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**HOOVER WAR  
COLLECTION**

## The Tasks of Communist Education

By *L. Trotsky.*

### The "New Man" and the Revolutionist.

It is frequently asserted that the task of communist enlightenment consists in the education of the new man. These words are somewhat too general, too pathetic, and we must be particularly careful not to permit any formless humanitarian interpretation of the conception "new man" or the tasks of communist education. There is no doubt whatever but that the man of the future, the citizen of the commune, will be an exceedingly interesting and attractive creature, and that his psychology (the futurists will pardon me, but I fancy that the man of the future will possess a psychology) will be very different to ours. Our present task, unfortunately, cannot lie in the education of the human being of the future. The Utopian and humanitarian-psychological viewpoint is, that the new man must first be formed, and that he will then create the new conditions. We cannot believe this. We know that man is a product of social conditions. But we know too that between human beings and conditions there exists a complicated and actively working mutual relationship. Man himself is an instrument of this historical development, and not the other way round. And in this complicated historical reflex action of the conditions experienced by active human beings, we do not create the abstractly harmonious and perfect citizen of the commune, but we form the concrete human beings of our epoch, who have still to fight for the creation of the conditions out of which the harmonious citizen of the commune may emerge. This, of course, is a very different thing, for the simple reason that our great-grandson, the citizen of the commune, will be no revolutionist.

At first glance this appears to be wrong, it sounds almost insulting. And yet it is so. The conception "revolutionist" is formed by us out of our thoughts and wishes, out of the totality of our best passions, and thus the word "revolutionist" is permeated by the highest ideals and morals which we have taken over from the whole preceding epoch of cultural evolution. Thus it seems to us that we cast an aspersion on our posterity when we do not think of them as revolutionists. But we must not forget that the revolutionist is a product of definite historical conditions, a product of class society. The revolutionist is no psychological abstraction. Revolution in itself is no abstract principle, but a material historical fact, growing out of class antagonism, out of the violent subjection of one class by another.

Thus the revolutionist is a concrete historical type, and in consequence a temporary type. We are proud of belonging to this type. But by means of our work we are creating the conditions of a social order in which no class antagonisms will exist, no revolutions, and thus no revolutionists. It is true that we can extend the meaning of the word "revolutionist" until it comprises the whole conscious activity of man directed towards the subjection of nature, and towards the expansion of technical and cultural gains. But we have no right to make such an abstraction, such a limitless extension of the conception "revolutionist", for we have by no means fulfilled our concrete historical revolutionary task, the overthrow of class society. Consequently, we are far from being required to educate the harmonious citizen of the commune, forming him by careful laboratory work, in an extremely disharmonious transition stage of society. Such an undertaking would be a wretchedly childish Utopia. What we want to make is champions, revolutionists, who will inherit and complete our historical traditions, which we have not yet carried to a conclusion.

### Revolution and Mysticism.

What are the main characteristics of the revolutionist? It must be emphasized that we have no right to separate the revolutionist from the class basis upon which he has evolved, and without which he is nothing. The revolutionist of our epoch, who can only be associated with the working class, possesses his special psychological characteristics, characteristics of intellect and will. If it is necessary and possible, the revolutionist shatters the historical obstructions, resorting to force for the purpose. If this is not possible, then he makes a detour, undermines and crushes, patiently and determinedly. He is a revolutionist because he does not fear to shatter obstacles and relentlessly to employ force; at the same time he knows its historical value. It is his constant endeavor to maintain his destructive and creative work at their highest pitch of activity, that is, to obtain from the given historical conditions the maximum which they are capable of yielding for the forward movement of the revolutionary class.

The revolutionist knows only external obstacles to his activity, no internal ones. That is: he has to develop within himself the capacity of estimating the arena of his activity in

all its concreteness, with its positive and negative aspects, and to strike a correct political balance. But if he is internally hampered by subjective hindrances to action, if he is lacking in understanding or will power, if he is paralysed by internal discord, by religious, national, or craft prejudices, then he is at best only half a revolutionist. There are too many obstacles in the objective conditions already, and the revolutionist cannot allow himself the luxury of multiplying the objective hindrances and frictions by subjective ones. Therefore the education of the revolutionist must, above all, consist in his emancipation from that residue of ignorance and superstition, which is frequently found in a very "sensitive" consciousness. And therefore we adopt a ruthlessly irreconcilable attitude to anyone who utters a single word to the effect that mysticism or religious sentimentality might be combined with communism. Religiousness is irreconcilable with the Marxist standpoint. We are of the opinion that atheism, as an inseparable element of the materialist view of life, is a necessary condition for the theoretical education of the revolutionist. He who believes in another world is not capable of concentrating all his passion on the transformation of this one.

### Darwinism and Marxism.

Even if Darwin, as he himself asserted, did not lose his belief in God for all his rejection of the biblical theory of creation, Darwinism itself is none the less entirely irreconcilable with this belief. In this, as in other respects, Darwinism is a forerunner, a preparation for Marxism. Taken in a broadly materialist and dialectic sense, Marxism is the application of Darwinism to human society. Manchester liberalism has attempted to fit Darwinism mechanically into sociology. Such attempts have only led to childish analogies veiling a malicious bourgeois *apologia*: Marx's competition was explained as the "eternal" law of the struggle for existence. These are absurdities. It is only the inner connection between Darwinism and Marxism which makes it possible to grasp the living flow of Being in its primeval connection with inorganic nature; in its further particularization and evolution; in its dynamics; in the differentiation of the necessities of life among the first elementary varieties of the vegetable and animal kingdoms; in its struggles; in the appearance of the "first" man or manlike creature, making use of the first tool; in the development of primitive cooperation, employing associative organs; in the further stratification of society consequent on the development of the means of production, that is, of the means of subjugating nature; in class warfare; and, finally, in the struggle for the uplift of the classes.

To comprehend the world from such a broad point of view signifies the emancipation of man's consciousness for the first time from the residue of mysticism, and the securing of a firm foothold. It signifies being quite clear on the point that for the future there are no inner subjective hindrances to the struggle, but that the sole existing obstacles and reactions are external, and have to be overcome in various ways, according to the conditions of the conflict.

### The Theory of Revolutionary Action.

How often we have said: "Practice wins in the end." This is correct in the sense that the collective experience of a class, and of the whole of humanity, gradually sweeps away the illusions and false theories based on hasty generalizations. But it may be said with equal truth: "Theory wins in the end", when we understand by this that theory in reality comprises the total experience of humanity. Seen from this standpoint, the opposition between theory and practice vanishes, for theory is nothing else than correctly considered and generalized practice. Theory does not defeat practice, but the thoughtless, empirical, crude attitude to it. In order to be able properly to estimate the conditions of the struggle, the situation of our own class, we must possess a reliable method of political and historical orientation. This is Marxism, or, with respect to the latest epoch, Leninism.

Marx and Lenin—these are our two supreme guides in the sphere of social research. For the younger generation the way to Marx is through Lenin. The straight road becomes increasingly difficult, for the period is too long which separates the rising generation from the genius of those who founded scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. Leninism is the highest embodiment and condensation of Marxism for direct revolutionary action in the epoch of the imperialist death agony of bourgeois society. The Lenin institute at Moscow must be made a higher academy of revolutionary strategy. Our Communist Party is permeated by the mighty spirit of Lenin. His revolutionary genius is with us. Our revolutionary lungs breathe the atmosphere of that better and higher doctrine which the preceding development of human thought has created. Thus it is that we are so profoundly convinced that tomorrow is ours.

## POLITICS

### The Impending Bankruptcy of the German Bourgeoisie and the Tasks of the Communist Party of Germany

By Karl Radek.

The German bourgeoisie has lost the second war. The dollar already costs over a million marks. This seals the issue of the Ruhr war. But it need not necessarily have been sealed by this fact—had the German bourgeoisie taken heroic measures to win the victory, and given to the masses of workers and petty bourgeoisie the means of holding out, at the cost of big capitalist profits, then the German bourgeoisie could have kept up the struggle much longer. The rouble is lower in value than the mark, and yet the Russian working class and the Soviet government have not only not capitulated, but are growing in strength day by day. But the German bourgeoisie will capitulate in order to prevent the further fall of the mark and its inevitable result of uprisings among the masses of a people plunged ever deeper into misery. It is kept back from capitulation by the morphia injections administered by the English government.

Mr. Keynes has now betrayed Poincaré's secret in the *English Nation*, where he points out that nothing would be more disastrous to the English government than German capitulation to France. For when the German bourgeoisie capitulates to France, then it is Poincaré who dictates the terms. Mr. Baldwin is attempting to intervene in the capitulation negotiations, in order to save as much as possible for England from the bankrupt's estate.

The worthy German Philistine, filled once more with hopes of English aid, will get the shock of his life when he sees Baldwin's note Poincaré demands either his money or his pound of flesh in the Ruhr. Mr. Baldwin tells him that he cannot cut away the flesh from Germany's heart without her bleeding to death. And as Germany is not in a position to pay at present, she must be enslaved and made to work off her debts. And she is not to work off her debts to Poincaré only. That is the difference between Baldwin and Poincaré.

The conservative world-politician, Professor Hötzsch, asks in melancholy tones if Poincaré and Baldwin will leave off talking before the collapse of the German bourgeoisie. We do not know. But one thing is certain. If the German bourgeoisie does not go bankrupt before the discussion between London and Paris is ended, then it will go bankrupt afterwards. For the first condition set by united Anglo-French capitalism—should agreement be reached—will be taxation measures for stopping the depreciation of the mark. These taxation measures will lay such a burden on the working class and petty bourgeoisie, that they will have to rebel. Should the depreciation of the mark be successfully stopped, or even succeeded by a slight rise, this will render German export so difficult that great unemployment will be inevitable.

The crisis of the German bourgeoisie is now entering the decisive stage, and the German Communist Party is thus faced with the hardest tasks which it has ever known.

History has created the premises for the fulfilment of these tasks by the C.P. of Germany. The Party, beginning in November 1918 as an organization of about 30,000 loosely connected adherents, is now approaching the point of winning the support of the majority of the active workers of Germany. This has been proved beyond doubt by the elections to the metal workers' congress. In a number of great industrial centres we have gained majorities, in part very large majorities, and the workers have participated in comparatively large numbers in the elections. In a number of towns we are contending with the social democrats for the majority. The social democrats preponderate in the small towns only. The work of those faithful toilers who sowed the seed of communism during the war, at the greatest personal sacrifice, is now bearing fruit. Mighty men are arising from the blood of Liebknecht, of Rosa Luxemburg, of the 15,000 workers murdered by Noske's White Guards. The united front tactics—the appeal made to the every day interests of the working class, interests common to the proletariat without difference of Party—is being crowned with success. All the shrieks of the social democrats about the swindling manoeuvres of the Comintern have been of no avail. The workers must rally round the flag of communism, for this alone carries on the struggle for their vital interests. The *Vorwärts* scolds angrily after the victory of the communists in the elections to the metal workers' congress. It declares that



the capitalists are to blame for this victory, since their greed for profits renders the situation of the workers unbearable. And the government is also to blame, for looking on inactively at the growing misery and want. And the demagogy of the communists is likewise to blame. Yes, yes, my dear *Vorwärts*, everything has its reasons in history. If the capitalists were kind enough to allow the workers an existence worthy of human beings, and if the capitalist government were kind enough to trouble itself about the interests of the working class, then "communist demagogy" could not be victorious, for this consists of telling the workers straight out, in opposition to the "love of truth" shown by the social democratic agitators, that the capitalists exist for the express purpose of squeezing profits out of the workers, and that the capitalist government exists for the express purpose of aiding the capitalists in this, so that our object is to defeat capitalism and the capitalist government. And as facts prove the correctness of the communist assertions, the tissue of democratic-reformist illusions is torn away, and social democracy begins to wither and die.

The first sign of the approaching death of social democracy was the cessation of all life in its still existing mass organizations. It is only necessary to glance through the *Vorwärts* and the *Rote Fahne* of the last few months, and to compare the notices of meetings. Among the communists there are dozens and more than dozens of meetings every day, among the social democrats dead silence. Only the exalted party executive meets, and the parliamentary fractions. The social democratic bureaucrats in the trade unions, cooperative societies, municipal councils, and official positions, have their hands full holding back the working masses from the struggle. One section of the social democratic workers sinks into complete apathy, another section resolves to fight and goes over to the communists, a small section even goes over to the Fascists. Social democracy has ceased to be a decisive factor in public life. It is not even a decisive factor of counter-revolution, as it was in 1919-20. It has become an inert mass.

The active force of bourgeois counter-revolution is to be found among the Fascists, among the hundreds of organizations which compose the nationalist movement. In 1919 the nationalists, the students, the officers bereft of means of livelihood, put themselves at Noske's disposal. In 1922-1923 they do not dream of doing this. Now Scheidemann, Noske, Ebert, etc. are known as the November criminals, and the Fascists are not holding marshalls' batons in readiness for them, but gallows. The Fascists want to be the marshalls of Germany themselves. Can they attain this object? Should they succeed, they will be the rulers of Germany for the moment, but not for longer. Germany is not Horthy Hungary. Ludendorff would break his teeth on the German working class. The German working class is tremendous force when it cares to fight. And it would have to fight against a Fascist government, for this government would attempt to stabilize German capitalism at the expense of the workers, under conditions making it impossible for the working class to receive even a scrap of bread. For even if Ludendorff's adherents were not counter-jumpers without a creative political idea in their heads, without even the demagogic capabilities, undoubtedly possessed by a Mussolini, still they would find themselves in a position thousands of times more difficult than that of Fascist Italy. Despite the growth of industry since the war, Italy is still chiefly an agrarian country. Industrial Germany, only able to feed herself by industrial export, is besides burdened by gigantic reparation debts. To govern Germany means to feed her. Fascism can give Germany the White Terror and the Hohenzollerns, but it can give her no bread. The more German Fascism increases in strength, the weaker it becomes.

In the year 1919, when he was still weak and the waves of revolution rolled high in Italy, Mussolini attempted to win over the Italian workers by accommodating himself to their ideals. He spoke of the "control of industry", of the "parliament of labor". When the German Fascists were weak, they could only hiss: "Death to the working class!" And now that they have become powerful, not through reinforcements from the working class, but through gaining the ear of the impoverished middle class, now Ludendorff and Colonel Bauer have to don the red cap, and we see in the program of the national socialists, in the program of Herr Kunze of the cudgels, even in the programs of Gräfe and Henning — Ludendorff, dressed up as Spartacus. Maintained as it is by Vögler, Stinnes, Krupp, and the like, Fascism still demands in its organs the nationalization of the banks, the nationalization of the trusts, and the gallows for the speculators. Why does it demand this? Merely to get round the workers? No. It suffices to peruse the *Völkische Beobachter*, the *Deutsche Tageblatt* and the *Deutsche*

*Volksblatt*, to see that they demand all this in order to attract the petty bourgeois masses sinking ever deeper into poverty, now that these masses are grasping the fact that if the present speculation economics are continued, there is no salvation for them.

Heavy industry and the junkers have formed Fascist organizations with whose aid they intend to seize power. But they have only been able to form these organizations because they have driven the petty bourgeois masses from want and misery to despair. But in doing this they have undermined their own position. The ground begins to quake beneath their feet. On the day that they seized power their own followers would turn against them, and it is very probable that they will never seize this power, not only because the railwaymen's strike, and the strike of the workers all over the country, would paralyze them, but because disintegration in their own ranks is already beginning. The petty bourgeois cannon fodder of heavy industry is already beginning to think, even before the civil war has reached its acutest stage. The German bourgeoisie possesses an admirable organization. In the war it organized death most brilliantly. It organized the campaign of robbery which followed the war with equal efficiency. Today it holds all the threads of Germany's economic life in its hands, gathered into the hands of a few trusts. But it possesses nothing which it can give to the masses of the lower middle class, except the further increase of its poverty and want. And thus the second condition for the victory of the German revolution is beginning to be realized. The isolation of the German working class is commencing to be a thing of the past. The petty bourgeoisie, the pillar of counter-revolution, is beginning to be the potential ally of the working class.

The tasks incumbent on the Communist Party are thus clearly laid down. The first task consists in organizing the majority of the active elements of the working class under the flag of the Communist Party, and of winning at least the sympathy of the majority of the whole working class for the Communist Party. There are many comrades who maintain that agitation and organization of the majority of the working class are excellent things, but can only be attained by means of great actions. We maintain the contrary, that great actions are only possible when our agitation is increased a hundredfold; when our message has reached the broadest masses of the workers; when we convert the rebellion of the working people into conscious knowledge and determination. Hitherto we have bungled our agitation. Now we must become a bell heard by the whole of the working people. We have 300,000 organized communist workers. But we have not yet understood how to gather together, even in a loose association, the three million trade union workers who are on our side. Our factory councils, our trade union fractions, our control committees, our defence units, all these should now include millions of workers.

The German bourgeoisie is better organized than any other in the world. The Communist Party of Germany must be better organized than any other Communist Party in the world.

The Bolsheviks were able to seize power with 70,000 members only, for the bourgeoisie was unorganized, and we had at our disposal such an organization as the Russian army. A million members is the minimum which the Communist Party of Germany must attain in the near future. Our organization must not be a mere election apparatus, it must be a clenched fist, a fighting organization, held together not only by the communist idea, but by the iron bands of the storm troops of our defence units.

It is very possible that the CP. of Germany will be faced with the question of a fight to the death before it has fulfilled these tasks. But it will then have to struggle against a thousandfold disadvantages and unfavorable conditions. And if it wants to be able to fight by fair weather or foul, to fight under the circumstances in which it will have to fight, then it must set itself the above tasks, and seek to fulfil them with energy and determination.

Our growth does not liquidate the united front tactic; it imposes much greater tasks upon us in this respect. When we first attempted to approach the social democratic workers, we were obliged to swallow a great deal in order to avoid losing all contact with them. The time has now come to act with more courage, to take up an attitude consistent with our increased power. — This does not mean that we are to go too far; it does not mean that we are to demand from the social democratic

workers that they accept our slogans before they understand them. We must constantly place in the foreground those points understood by the whole working class, and for which it is ready to fight. But these necessary transitional demands must form not only the basis of our agitation; they alone can form the basis of our understanding with those sections of the social democracy for 1 to take sides with us under the pressure of the working class.

Thus the Party must confront the left social democrats with the choice—as in the case of Zeigner in Saxony—of either honestly fighting against the bourgeoisie for the salvation of the working class from impoverishment, misery, and counter-revolution, or of doing without our assistance. If Zeigner and his like are more concerned about Cuno, Ebert or Lipinski, than they are about us, then they are no fit travelling companions for us. Coalition means an alliance between horse and rider, said Talleyrand. The social democratic leaders are fully agreed, but they want to play the part of rider. We for our part, are not endeavoring to make sincere social democratic workers play the part of horse. We want to combine with them to make a pair of horses capable of pulling the cart of the German working class out of the mud into which social democracy has driven it. But then the left social democratic horse has got to pull as well, and to pull forwards, not backwards.

Today the united front signifies the hundredfold multiplication of our agitation among the broadest masses of the working class.

Today the united front signifies the tenfold multiplication of the conditions for the formation of joint defence units, joint factory councils, joint control committees, with the Left social democratic workers.

Today the united front signifies that we hold firmly to our transitional demands, to the watchwords of control of production, arming of the proletariat, seizure of real values and workers' and peasants' government, as the basis for cooperation with the Left social democrats.

But the mobilization of the working class is not enough in itself. We must go to the petty bourgeois masses proletarianized by the capitalist economics of Germany. The small peasants, the settlers, the officials, the private officials, the proletarianized intellectuals—these are the reservoir of our power, even though they still think in terms of nationalist reaction today. When the Communist Party of Germany declares that it wants to fight not only for the interests of the industrial workers, but for the interests of all who groan beneath the capitalist yoke, this is no tactic, but the class strategy of the proletariat. Tactics are the measures necessary to win a battle; strategy is the totality of the measures required to win a war. Our war will not be won on the day that we conquer power; it will not be won until the day when we have made good this power, when we have at least completed the rough scaffolding of the structure of a socialist state of society. When we try to win over the petty bourgeois masses, it is not a question of employing petty artifices, of bringing about momentary splits in the Fascist movement; it is not even a question of gaining allies in the fight for power. It is a question of winning over a great class, comprising millions of human beings, whom we need not only for the seizure of power, but for the struggle for socialism. We require the engineers, we require the officers, we require the competent bank officials, if we are to rescue Germany from her desperate situation with the least possible loss. In order to win over this class, we must be prepared for two things. We must make devoted efforts to help them to cast off their old prejudices; we must try to make a great part of them communists. But at the same time we must be ready to ally ourselves with those members of this class who, without being willing to accept our theory, and clinging to their own ideological forms, are still in actual practice anxious to fight for the same aims as we are fighting for in this period of history. The historic rise of the Russian intelligentsia began with socialist ideology, and, even at the time when it was still fighting on the side of capital against the working class, it waved the banner of socialism. The German petty bourgeoisie is already compelled to fight against capitalism, and yet it still clings not only to capitalist ideology, but even to pre-capitalist ideology. There are people in Germany who demand the nationalization of the banks, and who want at the same time to substitute Catholicism and Protestantism by the cult of Odin. The Communist Party must discern the realities, despite the mists of ancient ideologies.

Work among the petty bourgeois masses is still in its initial stage. But heavy industry is already aware, the vultures fattening on German ruin, in the midst of their efforts to establish their rule on the shoulders of the petty bourgeoisie and with the aid of petty bourgeois nationalism, are already aware, that they are threatened by a great danger if the petty bour-

geoisie is awakened, and lets the scales fall from its eyes. The financial supporters and organizers of Fascism will try to manoeuvre the petty bourgeois nationalist masses into collision with the working class, in order that an abyss may divide the two armies of revolution in Germany, its vanguard and its rearguard. It is our task so to form the front of the militant working masses, to mobilize them so efficiently and render them so capable of defence, that the petty bourgeois masses lose all inclination to oppose them. We must show the petty bourgeoisie that our arm is strong, even though at the same moment we stretch out our hand to it in friendship; for we may be quite sure that these masses will be with us as soon as they see that we have the power and determination to declare war against the misery and want of the German people.

The time has not yet come for the general attack. But it is approaching. Its approach is heralded by the following signs: a) the hopeless prospects of the German bourgeoisie, which cannot solve the crisis in Germany; b) the growing confusion and schisms in the German bourgeoisie; c) the decay of the power of the social democracy; d) our growth. The strategic task of the German communists consists in consciously assisting the maturing of the revolution by our organizational work; in strengthening our forces, calling forth the reserves of the working class, seeking allies among the proletarianized petty bourgeoisie, combining the maximum of our clear communist agitation with a deliberate acceptance of such compromises as are necessary for broadening our basis and such as lie along the line of historical development, making the Communist Party the living conscience of the suffering German people, that it may be the leader of these people. We must fight the battles with which history confronts us, but at the same time we must not forget that at the moment we are still the weaker side. Not only must we not yet advance to the decisive battle, but we must avoid everything which could give the enemy an opportunity to inflict a partial defeat upon us. The days of such defeats as we suffered in March 1921, which was a defeat of an army in retreat which was not aware that the time for an offensive was over for the moment, are now past. But those defeats are still possible which an army suffers when it begins an offensive without sufficient artillery preparation. It bleeds to death against the barbed wire entanglements of the enemy. Should the enemy take up the offensive, he will find himself out in his reckoning. We must make the Party ready not only to repulse the attack of the enemy, but also to pass to the counter attack after a victorious defence. But it is not yet time for us to provoke the decision.

Such is the situation in Germany. Such is the situation of the Communist Party. Such are its tasks. Tasks demanding from the Party the greatest exertion of its powers, the greatest assurance, confidence in its own strength, energy, enthusiasm, but at the same time cool judgement and superior strategy. The time will then come when the German communists can say to themselves: Courage, courage, and again courage!

## The Slogan of Workers' and Farmers' Government

By John Pepper (New York).

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, which met in June in Moscow, has issued a new slogan for the Communist parties of the world—the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government. The Communist International has by this means placed the old slogan of workers' government upon a broader social basis.

The new slogan of the Communist International is no new slogan for our Party in the United States.

Comrade Zinoviev declared at the session of the enlarged executive: "Our American Party, the Workers' Party, has already of its own accord found the slogan of workers' and farmers' government." The Workers' Party of America was the first party within the Communist International to apply the new slogan theoretically as well as practically.

### The Theoretical Formulation.

Theoretically, the problem was first brought up in my Labor Party pamphlet. There I said the following concerning the alliance of farmers and workers: "A Labor Party will grow provided it does not attempt to be a party for and of everybody, but rather a class party—of the working class. This should not mean that the Labor Party shall fail to include the working farmers,—that is, the tenant farmers and mortgage farmers. Such omission would be a mistake of the greatest magnitude, from the standpoint of the future of the working class. One



of the most important conditions for the victory of a Labor Party is that it develop the cooperation of the farmers and workers, which has become traditional in America. America is a favorable exception in this respect. Of European countries such collaboration takes place only in Soviet Russia. In the former third parties (Greenback Party, People's Party) the political leadership was in the hands of the farmers, the workers being merely an unconscious appendage. If a Labor Party is to be born and to grow, the relation must be reversed."

I then brought up the question upon a broader basis, in my pamphlet "Underground Radicalism", in the section, "Can We Utilize the Conflicts Within Capitalist Society?" I wrote in the pamphlet: "There are Communists who believe that we lose our revolutionary virginity when we take advantage of the class-divisions within the bourgeoisie. They believe that the only way to wage the class struggle, is to consider capitalistic society as one solid reactionary camp which always confronts the workers in a closed phalanx. But this is pure nonsense, and not revolutionary Marxism. Marxists have always asserted that the various divisions and conflicts within capitalistic society, must be used to the best advantage of the working class.

"Ferdinand Lassalle, the famous German Socialist, once said that the bourgeoisie is a single reactionary mass. But it was Karl Marx who protested and polemicized against this unscientific and superficial assertion. It was Karl Marx who pointed out, in "Capital", that the utilization of the class struggle between industrial capital and big landowners in the Forties, procured the important social concession of the ten-hour day for the English workers.

"From Marx to Lenin, every real Marxist has practised the tactic of analyzing the various class-divisions within capitalistic society, and exploiting the class-conflicts within the ruling class, for the benefit of the working class. The tactic of Lenin during the entire Russian revolution, is a masterly application of this tactic. The whole Russian revolution from the internal, political point of view, is but a proletarian utilization of the class-conflicts between the peasants on the one hand, and the big landowners and big capitalists on the other. Lenin's tactic was—alliance of workers with poor peasants, neutralization of the wealthy peasants, struggle against the big landowners and capitalists.

"The main difference between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was exactly this question of the utilization of the conflicts among the various classes. The Mensheviks claimed: It is a middle-class revolution, and therefore the working class should ally itself with the capitalists against the feudal landowners. The Bolsheviks said: This is a proletarian revolution, and therefore the right tactic is an alliance between workers and peasants against big capital and big land owners."

Then, upon the basis of this theoretical deliberation, the Agrarian Program of our Party set forth openly the slogan of workers' and farmers' government.

### The New Slogan Before the Farmers.

In practical agitation, the slogan of workers' and farmers' government was first applied in the St. Joseph trial of Foster. The Communists as the representatives of the working class, faced a farmer jury in the St. Joseph trial. I summed up the trial as follows in the *Worker* of April 14: "From every point of view the trial is a historical symbol. Foster, as the representative of the American militant workers, appears before the capitalist judiciary, and a farmer jury will render the verdict on him. Here are arrayed before us the three most important classes of American society—the worker, the capitalist, and the farmer. The worker is the defendant; the capitalist is the prosecutor; and the farmer will give the verdict. A historical symbol truly reflecting the historical situation! The working masses march on as the active forces of the revolution. The capitalists oppress these masses ever more fiercely through the governmental powers of suppression. And the victory in this ever sharpening class conflict will go to that class which receives the support of the farmers". The Central Executive Committee of our Party took up the question and decided that the whole defense was to be based mainly upon the common interests of workers and exploited farmers. In the Foster trial, C. E. Ruthenberg, with masterly clearness and in a popular manner that was exemplary, first presented the slogan of workers' and farmers' government before the farmer jury, and thereby also to the public at large.

The July 3rd Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party then provided the Workers' Party with a second and even greater opportunity to identify itself with the demands of the exploited farmers (even at the expense of "Marxian clearness"), whereby the slogan of workers' and farmers' government was turned, from the slogan of the Workers' Party, into the slogan of the great masses of the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

### Revolt of American Farmers.

Of course, the chief motive has been mainly the social and political development of the United States itself. We could not but realize that a portion of the labor aristocracy, and most of the high officials of the trade unions are hopeless for the cause of the revolution, having definitely allied themselves with the capitalists. At the same time we saw that the exploited, tenant and mortgage farmers are revolting with constantly increasing bitterness against the capitalists and the capitalist government. The situation to-day is such in the United States, that the capitalists and the old capitalist parties fear the revolt of the farmers more than the action of the working class, which is split up into so many divisions and led by so many reactionary leaders. We have seen that all third party movements in the past became mass parties only when, in addition to the urban elements, the lower middle class and workers, they were also joined by the rebellion of the farmers.

### The Lessons of European Revolutions.

But apart from the development in America, the lessons of European revolutions have convinced us that the support of the farmers is necessary, to achieve the victory of the proletarian revolution and to maintain the power of the laboring masses.

History shows us that all revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have received the initiative from the cities. The great French Revolution and the revolution of 1848 in France, Germany and Hungary, were led by the urban middle class. The proletarian revolution in 1917 in Russia and in 1919 in Hungary had the urban workers as the leading class. Since the birth of capitalist society, revolutions have always been led by one or the other of these two powerful classes of modern society which were created by capitalism itself—the capitalists or workers. But history shows us that only that revolution, which understood how to make an alliance with the farmers, could achieve victory or maintain the revolutionary class a long time in power. The great French Revolution was victorious, and could wage war for years against all feudal Europe, because the French bourgeoisie freed the peasants and gave them the land of the feudal aristocracy and the church. The German revolution in 1848 failed miserably because the cowardly German middle class did not dare to free the German serfs. When the Habsburgs dispersed the Frankfort National Assembly with bayonets, not one hand was raised to defend the revolution. But on the other hand, the Hungarian revolution of 1848 could maintain itself for years and conduct a victorious war against the Habsburgs because Ludwig Kossuth, with revolutionary instinct, won the peasants over to the revolution and gave them land and freedom. The great proletarian revolution of 1917 in Russia is the achievement of the working class; but the proletariat would have lost power ten times over, and could not have waged revolutionary war on fourteen fronts for years, if it had not given land and freedom to the Russian peasants. It ought not be forgotten that the Communist workers of red Petrograd and the genius of Trotsky organized the Red Army, but that four fifths of the masses of the Red Army consisted of peasants who defended their newly acquired land against Czarism and counter-revolution. On the other hand, the Hungarian proletarian revolution of 1919 failed in four and a half months because it had not understood how to secure the alliance of the peasants with the workers. They carried out the "theoretically correct" socialization of land, instead of giving the land to the peasants, as was Lenin's policy in Russia. Thereby, they made the social basis for the Hungarian revolution too narrow for it to be able to live and be victorious.

The history of revolutions teaches us that the revolutionary class must be able to bring all discontented classes under its leadership. It must understand this under the penalty of death for the revolution; otherwise it drives the other classes into the arms of the counter-revolution. The revolutionary peasant soldiers of Napoleon, Kossuth and Trotsky fought against the counter-revolution, while the Frankfort Assembly in 1848 and the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship of 1919 were overthrown by the counter-revolutionary peasant soldiers of Habsburg and Horthy.

### The Working Class Must Lead.

The farmers, even when they are discontented and rebellious, could never play an independent political role, and could never rule independently. The history of the great German Peasants' Revolt of the sixteenth century shows this just as clearly as does the history of the peasants' government of Stambulisky in Bulgaria in the twentieth century. Only centralized classes, that is, only the capitalist class or the working class can seize or hold the centralized government for a long time.

The capitalist class has become counter-revolutionary everywhere throughout the world. The only class which is

revolutionary to-day, is the working class. Only the initiative of the working class can overthrow capitalism. The exploited farmers must realize that they can free themselves from capitalism only when they ally themselves with the workers. But, on the other hand, the workers must realize that they can win only if they place themselves at the head of the farmers, and that they can retain power only if they know how to secure the alliance of the exploited farmers.

## The Sinaja Conference

By Georg (Vienna).

The world is informed, in a few brief sentences, that the statesmen of the Little Entente at Sinaja "have adopted various resolutions" which prove once more the unity and strength of this political combination.

As a matter of fact, serious differences have arisen; there is a crisis in the Little Entente which truly mirrors the state of disunion and crisis of the "Great Entente".

Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia are, in their present form, the creatures of the great imperialist powers. Their existence depends on the "security of the existing peace treaties". But as long as England and France differ as to the nature of this security, so long the Little Entente will not come to any agreement either. And since the French and English standpoints continue to diverge more and more widely it is only natural that all the joints of the Little Entente are strained. The only thing which holds it together is that solidarity among thieves which also binds England to France, despite all antagonism of interests.

The great western powers take good care that the Little Entente disagrees. For although France, above all, has created these central European vassal states as *her fulcrum*, and maintains her claims to them, England is by no means willing to retire from the field of the European Continent without any resistance whatever. This is shown by the policy pursued by the English in the reparations question, and, no less evidently, in Central Europe and in the Balkans.

England is at great pains to create for herself counter-fulcrums against France's military and economic domination of the continent. In this respect English policy is as unscrupulous as it is in India or South Africa. The idea is, at any price to deprive France of some of her strategic advantages, and to hold her in check in Central Europe. This is the line followed by England in the Ruhr question, and in every other European question. According to England's plan, Germany, like other "vanquished" and "victorious" countries, is to be another pawn in the game against France.

The great antagonisms resulting within the Little Entente from the Anglo-French game of intrigue have been disclosed most clearly by the Bulgarian and Hungarian questions. Whilst Yugoslavia took a determined stand against the coup d'état of the new Bulgarian government, and even threatened armed intervention, Czecho-Slovakia stood coolly by and waited, and Roumania adopted an attitude of distinct approval. After lengthy secret diplomatic negotiations, the three states did eventually agree to recognize the new government, but it would be ridiculous to speak of any stable agreement. It may well be assumed that England and France had a finger in the pie here. England seeks to support her power by arch-reactionary forms of government wherever she finds them, or to create these where they do not already exist. The Bulgarian upheaval, in which Italy doubtless played a part, was in all likelihood also influenced by England.

The attitude taken towards Hungary is characteristic. The states of the Little Entente are hostile to Hungary. They are anxious to secure their influence in the internal affairs of Hungary by means of various military and economic guarantees, and are supported in these efforts by France. The latest attempts made by the Horthy government to raise loans were rejected by the Reparations Commission in deference to Czech, and therefore to French, wishes. Simultaneously, however, the English government is starting a press campaign in favor of Hungary, against the decision of the Reparations Commission, and the English Minister for Foreign Affairs, Curzon, declared—while the Sinaja conference was sitting—that England would stand for a "just solution of the Hungarian loan question." This is an open challenge to France and her Czech vassal states, for English aid lent to Horthy's government has only one object, that of gaining anti-French support.

France has bound the states of the Little Entente to herself by a hundred chains. The Czech army is under French command; Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia have received gigantic credits from France, etc. But England is not inactive either. The visits paid by English officers to Roumania were

certainly not intended to foster friendliness towards the French. But it was not until Beres' visit to London that it became quite evident that England had been playing an important part in the inner political development of Czecho-Slovakia. It then became apparent that England has been employing money, promises, and other "diplomatic means" for the purpose of rearing a Fascist monarchist movement in Czecho-Slovakia; this movement is to be pro-English, and is to oppose the present pro-French tendencies.

These are only a few indications, but they show with sufficient clearness the nature of the forces at work in Central Europe for the "maintenance of peace". The associations and the actions of the great trusts show the same thing: France is already in possession of points of support in the central European states, while England is now striving to create similar centres.

From Greece to Poland—everywhere everything is subordinate to this Anglo-French antagonism. When the official communiqué of the Sinaja Conference announces the "complete agreement" of the states of the Little Entente, this is merely a diplomatic veil cast over the actually underlying antagonisms. These antagonisms come to the surface whenever any issue arises, whether it be the "Austrian question", or the Bulgarian or Hungarian question. They are skirmishes between outposts which precede the world war of the future.

## E. C. C. I.

### Resolution of the Enlarged Executive on the Hamburg Amalgamation Conference

1. In August 1914 the Second International forfeited its existence by the most infamous political and moral bankruptcy. The 2½ International, by fusing with the Second, has finally and formally sealed its own treachery.

At the time when it was founded, the Second and a Half International maintained that it had nothing in common with the parties who had cooperated in the war and civil peace policies. It marched forth in all solemnity against social patriotism and reformism; it was anxious to become a crystallization point for the parties of revolutionary class struggle; it proudly proclaimed the social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet republic; it promised an energetic struggle for the socialization of the key industries, and against government coalitions of exploiters and exploited. There is only one thing which it did not want, and that was the principles and methods of the Comintern.

The 2½ International was a half way house between the Second and Third Internationals. But its brief span of existence has proved that it is not possible to prepare for revolution and dictatorship without adopting the methods of the Comintern, and while combating the Comintern; and that socialization without proletarian dictatorship is self-deception or swindle. Thus the 2½ International was condemned to vacillate perpetually between its hopeless socialization and capitalist reconstruction, until it was ripe for capitalist reconstruction without the accompaniment of flowery speeches on socialization, for governmental coalition with the capitalists, and for amalgamation with the Second International.

The 2½ International was the expression of the radical-minded section of the working class, who wanted revolutionary class struggle and a united fighting front with the communist workers, but were not prepared for the proletarian revolution. But as the methods which it chose for carrying on the struggle, for realizing the promised socialization, and for bringing about social improvement, became clearly more hopeless day by day, and as the organized workers in its ranks began to approach the communist workers with growing sympathy, the leaders were obliged—if they did not want to lose their hold on the workers altogether—to raise fresh hopes in the disappointed workers by showing them a new way, the way of affiliation with the great mass of workers belonging to the Second International. And so the leaders of the 2½ International, who have so often publicly declared that they were striving for the union of all three Internationals, and that they would not agree to union with the Second International alone, have now submitted unconditionally to the latter.

2. But the Second International, upon its resurrection in Hamburg, did not even venture to appear as that which it really wanted to be before the great war. It did not find the courage to renew the solemn oaths it swore at Stuttgart and Basle against war, because its leaders, having learnt something from



their collapse in the great war, could not hope to deceive the workers into believing that they still, as before August 1914, had faith in paper resolutions against war, and because they feared even a paper threat of revolution, which might be taken seriously by the workers. They were unable to take a stand against imperialism, as they could still do at the international congresses before the war, because they themselves are now ministers of the capitalist states, or are striving to become such, and because they degenerated during the war into conscious agents and lackeys of the bourgeoisie. They did not venture to propose to the workers any real fighting measures against the progressive advance of the capitalist offensive; nor did they dare to speak of socialization any longer, for they are anxious for the reconstruction of capitalism, and this is only possible at the expense of the workers, and cannot be achieved without a victorious capitalist offensive. They did not venture to announce any actual struggle against the oppressive Versailles Peace, against the reparations, against the Ruhr outrage, against the growth of armaments, against the increasing war danger, against national and colonial oppression, or against reaction and Fascism. They are enemies of the proletarian revolution, and within the international labor movement they represent the antagonistic interests of their capitalist states.

And because they feared any real fight for the interests of the proletariat, because they wished to fetter the workers to the bourgeoisie by means of democratic and socialist phrases, as they themselves are fettered, they found themselves obliged in Hamburg to reject the united front with the revolutionary vanguard of the fighting proletariat.

And since they do not want to fight against capitalism, and have no clear answer to give to any of the questions of such vital interest to the workers, the Hamburg International cannot be a guide for the working class, not even to the modest extent to which the prewar International—a revolutionary organization compared with the new body—was able to be.

The Second International was born alive, as a child of the past epoch, and it perished in the great war, at the beginning of the present epoch, whose new and greater demands were beyond its powers.

The new Second International is a still-born child. It will be buried on the day of the first international conflict, of the first violent collision between capital and labor.

This is the last rival of the Comintern in the labor movement, a rival which guarantees the Comintern's success.

3. The Hamburg International came into being through the pressure of the great masses of the workers, who sought a means of escape from their growing misery and ever increasing peril in a union of all proletarian forces, and hoped to find a protecting rampart in this union against a capitalism moving inevitably to war. But this International—headed by leaders who have served as ministers of capitalist states, or would like to so serve, and who have even signed the Treaty of Versailles—this International will soon be recognized by the workers who are still deceived by it, as a protective rampart for the bourgeoisie. Or it will fall to pieces at the first shot, like its predecessor in August 1914.

The task incumbent on the Comintern and its sections is to accelerate this inevitable process of disillusionment. But this can and must be done solely on the basis of the struggle for the united front of the proletariat, carried on nationally and internationally. This struggle for the united front must be carried on more systematically and decisively in every country, and in the most concrete and popular manner. To the united front of the social patriots with the bourgeoisie must be opposed a united front of all the exploited against the bourgeoisie; to the coalition governments of labor parties with the capitalists, the joint struggle of all labor parties for the workers' and peasants' government. And the more energetic and tenacious we make this struggle, the sooner the great majority of the working and exploited masses will recognize that Communism alone can free them from the horrors of capitalism, and lead them to a brighter future.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The English Dock Strike

By J. T. Murphy.

It had been known for some time that a reduction of wages would be coming to the Dockers at an early date. On July 2nd the reduction arrived, and all the Dockers stopped work. There had been no preparation. The action was as spontaneous as anything could be. On Tuesday July 3rd the London Dockers saw the newspaper placards announcing the

Dock Strike at Hull. They also had looked twice and thrice at the reduced wages received the day before. Word ran round the Docks and they simply stopped work. There were no leaders anywhere. Everybody was taken by surprise, officials, agitators, everybody.

True, there was an agreement which stated that with the fall of the official index figure relating to the cost of living to its present level the wages would be reduced from 11/- to 10/- per day. But the Docker is more or less a casual worker, and lucky nowadays if he gets three days a week at work. Out of his pay, insurance money must be deducted, and one cannot get far on 22/- or 33/- per week. To find this low level still further reduced was too much. They simply stopped work, agreement or no agreement.

Efforts were made to set up Strike Committees, and in a few days these were forthcoming. Meanwhile the Dockers of Bristol, Avonmouth, Cardiff, Barry, Birkenhead, Liverpool, and Manchester followed the Hull and London Dockers. It was a real bread strike. The London Committee issued a number of demands which were readily seized upon and agreed to by all districts. The program they issued reads as follows:—

- (1) No Reductions in Wages.
- (2) The Revision of the Agreement.
- (3) No Work until the Above are conceded.
- (4) They must be conceded in all ports.
- (5) No Separate Agreements.
- (6) No Leaving the Union.
- (7) The Union to recognize the Strike and Pay Strike Pay.
- (8) Go to the Guardians and demand outdoor relief.
- (9) Co-operate with the Unemployed Organization.
- (10) No Victimization.

This program was drawn up on the initiative of the Communists, and has remained the program throughout all the changes in the personnel of the various committees which have had charge of the strikers.

Within a week 60,000 dockers were on strike, but it was evident that the official leaders, headed by Messrs. Bevin and Gosling M. P., were up against it. Basing themselves upon the sanctity of the agreement that had been made by them with the employers, they flatly refused to support the strikers. They immediately ordered them back to work and prepared to marshal all the Trade Union machinery to force a resumption of work.

The annual conference of the Transport workers was held at the beginning of the second week of the strike. The delegates had been elected many weeks before and represented many sections who were not dockers. Although two delegates came from the Strike Committee they had little effect on the conference. Bevin and Gosling held forth that they could not favor a strike that would not be a national strike. "To attempt to get such a strike," they said, "in the face of the agreement, which the men were breaking, and the 300 other agreements to which the Union was bound, was a hopeless policy, and wrong. The men had now made an effective protest and they should go back to work". By an overwhelming majority the conference supported the official leaders and urged the men to return.

This decision had its effect upon the officials who were widely known as supporters of the revolutionary movement, and they began to echo the conference decision. The only people who seemed to be unaffected were the strikers. During the next few days the officials could not get a hearing. Anyone suggesting a return to work was lucky to get away from the meetings with a whole skin. But the officials were fighters. They had made up their minds to smash the strike. They appealed to the employers to keep their hands off and they would settle the strike for them on the basis of the agreement. Then began a press campaign in the daily papers in which they spent some hundreds of pounds in advertising the resolutions and manifestoes of official committee meetings. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress came out with a manifesto and supported the officials, and Mr. MacDonald, leader of the Labor Party, roundly denounced the unofficial revolt. He says in the *Socialist Review* for August: "The Union provides a proper way for demanding what wages are required, and whoever encourages this kind of revolt are only mischief makers — even if hot weather enables them to score some success".

A series of meetings and conferences were arranged in the provinces, and at the end of three weeks campaigning they had succeeded in getting the provincial dockers back to work at the reduced rate. At the beginning of the fifth week the London Dockers were left to fight on alone. At the beginning of the sixth week the forces are solid, and the London Docks are completely tied up.

The strike has been remarkable for rank and file solidarity and equally remarkable for confusion amongst the leaders. From the moment the officials began their campaign, the unofficial

strike committees were under the suspicion of the men if they went near the officials. Un on competition added to the confusion. When the Dockers led the way, the Strike Committees in London began to look for Tom Mann to take the lead after the officials had refused. Just at the moment Mann was about to enter the fray, new forces came along and altered the composition of the Strike Committee. A rival union of the Transport and General Workers' Union now went on strike in support of the Dockers, whilst some of the men who had been associated with Tom Mann in the R.I.L.U. and the Communist Party had got into discredit by joining in the official chorus for sending the men back to work. With the enlargement of the strike and the change in the make-up of the Central Strike Committee, the leadership became completely reactionary so far as its political outlook was concerned and rejected the assistance of Tom Mann, the Communist Party and the R.I.L.U. Union squabbles were introduced into the situation and the delegates from the provinces were rebuffed. The London Committee wanted the strike to be a London strike, and have nothing to do with the provinces. It was this rebuff which weakened the provincial committees and enables the union officials to gain the upper hand and to drive the men back to work.

At the moment when Tom Mann was prepared to take the lead, 14,000 Dublin Dockers went on strike, on similar issues, and there were big possibilities of a Mann and Larkin combination. The spirit of the Dockers was splendid throughout, but they have been unfortunate in the committees that have been thrown up to lead them. During the first three weeks of the strike the London Committee issued a Strike Bulletin. With the extension of the strike to the Stevedores, Lightermen, etc., and the enlargement of the Strike Committee, they dropped the bulletin. The Communist Party tried to make good this mistake by issuing a Dockers' Edition of the "Workers' Weekly". Four special editions have appeared, but at no moment has the hope of a new leadership in the hands of Tom Mann and Larkin again seemed possible.

It must not be thought that the Strike Committee in London has done nothing in the way of holding the forces together. They have done wonders in the London area with the men under their control, but always their narrow political vision and craft union prejudices prevented them from enlarging the struggle either amongst the Dockers or other workers. Parochial ideas ruled the situation. Everything had to be local to inspire them. For example, the following cable was received from New York on July 24th:

"Strike declared at New York by marine workers, seek to cooperate with British Transport Workers, letter following—signed General Strike Committee."

This telegram received scant attention from the Committee. But when the crew of a German ship marched with the Bermondsey and Rotherhithe strikers and refused to blackleg the dockers, they got a wonderful reception from the strikers. Other manifestations of international solidarity enthused the workers. When blacklegs attempted to unload two Australian ships named the "Hobson's Bay" and "Esperanza Bay" they were promptly asked their business. When the blacklegs attempted to explain, they were chased off the ships by the crews. When two Norwegian ships were berthed at the wharf near Tower Bridge where blacklegging was going on, the blacklegs got a surprise. The crews refused to allow them to approach. This spirit has had a splendid effect in inspiring mass marches and mass pickets but has not broken down the prejudices of the Committee.

One other important factor has strengthened the Unofficial Committee's position both against the officials who wanted to get the men back to work and against the more revolutionary elements who wanted to extend the strike to other ports and to other sections of workers. When the strike began and the men could not draw strike pay the Communist Party and strike leaders urged the strikers and their families to claim outdoor relief from the Boards of Guardians. They got outdoor relief, with the result that many families were better off with the men on strike than when at work. This cut both ways. It strengthened the strike on the spot but made the strikers indifferent to the proposals for an extension of the strike.

Six weeks have now passed. The strike holds fast in London. The men refused to go back on terms less than 11/- per day and a pledge to examine the index figures governing the cost of living. The Communist Party is campaigning for an extension of the strike as the only means of forcing the pace on behalf of the men. This strike is the first big spontaneous revolt against the union bureaucracy, indicating that the limits of passive endurance are rapidly being reached and that the social pacifist officials cannot look forward any longer to a period of quietly machining the workers into subjection by means of joint agreements with the boss.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### The United Front in Australia

By W. P. Earsman (Moscow),

The latest information to hand, states that the Labor Party of New South Wales has accepted the affiliation of the Communist Party. This means that on the economic and political fields the working class in Australia is at last united.

Not only has the "United Front" of the workers been brought about, but it has already achieved some success. The Queensland elections are just over and the Labor Party has been returned as the Government for the third time in succession, with the biggest majority of members they have ever had. This success of the Labor Party is in no small degree due to the efforts and activities of members of the Communist Party.

It was a difficult task for the Central Committee of the Party convince the revolutionary workers that they must support the Labor Party, because of the fact that Mr. Theodore, the Premier of Queensland, is one of the greatest enemies of the revolutionary workers. He has never missed an opportunity of putting the boot into the rebels, and has often had them victimized. But, so far, he has, on the whole, failed in his purpose, and it now remains to be seen how he will act in the future.

With the success of the C. P. in entering the Labor Party, with the right of organizing and carrying on its propaganda, it must not be thought that the Communists have an easy task before them. In fact, it is only now that the party will commence to function as a real part of the working class. The road we must travel is very rough, the traps and pitfalls are numerous and the responsibility is great. More so than in many other countries because of the smallness of the party.

It is true that the C. P. has not a large membership, which is not exceptional in English-speaking countries, but nevertheless the party's influence among the masses is great. This is the case of any party which has its roots so deeply and firmly planted in the trade unions as the C. P. of Australia has.

The charge, which has often been made, that the Communist Parties have neglected the trade unions, cannot be levelled against the Australian party. All the party's activities have been with the trade unions and through them. The party was actually born in the trade unions. That is why the "United Front" has been secured politically and economically.

Before the C. P. blossomed into a legal-political party, the first step which was taken, in the early part of 1920, was to form groups of all the rebel workers in the trade unions. This tactic had some success, and, when the time came for launching the party, we had already some groups organized as trade union nuclei. It will therefore be seen that we have been always very close to the working class and its daily struggle. Many prominent positions in the trade unions are in the hands of the Communists. The Sydney Labor Council, which represents 237,000 members and which is affiliated to the Profintern, has no less than 10 members of the party on its Executive of 12. Still it must not be thought that the party is a strong mass organization. It has yet to convince the workers of the necessity of joining the C. P. In this respect the Australian party has as many difficulties to face as the British Party.

The decisions and discussions of the Enlarged Executive, particularly those with the Norwegian comrades, will be of great assistance to the C. P. of A. In the Norwegian Party we will find one of the difficulties we may have to face in the near future; that is, the turning of the trade union affiliation into individual membership of the party.

Again, it must always be remembered that the Labor Party in Australia has frequently held the reins of Government during the past twenty years. Further, that most of the reforms which are possible under capitalism, and which have been and are advocated by yellow labor leaders, have been tested in Australia, and are now either in the waste paper basket, or are attached to the program of the bourgeois parties. Therefore the future program of the Australian Labor Party, if it means to live as a working class party, can only be the program of the Communist Party.

The next year or two promise to be the most vital and interesting in the history of the Australian working class. The workers of New South Wales are leading the way, and very soon the workers of the other States will follow.

Once they have done so, the operations of clearing the field for action must begin. The working class of Australia and the C. P. of A. at this time require the help of the workers of other countries, and this, together with the sound and seasoned



advice of the real leader of the working class—The Communist International—will enable them to fulfill their mission and establish a Workers' and Peasants' Government in the Far South.

## THE COLONIES

### Communism in Java

In No. 72 of the *Inprecorr* we published an article by Comrade L. A., "The Labor Movement on the Island of Java". Comrades Malakka and Bergsma now send us a statement differing from that of Comrade L. A., which we print as a reply. Ed.

I.

By P. Bergsma (Holland).

The Dutch East Indian Communist Party, "Perserikatan Kommunist India", has been reinforced to the number of several thousand members by the affiliation of the Semarang (Java) local group of the Sarekat Islam (the great Islamic People's Party), the largest local S.I. organization in the whole Indies. In Java it has always been the endeavor of the communists to strive to gain influence in the great People's Party, the Sarekat Islam, and they have amply succeeded.

Regarded with occidental eyes, the circumstances of the people's movement in Java convey an impression that the communists have but little significance in the East Indies at present, and that they are conducting propaganda without any system. This false impression not only gives an entirely wrong idea of the real situation in the Indies, but causes the work done by our comrades, under the most difficult circumstances, to be greatly underestimated.

The methods of work adopted by our comrades in the Indies are not always understood in Europe. But to be understood is not the main thing. We must look at the results. And these are supremely favorable to us in Java.

Only a few years ago there was not the slightest trace of communism in these parts. Now a party has sprung into existence; we have our press; the trade unions are under communist leadership; the S.I. groups have communists as leaders, etc. And all this has been accomplished by the East Indians themselves, without the aid of Europeans.

That we are not exaggerating is best proved by the bitter war being waged by the Dutch government against the communists.

In the Indies there are thousands of Sarekat Islam members who can be counted as communists no less than the actual members of the C. P. The mass entry of S.I. members into the C.P. has only altered the form of organization. The report of this affiliation confirms our assertion that the S.I. of Semarang is communist.

This reinforcement of the C.P. signifies that persistent communist propaganda has led thousands of the sons of this enslaved oriental people into the camp of the Third International, into battle against world capital. And those whom we have to thank for this are our East Indian comrades, now being persecuted by the blackest reaction.

II.

By T. Malakka.

Comrade L. A. speaks of "impudent reaction", and of the many comrades incarcerated in the prisons or banished from the country, but he does not throw sufficient light on the further fact that reaction, through the agency of the government, is exercising a strict control over communist correspondence and over communist meetings, and is having the leaders watched day and night. Our experience shows that communist activity is a sufficient reason for having a comrade driven from the country without trial. Considering the energetic work just now being accomplished by the communists within the nationalist associations and trade unions, it is not quite accurate to speak of "loose connections" between the party sections and the party committee. It is not possible here to deal in detail with the activity of our comrades in Madiun, or to go into their work at the last Sarekat Islam conference at Jokja, where large numbers of Sarekat members have now been brought under communist leadership; nor do we propose to discuss the activity of the communist congress in Bandung, the 13 schools which have been established by the various sections, and, above all, the great crisis developing in our favor in the Sarekat Islam. The correct application of the united front tactic has already led to as many as 20 sections of the S.I. coming under communist leader-

ship. (These 20 sections had previously about 100,000 members.) We may fairly estimate that at present we have 13,000 members in our party (including Ternate), and, further, at least 30,000 workers and peasants in the Sarekat Islam upon whom we can count, who are not yet members of the trade unions, but are under communist leadership.

Besides the railwaymen, the post and telegraph workers and the workers in the sugar factories play a most important role in the Dutch East Indies. These have been under communist leadership for months. The work of reorganization undertaken by the communists among these categories of workers, who were formerly under nationalist leadership, makes excellent progress. A false impression is thus given by Comrade L. A.'s statement that only the railwaymen's union has been maintained. The last congress, held in March, brought not only almost all the trade unions and the Red S.I. under communist influence, but also the nationalist Indian party and the Budi-Utomo. And although we must admit that our *Suara Rajat* is still somewhat weak, it must be recollected that all the old editors have either been arrested, banished or deported. Despite this, translations of communist literature and discussions on the national and international situations are regularly published. The daily organ of the communist S.I. in Semarang, the *Sinar Hindia*, has been fairly efficiently edited for some years. The views which it now expresses on the situation of the working class, its criticisms of the government, its polemical articles against nationalist leaders, etc., are all pervaded with the communist spirit. At the present time the communist press is precisely what the East Indian working class needs and wants, for it mirrors the life of the workers.

Comrade Semaocu and Darsono were recently subjected to an interrogation by the government. In Java this is the preliminary to banishment. The government warned the two comrades to desist from further propaganda in the trade unions, and from the work of radical organization in the Sarekat Islam. This is a proof that our comrades have been maintaining a revolutionary attitude.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Fifth Anniversary of the Narkomsdrav (People's Commissariat for Health)

By S. Turki (Moscow).

In May and June of this year there were several medical congresses in Moscow: for bacteriology, epidemiology, for combating tuberculosis and venereal diseases, for the protection of motherhood and infancy. The programs of these congresses, as well as the reports and addresses given by Russian and foreign participants, all bore a strictly scientific character. The representatives of the working class attending these congresses were given the opportunity of following the proceedings and forming an idea of the significance of the progress of medical science for the protection of public health; this is a feature imparting to the congresses held in Moscow a character entirely different to that of similar meetings in other countries. The combination of science and labor with the aim of realizing the ideas of social hygiene and social medicine gave the congresses their distinguished character. The fundamental purpose of the "Narkomsdrav", which is to induce the broad masses of the people to take active part in the work of protecting the public health, that is, to realize in actual life the principle that "the health of the toilers is the concern of the toilers themselves", has thus found concrete expression in actual contact between science and labor.

The material basis for the realization of this principle was created by the October revolution, for this created the necessity of replacing the chaotic lack of organization prevailing in matters of public health under the Czarist regime by the concentration of work in this sphere, in the interests of the protection of the working people, in the hands of a single People's Commissariat.

On July 21, 1916, the "Narkomsdrav" undertook the care of public health. Since then the "Narkomsdrav" has been endeavoring, despite all material and financial obstacles arising from epidemics, civil wars, famines, blockade etc., to introduce all the new methods of protecting public health which are characteristic of the Russia of the workers and peasants.

In a capitalist social order the methods of prevention, of prophylaxis, in combating disease, are only accessible to the ruling classes. Statistical investigations have amply demonstrated

the fact that in the case of epidemics by far the greatest number of victims belong to the working class.

To prevent disease, that is, to provide the best possible sanitary conditions for the masses of the people (proper housing, workers' protection, hygienic working conditions, etc.), to apply prophylactic methods for the benefit of the broad masses of the population—this is the fundamental watchword of Soviet medical endeavor. The worker is not to be cured for the purpose of making him capable of being further exploited by capitalism, but such conditions of life are to be provided for him, such conditions of work, food, and rest, that the organism of the worker is given the best protection against the danger of disease. The utilization of all scientific knowledge, of all climatic and physiatrie methods of treatment, among the broad masses of the people—this is the leading thought actuating the whole activity of the "Narkomsdrav". Medical assistance is becoming more and more available to the whole population of the R.S.F.S.R. In the year 1918, 30,154,693 persons received medical aid; in the year 1921, 64,598,747. The number of medical districts and sanitary stations superintended by medical officers (exclusive of the railway medical districts), was 2,486 in the year 1918 and 2989 in 1921. The number of medical institutions in 1919 was 1470, with 119,580 beds; by the year 1921 there were already 2443 medical institutions with 156,882 beds. Special attention has also been devoted during this time to giving the broad masses of the population the opportunity to benefit by visits to watering places. The number of patients who could be accommodated in health resorts amounted to 48,435 in the 1920, 66,516 in 1921. In 1918 the number of beds available in health resorts was 1840, in 1921 it was 29,790.

The first prerequisite for the application of the principle upon which the whole activity of the "Narkomsdrav" is based, has naturally involved special measures for the protection of motherhood, of infants and of growing children. From the moment of procreation the idea of the protection of the child's health must be kept in the foreground. The labor code of the Soviet republics ordains special measures for the protection of expectant mothers (liberation from work for two months before and two months after confinement; privileges with regard to housing accommodation; homes for the mothers and children). A healthy mother is the best security for the health of the children; healthy children are a security for the health of the population. The constant increase in the number of institutions for maternity protection is one success gained for public health by the activity of the "Narkomsdrav".

This fundamental task in the sphere of prophylactic measures does not prevent the People's Commissariat for Health from mobilizing numerous forces against the epidemics prevalent at the present time—spotted fever, intermittent fever and cholera—and from attaining considerable success here also. As a statistical proof of this fact it suffices to give the comparative numbers of those attacked by spotted and intermittent fever. In January, 1922, 653,537 persons were taken ill with intermittent fever. In the year 1923, 119,321 persons contracted intermittent fever during the same period. During the same times 124,717 persons were attacked by spotted fever in the year 1923, as compared with 764,262 in 1922.

A most important auxiliary in the protection of public health, and in inducing the broad masses of the people actively to participate in this work, is sanitary propaganda, enlightenment with respect to hygienic questions.

The diffusion of knowledge in this direction is the task of a special department of the "Narkomsdrav". The Czarist regime endeavored to suppress any such measures. It is the principle of the "Narkomsdrav", in educating the broad masses of the people to self-help, to learn itself, and then to act on its knowledge.

The struggle against the social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal diseases, prostitution, alcoholism) is being conducted on the broadest possible scale. The main cause of the social diseases lies in the exploitation of human beings by other human beings. Capitalism, anxious to protect its own interests, has never gone thoroughly into the question of combatting the social diseases. These diseases, bearing within them the danger of degeneration of the human race, have been combatted under capitalism by half measures only. Soviet medical science places the struggle against the social diseases on the broad basis of protection of labor (shorter working hours, combatting of unemployment, provision of proper housing), and of extensive prophylactic measures.

In the course of the past five years all the necessary conditions for the unhindered execution of the "Narkomsdrav's" program have by no means existed. The interventions on the part of the Entente, the civil war, the famine, the various epidemics, all these have obliged the People's Commissariat for Health to send its best working forces from one front to another; the

blockade made the import of the most necessary remedies into Russia impossible.

With the transition to the New Economic Policy the "Narkomsdrav" had to restrict general free medical treatment, and to reconstruct a number of institutions in accordance with the new conditions. But although it proved necessary to limit, to some extent, the work done, the fundamental program was by no means lost sight of. The material possibilities for the realization of the tasks of the "Narkomsdrav" increase proportionately to the restoration of the productive forces of Russia, and to the economic reconstruction of the country.

Medicine, as practised by Pasteur and Virchow, has after its emancipation from the spell of metaphysics, developed from its original empiricism to a strictly scientific experimental branch of knowledge. But its further evolution, the utilization of all the knowledge gained to combat disease, meets an insuperable barrier in the capitalist social order. In investigating the causes of disease, scientific medicine was bound to observe the extreme and decisive significance of social conditions in the spread of mass diseases. But the progress of medical science in the capitalist state was halted before the ideas of social hygiene, of social pathology, of social medicine. It is only a workers' state which can create a material basis for the realization of these ideas. The first five years of the activity of the "Narkomsdrav" have been the first phase in the history of the protection of the health of the people, the first steps on the road to the utilization of scientific knowledge on a comprehensive social basis.

## ECONOMICS

### The Profiteers of Restoration

The last work of Comrade Ker.

The following article was received by the editor of the *Humanité* a few hours before the telegram announcing the sudden death of Comrade Ker. Comrade Ker thus worked literally up to his last moment in the service of the Party.

Simple-minded folk are of the opinion that the task of restoring the devastated areas consists in removing the ruins as rapidly as possible. But in reality it is a matter of enriching the "damaged" capitalists as rapidly as possible. Our plutocrats are essentially the profiteers of restoration. The correctness of this assertion may be proved by countless facts. Here we shall deal with one question only, that of the pecuniary advances made to the industrialists, and made with such generosity and lack of control that the advances are often higher than the actual indemnity granted.

According to the law of 1919, those suffering loss through the war receive advances to cover their most urgent requirements. The obvious intention of the law is, to enable the most unhappy sufferers to obtain the necessary means for putting their houses in order and buying the most necessary articles of furniture. In actual practice it operates very differently. The law intended to serve the interests of the great mass of war sufferers has in fact become a source of enrichment of the big industrialists. So long as it is a question of making advances to sufferers in poor circumstances, the strictest economy is observed. These advances are intended for the purchase of furniture and linen, and the standard rate of the grant in such cases is 1000 francs for each household, with an addition of 200 francs for each person belonging to the household. In the case of the big industrialists, however, it is invariably assumed that the matter is one of urgent necessity, and the desired advances are made at once. A special office has been established for industrial restoration, and this fixes the amounts of the advances granted to the industrialists. This office has the damages assessed by its experts. What kind of experts are these? Old officers without any expert knowledge whatever, who have to estimate today the value of a brewery, tomorrow that of an iron works, and the day after the value of a textile factory. These so-called experts having assessed the sum to be paid in compensation, the office for industrial restoration then makes advances up to 75%. Truly work on a magnificent scale.

The office for industrial restoration is so generous in its estimates that the district commissions, which have to settle the final indemnity, assess much lower sums in most cases. The real compensation is frequently less than the 75% which the office for restoration has already paid out as an advance. Thus many industrialists have been rendered debtors and not creditors of the state by this system of advances. The amounts paid in excess to the big industrialists often amount to hundreds of



thousands, even millions of francs. These excess sums are paid back very slowly by the industrialists. And the state does not require the payment of any interest for the delay in repayment. Thus we have a perfectly scandalous situation; the state exchequer places millions at the disposal of the capitalists, for a period of years, entirely free of charge.

The district commissions come down on the small sufferers with corresponding ruthlessness. These are treated with the greatest severity and suspicion. Every kind of pressure and threat is employed to induce them to reduce their claims, for the state must "save". This is what the work of restoration looks like in reality. The small sufferers sit in their wretched hovels and ask themselves if they are to be pursued for ever by the horrors of war. They know that they are being deceived, that they are being pillaged, and that the profiteers of restoration are unscrupulously enriching themselves at their expense.

## FASCISM

### More "Victories" of Mussolini

By Giacomo (Rome).

After the many reports which have recently been circulated in the bourgeois press with regard to increasing ferment, and even complete demoralisation in the ranks of Fascism, the Fascisti have once more found it possible to report a couple of "victories".

The first victory was won a week ago on the occasion of the debates on the suffrage reform, when the secretary of the Catholic People's Party (Popolari), Don Sturzo, who had led his large party in the name of democracy against the Fascist mutilation of the suffrage, was obliged to resign. This resignation was regarded as a great victory for Mussolini, especially in petty bourgeois circles. Various arguments have been brought forward to prove that Don Sturzo was persuaded to take this step under the pressure of the Vatican, after Mussolini had contrived to make great concessions to it. Don Sturzo himself made a declaration in which something similar might be read between the lines.

But the Fascisti, who also appear to be well informed, have greeted this resignation with less rejoicing. The *Agenzia Volta*, the official Fascist agency, issued an indignant notice on July 11, the day after the resignation; this notice was in all probability the work of Mussolini himself, and contained the reproaches and threats directed against Don Sturzo by the Fascisti—who accuse him of having resigned his post as secretary of the party solely for the purpose of taking up another position, in which he can carry on his campaign against Fascism with greater ease. As he has remained a member of the party central and of the party committee, he retains his influence in the party as before; but Mussolini has declared war to the knife against him, although he holds this position.

This Fascist view is fairly correct. The Popolari are the party of the "little people", small peasants, backward proletarians, and village priests. The nature of the elements of which the party is composed makes it impossible for them to carry on any energetic struggle. But the campaign being conducted by the Fascisti against the workers and petty bourgeois affects the masses composing the party more and more every day, and these seek the protection and defence of their threatened interests by their party. Under these circumstances Don Sturzo, a good scholar of the Vatican and himself a priest, resorts to manoeuvres. He leads the petty bourgeois opposition to the Fascisti, but contrives at the same time to avoid a decision at the critical moment. It is very probable that his resignation is only a strategic move.

The other "victory" of Fascism was gained in Parliament on July 17. After making a fairly conciliatory speech, in which he even invited the socialists to participate in his government, Mussolini received a vote of confidence by 303 votes (including those of the Popolari) against 140 votes of the communists, socialists, and republicans. The second half of the vote of confidence, intended to approve the outline given of the suffrage reform, was accepted by 235 votes against 139, 77 of the Popolari abstaining from voting.

The Popolari have thus again avoided any energetic struggle for the defeat of the suffrage reform, which signifies the end of the democratic Parliament in Italy. They have maintained a partial opposition only, by their abstentions from voting. But that they are none the less not prepared to follow the Fascisti through thick and thin may be seen from the fact that on the next day they excluded from the party the 7 right wing Popolari deputies who had voted in favor of the suffrage reform.

The reformists and the leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions immediately accepted Mussolini's invitation. D'Arragona

at once made a declaration, expressing in flowery language the readiness of his party for such collaboration. Enrico Ferri even declared that he would abstain from voting as a token of the loyal opposition of his party. This action is consistent with the endeavors being made by the social democratic leaders of all countries to enter into a coalition with every bourgeoisie, even with Mussolini.

The behavior of the Popolari, and the readiness of the Italian reformists to collaborate, once more clearly demonstrate to the Italian proletariat that a fight against Fascism is only possible by means of the indispensable class struggle. During the last few months, in the course of which the incapacity of the Fascisti has alienated the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals more and more from Fascism, and the ferment and disappointment among the Fascisti themselves have increased daily, many good comrades have come to believe that the Fascisti would collapse under the dissatisfaction of the great masses and under their own growing internal weakness. They have hoped that the open struggle, demanding fresh sacrifices from the decimated proletariat, might thus be avoided. The hesitating and irresolute attitude of the Popolari, and the determination of the reformists to aid the Fascisti, show that Fascism is only to be combatted and annihilated by the revolutionary working masses, led by the Communist Party.

The situation has, however, not been improved by this parliamentary victory of Fascism. It has not given work to one member of the unemployed. It has not prevented the bankruptcy of a single Italian capitalist, and on the exchange the lire continues to fall as before, slowly but surely. The unsolved problems which Fascism has been tackling in vain, and which have so rapidly brought about general disappointment with Fascist statesmanship, are still burning questions, and will soon efface the impression made by this cheaply won parliamentary victory.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Death of President Harding

By I. Amter.

The death of President Harding removes one more of the mediocrities that capital uses as puppets in ruling the United States. A journalist by profession, Harding was brought out of the dark into the limelight in 1920, when, owing to the abundance of Republican candidates for the presidency of the United States presented at the Republican convention, it looked as if an agreement would not be reached.

Just as in 1916, when Wilson and Hughes were nominated, and Wall Street, scrutinizing the nominations, said: "*The presidential nominations are most satisfactory from a financial standpoint*," it could and did say the same thing in 1920, when Harding and Cox were nominated. From a financial standpoint, there was little to fear from either candidate—both were most satisfactory. It was merely a question of whether Rockefeller was to rule the country for four years through Harding, or Morgan through Cox. The "People" had suffered endless deception at the hands of Wilson: he had paid no attention to the sufferings of the farmers, he had disregarded the coal miners and steel workers, and had made wanton use of the military against them. Hence, true to form, the American people "changed horses", in the hope of a betterment of their condition.

Unemployment became a serious factor at the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921. During the latter year, it attained the startling number of 8,000,000, including a million war veterans. Harding called an Unemployment Conference of merchants and big employers, together with such labor "representatives" as Samuel Gompers. The conference established the fact that unemployment existed. It decided to do what inevitably is done in such matters, especially in America: it appointed a commission to study the question. Its sole recommendation for immediate application was that the employers should provide work for the jobless! It was a genial conference, and met with the full approval of Gompers.

In 1920 came the tremendous strikes of the miners, railroadmen and textile workers, involving 1,500,000 men. The capitalists resorted to injunctions, to the use of thugs, police and militia. They made widespread use of the American institution of the "frameup", in order to get rid of the most militant leaders and workers, and intimidate the rest. Then, when the workers showed no intention of giving up the fight, Federal troops were ordered into the field, fully equipped for war: tanks, gas, airplanes, etc. Finally, in September, 1922, the infamous Daugherty injunction was issued—and recently was made

*permanent*—whereby strikes, sympathy with the strikers and every form of aid to them were prohibited, infractions being penalized by imprisonment.

The farmers of America have been the especial victims of American exploitation. Two millions of the farming population left the farms in 1922. More than 38 per cent of the American farmers are tenants: the farms of more than 40 per cent are mortgaged. The farmers have a load of \$8,000,000,000 in mortgages to bear. They are robbed by the railroads: they are robbed by the middlemen.

Harding had to make a gesture in support of the farmers. A Farm Credits Bill was passed before the close of the last session of Congress. The farmers are so elated at this achievement, that when Harding was on his trip to the West and Alaska—the tour on which he died—he was frequently greeted with taunts from the farmers. He was prevented from intervening in the election in Minnesota on behalf of the Republican nominee—and nevertheless the Republican was overwhelmingly defeated by the Farmer Labor candidate! Wheat has gone down to 91 cents a bushel! That sounds a tragic note that could not be offset by Harding's promises. The attitude of the country generally to Harding and his policies was expressed in the crushing defeat administered to the Republican Party at the elections in November.

But to the capitalists, Harding was very valuable. A tariff was enacted that has put billions into the treasuries of the steel manufacturers alone. He allowed numerous mergers to take place—in spite of the fact that a Sherman Anti-trust law exists. Steel concerns, packing, copper, textile, woolen concerns, banks and trust companies have merged—to the enhancement of their profits. Harding was for the consolidation of the railroads into four systems, which would practically eliminate the "competition" that is held up to the American public as the *sine qua non* of existence and progress. During the last year, stock dividends amounting to billions have been distributed among the fortunate stockholders of the trusts—and these dividends are tax-free. Harding guaranteed a "fair" return to the railroad companies. He tried to rob the United States treasury of \$500,000,000, as a subsidy for the shipping concerns, and was only prevented by the obstructive tactics of the progressives in Congress.

In fact, voices are becoming loud for economic reciprocity—o. political union! The West Indies, suffering and crying out under the tyrannical rule of American bayonets, have likewise come under the tutelage of American imperialism.

China, the latest adventure of American finance, is bound very soon to be the field of serious conflict. The rush of England, America and Japan to secure control of China's resources and the administration of her affairs, and the intention of Great Britain to reinforce the naval base at Singapore, augur an early conflict.

American capital, under the aegis of Harding, has also entered Austria. Morgan participated in the international loan to Austria, which has practically made Austria a playground of international trickery. The offer of a loan to Persia, provided it is secured by concession, and of a loan to Germany, provided she accepts the same terms and statutes as Austria, the buying up of industrial properties in Germany and Austria, all demonstrate that American imperialism is now full-fledged and ready to take up the fight with England and Japan.

The attitude of the Harding administration to Soviet Russia has been similar to its attitude on many other questions: vacillating. Shortly after taking office, through Secretary of State Hughes, Harding announced that America would be ready to enter into relations with the Soviet Government, if certain guarantees were given. Soviet Russia was prepared to negotiate these demands, but, little by little, the American government has receded from this position. There is no doubt that the American government hoped that the famine of 1920 would undermine the Soviet government and lead to a revolt of the peasants. The philanthropic assistance that was given through the American Administration had the ulterior aim of enabling the American government to get in touch with the peasants in the villages, to learn their real conditions and to aid in any revolt that might occur.

American industrialists and financiers have visited Soviet Russia and have been impressed with the conditions there. Mr. Bush, who was in Soviet Russia a short time ago, remarked that conditions were vastly superior in Russia to what he had seen in Germany—under the rule of capitalism. Senator Wheeler, on his return to the United States, said that the American Government might as well recognize Soviet Russia now, as she will be bound to do so later.

The movement for the recognition of Soviet Russia, even in the Republican Party, is growing. Several of the progressive are open protagonists of recognition. It is clear that oil and other

concessions will be the only objects that will lead to this recognition.

Harding's latest feat was his fight to get America into the World Court. Although the fear of becoming embroiled in European affairs was one of the causes of Wilson's defeat, Harding believed that by pretending that the World Court has nothing to do with the League of Nations, he gradually could lead America into the League—without the people being aware of it. The progressives sounded the alarm. The chairman of the Republican Party protested: Harding was forced to modify his demand, to the effect that America would join only if the Court were completely dissociated from the League. It is clear, however, that American finance is preparing to enter the League, but will use the same deception that the "pacifist" Wilson employed in getting America into the World War.

To carry out its aims, American imperialism must be furnished not only with gold, but with arms. To be sure, the Washington Disarmament Conference—that other achievement of Harding—is supposed to have limited armament. But air fleets, gases of the most deadly sort, fast cruisers and submarines, are more than substitutes for the obsolete battleships. Hence the workshops and laboratories of the countries are working at high speed, inventing and improving the methods of destruction. *Eighty-five per cent of the American budget—as Harding admitted on his tour—is spent for wars, past, present and future.* The militarism that began during the World War is being firmly established in the United States. *The country is so organized that an army of 3,000,000 can be mobilized within a month's time.* In their spare time, the generals of the American army travel about the country organizing White Guard leagues. Meanwhile the Ku Klux Klan is thriving, the American and Italian Fascisti are getting a foothold in the country—*countenanced and supported by the government of the United States!*

This is the record of two years of Harding's administration, differing not a jot from that of Wilson, the Democrat.

What can be expected of Calvin Coolidge, the vice-president who now assumes the presidency? Coolidge is one of the bitterest reactionaries in the country. More mediocre even than Harding, he can give utterance to a flow of more platitudes than any other public official. Hated and despised by all except the most reactionary elements, Coolidge does not even enjoy the esteem of his own party. When governor of the State of Massachusetts, he broke the policemen's strike in 1920 by simply discharging all the policemen's organizations throughout the State.—As the "strong" man from Massachusetts, he was elected to the vice-presidency of the United States. This did not increase his popularity: on July 4, 1922, as a speaker at the celebration in St. Paul, he was booed from the stand and not allowed to continue his speech.

It is very possible that strong reaction may take hold of affairs in the United States for a time. The "reds" are gaining in power: Communists, militants, radicals of every shade. The farmers are in the foreground in this movement. The organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the strides made by the Left Wing in the trade unions, under the leadership of the Trade Union-Educational League, the expulsions and threatened expulsions from the American Federation of Labor, the growing sentiment in favor of Soviet Russia—which the government and Gompers are combatting even with illicit means—are inclining the capitalists to action. There was a growing feeling that Harding was too moderate with the "reds", and that a sterner course should be steered. Harding however, was very discreet: he knew that his chances of reelection—provided he were nominated—depended upon his placating the progressives and radicals. If capital has decided to take steps against the revolutionists, Coolidge will be the man to carry out their will.

The death of Harding helps the Republican Party out of a dilemma. It would have been difficult to deny Harding the renomination next year. Yet there is not the slightest doubt that if he had been put up, the Republican Party would have been defeated—last November's elections and the recent election in Minnesota tell the tale. The Republican Party can now adopt a more liberal program and win; the man who is designated for this role is Borah. He is the only man in the Republican Party who can unite the reactionaries and the progressives, and lead the party to victory.

A taste of terrorization for the Communists—just enough to satisfy the vast army of the conservatives that the country is not being handed over to the revolutionists—and the assumption of leadership by a progressive, will give control to Rockefeller for four more years. Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Borah—these are mere figureheads used by the capitalists of America to make the people think they rule.