

# - INTERNATIONAL -

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## Manifesto of the Comintern on the Anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles.

### Workers of the World!

For three years mankind has lived under the capitalist peace which was imposed upon it by the decisions of the Versailles Conference. This peace means the continuation of the fight of the imperialist robbers among one another upon the backs of the working class, a fight which demands of the latter no less sacrifice than the bloody slaughter on the fronts of the world war.

In the victorious countries millions of unemployed are starving because the capitalist suppressors cannot agree among themselves as to the best form for the further exploitation of the proletariat. In the defeated countries the workers are perishing because they must bear the double yoke of their own slave-drivers and the foreign oppressors who cannot extract sufficient surplus value from them through extended working hours to pay for the cost of the world war.

The world war was paid for in 15,000,000 dead and 40,000,000 wounded. The number of victims of the robber peace will be even greater if the working-class does not find the strength to burst the chains of capitalist rule and oppression.

The working class missed the favorable moment when it was relatively easy to overthrow the bourgeoisie by a bold attack. When in 1918 the world war ended and the ruling capitalist classes of all countries shook before the revolutionary strength of the Russian Revolution, when inspired by the current of revolutionary enthusiasm the working classes of Germany, Austria and later Italy fought in an elementary fight for power, it would have been possible to seize power with bold courage but for the treachery of the social patriotic war politicians.

Weary and bled white in four years of murder, the workers long for peace and quiet. They do not realize that a peace which is decided among the ruling capitalist classes means for the proletariat a hell of suffering and sea of misery even as terrible as the sufferings of the world war.

The bourgeoisie has recovered from the first fears with which it was filled by the end of the war and the Russian Revolution. With the active assistance of the traitors to the working class during the imperialist war, the ruling classes have everywhere got the power and the power of the state again firmly in

their hands. Everywhere the bourgeoisie used all the means at its disposal against the working class to shift the cost of the world war upon the latter's shoulders and to throw them under yet greater oppression and increased exploitation than before the war.

The trivial victories gained by the proletariat from the bourgeoisie shaken by the end of the war and the Russian Revolution have long since been lost. Wages are cut and working hours are lengthened. Wages will be still further lowered, far under the minimum of existence, and working-hours must be extended to 10 or 12 hours, if capitalist reconstruction is to succeed.

From the capitalist standpoint this is the only way. He who desires capitalist reconstruction must desire the death of millions of workers who have become superfluous and must also be ready to have the survivors submit to such working conditions as prevailed the beginning of the capitalist system.

The ruling class of England wishes to distribute the burden of the war and of the peace equally over the world, because this would be most favorable for its rulers and its capitalist reconstruction.

The ruling class of France threatens new wars to squeeze the cost of the world war from the bankrupt conquered countries. It hopes in this manner best to maintain and extend its power. The American bourgeoisie waits as spectator for the moment when the mad dervish dance of the European peoples rushing against one another to destruction has arrived at such a pitch that their seizure by American Capital promises a profitable substitute for lost profits.

In the vanquished countries the bourgeoisie is reconciled with the victors; exacts tribute for these and profit for itself. The capitalists in every single country, however, fight among one another for the greatest share of exploitation.

That is the Peace Treaty of Versailles!

The working class in every country is the object and the victim of the exploitation of the possessing class and is delivered over to the violence of its government.

This is possible thanks to the leaders of the pre-war labor movement and the disinclination for fight on the part of the prole-

ariat. The treachery of the trade union bureaucracy and of the leaders of the Second International has not sufficed to make the majority of the working class aware that they must rid themselves of these leaders if they are to free themselves from capitalist suppression and exploitation.

The Communists, who during the war began to organize an intense struggle against it, who overthrew the Czar and the bourgeoisie in Russia, and who in various western European countries fought at the head of the elementary revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, were not strong enough to conquer the bourgeoisie in Western Europe, as the latter had for their best supporters the leaders of the Second International and the trade union bureaucracy of the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The Communist International has done everything in its power to lead and organize the fight against the bourgeoisie. If this fight has not been victorious it is because the majority of the proletariat has not yet decided to follow the Red Flag without hesitation.

The Communist International has taken the initiative in the establishment of the united front for the fight against the bourgeoisie and for the struggle against the further impoverishment of the proletariat. The Communist International has appealed to the workers of all countries to close their ranks against the employers' offensive, in spite of all differences of opinion as to the struggle for power by the proletariat. The Communist International laid aside all thoughts of the past and invited the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals as well as the Amsterdam International to confer and act in common in building the united front.

The representatives of the Second International have sabotaged the calling of a World Congress of the militant workers of all countries. The representatives of the 2½ International have helped them to do this. The trade union bureaucrats of the Amsterdam International paid no attention to the invitation sent them.

The representatives of the Second International threatened at the first session of the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals to break off negotiations, in case the Communist International were to raise the slogan of the fight against the Treaty of Versailles. Instead of organizing the fight against the bourgeoisie, they organized the fight against the Workers' and Peasants' Power of Russia. They ranged themselves with the counter-revolution, which with arms and with dastardly attempts upon its leaders fought against the first workers' republic. They undertook the defense of these enemies of Soviet Russia. The representatives of the Communist International assented to this defense in order to facilitate the united front of the world proletariat. In spite of all these concessions, the Second International with the aid of the representatives of the 2½ International broke up the Commission of Nine.

In Germany, the most active section of the counter-revolution is gathering to overthrow the coalition government of the petty bourgeoisie, to take over the government power itself and, if possible, with the aid of a part of the Entente bourgeoisie to raise anew the monarchy and clear all militant workers out of the way in a new St. Bartholmew's Eve.

In France Poincaré is preparing new military adventures against Germany and Soviet Russia.

In Bulgaria, Wrangel's parasitical White Guard bands are being organizing at the behest of France. In Poland and Roumania the bandits are preparing for new pillaging raids against Soviet Russia.

In the Scandinavian countries, in the other neutral countries and in Czecho-Slovakia, the proletariat, hard hit by the crisis, has been defeated in its wage fights, in the fights for its existence.

In England and in America, economic life cannot be resuscitated. The English bourgeoisie does not only strike down the workers and unemployed in its own country, but is conducting a bloody civil war against revolutionary Ireland, Egypt and India.

There is only one way out of all this misery. It is the united front of the proletariat, whose very existence is threatened, against the capitalist peace which means the destruction of the working class. The workers must unite, in spite of the sabotage of their treacherous leaders, in the common fight against the strengthening of the counter-revolution, against the employers' offensive, against wage reductions and lengthening of working hours. This fight, which in the beginning must be for the daily needs of the proletariat united in the common fight.

Three years after the signing of the Versailles Treaty we call on the world proletariat once again, to close their ranks nationally and internationally against the "Robber Peace of Versailles", as we called on them to fight against it on the 28th of June, 1919.

**Long Live the common fight against the common oppressor!  
Down wit the Peace Treaty of Versailles!  
Down with counter-revolution in every country!  
Down with the bourgeois governments!  
Long Live the Workers' Government!**

Moscow, June 24, 1922.

*The Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

## POLITICS

### Sovjet Russia Makes a New Proposal to Reduce Armaments

The following note was sent by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Litvinov, to the Lithuanian, Polish, Finnish and Esthonian Foreign Ministers.

The Genoa Conference did not bring with it the realization of the hopes cherished by the great European masses. Called together under the slogans of "Economic Reconstruction" and "The Restoration of Peace in Europe", the Genoa Conference concentrated almost all of its attention upon the material interests of that comparatively insignificant group of people who had suffered losses as a result of the European War and the revolution and intervention in Russia. The Genoa Conference evaded every solution of the problems that confronted it, and every attempt that might have done away with the causes of Europe's misery and its economic crisis, as well as with the danger of new wars.

The initiators of the Conference could not disregard the fact that one of the main causes of Europe's economic crisis and political chaos is its immoderate armed condition that tears hundreds of thousands of people from creative peaceful work, at the same time burdening the rest of the population with unbearable taxation, thus hindering most countries from financial convalescence and creating a general atmosphere of distrust and suspicion among the various peoples which are constantly awaiting new wars. Nevertheless, the initiators of the Conference succeeded in striking from its agenda not only the question of complete disarmament, but even the proposal for a partial reduction of armaments. This it did for the benefit of a few selfish small countries. Although Russia has only recently repulsed foreign attacks and interventions; although remnants of the counter-revolutionary armies are still to be found not far from Russia's protected borders, which remnants are supported by foreign money and are ready to attack Russia at the first favorable opportunity for the purpose of continuing their mad work of destruction; although some states that still cherish the hope of a new intervention are obstinately opposed to the resumption of normal relations with Russia; although, because it has instituted a new social system within its own borders, Russia is rousing the ever-growing hatred of the capitalistic world,—notwithstanding all this, the Russian Delegation, acting in the interest of all nations, acted promptly, and at the first session of the Genoa Conference called the attention of all the delegations to the necessity of placing the question of general disarmament on the agenda of the Conference.

Unfortunately, due to the oppositon of the French Delegation, the motion made by the Russian Delegation was defeated and disarmament found no room on the agenda of a "Conference for the securing of peace and for the economic reconstruction of Europe".

The Russian Government sees no difficulties in the way of reaching at least a partial solution of the problem left unsolved by the Genoa Conference. This should now attract those countries especially interested in living in peace among themselves and which sincerely believe that the various disputes that have arisen and may arise among them can be settled in a peaceful manner, thus eliminating the necessity of keeping up immoderately large armies.

True to its peace-loving policy as expressed, in the proposals made by the Russian Delegation and entered into the minutes of the Riga Conference on the 30th of March, 1922, as well as in the above-mentioned proposals at the Genoa Conference, and in its effort to cement friendly relations with its neighbors, the Russian Government has decided to invite the Republics of Lithuania, Poland, Finland and Esthonia to send their representatives to a conference with the representatives of Russia for the purpose of discussing the question of a mutual and proportionate reduction of armaments.

The Russian Government turns with the present proposal to the Governments of the neighboring countries with which

it has already resumed normal diplomatic relations; but it considers it necessary to point out that it is ready to enter into negotiations on the same question with those of its neighboring countries with which it has yet territorial and other questions to settle; the same applies to the other European countries.

In the sincere conviction that the proposal contained in this note fully meets the peace-loving endeavors of your Government, and that its realization would be equally beneficial to the interests of the Russian as well as the Polish, Lithuanian, Finnish and Esthonian peoples, I beg you, your Excellency, to be so kind as to inform me of the attitude of your Government towards the question here touched upon, and to suggest the time and place for this conference.

Accept, your Excellency the assurance of my highest respect and sincerity.

The Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

(signed) *Litvinov.*

## Rathenau's Murder and the Policy of the German Government.

by *Paul Froelich* (Berlin).

The murder of Rathenau, German Minister of Foreign affairs, is the present culminating point of a powerful nationalist movement. Its immediate aim is not the seizure of power by a Monarchist *Putsch*. But it aims at the preparation of opinion through the encouragement and incitement of the reactionaries and the terrorizing of its opponents. Therefore nationalist demonstrations, regimental festivals, parades before Hindenburg and various Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach princelings, bomb attacks on Communist papers and book-stores and assassinations of politicians are methodically used to inflame public opinion.

The danger for the petty-bourgeois cabinet today at the head of the Government is as great for its individual members as for the government as a whole. This the Government knows and it was expressed in the pointed speech of Chancellor Wirth which proclaimed the guilt of the chauvinistic parties and threatened a sharp fight against the Monarchists, calling on the strength of the working class.

The words of the Chancellor awakens such hopes in all those who are only accustomed to listen to words. But the first "deed" of his Government was the deepest disappointment to the Left and awakened a scarcely concealed disdain among the right. The petty-bourgeois democracy in present-day Germany is no Jacobin Society in spite of its brave words. It is not even a caricature of the Jacobins of the Frankfurt Parliament. It deserves in an even greater measure the scorn of Karl Marx for the Paris Mountain Party in 1848. The contradiction between the mighty phrases and the weak deeds of this people is unexampled in history.

This contradiction becomes crasser and more ridiculous at each expression of the Government. During the Erzberger murder we heard the same brave words. Mr. Wirth assured us that during civil war he would be found on the side of the barricade where the workers stood. Then followed the weak extraordinary decree against murder propaganda which in practice was used only against the Communist. But even that did not satisfy the counter-revolution. It desired a complete triumph. The Bavarian Government declared war on the Government of the *Reich*. The result was the complete capitulation of the *Reich* before Kahr-Bavaria. The *Reich* Government renounced its sovereignty in Bavaria. Nothing could be undertaken against the center of the murder organizations. The Monarchists remained the masters of the situation and this found its expression in the increased exploitation and suppression of the working class.

The Government has now picked up the threads of the matter just as they lay before the Erzberger case. It has confirmed its former capitulation before Kahr-Bavaria by renouncing the unconditional fulfilment of its orders in that state. Today the Orgesch-Government may openly state that it will wage war against political murder and the *Reich* that it will respect Bavaria's will in this matter. Over the so-called National Supreme Court any man with the slightest political understanding must laugh.

What are the causes of the weakness of this Government? It is a Government which owes its being to its assassination of the revolution. It is therefore incapable of fighting the counter-revolution. It has not a single instrument of power. The whole apparatus of administration is tainted with Monarchism. Any measure decided upon is sabotaged by this administration. No steps are ever taken against the murderers. They have their accomplices in the police from the highest to the lowest autho-

rities. The law is also involved. It tramples over the Government and the Republic. The Monarchist murderers feel nowhere safer than in its arms. The acquittal of Killinger, accomplice in the Erzberger murder, has lately proved that. It has encouraged the murdergangs to further deeds.

The military is not in the hands of the Government. The *Reichswehr* as well as the *Schutzpolizei* is led by Monarchist officers. The last few weeks have proved that in the Monarchist parades and regimental festivals. The republican elements have long been expelled from these organizations. The *Orgesch* therefore has well-organized troops which in civil war could prevail against the military forces of the *Reich*, even if these latter were filled with republican sentiment.

To this the Government is bound by the needs of its policy. It pursues a bourgeois "fulfilment" policy. It cannot carry this out without the approval of big capital which can precipitate financial and political bankruptcy through the power of its capital. Therefore this Government of Socialists and bourgeois-democratic elements must not only pursue an outspoken Sinnès policy. The Stinnes Party jealously sees to it that no political situation bring the working class any strengthening of its power. It therefore stands protectingly over the Monarchists whose military and murder organizations are supported mainly by big capital. On this protecting wall every political action of the Government breaks.

Now comes the question how this Government exists without power. How does it come that it is not overcome by these powers. The reason lies in the position of power possessed by the working class. The Government lives because it is the balancing point between the two real powers, capitalist counter-revolution and proletarian revolution. Politically, capital is in preponderance because of the inactivity of the proletariat. Therefore big capital compels one concession after the other from the Government. Therefore the Government can wage no war against its sworn enemies, the Monarchists. Therefore the exploitation and political suppression of the working class wax ever intenser.

But the economic and political counter-revolution can only gain ground step by step. In a fight for power it would call forth the active resistance of the whole proletariat and would endanger its positions. The working class is the strongest political power in Germany.

Why then is this power not put to use? It shrinks before the necessary force and fierceness of the fight. It follows for the most part therefore—though with ever greater mistrust—the petty bourgeois leaders who fear the social revolutionary character of the fight and satisfy themselves with sham actions. The German working class is in the same situation as the working classes of France during the long period of reaction after the fall of the Bastille. Great provocations and great dangers are needed for the German proletariat to learn this. The counter-revolutionary attacks may mean this provocation. The sham actions of the Social Democrats hinder the development of the energy of the masses. But they lead in spite of the wishes of the leaders to the mobilization of the masses.

The assassination of Walter Rathenau, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, has awakened German organized labor to the dangers threatening it. The following proclamation was issued during the protest general strike which paralyzed all Germany, on June 27th, 1922.—*The Ed.*

## For the Defense of the Republic and the Elemental Rights of the Workers!

The Executive of the German General Trade Union Federation purpurt to the decision of the Leipzig Trade Union Congress, entered into connection with the Executive of the General Employees Federation and the three proletarian parties. After joint deliberations the following demands were decided upon by the undersigned:—

### To the Federal Government and the Reichstag!

The Law for the Defense of the Republic must contain:—

The immediate interdiction and severe punishment of all monarchist or anti-republican agitation in writing, picture or by word of mouth. The punishment of those who in any way glorify, support or reward such agitation or attacks upon the Republic and its organs.

The suppression and immediate dissolution of all monarchist or anti-republican organizations.

The prohibition of the display of monarchist flags and colors. The immediate removal of all monarchist emblems from public buildings and institutions.

The infliction of punishment for all attacks in writing, deed or by word of mouth upon the republican flags and colors.

Rigid regulations for the elimination of all monarchist or anti-republican elements from government office, including the courts and the *Reichswehr*. The repeal of laws hindering this action.

The prohibition of the carrying of arms when not on duty.

The prohibition of the wearing of uniforms by ex-officers.

The discontinuance of the appointment of further reserve officers.

The establishment of an Extraordinary Court in Berlin, whose chambers are to consist of one justice and six laymen as associate justices, all of whom are to be appointed by the President of the Republic.

The transference of indictment to a republican Federal Commissioner to be appointed by the Federal Minister of Justice.

The creation of a Federal Executive Police Power, and especially of a Federal Criminal Police.

Regulations for the facilitation of arrest and orders for the immediate arrest of persons violating laws for the defence of the Republic.

Provisions for the confiscation and seizure of the property of those convicted as well as the confiscation of pensions, etc.

The law is provisionally to remain in force for two years. We expect that the *Reichstag* will pass this law in the shortest possible time and will not adjourn until it goes into force.

Independent of all this we demand:—

An immediate amnesty in the *Reich* and in the various federal states for all prisoners sentenced because of political offences with the exception of those who have committed crimes against laws for the defence of the Republic. Also an amnesty for those disciplined because of the February strike and of all disciplinary proceedings arising from the same strike. The proletarian political parties have agreed to put through these demands together and to support all the measures taken by the Government to attain this objective.

From the trade union members and all the workers of Germany we now demand absolute unity, rigid discipline, firm will and readiness to support our action as soon as we call for such support.

We demand of the trade unions and labor parties of foreign countries, which have repeatedly promised us their support for the maintenance of the German Republic, that they put pressure to bear upon their governments in order to force them to desist from their policy of force against the German people, which policy has always delivered new agitation material to the nationalists and monarchists in Germany.

We call upon all republican organizations to join in our demands and to work for their realization.

The Federal Councils of the German General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) and the German General Federation of Employees have been summoned to an extraordinary session during this week for deliberation upon further necessary measures and the collaboration of the entire working class.

Berlin June 27th, 1922.

German General Trade Union Federation.

(signed:) *Leipart, Graßmann.*

German General Federation of Employees.

(signed:) *Aufhäuser, Urban, Staehr.*

Social Democratic Party of Germany.

(signed:) *Müller, Braun.*

Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

(signed:) *Crispien, Dittmann.*

Communist Party of Germany.

(signed:) *Meyer, Koenen.*

## American Workers and Soviet Russia

by *Karl Radek.*

The Second and 2½ Internationals are constantly discussing the question of whether they should or should not demand the recognition of the Soviet Power.

What does the recognition of the Soviet Government mean? The King of Abyssinia and the Emperor of Annam as well as Nicholas II. were recognized by every "civilized country". But the gentlemen of the Second and 2½ Internationals almost look upon themselves as upon heroes because they actually decided to demand the recognition of the Soviet Power. Legal recognition means actual relations with Russia, and no matter with what hatred the capitalists look upon the first proletarian government,

they must recognize it, and they do recognize it for the simple reason that they are in need of trade with Russia. Trade with Russia is impossible on a large scale without definite and binding treaty relations with the Soviet Government.

If the demand for the recognition of the Soviet Power at the time of intervention and the armed struggle against it had any revolutionary significance at all, it now appears as the slogan of those capitalists who desire trade with Russia. The Second and 2½ Internationals are only the mouthpieces of these capitalistic circles, to the extent that they are not actually forced by the workers who sympathize with Soviet Russia but are not in a position to turn their sympathies into action. An example of how to recognize Soviet Russia in contrast to the "recognition" of the heroes of the yellow International, was set by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"The New Republic", a radical bourgeois weekly published in New York, reports that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention at their Fifth Convention decided to issue a loan of one million dollars which is to serve to organize a clothing cooperative that is to aid in the construction of the industry in Russia. In this cooperative the representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and those of the Soviet Government will work on a basis of equality. The representatives of the Soviet Government will for their part, furnish the factory room and the raw materials. Only workers and labor organizations may become shareholders. The cooperative is obligated to spend all profits exceeding ten per cent for extension purposes.

This bourgeois weekly from which we cite these news also brings excerpts from the speech delivered by Comrade Hillman, the President of the Union. "Many people speak of world economic reconstruction, but if we should leave the work of reconstruction in the hands of those cliques that caused the war and have now concluded "peace", we shall accomplish nothing but the formulation of a banal phraseology, and new formulas which, were they to be carried out, would only result in one part of the world ruling the other. Were this to happen life would become ten times as difficult as it is now. The working class of our country as well as the workers of the other countries should rise and make it clear that the work of establishing peace in this world is not only one for a few officials and Ministries of Foreign Affairs, but that the vital problems of millions of men, women and children are to be solved by the masses of all countries. The working class of the world should take upon itself the economic rebirth of Russia which has set the example for creative work".

The bourgeois weekly reports that the Clothing Workers' convention listened to Hillman's speech with great interest and accepted his proposal.

The aid which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America decided to furnish Soviet Russia should serve as an example to the proletarians of other countries. The American clothing workers have pointed the way that is most beneficial to Soviet Russia, and which if followed should contribute considerably to the liberation of the Russian workers from the yoke of foreign capital. Such a step would lighten the work of preserving the social conquests of the revolution and would accelerate the economic development of Soviet Russia which in its turn would be in a better position to aid European proletariat in its struggle of liberation.

Forced by the attitude of the working masses the gentlemen of the Amsterdam International were compelled to collect money for the famine sufferers of Russia. For every crumb of bread which they furnished Soviet Russia, their agents left behind them a trail of venomous propaganda against the Workers' Government during their stay in Russia. It suffices to mention the activities of Brantel, member of the Austrian Social Democracy, who after arriving in Georgia with medicaments from the Amsterdam International and spending two weeks there, published a long pamphlet (without knowing either the language or the local conditions) in which he speaks like an expert and points out that Bolshevik regime in Georgia destroyed all the treasures of this little paradise, clear through to the Georgian mountains which the senile Kautsky used as a crutch for his geographical handbook.

Hillman, the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is not a Communist. He is an honest American worker having arrived in Russia not for the purpose of making revelations but for the purpose of aiding the Russian workers, made an excellent study of the conditions under which we are living, and then returned to America to organize the relief work. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union is not a Communist organization; it is a union of workers suffering under the dictatorship of capitalism. This union is not part of the yellow A. F. of L. headed by Gompers, but in times of need it furnishes more aid to the other unions than some of the biggest

labor organizations. This is due to the spirit of solidarity that pervades it.

That is why after the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had heard Hillman's report they declared: "We helped the famine sufferers by sending them \$500,000, but that was only temporary relief; we must aid in a way that will do away with the famine in Russia altogether."

The Russian workers will receive this news with great joy, not only because \$1,000,000 means material relief but also because the spirit in which the American clothing workers have given this money is the spirit of the Russian workers.

## The Recent Activity of American Capital in China.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The surprising victory of American Capital in Peking, has called forth its expected repercussion in Japan. The Japanese Takahachi Cabinet collapsed. Japan in fact stands at a momentous crossroads. Shall she simply accept the fact that America's supremacy in China seems to be assured by Wu-Pei-Fu's victory, or shall she use every means in order to defend her position? The downfall of Takahachi was an expression of the dissatisfaction with the fact that the Premier had not the necessary steps in order to support the friend of Japan, Chang-Tso-Lin, who up to then had held power in Peking. The events of the Japanese cabinet crisis show once again the absolute insignificance of so-called Japanese parliamentarism. The Japanese bourgeoisie still leaves the political guidance of the state in the hands of the old feudal nobility. The little military clique gathered about the throne decides on state policy and appoints Ministers or removes them, just as it chooses. Of course the pronouncedly imperialist section of the Japanese bourgeoisie goes hand in hand with the militarists, whilst the liberal pacifist groups count for very little and the proletariat is brutally trampled down. Takahachi's successor is Admiral Kato, who as a member of the Japanese delegation in Washington proved himself to be a very astute diplomat. The appointment of Kato shows that the definitely imperialist section is in control just as before. Kato will make use of amiable phrases as occasion requires, but he will not give way on essentials.

The Japanese cabinet crisis has influenced the civil war in China. After his defeat near Peking, Chang-Tso-Lin fled into Manchuria and sought to conclude an armistice with the Wu-Pei-Fu. As soon however as Kato's ministry had assumed power in Tokio, Chang proclaimed an end to the armistice and again advanced against Wu. Chang had doubtless received sufficient money and promises from his Japanese friends to give him fresh encouragement. At the time, fighting is going on along the borders of Manchuria. Wu, it is true, holds his own, but at any rate, the position of the protégé of American capital in the North is not undisputed. And that above all, is the chief thing for the Japanese capitalists.

In the meantime Wu has commenced his expected military activities in Southern China against Sun-Yat-Sen, the President of Southern China. The democratic government of Sun which was supported by the peasants and workers and was hostile to foreign capitalists, was a stumbling block in the path of American speculators. As soon as Wu had comfortably established himself in Peking he began the necessary preparations to remove Sun from Canton. The approaching overthrow of Sun was predicted for some weeks in the American and English capitalist press. The action was entered upon in the true Chinese manner. American money circulated in Canton and caused a part of the troops stationed there to transfer their adherence. A General Chen, who up to then had served in the Southern Chinese Army, suddenly went over to Wu. In that city of millions of inhabitants, Canton, bloody struggles are now proceeding. The fleet, which remained faithful to Sun, bombarded the positions of the rebels in and around Canton. The followers of Wu, like true mercenaries of American capital, began to plunder the shops. There are no authentic reports to hand upon the issue of these conflicts. The reports which appear in the English and American press claiming a complete victory for Wu should be accepted with caution.

It would of course mean a great success for American capital if it obtained a free hand in Canton, the most important commercial city of Southern China. At the present, the English capitalists follow in the steps of America in all Chinese affairs. What the American abhors the Englishman will also execrate. But in spite of the general satisfaction which is manifested in English capitalist circles over the course of events in China, an appreciable blow has recently been sustained in their most vulnerable part. The Chinese Government has declared that it cannot

pay the interest on the well known Vickers loan. This loan was contracted in 1919. At that time the English armament firm of Vickers, Ltd. supplied the Chinese government with great quantities of war material, paid for with this loan. The firm of Vickers and its business associates in the banks then succeeded in foisting this rotten paper on the English public. Since April 1st, 1922, the English holders of this Chinese loan have not received a penny of interest.

Chinese finances are in a desperate condition. China's national debt amounts to \$500,000,000. The strange part about it is that a portion of the capitalist creditors of China are quite assured of their interest whilst another portion gets nothing. A part of the Chinese loans are secured upon the most important of the state revenues, the customs, the yield from the salt tax, and the proceeds from various railways. These revenues are received directly by the agents of the foreign bankers. The payment of interest on the loans which are covered by these revenues is therefore in good order. The Japanese and American capitalists have succeeded in reserving these securities for themselves whilst the English with their Vickers loan are left in the lurch.

The assumption of power in Peking by Wu has not changed the wretched condition of Chinese finances. American capital had to advance enormous sums in order to bring the Chinese budget into something like order. The following course has been recommended in Washington in order to render possible the payment of all the interest. The Chinese customs duties and other taxes are to be greatly increased, and the task of getting in this revenue shall be assigned to the foreign capitalists. The ways and means by which the foreign capitalists are to come by their money, affords an interesting parallel to the German reparations problem. China is almost at the extremity towards which Germany is also steering if the Entente capitalists have their way. It is the intention of American capitalists by means of new indirect taxes upon taxes, to plunder the broad masses of China. These sums will be immediately handed over to the agents of America and thus the interest on China's debt to America will be met. If Wu should prove successful in the North and in the South it will involve a terrible enslavement of China by American capital.

But the other capitalist competitors will not permit themselves to be shut out so unconditionally. Japan takes up the struggle. France, which has likewise invested a good deal of money in China is prepared to back Japan. And the English in spite of their good intentions also come by reason of their real interests, into conflict with America. The Chinese witches' caldron bubbles and hisses louder than ever. The time is not distant when there the grouping of the European powers in the East and in the Far East will take place. Then there will really set in the struggle for the world market and for opportunities of exploitation between the different capitalist groups. The United States is arming itself in any event. In spite of the Washington disarmament agreement the Senate voted \$294,000,000 for naval expenditure for the current year. America intends to spend 14 million dollars for seaplanes. In addition to this, a considerable sum will be devoted to the erection of an American naval base in the Hawaiian Islands. In Washington disarmament was preached. But in Canton there preach the machine guns financed by America.

## The Franchise Movement in Japan.

by D. Kostolansky (Moscow).

The Revolution of 1868 did away with the feudal disorganization of the so-called Shogun State in Japan. The Shoguns were the military heads, who throughout the feudal regime managed the country in the name of the Emperor, in spite of the mere nominal nature of the Emperor's powers.

Rising commercial capitalism, found the ideological expression of its interests in the Emperor idea, which was the hope for the restoration of a united imperial power for the whole country.

And this was actually realized by the Revolution of 1868, whence the bourgeois name for this revolution, "Restoration".

The year 1868 saw the laying of the foundation for the economic development of Japan. The peculiar geographical situation, the dense population and the speedy proletarianization of the inhabitants, all these contributed to the creation of a rich soil for capitalism. Another important contributing factor was the successful wars that brought new markets and raw material sources to young Japanese capital. The Japanese bourgeoisie thus grew to be a considerable power, and as such it began to demand a due share in the political management of the country.

But the maturing capitalistic situation of that time, regardless of the downfall of Feudalism so closely connected with it,



left political power in the hands of the large landowners, who adapted themselves to the capitalistic pattern, and their faithful tools, the militaristic generals.

Until recently, there existed the so-called *Genro*, the "Council of the Elder Statesmen". This Council consisted of the three greatest aristocrats, and was directed by the recently deceased *Prince Yamagata*, the "evil spirit" of Japan and the virtual regent of the country.

With the downfall of the *Genro*, the General Staff assumed the actual control of politics and political functions and in this way began to oppose the Government. But within the Government, the Secretaries of War and the Navy entered into relations with the Emperor, (i. e. with the agrarian-militaristic clique that is behind him), without the Premier's knowledge.

In accordance with this situation, the country is ruled by a police Regime, modelled on the Prussian pattern and carried *ad absurdum*. Both word and press suffer greatly under the cruel pressure of the semi-feudal regime, particularly after the defeat of the first liberal movement.

Under these circumstances, no important liberal movement could possibly take root. The Government exerted itself to disarm the discontent of the bourgeoisie by furnishing it economic assistance, and by pursuing a foreign policy favorable to the bourgeoisie. Then the Government jumped at the throat of the left wing of the liberal bourgeoisie, where the proletariat could already be discerned on the battlefield. The oppressive measures and the police-Regime were intensified, throughout the country.

The war of 1914—1918 blessed Japanese capital with untold opportunities for development. The European and American capitalists, being preoccupied with the war, left the markets of Eastern and Central Asia completely open. The latter's great need of goods, which could not be satisfied by Europe, and the infinite demand for war material by the Allies not only incredibly enlarged those branches of Japanese industry that were its own before the war, but also created new markets. The speed with which capital developed, and the ease with which new markets were conquered by the Japanese bourgeoisie, prevented the latter from fortifying and keeping its newly acquired positions. And so, after the world war came to an end, and English, American and other capitalists made their reappearance in the various markets, the Japanese bourgeoisie began to lose position after position. The dwindling of its markets was accompanied by an increasing economic crisis. Thus the world economic crisis also swept Japan with great force, in spite of the fact that Japan was no direct participant in the world war.

The crisis on the economic field was followed by one on the political field.

The great event in the political arena was the fiasco, the Siberian adventure, that made its debut in 1920. The Siberian adventure carried with it the total loss of any chance that Japanese capital may have had of finding a sound base for itself in Siberia. Then came the financial crisis, unemployment and the birth of the labor movement.

The dissatisfaction that the bourgeoisie itself felt for the policy pursued by the semi-feudal Government, the policy to which it ascribed its misfortunes, lent new life to the liberal tendencies. Their slogan was universal suffrage. It was received with great enthusiasm by the masses, among them the proletariat, which was convinced of the necessity of democratizing the country as a prerequisite to the organization of its ranks, for the onslaught against the capitalistic system. Under the pressure of the masses, the Government introduced the pitiable Suffrage Reform Act, and lowered the property requirement from 10 to 3 yen in direct taxes.

The lowering of the property tax requirement, which was intended to deceive the masses, virtually strengthened the position of the agrarians, for it meant a greater representation of the rich peasantry in the electoral ranks. Indeed, the Government actually succeeded in sending to the new Parliament a considerable majority of its candidates, from the *Seiyu-Kai Party*.

The size of the movement it had started, in which the proletarian element was beginning to play a distinct part, instilled the bourgeoisie with terror of its own handiwork, and it suddenly gave up the fight. This was the indirect cause of the Syndicalistic tinge assumed by the labor movement. The treachery of the liberal bourgeoisie led the working masses to the false conclusion that every political struggle was futile. But the Kobe strikes of the preceding year and the conflicts with the Government forces wherever and whenever there was a serious economic conflict had taught the workers that they could not safely hide under the Syndicalist bonnet, and that the political influence and the indecision of the liberal bourgeoisie must be distinguished from the decisive political struggle of the proletariat.

The suspension of the fight for universal suffrage did not improve the position of the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, the latter's position suffered considerably. Moreover, through its Chinese and Siberian policies, and through the Washington decisions, the Japanese bourgeoisie found itself in such straits that it was forced once more to appear on the battlefield in the attempt to conquer the political power by means of which it hoped to overcome its economic difficulties. When we examine the shrinkage of the gold reserve accumulated during the fat years of the war, and when we take into consideration the fact that all the Japanese papers of greater or lesser importance, are prophesying a new and more intense economic crisis, we then begin to get an insight into why the liberal bourgeoisie is once more determined to take up the fight.

Thus, the beginning of the current year saw the resumption of the fight for universal suffrage.

The fact that the Japanese bourgeoisie seized no more radical weapon to achieve its goal can be explained by the circumstance that its own gravedigger, the Japanese proletariat, already constitutes so great a danger to capitalism (in spite of its weak organization and only very recent enlightenment) that even the fairly-preserved structure of the present government feels shaky. Therein lies the cause of the duplicity and the cowardice of Japanese liberalism.

Last year's election campaign began with the coalition of the Opposition Party in Parliament, the liberal "Ken-Sei-Kai", the petty-bourgeois "Kukominto" and the intellectual "Kosch"-Club, (all of whom recognized the principle of suffrage for men over 25 years of age).

The bourgeoisie mobilized for its fight the petty-bourgeois elements from the large towns, and even the small peasantry, among which it gathered signatures for a grandiose petition demanding universal suffrage. Everything was mobilized in aid of the bourgeoisie, the press, the various organizations that sprang up in the fight for suffrage, and the Youth League, which boasts the Crown Prince as its patron! Finally, the proletariat from the industrial centers, Yavata, Osaka and Tokio, took the field as an independent force. The movement assumed gigantic proportions and spread terror in the heart of the Government. The bourgeoisie counted on that, for the Government majority in Parliament gave them no hope of an easy victory. The Government took serious preventive measures, especially on the day on which the debate on the new bill was to commence in Parliament. Public demonstrations and meetings were forbidden. But these "legal" measures might have proven to be insufficient, and in order to supplement them, the Government mobilized its faithful White Guard, the Japanese Ten Thousand, called, "Kokusai-Kai". In spite of the measures, ordinary and extraordinary, taken by the Government, and in spite of the repeated attempts made by several hundred policemen to disperse the crowds, a large mass of people congregated before Parliament. The news that the Universal Suffrage Bill had been defeated roused a bitter ferment everywhere. Within the Parliament, this bitterness broke out in a demonstration by the public that filled the galleries. In the ensuing tumult, a live snake was thrown into the Government party, "Leiyu-Kai". In spite of the police order to disperse, the crowd that gathered at the Shiba Park that evening displayed such a revolutionary temper that it decided to storm the citadel of the reaction. In their fighting mood, the embittered masses came into a scuffle with the police. The situation became so serious that the cowardly bourgeoisie against turned traitor, shook hands with the Government, and advised the masses to disperse and to abstain from violence.

This was taken advantage of by the police, who now fell upon the disorganized groups, beat them and made many arrests. Among those beaten and arrested there were also a few members of the Parliamentary "Kense-Kai" fraction.

Thus ended the latest phase of the suffrage campaign. The cowardly attitude of the Japanese bourgeoisie once more liquidated a movement that promised to assume colossal proportions, and was directed towards the democratization of the country. Here, in the Far East, the bourgeoisie has also given sufficient proof of its incapacity to fulfill its historical mission, in spite of its concrete interest in the struggle it had begun.

The Japanese proletariat must follow the Russian example in the way of solving that problem whose solution, though bearing a bourgeois character, the bourgeoisie itself could not bring about. The proletariat can solve this problem successfully. But for the proletariat this is not the final goal; it is only the first step in the long struggle; it is the prerequisite for the abolition of private property, in order that in Far East, as in Soviet Russia, conditions may be created, which exclude all possibility of one person exploiting another.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Declaration of the Representative of the All-Russian Trade Union Council to the Berlin Syndicalist Conference

The representative of the All Russian Trade Union Council made the following declaration before he left the Conference to which the representatives of the revolutionary trade unions were not admitted.

The representative of the All-Russian Trade Union Council in leaving this conference of a few sectarian groups declares as follows:—

1.— That this Conference which calls itself "International" has been artificially composed of Anarcho-pacifist groups from two or three countries, whilst the representatives of revolutionary mass organizations (France, Russia) have declared that they only come to the conference for the purpose of obtaining information.

2.— That the organizers of this conference—as is to be seen from the agenda of the conference—have for political reasons refused to admit those representatives of revolutionary Syndicalism who do not submit to the demands of the Anarchist parties.

3.— That the lack of all trace of an action program of the participants in the Conference and the absence of representatives of the revolutionary Syndicalist tendencies which recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, has doomed the Conference to complete futility without realizing any practical results.

4.— That the counter-revolutionary attitude towards the proletarian Soviets and the Russian Revolution adopted by delegates of the type of Borghi, Rocker, Souchy and others deprived the representative of the Russian trade unions of the possibility of finding a common basis of understanding necessary for the creation of a common program of activity and organization.

The representative of the All-Russian Union Council is of the opinion that the Russian trade unions will find ways and means without and in spite of this Conference to bring about the unity of the revolutionary Syndicalists of the whole world with the members of the Red Trade Union International.

### The Second Congress of the Free Trade Unions of Poland.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

On the 25th and 26th of May, the Second Congress of the "free" trade unions (the so-called "class trade unions") of the Polish republic was held. The congress was noteworthy in so far as there took part in it for the first time the representatives of the Jewish trade unions who applied for and obtained affiliation to the Polish Trade Union Federation in the previous year. Even if this connection is very loose and is limited to the coordination of the head organizations of the trade unions (with regard to which a word must be said later), yet this common conference of the Polish and Jewish workers is an event which will not be without results.

This change in the composition of the trade unions was also echoed in the character of the congress debates. Whilst at all previous trade union congresses, the opposition to the nationalist policy of the P.P.S. leaders only came from the Communist delegates, this time it was upon many questions reinforced by all the representatives of the Jewish trade unions, among whom there were also three definitely "red" delegates. Of the total number of delegates, 225, the Polish social patriots could this time absolutely rely upon only 155; the remainder often voted against their proposals and of these 34 delegates were united into a "red fraction".

The 34 "reds" may appear to be an insignificant few compared with the 160 social patriots; in reality however, they testify to an almost unexpected strength of the Communists within the trade unions. One must call to mind how the Communists are persecuted in Poland, how trade union executives at all "tainted" with Communism are "cleared up" out by the police on the basis of information furnished by the P.P.S., in order to be able to appreciate properly the importance of this total of 34. The delegates were nominated by the trade union executives which, in consequence of the methods above cited are almost throughout in the hands of the P.P.S. If the Central Committee of a trade union is "red" as in the case of the Building Trades, the Wood Workers', the Shoemakers', the Bakers' and the Warsaw Municipal Workers' Unions and in the entire Posen District Federation, it only exists where there are not sufficient social

patriots in the whole trade union to scrape together to form some sort of a presentable trade union staff. This, with the exception of Posen, is unfortunately only the case in the smaller trade unions. In the larger unions, as in the Miners' Union, the Textile Workers' Union, and in part in the Agricultural Workers' Union, the social patriots still compel the opposition-minded majority of the union to accept a reformist leadership.

How such a trade union congress is arranged in Poland is shown to us by the following statements of the Pilsudski paper, (the *Kuryer Polski*) which is favorable to the P.P.S.:—

"It was known beforehand that this majority would be formed through the appointment of delegates by the Executives of the largest trade unions... The reason for this regrettable fact is the tactics of the Communists... Political control of the trade unions is only possible in the form of a dictatorship... The guilt does not lie with the P.P.S. which adopts the only possible defensive tactics: the Communists are guilty... This (the return to a non-partizan policy), will only be possible when the Communists have disappeared from Polish territory..."

Thus the social patriotic majority at the Trade Union Congress was formed. The P.P.S. took full advantage of their majority regardless of everything. Thus it was "decided" not to permit the reading of the declaration of the "red" fraction and the message of greeting sent the Congress by the Communist Party of Poland. The majority also refused the Communist deputy, Comrade Lancutzki, entrance to the congress. To their greatest regret the social patriots were unable to silence the "red" delegates whose speakers, Rybacki, Mirski, Dutlinger, Golezdzinowski, Podniesinski and others, gave the managers of the Congress many unpleasant moments.

It is to be noted that the legal Polish Independent Socialist Party, which expects to act as the heir of Communism, was not represented by a single delegate at the Congress. This good party has clearly one little fault: its existence has not yet been proved. As for the strength of the trade union organizations, they have, according to the report of Zulavski, 48 centralized unions with 1,116 branches and 492,962 members. Referring to the total of 253,456 members which the Trade Union Federation had on January 1st, 1920, Zulavski deduced from this a praiseworthy increase of about 93 per cent in membership. This statement was unfortunately misleading, for at that time the Railway Workers' Union, the Posen District Federation and the Jewish trade unions were still outside the Trade Union Federation. The membership of these four organizations together was in January, 1920, 441,695. No doubt an increase can be recorded since the middle of 1921, when a wholesale exodus from the trade unions was everywhere taking place.

This slow process of development of the trade union organizations, which is the more striking as the number of active industrial concerns in Poland has greatly increased since 1920, (thus the number of workers in the textile industry was at the beginning of 1920 26.2% and in the middle of 1922 63% of the pre-war total) is all in consequence of the trade union tactics of the social patriots. If the trade union leaders sabotage every serious trade union struggle, if they crush the whole trade union movement merely in order to be rid of the Communist majority, the consequences cannot be otherwise.

The debates were very lengthy. The agenda was as follows:—

- 1—Report of the Central Committee and discussion.
- 2—Trade union tactics and the united front.
- 3—Militarism and war.
- 4—Organization problems.
- 5—Social legislation.
- 6—Miscellaneous.

Upon all these questions (with the exception of point 5) the debate was merely a conflict between the P.P.S. and the Communists in which the Jewish trade unions—who in the great majority were Bundists (members of the *Bund*) alternatively supported this or that party.

On the question of the *united front* the Bundists were on the side of the "red" fraction. It is true that they did not fail to launch attacks against Communism (the Jewish *Bund* in Poland is not a government party only on account of lack of opportunity), but they took up on this question the position of the Vienna International. The P.P.S. men naturally raved against the united front. Their leader, Zulavski, declared a united front with the Communists, who brand him (Zulavski) as a traitor, to be impossible. Both the Communist and the Bundist resolutions on the united front were rejected by a large majority.

On the question of the *fight against militarism* the Bundists likewise went partly with the "red" fraction. The resolution of the social patriots was directed naturally against the "capitalist

states" generally and against Soviet Russia whom they charged with provoking war. On the other hand they directly defended Polish militarism in recognising national defense and not holding Pilsudski responsible for war propaganda.

Whilst the speaker for the "red" fraction, *Mirski*, refuted the mendacious attacks against Bolshevik militarism, the representative of the *Bund* stood up against the Francophile tendencies of Poland and the P.P.S. At this juncture *Jouhaux*, who was present as a guest, sprang into the breach, after whose "stirring" speech the reformist resolution was accepted by a vote of 131 to 64.

The debates on the problems of organization were interesting. The Communists stood as advocates of a real unity between the Polish and Jewish trade unions; they advocated amalgamation in place of the existing loose federation and fusion of the Executives. This point of view was energetically opposed by the P.P.S. men, who then together with the Bundists voted for the resolution previously referred to. In the same way the proposals of the "reds" for the amalgamation of the existing craft organisations into great industrial organizations were rejected. In the final vote the "reds" were overwhelmingly defeated by the united votes of the P.P.S. and Bundists.

In the debate on social legislation the Minister for Labor, *Darowski*, the creature of the industrial capitalists, who was present as a guest, stood up and attempted to persuade the Congress of the great advantages of Polish social legislation. The declarations of the Minister did not even convince the P.P.S. crowd.

The new election of the Central Committee was no surprise after the Bundists had supported the vote of confidence in the old Central Committee. In spite of this the new Central Committee could not be kept quite free of Communists. The influence of the Communists in the trade union organizations is already too powerful for this.

Taken all in all, the Congress shows once more that the Communists do not give up the struggle even in the most difficult circumstances, and that the beginning advance of the trade union movement in Poland is beginning to break through the social patriotic crust in which the legal labor movement has been cramped.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Helfferich and Tchernov.

by *L. Sosnovsky*.

It is as yet unknown who killed Rathenau. But already the Reichstag, the press and the cafés resound with the unanimous indictment of Helfferich and his nationalist party. Tomorrow perhaps the actual murderer, the one who held the revolver or the granade in his hand and fired at the German minister, may be arrested. Whether he be a common mercenary hired by the nationalists, or a sincere idealistic hater of Rathenau, whom he considered an enemy of the people, makes no real difference. German republican public opinion will throw the entire weight of its indictment not on the perpetrator but on the inspirers and organisers of the terroristic act.

Helfferich, Helfferich,—that was the name that filled the air at the large mass-meeting that took place in Berlin yesterday. Helfferich's was the name that was passed with aversion and disgust, from mouth to mouth, during the morning session of the Reichstag. And Helfferich wisely absented himself from the Reichstag on that day, and did not pay any "tribute" to the memory of Rathenau who fell a victim to his agents or disciples. And the Social Democratic member of Reichstag, Mr. Wels, declared that the wisest thing Helfferich could do was to quit the political arena.

But may not the Nationalists of Germany protest and ask the Social Democrats on what grounds a whole party and its leaders are so treated? On what grounds is Helfferich being condemned?

Can any one claim to have found documents which show that the Nationalist Party had decided to murder *Erzberger* and *Rathenau*? Has any one presented proofs showing that this party had organized any terrorist fighting organization? Has it then been established that the murderers are members of the same party to which Helfferich belongs? Is there any legal evidence of any connections between Helfferich and the murderers? No! A thousand times, no! And yet, German public opinion is absolutely right in thinking less of the hand that the shooting than the hand that did the directing.

But let us assume that the murderer or murderer will be arrested. Let us assume further, that the arrested murderer unexpectedly reveals conspiracy, and tells in detail how the

assassination was carried out, how it was organized by the Nationalists, who gave them money, etc. etc. Who would then believe Helfferich and his assistants that he and his party are not responsible for the murders? Already, the whole of Germany is convinced of Helfferich's and his party's guilt. The murderers' confession would only confirm this conviction, but would create no sensation. And the Berlin meeting in which 200,000 people took part pronounced a unanimous verdict against Helfferich and his Nationalist Party.

The Berlin meeting took place on the 25th of June. On the 20th of June, a great demonstration took place in Moscow, at which 300,000 workers mourned the loss of our beloved comrade and labor leader *Volodarsky*. And the 300,000 mass of workers pronounced its thunderous verdict of "Guilty" against the murderers of *Volodarsky*. The various delegations representing the working masses entered the court-room of the Supreme Tribunal where the S.R. are being tried, and voiced the unanimous demand that the S.R.P. be condemned as the enemy of the Soviet Republic.

In Berlin, the name of *Rathenau's* murderer is un known. In Moscow the name of *Volodarsky's* murderer is known, his name is *Sergeiev* and he is a member of the S.R.P.

On the prisoner's bench in Moscow there sit the members of the terrorist fighting organization of the S.R.'s, with *Semenov* at their head. All the members of this organization relate in detail, how they prepared and participated in the various terrorist acts, ordered by the Central Committee against the leaders of the Soviet Government. Most of these men are brave fighters, who had faced death more than once; they are workers who had spent years in Czarist prisons.

It is only the Helfferichs of the S.R.P., *Gotz*, *Tchernov* and Company who still deny everything. These "men" still attempt to disavow all connection with a whole group of defendants, whom they call "traitors". But would not Helfferich also denounce as a traitor that one of his agents, who would tell the truth about the conspiracies of the Nationalist Party? But even before the revelations made by *Semenov* and *Konopleva*, the majority of Russian workers were certain that the Social Revolutionary Party was responsible for the assassination of the Soviet leaders, just as in Germany every one is convinced of the Nationalist Party's guilt. And in the Russian case, the evidence against the defendants is more conclusive.

The German Nationalists are aiming at the restoration of the Hohenzollern Monarchy. The Russian S.R.'s are striving to restore the bourgeois Constituent Assembly. Helfferich on the other hand, carried on a wild campaign against the leaders of the Republic, and virtually prepared the terrorist acts against *Erzberger* and *Rathenau*.

The Russian S.R.'s carried on an equally wild campaign against the heads of the Soviet Republic, whom they denounced as agents of German imperialism. In Russia the name *Tchernov* is spoken with the same contempt as the name *Helfferich* is now being pronounced in Germany. But the evidence against the Russian S.R.'s is more conclusive.

Whether Helfferich will succeed in finding some sort of *Vandervelde* and *Rosenfeld* to undertake his defence is uncertain. Messrs. *Tchernov*, *Gotz* and Company found their *Vanderveldes* on the spot in Moscow.

But the S.R. defenders could not bear the atmosphere of contempt about their clients. They took flight, because they realised the hopelessness of the defence.

Of course Helfferich's ostensible program is different from that of *Tchernov*; but when *Tchernov* overthrew the Soviet Power on the Volga in 1918, it ended with the crowning of *Admiral Koltchak* as Monarchist Dictator of Siberia.

The following fact may serve to illustrate the perplexity of *Tchernov's* position at the trial. On the prisoner's bench we are confronted by *Grigory* and *Yevgenia Ratner* (brother and sister). *Grigory* was disappointed in the S.R. Party and went over to the Communists. His sister, however, remained with the S.R.'s and played a very important role in their organisation (she was a member of the Central Committee). *Grigory Ratner* tells how, after *Volodarsky* had been killed, he had asked his sister on the following day; "Whose deed is that?" His sister, who was a well informed member of her party, answered: "Our deed". And after that, Central Committee of the S.R.P. announced in the press that if had no connection whatever with the assassination of *Volodarsky*. The evidence furnished by *Ratner* is but a part of the proof that the S.R.P. organized the various assassinations. We have no doubt that if *Tchernov* had succeeded in overthrowing the Soviet Power throughout Russia, we would have soon had a *Koltchak* ruling the whole of Russia in accordance with Helfferich's ideal. for Helfferich really wants another *Koltchak* for Germany.