

V. b. b.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 5. No. 43

14<sup>th</sup> May 1925

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213. Vienna IX.  
Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

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## The Political Significance of Hindenburg's Election.

By J. Lenz (Berlin).

On the 12th May Hindenburg, the Kaiser's Field-Marshal took the Oath of Loyalty to the Constitution of the Republic, which, according to the promises of the first government, the government directly set up by the people, was to become a socialist Republic and which is now openly represented as being a "monarchy without a king". The so-called republican papers are not quite clear as to the question whether it is a triumph for Democracy and the Republic that a representative of monarchist ideas has taken the oath of loyalty to the constitutional republic, or whether the monarchist danger, against which the so-called Republicans are supposed to have conducted the election campaign, continues to exist in a more acute form as a result of Hindenburg's election.

Contrary to the stupid idea of socialist "theoreticians" — who praised the candidate of the "Republican Bloc" as the best representative of the "economic" interests, and represented the candidature of Hindenburg as a disagreeable episode which crossed the plans of the German bourgeoisie, of its leading group, the heavy industry and its political party, the German People's Party — the Communists, right from the outset, have clearly pointed out that the candidature of Hindenburg is not a candidature of the nationalist Junkers and the petty bour-

geoisie, not a rebellion of the nationalists against the Treaty of Versailles and the Dawes Plan, but on the contrary, that he is the most suitable candidate of the bourgeoisie for rendering its policy of the Dawes Plan popular among the masses, and before all among the nationalist petty bourgeoisie.

Both as regards foreign and home politics, the tendency of the policy of the big bourgeoisie is determined by the fact that German capitalism can only maintain its existence with the aid of international capitalism, and before all of American and English capitalism — which fact found expression in the Treaty of London.

With regards to home politics, the carrying out of the Dawes Plan renders necessary a firm government and State power, which is exclusively at the disposal of the heavy capitalist concerns, in order to be able to thrust the enormous reparation burdens upon the working masses without the danger of encountering any serious resistance.

As far as foreign politics is concerned, the German bourgeoisie, which in spite of its dependence upon foreign capital cannot abandon an imperialist foreign policy, must endeavour, while remaining dependent upon other imperialist powers and by taking advantage of the imperialist antagonisms, to win back

a little more freedom of action and prepare for the restoration of German imperialism. The offer of the Guarantee Pact, which was made by the Foreign Minister Stresemann on behalf of the government which stands under the decisive influence of the German nationalists, is an attempt, by means of an offer of armed help against Soviet Russia and by recognition of the frontiers of France, to obtain an alleviation of the conditions of disarming, a free hand in the Eastern policy and a colonial mandate of the League of Nations. In adopting this course the German government believes that it can take advantage of the differences between England and France by courting the friendship of England, whilst, as a matter of fact, the English government, following the old policy of maintaining the balance of power, intends to make use of Germany as a counter-weight against France.

It is quite evident that Hindenburg's candidature would have been impossible if the English Ambassador in Berlin, who, as is known, exercises a decisive influence upon the policy of the German government, had made any objection to this candidature. The efforts of the English press to reassure French public opinion regarding Hindenburg's election, are a clear indication that English imperialism at present regards the restoration of the German bourgeoisie, not as a threat against itself, but as a positive factor against France.

The election speeches which the controllers of the nationalist party machine drew up for the "National Saviour of Germany", Hindenburg, persistently emphasised that in the event of his election, Hindenburg would not make any change in the present foreign policy of Germany. The first governmental act of Hindenburg, before he actually assumed office, was the speech which he caused to be delivered by the Reich Chancellor Luther after he had had a conversation with the latter and which culminated in the assurance of Germany's unchangeable loyalty to international Treaties.

It is certain that nobody in the world will take a peace speech of Hindenburg any more seriously than the peace talk which Wilhelm the Last was wont to indulge in on every possible occasion. It is certain that Hindenburg cannot rely upon any other class than the bourgeoisie, as the German nationalist petty bourgeois were only given their beloved Field Marshall in order to win them the more securely for the policy of the big bourgeoisie. Thus it is not the war of revenge against France that has become an acute danger as a result of the election of Hindenburg, but rather that war which, according to the programme of German heavy industry, has every probability of breaking out, the "legitimate war" of which Briand spoke at the last session of the League of Nations, the League of Nations' war against the common enemy of all imperialists — against Soviet Russia.

After the election of Hindenburg the Stinnes organ saw the consolidation of Germany, which has been thereby created, among other things, in the fact that the Guarantee Pact and the entry into the League of Nations — the two definite measures by which Germany is to take her place in the front of world imperialism against Russia — will not give rise to any further difficulties in home politics, as Hindenburg takes the responsibility for them, while resistance on the part of the nationalists was only to be feared so long as it appeared that only Stresemann bore responsibility for them. A German Nationalist weekly paper gave expression to the meaning of the Hindenburg election by saying that if Hindenburg were to summon the German people against the red danger all would respond, whilst it is not certain whether all would have responded if the hated Republic had issued the call to arms.

It is also undeniable that the election of Hindenburg means a strengthening and consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie in the sphere of home politics. This is also expressed by the statement that Hindenburg stands for exactly the same programme of casting the burden of taxation upon the working masses as his "republican" opponent Marx, but that Hindenburg is much better able to render this policy palatable to the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and to render the bourgeois State power a still firmer and reliable element against the proletariat than it was in Ebert's time.

It is certain that, for the bourgeoisie, the restoration of the monarchy is only a question of expediency but a Republic in which the whole State apparatus is in the hands of convinced monarchists and which, as the product of the defeat of German imperialism has never won the sympathies of the Nationalist bourgeoisie, very well serves its purpose. The German Nationalist

papers assert that Hindenburg, as a man of honour, will keep his oath of loyalty to the constitution, but they immediately add that for Germany the "most suitable" form of State, i. e. the monarchy, can only be introduced by legal and constitutional means. In fact in a Republic in which the idol of the monarchy has been elected president by a popular vote, the abolition of the republican form of State can be realised by constitutional means.

The election of Hindenburg is not a mere chance and should not be regarded as an historical error, but it is a stage in the advance of the restoration of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which advance will be continued until the proletariat, as the leader of all the exploited and oppressed, calls a halt to it.

## THE BALKANS

### The Assassination of Todor Panitza in Vienna.

By R. Albert.

The assassins in the pay of M. Zankov murdered in Prague M. Daskalov, the leader of the Peasants' League and an old colleague of Stamboulisky, the former chief of the Bulgarian peasant government.

In Milan they killed the hero of Macedonian independence, Peter Tshaulev.

To their other numerous crimes they have now added the murder in Vienna of Todor Panitza, another fighter in the Macedonian cause.

We were already aware that they were preparing to carry out assassinations in Austria and in Italy. Documents emanating from the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome have been made public regarding their activity in Italy. With regard to their activity in Vienna, we only know that they have "condemned to death", among other political opponents, D. Vlahov the President of the Balkan Federation and that they are only waiting for a suitable occasion in order to carry out their decree.

In addition to these professional cut-throats, the Sofia government is working abroad with the aid of its diplomacy and its secret police.

Its secret police study the habits of and the places frequented by the victims who have been marked down for assassination. Its diplomacy corrupts the press and is continually intriguing in the foreign chancelleries. It denounces the red peril. It demands drastic measures against Bulgarian refugees. It seeks to prove that the victims who fall under the knife or the revolver of its assassins are the guilty parties.

The assassination in Vienna was carried out at the precise moment when the cabinets of Sofia and Belgrade, who are obviously supported by Chamberlain, are exerting a shameful pressure on the small Austrian Republic. They demand nothing more nor less than the abolition of the Right of Asylum at present enjoyed by a few Bulgarian subjects who have escaped the slaughter in Sofia, Gorna-Djoumaia and other places.

The murder of Todor Panitza bears all the marks of a political crime.

The female student, Mencia Carniciu, who, on the 8th of May, during the performance of Peer Gynt in the Burg Theatre, aimed the bullet at the Macedonian leader, was — as the official statement shows — a frequent visitor of a certain M. Antonov, the chief of the press department of the Bulgarian Embassy in Vienna. M. Antonov was in the habit of handing over to her the "remittances" sent to her by her parents in Bulgaria. Is not the matter sufficiently clear?

Mencia Carniciu has declared that she wanted to punish in Panitza the "wicked Macedonian". The good Macedonians are those of General Protogerov, who are in the service of M. Zankov.

The bad Macedonians are those who support the united front of all the suppressed and the free Federation of the Workers and Peasants of the Balkans.

After the assassination of Peter Tshaulev in Milan, Todor Panitza, who was an old insurgent renowned for his courage and who for a long time lived in the mountains, fought for years against the Turkish oppression and never submitted to any foreign yoke, became the real leader of the revolutionary peasants in Macedonia.

## Why the Infernal Machine Exploded.

By Al. Kolossoy.

Comrade Stoyanov, a communist member of the Bulgarian Parliament, a comrade whose unrelenting and unwearied fight against the regime of bloody violence was brought to an end two months ago by his being shot down in the streets of Sofia, sent to the International Red Aid in the Spring of last year the **Diary of one of Zankov's hangman**, who had ended his prolonged and bloody "work" by suicide.

In the letter accompanying the diary comrade Stoyanov wrote, that the number and the names of the victims of the Zankov terror cannot be ascertained, that this terror is indecribable, as human language lacks the words with which to describe the sufferings of the blood-soaked country and that, therefore, this task must be "left to the words of the hangman", whose diary provides some sketches of the white terror carried on by the Bulgarian government.

This diary is the unique confession of a Bulgarian officer, a former social democrat, who at the end of 1923 was the leader of a punitive expedition which went from place to place carrying fire and bloodshed and practising innumerable acts of violence.

At a time when the Zankov agents are fabricating "documents of the Comintern and of the Soviet government", at a time when the capitalist press is endeavouring to demonstrate the hand of Moscow in the Bulgarian events, it is very opportune to turn over the gruesome pages of the confession of a hangman and to read the bloody records of an eyewitness of the acts of the white terror and to convince oneself that the avenging explosion of the infernal machine was an outbreak of desperation, which has seized the mercilessly tortured and plundered working masses of the country who have nothing to lose but prison walls, torturings and death from starvation.

What is the peasant policy of the government of this land of peasants?

In the attaché case of the writer of the diary there lay the "instructions" of the authorities in Sofia, which prescribe:

1. "When circumstances render it necessary, the entire population of the villages must be exterminated!"
2. "No prisoners must be taken!"
3. "Individual executions should be carried out with the cold steel!"

To whom has the government entrusted the fate of the Bulgarian villages?

Below there is given the type of one of the dictators, an absolute ruler over the rural areas.

"One of my companions", writes the author of the diary, "is a fat, undersized person; his bloated cheeks are clean shaven, his black moustache, which is touched with grey, is curled upwards, his eyes are inflamed as a result of continual drinking; but the chief thing that impresses one's memory, are his low forehead and the tousled hair hanging over it!" I only need to look at a fellow who is going to be hanged, young man — said he — and I can tell what convulsions he will have: his arms and legs will twist and turn, will now stretch out or will bend in the form of half a wheel, with convulsive movements at the sides... Thus, for example, I can tell from your neck that your limbs would be bent and that you would have long convulsions. I however..."

The sadistic dictator could not finish his speech. There entered the room, now glancing sideways, now looking on the ground, now fastening her eyes on one point, an old woman. She came up to the table, began to tremble, and her sobs filled the room. She bowed to the ground and began with groans to beg that the corpses of her two young sons who had been executed a week before might be given up.

One insufficiently acquainted with the exercise of the white terror by the Bulgarian government could easily assume that this is only directed with all its rigour against the Communist Party, against the working masses and against the revolutionary active peasants. The language of the documents tells a somewhat different story. Facts and figures bear witness that the terror in the country under the rule of Zankov has reached a point of blind, pitiless and bestial cruelty, where the hangmen can no longer distinguish the active opponents from the masses of the workers, and class hate knows no limits.

"Seven condemned", states the writer of the diary, "are bound together. A living wall, a wall of human bodies".

Who are these people who are to be slaughtered, concerning whom it is prescribed, "they must not be hanged but finished off with the cold steel"?

"It is within my own knowledge", writes the author, "that this man was arrested, as he was returning home after the burial of his son, that one as he was going into his little vineyard, and this one was simply fetched from his hay waggon..."

Nevertheless, the leader of the punitive expedition, who was only recently a "member of the Social Democratic Party", in the "name of the government", gave the order, and: stabs were given which penetrated into the back and into the neck; crunching sounds of the breaking of bones; the dull sound of the bayonet which splits the bones... One has fallen into the grave... Another one, another and yet another. Still living they are thrown into the grave with its walls of damp black earth. Dozens of spadefuls of earth are thrown over them, and through the noise of the falling clods there rises the faint groaning of men in their death agony: "Stop! I am still alive!..."

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"Silence reigns over the country. And even the mothers, who on Saturday visit the graves of their sons who have been hung, shot or had the flesh torn off them, silently weep, without speaking a word, for the invisible, but all-seeing Gendarme follows on their heels."

The above is from a letter from a Bulgarian student, who is neither a member of the Communist Party nor of the Young Communist League, to a colleague who is studying at the Berlin University.

In September 1923 all lights in the villages were out. A darkness and stillness as of the grave reigned over the fields of Bulgaria.

"Strike a light grandmother; just a light so that I can see to change my clothes", asks Comrade Torov, who has escaped from the prison of Stara Zagora, of an old peasant woman. "Have you gone mad?" exclaims the old woman in reply, her whole body trembling. "And what about the guerilla? They will be here in a minute. They will sweep down like fierce vultures."

The guerilla is Zankov's band for maintaining order. It is the members of this band who fling peasants into the wells for being behind in paying their taxes, who rape young women, who, in an intoxicated condition, set fire to the peasants houses, hang the village school teacher, declare the last horse of the peasant to be "state property" and create that horror which lies upon the souls of the Bulgarian peasants and which was described by comrade P. who has recently fled to Poland:

"The burning village lay before us — seven or eight kilometers distant. The flames seized only a portion of the village, and to the left, half a kilometer from the burning houses there flared up three separate huge tongues of flame which lit up the few dozen houses which still remained untouched by the fire. One could hear the weeping, crying and sobbing of the women and children, the wild lowing of cows and oxen, the bleating of sheep and the crashing of the walls as they collapsed. This government of the bloody Zankov was settling accounts with the "disobedient" peasants. The air trembled, the first shot was followed by a second, then a third and a fourth, the punitive expedition was commencing artillery fire. Fresh sparks shot up to the heavens and lit up that portion of the village which lay between the main conflagration and the three sheets of flame."

And here is the testimony of another eye-witness.

"Below, a kilometer from the maple trees, there lay on the right bank of the brook a little village, and on the trees there hung three corpses, one of a youth, another of an old peasant and the third of a priest. The morning breeze played with the wavy beard of the old peasant: a strange smile lay upon his face. Upon the bare breast of the priest there shone a cross that had been hacked with a sabre; the blood was dripping down and two yellow flies had crawled into the depths of the wound."

Is there any need to ask why the infernal machine exploded?

## The Trial of the C. P. of Roumania.

By M. Radu (Bucharest).

On the 28th of April there commenced before the Military Court of Bucharest, the monster trial of the Communist Party of Roumania. The atmosphere in which this great political trial is taking place is characterised by the increased intensity of the domestic and foreign political situation and the economic crisis, by an unrestrained persecution of the labour movement, of the subject nationalities and of the peasantry of the country.

The events in Bulgaria have frightened the Roumanian Boyars and the financial oligarchy. The organs of the government and also of the bourgeois opposition are raising a great outcry against the "approaching danger of a bolshevik putch", and are calling upon the government to learn a lesson from Zankov. The state of siege prevailing in Bessarabia and in the Southern and Western border districts has been rendered still more severe by fresh measures on the part of the military and the secret police. The Danube flotilla and numerous air squadrons have been mobilised, considerable bodies of troops have been concentrated in Dobrudsha and in Bessarabia, and the few remnants which still existed of the right of combination and to hold meetings have been abolished.

During the last few months the pressure upon the nationalities has been redoubled; the schools and the cultural associations of the peoples living in Siebenbürgen, Bessarabia, and in Bucovina have been closed, and in the best cases replaced by Roumanian institutions, while the teaching staffs have been driven out. The Educational Act which has been just passed by parliament, deprives the national minorities of all possibility of being taught their mother tongue. The subject nationalities have not the slightest chance of exercising any political rights. The discontent among the nationalities is, therefore, constantly increasing.

Owing to the corruption prevailing in the distribution of the land in old Roumania and the revision of the rights to the soil already acquired in Bessarabia, as well as the systematic requisitioning of corn, in spite of the prevailing bread shortage, the indignation of the peasantry against the tyranny of the Boyars is assuming more and more visible forms. In numerous localities peasant revolts have broken out which could only be quelled with the aid of considerable reinforcements of gendarmes and military detachments.

A general economic crisis completes this picture of the arbitrary regime of Bratianu. Agricultural production shows a constant decline, which reveals itself in a serious shortage in the bread supply for the whole population, and in the introduction of breadless days. All attempts on the part of the government to create a favourable foreign trade balance have been rendered illusory by a general crisis of production. The government has also failed to obtain foreign credits for the restoration of industrial production and for the reorganisation of neglected state industrial undertakings. Under such circumstances, whole branches of industry are at a complete standstill. Unemployment already embraces 55% of the working class, that is 155,000 workers. A 40% decline in the standard of living and constant attempts on the part of the employers to abolish the eight hour day and to introduce piece work further characterise the situation of the working class.

The government, on its part, is hastening to aid the capitalist exploiters by a number of anti-labour laws. For the past eighteen months the government has been conducting an uninterrupted campaign of persecution against all organisations of the working class.

Of all the political parties of Roumania the Communist Party has been the only one to raise its voice on behalf of the right to self-determination of the subject nationalities, up to complete separation from the ruling State, and to point out to the suppressed masses of Bessarabia, Siebenbürgen and Bucovina the only possible way to emancipation, which consists in the abolition of the present regime and in the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government of Roumania and the establishment of a Federation of Soviet Republics of the Balkans. The Bratianu government replied to this attitude of the C. P. of Roumania with an indescribable campaign of terror, with mass arrests and the proclamation of martial law throughout the greater part of the country. With the establishment of martial law, the C. P. of Roumania was rendered illegal.

During the height of the terror, the Communist Party was confronted with the task of adapting its organisations to the altered conditions without losing contact with the broad masses of the workers, but especially with the suppressed nationalities and the landless peasants. The C. P. of Roumania considered it its duty, more than ever before, to tear the mask from the face of the government of Boyar despotism and on every occasion when the nationality question came to the front, to give unreserved expression to its standpoint. This was the case in December last year, on the occasion of the Congress of the Hungarian minority party which took place in Brasov, when the Communist Party exposed to the broad working masses of the Hungarian minority, that shameless political bargaining which the Hungarian big landowners and big industrials were carrying on in the name of the Hungarian population of Roumania, for the mess of pottage of shameless concessions at the cost of the working masses.

The government of terror reacted to this campaign of enlightenment of the C. P. of Roumania with fresh persecutions and mass arrests, the like of which had never been seen since the suppression of the great general strike in 1920. The closing of Trade Union branches, the confiscation of the organs of the unitarian Trade Unions, imprisonment and cruel ill-treatment of close on 1500 workers — these were "the measures for maintaining Law and Order".

The inquisitorial "methods of examination", which even put medieval torturings in the shade, the "disciplining" of the imprisoned by confining them for weeks in concrete cells, about the size of a cupboard with a small hole for ventilation, compelled the arrested comrades to enter upon a hunger-strike as a protest against their unlawful arrest and barbarous ill-treatment. After a 30 to 40 days hunger-strike, which almost resulted in the death of the imprisoned comrades, the authorities, under the pressure of the hunger-strike and the general indignation of the public, were compelled to free the prisoners one by one, with the exception of 30 comrades who are still kept under arrest.

It was under such conditions that the Roumanian government hastened to stage a monster trial of the C. P. of Roumania, and in doing so made special use of the recent political events in the Balkans. The essence of the "accusation" which is brought against the Communist Party of Roumania is based upon the latter's attitude regarding the Bessarabian question. In view of the approaching Conference of the Little Entente in Bucharest, where the basis of an "anti-Bolshevik Bloc" under the patronage of English imperialism is to be created, the Bratianu government is endeavouring, hand in hand with Zankov, by shameful sentences to make it appear as if it were necessary to suppress every movement for freedom in its own country and to justify such suppression in the neighbouring countries. This is the purpose of the monster trial which is to put a legal stamp upon the unconstitutional outlawing of the C. P. of Roumania and the other proletarian organisations. At the commencement of the trial the building of the Military Court of the Bucharest army corps was surrounded by strong military forces, and in the Court itself troops were stationed with machine guns and fixed bayonets.

In the trial there are 70 accused, 57 of whom are before the Court. More than 400 people were proposed as witnesses, among them the Prime Minister Bratianu, the late ministers Tranku-Iassi and Argetojanu and other familiar names in the political life of Roumania. Further, Henri Barbusse, Monmousseau, Smeral, Serrati, Ekaterina Arbore-Ralli, Clara Zetkin, Cachin, Sadoul, Blasco Ibanez and others. The accused demanded that foreign lawyers be allowed to come and defend them, and also that they be allowed to speak their own language at the trial. The Court, after long discussion, granted the last request.

Comrade Dr. Egon Schönhof, a lawyer who had come from Vienna, was refused the right to act as defender on the ground that he is not a Roumanian citizen and not a member of the Bar in Bucharest. He was afterwards given permission to defend, but was arrested on the very next day, held under arrest for six days and shamefully treated, and finally expelled and conducted to the frontier.

It was characteristic of the Court that on the conclusion of the first day of proceedings it declared that all accused who were still at liberty should be arrested; whereupon all the accused entered on a hunger-strike. The Defence raised the objection that scarcely 10% of all the witnesses who had been summoned had appeared, and therefore demanded the adjournment of the proceedings on account of insufficient evidence. The Court overrode

the objection; nevertheless on the second day of the proceedings it had to acquit six of the accused comrades as nothing could be proved against them. The trial is still going on and will, in all probability, in view of the imposing mass of "evidence" brought forward by the prosecution, still last some weeks. It will serve as a model for other Balkan States.

## POLITICS

### Mr. Churchill's Bankers' Budget.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

Whatever else may be said about Churchill's budget, this much has to be said — it is a bankers' imperialist budget! The incidence or the relief of taxation, coincident with the return to the gold standard, point most clearly to the bankers and link the budget to the Dawes Report. The introduction of the tariff policy directed against foreign countries along with preferences to the Colonies of Great Britain, simultaneously with the increase of military expenditure, make it perfectly clear that to describe it as an imperialist budget is no exaggeration. Mr. Snowden has described it as the "worst rich man's budget in modern history", but has nothing to say about its real imperialist character. He would have the navy and air estimates reduced a little and he thinks that "the state of our industries", do not warrant the application of the insurance scheme with which he is very much annoyed. Sir Alfred Mond supported Mr. Snowden and Sir Alfred is the voice of big business. Sir Robert Horne the Conservative leader of the Federation of British Industries re-echoed the story. All the critics were therefore mainly concerned as to how best to help British capitalism and we can pass it along without worrying much about it.

The first feature of the Budget speech was that dealing with the return of the pound to the gold standard. Last year at this time there was a fierce discussion going on in banking and industrial circles as to the advisability of this project. It appeared that they were on the verge of further inflation. The industrialist elements of the F. B. I. were pressing for it and the Labour Party were not averse. The scales were weighted in the opposite direction immediately the Dawes Report was put through and American money began to flow towards Britain and Europe. The bankers have won and the industrialists still cry out without avail. It is clear from all the evidence that this has been accomplished by the collaboration of Wall St. and the English Bankers. The Government has already purchased sufficient dollars to cover the July and December payments on the American debt, covered any retreat they may have to make with arrangements for credits between the Government and the United States Federal Board and the American banks. "Gt. Britain", says the "Evening Standard", is now more than ever vulnerable to the weapon of financial pressure. . . . We are, in short, giving the United States a power which, while it may not be to America's interests to use it, remains always uncomfortably in the background." This disquietude is echoed by others, but it was the only way possible for British capitalism to regather its forces. American-Anglo collaboration in matters of finance is the only cover under which Britain can even steady herself down the decline, and the bankers have decided on it.

Other factors play their part, of course. It is interesting to be able to lend money that is depreciated to the State and get interest and repayments in appreciated currency. This profitable business is revealed in a further part of the Budget dealing with the National Debt. Mr. Churchill was very proud of the debt reduction. It amounts this year to somewhere about £ 40 million. In 1920 the Debt stood at £ 7,828,779,000. It is now £ 7,646,000,000. So, although taxation has yielded for national debt purposes in five years some £ 1,750,000,000 the debt is only reduced by £ 182,000,000. The difference between the two sums has gone into the pockets of the patriotic investors in war stocks, mainly the banks.

But the industrialists are growling for another reason. They cannot yet see how the restoration of the gold standard is going to help them a great deal with regard to the problem of markets. There is a divergence between dollar prices and pound prices. Whereas British prices are up 71 per cent above 1914 level, dollar prices are up only 62 per cent. This difference in price level places the British exporter at a disadvantage, which annoys

the British industrialists who reckon on America as their principal competitor, and accounts for their objection to the latter being strengthened by the Governments action in relation to the gold standard.

It also accounts for the fact that, simultaneously with the concerted efforts to restore the pound, we are faced with a general offensive against the workers' wages and hours of labour. The whole business has to be put through at the expense of the working class. Mr. Keynes projects that it will now be necessary to reduce wages 2/- in the £, that is, 10 per cent.

Were these the only features of the budget it would be bad enough for the workers, but the remaining features are still more blatant pieces of class activity directed to the support of the richest elements. Death Duties have been increased it is true, but the living millionaires have received a free gift of £ 10,000,000 per annum by the reduction of the super tax on unearned income. Besides these, all those with incomes over £ 250 per annum receive a little gift amounting in all to £ 32,000,000 per annum.

While these little gifts are being handed round to those who are in clover, the workers come in for a bit of rough handling. Mr. Churchill has stolen the thunder of the Labour Party with regard to old age pensions and pensions for widows, but has decided to do it at the expense of the workers, by imposing a tax of fourpence per week for men and twopence per week for women who already pay the national health insurance and the unemployment insurance. Of course it is said that the employers are to pay 4d and 2d per week too and the State an equal amount. But it does not work out that way. The miners, for example, under the national wages agreement pay 87% of the employers insurance, while everybody is quite convinced that the remainder is passed on to the price of commodities.

Of course the industrial element don't want even that, because they are anxious for prices to come down. The net result can only be an intensification of the fight to reduce prices by reducing wages and lengthening the working day. At the same time the worker cannot escape the payment by any means whatsoever. If he gets a job at all, it is stopped out of his wages. Hence, the poor, out of their poverty, are to be poll taxed to insure the boss from any responsibility for either old age, widowhood, sickness or unemployment.

It only requires the extension of this scheme along the line of the Mond proposals and the workers will also be levied to subsidise broken down industries. Already unemployment and health insurance cost the worker 13 pence per week off his wages. To add a further fourpence per week just at the moment that wages are again being reduced all round is a pretty heavy dose and is bound to affect trade unionism. The average wage of the skilled worker in the engineering industry is 57/- per week. Of this he has now to pay 1/5 insurance and 2/- per week for his Trade Union. It is obvious therefore that this new taxation is no godsend. But Mr. Churchill consoles him by reminding him that the Labour Government reduced his taxes last year, but politely ignores the fact that the cost of living is higher and the tax relief has gone into the pockets of the Trusts.

The reward for all this is to be in the form of pensions for widows to the extent of 10/- per week which is about five shillings per week lower than what is allowed by the board of guardians as poor law relief. The allowance for the first child is 5/- per week, for the others 3/- per week. This scheme is to come into operation on January first next for all those who have two years payments. Old age pensions at 65 years of age come within the scheme and are operative from 1928.

This departure from state pensions on a non-contributory basis is the point upon which the Labour Party is laying stress. The Tories have stolen the thunder of the Labour Party so far as the widows and pensioners are concerned and transferred the payment for it direct on the workers. For sheer impudent class war legislation for social amelioration it would be hard to beat.

After relieving the rich and penalising the poor it is of importance to observe the nature of the remaining programme. Expenditure on the Navy and Air Forces goes up by £ 5 million. This is introduced at a moment when recruiting and military demonstrations are receiving more attention than they have received since the war, and certainly much more than before the war in 1914. The Budget emphasises the fact that however pacific the language of the British ruling class may be to America or any other country, there is very little of a pacifist nature in their deeds. The Budget begins the tariff war by re-introducing the



McKenna duties and imposing new taxes on the import of silk goods. For raw materials and partly manufactured materials, Britain is practically dependent on foreign supplies in which France plays no small part. The McKenna duties are taxes on automobiles, motor parts, clocks etc. directly aiming at the continental and American trade.

With these barriers against the foreigner the Government has decided to make concessions to the colonies by granting preferences on dried fruits etc. agreed upon at the Empire Conference in 1923. It will be remembered that this Conference was composed of Tory premiers, and paved the way to the General election which made possible the return of a Labour Government.

Thus the plan of campaign for imperial recovery has come full circle. Two years have elapsed and the Labour opposition has been transformed into an appendage of the imperialists with little chance of making a real opposition to their policy for a long time to come. Certainly on this occasion they will meet with no serious opposition. Most of it will be of a vote catching character in which the remnants of the Liberal Party will vie with the Mr. Snowden and MacDonald. Both will talk about the extra burdens placed on "industry". Both will complain about womens silk stockings and underwear costing more. While the Labour Party may get a little extra capital out of the situation by saying that the pensions should be on a non-contributory basis.

The Tories will undoubtedly make the fullest possible use of this Labour Party line in other circumstances. For example, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hayday have howled about the heavy burden on industry which the insurance tax will impose. Mr. Hayday said: "Mr. Churchill's budget, we are told, was to help industry. By his pension scheme he will do more harm than a dozen strikes or lockouts . . . . . The heavy burden on industry will handicap most heavily those trades — Mining, Engineering, Shipbuilding, Cotton etc. which have been hardest hit in the present depression. On top of their present difficulties, the Churchill poll tax may prove to be the last straw that breaks the camel's back".

The employing class will thank the Labour Party for this argument when they meet the trade unionists who want increases of wages, and it wants very little imagination to hear the employers address, say, the engineering unions as follows: "You agree that fourpence per week per head for the insurance scheme may prove likely to break our backs. Why then do you come to us with demands for one pound per week per head advance in wages for the engineering workers? Is this not likely to send our industry to perdition?" Thus, once again the Labour leaders' concern for capitalist industry will be used to defeat the workers.

So the Tory Government can afford to smile. They will say and do say that while the Labour Party was talking about pensions, the Tory Party found the practical ways and means of introducing them without delay. True, they say it means a small effort more must come from the workers, but then if they have to wait until the State can afford to give the pensions, they will not get them for many years to come because everyone is so poor and industry has yet to be restored to normal.

With this kind of reply ready, with an enormous press to help them, they will then reckon up the account and see that the wealthy class has succeeded in entrenching itself, relieved itself of considerable taxation, paved the way for a bigger navy and bigger air force, taken definite steps to hold the Empire closer to the "mother country" and prepared the way to fight the foreigner. In short the Budget is a real British Imperialist Budget.

## The Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

By Otto (Berlin).

"The Executive of the I.F.T.U. has decided, simultaneously with the disarmament Conference to be held by the League of Nations in Geneva, to arrange in the same place a Conference of the organisations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions".

The "disarmament Conference" of the League of Nations, and also the 'disarmament Conference' of the International Federation of Trade Unions which is to be held at the same time,

are the effects of definite causes. What causes? Before all the fact that all the capitalist States, both small and great, have commenced a competition in armaments which places that which preceded 1914 completely in the shade. Feverish preparations are being made for war by land, air and sea. If the storm should break, then the wholesale slaughter of 1914—1918 will appear insignificant in comparison.

This fact led to the first "disarmament Conference" in Washington on the part of the great powers, as well as to the Hague Peace Conference on the part of the organisations of the working class. If the Amsterdam International now once again convenes such a conference, it only proves that the tremendous competition in armaments of all capitalist States has not been restricted by the Washington Disarmament Conference, but that it has become an ever nearer approaching danger of war. The new Conference further proves that the Hague peace resolutions have done nothing to change the rivalry in armaments. The iron arguments of sea, land and air armaments speak another language than that of the Hague paper resolution.

The present step of the I.F.T.U. is a practical admission that both it and its representatives on the League of Nations have not checked the armaments fever. In spite of all the hymns of peace of the leaders of the I.F.T.U. and its representatives on the League of Nations, none of the great powers takes any notice of the League of Nations and of the I.F.T.U. This fact was rendered obvious at the last session of the League of Nations and serves best to expose the fraud of world peace which has been carried on hitherto by means of the League of Nations by all its supporters in the face of the working masses. It was there that Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, rejected the Geneva Protocol, "as its clauses were calculated to increase the danger of war instead of promoting the idea of peace"! Briand, the representative of France in the League of Nations, also used this as an occasion to declare, "that it is quite impossible for the League of Nations to come before the world at present with the declaration that it cannot do anything to stop war".

The bankrupt peace angels of the I.F.T.U. are quite disappointed over this defeat of their policy and excuse themselves by saying:

"they would never have believed, that after the last barbarous war, any government, even if it were a Conservative government would have the audacity to speak so openly of the necessity for alliances and armaments as was recently done by the Foreign Minister Chamberlain".

And in such a moment of pointed declarations on the part of the great Powers against the Geneva Protocol of the League of Nations, the I.F.T.U. convenes its Conference, without communicating the agenda or the programme of the Conference to the working class and the public. Instead of appealing to all workers, as well to their organisations, in order to carry out the immediate common steps in the active fight against the armaments race, the I.F.T.U. intends to do the following:

"At this Conference it will not be a question of a great demonstration, similar to that of the Hague Peace Conference, but of exerting practical and impressive influence upon the representatives of the governments and upon the governments themselves."

How these Amsterdam Trade Union diplomats are going to exert practical and impressive influence upon Chamberlain and Briand, as well as upon their policy of iron arguments, they do not say. And why do they communicate the import of their practical and impressive influence to the representatives of the governments and conceal it from the working class? Simply because: "in no case must there be a great demonstration similar to that of the Hague Conference"!

There we have the reason for secret diplomacy. The workers of all countries must see through this and energetically call a halt to this activity of the Amsterdam Trade Union diplomats. Whilst at the Hague Conference there were representatives of the Soviet Trade Unions present, at the Conference to be now convened by the I.F.T.U. only the organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam Trade Union International are to take part. Whilst at the Hague Conference there stood on the agenda the ways and means for common action against all imperialist wars, it is now sought to prevent this, because the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union serve as a brilliant example in the active fight of the workers against all imperialist wars. Whilst at the Hague Congress the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union demanded, instead of the pro-

posed paper resolution, the active mobilising of the masses against armaments, with all the means of the class struggle, and a common international week of agitation against imperialism to be concluded by a one day's protest strike, this interference is to be avoided when exercising "impressive influence upon the representatives of the governments".

If the I. F. T. U. does not know what means the working class has at its disposal, then the workers in all countries must raise their voices and declare: **The question of war preparations or Peace is not an affair of the I. F. T. U. but of the whole of the international working class!**

Just as was the case in the last world war of 1914/1918. the whole working class, without distinction, will be hit by the coming war. And if the workers do not wish to let this mass slaughter sweep over them while they remain helpless as in 1914/1918, they must act unitedly and with determination. This requires, at least, the closest fighting unity and solidarity in this question with the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union. For the Russian working class is threatened by the war danger promoted by the armaments competition of the capitalist states, no less than the West-European working class. Their successful policy in the defensive struggle against all military actions on the part of the West European imperialists is the best instructor as to how to exercise "practical and impressive influence".

If the working class does not desire to wade once more through a sea of blood, then it must stretch out a hand to the Soviet Union, and see to it that the I. F. T. U. complies with this demand and establishes a close fighting alliance of the whole working class for the fight against all military intentions of the imperialist States.

## Federalism or Feudalism in China.

By Tang Shin She.

English imperialism is only in a position to rule the Indian Empire owing to Separatism in India and only with the help of the Indian princes and rajahs. That which it has already succeeded in achieving in India it now wishes to carry out in China. In China, which has already for a long time been a united country which no longer knows either kings or princes, the English imperialists wish to bring about separatism and feudalism and in this they are making use of the catch word: "Federative Republic". Chen Shui Ming, who already in the year 1919 was the first to advocate a federative republic, in 1922, at the instigation of the English, destroyed the revolutionary Canton government, the government of Sun Yat Sen. England at that time wanted to kill two birds with one stone: first to suppress the revolutionary movement, that is the Kuomintang, and secondly, to bring the various governors into the service of her interests.

The catch word, "Federative Republic", at first promised the English great success, for the Chinese people believed that only under this slogan could China again become a united State. As at that time the relations of power, especially in South West China, were subject to great variations — for the South West provinces were being continually attacked by Generals and Governors from the North, and the revolutionary movement often threatened to assume the most acute forms — many Governors took advantage of this genuine belief of the people and, one after another, declared their provinces to be independent of the Canton or Peking governments. They said that every province must have a constitution and a supreme government. Accordingly, many governors had themselves elected again as supreme rulers, for example, the governor of Hunan.

Partly as a result of experience (because many provinces had already been independent for a long time) and partly as a result of the enlightenment work on the part of the Communists and the Kuomintang, the Chinese people finally arrived at the conviction that the movement for the Federative Republic only served the purposes of imperialists and militarists. They sharply opposed the movement and turned again to the Kuomintang in order to fight in a revolutionary manner. The governors, however, now abandoned their catch word and in 1924 gathered round the flag of Wu Pei Fu, first, because they feared his power and secondly because revolutionary insurrections were again to be expected. The English now issued another catch word: they said China must have a "mercantile" government. On their instigation their chief tool, the fascist leader Chen Lim Pak, undertook in October 1924 an attack upon the Canton government. This failed, with

the result that the plan for the "mercantile" government was thwarted right at the commencement.

After the defeat of Wu Pei Fu and the illness of Sun Yat Sen, the movement for the Federative Republic began to revive again. It was not only supported by the governors, but even by Wu Pei Fu. The governors of Fukien and Hupe (the chief supporters of Wu Pei Fu) have also declared their provinces to be independent.

When Tuan She Sui convened the military Conference, the so-called reorganisation Conference, in February of this year in Peking, the representatives of the Governors of the South West provinces attempted to force through various demands. First they wished to establish in Peking a Party for the Federative Republic. This however failed, as it was very sharply opposed by the people. Secondly, they brought forward a motion that the State form of the Federative Republic should be approved by this Conference. Although Tchang Tso Lin and Tuan She Sui were formerly, after their defeat in 1920 and 1922, supporters of the Federative Republic, the plan was frustrated by them this time.

The death of Sun Yat Sen provided the imperialists and the generals with a welcome opportunity in order to take up the fight against the revolutionary Kuomintang and to proceed with redoubled zeal to the realisation of their plan: establishment of a Federative Republic. Now they no longer wish to found a new party for this purpose, but simply desire to make use of the Kuomintang. Shortly before the death of Sun Yat Sen (when he was already dangerously ill) and shortly after his death, many Governors suddenly proclaimed themselves to be supporters of the Kuomintang and formed opposition groups in Peking and in Shanghai. They describe themselves as orthodox Kuomintang. They even wanted Tang She Liau, the Governor of Yünnau to be the successor of Sun Yat Sen. Tang She Liau, immediately after the death of Sun Yat Sen, had himself appointed generalissimo of the Canton government. At the same time he sent his troops to Canton. The Kuomintang, of course, sharply opposed all these plans. It issued an appeal to the Chinese people declaring that all these are imperialist plans and that the people must stand up against them. The Canton troops continued to fight against the troops of the governor of Yünnan, Tang She Liau, and the latter have suffered a defeat.

The era of Federalism and Separatism reached its highest point in China in the year 1922, when the Canton government was overthrown. Now, after the death of Sun Yat Sen, the governors and generals, the supporters of the Federative Republic, are once again endeavouring and are using all their forces to carry out this plan. But this is only the last flicker before death. They will in no way succeed. The Chinese people know these independent governments; they know how they are enslaved, how they are doubly and trebly exploited by the military rulers, how the generals proceed with the cruelest means against striking workers who wish to save themselves from death by starvation. They now know that behind these plans there stand the imperialists and they know what they have to expect if these plans are realised.

## The Sharpening of Class Antagonisms and the Struggle against Absolutism in Japan.

By G. Voitinsky.

### I.

The situation in Japan constitutes at present a great exception among the imperialist countries as regards the development of its economic and political crises, which have continually increased during the last eighteen months or two years.

If one can speak of a relative stabilisation of capitalism in England, France and America, and even to some extent in Germany, as far as Japan is concerned, not even the most Right Wing elements of the international communist movement could bring forward the least proof in support of a theory of stabilisation.

Let us take for example two exterior features of the post-war crises of the capitalist countries: **Valuta and Exports**. During the last year the value of the Japanese Yen has continually fallen, although in the previous year it was already considerably below par. At present 100 yen are worth 38 American dollars. (Par value: 100 yen = 48 dollars.) In regard to exports, however, the past year constituted a record as far as unfavourable trade balances are concerned. The balance of trade of the past year shows an import surplus of 650 million Yen. The present year promises

no better result: The months of January and February reveal an import surplus of 210 million Yen.

The causes of this phenomena must be sought in the interior as well as in the foreign political situation of the country. As regards the interior factors responsible for the worsening of the economic situation, the earthquake in September 1923, with all its consequences for industry and trade, and the bad harvest of 1924 play the chief role.

The results of these catastrophes expressed themselves in the destruction of an enormous quantity of raw material and semi-manufactures, in the destruction of the textile and silk industry, of a great portion of the electrical industry, as well as in enormous damage to the war industries and in the loss of a huge quantity military equipments, amounting altogether in value to about 10 milliard Yen. The relatively insignificant loans which the Japanese government have received from America and England (about 550 million Yen) were employed by the ruling clique, partly in the interest of the monopolists and partly for military adventures in China. The interior loans, the issue of banknotes and paper money, amounting in value to 2 milliard Yen, have not only not improved the situation of the country, but have resulted in an immediate collapse of the Yen. And it is only the recent export of gold, amounting in value to some hundred million Yen, that has served to slow down the rate of depreciation, without however stopping it altogether.

The bad rice crops of the past year likewise meant a great blow to the economic situation of the country. About 20 million bushels of rice had to be imported. And here the Japanese government is encountering great difficulties: the price of Japanese rice is increasing, at the same time as the valuta is falling, and along with it there is a general decline in the purchasing power of the peasantry.

These conditions, under the rule of the government consisting of representatives of the bureaucracy and of agents of monopolist capital, led to an increase in the economic chaos in the country, as the government itself practically encouraged the speculations of the great capitalists following on the earthquake.

The most important foreign political factors leading to the sharpening of the economic crisis are: the fact that Japan, at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, had to evacuate the Russian territory in the Far East; the enforced limitation of Japanese influence on the Chinese coast, under the pressure of America and in consequence of the Washington Conference, and finally, a certain political victory of Japanese influence in North China, towards the end of the past year, which led to strained relations with America and England.

Immediately after the Conservatives came into power in England, the plan for the construction of a naval base at Singapore was taken up again. This, of course, means an immediate danger for Japan; it must therefore not only hasten with the construction of warships, but also with the creation of an air fleet. In spite of its relative weak industry and the very unfavourable trade balance, Japan is endeavouring (regardless of the decisions of the Washington Conference, which fixed the relations of the fleets of England, America and Japan in the proportion of 5:5:3) to outbuild the American fleet by the year 1928/29. There will take place in the near future the naval manoeuvres of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, with the open intention of demonstrating the power of the American fleet in the Far East. This, of course, provokes a mood in Japan which finds expression in the military budget of the government.

There is not the least doubt that the increase in military expenditure, which already amounts to 40% of the total budget, will tend to aggravate the economic crisis, as it deprives the government of the possibility of supporting the middle and petty bourgeoisie to the same extent as it was compelled to do in recent times.

The alterations in the budget, even in Japan where questions of State income and expenditure do not require to be ratified by parliament, can lead in the present circumstances to a political crisis of the government.

The antagonisms which are developing in the Far East between the most important imperialist countries are having perceptible effects upon the whole interior situation of Japan, and are increasing the economic and political crisis of the country.

(To be continued.)

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The Plenum of the All-Russian Trade Union Council for the Decisions of the Anglo-Russian Conference.

On the 30th of April there was held in Moscow an extraordinary session of the Plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council. The first item on the agenda was the Report on the international activity of the All-Russian Trade Union Council and on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference.

The chairman, Comrade Tomsky, pointed out in his opening speech that the extraordinary session had to be convened, because the interests of the international labour movement demand the most rapid furtherance of those modest successes which we attained at the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference. The General Council of the British Trade Unions has already confirmed the decision of the Anglo-Russian Conference. In order to be able to publish a number of documents which were accepted at this Conference, the sanction of the Trade Unions is necessary.

After welcoming the delegation of English women trade unionists, and after a detailed report by comrade Tomsky, which was followed by a long debate, the Plenum unanimously adopted the following

#### Resolution on the Report of Comrade Tomsky on the Work of the Anglo-Russian Conference:

The VI. Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union expressed the firm will to unity on the part of the Trade Union organisations of the Soviet Union, and of the workers organised in the same.

The Plenum approves the actions of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, which were directed towards carrying out the instructions of the VI. Congress for establishing definite mutual relations with the Amsterdam International, in order, by a mutual pronouncement regarding a conference which should be convened by representatives of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council and by the Amsterdam International, without any restrictive pre-conditions, to discuss in a comprehensive manner the problem of the unity of the whole international Trade Union movement.

The Plenum of the All-Russian Trade Union Council declares at the same time, that the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, in its campaign, did not find the necessary sincere desire on the part of the Amsterdam International to meet its proposals half way.

Further! The last plenary session of the General Council of the Amsterdam International, by rejecting the appropriate proposal of the representatives of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, and by adopting the evasive diplomatic resolution of Stenhuis, gives ground for the assumption that the majority of the General Council of the Amsterdam International, in fact not only do not desire the unity of the international Trade Union movement, but intentionally avoid any co-operation with the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union. In spite of this the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council still stands by its first position, and is prepared to enter into a joint Conference with Amsterdam regarding the question of international Trade Union unity.

The Plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council therefore records with special satisfaction, as a result of the establishment and strengthening of brotherly connections between the Trade Union movements of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain, an undoubted success for the cause of unity.

These brotherly relations, which have arisen as a result of the recognition of the necessity of realising the unity of the international Trade Union movement by the Trade Union movements of both countries, in the interest of the victory of the class struggle of the proletariat, found its clearest and fullest expression at the Conference of the representatives of the Trade Union movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union which took place in London from the 6th to 9th April 1925.



The Plenum of the All-Russian Trade Union Council approves the declaration of the British delegation at this Conference and the declaration in reply of the delegation of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council and regards the unanimous acceptance of the joint declaration by the Conference, which represented more than 1 million organised proletarians, as one of the most important and greatest successes of the cause of unity.

The Plenum, in approving this joint declaration, both in its general section as well in that part regarding mutual help and connections, which is fully in accordance with the desire expressed by the VI. Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union, instructs the Presidium of the All-Russian Trade Union Council to strengthen with all possible means the brotherly connections which have been established between the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain, the most important measures of which regarding the international Trade Union movement are to be harmonised by an organ specially created for that purpose.

The Plenum fully and entirely approves the activity of the Presidium and its delegation at the Anglo-Russian Conference and instructs the Presidium to fight just as steadfastly in the future for the cause of the establishment of the unity of the international Trade Union movement by the creation of a United Trade Union International, as it has already done up to now in complete agreement with the general line of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Plenum of the All-Russian Central Union Council resolves:

a) To elect a Commission of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council for Foreign Relations, consisting of twelve members, among them the Chairman and the Secretary of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council.

b) To elect our representatives to the Joint Advisory Council of the Trade Union Movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union, consisting of the Chairman, the Secretary of the All-Russian Trade Union Council and of three members.

c) To proceed to the election at this session.

d) To entrust the Commission of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council for Foreign relations with the drawing up of the reply to the Amsterdam International, in accordance with the work of the Conference of the Trade Unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union and of the decisions of this Session of the Plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council.

The Plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council is convinced that the Joint Advisory Council of the Trade Union movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union will, in spite of the complexity and difficulty of the task with which we are confronted, adopt and firmly carry out the measures which are necessary for realising the cause of the unity of the international Trade Union movement. The Plenum is equally convinced that the many millions of workers, not only in Great Britain and in the Soviet Union, but also of other countries, and all those desirous of unity, will by their solidarity and by their struggle, support the cause which has been taken up by the Trade Unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union through their Joint Advisory Council.

**Long live the Unity of the International Trade Union Movement, which guarantees the victory of the proletariat!**

\* \* \*

The Plenum unanimously elected the following Commission of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council for Foreign Relations:

Comrades: Tomsky, Dogadov, Melnitchansky, Andreyev, Lepse, Lozovsky, Figatner, Michailov, Glebov, Tchernicheva, Schwarz and Kutusov.

The Plenum thereupon elected the following five representatives to the Joint Advisory Council of the Trade Union movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union:

Comrades: Tomsky, Dogadov, Melnitchansky, Andreyev and Lepse.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Session of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany.

By Ernst Schneller (Berlin).

The previous session of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany took place at the beginning of January, immediately after the Reichstag elections. The Party was faced with the urgent task, by wise and elastic tactics, along with clear and firm adherence to bolshevist principles, of becoming the leader in their daily struggles of the proletariat and of all exploited and of all sections who are threatened by the advance of monarchist reaction and to win, to rally and organise these masses for the final struggle for power.

The present session, held from 9th to 10th of May, had to review the Party work of the past four months and at the same time to lay down the tasks for the future. In these four months there have taken place, the formation of the Luther government, the overthrow (for the fifth time) of the Prussian government, the Reichstag elections and a great number of economic struggles (railway strike), factory council and co-operative elections.

It must be recorded that the Party approached the carrying out of its tasks with the greatest eagerness. It was able to point to successes, especially in the factory council elections (the Trade Union work, owing to the peculiar difficulties, will not show visible results for a long time yet). With what tenacity and energy the party work has been carried out is proved by the Presidential elections, where the Party succeeded, at the second ballot, in spite of the less favourable conditions compared with the first ballot, in increasing its vote by 60,000.

The National Council did not content itself with merely registering the work accomplished, but, while recognising the energetic efforts of the Party, examined and exposed in the sharpest manner the failings of the Party and pointed out the way in which they could be remedied. To some of the delegates this sharp self-criticism appeared to be "exaggerated"; they had an eye more to the work accomplished and less to the results among the masses; they realised too little that the Socialist Party of Germany and the bureaucrats of the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.) have succeeded without any great efforts in catching million of workers' votes for the reactionary Marx. The C. P. of Germany has not been able to convince the major portion of the social democratic supporters, of the correctness of the communist slogans and to win them away from the S. P. of Germany. It has not proved capable of rendering ineffective the campaign against the C. P. of Germany as the "allies of reaction" and to break through the isolation from the millions of the masses.

The Central Committee came before the National Council with open criticism:

1. The Party was too late in realising the monarchist danger and underestimated its importance.

2. The Party has not succeeded in thoroughly exposing the role of the Socialist Party of Germany and of the other so-called "republican" parties as procurers of the monarchists, and in winning away the masses from them. In particular, it has not carried on the campaign for establishment of Trade Union unity with sufficient firmness and energy.

3. The tactics of the Party are not sufficiently elastic and adaptable; it has been too slow and awkward in adapting itself to altered situations.

4. The Party has not yet fully overcome Brandlerism and ultra-left deviations: theoretical clearness and uniformity — the pre-requisites for united revolutionary practice — are not yet fully attained.

5. The Party does not yet understand how to concentrate the entire work and to carry it through co-ordinatedly in all spheres.

Regarding the question of analysis and of perspectives, the National Council confirmed the view, long held by the Central Committee, and which is in full agreement with the speeches of Comrade Zinoviev, that:

The attempt of the German bourgeoisie, in spite of and in carrying through the Dawes Plan to conduct a new imperialist

policy — at the tail of the great powers — finds its expression (carrying through of the Dawes Plan, entry into the League of Nations, Guarantee Pact, war preparations, taxation and economic policy, social and cultural policy) in the strengthening of the monarchist tendencies. The policy of the Party in the year 1925 must aim at organising the defensive movement against the monarchist danger to the revolutionary mass movement. It follows from this that it is necessary, not only by agitation and propaganda, but by practical experience to convince the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, that the new imperialist policy will be carried out at the cost of the working people and that there is only one means of rescue for the broad masses: overthrow of the bourgeoisie, setting up of a workers' and peasants' government under the leadership of the C. P. of Germany and an alliance with Soviet Russia.

In order to expose the republican swindle of the S. P. of Germany and of the parties of the "people's bloc", it is necessary to mobilise the masses for the carrying out of the simple republican minimum demands (as are contained in the open letter of the C. P. of Germany to the A. D. G. B. and to S. P. of Germany) and to demonstrate to them that the S. P. of Germany and the A. D. G. B., just like the other republicans, not only do nothing to oppose the Hindenburg-Luther-reaction, but are determined to do everything to aid the latter against the workers. This purpose is served by the appeal to the S. P. of Germany to form, together with the other "republicans", a government to fight against the monarchist danger. The Braun government in Prussia promptly replied to this offer by starting negotiations with the monarchist People's Party.

This policy of exposure for rallying all real oppositional elements under the leadership of the C. P. of Germany has only now begun, it must be carried out effectively, energetically and with patience. It carries with it — especially in view of the past of the German Party — great dangers of right deviations, namely, the danger that illusions regarding the S. P. of Germany and even the People's Bloc, instead of being destroyed, can be strengthened. These dangers are only to be avoided by the sharpest self-control and thorough Party training; at the same time the carrying out of these tactics requires the greatest co-ordination of the Party.

The Minority of the National Council did not recognise the justice of the criticism by the Central, they accordingly did not wish to accept the conclusions drawn by the Central Committee (except, of course, more careful work in the Trade Unions and factories, better party training, closer co-operation between the Central and the districts ect.). On the contrary, they saw in the proposals of the Central Committee the danger of a relapse into Brandlerism. It is however, significant that the most prominent districts (the old enemies of Brandlerism!) stand behind the Central Committee: Berlin, Wasserkante, Ruhr District, Niederrhein, Mittelrhein (in addition to these: Bremen, East Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Silesia, Upper Silesia, East Saxony, Halle-Merseburg, Magdeburg, Anhalt, Württemberg). The Minority which had behind it 15 out of 50 votes, represents about a fourth of the membership. It is a fact that some comrades, against the express decision of their districts, voted against the theses of the Central Committee.

But it is especially characteristic that the Minority could not bring forward any proposals regarding the tactics to be employed in the present situation, and that they did not oppose the Central Committee from the same motives. From this it can be seen that it will be possible in a short time, by means of intensive work, to convince the minority, which of course pledged itself to carry out the tactics decided upon, of the correctness of the decisions of the National Council. This will be all the easier as in all districts Conferences are to be held in order to prepare for the Party Conference which will take place shortly and to draw up decisions upon the theses of the National Council.

The session of the National Council of the 9th and 10th May means a further step forwards in the direction of bolshevising, as was demanded by the Enlarged Executive. The carrying out of these decisions will prove the truth of Lenin's saying: "Defeated armies learn well!" The Party knows in what a difficult situation it has to fight in order to gain the leadership of the working class and to set up a fighting alliance with the working peasants and middle classes. It must take this task still more seriously, it must co-operate still more closely with the leadership of the Communist International and of the R. C. P. and the other brother parties in the fight against the capitalist offensive and new imperialist wars.

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The following is an extract from the Resolution of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany on the Political Situation, the Tasks and Tactics of the Party:

„In a situation in which our Party constitutes the factor which will turn the scale between a Right and a so-called Left government, it is entirely permissible, and under certain conditions necessary to follow such a parliamentary tactic that we render possible the existence of the "Left" coalition. In so doing we must openly declare with all clearness that this is not because the revolutionary working class has anything better to expect from the Socialist Party of Germany and the "Republican Parties" than from the open monarchists, but solely for the purpose of showing to the masses who still believe in these parties that they are just as reactionary and hostile to the workers as the open reactionary parties. If the C. P. G. makes use of such a tactic in order to mobilise the masses outside of parliament against the black-red-gold parties and their government, this tactic has nothing whatever in common with a social democratic or Brandlerist coalition policy. It is, however, only correct and permissible when the possibility does not yet exist of overthrowing such a government by a proletarian mass movement."

## The Situation in Czechoslovakia, the Resolutions of the E. C. C. I. and the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

By Alois Neurath (Prague).

### I.

#### The Economic Situation.

After the 2nd Party Session of the CP. of Czechoslovakia, the Czech bourgeoisie began to engage in their new campaign against the proletariat. It was not the first time since 1920 that they endeavoured to provoke the workers of Ostrow and particularly to defeat this most important section of the Czechoslovakian proletariat, in order in this way to prepare for the certain defeat of the workers in all other branches of industry. In the autumn of 1924, the Red Trade Union organisations in common with the leaders of the CP. of Czechoslovakia succeeded in frustrating this manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie. Strongly backed by the Social Democrats of all the nations in this State, but especially by the Czech Government Socialists, the exploiters continued indefatigably their efforts in this direction.

As a matter of fact, the conditions of living of the Czechoslovakian workers have changed very much for the worse during the past two years. The rise in price of all foodstuffs, the pressure of taxes, the cutting down of the staff of officials and the underhand manner in which the unemployed were treated — all these measures of Government and bourgeoisie, which were against the interests of the whole working population, were enough to drive the proletariat to despair. When the slaves of the mines in the Ostrow district made their demands, it transpired that more than 90% of the Ostrow miners were prepared to take up the fight against the mine magnates. All efforts at conciliation on the part of the Social Democrats and the Reformist Trade Union leaders, proved ineffectual. Social Democrats, Communists, Christian Socialists, Independents, in short the whole of the Ostrow slaves of the mines proved determined to oppose in open fight the insolent presumption of the exploiters. Exploiters and Social Democrats concentrated their efforts on the one object: the isolation of the Ostrow struggle. As a matter of fact the Ostrow miners were left alone, and after a few days of heroic fighting the strike had to be called off. It should be said at once, that the will to fight of the Ostrow proletariat is unbroken, that its connection with the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is firmer than ever, and that even the success of the mine owners has nothing like the significance that it had in previous similar struggles.

As in previous years, the capitalists of other branches of industry, especially the employers in the metal and textile branches, are now anxious to follow the example of their fellow-capitalists in Ostrow and to put their wage-slaves on short commons.

From Bodenbach to Komotau, the workers in a number of large and medium-sized works of the metal industry are locked out on account of the demands of a comparatively small group of metal workers. As for the employers in the textile industry, it is up to the present only evident that they are making certain

preparations for severer blows against the workers. At the present moment, the coalition parties are at daggers drawn about the customs on corn. There is however no doubt that the family quarrel in the coalition will sooner or later come to an end through a formula for agreement being found, and the necessary concession being made to the agrarians. After the agrarians it will be the turn of the cotton-lords, and it may be taken for granted that this Coalition Government will to the best of its ability serve one master after the other. Apart from many other examples, the way in which the Coalition Government is now proceeding against the paper workers who are on strike in Böhmisches-Krumau, shows clearly what it is prepared to do for the knights of industry in the struggle against the wage-slaves. The workers in one of the largest paper factories in Czechoslovakia (about 1500) are on strike. The Czechoslovakian authorities immediately turned the small town of Krumau into a military camp. The struggle of the Krumau workers has been going on for weeks; their ranks are unshaken. The employers are now hoping that it will be possible to force the rebellious wage-slaves on to their knees by means of the brutal procedure of the gendarmerie, police and other armed guardians of democratic peace and order.

## II.

### Bubnik's Partisans in Alliance with the Bourgeoisie.

For months past, the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie has been casting sheep's eyes at the extreme Right wing of the CP. of Czechoslovakia. It has done all that is possible on its part, to make the task of disintegrating the CP. of Czechoslovakia as easy as possible to people of the type of Bubnik, Warmbrunn, Roucek etc. It is well known that the Right wing of the party carried on the fight against the resolutions of the C.I., and against the CC. of the party respectively in the name of party morals. By welcoming this "moral struggle" of our Right, the bourgeoisie showed that it was also interested in — the purity and integrity within the CP. of Czechoslovakia, as indeed it stood up for the maintenance and security of the CP. of Czechoslovakia with admirable fervour.

When the Pol-Bureau caught Bubnik at his criminal work and turned him out of the Party, the bourgeois Press howled at the injustice which had been done to a man whose only care had been the purity of the CP. of Czechoslovakia. The rage of the bourgeoisie and of social democracy over the quick and energetic action of the Pol-Bureau, is much more comprehensible now that we have a clearer survey of the events than was the case in February of this year. The bourgeois parties dread the next election especially because of the influence of the CP. of Czechoslovakia. They could therefore hardly contain themselves for joy when they saw Bubnik, Warmbrunn and their companions "at work" in the CP. of Czechoslovakia.

## III.

### The Block Fights the Dangers of the Right.

The Block formed in Moscow between the Left wing and the Centre is justifying its existence. The hopes of the bourgeoisie and of the Right elements in the Party that this Block could again be shaken, have proved to be deceptive. It is now quite amusing to watch the somersaults turned by the social democrat and bourgeois editors. At the conclusion of the discussions of the ECCI. they hoped that the Prague district organisation would rebel against the Pol-Bureau, then they expected the Kladno group to prove particularly uncompromising and, above all, they were perfectly certain that Brünn would take up an attitude of opposition to the C. C. and the C. I. And now we are at the end of the decisive events within the Party. Those who had the audacity to make propaganda for a split in the Party, who were bold enough to organise within the C. P. of Czechoslovakia a fight against the Communist International have been laid low. That which Zinoviev and Stalin prophesied in the Czechoslovakian Commission, has come true more rapidly than could have been anticipated: those who openly oppose the Comintern are immediately made generals without troops.

The workers of Brünn and Kladno as well as the workers in the whole State not only have nothing to do with the Bubnik group, they show them decided opposition and treat them with the contempt they deserve. Until a few hours ago, Roucek was able to play the part of an influential and loved leader, i. e. just as long as he succeeded in deceiving the workers as to his real political conviction and as to the fact that at the bottom of his heart he had never for a moment been anything but a genuine

and true Social Democrat. When Roucek had resigned from the Party, a conference of Brünn representatives unanimously accepted this resolution. The Party loses a dozen or at the most two dozen of those leaders who, consciously or unconsciously looked after the affairs of the bourgeoisie within the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. Not a single worker has gone with the renegades, and these gentlemen, having lost their game in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, will now have played their last card as camp-followers of the bourgeois and social democrat parties.

The outrageous game of the Right clique of leaders in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is at an end. The struggle of these elements against the Party leadership and against the C. I. has seriously injured the C. P. of Czechoslovakia; that cannot be denied. Having rid itself of these noxious and hampering inimical elements, the Party must, without delay, turn its attention to healing the wounds it has received in the fight against opportunism. And this work will be accomplished in no time. The party as it is now constituted will be a reliable and determined guide to the working masses of Czechoslovakia. The Block created in Moscow has, during the last few days, stood the test and will continue to stand it. There may be all sorts of difficulties here and there within the Party, but one thing is clear: the Block will stand fast against the dangers of the Right, and from this we may logically conclude that even in the solution of all the other tasks with which the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is faced, it cannot be shaken.

## The Organisations of Kladno and Brünn on the Decisions of the Enlarged Executive.

On the 25th and 26th of April there was held in Kladno the District Conference of the second district of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. There were present at the Conference 159 delegates with decisive votes, 227 with advisory votes and 39 guests.

The Conference adopted a political resolution: from which the following is an extract:

The Conference notes with satisfaction the report on the results of the proceedings of the Plenum of the Executive, and regards the decisions adopted as the basis upon which, with the goodwill of all comrades, the crisis which has arisen in our Party can be overcome, by which the unity of the Party will be maintained and its capacity for action restored.

The functionaries of the second district pledge themselves to act in accordance with the decisions, and especially to be on the watch that in this period right deviations of opportunism and reformism do not make their appearance in the Party. All Party papers of the district must be conducted in a strict Leninist spirit; there must be carried out a thorough theoretical training of the membership and public propaganda. Actions must also be carried out in such a spirit that our district becomes the strongest and most conscious bulwark against the dangers from the Right.

The Conference recognises that the district executive committee has endeavoured to maintain a close connection with the masses in the district, not only in the field of education, but also of action. The recent demonstrations in the second district against high prices must serve as a means of encouragement and to strengthen connections with the masses still firmer. The Conference notes with satisfaction the fact that the number of organised members has not declined but increased.

The new district executive committee pledges itself to continue this work systematically and to proceed energetically with the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei.

The new executive committee must realise that we are faced with a period of further and larger mass actions. The question of high prices still remains a burning question. The Government is raising the question of custom duties and thereby creating the danger of further increases in prices. The dismissal of railway officials and State employees is being practically carried out. The burden of taxation is pressing heavily, not only upon the workers, but also upon the middle classes. The new executive committee must carry out all organisatory and agitational measures, in order that in the second district the defence of the working population against these attacks is carried out by mass actions on such a scale and with such energy as will be worthy of the old bolshevist traditions of our district, and so that it can again become a model for the proletarian struggle in the whole of Czechoslovakia.

On the 28th April there took place in Brünn, the Conference of the Functionaries, which dealt with the Report of the Moscow session of the Enlarged Executive and the action of the district executive committee. The following resolution was adopted:

"The functionaries of Brünn and the neighbourhood accept the report upon the session of the Executive of the Communist International regarding the solution of the Czechoslovakian question before the forum of the International, and fully agree that the Brünn district executive committee comply with and carry out the decisions.

The functionaries were surprised by the resignation of Roucik, a member of parliament, from the ranks of the Communist Party, having regard to his former organisatory activity in the XVI. district. The functionaries feel it to be their duty to make good this loss by increased activity. They reject all attempts of the Bubnik people to penetrate into the masses of the communist working class in the Brünn district. They therefore call upon all members of the Party, not to allow themselves to be diverted from their communist convictions.

The bourgeoisie, which is expecting the collapse of the communist Party, is rejoicing in vain. The Communists are able to carry on an open discussion in the Party over disputed questions; that cannot and must not, however, prevent them from keeping their ranks firmly together. The communist workers will only follow the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist International.

The Brünn functionaries expect and are convinced that the whole of the communist working class will remain firmly in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and repel every attack against the unity of the Party.

The functionaries take note of the resignation of comrades Ecer, Stern, and Kovanda as members of the Municipal Council. The functionaries do not accept or approve the further resignations.

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### The R. I. L. U. to the Striking and Locked-out Workers of Denmark.

Moscow, 7th May 1925.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions sends to the striking and locked-out workers of Denmark its brotherly greetings and expresses the hope that they will steadfastly continue the fight.

In your country, which has been relatively peaceful up till now, Capital, as everywhere, is taking up the offensive. Compromises and agreements cannot check the increasing intensification of the class Struggle, nor weaken the pressure of organised and concentrated Capital.

Only solidarity in your own ranks and the help and support of all workers for those locked out, the firm will to struggle and the United Front with the workers of other countries can help you to attain victory in your defensive struggle against Capital.

Only the international unity of the Trade Union movement can prevent the possibility of such insolent attacks on the part of the Employers. The lessons of your struggle must serve as a fresh impetus to unity.

Long live international solidarity!

Long live international Trade Union unity!

## FOR LENINISM

### Declaration of Comrade Nin.

In order to put an end, once and for all, to certain misunderstandings which exist with regard to my political attitude as to the inner discussions of the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International, I emphatically declare:

1. That during the Russian discussion from 1923 until 1924 I was against the opposition and for the line of the Central Committee.

2. That I am not in agreement with the explanation of the

events of October 1917 and the role of the Party given by Trozky.

3. That I am, on principle, not in agreement with the attitude of the Rosmer-Monatte group, which is endeavouring to revive an outlived revolutionary syndicalism and decidedly opposes the Communist International.

4. That I consider the political orientation of the Communist Party of France to be correct.

5. That I am decidedly on the side of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the struggle against all right deviations.

6. That only the severest application of the Leninist principles and tactics can lead the world proletariat to victory in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Andres Nin.

Moscow, April 1925.

## Concerning Ourselves.

For weeks past there has been carried on a furious campaign against the Soviet Government. This has been mainly instigated from England. Quite recently we ourselves have been included in these attacks. This is perfectly understandable.

What is the "International Press Correspondence"? A press service which furnishes news from all countries, and before all brings authentic reports on the politics and the economic situation of the Soviet Union as well as on the activity of the Communist International. Our regular and authentic reports render extremely difficult the handiwork of those people who fabricate the so-called Zinoviev letters or spread lying reports regarding the Soviet Union. As is known, the present regime in England owes its existence to the forged "Zinoviev letter", and it can only continue to follow the line of its foreign policy by a continual campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union. This explains why this campaign has been extended to the "International Press Correspondence".

For the rest, the campaign is conducted in a very stupid manner. The "Morning Post", among other things, comes forward with the assertion that our editorial offices are situated in the Soviet Embassy, and that our articles are sent from Moscow in diplomatic dispatches. Some of the Vienna papers promptly reprinted this piece of nonsense.

We have sent the following communication to the Editors of the papers in question:

"How little the Vienna correspondent of the "Morning Post" has endeavoured to represent the facts correctly, is to be seen from the fact that he has not even considered it worth while to pick up a copy of the "International Press Correspondence", for then he would have at once seen from the title page that the editorial offices of the "International Press Correspondence" are not in Reiserstrasse 45, in the building of the Soviet Embassy, but in the premises of the "Elbemühl A. G.", Berggasse 31. And if he had wished to test the correctness of the statement on the title page of the "International Press Correspondence", there would have been no need for him to pay a visit to the editorial offices, but only to question any postman in the neighbourhood when he would doubtless have received satisfactory confirmation.

Further: It is to the credit of the Austrian postal administration that it unconditionally observes the secrecy of the post, and therefore does not grant the Vienna Correspondent of the "Morning Post" a preliminary inspection of all the communications which we daily receive from our correspondents and contributors in all countries, among the last-named not the least being the Soviet Union. We however, are, not bound by this secrecy, and can therefore divulge the fact that we receive our communications through the post, in which we have full and complete confidence. What need have we to make use of any diplomatic service, as the correspondents of nearly all the great world newspapers are in the habit of doing? We are only an information organ, as the correspondent of the "Morning Post" himself graciously admits; we are not conducting a policy of our own and therefore do not need to avail ourselves of any diplomatic protection".

The Redaction of the "International Press Correspondence".