

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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World Capitalism and the Soviet Union

By KARL RADEK

The Question of the Russian and Chinese Markets

THE only way left to international capitalism to solve the question of markets, is the second way: the capturing of new markets at any price. What new markets are to be obtained? If we consider such markets as the Japanese or Indian, we perceive that they are now developing their own industries, which very jealously oppose the intrusion of foreign goods. If we consider such markets as the countries of South America, we have to realize that their powers of absorption can only develop very slowly, as these countries are relatively very thinly populated.

In order to develop these countries by means of colonization, it would be necessary to invest enormous amounts of capital, which are likewise not available. There remains only Russia and China, which constitute a huge market for international capital, not only because our mujik, as well as the Chinese peasant, requires everything from the linen goods to tractors etc., but also because the peasant population in Russia and China can give an equivalent in exchange. The whole of Europe is suffering from the fact that it has to purchase agricultural products from America. But what can it pay to America in return? It has to pay with what America already possesses—with industrial products. Russia, therefore, is not only important for Europe as a market, but also as a source of raw materials and corn. God does not always punish the Bolsheviks with bad harvests! Agriculture is recovering more easily than industry, as its chief forces for the time being are still nature and human labor power. This is the explanation why, in spite of the misery and the backwardness of our peasantry, we have been able to raise our agriculture up to 80 per cent of the pre war standard. If there had been no bad harvests, then we should this year have attained to the pre war level of production. The basis of the progress of our agriculture is not yet technics, but the fact that the brain of the mujik is becoming active, that the revolution and the war have caused a profound psychological change among the peasantry.

WE do not always notice that in our every day work. Every foreigner however who has seen Russia before the war and who visits it today states, that there has been created for the first time in Russia a basis for a technical advance in peasant economy, because the mujik is beginning to think. He is no longer afraid of the tractors and other wonders from over the sea, but gladly accepts them. Russia can increase its agricultural export. It thereby offers European capital a huge and growing market.

If we now consider China, this country which, as regards its coal and iron resources, occupies the third place in the world and is thickly populated, it suffices to indicate the possibilities of development if one says that China is already today carrying on a foreign trade equal in value to three milliard gold roubles, although capital has only penetrated into the narrow coast districts.

CHINA is looked upon even today as a medieval feudal power. This view however, is absolutely false. Manchuria alone which during the Russo-Japanese war from the standpoint of commerce, was of no importance, is now exporting 100 million puds of various kinds of grain yearly, a fifth of the Russian prewar export. China consti-

tutes today a new gigantic market, which, should world capital succeed in capturing, would serve as that decisive and vast reservoir with the help of which world capital would really be able to extricate itself from the morass of the last imperialist war.

At present one might say the following: "In Western Europe, world capitalism, with the help of English and American capital, is working feverishly to restore the conditions for stabilizing the social relations of the pre-war period, and is undoubtedly achieving considerable results in this direction, in the first place in the sphere of the restoration of the world econo-

must in the first place examine the prospects of the struggle of international capital for new markets."

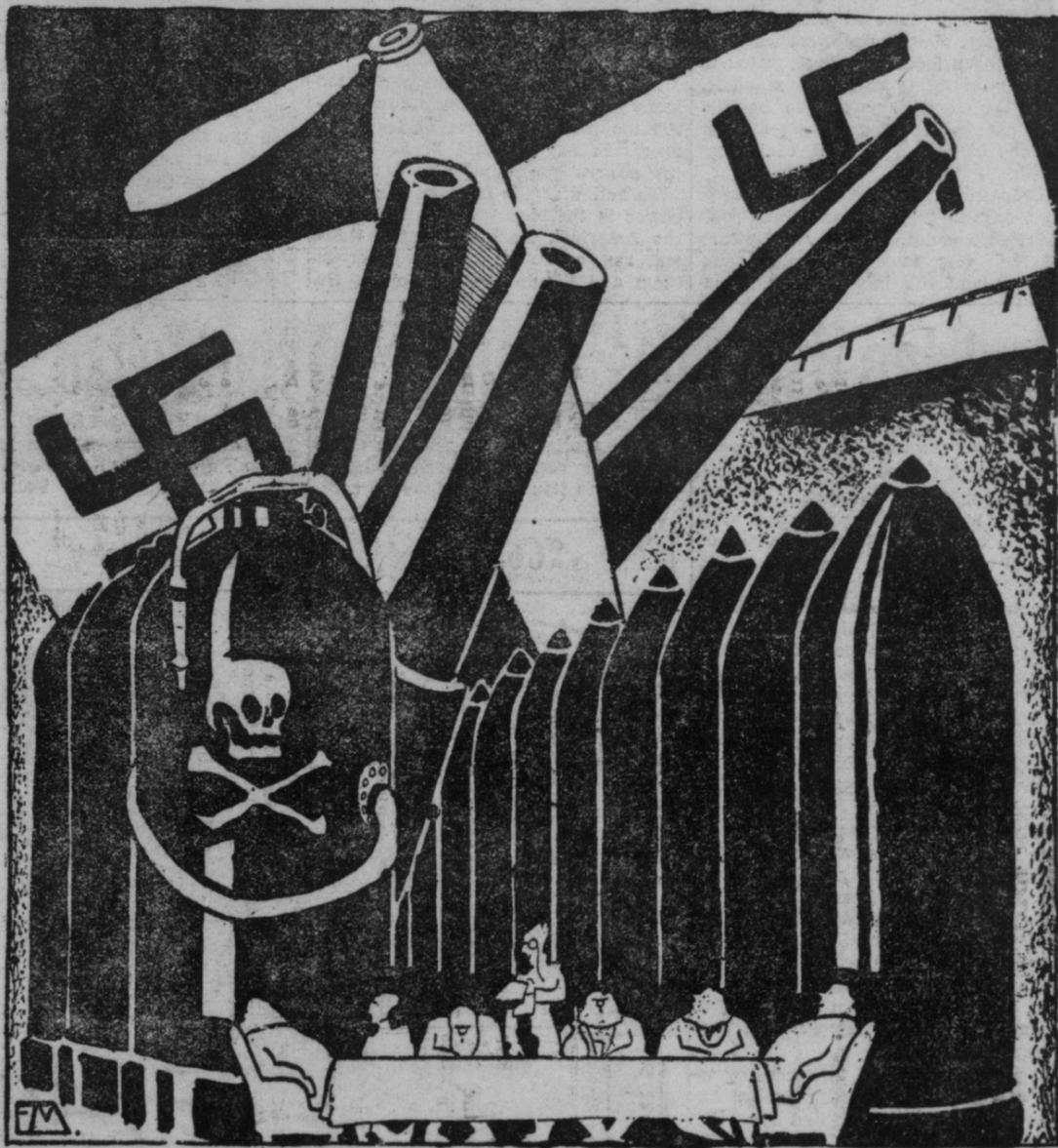
The Question of the Imperialist United Front

THE first question is, whether world capital, in this fight for the extension of the markets, has succeeded in creating a united front. This question must be answered in the negative. Capitalism has not succeeded in setting up a united front, and it will hardly succeed in doing so in the future.

Why is it so difficult for the bourge-

the dollar or the pound. If the gold mark rests upon the dollar basis, then it is dependent in the first place upon America, in the other case London would become the center for discounting German bills of exchange. There is proceeding here an uninterrupted struggle between English and American capital over the question of the domination of Germany. American capital is the stronger, but English capital is more organically bound up with Germany. As a result of "common" actions and a hard struggle, the American banks have succeeded in grabbing the fourth part of the shares of the German Bank. We therefore see in this connection, as regards the

TALKING ABOUT DISARMAMENT AND PEACE



While invading the Riff country in Africa and dispatching troops and battleships to China, the "civilized" capitalist countries are talking about the limitation of the sale of armaments in Geneva and of peace in the Pacific at Honolulu, Hawaii.

mic system." We know from our own experience what the stabilization of the valuta means in this connection. The situation of the workers in Russia is at present still far from being a splendid one. The fact, however, that the country possesses a stable valuta must have a correspondingly favorable effect upon the workers' household budget. The same applies to the state budget, and to economic life in general.

That which we are witnessing in this connection in Russia, is not absent in the capitalist countries. The stabilization of the valuta is the most important basis for the restoration of the whole economic life.

Let us now consider the present social and economic situation. Here we

oisie to set up this united front? For the reason that politics is a tenfold more complicated thing than it appears to be if one only considers it schematically. England is pursuing the same aims as America—the extension of the market, but in the first place for itself and not for the United States. And whilst the two states act together in certain questions, as, let us say, in the German reparation question, we see in other questions, likewise relating to Germany, that Germany becomes an object of an economic struggle between both parties. When the gold mark was introduced in Germany, the purpose of which was to cover the German mark, the question immediately arose, whether this gold mark should be based upon the

stabilizing of capital conditions in Germany, where America and England act together, an uninterupter struggle, which prevents common action on the part of the capitalist sharks.

In the Far East, England and America are likewise acting together and are endeavoring by this means to open the Chinese markets for foreign capital. Here, however, England relies upon diplomatic privileges which she obtained before the war. America does not possess these to the same extent as England. Soviet Russia is also intervening and demanding the abolition of all diplomatic privileges, and thereby delivers a blow to England and America. To the Americans there naturally occurs the question:

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Red Anthracite

By Alex Reid

THE color of anthracite is red. Down in Pennsylvania millions of tons of hard coal are produced yearly, and if you look at it closely you will see a red hue covers the mineral when it is hoisted from the bowels of the earth.

A flaming red splotch, with tattered flesh clinging to the ragged edges of the coal gleams in the sunlight as it is dumped into the chute, amidst a crashing roar of sorting machinery and a cloud of coal dust.

RED with the human blood, and as the boys pick out the dirt from the coal as it passes along the picking tables, they notice not the soft dark spongy scraps mixed with the coal. They are used to it, they have seen it often, it is part of their work.

On July 8, three men in the anthracite were crushed to death on the main haulage way, as a result of another violation of the mining law. The law provides that manholes, "refuge places" shall be made not more than 60 feet apart, whitewashed and kept in proper condition for the refuge of the miners, when travelling or working on the haulage roads as the trip passes with the coal cars. But no manholes were near, they were caught in a trap.

THE roar of the onrushing trip grew louder, the men were frantic, the cars were almost on them as they raced for a place of refuge. That is a place of safety called a manhole. The law says they are to have a manhole, but the law doesn't amount to anything to the hard coal magnates.

What thoughts were in their heads that day as they realized their position? No doubt, they became aware of the trap in which they were caught, and the impossibility of es-

cape. They were husbands and fathers, with all the hopes and aspirations of healthy men, looking forward to the day when they could give their children a better chance in life than they had, give to them an education, and build a little home for the old lady to be secure in her old age, proud and happy in the knowledge of security from the dreaded landlord.

IT happened quicker than we can tell it. The trip climbed the obstacles, three of them. The entry was a mass of cars, coal and timber. A red fluid mixed with the coal, saturated it and passed on along the ditch at the side of the haulage way, and the cold hard coal was covered with a sticky soft fleshy-like substance, and the three men finally found a refuge from the murderous operators of the anthracite in Pennsylvania.

To make manholes and keep them in repair costs but a few cents extra and the law specifically provides for them.

OVER 500 men per year are crushed, killed, in the anthracite and 90 per cent of these cases are a direct result of the negligence of the coal barons and from 2,200 to 25,000 per year injured to a major or minor degree. But what of that? It costs the company nothing to continue to butcher them, while it would cost a few cents to make and keep manholes.

And besides that, there are too many men in the industry now, 200,000 too many of them; at least the operators say so, and J. L. Lewis, the miners' president, also says so.

To hell with the men, human labor power is the cheapest commodity on the American market, squeeze them out, run or starve them out, crush them and fill up the manholes. No

money can go for manholes. Paint the hard coal red, to hell with the men, gold is God. God is gold in the anthracite.

IN 1923, the Glen Alden Coal company made \$3,125,895. Profits in three months.

In 1924, the Lehigh and Wilkes Barre Coal company made \$7,404,010 profit.

In 1923, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal company made \$5,375,285 profit. And the Pennsylvania Coal and Coke corporation made \$1,115,658 profit in 1924.

Those four companies for one year made approximately \$17,020,848 profit out of the human blood of the slaves in the hell holes of the hard coal, yet no money for safety for those victims of the insane economic system.

AROUND a manhole stands a group of miners, 1000 brothers from the same vicinity with heads bare and bowed. Strong husky men, these miners, gathered today at that manhole to lower unto their last refuge place the remains of their murdered brothers.

Tears silently flow from many eyes as the final act takes place. The victims were well-known and respected in the community, and the worst part of the tragedy is yet untold.

TONIGHT down there in the shacks of the deceased miners a coal oil lamp burns. A shadow of sorrow surrounds the homes of the widows. The blow was too sudden, no preparation was given them before the mangled thing was wheeled into the house before the burial. A look of black despair, and anguish, of woe, covers the face of the wives, their spirit seems broken, their very lives are crushed. The picture is pitiful to behold as the little ones cry for "Dad." "Dad, I want my Dad."

For a moment I leave the scene of sorrow and look into the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New Yrk. What a contrast. Pointed out to the writer a few weeks ago were the parasites' wives and daughters of the owners of the hard coal, bedecked with jewels, lounging at a well-filled table covered with all the choicest things eatable. And a couple of slaves waiting on them, to attend to their lightest wants. Sweet music was being supplied by a concealed orchestra, and geranium perfume floated thru the air.

LOOKING back today from the hard coal mines in this hour of sorrow, I recall the shudder I experienced when looking at the sensuous parasites congregated in the luxurious hotel eating of the bodies, and drinking the life blood of the murdered hard coal miners.

THIS state of affairs must continue in the coal business as long as the system of private ownership prevails. Nationalization of mines with control in the hands of the workers to the end that service and safety will be the first consideration is the only cure for the disease of private ownership and its resulting terrors.

And as our eyes wander back to the mines we see a cloud of dust arising in the atmosphere as the coal is brought to the surface and dumped into the chutes, amidst the noise of engines, shakers, picking tables, washers, and crushers, and as the boys pick the dirt from the coal, a soft, sticky flesh-like substance is found and there in the sunlight we notice that the color of anthracite is red, red as the flames of hell to which the coal barons would consign all rebels against their bloody rule.

Coolidge Welcomes Enemies of the Polish Workers

By B. K. Gebert

WE have received the following information from Poland:

In the middle of the month of July, Count Alexander Skrzynski will visit America. He is Poland's minister of the foreign affairs. The government of Poland has instructed him to get a new loan from American bankers. On the occasion of his visit to this country he will deliver a few public lectures about the "heaven" existing in Poland at the present time.

THE arrival of Count Skrzynski should be given wide-spread publicity among the Polish, Ukrainian and White-Russian workers of this country.

The American workers ought to carry on a special campaign of meetings and demonstrations against the terror that the government of Poland is carrying on against the workers and peasants, and national minorities whose territory Poland has occupied. It is necessary to inform the American public of the nature of the government which this Skrzynski is representing.

With his arrival it is necessary to let everybody know about the arrests and murders of workers and peasants, mass persecutions, the closing of Ukrainian and White-Russian schools, military colonization of Ukrainian and White-Russian territory, by Polish cossacks, and about many other brutal acts of the Polish bourgeoisie.

TRY to organize demonstrations and protest meetings in the cities where Count Skrzynski is going to speak.

WHO is Count Skrzynski?

Count Alexander Skrzynski, Polish foreign minister owns the large estate of Zagorzaly in Galicia.

In 1909, Count Skrzynski joined the diplomatic corps of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and first served as attache in the foreign ministry in Vienna. In 1910, he was appointed as secretary to Franz Joseph's embassy in Paris.

The present "great Polish patriot" could not serve the Hapsburg monarchy for in 1918 the revolution swept away the Hapsburgs and the Count Skrzynski had to look for a

job.

The so-called Polish republic arose and its government appointed him minister to Roumania, where he serv-

ed from 1919 to 1922, putting thru the military alliance of Roumania and Poland, against Soviet Russia.

After this he became Polish dele-

gate to the infamous league of nations, and when the present Grabski government came into power, he was appointed its foreign minister.

AS a foreign minister, Count Skrzynski made a treaty according special privileges to the vatican, practically giving it complete domination over the Polish masses.

Besides this he made other agreements with the states bordering Soviet Russia, organizing them to make war on the workers and peasants' government.

He is a tool of French imperialism, which is carrying on propaganda among Polish immigrants in France to join the army to fight against Morocco.

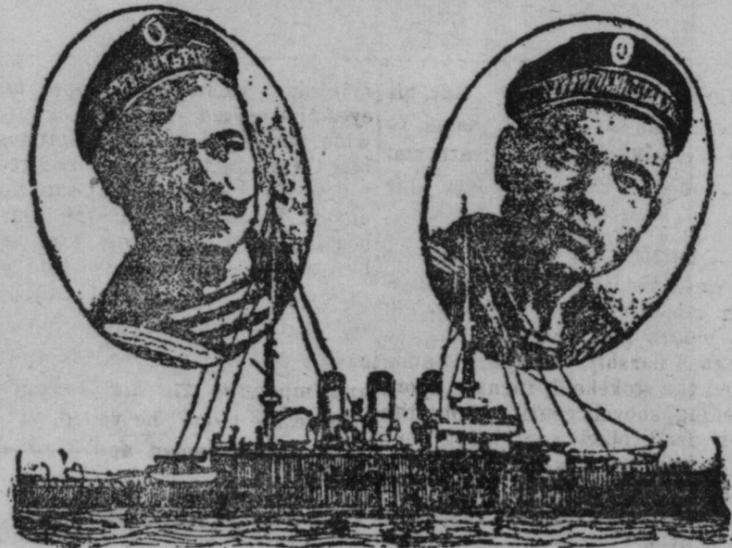
IT did not surprise us to read of Coolidge's official welcome to this bitter enemy of Soviet Russia and the working class. He will also be welcomed by the wealthy Poles and yellow socialists of this country, who have arranged a banquet here in Chicago, to be held at the Congress Hotel on July 25.

WORKERS of America must know that the real reason for Count Skrzynski coming to America is to get an additional loan for the Polish government, more money for the army which is being trained by French and British officers for war, not only against Soviet Russia but also against the national minorities and workers and peasants in Poland, who are in a death struggle against the bloody government of landlords, bourgeoisie, priests and traitors to the working class, a government controlled by Wall Street and French and British imperialists—all of whom are interested in one thing: to keep Polish workers, peasants and national minorities in chains.

Polish workers and peasants warn the American bankers that when they get the power in their hands, they will not recognize a single dollar of debt to American bankers.

American workers then will be sent to collect money from Polish workers as they have been sent to Russia, Latin-America and now to China. But will they go? They must not!

"Count Potjomkin Tawrichesky"



TWENTY years ago, in June 1905, the first mutiny in the Russian czar's navy took place. The rumblings of the coming revolution were felt all over Russia. The food and the iron discipline in the navy were rotten. On the battleship "Count Potjomkin Tawrichesky" of the Black Sea squadron stationed near Odessa the meat was full of worms, but the drunken doctor pronounced it good for consumption. The sailors refused to eat it and the infuriated commander ordered the guards to fire on the mutineers. Comrade Matjushenko, (on the left of the picture) cried to guards: "Comrades! Why should you murder your brothers?!" At these words the commander lost all his senses, and snatching from a guard the rifle shot Comrade Matjushenko dead. But the commander was felled death on the spot by the butt of a rifle from another guard and the revolt was on. The comrade shown on the right of the picture then took charge of the battleship. Most of the brutal officers who resisted were shot and thrown overboard. The killed sailor was taken ashore and laid to rest under military guard of honor in the harbor. A general strike began in Odessa and the police was afraid to show up on the streets. Thousands of workers paid their respects to the killed comrade. Another battleship joined the revolt, but the rest of the squadron was taken away from Odessa to save it from revolt. The sailors after cruising for a while in the Black Sea finally left the Russian waters, went to Roumanian shores, left the battleship there, and scattered to different countries.

The Fireman's Death

By Liam O'Flaherty

EIGHT bells tolled slowly in the engine room. He marched down the iron ladder into the stokehold. The others marched rapidly in front of him, their light shod feet pattering, their covered left hands rushing along the hot rails with a slipping sound. His feet stumbled heavily down. His hand trembled on the rail.

He was sick he should be in bed. But he had been a fireman for twelve years without missing a watch. His pride said: "Die before your fires rather than let a fellow worker shed his body's sweat for you."

When he landed in the stokehold the hot fumes struck him in the chest. He gasped, caught his eyes with his fists and staggered. His stomach muscles contracted. They crowded around him in pity, urging him to go back to his bunk. He straightened himself fiercely and thrust them away with a swinging movement of his arms. "I'd die sooner than that," he growled.

HE marched to the fires. His thin outward curving calves were visible passing the bright glow from the ashpits of the furnaces. His tall slim body and his bony head were hidden in the gloom.

The retiring watch went up the ladder to the deck. Their faces were black. Their eyes were white. Their sodden trousers clung to their sweating thighs. They went up the ladder groaning curses on the sea, the fires, God, and the rich men who make slaves toil in the bowels of ships.

It was very dark. Ashes and coal dust floated in a thick mass thru the sluggish air. The electric lights glimmered like dim candles. The bulky forms of the boilers loomed in the darkness. The engines thudded. A dull volcanic murmur came from the hidden fires.

HE stripped before his fires and put his sweat rag in his belt. Then he seized the long swaying rake to clean his low fire. He opened the furnace door. His body flashed into the firelight. He was naked to the waist. The ribs rose in ridges on his fleshless breast. The skin lay tauged along his protruding jaws. His eye sockets were black. His biceps were rugged knots interlaced with sickly blue veins.

He stooped forward and thrust in the rake. A wave of heat emerged, striking him in the face. He reeled before it for a moment. Then he made a great effort and stood erect. A cold sweat poured out all over his body. That terrified him. Had the others seen? He looked cautiously. They were working furiously. They had not seen. Good.

HE swore a blasphemous oath and muttered to himself: "I'm not going to give in." He hauled out the red hot ashes and the jagged cakes of spent coal that clung like glue to the fire bars. He finished one side. He changed over the live coals from the other side. He cleaned the other side. All finished. He handed the shovel to the trimmer to coal the bars. Then he walked very stiffly to the ventilator.

God! Not a breath of wind came down the dusty gaping tub from the sunbaked deck. Hi-

lungs strained like inflated bladders to catch the hot air that struggled down his parched throat slowly.

And there was a great painful inward heaving of his sides like the panting of a tired horse.

His whole body murmured:

dropped his shovel again and stepped away.

HAH! There was strength in him still.

BUT what was this? He could not hear. Not a sound. And everything was dim. His eyes had fallen back into his skull. Somebody was standing in front of him

JUST WAR!



"Water, water, water." But his fierce mind would not listen to the cry. Water meant death and surrender. He must feed the fires.

SUDDENLY his head seemed to whirl round and round. Madness seized him. He wrinkled up his mouth and nose. Then he laughed harshly. Rasping sounds filled the stokehold, furnace doors opening, shovels grating along the iron deck, black coal being shot in among the licking flames. It was the madness of conflict. His weakness vanished. He dashed at his shovel, seized it, spat and opened the door of his right hand fire. "Give it to her boys," yelled the pot bellied engineer, as he rushed into the stokehold. "Steam is falling. Steam is falling. Give her a shake."

The great fires roared and shot out whirling shafts of yellow flame to meet each shovel full of black coal that was hurled into them. He talked wildly to the fires as he hurled in the coal. He called them foul names and put out his tongue at them. He glared at them and hurled himself at them savagely. They had been his enemies for twelve years. He piled coal on them, more, more, more until he smothered them under a black glistening mound. Their vast roar was submerged beneath the already red-ening black mound. Then he

making a noise. He gripped his eyes and peered. He saw a mouth wide open and moving, spitting black coal dust from its blood red tongue as it spoke. That was the bloody Irishman from the star-board boiler. Telling him he looked like a corpse and should go on deck. By the slippery heels of the bald headed Chilean deck swabber! He ground his teeth and mustered all his strength. "Leave me alone" he yelled. "I'm a Glasgow fireman and I never

give in. And I NEVER will. Leave me alone."

His voice ended in a shriek.

He groped for the slice. His hands clawed at it blindly for he could see nothing in the gloom. The long thick iron bar swung towards him as he pulled at it. It pushed against his shoulder and he staggered backwards three paces. "Steady on," he muttered. He crouched and raised it, trembling all over. Then he groped to the fires. He opened the door and thrust the wedge shaped point of the slice at the base of the mound. He ran it along the bars to the very end. Then he drew himself together. He must lift that mound and break it in the middle, in order to give air to the flames. He jumped with a loud gasp and landed, crosswise, face downwards, on the slice, his two hands clenching the slice against his hollowed stomach. He almost lost consciousness. A terrific pain ran from his stomach to his head making all his body numb. But his brain still thot of the fire and the mound that must be broken. It was not broken. The slice had not left the bars? It had merely bent slightly downwards from the middle to the end, under the impact of his body. His feet reached for the deck. He stood erect. He moved backwards two paces slowly, crouching low, all his sinews rigid, his eyeballs protruding.

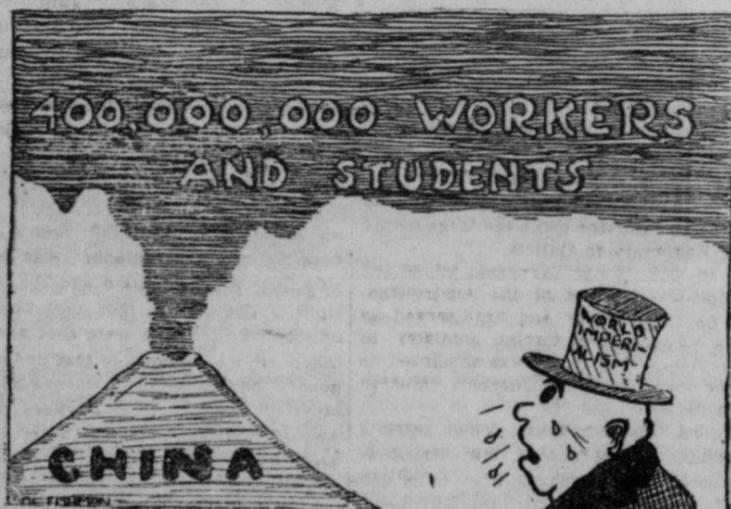
THEN uttering a savage yell, he jumped again on the slice. He landed once more upon it crosswise, his two hands clenching it against his hollowed stomach. The slice rose by the head. The mound broke. A huge red scar appeared. The flames shot out. With a roar they covered the mound and whirled about the door, licking the air and darting out along the slice towards the hanging body of the fireman.

He did not move. His body hung limply across the slice. His toes tipped the deck. His eyes were fixed. His lips were white. He was dead.

Australian Iron Workers Ballot on Amalgamation

MELBOURNE, Australia, July 17.—At the annual conference of the Federated Ironworkers' Assistants' Union it was decided to take a ballot of members of the union on the question of linking up with the Agricultural Implement Makers' Union and Stove Makers' Union. The ballot is to be concluded by September 30 next.

The Chinese Volcano in Action



By Sol Fishman, 15 years old, Y. W. L., Coney Island, N. Y.

Social-Democracy in Wisconsin

By ANDREW OVERGAARD.

ANY worker who believes that there is any difference with the socialist party of Wisconsin and the German social-democratic party led by Noske, Scheidemann and Co. (murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg) both in relation to everyday demands of the workers or in international affairs, should follow closely the editorial policy of the Milwaukee Leader in relation to these questions.

The Milwaukee Leader, which was established by the support financially and morally of the organized labor movement here, no longer speaks in behalf of the working class. The Leader has in fact become the personal mouthpiece of Victor Berger and a few other traitors to the working class. As far as the news columns are concerned there is no difference between the Leader and the Hearst scandal sheets. Hardly any news of a real working class nature finds its way past the censorship of old Vic. Berger.

Instead one can find statements by oil kings, bankers and steel kings coming back from Europe and lauding the efforts of Von Hindenburg in stabilizing Germany, the near collapse of Soviet Russia, etc., all without editorial comment. Such is the order of the day in this so-called "socialist organ."

Political Mulligan of Socialist Party.

AFTER the death of Robert LaFollette, the socialist party is in a bad pickle. The socialist party in the last presidential election sacrificed its last principles of independence and crept together with all the labor fakers on the LaFollette band wagon. Berger lets the cat out of the bag in his "findings" in the June 25 issue of the Leader, stating: "The socialist party of our state (which held the balance of power in both houses of the legislature) has spent so much enthusiasm and money to elect LaFollette that it is still somewhat weakened."

He states further that "The so-called progressives of Wisconsin were never a party with any definite set of principles." When LaFollette started out on his reform career, he was simply opposing the railroads and corporate wealth on the question of taxation.

It Had to Die.

HERE Victor Berger admits that the socialist party supported a movement without principles, but that it could not help itself. It had to die anyway so whether it died by suicide or was killed by the lion makes no difference. He "finds" further that, "Since the LaFollette movement in

our state was always overwhelmingly a personal affair centering in Robert Marion LaFollette—its heart fell out when Bob died!"

After all the Communists were right that this movement was a personal movement not based upon the organized strength of the workers, who had nothing to say about policy or platform. The story told to the workers of the state sounded quite different before the election.

Then Victor was busy slamming the Communists for daring to appeal to the workers for support to the only candidates of the working class and running on a definite class program the candidates of the Workers Party, Foster and Gitlow. At the present time there are many contenders for the place left open after LaFollette's death. Governor Blaine, Mrs. LaFollette, Jr., and a number of others are already in the scramble for political jobs.

The question of what the socialist party is going to do remains to be seen. It is rumored that the socialists intend to put up ex-Lieutenant Governor Comings, who is scheduled to speak together with Debs at the July 19 picnic of the party. It is even rumored that Comings has made application to join the socialist party.

Paid Low Wages.

The American socialist party is well on the road to compete with the Swedish party of which one of the princes is said to be a member. Victor can soon "find" that the "better class" is being converted to socialism. What is the socialist party doing to strengthen the weak trade union movement in the state of Wisconsin? The answer must be: absolutely nothing. The city of Milwaukee has a so-called socialist mayor and administration and still we find that the wages paid workers in this city rank among some of the lowest.

It is indeed sad to listen to the discussion in the Central Labor Council here, which is controlled by the S. P. Home rule, high buildings and a number of other unimportant legislative reform bills plus labor league reports and a few jurisdictional squabbles constitute the business of that body, but if questions of international trade union unity, amalgamation, a labor party, united front on the Chinese intervention by the imperialist powers and a number of other important problems are brought up it is either ridiculed or buried in the executive committee.

Socialist Party and Imperialism.

IN Victor Berger's "findings" one day we find him in a terrible rage

against the imperialists in China, but the next day he "finds" that after all the Chinese people cannot yet be trusted to protect the foreigners and it is a great question whether they can govern themselves.

His solution of the problem is that "We good democrats should try to convince the foreign capitalists not to be so cruel to the Chinese people. Unfortunately the arguments used against the Chinese workers on strike are the bayonets and guns of the imperialist powers. The Chinese workers and students are tired of turning the other cheek and have determined to do some fighting of their own."

They will probably not pay much attention to the "findings" of Victor Berger and other socialist pacifists.

Attacks Soviet Russia.

THE editorial in the Leader entitled, "What Moscow Missed" hits the nail on the head and definitely exposes the socialist party of Wisconsin and its boss, Victor Berger, as part and parcel of the same imperialist bandits who are now shooting down Chinese workers and students and preparing an attack against the only workers' republic in the world—Soviet Russia.

According to this editorial, Moscow is going to pay for having had the nerve to expose the treacherous role of European socialist parties since the 1917 revolution. Lenin made some wrong calculations, according to this "finding," that instead of exposing the mensheviks as capitalist tools he should have united with them and forget the revolution.

Says the editorial further: "By missing this opportunity and intriguing against both the capitalists and the socialists, the Russian Bolsheviks made enemies of the organized workers in Europe as well as the capitalists." Here Berger lets the cat out of the bag. The devilish Bolsheviks have dared to make enemies out of the capitalist class and their servants the social traitors and they must be punished for that crime.

The editorial continues: "Now the international situation is rapidly drifting towards an isolation of Soviet Russia and China by the big powers and the only ones that can protect Russia and China, the socialists and trade unionists of Europe, have learned by bitter experience that they get no thanks for helping Moscow out of trouble. In fact, many European socialists have come to the conclusion that socialist ideals will be better

served by letting real capitalists run Russia rather than by supporting a capitalist regime under a Communist label."

Socialists Fight for Capitalism.

WHAT more proof is needed to show the role of social-democracy as the last bulwark of capitalism? Oh you vicious Bolsheviks, why don't you crawl on your feet to Noske, Scheidemann, MacDonald, Vandervelde, the murderers of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria and all the rest of the traitors to the working class and ask them to fight against the imperialist governments, of which they are part and parcel.

The class conscious workers wish to ask Victor Berger where in hell he has ever found those traitors including himself, fighting for the oppressed workers and peasants of Europe and the far East.

You speak about isolation, why don't you mention the unity between the Russian and British Trade Unions comprising the two strongest trade union movements of the world. If you call that isolation, let us have more of it for the workers. The Chinese masses have learned where to look for protection against the imperialist robbers. Experience has taught them that Soviet Russia run by the Communists, is the best protection and along with Soviet Russia stand the Communist Parties all over the world.

Yes, Victor, many socialists of the caliber you mention have come to the conclusion that it is better to give up all socialist ideals and vote for war credits as in the French chamber, for ammunition to shoot down the Riff people who are fighting for independence.

Enemies of Workers.

WE know that you and your kind are the enemies of our class in Soviet Russia and that you will be rejoicing when the imperialist powers attempt to attack the First Workers' Republic. We know further that in due time when the American proletariat finds itself in struggle for power and attempts to take over the means of production you will be leading the fight against them. The working masses of Milwaukee will in due time learn on which side of the fence these traitors are and find out that after all they are nothing but the last bulwark of capitalism.

To the social-democratic workers we say, unite with the Communists under the slogans, "Stand by Soviet Russia," "Hands Off China." Unite to prevent another world slaughter.

SOVIET UNION USES AMERICAN CAPITAL



FOLLOWING the granting of a large manganese concession by the Soviet government to the W. A. Harriman and Co. New York bankers, the demand for recognition of the Soviet Union on the part of American business firms is making itself heard.

The Soviet Union conceded the rich manganese workings in Soviet Georgia to Harriman, in return for a percentage of the receipts. In addition Harriman is to bring in capital and modern machinery. The concession goes back to the Soviet Union after a term of years.

Left to Right, seated, are Alexander Djakali, Georgian representative of Harriman; Mark Kascovich, Harriman engineer; John Speed Elliott, chief Harriman representative; Georges Tchitcherln, Soviet commissar of foreign affairs; (standing) Richard Shellons, Harriman manager; William Shreiter, Soviet technician; Gregory Pyatakoff, Soviet concession commissar; M. Menken, delegate of the Georgian government; Felix Dzerzhinsky, chairman of the Soviet Economic Council.

American Labor Press Directory.

This book should be invaluable for either persons or groups who get out publicity in behalf of labor causes. It lists the names and addresses of some 600 labor papers published in the United States and Canada and gives a list of labor papers published in other countries.

In addition to the names and addresses it gives information on the editor and publisher, size, frequency of publication circulation figures where available and other information interesting to labor editors and publicity workers.

Hitherto the only way of getting data on labor papers was from lists compiled by individuals and often unreliable and out of date. If you or your organization gets out publicity for labor papers this book will be a valuable tool. It may be ordered through the DAILY WORKER Literature Department, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago.

The Walden Book Shop

307 Plymouth Court

(Between State and Dearborn Just South of Jackson)

CHICAGO

An Italian Voice Speaks for Soviet Russia

By GUIDO MIGLIOLI

Italian representative on the Peasants' International

ONE of the peasants at Quareli, Tiflis, Soviet Russia, had said to me in parting: "You must write about us and describe everything which you have seen."

I promised him to do so, and for this reason I crave the hospitality of your columns for the following lines:

In the words of that peasant was expressed the whole history of the Georgian peasantry, the whole soul of this industrious population.

THE peasant of that salubrious country, vibrant with new life, is possessed of just one desire: to be recognized. It is the natural aspiration of a people that is feverishly engaged day by day in building up the new life born of the revolution. He feels the need of refuting the calumnies spread about the Georgian peasant that he did not share in the passionate determination of all the toilers to defend the conquests of the revolution and to speed on the march of progress. It is a good reminder to all political students that the history of the Georgian renaissance is being written not only in the towns, but also in the villages, that it is wrought by the daily toil of these humble yet powerful tillers of the soil.

There is no need to color the truth, when it is so bright and self-evident.

ON Sunday morning we arrived at Telave, a little township nestled in the midst of the most flourishing agricultural plains. Even on the day of rest I saw the intense activity of the little town, which had all the appearance of a modern center of culture and intellectual pursuits. The chairman of the Soviet showed me the new schools, the new theater in course of construction, the hall for the public organizations. All this is being built upon the ruins of the atrocious regime which for many generations had oppressed the population and kept it in poverty and ignorance; now the people are eagerly building up their social institutions, their cooperative and credit organizations. In front of the cooperative store, which now handles 60 per cent of the town's trade there were some silent women vainly trying to sell something. Co-operation has put them out of business. I took a photograph of these two opposite worlds which may still be seen side by side, the one accom-

panying the other like the shadow of the night before the fulness of the dawn.

I was particularly interested in cooperative credit organizations. In a few months the membership had grown into 1,000, and the paid up capital to 30,000 roubles. Deposits are beginning to pour in. Thousands of peasants come to this modest-looking building to ask for advice and to deposit their savings. I smothered the kind and intelligent superintendent with a multitude of questions, which my travelling companion, Comrade Kantor, faithfully translated. I asked what was the ratio 'as between deposits and loans. I would like to reproduce here those figures.

IN a short space of time there was on hand 100,000 roubles, of which only 10 per cent had been loaned out on long credits, which signified the quick turnover of the capital and the intensity of the peasants' labor. The progressive index of financial operations has insured to this little, yet solid institution steady progress and stability.

Such was the life in the little town, and the same vigor I found vibrating in the villages.

I had the opportunity to visit the villages of Shilda and Quareli. The difficult communications prevented some foreign visitors from cutting deep into the villages. Nevertheless, as I had already done in the Ukraine and on the Don, I tried immediately to get into the villages and to see with my own eyes the cultural and economic development, the political growth of the agricultural population.

AT Shilda I was overwhelmed by the strength of the agricultural cooperation. Having a membership of 300 people, it is already a prosperous institution, well supplied with agricultural implements and transacting considerable purchases and sales of commodities. I looked over the balance sheet and found the institution perfectly solvent. I attended a meeting of the cooperative organization that was addressed by a young Georgian peasant, a splendid type of vigorous manhood. Of course, there is still a good deal of backwardness in regard to technical equipment. The vineyards are cultivated with painstaking care, but there is still plenty of virgin soil to be ploughed up by machinery. In regard to sericulture the methods are still rather primitive. Not all the peasants appreciate as yet all the advantages to be derived from

proper sericultural methods. Nevertheless I believe that the silk industry is going to be one of the leading sources of prosperity in that country. The same in regard to cattle raising, where the observer could see at first blush the need for zoo-technical selection.

THE work of scientific progress will still require a good deal of time. Nevertheless I could not help seeing that tremendous results have already been achieved during the 4 years of Soviet rule, which does everything for the promotion of education and progress.

I was particularly struck by the fact that in such a short space of time the masses have been so thoroughly aroused and enlightened as to assimilate all the forms of social and economic propaganda. This is clearly the result of the work of the Communist leaders and of the leaders of the trade unions and of the cooperative movement, as well as of the technical workers who have devoted themselves entirely to this work, with the same generous self-sacrifice that I personally had the occasion to witness, in the governmental and cooperative institutional life. At Shilda I found a people's home and a theater, new and splendid buildings, and a consumers' cooperative store embracing 250 families. I also found a body of young people aglow with political passion and a thirst for knowledge and modern ideas.

THE same striving after education struck me upon my visit to the village of Quareli, where the well-kept roads and the architecture of the new buildings bore witness to the intense amount of work accomplished in the last 2 or 3 years. One of the local teachers told me: "The progress of our school is expressed in the following figures: before the revolution—100 pupils, in 1922—200, and in 1925—more than 600. There are not enough schools now to accommodate all the sons of the revolution who are clamouring for knowledge and education."

It was my good fortune at Quareli to meet a countryman of mine, an Italian from Trentino who has been living as a laborer in this village for the last 5 years.

I took him aside and engaged him in conversation, convinced that with the frankness characteristic of the average Italian he would give me a plain and unvarnished story of the

life and work of these peasants. What he told me was more than I had ever expected.

"Look at this cooperative store," he said, "look at these flour-mills which also belong to the cooperators. These are only the more striking signs of the profound progress of the entire population. Among the older people there is still some reluctance to accept the modern methods of agriculture, but the young people are eager to learn. Here is the newspaper posted on the wall for everyone to read. If this village will continue at such a pace, it will become one of the most prosperous and happiest in Kakhethia."

I was profoundly moved by the story of this Italian laborer, who spoke with such faith in the future of the country that has adopted him, and at that moment my thought turned back to the Italian peasants who know of no such bright hope just now.

ON the following day, walking over the blossoming fields and hills, past the gay vineyards, I felt that the day was not far distant when my countryman's words would come true.

After a short visit to the gigantic state wine-cellars at Tsinondali, I traversed the broad plains of the Mukuzan region, where the methods of cultivation are more rational and up-to-date. I saw the vineyards in the full splendor of springtime. I found the whole population carried away by enthusiasm for constructive work and progress. A good deal of credit for this enthusiasm was due to the energetic and practical propaganda of the experimental vine-growing station, organized by the local vine-growing department. If the method of grafting will be adopted over 250 desiatines in the coming year, it will mean the adoption of the new methods by the whole country within the next few years.

THIS is indeed a revolution which is felt in the growth and development of the country. It is a revolution which transforms, which brings culture, which moves towards prosperity and progress, which ensures peace and solidarity among all the toilers, and fraternal accord among the peasants and the workers. This is not the "revolution" spoken of by bourgeois newspapers and short-sighted and ignorant politicians in Europe, who allege the peasants of Georgia to be in revolt against the new order of things.

Further Communist Arrests in Egypt

By J. B. (Jerusalem)

IN September 1924, Egypt was the scene of a Communist trial. Zaglul Pasha, who was at that time at the head of the government and at the pinnacle of his power, wished to show to the English how well he was able to maintain order. All the accused were condemned to imprisonment with hard labor. The Egyptian reaction rejoiced: Communism in Egypt is now dead and buried; "all" the leaders are arrested, "all" organizations dissolved and "all" Communist nests cleared out.

Zaglul Pasha had scarcely carried out this task for British imperialism when there came the end of Zaglul glory. Driven from the government, threatened and humiliated, the party of Zaglul has today become the victim of that Bankers' clique which is devoted to England and to whom Zaglul Pasha, thanks to his weak and ambiguous policy, gave the possibility of taking over power. This clique—the Zivar Pasha ministry—is preparing to deliver a decisive blow to the Egyptian nationalists. No means of incitement and calumny appears too vile for this ministry, which is supported by English bayonets, in order to exterminate all revolutionary and freedom-loving elements still remaining in Egypt. It is therefore a matter of course that the rage of these betrayers of the Egyptian people is directed first of all against that organization which appears to them to be the most dangerous: The Communist Party of Egypt.

In spite of the heavy blows which the Communist Party had already suffered in the previous year in spite of espionage and attacks, the Egyptian Communist Party had recovered with surprising rapidity. New forces were streaming to it, the revolutionary mood among the workers and the advanced intelligentsia, which was visibly strengthened by the British acts of violence, caused the slogans of the Communists to meet with an enthusiastic response. The trade unions, under Communist influence, revived again and, along with the brother party of Palestine and Syria, the basis was created for a wide field of activity in the Near East.

THE Egyptian police were obliged to intervene before the "danger" became too great. By means of an expensive system of provocateurs and spies, they concocted a monstrous Communist "conspiracy." On the 31st of May and the days following numerous arrests of Communists took place. In all, 17 persons have been imprisoned up till now, the majority of them being natives, among them being journalists, officials and workers. As the police were at a loss to bring forward concrete charges, the various government organs resorted all the more eagerly to insinuations of the vilest sort. From the most minute descriptions of "Moscow emissaries," up to piquant details concerning the complicity of the English Communists and the Soviet government, there was not lacking one of the features which distinguish reactionary incitement throughout the world.

In fact, it even seems as if the entire grandiose action aimed just as much at creating an impression abroad as appeasing the native bourgeoisie. Feverish search has been made for proofs as to the subversive activity of Russian agents in British spheres of influence. Zivar Pasha is now in a position to bring forward everything Chamberlain's heart desires: Communist "conspiracies," mysterious "Eyes of Moscow," English delegates, and even a whole trunk full of documents! The thing is so artfully contrived that it is the easiest thing in the world to use it as a means against the hated Soviet government.

AND not only this. The fact that two of the arrested journalists are members of the staffs of prominent

Zaglul newspapers, suffices in order to involve the Zaglul party in the affair. It is pointed out at the same time that the Communists, like the Zaglulists, were connected with that group of terrorists, the members of which carried out the assassination of the governor of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, in November last year and who were condemned to death for the same in a trial which has just been concluded. The aim which is being pursued in seeking to prove these connections is only too obvious.

By such means, and with the help of the Egyptian bourgeoisie and brutal police terror, the English hope to throttle the revolutionary movement in Egypt.

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NATIONAL DEFENSE CONFERENCE HELD IN CHICAGO ON JUNE 28th UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS

The resolutions printed herewith were unanimously passed by the more than one hundred delegates present at the National Conference for Labor Defense, held in Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, June 28. These represented workers' organizations from all parts of the country and were called together by the Labor Defense Council to unite all forces in the labor movement against persecution of workers and for defense of all class war prisoners regardless of political opinion or industrial affiliation.

The Conference founded the International Labor Defense, an individual and collective membership organization that is to undertake the role of champion for all workers attacked by organized capital irrespective of their faith or affiliation. A National Committee of 37 was elected upon which are many prominent figures in the labor, radical, and liberal movements of this country among whom are Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair, Bishop William Montgomery Brown, Fred Mann, Ralph Chaplin, Scott Nearing, Wm. Z. Foster, Benjamin Gitlow and Ben Fletcher. Andrew T. McNamara of Pittsburgh was elected chairman of the organization, E. C. Wentworth, vice-chairman, and James P. Cannon of Chicago the secretary.

At the conference 25 local trade unions beside central labor bodies, workers' defense organizations and labor fraternal and benefit societies totalling a membership well over 200,000 were represented by delegates. In addition scores of endorsements came from workers' organizations and prominent individuals throughout the country who could not be represented there.

The resolutions that follow were passed by the conference in the nature of instructions for work to the officers of the International Labor Defense and taken as a whole, comprise a complete program.

2. Against Injunctions and Anti-Labor Legislation

THE campaign of the exploiters to crush and terrorize the organizations of the workers includes, among its most effective weapons, special anti-labor legislation and the arbitrary use of court injunctions against workers in the midst of struggle. Criminal syndicalism laws of an almost uniform type are now on the statute books of thirty-five states and serve as the most handy "legal" weapons at the disposal of the bosses. These laws are supplemented by lesser statutes, such as anti-picketing laws, and by decisions of the highest courts in the several states and the union, designed to close every door to the legality of the labor movement. The use of autocratic injunctions in labor disputes turns over to corporation hirelings on the bench virtual control over the activities of workers' organizations and shuts them off from all means of legal redress.

The infamous Daugherty injunction issued by Judge Wilkerson practically outlawed the great railroad shopmen's strike of 1922 and paralyzed its activity in all parts of the country. The notorious Busick injunction in California condemned members of the I. W. W. to prison without the right of trial. Practically every industrial dispute in recent years has brought with it the issuance of injunctions calculated to break down the resistance of fighting workers.

Criminal syndicalist laws and injunctions are aimed not only against the revolutionary sections of the working class. The whole organized labor movement is menaced by this legislative and judicial tyranny. The persecutions of the more radical workers by these means are only experiments in preparation for their wholesale use against all sections of the labor movement which show any disposition to fight for the interests of the workers. There is already abundant evidence of the intentions of the capitalists in this regard.

It is a matter of the greatest urgency to make the organized workers generally understand that the persecution of the I. W. W. members in California and other western states and the railroadings of Communists in Michigan, Pennsylvania and New York are rehearsals for wholesale campaigns of the same character against wider sections of the labor movement.

The defense of the I. W. W. and the Communists in these cases is the concern of the whole organized labor movement. The fight against criminal syndicalism laws and the use of injunctions is the fight of the working class as a whole.

The International Labor Defense will undertake as one of its principle activities the organization of a campaign throughout the whole labor movement against criminal syndicalist and other anti-labor laws and injunctions.

3. Legal Aid

INADEQUATE and incompetent legal defense has eased the way for the framing-up and railroading of many workers. Able defense counsel and widespread attendant publicity are obligations which the labor movement owes to every worker who is put on trial for his activities in the class struggle. The employment of qualified attorneys is necessary not only from the standpoint of legal technique and procedure. The correct policy is to secure the services of competent lawyers and, by combining their work in the court room with organized publicity and protest, to transform court trials of workers into propaganda demonstrations in which the capitalist persecutors are put on trial before the working class.

An important item in the pages of worker persecution is long confinement of defendants awaiting trial. A substantial bail fund must be provided to ensure the liberty of persecuted workers pending trial.

These projects require large sums of money which must be raised by workers in defense of their persecuted brothers. A great defense treasury to be expended in procuring the best possible court actions for workers on trial for their activity must be created. A large national bail fund, established thru loans from workers and individuals and organizations sympathetic to their cause, must be ready to secure the release of workers pending trial.

The International Labor Defense calls upon all class-conscious workers and all sympathizers of the labor movement to do their full share toward providing the funds necessary for this work.

4. Information and Publicity

THE labor movement is not generally informed of the facts of labor persecution and perversions of justice in labor causes. Conspiracies against labor are frequently carried out in secret. Many an obscure worker has been railroaded to the penitentiary without its being known publicly. These cases that cannot be kept secret very often do not receive the interest they require and deserve. Labor spy systems flourish, foreign-born workers are deported, class-war prisoners are maltreated and workers are flagrantly deprived of constitutional rights without the knowledge or protest of the labor movement as a whole.

These matters are of vital concern to the masses of the workers. Every unprotected persecution engenders more. Unacquaintance with the methods of frame-up, ignorance of the extent of perverted class-justice and lack of knowledge generally of the conditions of labor persecution involves the danger of unpreparedness. Silence concerning their excesses en-

courages the labor-baiters to more violent ones.

Widespread, systematic and organized publicity must be created to throw glaring search-lights upon all of these crimes against the workers. Not a single instance of labor-baiting should be allowed to escape the attention of the labor movement.

It is the aim of International Labor Defense to develop publicity toward this end in all its forms. Regular press service, public meetings, motion pictures, books, pamphlets, leaflets, stickers and posters shall be utilized, for extending to every corner of the labor movement the exact news and data about all cases of working-class persecution. In addition to these, the National Conference is of the opinion that an illustrated monthly magazine devoted to the cause of Labor Defense should be published as soon as a sufficient organization base is established to assure its success.

5. Prison Relief

IT is not to the credit of the labor movement that its fighters who are in jail for their activities in the class struggle, are frequently neglected and deprived of the ordinary comforts of tobacco, books and other necessities that help to mitigate in some degree the horrors of confinement.

Shut out from the world and from the movement for which they are sacrificing their liberty, these fighters are deserving of all the material comforts that can be supplied them. And, what is equally important, they must be kept in communication with the movement by means of frequent and regular letters from those outside. Such letters from all parts of the country from members of the workers movement, sealing the bonds of solidarity and expressing fraternal remembrance of the imprisoned fighters, keeps up the morale of these captives of capitalism and strengthens their will and courage to face their prison burdens. At the same time, the letters in return from the class-war prisoners, serve as constant reminders to those outside of their duty.

International Labor Defense will devote special attention to the organization of this work. It will undertake to institute all the necessary arrangements required to establish extensive communication between those outside and those confined and raise special funds for the maintenance of systematic provision of material comforts and necessities of life to class-war prisoners.

6. Relief for Dependents of Imprisoned Fighters in Class War.

THE weakest spot in the armor of the revolutionary working-class fighter is concern for his dependents and the fear that they will be neglected while he is confined in prison and powerless to protect them. It must be recorded to the shame of the labor movement, that poverty, hardship and neglect have too often been the fate of dependent families and the consciousness of it eats into the very hearts of those in prison.

This is so only because defense work is not properly organized and because the workers are allowed too soon to forget those who fought for them. The heart of the working-class is warm and sound. The workers will respond readily to an organized appeal which reminds them of their duty to the dependent families of their imprisoned fighters.

The conference appeals to all workers to respond liberally to a special fund to be set up by the International Labor Defense for the purpose of relieving the hardships of the mothers, wives and children of the soldiers of the class war who sacrifice their lives or liberty for the cause of labor. The International Labor Defense feels it a first duty of the labor movement to provide regular material and financial aid to the dependents of class-war prisoners.

7. The White Terror in Other Capitalist Countries

IN almost every capitalist country in the world white terror is raging against the workers. The imperialist



masters of the world, and particularly in Europe, are attempting to exterminate the revolutionary movement of the exploited working-class by wholesale murders, jailing and tortures.

In the Balkans countries, the labor movement has lost all semblance of legal rights. In Roumania, Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia, labor unions and organizations of farmers are outlawed. The slightest protest from the workers and poor farmers calls forth the most bloody campaigns of murder and persecution. In Bulgaria alone no less than four thousand workers and peasants have been murdered by the black reactionary Zankov government. In Poland the white terror rages with the greatest fury and claims thousands of victims. In Hungary, Italy and the Baltic states, the fascist tools of foreign imperialists have murdered workers and jailed them in great numbers. In Germany and the rest of Western Europe thousands of workers lie in prison for their resistance against intolerable economic exploitation and ruthless political tyranny.

This is of the most vital concern to American workers whose fate is indissolubly bound up with the fate of workers in other lands. The class struggle is an international struggle and demands the international solidarity of the workers of all countries.

This conference declares itself international and reaches out fraternal hands to oppressed workers and exploited peoples in all lands who fight and suffer under the iron heel of capitalism.

The Conference dedicates the International Labor Defense to wholehearted support of the victims of the white terror in other lands. It sends fraternal greetings to the Labor Defense Organizations throughout the world and pledges its cooperation in the work of aiding class war prisoners in all capitalist countries.

8. Cooperation and Unity of the Defense Forces

THE defense of persecuted fighters for the cause of labor and the fraternal support of their dependents is a common platform upon which all sincere workers who believe in the principle of the class struggle can unite. This activity is the concern of every class-conscious worker and merits the full support of all sections of the workers' movement, and all those sympathetic to the cause of labor.

The International Labor Defense is dedicated to the principle of unity in the common fight and will endeavor to weld together into one body all the forces of the labor movement for the struggle against working-class persecution and for the defense and support of persecuted fighters and their families.

Where special circumstances create the necessity for separate, independent defense bodies, the International Labor Defense will strive to coordinate its activities with theirs in such a way as to ensure the maximum of defense endeavors on the basis of fraternal unity in the common fight for common aims. The primary duty of the International Labor Defense will be to rally all possible support in defense of workers persecuted for their activities in the class struggle, without exception.

The Reformist Leaders in a Dilemma

By ANDRES NIN

THE determined attitude taken by the English trade unions in the question of trade union unity has embarrassed the reformists of all shades. They can now no longer repeat that the proposals for trade union unity are only a manoeuvre of Moscow, that the leaders of the English organizations have been deceived by these Bolshevik devils, that we are sowing dissension in the trade union movement etc. The workers of all countries are beginning to understand clearly, that our fight for unity is by no means a manoeuvre, that the real splitters of the trade union movement are the reformists, and that it is extremely naive, not to use a stronger expression, to imagine, that responsible trade unionists such as the members of the English delegation, who have been active members of the labor movement for many years, would have allowed themselves to be deceived by the communists during their stay in the Soviet Union.

THE resolutions which were passed by the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference in April, have still further increased the confusion in the ranks of the reformists. The leaders of the Amsterdam International who have always proclaimed the right of the National Executives in different countries to freedom of action, are now astonished at the unprecedented boldness of the English trade unions who are acting on their own initiative and have come to an agreement with the Russian trade union organization. And to what purpose? The object is to unite the workers of all countries who are organized in trade unions in a single International which will be able to combat the capitalist offensive. This is why the right group of Amsterdam is opposing this initiative with so much energy, for its realization would be a death-blow to international reformism. As this reform-

ism is closely allied with capitalism, for which a split amongst the workers is essential, it is quite natural that the reformists are enemies of unity and use all means in their power to sabotage it.

The office of the Amsterdam International has not yet replied officially to the last letter of the Russian trade union council. But two eminent leaders, Oudegeest and Mertens, the secretary and the vice-chairman of the International have made some statements. There was a time when Oudegeest enjoyed a certain reputation as a diplomat. The secretary of the Amsterdam International is in danger of losing this reputation. Since the English and Russian trade unions came to an agreement, he has written nothing but nonsense.

WE recall the article which he wrote during the visit of the English delegation to Russia and which was commented on at the time. In a new article on the last Anglo-Russian Conference which was published in the "Bulletin of the I. F. T. U.", Oudegeest confides a new and important discovery to us. According to him, the leaders of the Russian trade unions are fine fellows, honest fighters, with whom Amsterdam could quite well come to an agreement. But there is an obstacle, and that is the Communist Party which binds the hands of Tolski ("who is our friend"), and above all there are Zinoviev and Lozowsky, who terrorize the Russian trade unions and force them to remain in the Red International of Labor Unions and to submit themselves to the instructions of the Communist Party! As long as the Russian trade unions do not break off these connections, is about what Oudegeest says, our "instinct of self-preservation" will prevent us coming to an agreement with them. These are fine explanations! It is difficult to imagine greater intel-

lectual modesty. Is it ignorance or bad faith?

Not only the Russian workers but those of all other countries know the close connections which bind the Russian trade unions, the most solid foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the Communist Party which is the advance guard of the labor movement and the leader of the revolution. The reformist leaders are not ignorant of the fact that it is impossible to separate the Russian trade unions from the Communist Party, and they are quite well aware that Tolski, the so-called defender of trade union independence, the poor "victim of Communist tyranny" is one of the most influential members of the party and of the political bureau.

MERTENS, the well-known separatist, the originator of a kind of trade union exceptional law against the Communists in Belgium, less easily loses his head but his perturbation is quite transparent. He understands the whole immense significance of the agreements concluded between the Russian and English trade unions. This accounts for his complaints and protests against the boldness of the English trade unions. In "Le Mouvement Syndical Belge" (The Belgian Trade Union Movement) of May 9 he writes:

"What right have the English comrades to interfere in the internal life of the trade unions of other countries? Why do they wish to force their views, their opinions, on other organizations? Do they not understand that just this is one of the numerous obstacles which separate us from the Russians who also, under the pretext that they have brought the state of the future into actual being, want to force their policy, their methods of action and their way of thinking on to other countries?"

Mertens is trying to side-track the

question. Who has ever talked of forcing the peculiar Russian or English points of view on other countries? Our aim is quite limited. It is merely a question of establishing the unity of the international trade union movement and, in order to arrive at this goal, we impose no preliminary conditions. We are prepared to submit to the will of the majority of workers, which the reformists do not seem inclined to do.

THIS is why they revolt against the idea of a world congress thru which unity might be achieved. We, however, shall not cease to propagate this slogan, and we are convinced that we are reflecting the wish of the overwhelming majority of the workers.

THE movement in favor of unity is pursuing its path in spite of the reformist sabotage. The report of the English delegation has met with a tremendous response in all countries, even among the reformist workers. The cause of unity is gaining ground every day. In Germany, delegations of trade unions which are affiliated to the reformist General Federation of Trade Unions, are preparing to visit the Soviet Union; many local organizations are speaking in favor of unity. In France, more than a hundred of the trade unions affiliated to the reformist C. G. T. have assumed a similar attitude. In Italy, workers of all parties are declaring their solidarity with the Communists, whom the reformists have excluded. In Belgium hitherto the stronghold of reformism, a trade union left group has been formed, which is prepared to fight for unity. These are only a few of the most important facts.

The movement for unity will gain in significance from day to day. We are convinced that the will of the working masses of all countries will finally carry the day in spite of the sabotage of the reformists.

"HAVE you had any replies from the powers to your suggestion that an international conference be held on the question of reconsidering extra-territorial laws and other matters," asked Kal of Kell as the two leading funkies of Wall Street, walked on the lawn of White Court, in Swampscott, Mass.

"I might as well have sent out a circular letter calling for a meeting of the ku klux klan in Dublin, Ireland, or asked France for a payment on account, for all the notice was taken of it," grunted Kell.

Kal.—If things keep on going as they are now, you and I will get the devil. You muffed the Mexican situation, by letting Calles pose as a hero slapping a bully, and I am afraid nobody will take any notice of either one of us in the future. They'll think we're a pair of fourtushers.

Kell.—What can a fellow do, when he gets instructions and strict orders to carry them out, no matter what the consequences to himself are? My note did the job in Mexico. You see, Calles is doing alright now.

Kal.—That is all very well for those who are on the inside, but tho we don't usually pay much attention to the common people, what they think of a politician counts at the polls, and until we get ready to drop the ballot box as Mussolini did, we have got to consider their feelings. The nation had a strong attack on us and the nation has considerable influence.

Kell.—Don't worry about the nation. That bunch of pacifists are easily fooled. In fact I think they are very willing to be fooled. If you or I say something nice about China next week, Villard, Rev. Norman Thomas and the rest of them will be falling all over each other praising us. The Communists are the only people we can't fool.

Kal.—I thought they were on the run. That's what Mr. Green of the A. F. of L. told the department of justice when he called to renew the contract they had with Mr. Gompers.

Kell.—I have an idea it would be better for us to hire a couple thousand stoolpigeons than to depend on Green. If we had a lot of fellows to

fight the Communists in the unions, we'd be doing better.

Kal.—But the D. of J. tells me that the socialists are doing that, and they don't cost much.

Kell.—Like hell they are. Why there aren't enough socialists left all over the country to make a decent funeral. And see what they have done in New York, in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Kal.—What the blazes have they done?

Kell.—Instead of pretending to fight the manufacturers they came out openly on their side and tried to make the workers accept an agreement that the workers did not like. Then they preferred charges against their opponents and removed them from office. The result is that the rank and file are now in sympathy with the Communists and saying: "By god they are right. The socialists are dirty dogs."

Kal.—At that rate it looks as if the Communists were growing. They tell me they are behind this trouble in China.

Kell.—That's good stuff for the public and Morgan tells us to spread it

out thick, but between you and me and the hobby horse, we are to blame for the situation in China. By the way the last time I saw the Big Fellow, he was breaking his sides laughing over the predicament our British cousins were in.

Kal.—Is he satisfied with the way we are handling the Chinese situation?

Kell.—He said Borah saved the day for us. The trouble now is that the Chinamen think Borah is president, and if later on you say something critical about them, they may laugh it off thinking you are only the governor of Rhode Island or dog catcher in Wolf Point, Montana.

Kal.—I don't think I talk enough. What do you think?

Kell.—I don't think. I gave up that long ago. Say Kal, when I used to think for myself I looked as seedy as a hobo after making a tour of Scotland. You know I was a progressive once. There is nothing in it Kal, and as for you talking too much. Better leave well enough alone.

Kal.—Just the same it's tough to have people kidding you and saying you don't know nothing.



Kell.—Well, if you talked they know you know less. Anyhow it's some consolation to know that most of the voters know even less than we do. You had luck on your side. If Harding ate less and drank less it is more than likely that you would now be prosecuting bootleggers in Vermont instead of posing as if you were running the United States.

Kal.—But, we started out to talk about China. What's going to come out of it anyhow?

Kell.—From what I can see the Chinese are going to kick us all out and the best thing we can do is to hold on to the market. That's what the Big Fellow said, tho there is a difference of opinion in Wall Street. Some of them want to line up with England, but the Chief says that we are not interested in pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire.

Kal.—But it is reported that Britain is making a deal with Japan.

Kell.—The Chief thinks that's only a bluff to force us to come across and help beat down the Chinese so that they will quit. Even if it is genuine he thinks that New Zealand and Australia won't like a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese agreement, and that they will come over to us.

Kal.—According to that Britain is almost as helpless as an armless paralytic in a scratching contest.

Kell.—Pretty soon England will be as much out of place in a fight as the pope of Rome at a leg show.

Kal.—Or as the president of the Anti-Saloon League at the annual picnic of the Vermont Hard Cider Growers' Association.

Kell.—Have you anything on the hip, Kal? I didn't have a good drink since the last cabinet meeting.

Kal.—Alright, I'll send for my prohibition agent. He just held up a consignment of Scotch, the best I have sampled for a long time.

Kell.—After we have a few drinks we may be able to throw some light on the Chinese question.

Kal.—After we have a couple of shots we will curse Morgan to our heart's content and think we're two somebodies.

World Capitalism and the Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

why should one expose oneself to blows over that which one does not possess? As a result of the difference in the situation of England and America in the Far East, and as a result of our strong attack in the question of privileges, the American ambassador delivered a speech in which he advocated the gradual abolition of privileges. The united front here possesses just as little stability as it does in regard to the German question.

THE interests of England and America are equally divergent in regard to Russia. So far as American interests are concerned, America would not suffer if we were suddenly to disappear from the face of the earth, as one of the main questions of American economy is the question of the market for agricultural products. America does not want any agricultural competition at present. The Americans, while endeavoring to hold up the restoration of the economic power of the Soviet Republic, hope at the same time to go over mainly to cattle breeding, as then Russia would not only be an unpleasant competitor for them, but would be required by them as being a huge market for supplying corn and grain.

Professor Tuleikov was right when he pointed out the hope prevailing in American circles that in 15 years America would begin to import corn, and that Siberia would then have to feed the west coast of America. In war and in economics, more than in anything else, everything depends upon time. At present it is to the advantage of America to postpone the economic reconstruction of Russia. England, on the other hand, which at present has to purchase from America, cotton, corn and many other articles of food, and in this respect is dependent upon the United States, would be able to free itself from this dependence to the extent to which the Russian grain market developed.

THESE two great capitalist powers have united for the time being in order to wring concessions from the Soviet Union. If their efforts however are shattered by our resistance, then each of them will proceed separately and there will be no talk of united action.

If, however, the Soviet Union agrees to grant concessions, then the question arises: what concessions shall be made and to whom shall they be granted? For Russia it is more advantageous to grant concessions to American oil trusts than to English oil trusts, as America is not in close contact with the Far East, which cannot be said of England. In the Far East there meet Japan, the Soviet Union and China. If Japan abandons the idea of territorial conquests in China, then a certain unity can be established between the Soviet Union, China and Japan against England and America.

The above, even if somewhat rough sketch of the world situation shows that capitalism will hardly succeed in creating a united front.

BESIDES America and England, there are a whole number of capitalist countries—Germany, France, Italy, etc.—and also many smaller capitalist countries. Should the united front be organized, and should this united front be victorious, then those countries would reap the benefit of it who command this united front. They only need the smaller countries so long as the united front is maintained. When the united front has achieved its object, then these little countries will no longer be necessary. The little countries perceive this quite clearly, and this explains their inclination to unite with us, which fact does not conduce to strengthen the bourgeois united front.

These are the general prospects. Will the creation of the united front be achieved? Even should it succeed, this front could not be regarded as a strong one; it would be incapable of solving the tasks imposed upon it.

THE strengthening of capitalism is unavoidably accompanied by capitalist antagonisms. In 1924 we experienced an improvement in the relations between Germany and France.

This is an objective fact, which is due to the circumstance that Germany is paying as much as it can, quite apart from any good will to pay. The paying machine is functioning mechanically. Germany is now raising money without seriously shaking its monetary system? This will only be seen in three years time when the carrying out of the expert's report passes from the phase of raising the money in Germany to the phase of paying over the same. This will be a period of fresh debates and, perhaps, of the collapse of the whole policy of the experts' report.

America is endeavoring to work out on paper the peace between France and Germany, in order to be able to say to France: "My dear sirs, nobody threatens you any longer, reduce your army and pay us back your debts." But France is not keen on doing this.

Now we come to the Anglo-French front. During the last few years the struggle between France and England for hegemony played a very great role, nevertheless there is to be recorded here a diminution of the antagonisms, due to the fact that France, as a result of the collapse of the franc, is no longer in a position to supply its vassals with money, and is naturally losing influence. If Poland receives 35 million dollars from America, then it follows that Poland must to this extent dance according to the tune played by Washington and New York and to the same extent must turn away from France.

The same also applies to Czechoslovakia.

As soon as France and England become more dependent upon America, the small European states become less dependent upon France. For this reason France does not for the moment constitute a great danger for England. England, however, wishes to consolidate this truce. But then the difficulties in the east come to the forefront. England is endeavoring, by making concessions to France, to secure its rear in its actions in the east. In this respect its calculations are very simple and extremely "innocent." It believes that Germany, in the event of the success of the stabilization of capitalism, would in five years constitute a strong power. Who else has such a huge chemical industry as the Germans? And even if they at present have no cannons, they will nevertheless remain a great capitalist power. And when the moment arrives, that is to say, when Germany becomes strong—so thinks England—then it will be possible to withdraw the concessions granted to France.

For the time being we see here a certain truce.

The Situation in the East.

HOW is it now with that stretch where the struggle for the market is taking place, the front of the east?

In the first place there is to be noted here a gradual but steady growth in the national revolutionary movement in all countries of the east. There exists a whole literature in England which calls attention to these facts ten times as often as we do in our literature.

The most important symptoms of the growth of the national revolutionary movement in the east consists in the following: first, in the economic growth of the eastern bourgeoisie, which is based on the fact that during the war European capital was not capable of supplying the oriental countries with a sufficient quantity of goods, so that they began to develop their own industries.

In the meantime there arises among this oriental bourgeoisie the natural fear of the competition of foreign capital. This not only applies to China but to all other eastern countries, as for example Turkey, where the policy of the government consists in restricting the importation of foreign goods in order to render possible the growth of Turkish industry and Turkish commerce. The expulsion of the Greeks and Armenians has the same

purpose—protection of native capital from foreign competition.

THE second cause of the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the east consists in the growth of national consciousness among the native intelligenzia. In all young bourgeois countries the intelligenzia, at the commencement of the liberation movement, plays the first fiddle. This was the case with us in Russia before 1905, and is the case today in the east. Before the war the eastern intelligenzia looked up to the European and American democracy. The strongest of those capitalist powers which were in close contact with the east was America. And America defended the policy of the so-called "open door" it posed as the defender of the independence of China against England, Russia and Japan. Leading American politicians took India under their protection. The emigration, workers, merchants, and in fact all oriental people living in America, were enthusiastic over American democracy, where every foreigner settling there is granted full rights of citizenship.

But in the course of time the mass of the oriental intelligenzia perceived the true features of this democracy, and in what consists the nature of American "self-determination of the peoples." When, after the Versailles peace conference, the province of Shantung with its population of 40 millions was cut off from China and was made a "present" of to Japan, this fact served to enlighten the eastern intelligenzia better than any propaganda as to what is the real attitude of bourgeois democracy towards the national movement. It is not surprising that we see at present in the east an ideological revulsion of the intelligenzia from Europe and America, a revulsion which at times assumes the form of reaction against European civilization in general.

THE third factor is the growth of the workers' and peasants' movement. The movement of the laboring masses in such countries as China and India is on the same level as was the Russian labor movement in the year 1896. It is the first mass movement of the proletariat.

Along with the mass struggles there is proceeding the creation of Communist Parties. The Russian proletariat, from the year 1896 had to carry on its fight for another ten years before it arrived at its first revolution. We hope—and this hope is based upon objective facts—that the east will traverse this road at a more rapid rate and with better results than the Russian revolution of 1905.

The revolutionary movement of the east is a factor the importance of which we underestimated.

When we consider the situation in Egypt, which was clearly illuminated by the bomb thrown at the English Sirdar—this also can hardly be considered as a sign of the stabilization of capitalist conditions, when we remember that the bomb was thrown by a railway worker—we must again and again emphasize that the national movement in the east has not only seized the intelligenzia, but also the broad masses of the people, and that the chief task of world imperialism—the extension of the markets by intensified exploitation of the colonies and suppression of the eastern countries, will meet with other resistance than was formerly the case.

The Foreign Political Prospects of the Soviet Union.

WHEN we speak of the prospects of the Soviet Union we must take into consideration two aspects: the relation between the proletariat and the peasantry, and the extent and the force of the pressure of the foreign capitalists upon the Soviet Union. The question is, whether we shall be able to come to an agreement with the capitalists regarding the conditions on the basis of which we shall be able to live until the next rise of the European revolution, not only as a Soviet state, but for that aim for which we were established: for the development of socialism. We are profoundly convinced that the next few

years will bring with them a real agreement with world capital. This conviction is based upon the simple fact that the capitalist great powers have divergent interests regarding us. The attempt to exercise a joint and permanent pressure will end in failure.

The question now is whether they will be able to reconcile themselves to the existence of a workers' and peasants' republic. If they are not able to do so, then they can do what they please. The main question is, whether they can destroy this republic. They have already attempted it by military means—but they did not succeed. They will not succeed in the next few years in mobilizing the masses of the peoples in their states against us. Can they strangle us economically? Can they carry out an economic boycott against us? It is easy for America to speak of an economic boycott, as she does not need us; England can also play with this policy for a certain time, but the smaller countries such as Germany, Italy, Belgium, France, etc., which have no oil and are interested in our benzine, cannot carry out a consistent boycott. They will attempt to intimidate us, but our situation is more favorable than theirs and we will find the necessary means in order to shatter their united front.

The question of the Russian debts is bound up with the question of the inter-allied debts. We are interested in postponing the solution of this question. Should it prove that the allies can only extract from France 10 per cent of its old debts, why should we be better payers of debts than France? In practical politics what will decide this question is, whether we conclude an agreement at the moment when we have a good harvest and whether the allies will recognize that we are not afraid of their pressure, or whether this agreement is concluded at a time when our country is in a difficult situation.

THE chief peculiarity of the policy of the Soviet Union consists in the fact that Russia, in spite of all its poverty, can thanks to its vast extent, afford to wait its own time.

We are confronted with a period of pressure, a period which will be accompanied by a whole number of various threats, but which we shall survive, and which, in all probability, will smooth the way to agreements which will permit us not only to maintain, but also to develop our socialist state.

In regard to the Russian revolution, world capital exhibited the following phases: In the year 1919 it attempted to strangle Soviet Russia, it attempted to buy a part of the working class and to crush the steadfast revolutionary part. We had at that time, on the one hand, the intervention in Russia and the crushing of the spartacists in Germany, and on the other hand, the promises of the socializing of industry in Germany, France and England, the extension of the suffrage to the workers etc. In spite of this world capital did not succeed in strangling us. The second phase consisted in the attempt to negotiate with us and to strangle the revolution in the east. In 1921, the imperialists negotiated with us in Genoa and shot down the Turks. They reckoned that if they succeeded in strangling our revolutionary rear-guard we would have to capitulate.

THE third phase began when they perceived that we were not throttled by the famine catastrophe and that the NEP did not mean a return to old capitalist politics. Then, in the year 1923, there set in the Curzon policy. It consisted in the attempt to come to an understanding with the east, with the Turks, and to exert pressure upon us. To this period belongs the peace of Lausanne and the ultimatum which was submitted to us. This attempt to divide the main forces of the world revolution from each other ended in defeat. Today we are witnessing the preparation for a simultaneous attack against the east, against us, and also against the European proletariat.

This shows that the enemy is compelled to deliver blows simultaneously on all fronts. But he is overestimating his forces and will be defeated.