathed industrial air, and had dug his case out of bluebooks in the British Museum. Compared to Darwin, he seemed to have no power of observation: there was not a fact in Das Kapital that had not been taken out of a book, nor a discussion that had not been opened by somebody else's pamphlet."

Preface to "Back to Methuselah"

the hands of the few, and, finally, that the whole development of capitalist society must engender a fierce class struggle, from which Labour would emerge as the victorious creator of a new society based on free associations of producers using the nationalised means of production.

It is not my business to defend Zinoviev, Kamenev or Trotzky. They need no defence. They stand as some of the intellectual leaders of vast Socialist Republics, against which the whole capitalist world is up in arms, while Mr. Shaw can, at best, serve as the tutor to some members of His Majesty's Opposition or Government of a Kingdom, which is shaken, like

the proverbial fragile bulrush in the wind, by an apocryphal Zinoviev letter. But it is painful to see such an alert mind as Mr. Shaw's thinking of Fabianism and the I. L. P. as if we were still living in the 'nineties of the last century. Mr. Shaw would awaken to the realities of the present time if he could be brought to devote an hour or two weekly to the reading of the British trade union weeklies and monthlies of the railwaymen, the engineers, the woodworkers, the postmen, the civil service, etc., etc. He would gather from them that, with the leading minds of organised British Labour, Fabianism is a back number. MacDonald's biologism a fleeting episode of the past, while Marxism is progressively permeating the thinking men and women of British trade unionism.

## RED SPORT INTERNATIONAL

### The Results of the 3rd Congress of the Red Sport International.

By Fritz Reussner (Berlin).

In the month of October the 3rd World Congress of the Red Sport International was actually the first real World Congress of the international Labour movement for gymnastics and sport.

The Reformist Lucerne Sport International will hardly be able to bring about a congress of this extent. An important result has ensued from this Congress in that the Reformist lie that the R. S. I. does not exist, has collapsed before the eyes of the international workers. The figures as to the development speak an impressive language. The R. S. I. has, in the three years of its existence, made great progress and has already won for itself an important position in the international labour movement. According to the most recent statistical estimates of the Congress, the R. S. I. has developed roughly as follows:

Affiliated Sections:	
	1922/1923
Russia, Czechoslovakia.	
	1923/24
Russia, about . . . . .	2,000,000
Czechoslovakia, about . . . . .	120,000
France, about . . . . .	6,000
Norway, about . . . . .	10,000
Uruguay, membership unknown.	
Italy, about . . . . .	3,000
America, about . . . . .	5,000
Bulgaria, destroyed . . . . .	18,000
Esthonia, destroyed . . . . .	1,000
Sympathising associations, still members of the Lucerne Sport International:	
	1922/23
Alsace-Lorraine.	
	1923/24
Alsace-Lorraine, about . . . . .	16,000
Finland . . . . .	32,000
Italy, about . . . . .	2,500
Groups in Lucerne Associations:	
	1922/23
Germany, Czechoslovakia (German districts).	
	1923/1924
Germany, total strength about 1,5 millions, strength of groups still unknown.	
Czechoslovakia (German districts), about 40,000, strength of groups about two-fifths.	
Switzerland, about 24,000, strength of groups unknown.	
Austria, numbers still unknown, also strength of groups.	
Opposition groups in bourgeois Associations, where no workers' sport associations exist, which aim at forming independent workers' sport associations:	
	1922/23
Norway, Sweden.	
	1923/24
(Norway now Workers' Sport Association)	
Sweden.	
	1923/24

Countries with which communications exist and in which propaganda is being carried on by the R. S. I. (not yet in the year 1922/23):

Canada, South Africa, Palestine, England, Holland, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Roumania, Poland, Lettland, Latvia, Lithuania.

In Russia we have many clubs and groups for physical culture which are not included in these statistics, as a re-grouping has taken place which will considerably increase the number for Russia.

A series of papers were read at the Congress, dealing with the objects of the R. S. I., and corresponding resolutions were passed. It was quite distinctly demonstrated that, in the capitalist countries, the physical fitness of the proletarian youth can only serve to strengthen their fighting power against the bourgeoisie. The questions of health, hygiene, physical culture and other good things depend on the social and living conditions of the Working class. If these living conditions are to be altered for the better, capitalism must be abolished. For this purpose the proletariat needs combatants, and a proletariat with physical power of resistance is more capable of fighting and enduring in the class war; for this reason we must ensure the physical fitness of the workers by means of gymnastics, sport and games.

The bourgeoisie has long recognised the importance of physical fitness for its class objects, and uses gymnastics, sport and games exclusively for its own purposes. By these means it keeps millions of members of the proletariat away from proletarian organisations and turns them into enemies of the proletariat.

This exposes the lie of "neutral" and "non-political" sport, an expression used also by the Reformists. The 3rd Congress emphatically emphasised that physical education must be used consciously by the working class so as to serve the aims of the proletariat.

The Congress had to clear up a number of unsolved problems which chiefly concerned the question of the combination of the so-called cultural organisations with the organisations for physical education. It was shown, that there is nothing to be gained by an organised connection between the various organisations for social intercourse and those for physical education, and that therefore such a connection is, unnecessary. Close co-operation will naturally be continued.

As regards the liberation of these organisation from bourgeois and Reformist influence, it is the duty of the revolutionary Labour movement to use its powers of persuasion for this purpose in the workshops, trade unions and within the organisations. The R. S. I. concentrates its attention and its powers on the organisation of physical education, because of its immediate significance in the struggle of the proletariat.

The 3rd Congress had in this connection to occupy itself with the technico-methodical questions within the organisations for gymnastics and sport, and established certain rules which emphasise, that the technico-methodical work of physical education must start from the point of view of the requirements of the working class.

It is of great importance for the further development of the R. S. I. that the 3rd Congress has established a firm framework of organisation. The R. S. I. must become a centralised, well-disciplined world organisation. The R. S. I. is accessible to all proletarian elements which recognise the class war. This thesis is very important, as the bourgeoisie and the Reformists attempt to represent the R. S. I. as "Communist International".

The resolution as to the tasks in the fight against Fascism and bourgeois militarism are quite definite, and form a good basis for co-operation with the revolutionary parties, youth organisations and trade unions. Needless to say, the R. S. I. has not committed itself to a weak-kneed pacifist anti-militarism, but is for revolutionary work in the army and its own organisations.

A large part of the debates at the Congress was taken up by a discussion on the relations to the bourgeois and Lucerne organisations.

There is only policy to pursue towards the bourgeois organisations, that is to fight them without consideration.

The Congress once more proclaimed that, in order to maintain a firm front against the campaign of the Lucerne International which aims at splitting up the R. S. I., the latter will fight unflinchingly for the unity of the proletarian gymnastic and sport organisations. The fact that the participation of the R. S. I. in the First Labour Olympic Games in 1925 has been declined, has created a complicated situation. The leaders of the Lucerne

International are working quite consciously for a split in order to get rid of the inconvenient revolutionary elements. The Congress declared unanimously that it is the duty of adherents of the R.S.I. not to yield to the policy of provocation of the Lucerne bureaucrats, (all of them Reformists) but to fight for unity within the Lucerne organisations. The Congress calls upon the masses to show solidarity with the R.S.I. in this fight and to make it possible for the R.S.I. to take part in the First Labour Olympic Games. The highest forum, the World Congress of the R.S.I. declared, that the R.S.I. is still prepared to take part to the fullest extent in the Labour Olympiad, and that it expects to be duly invited. In any case the Congress was perfectly aware of the enormous difficulty of the situation and threw the whole responsibility for the consequences of the splitting of the Labour Olympiad on the shoulders of the leaders of the Lucerne International. The masses must act, this was the slogan of the Congress.

As the invitation to participate in the First Labour Olympiad had up to the present been denied them, the Congress resolved to prepare for the year 1926 a great World Olympiad of all proletarian organisations for physical education. This Olympiad will then be actually the First International World Olympic Games, as it will carry the banner of union and unity of the International Labour movement for gymnastics and sport.

From whatever point of view we regard it, the Third World Congress of the R.S.I. has done important work. It is our duty to popularise its resolutions everywhere and, in common with the revolutionary Labour movement, to organise the further development of the Red Sport International.

## WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

### How the Youth Live and Work in the Soviet Union.

Lately many letters have been sent to papers abroad, but it is the old people — our fathers and elder brothers — and not the youth who write these letters. That is why I am writing now in order to tell the adult and young workers in Western countries how we young workers live in the USSR, and especially about the life and work of the young workers of the State brake factory in Moscow.

Our factory is turning out "Westinghouse" brakes and employs about 500 male and female workers, of whom about 130 are young workers. Now the conditions of the young workers are much better than before. In the first instance there is a law which prohibits the employment of children under 14. At that age children must go to school. Between the age of 14 and 16 children can be employed in light work and not for more than four hours daily. This enables them to study. There is a six hour day for workers between the ages of 16 and 18, and it is only after the age of 18 that young workers have to work 8 hours like the other adult workers. The young people who work 4 and 6 hours a day receive full pay, namely, as much as they would receive for an 8-hour day.

There is a Young Communist League nucleus in the factory for the young workers, with 105 members. This shows that nearly all the young workers are members of the YCL. This nucleus is doing splendid work in the factory, it has its own representatives in all the factory organisations, such as the factory committee, the protection of labour committee, etc., which defend the interests of the young workers. The nucleus is also carrying on educational work among the youth; it has organised various circles including a political literacy study circle. The

nucleus is also teaching everyone how to live in a commune and how to exercise comradely discipline. There is also a club in the factory, and the membership is made up mostly of Young Communists and young people in general.

The club has many circles — dramatic circle, a circle for choir singing, and a circle for band practice, a radio circle and many others, to which mostly young workers belong. Thus we are not only given an opportunity, but we are even encouraged to take up all kinds of studies. The factory has also a school for apprentices which has at present 90 pupils, 17 of whom will have accomplished their apprenticeship in the school year 24—25, about June—July 1925. Their apprenticeship will have lasted four years. Every year there will be fresh batches of young people who have gone through their full apprenticeship course. This apprenticeship school is doing much good to the young workers, for in addition to being taught to read and write and to become an educated being, they are taught some trade or other.

There is one particular thing of which I must tell you, and that is, that there is in our school a committee consisting of the students themselves which conducts all the affairs of the school. This committee discusses together with the instructors everything concerning the school. It decides what subjects should be taught and by what methods. It also helps to draw up the plan of work for every pupil and every pedagogue. The plan in vogue is that every pupil does the special task allotted to him or her, in accordance with the school syllabus. The apprenticeship lasts four years. The first year is considered a preparatory year with a six-hour school day. During the remaining three years four hours are devoted to theoretical studies and four to practical work in the factory. Our school is really meant to be for the children of the workers of our factory, but it also admits on special recommendation pupils from children's homes and youngsters sent by the Labour Exchange. The apprenticeship school is training reserve forces to take the place of factory workers who are obliged to give up work because of old age or ill-health.

The pupils of the apprenticeship school receive pay, which is of course, not very high, but nevertheless, sufficient for one person. But if we should calculate the cost of the teaching staff, of the necessary school material and other school expenses, we see that a considerable sum of money is spent on every pupil of this school. On the whole we can say that the pupils of the apprenticeship school are very satisfied with their conditions and are eager to prove themselves as useful as possible to the workers and the Soviet Government.

A wall newspaper called the "Regulator" is published in our factory, and our young workers are active contributors to it. All the numbers contain their contributions. But they are not only contributors to the paper, for the paper was founded by them and the editorial board also consists of members of the Young Communist League. We recently celebrated the Seventh Anniversary of our Revolution. We came out into the streets with our Red banners, the bands playing, and we rejoiced in being free citizens. We are not afraid of anyone for we live in a free country, where we ourselves are the masters. And on the day of the Fifth Anniversary of the Young Communist International our message to you is: "Follow in our footsteps towards the world commune".

Long live the Red Youth — the vanguard in the march towards the World October.

With young communist greetings,  
Zatranski,

Youth Correspondent of the paper "The Young Leninite".  
Moscow, Lesnaya 28.

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## Leninism or Trotzkyism? Speech by Comrade Stalin.

At the Plenary Meeting of the Communist Section of the Central Trade Union Council on November 19th. 1924.

Comrades! I will confine myself to unmasking a few legends which have been spread by Comrade Trotzky and others of the same opinion as to the October revolution, the part played by Comrade Trotzky in the revolution, as to the Party and the preparations for October etc. In doing so I shall treat Trotzkyism as a singular ideology which is quite irreconcilable with Leninism, and speak of the duties of the Party in connection with the recent literary undertakings of Comrade Trotzky.

### The Facts as to the October Revolution.

First of all as to the October revolution. Strong rumours are being spread among the members of the Party, that the C. C. as a whole is said to have been opposed to the insurrection in October 1917. The tale usually goes that on Oct. 10th., when the C. C. passed a resolution regarding the organisation of the revolt, the majority of the C. C. pronounced against the revolt, but that just then a workman forced his way into the committee and said: "You have passed a resolution against the revolt, but I tell you that it will take place in spite of everything". The C. C. is said to have been alarmed by these threats, to have discussed anew the question of the revolt, and to have decided to organise it.

This is no simple rumour, Comrades. The well-known John Reed, who was not connected with our Party and naturally could not know the history of our conspirative meeting on Oct. 10th. so that he fell into Mr. Suchanow's trap, writes about it in his book "Ten Days which Shook the World". This tale is printed and repeated in a whole series of brochures which originate from the pens of Trotzky's adherents, among others in one of the latest brochures about October written by Comrade Syrkin.

These rumours are supported in an increased degree by the latest literary enterprise of Comrade Trotzky. It is hardly necessary to prove that all these and similar "Arabian Nights" do not correspond to the facts, that nothing of the sort happened or could have happened at the meeting of the C. C. We might therefore pass over these rumours, for indeed many unfounded and silly rumours are manufactured in the studies of persons in opposition or not connected with the Party. We have, as a matter of fact, done so until recently, for instance, by paying

no attention to the mistakes of John Reed and not troubling to correct them. But after the recent enterprises of Comrade Trotzky, it is really impossible to pass over these legends, for efforts are being made to educate the youth on the lines of these legends, which have unfortunately already met with some success. I feel therefore compelled to confront these silly rumours with the actual facts.

Let us take the minutes of the meeting of the C. C. of our Party from 10th. — 23rd. Oct. 1917. Present: Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Trotzky, Swerdlov, Uritzky, Dzershinsky, Kollontay, Bubnov, Sokolnikov, Lomov. The question to be discussed is the situation at the time and the insurrection. After the debate, a resolution of Comrade Lenin's as to the revolt is put to the vote. The resolution was passed with a majority of 10 votes against 2. It seems therefore perfectly clear that the C. C. resolved by a majority of 10 against 2 votes to proceed immediately with the practical work for the organisation of the insurrection. At this meeting, the C. C. chose a political central committee with the title of a political bureau, consisting of Lenin, Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev, Trotzky, Sokolnikov and Bubnov to lead the revolt.

These are the facts. These Minutes immediately destroy several legends. They destroy the legend that a majority of the C. C. pronounced against the insurrection. They also destroy the legend that the C. C. was faced by a split on the question of the insurrection. It is evident from the Minutes, that the opponents of immediate revolt — Comrades Kamenev and Zinoviev, joined the organ for the political direction of the revolt, just as did those who were in favour of it. There was not and cannot be any question of a split.

Comrade Trotzky asserts that in the persons of Comrade Kamenev and Zinoviev we had in October a right wing, almost a wing of Social Democrats, in our Party. In view of this it seems difficult to understand how it could happen that the Party escaped a split; how it could happen that, in spite of the differences of opinion, the Comrades in question were placed by the Party at the most important posts, were elected to the political central committee of the insurrection etc. Lenin's intolerance of social democrats is well known in the Party; the Party knows