

# - INTERNATIONAL -

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## Tolerate No Sabotage!

### THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL SEEKS TO OBSTRUCT THE WORKERS' WORLD CONGRESS.

#### Working Men and Women!

The Conference of the Executives of the three Workers' Internationals which took place at the beginning of April pronounced in favour of the calling of a Workers' World Congress at the earliest possible moment. The necessity for a speedy convening of the Workers' World Congress was so apparent in view of the Genoa Conference that even the Second International did not dare openly to oppose this demand, although in reality it was firmly determined to frustrate the holding of the congress. The Second International is a union of reformist parties who are either immediately allied with their capitalist governments or desire to avoid any conflict.

#### THE LEADERS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL DO NOT WANT TO INTERFERE WITH THE WORK OF THE CAPITALIST DIPLOMATS.

They therefore opposed the natural demand that the annulment of the shameful Versailles Treaty should be embodied in the official proclamation of the Berlin Conference and also declared that the World Congress could not be convened until the end of April. They hoped that the Genoa Conference would be ended by that time so that the Congress would lose the character of immediate intrusion by the proletariat into the haggling of capitalist diplomacy.

Things have turned out differently. The interests of the capitalist states are so divergent that even the common desire to rob and exploit the world cannot immediately bring about unity among the leaders of the world bourgeoisie. For a month past they have been disputing in Genoa as to who shall seize the greater portion of the tribute which they in common desire to levy upon Soviet Russia. The Genoa Conference has not yet come to an end. To everyone who has maintained a spark of Socialist conviction in his breast, to every honest worker, it is abundantly clear from the results of the Genoa Conference that it is the duty of the international working class to intervene with the greatest energy against the politics of the capitalist governments. No less a man than the English Prime Minister, Lloyd George, has openly and clearly proclaimed to the world that

#### EUROPE IS STAGGERING TOWARDS A NEW WORLD WAR

if things go on as they are. The motion of the Russian Soviet Government to put the question of disarmament on the agenda was defeated by the protest of French Imperialism. The motion of Lloyd George to secure a peace for ten years will remain a mere scrap of paper, so long as the capitalist states are armed and the Versailles Treaty remains in force. The differences between England and France which revealed themselves in their most acute form at the Genoa Conference already indicate the future battlefield on which many millions of workers will again fall as victims in the interests of capitalist profits.

The demands which the Allies make upon Soviet Russia are directed against the whole international working class. The workers of all lands have fought for these things,—that the factories shall belong to the community and not to individual exploiters. And in Genoa the chief issue in the struggle is nothing else than a demand for the restitution of the Russian factories, mines and docks to the foreign capitalists.

#### THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE SHOULD RETURN TO THEIR OLD SLAVERY.

In addition to this they are to be compelled to pay milliards upon milliards of the debts of Czarism and the bourgeoisie. Every worker understands that it is necessary to oppose this. The Executive of the Communist International made the suggestion on the 23rd of April to the Second and Vienna Internationals to convene the Commission of Nine, the representatives of the three Internationals, at once so that they could decide on the convening of the Workers' World Congress. Two weeks went past with some petty negotiations and finally the Commission of Nine was to meet on the 7th of May.

The Secretary of the Second International, Macdonald has expressed his agreement therewith, although he states he is prevented from attending. To the German Social Democracy belongs the credit of having sabotaged this meeting of the Commission of Nine in the interests of World Capital. The Party which by its vote on the 4th of August, 1914 gave the first death stroke to the old International, the Party which as the tool of imperialist, capitalist Germany covered itself with shame during the war; the Party which after the collapse of German imperialism prevented the victory of the proletarian revolution in Central Europe, the Party which gave back to the bourgeoisie without a blow the political power captured by the German working class on the 9th of November, 1918 the Party which helped the bourgeoisie to reestablish its power on the bones of fifteen thousand workers slaughtered by Noske's guards—this Party now seeks by every means to prevent the beginning of common international action by the proletariat. It now declares openly and clearly in its Press, that it is "premature" to convene the Commission of Nine and still more so the Workers' World Congress. One is astounded and asks how it is possible that the German Social Democracy prevents the meeting of the International Workers' Congress just as the day approaches on which

#### FRENCH IMPERIALISM WILL LAY ITS BILL BEFORE THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

But it is in this day of presentation, this 31st of May on which Poincaré will present his bill to the German people that the explanation of the attitude of the German Social Democrats lies. Just as it has subjected itself body and soul to the German bourgeoisie, just as little does it dare to struggle against the world bourgeoisie and the setting aside of the Treaty of Versailles. All its hopes are centered in diplomacy and chicanery,

none are bound up with the self-defense of the international proletariat. Like a good child it renounce any insurrection against the world bourgeoisie in order to be spared by it and sabotages the meeting of the Workers' World Congress. The German Social Democracy sabotages the meeting of the Workers' World Congress because it fears that it will also be compelled in Germany to sit round a table with the other workers' parties in order to deliberate how the German workers can jointly fight against the enormous burden of taxes with which they are threatened.

### Working Men and Women!

The Vienna International, faithful to her part which is to conceal what exists and to mask the real state of affairs, seeks to raise the hope that it is only a question of technical reasons for the postponing of the session of the Commission of Nine for a week.

We warn you not to believe this! Whoever was capable of observing matters at Genoa for a month without feeling that immediate action ought to be taken, whoever after this month seeks to further postpone the meeting of the Commission of Nine; has proved that not technical but political reasons are holding him back from common action.

If you desire that the World Congress of the working class take place, that it result not in the acceptance of paper resolutions as was the case at the Congress of the Amsterdam International at Rome, but that it lead to practical action, then you must not be silent, you must not wait until the diplomats of the Vienna International have convinced the diplomats of the Second International of the harmlessness of a Workers' World Congress, then you, working men and working women must, without regard to the party to which you belong,

### TAKE THE MATTER OF THE WORKERS' WORLD CONGRESS INTO YOUR OWN HANDS!

We herewith appeal to the workers of all parties who are in favor of the united front of the proletariat against the offensive of capital to form in every workshop, in every city, joint committees to promote the Workers' World Congress and to compel their local and central party and trade union organizations to pronounce in favor of the immediate convening of the Workers' World Congress.

### Working Men and Women!

If you, without regard to the party to which you belong, powerfully raise your voice for the convening of the Workers' World Congress, your leaders will think ten times before they go on with their sabotaging.

The Second International has seriously violated the Berlin Agreement of the three Executives. It will rests with the Communist International to declare what are the consequences. It is the business of the proletariat without regard to party to see to it that the energetic unmistakable call of the whole proletariat now rings forth.

### ENOUGH OF SABOTAGE OF THE PROLETARIAN UNITED FRONT!

### IMMEDIATE CONVENING OF THE WORKERS' WORLD CONGRESS.

The Delegation of the Executive-Committee  
of the Communist International.

## The Communist Delegation to the Chairman of the Commission of Nine.

Berlin, May 8th, 1922.

Dear Comrade Adler,

On behalf of our delegation, I desire to inform you of the following:—

1—The six attorneys named in your letter, as well as the three Russian Social Revolutionaries you mentioned, are admitted as retained for the defense in the Social Revolutionary trial in Moscow. The Soviet Government will do all in its power to see to it that their passage into Russia take place unhindered. The persons in question must apply to the Russian Legation in Berlin for their visum. The trial begins on May 23rd. Kindly communicate this information to the persons in question.

2—Our delegation requests you to communicate the following to the German representatives of the German Social Democracy in the Commission of Nine:—

Our delegation is being deprived of its freedom of movement in Germany by the authorities. The Prussian Minister of the Interior has forbidden Comrade Radek speak in the Düsseldorf mass meeting, although Vandervelde, signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, obtained permission to speak. The German Foreign Office has gone still further—it forbade Comrade Radek to travel to Düsseldorf.

3—A police circular has been issued for the arrest of Felix Wolf, the secretary of our delegation, for alleged participation in the March Action in 1921. We expect that the representatives of the German Social Democracy in the Commission of Nine will immediately take the necessary steps for the revocation of this oppressive measure. If that does not take place, our delegation will seriously have to consider whether it should not move the transference of the sessions of the Commission of Nine to Moscow, where the representatives of all groups will have complete and equal freedom of movement.

Awaiting an immediate reply, I am,

With Communist greetings,

Clara Zetkin

for the Delegation of the Executive  
Committee of the Communist International.

## POLITICS

### The Russo-Polish Agreement and France

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

In the Polish policy of understanding towards Soviet Russia which began with the Peace Treaty of Riga and which is becoming more and more firmly established, France is playing a very strange and ambiguous part. There is no doubt that in a question of as great international importance as that Poland does not determine its policy without the agreement of France; otherwise France would have long ago withdrawn her protecting hand from the Polish bourgeoisie, which has evidently not been the case up to now. On the contrary, the Franco-Polish commercial and military treaty evidently proves that now as before France considers Poland her faithful vassal. Furthermore, after the conclusion of the Treaty the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Skirmunt, succeeded in getting France to sign a special agreement in which Poland is guaranteed her frontiers as they are established in the Riga Treaty. Up to now Poland with the other states of the Small Entente has also proved in Genoa to be a faithful shield-bearer of France. Thus it may be taken for granted that Poland's Russian policy is not opposed to French desires.

This toleration of France towards the necessities of Poland's Russian policy began in the middle of 1920 after the Kiev campaign of Pilsudski. At that time the defeats of the Polish army convinced the French imperialists that they would not gain much profit by continuing the conflict between Poland and Russia and that, in case of a Polish collapse, they would risk losing their most important guard against Germany. Thus it happened that Poland was allowed to meet the Soviet Government at Riga. Moreover, there was some hope on the part of France that the indemnities which Poland haggled about in Riga would anyway flow into the pockets of the French creditors.

Perhaps at that time, after the final collapse of Wrangel, an understanding between Poland and Russia was not undesirable to France, because she thereby assured herself for the future a point of approach to the Soviet Government.

Nevertheless France does not wholeheartedly participate in the Polish policy towards Russia. At every occasion she attempts to cause new conflicts between Russia and Poland. Morally and financially she supports the adventures of Pilsudski and his mercenaries in the Ukraine, and if the Polish Eastern policy has become a series of inconsistencies, this is to a large degree due to France's attitude. She continually caused new conflicts between Russia and Poland, which on the other hand compelled Poland to undertake numerous retreats and to make greater concessions to Russia than were compatible with Poland's prestige. Among these concessions we mention the banishment of Petlura, Savinkoff and other conspirators from Poland, which at that time caused a great sensation, and furthermore the present

banishment of the Russian monarchists from Warsaw, among whom are Herchelmann, General Machnov, and General Novikoff. As is known, the Polish authorities found out that these Russians have received money from Paris for the organization of an uprising in Russia. Moreover they were in communication with Wrangel, who had appointed General Novikoff supreme commander of the Russian troops in Poland. It is obvious that the Quai d'Orsay plays a part in this enterprise. Thus the French policy continually causes new difficulties to Poland and forces it against its own will again to demonstrate its friendly intentions towards Soviet Russia.

Therefrom it results that Franco-Polish relations are sometimes strained. The results of the last Conference of the Baltic States were not at all in accordance with France's wishes and the Conference of the Four States in Riga caused some sensation in Paris. As the organ of the Warsaw French Mission, the *Journal de Pologne*, reports:—

"The news of the Riga Report caused consternation in French political circles, because one could not suppose from the attitude of M. Skirmunt that the Polish government would sign agreements with the Soviet Government on the recognition of the latter before the Genoa Conference."

Furthermore, they affirmed:—

"In his last discussion with M. Skirmunt, M. Poincaré did not conceal the surprise of the French Government and the unfavorable impression caused in French political circles."

Many deputies asked "whether the Riga Report does not betray the intention of double play on the part of the Polish delegation in Genoa."

"The worst is", states the central organ of the Polish National Democrats, the *Gazeta Warszawska*, "that M. Skirmunt did not at once inform the French Government of this Report."

Moreover, the fact the raising of a Polish loan of £4,000,000 in England became known to the French government only through the press caused anger in Paris. Whether Poland is really holding a card up her sleeve is questionable. Skirmunt is certainly no unreserved Francophile, if only because France's continual militaristic rampage puts Poland time and again in untenable situations. However, an anti-French policy is impossible for a Polish government all the more since Pilsudski, the former Austrian mercenary, has again turned to France and is making common cause with her in many questions.

Therefore the Polish Government speedily beat a retreat and declared that Jodko, the Polish minister in Riga, was not authorized to sign such a Report in the name of the Polish Government and that his signature was only the expression of his personal opinion. This did not prevent the Government from sending the undisciplined Jodko as delegate to Genoa. Evidently they were no longer dissatisfied with him, as was clearly pointed out by the National Democratic Press.

The fact that even the Cracow *Czas*, the most influential organ of the Belvedere (Pilsudski) group, at first warmly welcomed the Riga Report shows how strongly bourgeois circles feel the necessity for a *rapprochement* to Russia. According to the *Czas*, the "Agreement" is of great importance, "for it affirms the community of interests among Poland, Latvia, Esthonia and—what is of most importance—Soviet Russia! This assures Poland a favorable position at the Genoa Conference". Only after some time had elapsed did the *Czas* realize its mistake and declare that the Report (no longer "Agreement") was very defective and that M. Jodko "had demonstrated that he was completely unfitted for the Diplomatic Service".

The near future will show the next developments in the French attitude to the Russian problem and whether she will use Poland as her pacemaker in Soviet Russia or will even more keenly feel how difficult it is to reconcile her own expansion interests with the imperialist interests of a vassal power.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Engineers' Lockout in Britain

by Harry Pollitt (London).

\*\* The great lockout of the English engineers continues, and in order that our foreign comrades get a correct understanding of the events which led up to the lockout, it is essential that they should have some idea of the history of the negotiations which have led up to the present situation.

In 1907 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers signed a 7 years' agreement with the engineering employers, whereby both sides agreed to certain restrictions of activity, and machinery was built up to observe industrial peace. The agreement terminated in 1914 and both sides were in negotiations for the drawing up of a further modified agreement when the War broke out, and the new economic situation it created as a result of the increasing demand for skilled engineers placed the A.S.E. in a very favorable position. The employers were therefore anxious to get a definite truce signed.

With the prolongation of the War, and the continually increasing demand for munitions, the Government was forced to adopt all sorts of measures to get increased production, and owing to the fact that the officials of the trade-unions were afraid to fight the Government, strong unofficial Shop Stewards Committees sprung up in every large industrial centre.

They became very powerful, and the employers were forced to recognize them. The Shop Stewards popularized the cry "Workshop Control", and soon everybody was prophesying the new era of industry where the workers would gain increasing control in the workshops. The employers bowed before the storm, and agreed to the setting up of Joint Industrial Councils, Whitley Councils, etc.

With the Armistice, the Engineering Unions pressed for a 44 hour working week, and finally won the 47 hour working week. This came into operation on January 1st, 1919. Its effect was immediately to call for new agreements in reference to overtime rates, night shift rates, apprentices, and the manning of machines. Endless conferences were held between the unions in the engineering industry, and the engineering employers.

Agreement was reached on some of the points, but on overtime, the manning of machines and the alteration of apprentices no common ground could be found. These conferences lasted through 1919, and during this period the A.S.E. which was the most powerful skilled union in the engineering industry was negotiating for amalgamation with other skilled unions in this industry. On July 1st, 1920, the A.S.E. and nine other unions amalgamated and the Amalgamated Engineering Union (A.E.U.) was formed.

In September 1920, the first effects of the trade depression began to be felt, and the employers began to demand immediate settlement of the points at issue. It was finally agreed "that systematic overtime is a pernicious principle, but that the unions agree to their members working not more than 32 hours overtime a month where necessary".

Immediately this was adopted and put into operation, friction arose over the interpretation of "where necessary". The unions took one view, the employers another. It has long been the custom with English trade-unions that when unemployment is rampant, no overtime should be allowed unless it was on urgent repair work or on maintenance work.

Conference after conference took place; the employers led by Sir Allan Smith bullied and threatened the A.E.U., but the A.E.U. refused to depart from its previous attitude. This led the engineering employers to take a decision to lockout the A.E.U. men in April 1921, but by this time the miners were on strike and to have gone on with the A.E.U., would have intensified the revolutionary situation that obtained at that time in England. The employers therefore stayed their notices. They knew that the A.E.U. was now paying out thousands of pounds per week in unemployment pay. (As the Summer of 1921 went on and unemployment increased tremendously, the A.E.U. had on an average 80,000 members out of work.)

This went on, the funds getting depleted until on November 7th and 8th, Sir Allan Smith again took up the offensive. At a conference of the A.E.U. and the engineering employers, Sir Allan Smith demanded that the A.E.U. should recommend its members to work overtime when the employers considered overtime to be necessary, without the union being consulted at all.

G. J. Brownlie, President of the A.E.U., again refused to recommend these terms to his members. Sir Allan Smith then delivered a broadside into the ranks of the A.E.U. He said "the A.E.U. Executive Council must come out of the clouds and face the facts. If they are not prepared to ask their members to accept the employers' terms in reference to overtime, the employers will reduce wages and man the machines with whom they liked, and the Union will not be consulted at all".

This was a bombshell and the Conference broke up. The A.E.U. then called a special conference of the national officials in London on November 18th, 1921 and after heated dis-

cussions decided by 22 votes to 11 to recommend their members to accept the employers' terms, in order that the door could be left open to negotiate with the employers on further wage reductions and the manning of machines.

This recommendation was placed before the members and on a ballot vote a huge majority was against accepting the employers' terms.

The employers therefore decided to lockout the engineers on March 1st, 1922. This decision was put into effect, and about 250,000 members of the A.E.U. were locked out. In the engineering industry there are 50 other unions besides the A.E.U., and the employers then demanded that these unions should also decide for or against accepting this dictum of the right of the employer to do what he liked in the workshop.

These unions also took a ballot vote which also showed a majority against the employers' terms. This then presented an opportunity for all the engineering unions to show a united front against this onslaught of the bosses, but alas, the crafty Sir Allan Smith knew that 47 of the 50 unions are in what is called the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, and he also knew that there is great jealousy and personal bitterness between the leaders of the A.E.U. and the E. and S. Federation. Sir Allan Smith also knew that it is not overtime the A.E.U. is against, but that it is afraid of unskilled men being put on machines that have always been the preserves of the skilled unions, and he knew that the two unskilled unions were very anxious to get their men on the machines. The war had proved that unskilled men can man the machines very efficiently and this great lesson had not been wasted upon the bosses.

Therefore the employers' game was to divide the unions, and when M. Henderson and Mr. Bowerman, representing the Labor Party and the General Council of Trade Unions, began their task of trying to find a formula that would lead to a settlement, Sir Allan knew that it was very easy to find a formula whose interpretation would be disputed among the union leaders, which would thus break the united front of the unions.

Such a formula was found. The A.E.U. said it was exactly the same formula they were locked out for refusing, but Mr. Henderson said it was something better and recommended the other unions to start fresh negotiations on the new formula.

The other 47 unions agreed to this, and basely deserted the A.E.U. The employers then agreed to withdraw the lockout notices to the 47 unions, whilst further negotiations were taking place. After endless conferences, Sir Allan Smith calmly told the 47 unions on Good Friday morning that the A.E.U. interpretation was right, the employers demanded the right to give any orders they liked in the workshop and any discussion must take place *after the orders have been executed and not before.*

The 47 unions then withdrew and the employers again posted the lockout notices to the rest of the engineering unions. These notices expired on Tuesday May 2nd, and in addition to the A.E.U. members, being on the streets, their ranks are now augmented until we have over 850,000 trade unionists locked out of the engineering shops in England.

Just previous to the expiration of these last notices the Government agreed to the Labor Party's demand for an inquiry. This has now opened, but it has no power and refused to ask the employers to revoke the lockout notices.

The fight is now in full swing; the employers are solid to a man, their leadership is splendid and they are making superhuman efforts to get blacklegs to carry on the work. They have placarded all their works inviting all their former employees to return to work if they are individually willing to accept the employers' terms.

I am pleased to record that up to now not a factory has opened. The spirit of the rank and file is splendid and despite their hardships and some suffering they are putting up a magnificent fight.

It is the leadership that is bad; the Executive Council of all the unions refused to call out their members in non-federated shops, so that in many cases work has been transferred from a federated shop to a non-federated shop, and we get the spectacle of the A.E.U. men being locked out of a federated shop and A.E.U. men working in a non-federated shop finishing off the work transferred from a lock-out shop to their own.

The staff foremen and apprentices have been allowed to remain in the shops, and no attempt has been made to extend the dispute or infuse a more vigorous spirit into the rank and file. Everyone of the 50 unions engaged in the struggle are looking at it from the narrow sectional standpoint of their own union. There is no coordination. The General Council of Trade

Unions has failed to fulfil even the expectations of reformists. As the struggle develops and the men see how ruthless are the forces arrayed against them and how weak the craft trade-unions are, it must inevitably result in a big drift towards the left that will be reflected in the demand for industrial unions instead of craft unions.

The miners' debacle is being repeated again, the lessons of that great betrayal have been lost upon the reformist trade union leaders. There is no unity; the skilled unions are fearful of the unskilled unions. The real fight has not yet begun, this lockout is but the preliminary skirmish in the fight that the English bosses are planning.

Side by side with the engineering lockout, the whole of the shipbuilding trades are locked out, through a refusal to accept a reduction of 16s/6d a week. These unions are now balloting on the new terms of the shipbuilding bosses, which are still 16s/6d, only spread over a longer period.

If they agree to accept these new terms, then they are locked out on managerial functions. If the engineers accept the terms of managerial functions, then they will have to fight against a reduction of wages.

This is a correct picture of the English trade-union movement at the present time. The class-struggle is being waged with a bitterness never experienced before, and out of this fight, moving everywhere amongst the masses, I can hear their bitter criticism of the existing trade-union structure.

This week the miners in Yorkshire and the North Warwick coal fields have had a further reduction of 10% in their wages. In September all the miners' wages come up for review.

This year will be momentous in English working-class history; the disillusionment of the masses will be complete. Necessity will compel them to adopt the tactics of the united front and make it a tactic of action.

New battles and struggles are imminent. Today it is the engineers and shipbuilders, tomorrow the entire trade-union movement of England will be fighting for its very life.

## The Miners in Battle.

by John Dorsey (Chicago).

The great United Mine Workers of America swung into action on the 1st of April, giving battle for the first time in their history on almost the entire front, including the anthracite and bituminous fields. Every coal mine where the miners are organized, with one small exception where a few thousand miners still have a contract which expires next month, was closed down immediately and completely. But that is not all. The miners have made a great drive on the unorganized fields also, and even the capitalistic press acknowledges that the number of strikers as this is being written, is more than 665,000. It is the second complete industrial strike in the history of American labor, the first one being the great steel strike of 1919.

### Fighting the Coal and Steel Masters.

The present strike is, in a way, a continuation of that historic battle, for the miners are up against the same forces as were the steel workers. Garyism was the foe in 1919, and now in 1922, the miners are making their most desperate struggle against the Steel Corporation which, allied with the great railroads of the East, controls 95% of the coal production of the country. It is no accident that Bill Feeney, the organizer for the miners who is making spectacular raids into the non-union fields, lining up tens of thousands of miners into the union every week, was also one of the foremost organizers in the field for the Steel Committee. In his book, "The Great Steel Strike", Foster tells something of Feeney's work in that battle, part of which is worth recalling.

Feeney was the United Mine Workers' organizer delegated to work with the Steel Committee, and had been made local secretary in charge of the Monessen-Donora district. Monessen is on the Monongehela river, about forty miles from Pittsburgh, and is the home of the Pittsburgh Steel Company and several other large steel manufacturers; it is well known to labor organizers as the place where, in a previous campaign, organizer Jeff. Pierce was killed. The Burgess of Monessen had flatly refused to allow Feeney to hold any meeting in that town, and he had therefore been compelled to operate from Charleroi, a town several miles away. But with the advent of Spring and open weather, Feeney called a meeting to take place in the

streets of Monessen on April 1st. The Burgess threatened dire consequences should the meeting be held, but Feeney proceeded with his arrangements and on the appointed date marched 10,000 union miners from the surrounding country into Monessen to demonstrate for free speech and free assemblage. The meeting was a huge success, and public opinion was so overwhelmingly on the side of the workers that the Burgess had to withdraw his order and allow the steel workers to hold their meetings. The affair was the means of establishing the unions solidly in the big mills of Monessen.

In Donora, the other big center in Feeney's district, matters came to a sharper conflict. The town was closed to meetings, so Feeney rented some vacant lots just outside of town for that purpose. In this he was highly successful, and was signing up the steel workers in droves, when the steel company agents persuaded the local business men to sign an order to Feeney, commanding him to get out of the district. When Feeney took the matter to the organized miners of the locality, these solidly organized men at once put a strict boycott on the town, which soon almost ruined the local business men. They quickly made a public apology to Feeney, and ousted their own officials who had engineered the matter.

Now Feeney is leading the drive of these miners, the same men who showed their sterling qualities in the steel strike, in their own fight against the same financial interests. District 5, of the Mine Workers, Western Pennsylvania, is also the home of the Steel Corporation and there we see the miners' battle in its true light, a struggle against Gary and all he represents. The non-union bituminous fields of this district are the chief sources of coal and coke for the Steel Corporation. The Connellsville coke region has resisted unionization for years; the H. C. Frick Company was the dictator of that region and fixed wages, hours, and working conditions. Feeney laid his plans long in advance to pull this section of the miners out. Six weeks before the strike, he sent groups of picket men from the union fields into the Connellsville region, to look for work. The companies were putting on forces in anticipation of the strike. They thought these men were deserters from the union, looking for a job where strike would not reach them, and gladly put them to work. But they were experienced organizers — men who knew how to do their work without the accompaniment of a brass band. The result was that when the strike came, tens of thousands of the supposedly non-union miners walked out with the union men and immediately joined the union.

### The Drive Becomes General.

Like a wave the movement spread to adjoining fields, and in seven or eight days the first victory of the miners was registered in the closing down of great mills in Youngstown, in the Mahoning Valley, for lack of fuel. Furnaces were soon being banked by the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, the Sharon Steel Hoop Company, the Struthers Furnace Company, and the Carnegie Steel Company. The last named is the chief subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. Coal production was almost entirely stopped in the non-union fields of Western Pennsylvania, including the counties of Fayette, Westmoreland, Greene and Mercer. In Central Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the drive on the non-union fields started a few days later, but promises to be equally effectively; the district is alive with meetings enrolling the miners into the union and closing down the mines.

The men who are putting this campaign over know the coal and coke regions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia to a nicety. They have their forces thoroughly organized and they are out with the determination to win. The fighting spirit of the miners, which has made their union the backbone of the labor movement, is at white heat. Before the strike date they had the leaflets carrying the strike order ready in all languages; volunteers from the coke plants and the union mines started out at a given time by autos, street cars and railway, and covered every union and non-union mining camp in the region on March 30th and 31st. When the non-union men were pulled out it was a complete surprise to the bosses. A great demonstration was held in Brownsville, Pa., on the 1st of April, and for the first time in the history of the fields the non-union miners joined the parade. From that time on they organized new locals every day; some days as many as eight locals would be organized in the same hall, the miners coming in by the thousands, meeting to elect officers and then emptying the hall for the next bunch. About 35,900 men have been added to the organized forces of District 5 in the first two weeks of the strike.

### The Bosses Are Hard Hit.

When the strike was called the operators and the steel kings were very boastful of their strength, and pointed to the large supply of coal on hand, which they claimed would keep them going until the miners should be starved out. But they are not bragging now; instead, they are talking about "drastic action"; one big steel man is quoted as saying, "the mines will be operated at any cost". The only meaning this can have is, that they are preparing a campaign of violence and intimidation against the striking miners. Before this is printed, some of this threatened "drastic action" may have already taken place.

So far there has not been more than the usual amount of violence committed against the miners, probably because there is still quite a reserve of coal on hand. But ominous preparations are going on. In West Virginia, of course, the reign of terror of company gunmen and state militia continues unchecked. In Colorado, Pat Hamrock, the beast who commanded the militia at the Ludlow massacre, is in charge of the state constabulary which is recruiting new forces for strike duty. Pennsylvania state, county, and local governments are, as a matter of course, in the hands of the coal operators; and the State Police are becoming more active and menacing. As the strike becomes more and more effective, and the operators and steel barons begin to feel the pinch, it may be expected that violence against the strikers will take on considerable proportions.

### The Miners Stand Solidly.

Just before the strike there was some talk of separate district agreements. This looked rather dangerous for a time, but such a wave of sentiment swept through the union against any break in the united front of the organization against the operators, that all talk of separate agreements was soon effectively squelched. Anyone who wants to become unpopular with the miners now has only to propose a settlement for one district alone. The miners will not stand for such tactics; they have begun to feel the power which comes from unified national action, and they will not tolerate anything that will diminish that power.

Back of the determination to stand together to the last lies a pressing economic need. The country has been flooded with stories of the high wages supposedly earned by the miners in the past year. These are purely imaginary, existing only in the minds of the mineowners and their publicity agents. The official figures on miners' earnings for the past year in the richest coal fields, show that the men have been averaging \$12.00 to \$15.00 per week for the past year. This is actually below the starvation line, considering the prices of necessities and the fact that this wage must usually support a family. In the face of this terrible lowering of the miners' standard of living, the operators now wish to make a further cut of 40% in wages. A bitter and terrible resentment against this move has welded the entire mass of miners together into one great solid body.

In Kansas we have the curious spectacle of the Industrial Court, Governor Allen's bid for fame, giving the miners a thirty-day permission to strike. The miners have struck, but it is very, very doubtful if they will return to work should the Industrial Court decide not to grant an extension and the strike still be on at the end of April. The Kansas miners have been striking pretty steadily now for the past three years, but they are veterans at the game, and will stick until the operators come across with a favorable agreement.

Allong with this splendid demonstration of fighting spirit and solidarity, the miners are not forgetting for one moment the stain put upon their organization by the expulsion of Howat. Everywhere this matter is being talked over at length, and some local, or sub-district, or district, is being reported every few days as taking action, demanding Howat's reinstatement. As soon as the strike is over there is going to be a long overdue settlement on this account. Howat has been talking through Ohio and Illinois, and has been receiving big ovations. He is a miners' man, and they like him.

Like every other big coal strike, this one is having international effects. Coal is one of the most international of commodities; the slightest disturbance in the production and distribution in one country immediately affects all the others. If when the miners of England strike the American miners work harder and turn out more coal to supply the British market, the British miners will surely lose their strike. The reverse is just as true. The miners of the entire world are beginning to realize this, and we hear a serious word on the subject from England. The Executive of the British coal miners held a meeting to consider the strike of the United Mine Workers of America, and a statement was issued. It declared in part:—

"The British miners will not tolerate any artificial methods on the part of mine owners to increase coal exports, such as ships using coal for ballast, in an attempt to break the American miners' strike."

This is a word in the right direction. A step along the same path would be in order on both sides of the Atlantic. International solidarity is now one of the burning issues before all the miners of the world.

In spite of the terrible hardships the miners are undergoing, without regard to the extremely low earnings for a long time past and ignoring the industrial depression which encourages the bosses, the miners are going into this fight with the spirit of winning. They have a grim determination to force the bosses to terms. Their attitude has already won them a tremendous moral victory; already the situation has assumed a more favorable atmosphere for the miners. What the month of May will bring forth in the struggle is not clear, but if the miners can hold on for a few more weeks, there is every prospect that they will force a settlement somewhat favorable to themselves. Certainly, they have already vindicated their claim to be the foremost ranks of the labor movement of America, holding the front line trenches against the forces of capitalist exploitation.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Women Suffrage in Hungary

by *Ketty Guttman* (Berlin).

The so-called "election campaign" for the new Parliament which is now going on in Hungary, is very instructive for all women who are struggling for political rights. In Hungary *the overwhelming majority of proletarian women have been deprived of their suffrage.*

The old Hungarian parliament was elected according to a suffrage decree of the Karolyi Government in 1919, with a subsequent modification by the Stephan-Friedrich Government. This decree granted democratic suffrage to men and women, such as has been established at present in nearly all countries as a safety valve for the revolutionary passion of the people.

The Hungarian counter-revolution however, considers it no longer necessary to maintain even the external appearance of a democratic Parliament for the proletariat.

Thus, the old Parliament was dissolved because it refused to sanction a decree of the government on a new limited franchise. The new elections will not take place on the basis of the old franchise, but on that of the new limited one. This franchise has only been sanctioned by a conference of the State Officials of Hungary, for the Bethlen Government declared that the free franchise which had not been established by means of a law but by a decree, could also be abolished by means of a decree.

This new decree deprives all illiterates and all those who have not dwelt in one place for two years of the franchise, which is fundamentally by open ballot.

For the women, however, special limitations have been set, which go so far, that one might better say that with a few exceptions women suffrage is abolished. These exceptions include women who are mothers of at least three legitimate children over six years of age; who have graduated from eight middle school classes; who are carrying on an independent trade, or who are married to men with an academic education. These limitations are further increasing the general outlawry of the laboring women in Hungary, among whom there are many illiterates. But the great masses of rural laboring women also will have no suffrage, as they are deprived of the franchise, even if they are not illiterates.

A typical but deplorable proof of the present situation in Hungary is the fact that the Party of the Legitimists, the Party of Count Andrassy, advocates granting unlimited women's suffrage. Andrassy is evidently convinced that the great masses of women are so reactionary that they would enthusiastically welcome the return of the Habsburg King. Bethlen however, who is as much of a monarchist as Andrassy, but who considers himself more "liberal" because he stands for the *free* election of the king, orders his kept press to carry on propaganda against Andrassy and to advocate the limitation of women suffrage.

Thus these bloody murderers of the proletariat are quarreling with each other and are playing catchball with a right of the laboring women which,—though it does not serve the emancipation of the proletariat,—was fought for during decades by the women who believed in democracy.

And what does the Hungarian Social Democracy do in regard to the limited franchise? Well, it accomodates itself, "under certain conditions". And if these conditions are not kept, it will accomodate itself just the same. The National Committee of the Hungarian Social Democracy discussed the question, and decided to take part in the election on condition that at least in the towns election will be by secret ballot. Furthermore it expressed the usual protests, which are taken seriously by nobody.

The "condition" of the Social Democrats regarding secret election in the towns is practically to exclude the Communists. For the election will take place according to a system of lists, and the Communists cannot put up lists, because they would be the lists of death-candidates, lists for the Hungarian inquisition.

The Hungarian proletarian women suffer the disgrace of their outlawry as they suffered the martyrdom of their class. They see that the proletariat is deprived of everything by its brutal class enemy; of free expression of opinion, of suffrage, of bread to live on, of the right to raise their heads as free citizens of the state.

The Hungarian example goes to prove that the promises of bourgeois democracy are idle talk.

Every sincere proletarian women in Hungary will find the way to Communism. Even if no word of Communism be said in this election campaign, Communism will again rise in Hungary and with it the slogan of the liberation of women.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### On the Trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries.

#### An interview with Konopleva and Semenov.

by *Boris Souvarine.*

Moscow, April 12th, 1922.

I thought it very interesting to interview the two comrades *Semenov* and *Konopleva*, against whom the entire press of the various counter-revolutionary Internationals has so persistently and disgracefully vomited mud.

It was a rare experience indeed for me to meet comrades so sympathetic and so devoted to the revolutionary cause with body and soul as were these two former Social Revolutionaries, who had in the meantime turned Communists, and who for this very reason have been called "agents provocateurs" and police-spies by the social traitors of all countries.

Semenov and Konopleva belonged to the most fearless fighters of their party. They were among the most active members of the "flying fighting division", a terrorist organization that assigned them to be the most dangerous daring tasks.

They belonged to the minority wing of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, led by Volski, a fraction which demanded the recognition of the Soviet power and cooperation with it.

Having left the country on an illegal mission for the Party, Semenov soon became convinced of the counter-revolutionary character of his party, and like many other Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks left his party in 1920 and entered the Communist Party of Russia. Shortly after, Konopleva also effected her transfer into the C.P.R.

It is superfluous to waste any words on the legend of the relationship between these two comrades, or upon the other awkward fables invented by numerous social traitors and yellow Syndicalists. All one needs to do is to see the healthy mirth with which these two friends greet these lies and slanders of the counter-revolutionary Press. The slanders cast against Semenov and Konopleva are no different from the latest reports of Lenin's death, or the many millions of similar falsehoods, which have been manufactured and put in circulation without stop in the past five years.

Semenov and Konopleva declared that until the opening of the trial they will maintain the most diligent reticence. It is remarkable, however, that of their numerous enemies who had venomously attacked them, because of Semenov's pamphlet and Konopleva's statements, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia, not one of them could gather enough courage to deny a single one of the accusations brought to light. And that is of the utmost importance.

It is absolutely impossible to deny a syllable of the honest and true disclosures made by these two comrades. These disclosures will bring the truth into the light of day, and the evidence gathered from the numerous witnesses will make it still more incontestable.

Tchérnoff alone has made a timid attempt to deny these accusations, with the statement that Semenov's pamphlet is a mixture of truth and untruth. But he was very careful not to dispute any statement of fact or even as much as point out which statements were true and which untrue. As a matter of fact it is absolutely impossible for him to support his statement, which is nothing more than a futile as well as desperate attempt at a denial.

In the course of the trial, Semenov and Konopleva will be given an opportunity to elaborate upon their evidence face to face with the defendants. Both of these comrades are awaiting the confrontation with the greatest inner calm.

The Social Revolutionary Party has an interesting history and its leaders undoubtedly have a great and honorable past. But today the world must also learn of its present. This present is decisively counter-revolutionary, and it is only inevitable that those belonging to the S.R.P. will be set by it upon a counter-revolutionary track. Its secret activities and its cooperation with the notorious *Savinkoff* and with the agents and spies of the Entente, constitute the sad symptoms of its moral degeneration.

In the limelight of the trial proceedings, when the truth will become known all over Russia, many revolutionary Socialists will leave their former party and a great many of these will surely reinforce the ranks of the C.P.R.

Should it still be necessary, Semenov will, at the end of the trial, answer the many slanders and denunciations directed against him and his pamphlet. However, he is convinced even now that the effect of the trial will be such that the facts revealed by it will cover this matter too, making Semenov's self-defence superfluous. In about four weeks, the trial will have created complete accord among the honest and sincere elements of all parties.

## Murderers and Hypocrites. (Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.)

by G. Ustinov.

### I.

Grshebin has recently published the first edition of a book which is entitled "The History of the Russian Revolution" and has as a sub-title "The Execution of the 26 Baku Commissars". In the preface, the author states that he considers it his principal task to set on record the historical events, facts, materials and documents in an objective manner for the exact guidance of the future, and has kept himself strictly to this ground, in no way pronouncing any judgment or drawing any conclusions which are not based upon facts immediately observed, or proved by indisputable documentary evidence.

This idealistic "objective perspective" is a proof that Tchaikin is still groping in the fog of the old Social Revolutionary ideas in spite of the fact that already in the middle of November 1918, he declared in the Social Revolutionary Fraction, —the members of the celebrated Ufa National Assembly (Tchaikin was a member of the Constituent Assembly of the Fergan District),—that he deemed it necessary because of his "revolutionary conscience" to withdraw from. The membership of the Central Committee until the 5th Party Congress. So much the more valuable therefore, are the exposures that this former member of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party and the "Democratic Ufa Constituent Assembly" undertakes to reveal regarding the shameful murder of the 26 most prominent Caucasian Communists, as perpetrated by the officials of the English garrison together with the individual representative of the so-called "Trans-Caspian Government" nominated by the Social Revolutionaries, who was in the service of the English authorities. This manly act of Tchaikin will not be forgotten.

### II.

The history of the murder of the 26 Soviet Commissars at the head of whom stood Stepan Shaumian, Alexei, Bshapariidze and Grigori Korganov, is very little known to the outside world. Already on the 28th April 1919, the *Izvestia* in its No. 85 (637) issue, published a detailed and informative article on this treacherous murder, together with a reprint of the documents

which Comrade Stalin inserted in the preface to his work, in which he characterized the political conditions of Trans-Caucasia and Trans-Caspia at that time.

It will be useful to our purpose if a short review is made of these documents.

The Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and other bourgeois democrats possessed with an insatiable lust for power, were at that time prepared to enter into any agreement with any power in order to bring about the overthrow of Soviet Russia.

When the English Occupation troops appeared in the Trans-Caspian District and in Trans-Caucasia, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries started an intensive campaign against Soviet Russia, which resulted in the organizing of the insurrection of June 25th, 1918. As Tshaikin states, this insurrection in Kisil-Arbat ended in the total defeat of the whole of Frolow's Division (Extraordinary Soviet Commissar), the murdering of these Commissars, and the shooting of nine local commissars in Shabat.

The approaching struggle threatened to be very severe, money and provisions were not at hand, and the Red troops were advancing from Turkestan.

At that time a proposal was brought forward by the members of the Executive Committee, supported by the "Business Management Committee" (Trans-Caspian Cabinet), to enter into a military convention with the Government of Great Britain, i. e. with its representative General Malesson, the Resident General at Meshed.

On the 19th August, a formal treaty was signed at Meshed (Persia) by General Malesson and the representative of the Executive Committee, Dochov, (Social Revolutionary) which in many respects restricted the rights of sovereignty of the Committee over Trans-Caspian Territory and brought the Government of Ashabad under the financial control of the British Command. This "sacrifice" was, according to the opinion of the majority of the Executive Committee, not to be avoided, in view of the great difficulties of the Trans-Caspian Government and the advancing offensive against Tashkent. The assistance from the English proved very illusory and consisted chiefly in good advice for the administration of the country and interference in domestic affairs. *One of these acts of intervention was the organizing of the murder of the 26 Baku Commissars.* (Italics by Tchaikin).

Towards the end of December, the highest representative of the Government of Great Britain in the Transcaspien District, Captain R. F. Tig-Jones, in accordance with an agreement with the president of the Trans-Caspian Bureau of Investigation, S. L. Drushkin, (who described himself as a Social Revolutionary) decided upon a *coup d'état*, for which purpose it was necessary that there should take place in Ashabad on the 31st December a "Meeting of Malcontents", organised by English agents which was to be dispersed by the armed British forces. At the same time the latter ordered the dissolution of the Executive Committee, which was "powerless" according to Tchaikin) to fight against the Bolsheviks.

The result of this was that the Executive Committee, between the 1st and 3rd January, 1919 after the dispersal of this "Meeting of Malcontents" and the occupation of the Government institutions by Sepoy Troops, decided to form a Directorate of five persons (2 Turkomans and 3 Russians).

In this Directorate there was also included, on the order of Tig-Jones the British Agent, Semen Drushkin, who had been defeated at the elections and who described himself as a Social Revolutionary and who, in course of time, became an all-powerful Dictator.

After obtaining insight into and becoming acquainted with the English Trans-Caspian Convention and a number of secret documents, Tchaikin had no doubt that the British Command intended to carry out a cleverly planned and complicated international manoeuvre in Turkestan, by using the Merv front and the subjected Ashabad territory for its Indo-Persian schemes, and in the event of a probable failure on the North Eastern Border of Afghanistan, a place of retreat would be created.

### III.

Under such suppositions and conditions, Tchaikin began his investigation with regard to the murder of the 26 Baku Commissars. Making use of some acquaintances among the members of the "Directorate" and of the Minister for Foreign Affairs L. A. Simin, Tchaikin, together with Mustafa Tchokaiev came upon traces of the murder, and the two, of them liberated the families of the murdered Commissars from internment in the

prison of Ashabad and enabled them to proceed on their journey to Baku. At this time, Tchaikin succeeded with the help of Simin, in obtaining a permit to enter the Ashabad Prison to interview the interned members of the Social Revolutionary Party,—the former Chairman of the Trans-Caspian Executive Committee Fedor Funtikov and another member of the same Committee Illarian Sedych—who had been confined there by the Dictator Drushkin. These two comrades took the greatest interest in the murder of the 26 Commissars.

"All these people, I thought," (writes Tchaikin), "are hopelessly demoralised by the conditions which surround them and the anti-Bolshevik atmosphere, which united the Menshevik Emir of Bokhara<sup>1</sup> and the Social Revolutionaries Drushkin and Funtikov, the Sociat Democrat A . . .<sup>2</sup>, the Independent Socialist and member of the Directorate Below, the English spy Kun (this latter described himself as Social Revolutionary) who was even at the head of the Krasnovodsk Strike Committee, and the Lieutenant of Police Alania" (one of those who conducted the Red prisoners to their execution).

"At first they refused to say anything, but at the second interview Funtikov made the following written statement:

*'To Comrade W. A. Tchaikin.*

As Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Trans-Caspian District, I make the following declaration:

1—About the latter end of September (1918) it came to my personal knowledge that, in order to prevent the escape of the Commissars arrived from Baku into Krasnovodsk, Comrade Drushkin in his capacity as president of the Criminal Investigation Bureau, took measures together with the representative of the English Mission, Tig-Jones, to arrange for the transportation of the 26 Commissars from Krasnovodsk to India (via Meshed). This was told to me personally by Drushkin, 11g-Jones and Kurylev. Drushkin told it to me whilst in his own lodgings and the two latter informed me of it in the lodgings of Gorer. Drushkin, who explained to me the necessity for the deportation of the Commissars to India, declared to me that the English Mission had mentioned to him how necessary it was to have the Baku Commissars in India. Later on Drushkin mentioned to me that he had got from Tig-Jones the promised document from the English Mission, to which was annexed the sanction of the English Mission for the handing over of the 26 Baku Commissars transported from Baku to Krasnovodsk against the accompanying document to the English authorities in Meshed.

'2—As a matter of fact the above mentioned Baku Commissars were not brought to Meshed, but were shot down on the way between Krasnovodsk and Ashabad by the guards who escorted them, consisting of Russians and Turcomans, in accordance with an agreement concluded between Drushkin, Tig-Jones and Kurylev.

It is true that I was aware of the action that was contemplated, but deemed it impossible to intervene, in view of the extraordinary situation, and of the particular cruelty with which Commissar Frolov treated our representatives (four Kisil-Arbat Workers' Delegates, who were sent to negotiate with Frolov, were first tortured and afterwards killed by Frolov and the members of his Red Army). This premeditated shooting was, in accordance with the demand of the English Mission, brought to the knowledge of the population by means of an official document issued by the Mission on the handing over of the Commissars to the English in Meshed. I was entirely convinced that Drushkin possessed this document, of which he had spoken to me 3 or 4 times and the concealment of which he tried to cover up by attributing it to his forgetfulness.

'3—The persons who went from Krasnovodsk to carry out the execution of the Commissars were for the greater part non-party, and I am unable to give their names even to members of the Party, as I consider this would be unfair,

<sup>1</sup>The Emir of Bokhara described himself as a Menshevik, being of the naive opinion that all non-Bolshevik elements fell under this comprehensive category. This is characteristic!

<sup>2</sup>A . . . belonged to those other Socialists, who on the 22nd July 1918, secretly sentenced 10 Ashabad Commissars to death (Note by Tchaikin).

without previously informing them and obtaining their consent.

'4—The representative of the English Mission in Ashabad, Tig-Jones (Chief of the Mission and in sole charge), as well as Drushkin, asserted to me the necessity of the shooting before it took place and the first named expressed his satisfaction with it afterwards, and said that the execution was carried out in accordance with the desires of the English Mission.

'5—Further it has come to my knowledge that after the shooting and burial of the Commissars their belongings were burnt.  
Fedor Funtikov.'

City of Askabad, March 2nd, 1919. 3:35 p. m.

Illarian Sedych, who did not have time to write out his statement, added to the statement of the "correct" Funtikov the following note:

"I as a member of the Executive Committee, and living during the whole of the time in the Trans-Caspian district, confirm the accuracy of the statement made by Comrade Funtikov."

#### IV.

The revelations of Tchaikin, published in the Caucasian Press, regarding the murder of the 26 Commissars led at first to some conversations between the author and the representatives of the British Government in Baku, and thereupon to a number of exceedingly mendacious official counter-statements on the part of this representative (General Thomson) in the Menshevik, Social Revolutionary and other "independent democratic" papers of Trans-Caucasia. In spite of this, the Mensheviks did not dare to refuse to publish these counter-statements, and although they were fully convinced of the incontrovertibility of the statements which were in the possession of Tchaikin they connived at the escape to England of the murderers of 26 of the finest people in Trans-Caucasia. The District Committees of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, as well as the Menshevik Government of Georgia, were quite aware of the state of affairs; they knew of the existence of the documents which were in the possession of Tchaikin; nevertheless, when Tchaikin asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gegetchkori, not to grant Drushkin a passport for travel abroad, he declared himself in agreement with our point of view and promised to speak on the same day with the representative of the British General Staff with regard to the refusal of a passport to Drushkin. As a matter of fact it appeared that some days after this conversation Drushkin left Georgian territory under the protection of a British patrol and was later seen in Batum (at that time in possession of the English).

Later on the Georgian Mensheviks exhibited the same vacillating policy in all matters concerning the murder of the 26 Commissars. Tchaikin sent a telegram to the Second International in Berne, in which the detailed circumstances of the murder were given. This telegram was signed by representatives of the four Trans-Caucasian Socialist Organizations; namely, the Trans-Caucasian District Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, the District Organization Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Central Committees of the Social Democratic Revolutionary Party of Georgia and the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party of Georgia. However . . .

"At the decisive moment", proceeds Tchaikin, "the signature of the representative of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Revolutionary Party of Georgia was wanting, in spite of the promises categorically given by the Central Committee at the preceding discussions; the signature namely of N. W. Ramishvilis, who replaced Assenidse, himself afterwards Minister of Justice for Georgia."

\* \* \*

This is briefly, the history of the murder of our Comrades, whose shooting was organized by the English Mission with the cooperation of members of the Social Revolutionary Party, and with the consent of the Social Democratic Menshevik Party governing in Georgia.

Tchaikin's book comprises 191 large pages, and contains many facts and a number of photographic reproductions of the documents relating to the case. It is characteristic, and proves conclusively how the parties of compromise are gradually sinking to the level of flunkeys to the international imperialists, occupying themselves with the organization and concealment of acts of murder against the best revolutionary fighters.