

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 1. No. 11

25th Nov. 1921

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The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

POLITICS

England's Role at the Washington Conference

by M. Philips Price.

It is always necessary in trying to estimate the relations between the ruling classes of the British Empire and the American Republic to take into consideration the question of Ireland. Now the general trend of the Irish crisis in the last few days has been favourable to those elements in England, who are anxious to bring about an Anglo-American Entente, even at the cost of sacrificing some of their former privileges in Ireland. It is not a mere accident that the American-friendly Lord Northcliffe and his newspaper trust have been uttering of late warnings to the so-called 'Die-hards', that is the irreconcilable extreme right wing of the English Conservative party, who have been trying to break up the peace negotiations between Lloyd George and Sinn Fein and recommence the Irish war. For the far-seeing elements of the British bourgeoisie see that a recommencement of the war with Ireland would give such encouragement to the anti-English and Irish elements in America that the possibility of a real Anglo-American Entente would almost certainly be wrecked. And this Entente is realised to be essential, in order to save the finances of England from

collapse and in order to find an insurance against an armed conflict with America, which would inevitably mean the break-up of the British Empire.

Thus it is not surprising that at the Conference of the British Conservative, or as it calls itself, the Unionist Party at Liverpool last week a big conflict took place between those elements who realised the danger of failure in the settlement of the Irish question to England's world position and those elements who were unable to look beyond the immediate interests of the near future. But the overwhelming victory for the former point of view at the Conference was a proof how great has been the change of opinion even in the most reactionary circles of the British ruling class. In this connection it is not improbable that the big engineering and shipbuilding interests of Belfast, who up to now have always been the chief support of the extreme Ulster and anti-Irish movement, because their interests were bound up with their commercial connection with the British Empire, where their chief markets are, have realised now that the warding off of a conflict with America is more important than the maintenance of a phrase about Anglo-Irish unity. Thus Lloyd George seems to have the way clear for forcing Sinn Fein to accept his terms, which are the recognition of the "independence" of Ireland on condition that it remains a "dominion" of the British Empire. This of course does not necessarily mean that there will be peace with Ireland, for it remains to be seen, if Sinn Fein will accept these conditions but one thing is certain, namely that by the acceptance of the principle of Lloyd George's terms to Sinn Fein the latter will be put in a difficult position. For it is by no means certain on how much American support Sinn Fein could now reckon, if it refused the terms and if the Irish war began again. The Northcliffe press has already been publishing letters from American journalists, which indicate that this support will no longer be forthcoming, if Sinn Fein refuses. The present situation may therefore well cause a crisis within the ranks of Sinn Fein itself, thanks to the astute manoeuvring of the dominant class in England.

Both the French and German bourgeois press have been in the last week emphasizing the possibilities of a failure to reach an agreement at Washington between England and America. On the other hand as far as England is concerned the utterances of the press and of leading statesmen all seem to point to the fact that the rules of the British Empire are in a healthy sense of self-preservation making great efforts to reach an agreement. The idea moreover is very popular among the writers and literary men of the petty-bourgeoisie, who have sent such men as H. G. Wells, as correspondents for prominent newspapers at Washington. Moreover the leaders of finance in England are not a little attracted at the prospects of being able to save, owing to an agreement on naval armaments, the sum of about 100 million sterling, which may just make the difference in the balancing of the British Budget next year. The proposals of Mr. Hughes refer of course mainly to future construction of battleships but these are extensive enough to effect a very considerable relief for the overburdened budgets of the victorious capitalist lands. Thus the proposals, if accepted, will mean the abstention from building in the next ten years some 20 of the greatest and latest type of battleship, which will mean an economy of some 200 million sterling. Also it will mean abstention from building a number of smaller ships, the cost of which will come in the next ten years to 100 million sterling, thus making a total saving of some 300 million sterling. Now taking into consideration the trade crisis in England, the indebtedness of England to America for the amount of some one milliard sterling and the impossibility for England to com-

pete with America in ship-building, if the latter seriously decides to outbuild England, there is every reason to believe that the pro-American standpoint will prevail with the English delegates at Washington. England's friendliness is, and has always been in the history of Anglo-American relations, a friendliness born of fear.

At the same time there are serious difficulties which may at any time wreck an Anglo-American naval understanding. Hughes proposals allow England a margin of superiority of four big battleships over America and 12 over Japan, 36 light cruisers over America and 44 over Japan. On the other hand America intends to continue her programme for destroyers and submarines, on the grounds that the American coast is of such a nature that it can only effectively be defended by these arms of defence. Now the submarine is just the one thing to which England's overseas trade is most susceptible in war time. It is no surprise that the English naval delegates at Washington have raised objections to this aspect of Mr Hughes proposals. They are not without some support among the British bourgeoisie, for the "Daily Telegraph" attacks the Hughes proposals fiercely from this point of view and declares that England wishes to show her true pacific nature by agreeing to total disarming even of the submarines and destroyers!!!

The real object of the American proposal on naval armaments is of course political. America is determined to break up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, to bring the British Empire under its financial and diplomatic protection, in order effectively to isolate Japan in the Far East. The struggles which will take place between now and Christmas at Washington, will in all probability be concerned with this question. The opinion of the British bourgeoisie is on this question divided. Lloyd George with his genius for compromise has for some time past been advocating the transformation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance into an Anglo-American-Japanese Entente for the Pacific and the Far East. He seems to have the support of some financial interests in the London City, who are interested in railway and bank concessions in the South of China and who have been working for some time past for the partition of China between England, America and Japan. It is very doubtful if this will satisfy America, which is clearly aiming at using its dominating financial position in the world to play the leading role in the Pacific and Far East. This is understood by such men as Lord Northcliffe, who in his recent despatches from Manchuria and China to the "Times", discreetly hints at the need of abandoning the Anglo-Japanese Alliance altogether, as the first step towards securing an agreement between the three chief capitalist powers in the Far East. The whole policy of Northcliffe, is the policy of a powerful group of statesmen in England, including Winston Churchill, Geddes, Mc Kenna and of financiers of the London City, who are interested in securing a postponement of the payment of the English war debt to America. These people would gladly sacrifice the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to secure an Entente with America, even if that Entente meant, as it certainly would mean, the subordination of the British Empire to American financial imperialism.

It is thus clear that there are considerable dangers in these new developments in the relations between the victorious capitalist powers for the proletariat of the world and particularly for the workers and peasants of Russia and China. The "Times" correspondent at Washington has already hinted in some of his despatches at the possibility of an American proposal for the international control of China in all matters concerning concessions and finance and of the open door in Eastern Siberia, "as soon as an orderly government is established there". There can be not the slightest doubt that the danger which would arise to Soviet Russia and to the democratic government of South China from such a "peaceful penetration" of the Far East cannot be underestimated. The question, which the near future will decide at Washington, is whether this tendency to the creation of an international financial consortium for the joint exploitation of China and Siberia, to which leading men among the British bourgeoisie are giving their support, is likely to bring practical results, or whether the old rivalries within the capitalist Powers will result in new conflicts and give Russia and China a breathing space.

ECONOMICS

Good Grain Crops - High Grain Prices!

A comparatively favorable grain crop is to be recorded this year in the capitalist world. At first glance an examination of this year's figures as compared with those of

the last few years may give rise to the belief in the growing stabilisation of the food-industries.

The "Deutsche Landwirtschaftliche Presse" of the 9th of November shows in the following tables the wheat-crop of the world in the last 6 years. Without counting the Russian crop, the figures which are given in thousands of quaters (1 quater = 2.9 hectoliters) show the following:

	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916
Austria	750	800	2 020	2 090	1 950	5 500
Hungary	5 539	3 624	4 000	3 500	14 000	17 000
Belgium	1 458	1 285	1 230	750	1 000	500
Bulgaria	5 314	5 160	4 250	3 170	3 500	5 000
Denmark	1 000	870	740	750	540	750
France	40 406	28 800	22 240	28 110	17 760	28 870
Germany	12 068	10 360	10 400	11 300	13 000	18 000
Greece	1 376	1 530	1 560	840	900	1 000
Holland	940	835	750	630	440	500
Italy	23 516	17 670	21 200	22 900	17 530	22 100
Portugal	1 000	890	910	1 000	940	870
Roumania	5 500	5 230	6 340	2 310	—	9 830
Jugoslavia	5 500	6 000	6 380	500	750	1 000
Spain	17 900	17 330	16 740	16 960	17 660	18 960
Sweden	1 573	1 340	1 190	1 120	850	1 130
Switzerland	450	450	440	820	570	480
Gr. Britain & Ireland	8 500	7 112	8 670	11 620	8 040	7 570
Europe	132 790	109 286	109 060	108 370	99 430	139 060
Algier & Tunis	5 425	1 720	4 110	7 210	4 500	4 540
Argentina	20 000	21 250	26 760	23 070	27 320	10 030
Australia	18 500	18 500	6 580	10 620	16 240	19 520
Canada	36 750	32 900	24 110	23 620	29 220	27 550
Chile	1 800	3 150	2 700	3 000	3 000	2 000
Egypt	4 626	3 960	4 200	4 070	3 730	4 570
India	32 000	47 100	35 000	47 450	47 430	39 700
U. S. A.	92 625	98 730	117 620	114 640	81 350	79 990
Uruguay	1 800	1 290	680	870	1 600	800
Japan	3 545	3 540	3 720	3 900	4 340	3 760
Non-European Countries	217 071	232 140	225 480	238 450	218 730	192 460
World Crop:	349 861	341 426	334 540	346 820	318 160	331 520

The poor crop in India and in the United States, which are due mainly to the absence of intensive cultivation as well as to unfavorable weather conditions, are abundantly covered by the favorable grain crops of the other countries. Besides, Argentina as well as the United States exported a considerable surplus of last year's crop.

Europe, whose crops are not sufficient for its own consumption, and which does not possess any big reserves, is compelled to import from the main grain-centers, Argentina, Canada and the United States. Of course, everything in good order! — here demand, there surplus. But capitalist economy is not at all concerned with demand; it asks: "Can you pay?" This question is extremely painful to the European countries, particularly to the countries of Central Europe. The consequences of war and post-war economy were depreciation, the impoverishing of most of the European States, and the diminishing of their buying power. The picture looks something like this: *On the one side a grain surplus and the piling up of capital, on the other — lack of grain and no means of paying.*

In Germany this condition is to be seen most sharply. Neither credit nor increased production on the part of the bank-note press can do away with this condition. On the contrary! The rate of exchange is sinking. The tension is constantly increasing. This is clearly to be seen in the development of the grain-prices on the New York market, as against German buying power. While the American grain-prices are dropping, the prices which are paid for the same amount of grain in German money, are rapidly rising. The prices on wheat were quoted in New York as follows:

	Cents per Bushel	Marks per ton	Freight in marks per ton
7. September	145.5	4 971	752
20. "	140.5	5 626	881
28. "	133.0	6 107	1 010
4. October	126.5	5 810	1 010
19. "	114.0	7 120	1 374
26. "	116.5	7 062	1 334
1. November	112.0	7 818	1 536

On account of the financial breakdown, the question of exporting to the countries of Central Europe is becoming more and more perplexing in spite of the reduction of grain prices. In America they find it more profitable to burn grain as fuel.

The Junkers and large land-owners of the countries which have a low rate of exchange are doing splendid business. Foreign competition is not to be feared; the prices in their own country can be raised enormously, within the limits of the world market-prices.

The following prices were quoted on the Berlin market for German grain. (The prices of 1913 are inserted for comparison):

	Wheat		Rye	
	Marks per ton			
1913	200		165	
9. September	4 040—4 080		3 240—3 340	
21. "	4 460—4 640		3 520—3 560	
29. "	4 650—4 700		3 660—3 740	
6. October	4 660—4 680		3 700—3 740	
20. "	5 200—5 300		4 140—4 240	
27. "	5 660—5 780		4 520—4 630	
3. November	6 700—6 840		5 140—5 360	
10. "	7 700—7 900		5 900—6 000	

The large agricultural owners of Germany are satisfied with the impoverishment of Germany and the depreciation of its money. The following resolution was passed at the plenary session of the Pommeranian agricultural chamber which was held on the 29th of September, 1921, under the chairmanship of Baron von Wangenheim, president of the "Reichslandbund".

"It is only the constant depreciation of the mark which until now has prevented the breakdown of the agricultural industry on a larger scale."

Under this mask, the resolution really states that agricultural capital is pocketing enormous profits through the depreciation of the mark. That means — *enormous profits out of the misery of the working people whose wages have relatively been reduced, the reduction of the buying power and thereby of the consumption by the working masses, famine in spite of abundant grain crops!* That is the picture of capitalistic anarchy.

Only the strong arm of the *entire working-class* can create order here. Do away with the capitalist profit system! Conquer economic control by and for the working-class!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Trade-Union Congress in Roumania

by A. Badelescu.

Since 1915 no trade-union congress has taken place; the congress planned and prepared for May 1920, when the number of organized laborers reached 300,000, failed to take place because almost all the delegates to the Congress of the Socialist Party had been arrested. Apart from a so-called trade-union congress held by the Social-democrats in June 1921, the Congress succeeded this time—it is a *double victory*, for Roumanian labor and for the government! It is impossible to foresee as yet how much of a victory this was also for the Roumanian Centrists.

It is a victory for labor because, after a year of frightful terror, alter the old organizations were broken up and plundered (by the police and military-officers), it is now possible for the workers to unite and wage the struggle in solidarity and unity.

It is a victory for the government, which has attained its desired end—the recognition of the *Tranki-Jaschi* anti-strike law, and the acceptance of autonomy on the part of the trade-unions. The Centrists who had already created a provisional General Labor Council in June, have partly consciously and partly unconsciously helped the government to victory.

It will be a victory for the Centrists only then, when they will have been able to boast a trade-union leadership of longer duration (and not only with the present membership—3% of Roumania's working class).

In reality no one is opposed to organizing on the basis of the *Tranku-Jaschi* law. A number of Communists quite consciously did the contrary. Under present circumstances, as long as labor cannot force the abolition of the police laws, every possibility for organization must be taken advantage of.

A year ago the White Terror suppressed every sort of labor organization. The assertion made by the Social Democrats and Centrists, that wherever the workers possess well-organized unions (as in Siebenbürgen and Bukovina) these unions cannot be destroyed by the government, as happened in Old Roumania and in Kadriater, is absolutely false. The actual truth of the matter is this—the trade-unions of Siebenbürgen and Bukovina have existed for centuries, and comprise *thousands of workers of other nationalities against whom the government was afraid to make an attack, because these unions were and are still strong supports of the Social Democrats and the Centrists, and also because the government intended to let these labor-unions stand as the model and kernel of the future organization.*

The government felt that it could not perpetuate the Terror. Moreover the laboring-masses had to be detached from the revolutionary Socialist Party. For this reason the *Tranku-Jaschi* law was passed; for this reason also, the trade-unions are forced to accept autonomy with regards to political parties. Since

the leaders of the trade-unions (the Communists) are in prison the Government gave the Centrists the opportunity of organizing themselves into trade-unions and to take over the leadership of the unions. Those workers who, in spite of the fact that they accommodate themselves to the *Tranku* law, are suspected of being Communists *could not come to this Congress.* That is what happened, for instance, to the workers of Kadriater whose statutes have not been accepted as yet on this account, so that they could not appear at the Congress and raise a voice against trade-union autonomy.

In spite of all this the Congress did not take place without some unpleasantness both for the government and for the Centrists. Revolutionary labor, with the Socialist Youth at their head, proclaimed certain truths. The only revolutionary proletarian periodical is the weekly "Socialist Youth". In the special Congress number the following appeared under the title "Our Point of View":

"Unfortunatley we are not all at the Congress. The Social-Democratic leaders have preferred to split up the proletariat, because they feared that the congress would not hand over to them the leadership of the future trade-union movement. They preferred to have their own trade-unions, their own General Council . . . We regret doubly, however, that just the influence of such people succeeded in holding back a portion of the workers of the new districts from collaboration in the building up of proletarian unity. But not only these workers are missing. An unheard-of military and police terror rages in all parts of the country, especially in Bessarabia, in Southern Dobrudja (Kadriater) and in a part of Siebenbürgen and Banat. There is no unified party-organization. In many places even the local organization is suppressed. The press is either suppressed or placed under censorship. Under such circumstances, it is easy to understand why a part of the proletariat did not find a way out of the frightful economic crisis. Certain currents were set in motion, to a great extent supported by provocateurs, aiming at a complete boycott of the laws, instead of taken from the law what we needed for the moment—the possibility of unionizing. This it happened that not only Social-Democrats but also large masses of revolutionary workers could not have a voice at the Congress . . . It is our opinion and also the opinion of many comrades that the unions will become at first independent of all politics, that is to say, autonomous. *But only because the reactionary labor-union law demands it.* We are forced to it—we cannot organize otherwise. But we cannot tolerate autonomy being regarded as a progressive step, nor the *Tranku* law as progressive in this connection. We know that bourgeoisie wants to suppress us with all means at its disposal, and we understand why it attempts to force upon us the badge of autonomy. We can understand this outrage when it comes from the bourgeois side, but when it comes from the proletarian side it seems contemptible to us."

Those lines appeared on the eve of the Congress. During the course of the Congress we will see how this revolutionary point of view was looked upon and received by the temporary Centrist leadership.

The Congress was in session from October 20 to 23 in Braschov (Kronstadt). The following was the order of business:

1. Report by L. Cretu on material and moral activity.
2. Autonomy of the labor-unions, reported upon by Dulca and Roth.
3. Reorganization. Tactics and lessons from the past—Manteanu and Bartha.
4. Press—Damion.
5. The economic situation and taxes on wage—Popp.
6. General statutes—Niculescu.
7. Election of labor-union commission.
8. Miscellaneous.

According to the estimates given by the trade-union paper, "Viata Sindicalia" (Trade-Union Life), 94 delegates from 81 organizations with a membership of 20 720 organized workers took part in the Congress—from Old-Roumania there were 41 delegates (from 26 trade-unions with 6017 workers), 53 delegates from Siebenbürgen and Banat (55 organizations with 14,703 workers). According to the estimates given by "Socialist Youth" based on the decision of the credentials committee, only 70 delegates with 196 mandates, took part, representing a membership of 15,999 from 15 states. Siebenbürgen had 9573 and Old Roumania 6017 members. Besides that, 12 more local trade-union commissions were represented by 13 delegates and the temporary General Council by 6 delegates. A yellow union sent 2 delegates from Constanza but they were not recognized.

It is worth while mentioning that trade-union papers failed to mention the fact that a police-agent also took part at the sessions as representative of the government. This government envoy helped the Centrists to their victory. The Socialist Youth felt itself duty bound to participate in the Congress in order to protect the economic interests of the young proletarians,

The Centrist Popp demanded that the credentials of the Youth be rejected because the Socialist Youth was a political and not an economic organization.

On this point important and heated discussion took place. Comrade A. Moldoveanu, the representative of the Youth pointed out: "Between us of the Socialist Youth and Comrade Popp there exists more than a misunderstanding. According to the old statutes we have a right to participate in this Congress. According to these statutes the questions concerning the Youth should be second or third in the order of business. We are here to remind the Congress to find place in its resolutions for everything necessary to the proper development of the Labor Youth.

"The demand made by Comrade Popp that our credentials be not accepted is nothing more than the continuation of the Bucharest tactics against us. Not only no support was given us but we were even driven out of the trade-unions in the organization of which we have contributed a great deal. And we were driven out wherever Comrade Popp is in power. Matters went so far that the sale of our paper was forbidden in Socialist book-stores."

"The Socialist book-stores are not your possession, Mr. Popp! This measure was resorted to by the temporary General Council at the same time that all bourgeois papers and all yellow-literature were permitted to be sold.

"Comrade Popp knew that our paper would not let him sleep, and that we represent another idea. He knew that we would oppose him on the question of autonomy, and for this reason he demands that we be denied entry to the Congress . . . Here at a labor congress we must be heard."

Comrade Popp wanted to speak but members of the Congress did not permit him, and they called for a vote. The same thing happened to comrade Niculescu who attempted to speak against the Youth. A majority of the delegates with the exception of the members of the Local and General Councils, cried, "Long live the Youth!", and they voted in favor of the Youth's mandates. Thereupon the police-officer who represented the government caused the session to be suspended. The next day, under pressure by the Youth, a new vote was taken. There were 27 votes for and 35 against the Youth.

The report of the Centrist paper leaves out entirely all these details. This paper states that in the debates over the question of autonomy the following delegates spoke for the negative: Inbre, Roman, Jonescu, Simulescu and Dorian of Bucharest, Mohn Patrutescu of Galatz, Mihailescu of Koksani and Al. Lzon of Arad. Autonomy was accepted by 164 votes against 27, 10 not voting because the vote was taken by open ballot, instead of by secret ballot which was demanded by the Communists.

The Autonomy Resolution reads thus: "In view of the explanations made during the debates, whereas a division of Labor is necessary for the reorganization of the proletariat, due to practical grounds, whereas the economic organization of the proletariat is only a part of the class-organization and that it calls for special and tenacious work embracing the total number of exploited, and whereas an effective economic organization must have an absolute unity of ideas and action,

Be it therefore resolved that the Congress decides for trade-union autonomy."

This autonomy is easy to understand in view of all the political disturbances. The Congress did not renounce, however, either the class-struggle, or the solidarity with the workers of the entire world.

The Congress declared solemnly (!) "that as a basis of the economic organizations of the exploited, only those principles can be laid down, which were taught by Marx and Engels and which must serve as the guide for the great economic organization of the whole world".

It is the universal phraseology of the Centrists.

A number of Centrist leaders who have already been languishing in prison since the general strike, and among whom there is the former Party Secretary Moscovici and the former members of the General Council Paul Marc and Kahn addressed a letter to the Congress in which they recommended autonomy without further ceremony.

The counter-resolution was rejected.

The other debates were less significant. The report on the press showed that the union periodicals had suffered a loss of 7842 Lei up to October 15, that is to say for 14 numbers. On account of this a membership tax of five Lei per capita was decided upon. In the future the periodical will be printed in Roumanian, Hungarian and German.

On the fourth day the new General Council was elected, consisting of seven members from New Roumania and four Old Roumanians. Among these there is the cowardly M. Balineanu former General-Secretary of the trade-unions, who was leader of the last general strike but who was recently set free from prison on

account of his friendship with the Social-Democratic member of Parliament A. Dunareanu (close friend of the government and the police). In September 1920 Balineanu had spoken at the Bulgarian Labor-Union Congress in Sofia in favour of the Roumanian trade-unions' joining the Red Trade Union International . . .

The "Socialist Youth" writes the following on the results of the Congress: "Now we know that the very workers who are forced to show themselves different from what they are, and the very ones who openly follow others, are in reality near and for us . . . Only here and there is it possible to speak openly. The fear of colliding with the government's boot has crippled all enthusiasm, has checked every irritation.

"The government has triumphed. It has triumphed because the Congress has fulfilled the government's wishes Until now we have kept a great deal that we we knew to ourselves, desiring unity. To-day we must speak the truth as long as the scissors of the censorship and the governments sabre will permit us."

The Beginning of a Mass-Movement in Germany

by V. Götz (Berlin).

The Lichtenburg hunger-strike of the 130 imprisoned participants in the March Action, at first glance a heroic protest, has in reality shaken the passivity of the German working class and set millions of workers in motion. It occurred in a period, when the workers, ignoring differences of party, began to see the necessity of union of revolutionary forces against the imminent attacks of "Big Business". Even the Executive of the ADGB. (General German Trade Union Federation) was compelled by the unanimous protest of the working class against Stinnes' attempt at denationalization to issue a manifesto demanding the "Seizure of gold-values", i. e., the confiscation of the means of capitalist production.

In this situation, the Lichtenburg hunger-strike was the impulse necessary to bring the needs of the hour completely to the attention of the working masses. The elemental proletarian sentiment, the feeling of proletarian solidarity united the workers in an unanimous protest against the infamies of class-justice. This shows how weak those artificial fences are, which are erected by the reformist leaders in order to separate the workers and to paralyze their will to combat.

Delegation upon delegation from the factories, from Berlin, from all parts of the country, came to the Reichstag to demand from the federal ministry of justice immediate liberation of all political prisoners. Protest mass meetings took place everywhere. In Halle the workers threatened to go on general strike.

In the German Reichstag, however, a resolution demanding the immediate liberation of the Lichtenburg prisoners was voted down after a stormy debate by the united bourgeois parties together with the Social-Democrats against the votes of the Communists and the Independent Socialists. The Federal minister of justice, Dr. Radbruch, pacifist professor of law who turned socialist after the November-Revolution, one of the few social-democratic leaders till now uncompromised, rode the high horse as formerly Noske used to do.

Hootingly applauded by the bourgeois deputies, he derided the suffering of the hunger strikers, spoke of an "empty demonstration", and called the communists his open enemies. The Social-Democrats approved his statements. In the Prussian Landtag even the consideration of the hunger-strike was at first defeated.

However, the workers and their delegations were waiting outside for a definite answer. Radbruch put them off with a few empty phrases. The masses' indignation increased. Even the social-democratic workers joined the general protest. In every factory resolutions were passed demanding the liberation of all political prisoners.

However, the social-democratic leaders, as usual, betrayed the cause of the proletariat. After the disgraceful behaviour of their minister and Reichstag-fraction, the Central Committee of the Berlin district issued an appeal in the "Vorwärts", which absolutely defies the will of the working class as unanimously expressed all over the country. The Lichtenburg prisoners were reviled as common criminals. The protest of the entire labor-movement against the class-justice was denounced as a communist machination, the communists were accused of aiming at a "Putsch", and the social-democratic workers were warned not to take part in joint demonstrations. The leaders of the Social-democracy dropped all masks, openly turned against the united front of the proletariat and denounced this as communist party-politics.

The Social-democratic leaders knew that they were bound by their coalition with Stinnes. They showed this at the first

occasion, when the joint action of the working class was at stake. Furthermore, the bourgeois press enthusiastically seized the social-democratic charges against the communists. They immediately demanded the institution of martial law. Social-democratic police president Richter promptly prohibited all public demonstrations in Berlin.

Not only the Social-democrats, however, but also the Independent Socialists were constrained by the Lichtenburg case to show their colors. They were forced to decide between friendship with the leaders of the Social-Democracy and the united front of the proletariat. They had the choice — either the continuation of their policies as practised up to now, or compliance with the will of the masses in order not to lose the last remnants of their confidence. In the Reichstag-debate the chairman of the USPD. (Independent Socialist Party of Germany), deputy Crispian, declared that the government did not deserve the confidence of the workers. The government, however, is the Wirth government, which was only formed with the aid of the USPD. Immediately thereafter, the Central Committee of the USPD. issued an appeal in which the threatening dangers were pointed out and the workers were summoned to the struggle against the continual rise prices, the increased exploitation of the workers and the tax-program of the bourgeoisie. In the appeal, the Central Committee declared that it was ready to enter into communication with the workers' parties and the trade-unions in order to facilitate the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle of the workers by the creation of a united front of the proletariat. The decision is to be made before Christmas, according to the appeal.

Of course, the leaders of the Independents will again attempt to let the matter rest with these empty words. Thus, they refused this time as well to participate in a joint demonstration of the Berlin workers for the liberation of the political prisoners, claiming that it was possible to reach an understanding with the SPD. (Social-Democrats).

But the further matters go, the less will the leaders be able to hinder the union of the workers in the struggle. The movement is getting beyond their control. Thus, the delegations from all parts of the country, workers of all parties, decided, in agreement with the Berlin organisations, to convene a plenary congress of the Berlin shop committees, i. e., the legitimate representatives of the entire Berlin working-class.

The Communist Party appears at this moment to be the competent standard-bearer of the will of the working class. The goal of all workers, revolutionary unity for the conflict, can only be attained under the leadership of the Communist Party. Every mass movement breaking out at the present time automatically comes under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The protest movement of the masses caused by the Lichtenburg hunger-strike creates a favorable "jumping-off point" for the great struggle between the classes over who is to bear the post-war burdens, for the tax-conflict. This mass-movement has thwarted all the plans of the leaders of the trade-unions and of the Social-democratic Party, who had already attempted to settle the entire matter — so uncomfortable for them — by secret negotiations with the representatives of "Big Business" leading to a shameful compromise. It has compelled them to openly declare whether they are for or against this impending struggle. Thus, the hunger-strike of the Lichtenburg prisoners, for them the final struggle — the struggle with life at stake — has become the commencement of a new era for the millions, a commencement with far-reaching consequences.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

To the Co-operatives of all Countries.

Hunger reigns in Russia. An unusual failure of the crops, caused by drought, has affected the most fertile governments of the Volga region and the North Caucasus.

The governments suffering from the failure of the crops, were the scene of the most violent kind of civil war only one or two years ago and were laid waste by the White Guard generals who destroyed pitilessly the possessions of the peasants who rose against them.

The famine is formidable in its extent. The pictures of the of the famine-stricken produce a frightful and shocking effect. Emaciated human beings wander about like shadows and reel from hunger. Desperate mothers throw their starving children into rivers and under railroad trains in order to save them from the torments of hunger. The famine threatens to bring typhus and other plagues in its wake in the winter.

The workers of Russia who have been defending the great acquisitions of the revolution during three years of civil war, who have spared themselves neither fatigue nor suffering in the

struggle for the ideal of Socialism, must now undergo new Trials.

Everyone in whom all human feeling is not as yet dead, must put forth every effort to help the famished. Even more energy must be displayed by those who consider the high ideal of Socialism as precious, and for whom the active Russian people has struggled valiantly, heroically and with self-sacrifice.

And the workers of Western Europe have not remained deaf to the appeal of the famine-stricken. Relief work has become one of the most important tasks of the labor organizations of Western Europe and America. The political parties and labor-unions call upon the workers to organize this relief-work through contributions, through giving up a part of their wages, etc. The workers of the West who are themselves suffering from unemployment and a reduction of wages have responded quickly and energetically to this appeal. The work is full swing everywhere. Collections are made, workers are donating part of their wages.

A part of this money has already been forwarded to the famine-regions. It would be a disgrace for any worker or Socialist to remain indifferent to the organization of the relief-work.

We have heard a great deal about the work done by the Communist parties and Red trade unions. But outside of the feeble, colorless resolution of the International Co-operative Congress at Basle, we have hardly received any information as to what the Co-operatives of the West intend to do in this matter. And yet the Co-operatives are, in a large measure, workers' organizations. The suffering of the famine-stricken must surely affect these workers. The leaders of the co-operatives call their organizations one of the sections of the great army which clears the way to Socialism—for which the Russian people has made countless sacrifices. Precisely on this account the co-operatives can and must participate in the relief-work for the famine-stricken, more so than any other labor organization.*

The Russian co-operatives are working energetically for the relief of the famine-stricken and for the rebuilding of their economic life. Support is provided for through collections, donations from wages, and reciprocal co-operative help.

Anyone who does not take an active part in the struggle against the famine which is bringing suffering to millions of laborers will be considered a traitor against the great interest of the workers' solidarity. The co-operatives ought not to enter the ranks of these traitors.

Comrades! You are great in numbers. The co-operatives comprise millions of members. You have created a host of wealthy, powerful organizations which can do a great deal for the support of the famine-stricken. Why then don't we see these organizations, and why don't we see you in the foremost ranks of the combatants? You can, you must take this position.

Work first of all for the collections which can mitigate the misery. Wake up your comrades, bring up the question of relief-work in your co-operatives, induce the governmental and social institutions of your countries to do relief-work!

Come to our assistance more quickly! The need is great. The famine calls for daily sacrifice. No time must be lost.

Co-operatives of the Third International.

International Co-operative Bureau.

Executive Committee of the All-Russian

Co-operative League, Moscow.

THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

Unity in the Movement of Proletarian Youth.

by B. Ziegler.

Every worker still recalls those frightful days of August 1914 with terror; those days in which the "powerful" International of workers' societies fell to pieces before the mowing sabre of the imperialists. Hundreds of thousands of proletarians who were thrown into the devouring international war machine by the colossus with feet of clay, had to repent with blood and life that they did not keep a sharper eye on their "leaders".

While everything sank in the bloody intoxication of a bacchanal war, one labor organization furnished an exception:

* Up to November 12, 1200 Co-operative societies of the "Central League of German Co-operatives" in Hamburg have donated altogether 80,700 marks. Really a deplorable showing. Here we see an sabotage of Russian relief, or this is because the bureaucracy of the co-operatives is incapable of organizing practical relief-work. The League of British Co-operatives has put 1530 pounds Sterling at the disposal of the International League for Russian relief purposes—Editor's note.

that was the "International Union of Socialist Youth", an organization founded under the protection of the Second International in 1907. It was the various groups of this International, who in a number of countries demonstrated against the war with all their power, be it ever so weak.

The very same groups were the ones which were ready for the first international labor conference against the war in 1915. While the Second International wallowed deep in the reformist swamp, in which it sank more and more, the International of Youth ascended the red bank, upon which the Third Communist International was later to be built.

One by one the single revolutionary groups freed themselves from the rotten body of the Second International, and began to fight the old parties. The Second International began to split. In order to achieve their goal, the groups tending towards the left had to shoulder the "curse of a destroyed solidarity of the proletarian front".

It was different with the International Youth which went its revolutionary way as a unit. Only insignificant groups refused to follow the main body; this they did against the will of the masses, as in France for example. Those who remained behind and declined to take part in the Berne Conference and to carry out its decisions were at once generally considered as not belonging to the movement.

The unity of the International Youth movement thus remained intact, when the solid mass of revolutionary associations of Youth also finally constituted themselves the "Communist International of Youth", and consummated its union with the Third International with correct historical judgment. Many, indeed almost all of the remaining organizations, which had not attended the Berlin-Congress, recognized this, and joined the only International of Youth, one after another. The stirring activity of the quickly growing Communist International of Youth, roused fear in the revived Second International and in the 2½ International which was founded in the meanwhile, and which saw their offspring endangered. In the spring of this year, the sad work of *splitting the International of Youth* was begun at a wink from above, by the split off remnants of several leagues of Youth which in recent months had turned communist, and by several large social-patriotic societies of Youth which never stood on the basis of the International, or had ignominiously betrayed its principles.

The ones, faithful children of the Vienna 2½ species did it "in the name of Unity". The others, the yellows, with every one of their clubs expressly reserving tactical freedom for themselves, and the right to defend their "Vaterland", had very loudly announced their aim, in order to be able at the right moment, to call their members to a fresh and merry fight against our comrades. The aim announced was: Fight against the International of Youth which follows the directions of the Communist International.

The unity of the International of Youth is thus broken. The followers of the Vienna muddle-heads and the darlings of the Amsterdam Yellows have won the sad fame of a split.

Occupied in the struggle for the growth and expansion of the Third International, perhaps the Communist Youth did not do enough to prevent these infamous destroyers from accomplishing their handiwork. Now however, after its second Congress, the Communist International of Youth will use all its power in re-establishing the old unity of proletarian youth. The traitorous groups supported by the old parties of course can not be entirely eliminated, but we do not for a moment doubt that the Communist International of Youth will succeed in reducing them to insignificance.

In the coming economic struggle, in which the social-patriots will make way for radical leadership, while the centrists will have to accept the Communist slogans, the young workers will open their eyes and realize who their true leaders are, who actually does anything for them, and whom they can trust.

The revolutionary susceptible working youth will now as ever recognize the revolutionary way as the only possible one, and in the new struggle for its International, it will give the working-class an example as to where *the unity in the proletarian movement* is to be found.

Unity per se can never be the goal we strive for. But in the struggles which the Youth faces at this moment, the struggle against reduction of wages, and against lengthening the working-hours and increasing misery, the absolute necessity for unity in the proletarian ranks will show itself. In these very struggles, it will be shown that no one is benefited by unity as such, and that *only unity on a communist revolutionary basis* can help the working-class.

We believe that is the duty of the young workers again to lead the way for the entire working-class, and to pave the way to the international Communist Unity of the fighting proletariat, by *reconquering revolutionary unity in the International of Youth*.

HELP FOR RUSSIA

Proletarian Relief-work in Poland

by L. Georges (Warsaw).

The relief work for the millions of starving people in Soviet Russia has become a revolutionary duty and a watchword for the working-class of all countries. From the very beginning the C. P. of Poland faced the difficult problem of developing an extensive and successful relief-action for the suffering Russian comrades — — — in Poland, a country where every betrayal of sympathy for the Soviet government leads directly to prison, and where the Socialist Party systematically works for the destruction of international solidarity. We set to work at once, although from the very beginning our action was met by a solid front of the enemy which stretched from the National-democrats to the "Socialists". The Polish Government which through its representative Aszkenazy at Geneva solemnly declared its readiness to aid any action for the starving in Soviet Russia, now places every obstacle in the way of the workers' relief-committee, and seeks to hinder it in its activity. On the other hand the Socialist press is carrying on a shameless propaganda against the Russian revolution and even surpasses the reactionary capitalist press in its insults against both of the Soviet Republics. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie are not ashamed to write, that: ". . . The Belsheviks themselves are mainly to be blamed for the famine . . . that the Russian proletariat is thrown into the abyss of starvation by their Communist standard-bearers . . ." A Communist relief-action, like those carried on in other European countries, would have been an absolute impossibility in Poland, where hundreds of our comrades are languishing in prison for their communist principles. It was therefore necessary to create a non-partisan Relief Committee, in which all those, who recognized their solidarity with Soviet Russia could work. The creation of such a workers' relief committee was decided upon by the Warsaw trade-union executive in September. This committee extended its activities further and further over the whole country, until to-day it works as a central committee with numerous branches, which are carrying on vigorous propaganda for the relief-work. Soon after it was founded, the relief committee turned to the executive of the socialist unions with the proposal to carry out the relief action together. A flat refusal was the answer given to it by the president of the labor-union executive, the P. P. S. leader Zulavski, who was brazen enough to demand the suspension of the activity of the workers' relief committee. The P. P. S. thus also sabotages the relief-work with all the means at its disposal. The spirit of solidarity on the part of the class-conscious workers shows itself to be stronger than the counter-revolutionary policy of the P. P. S. leaders. Up to this time numerous workers' meetings have been held, in which the Communist deputy, Dombal, also took part. At every one of these meetings resolutions were passed, requesting the workers to give up a day's wages for the Russian relief. The relief work is greatly hampered by the increasing unemployment and by the crisis in the textile and metal industries in which thousands of workers are daily thrown out of work. Considerable success is to be noted however. Up to the 1st of November over 5,000,000 Marks have been collected, although in many cities the collections began only recently. The difficulties which the relief committees have to overcome are daily becoming greater; the results of the collections are increasing, however, in spite of all threats and repression. The sums collected by the individual unions already amount to several hundred thousand marks, and new contributions are constantly flowing in. Thus for instance, the textile workers' union collected 62,000 marks, the office and commercial-employers' union collected 488,000 marks, the leather workers' union 624,000 marks, the printers' union 200,000 marks. Collections were made in numerous factories. The confederation of Jewish labor-unions has received contributions from 50 cities of Poland and Galicia.

In order to be able to appreciate the work accomplished by the relief committee, we must take into consideration the circumstances under which we must work in Poland. All the periodicals until now published by the worker's relief committee have been without exception confiscated by the police and their distribution forbidden, although no legal action could be formu-

lated against the editor, not even on the grounds of the Czar's code. Objective lectures dealing with the situation in the famished regions of Soviet Russia were prohibited by the police, although the lecturers were not Communists. When for instance, comrade Sempolovska wanted to deliver a lecture, after returning from the parched Volga regions, permission to speak was twice refused her, and the enraged audience was dispersed by force. 73,000 marks were uselessly spent out of the money collected for these meetings, however.

In spite of all obstacles, the relief-action is constantly spreading, and is uniting the Polish proletariat into a solid revolutionary front.

Nov. 15, 1921.

The White Terror

Spanish Czarism

by Bernard Lecache (Paris).

The "Guardia Civil" sitting on his horse in the middle of the street in Madrid under the thousand eyes of the crowd, represents the Spain of sordid repression, of prison-cells of death, of torture-chambers—the real Spain. The poets and painters have nothing more to do in this country, ravaged for years by the feudal lords of Castile. Spain is a beautiful and passive eternal prostitute, subjugated by the Juntas (Associations for Military Defense), the priests, and the treacherous police. For the foreigner, Spain is a perpetual carnival. It has daily and bloody celebrations—the bull-fights—where this most resigned of peoples comes to forget their miseries. It has its dance-halls, its cafés, its unforgettable sun. Spain itself is a magnificent museum, from rich Viscaya to ancient Andalusia. That, all that, is only a mask from which five centuries of Latin influence have not been able to remove the Moorish imprint. Red, joyous, vicious mask—it fulfills its duty, it plays its role. And on beholding it, the world imagines that an eternal peace reigns over the country. But when one goes to the very heart of the peninsula, when one asks questions, makes inquiries or looks closely, then the mask falls. The true visage of Spain appears, with its sores, its miserable hideousness, the decay of the regime, the atrocities of justice. It shows itself in rags like those innumerable beggars of the cities and such as it is—prisoner of poverty, bled white by sacrifices called for and obtained at every moment by its capitalism and militarism. Here it is, this ingrate land—real, harsh, upon which the old cathedrals establish the invincible power of the Church, with the "altos-hornos" (blast furnaces) indicating the widely-spread murderous forges and the barracks and the prisons shutting in lively and free youth.

Here is Spain, in the twentieth century, the new Holy Russia, atoning for the good fortune of its climate and its beauty under the heel of the Junkers. Never, in the darkest hours of Czarism, did Russia undergo pogroms and persecutions as present-day Spain. King, courtisans, officials, officers, civil guards, secret and public police, armed bands of "sommaten" (a formidable gang of mercenaries) all work in the pay of the international industrialists and financiers. An unbelievable man-hunt upon Spanish revolutionists is made every day and hour in the name of the king. The factories retain their private police. The work-shops are infested with spies. All the methods so dear to the heart of Rasputin's Okhrana and the trust magnates of the United States are revived and intensified in Spain. Everything which is independent in this country meets with death. It is impossible to imagine what a cool persistent ferocity presides at the "maintenance of order", so called by the reaction which reigns beyond the Pyrenees. Public, open, avowed war against Communism and Syndicalism, assuming all forms, taking on all appearances—ignoble war, against which it would not be too much for all nations to react, and react immediately.

Those who have had the honor of disturbing the criminal government of Spain to such an extent as to be lodged by it in the prison-cells of Madrid or Barcelona, as I have, do not find words sufficient to picture what they have seen there, to describe what they have learned there. What lessons the Spanish jails offer to the Communists! What hatred they inspire them with against the executioners! What stoicism the victims display! The men who were tortured in my presence, my friends who were massacred at the street-corners, the militants who were brought to reason through hunger—they were ours, our brothers, guilty of adhering to the "Party of Moscow", to "Lenin's Labor Union". They suffered and died in silence.

Before this suffering, these deaths, the world proletariat kept quiet. For this it can never be forgiven.

The atrocities continue. Spain of the Junkers, of the Juntas, of the police, spreads its nets abroad, becomes attached to France, to Germany, induces them to arrest Spanish comrades and calls for their extradition. Vaillant-Couturier has caused a vigorous motion to be adopted by the Executive Committee of the French Communist Party. The "Humanité", the "Vie Ouvrière", are starting a vigorous campaign. Is it sufficient? I know only too well that more than that is necessary in order to save the revolutionaries of Spain—an incessant, direct, brutal action without which the martyrs of Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona are helpless.

The martyrs must be thought of. All that bloodshed in Spain merits our effort. We will make it.

The white Terror in Jugoslavia

by Gj. C.

At a time when bourgeois reaction is raging practically all over Europe against the Communist working-class movement, the White Terror in Jugoslavia would not appear as an exceptional case, had it not been marked by peculiar Jugoslavian circumstances. One of the most important of these peculiarities is that the communist movement in this agricultural country with its scarcely developed working-class and uncultured and unmerciful young bourgeoisie is persecuted not by a modern class conscious bourgeoisie but by a mad and savage one. The instigator of the White Terror in Jugoslavia is not an industrial bourgeoisie of old traditions as is the case in Western European countries but an oligarchy of the young finance capital which arose from the usury of the war profiteers, the landowners, the speculators and concession-mongers, of the small usurers, who in the Balkans represent a peculiar type, further the Mohammedan feudal Beks. In this Balkan militarist monarchy all of them find their strongest support and most reactionary inciter in the notorious powerful militarist secret society "Bela-Ruka" (White Hand), which has its members and agents in all important places of the army and gendarmerie up to the council of ministers.

This is the coalition, which by utilising the Parliamentary parties of the Radical, Democrats and Mohammedans not so much as a Parliamentary majority but rather as a semblance of such is in reality governing Jugoslavia. This coalition naturally comes into constant conflict on all economic and political issues with the Communist Party of Jugoslavia against which it has now commenced life or death struggle in order to rid itself of its strongest and most dangerous enemy.

Under such a reactionary regime with a bourgeoisie completely incapable of solving even those problems which history has allotted to it and absolutely indifferent towards all social questions, all objective conditions for the development of social patriotism disappeared after the first disappointments of the working class in 1919; thus in Jugoslavia the Communist Movement from the outset became a *mass-movement*.

The membership of the Social-Democratic Party amounts only to about one seventh of that of the Communists. Naturally all the trade-unions came over to the Communists. Thus practically the whole of the trade-union movement came under communist influence and unofficially remains so. Therefore, the second important feature of the White Terror in Jugoslavia is that under its rule *not only the Communist movement, but the whole of the working-class movement which is almost identical with the former—the trade-unions and all other now dissolved mass organizations are suffering terribly.*

The third important feature of the Jugoslavian White Terror is the pacifist *Balkan forms and methods* which it has adopted. Such European bourgeois-democratic ideas as "constitution", "Law", "Legal forms", "Parliamentary government", "Immunity of members of Parliament", "Liberty of press and organization", "right to strike", etc., have long ago lost in Jugoslavia the meaning they still possess in other countries. In order to understand Jugoslavian conditions one must keep this constantly in mind. Although the most reactionary country in all other respects Jugoslavia today is the most progressive in tearing the mask from the face of bourgeois democracy. Against the majority of the people, notwithstanding the great social political and national discontent caused by the policy of suppression, in spite of the ever increasing chaos, this governmental coalition which is trampling under foot the constitution and laws of its own creation, has only one motto—to keep in office basing itself entirely on the power of bayonets.

In December of last year when the Constituent Assembly after more than two years of the existence of Yugoslavia met at last, its sovereignty was snatched away from it. The Communist Party which entered Parliament with 59 members and took up in Parliament the struggle against the regime of violence, was by a coup d'état outlawed. Using as pretext the sympathetic general strike of September 30th of last year in favour of the striking miners who had been militarised, the governmental-coalition by a simple decree has suppressed the Party and trade-union press, the workers' clubs, put under military occupation the bookshops and printing offices, abolished the right of meeting, both for political and trade-union purposes, prevented all trade-union activity and took possession of their papers and funds. Thus the connection between the Communist Party and the masses of the workers has been made impossible. Last June when the cabinet attempted to carry through at all costs the dictatorial centralistic constitution—the most reactionary in Europe—the Constituent Assembly was then but a shadow. The Constituent Assembly was boycotted also by the Croats and Slovenes, because the great majority of the Croat and Slavonic peasants and bourgeoisie, which is from an economic point of view somewhat more advanced, regarded this constitution as a threat to its national and cultural interests. Since the democrats and radicals did not possess a majority in Parliament, they bought the club of the mohammedan Begs for 300 million Dinars in order to carry through with a majority of a few votes their arbitrary constitution.

Such a regime and especially the unceasing persecution of the working-class at last caused attempts of assassination. The object of the struggle of the C. P. J. on December 30th was the reopening of the trade-unions and the legalisation of the Party. Should the C. P. J. have been legalised under the constitution the fanatic elements of its following would have never resorted to individual terrorism. Since the party has not been legalised and it was made impossible for it to maintain contact with its following it led to two consecutive terrorist attempts.

The attempts gave the government coalition a pretext to intensify the regime of White Terrorism. The reactionary regime reached its culminating point, and for a period of two months actual orgies of white terrorism occurred. All the world knows what happened during this time. The trade-unions which had only been reopened in June were again closed. The entire working class was at the mercy of capitalist exploitation without any possibility of defence. A violent campaign has been instigated against anything connected with the communist movement. A campaign of lies and slander was launched on the communist party while it had no possibility of defending itself. By a new coup d'état and breach of the constitution by means of the well-known resolution termed the "Defence of the State Act", white terrorism was legalised and under this "law" the only two forms of legal party activity which remained to the C. P. J., i. e., their representation in Parliament and the municipal bodies was done away with. The 59 mandates of the communist members of Parliament were declared void and many of them were arrested. All the communist municipal councilors and members of other elected bodies were dismissed. At the same time communists were prevented from standing as candidates. Communist propaganda and organizing activities are punishable by penal servitude up to 20 years, or, since, the latest breach of the constitution, with capital punishment. Simultaneously the government filled the prisons to overflowing with tens of thousands of communists. The medieval Inquisition seems pale compared with the terrible tortures imposed upon these prisoners, which aroused the indignation even of bourgeois journalists. The violent actions of the ministry and the police, the arbitrary alterations of laws, the atmosphere of police espionage hovering over the country and all spheres of public life, the special police passports for workers, the feeling of general insecurity, these were the predominant features of the situation during the first two months of white terrorism. It oppressed the minds of the population and disorganised the economic life of the country. In the midst of this oppressive atmosphere, there was no press, no opposition in the country. The opposition bourgeois parties out of fear quietened down. The few opposition bourgeois papers could hardly breathe under the terrible censorship while the government press sank to the level of denunciators' and police-agents' sheets. The Social-Democrats of the Second and 2½ Internationals supported the White Terror in their press and participated in the general campaign against communists, in order thus to regain a footing in the working-class movement whence they had been turned out by the workers. In recognition of such service the government handed over to the social traitors the funds and documents

of the trade-unions, by which means they hoped to split the trade-union movement. Further, the government handed over the same social-traitors the workers' clubs which the latter immediately rented to bourgeois institutions—the editorial offices, premises and funds of the communist and trade-union press, which is now being utilised to spread the most disgraceful slanders against the communist movement.

The government is trying to justify the white terror—the "Defense of the State Act"—chiefly by the alleged complicity of the Communist Party in the two attempts of assassination. In reality this law had been prepared long before the attempts of assassination took place; parts of it had been published as early as last autumn and it already announced in April of this year, at a time when there was no question of assassinations.

The investigation of the first attempt of assassination, which in accordance with the demands of the law had to be concluded within two months, is now, after four months have passed, still pending. It is not yet known when it will be finished. It is obvious that the government is trying to avoid a trial, because notwithstanding all the torturing of the prisoners no responsibility of the communist party or its functionaries could be established. The trial of the second attempt of assassination, which recently took place at Zagreb, proved conclusively that not a single member of the C. P. J. was in any way involved in this affair.

The economic, financial and political failures of the reactionary regime and all that is accompanying it are becoming more and more apparent. The fall of the foreign exchange, the loss of credit abroad, the fiasco of the internal loan, one failure after the other in the foreign policy in the Albanian and Baranya questions, the revolts in the Sanjak of Novibazar, the terrible corruption of the state organs are undermining the position of the government. In the very ranks of the coalition the process of demoralization is going on. Frightened by the terrible consequences of their rule the coalition parties are trying to shift the responsibility for the government's deeds. Quarrels between them are growing more severe from day to day.

As a result of the changes in the economic and political situation, the opposition is commencing to raise its head. The inevitable fate of all reactionary governments now threatens this regime. But for the time being it still exists and is trying by all means to keep its power. The C. P. J. and the working class of Yugoslavia, who at present are isolated in the severe struggle against the White Terror, trust that one of the factors that will lead to the destruction of the reactionary regime will be the *international solidarity of the working class*.

APPEALS

The Red Trade Union Recruiting Week.

The Executive of the Profintern (Red Trade Union International) issues the following appeal to all the organizations, members of the Red Trade Union International.

"The Recruiting Week of the Red Trade Union International will be held from the 1st to the 8th of December.

The revolutionary workers of all countries will manifest during this week their adherence to the Moscow International and their inflexible decision to smash the destructive system of exploitation for ever.

The Executive invites all organizations and workers, deserving the name of fighters for the Social Revolution, to prepare the observance of this week by the appointment of special committees of action in all revolutionary organizations accepting the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These committees are to take charge of the organization of the propaganda week as well as of the united action against the ever increasing wave of reaction.

The slogan of the propaganda week is, "The united front of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive!"

The Executive of the Red Trade Union International.

Losovsky, General Secretary.