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The World Situation at the Opening of the New Year.

By Karl Radek.

The election victory of the Republican Party in America was the result of the improvement in the economic situation which took place in summer and autumn last. This victory in turn caused a further improvement in the economic situation. An American journalist who belongs to the Democratic, that is to the defeated Party, wrote: "Our generation knows no other President in whom the financial circles had such great confidence as they have in Coolidge."

The capitalist world is assured of a government which will be its blind tool.

In order to gain an idea as to the industrial situation in America, we will quote the most important statistical figures. About 2 million shares of 555 industrial and commercial concerns change hands every day on the stock-exchange. These are the highest figures since 1896. The Clearing-house figures in October reached 40 milliard dollars. This again is the highest sum since March 1920. We see along the whole line a reduction in the number of bankruptcies and an increased trade turn-over. The steel industry, which on the 1st of July was working 46% under its normal capacity, has reduced this difference to 14%. The price of steel is rising.

The cause for this revival is to be seen in the high price of corn, which in turn is due to the bad harvest in Canada and in Russia. The price of wheat has reached 1.62 dollars.

The question has even been discussed in some newspapers, whether we are here confronted with a temporary overcoming of economic depression or with the commencement of a great industrial boom.

A great quantity of the capital accumulated in America is not only seeking for new markets for the products of American industry, but also for markets for the direct export of capital. In the year 1923 London issued securities to the value of 2 milliard Gold roubles; 38% English, 41% colonial and 21% foreign. During the year 1923 the United States exported capital to the value of 1200 million gold roubles. In the first ten months of 1924 London issued securities to the value of 1400 million gold roubles; of these, 300 million went abroad. During the same period New York issued securities to the value of 5 milliard roubles, of which more than 2 milliard went abroad. In the search for markets for the export of capital American finance capital has already left English capital behind.

Another very important fact is that this exported capital is not only in the hands of a few bankers or financiers, but that the loans find subscribers among the ranks of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. The Austrian loan, amounting to 50 million gold roubles, found 9000 subscribers; the Japanese loan, amounting to 300 million gold roubles, 44,000 subscribers. The low rate of discount of the American banks has overcome the "fear

of the unknown" existing among the middle and petty bourgeoisie; the latter are investing larger sums of money abroad every year.

It is interesting to cast even a fleeting glance at the places to where American capital is being exported. During the first ten months of 1924 the United States lent (reckoned in Gold roubles): 80 millions to Argentina, 300 millions to Japan, 60 millions to Switzerland, 80 millions to Holland, to Czechoslovakia about 20 millions, to Hungary 18 millions, to Norway 50 millions, to Belgium 60 millions, to Canada 280 millions, to Germany 220 millions, to France 200 millions, — besides a whole number of municipal and private loans. It is not surprising, therefore, that Coolidge, after his re-election, declared: We cannot hope that we shall always remain an island of the blest which will live apart from the rest of humanity. If we were unable to avoid participation in the war, with the causes of which we had nothing to do (!) how could we think of avoiding responsibility for other world questions which are to be solved in the atmosphere of peace and goodwill?"

We will leave the "peace and goodwill" of Mr. Coolidge aside. The president of America, who was returned to power with the aid of a Party which in the year 1920 defeated Wilson under the slogan of isolation from the rest of the world, expresses in these words the fact that American capital has already penetrated into all countries of the world to such an extent, that to-day it has become one of the most important factors in world politics. The American newspapers are full of articles dealing with the trade of America with the whole world, with the question of the export of capital and with all the conflicting questions of world politics. This is a complete change of front which only becomes intelligible when one has studied the attitude of America to world questions in the period from 1919 to 1922. The United States, after having protected her industries by enormously high tariff walls, is now competing to an ever greater extent with all the other countries of the world, and for this purpose is employing her enormous accumulated capital, the export of which constitutes nothing else than the powerful weapon of long term credits, which America had very unwillingly granted hitherto.

If the question of capital export at present occupies the forefront position in America, in England it is the question of the export of goods which is engaging the greatest attention. The statistician Edgar Crammond, calculates in his recent work that, as a result of the war, the national income of England has become considerably reduced and that from 1914 to the present day — if we take into consideration the reduced purchasing power of money — it has fallen from 24 to 21 milliard (reckoned in roubles). The present national income is about equal to that of 1907. It is upon this reduced national income that there lies the heavy burden of the enormously increased national debt, with the result that the budget has to be increased fourfold. In consequence of this England, who in the year 1907 was able to devote about 24% of her national income for the extension of the influence of her capital at home and abroad, is now only able to employ about 10% for this purpose.

As English capital is not in a position to compete with America as regards the export of capital for the purpose of capturing markets, and as it does not possess such a big home market as America as would permit it to reduce the cost of production, and in addition is suffering from the industrialising of its own colonies, English capitalism is faced with far more serious difficulties than is American capitalism. The above mentioned Mr. Crammond calculates that the share of England in the trade of the world increased in the period from 1912 to 1922 from 13.8 to 17.3 percent. This increase in the share of England in the world's trade (in the first place at the cost of Germany) does not, however, correspond to the increase in the total sum of English trade. In 1922 it was 25% lower than in 1912. The necessity for creating the pre-conditions for normal trade was the driving force which caused England to participate in the attempts to solve the reparations question. It is this also which is causing England to strive to restore a firm regime at all costs in her colonies, to "pacify" China and to open the Russian markets. And as the consolidation of the capitalist order in the whole world is equally necessary for the export of capital as for the export of goods, the whole of the year 1924 was characterised by the co-operation of England and America.

The relative weakness of England in the sphere of capital-export, her close relations with the European markets, is causing

great uneasiness among the English capitalists with regard to the difficulties which English capitalism will encounter in the event of the strengthening of German industry. Hence a number of vital questions regarding the reconstruction of capitalism assume another form to the United States than to England. These differences show the varying degree of interest which England and America have in the colonial questions. The Anglo-American co-operation, in spite of all the compliments of the English statesmen to the United States, has not led to the disappearance of the profound antagonisms between these two powers. One must, however, for the time being reckon that the efforts — arising from the greater strength of American capital and from the deep crisis of English capitalism — to create favourable conditions in shattered Europe, in the colonies and in the semi-colonial countries for the absorption of goods and for the investment of capital, will not only lead for the time being to the solidarity of these powers against the Soviet Union, as well as against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but also to the attempt to create favourable pre-conditions as quickly as possible for the penetration of English and American capital into these countries.

American imperialism is striving to conquer the world; English imperialism is striving to maintain its conquests. A collision between these two will take place in the future. Today, however, they both require at all costs an extension of the world market. These efforts of the two imperialist powers constitute the most characteristic feature of the international situation at the opening of the new year.

POLITICS

The Triumph of the Hangmen of the Esthonian Proletariat.

By Novice (Reval).

The Esthonian hangmen are still continuing their dastardly work. Police, detectives, volunteer defence regiments have for a whole week been carrying out their bloody and dirty work. Every day brings dozen of fresh victims. The hangmen have set themselves the task, not only of annihilating the Communist Party and the Trade Union organisations, but all who are suspected of being "sympathisers". The rage of the gang of scoundrels who, by a whim of fate, have become the hangmen of the working class of Esthonia knows no bounds; but it is understandable.

The 1st. of December, which from now on will be a memorable day for the Esthonian proletariat, in spite of the fact that the insurrection ended in defeat, revealed the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the strength of the organised advance-guard of the proletariat.

150 to 200 Communists divided themselves into groups of 5 to 10 men, and on the 1st of December at half past five in the morning seized possession of both railway stations, of the telegraph and post office, of the telephone station, the tanks and armour trains, the police administration, the aeroplanes, the parliament and some ministries. Only the officers' training college and the general staff escaped falling into the hands of the insurgents. The shooting in the town lasted for two hours, and it was not until 8 o'clock that the government collected its wits and began, with the help of the officers who remained loyal, to liquidate the insurrection. The sailors from the Esthonian fleet, all kinds of police-troops, the mounted police reserves and the defence troops hastened to the assistance of the government.

The military authorities confined the soldiers to barracks as they were not regarded worthy of the "honour" of becoming the hangmen of their emancipators. This is quite understandable. In the barracks, where, on the 1st of December, the Communists appeared and brought the news of the workers' insurrection, the soldiers immediately arrested their officers, changed the guards and sang the workers' hymn. With such a mood prevailing in the army it was dangerous, even after the victory, to allow the troops to leave barracks. But in spite of everything the victors still feel uneasy. Never will they forget those critical two hours, nor will the Esthonian workers forget those two hours in which the capital was in their hands. The ad-

mirable bravery, the courage and the boldness which was revealed on the 1st of December are the best guarantee that this defeat will lead to victory. The 1st of December gives proof of the iron discipline of the C. P. of Esthonia.

Although the insurrection was drowned in blood, nevertheless it revealed the whole cowardice and futility of the government of the Esthonian bourgeoisie. The fact that 200 men were capable of capturing all the central offices and divisions of troops, along with the stores of munitions, and that the government received no assistance until the officers appeared, who overcame the armed groups of communists — this fact furnishes sufficient proof that if the number of the insurgents had been three to four times greater, the issue of the struggle would have been otherwise.

How has the "public opinion" of the "democratic Republic" received the events of the last days? As profound an indifference prevails to-day as did before the 1st of December. The desperate attempts to arrange public demonstrations of sympathy for the government ended in complete failure. The pompous "national" funeral of the victims of the 1st of December which was announced some days ago, was attended by very few people, apart from some official persons, school boys and relatives. The leader of the Agrarian Party, Pjatz, stated regretfully at a meeting on 7th of December that the Lettish people had taken the Reval insurrection more to heart than had the Esthonians.

There in Lettland demonstrations of sympathy for the Esthonian government had taken place on the occasion of the liquidation of the Communist insurrection. Here, on the other hand, there was not even a protest demonstration against the enemy. The ordinary citizen does not bother himself about high politics. He is oppressed by the chronic economic crisis, the burden of taxation and the absence of any prospects of a better future. The workers, on the other hand, are terrorised to the greatest extent. In the workers' quarters there prevails a mood such as used to prevail in the Jewish quarters during the time of the Tsarist pogroms. They wait with bated breath, expecting to be attacked and beaten to death. House searches and examinations are taking place every day. A great portion of the inhabitants of the workers' quarters have been conveyed to prison; a considerable section had to flee. Not only the participants in the insurrection were executed, but whole families. An entire family of the name of Soans, consisting of the mother, two sons and three daughters (the father is in Soviet Russia) have been executed. During a search of their house a store of hand grenades was "found".

Another case was the Wackmann family. The sons, aged 17 and 15 respectively, have been shot, the mother is in prison.

According to a superficial estimate, no less than 200 men have been executed.

It is difficult to give an adequate description of the privation and hopeless misery which the workers of Esthonia have to endure. Whole families have lost their fathers, children and entire means of existence. **Extensive, organised, material help is necessary. The workers in the more fortunate countries than Esthonia must help by contributions and by practical expressions of sympathy. The International Red Relief must hasten to the aid of the victims of the white terror in Esthonia. Every day is precious, help must be forthcoming speedily.**

* * *

According to reports of the bourgeois press, the illegal revolutionary activity of the Communist Party of Esthonia has not ceased even for a moment. Already on the 3rd of December Communist appeals were circulated, not only in Reval, but also in a number of other towns. And these leaflets proclaimed a fresh death sentence on the hangmen. This shows that the proletariat of Esthonia has not lost courage and is not intimidated by the fearful terror, that it has openly declared itself ready to continue the struggle which it has begun. And in so far as "history is working for us", in so far as the fascist dictatorship, to whose hangmen all social traitors without exception subordinate themselves, must unavoidably set up decay in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself and create discontent and indignation among the broad section of the petty bourgeoisie, there is no doubt that in the near future a new wave of indignation will rise, that new cadres will join the revolutionary fighters, and that the revolutionary prospects are extending. Over the graves of our fallen comrades the Esthonian revolutionary proletariat is advancing to new struggles and to the final victory over the hangmen.

The Esthonian Social Democrats Justify all the Terrorist Acts of the Government.

Moscow, 3rd January 1925.

In reply to an inquiry by the II. International regarding the insurrection in Reval and the White Terror in Esthonia, the Central Committee of the Esthonian Social Democratic Party has submitted the following declaration:

"We complained to the government at the time regarding the futility of the arrest of 149 communists and have consistently defended the communist deputies against arrest and demanded the abolition of the state of siege in Reval; the events of the 1st. of December last, that is, the insurrection in Reval, have, however, opened our eyes.

We now declare all the acts of the government to be justified, and all measures of the government to be necessary and dictated from reasons of the safety of the realm. For the same reasons we voted for the handing over of power to the military and entered the government for the purpose of helping it in its struggle against communism."

The whole bourgeois press of Esthonia welcomes this declaration of the Esthonian social democrats which was submitted to the Executive Committee of the II. International.

In the meantime, in Reval, the domiciliary searches in the working class quarters continue without interruption; in the suburb of Lillekuela and in the harbour, hundreds of arrests have taken place. The commander of the 3rd division, Tennison, declared all fractions of the unity group in the municipal administrations to be dissolved. All members of the above group were therefore removed from office.

The Bloc of the International Financiers in Persia.

By Ir andust.

The National government of Resa Khan (Sadar Sepech) in its severe struggle against the feudal chiefs, is bound hand and foot by the uninterrupted financial crisis.

The last budget of Persia showed an enormous deficit and, after some months of fierce debate, was recently rejected by the Persian parliament.

The British Embassy renewed the proposal to grant an English loan under the same conditions which it obstinately, but without success, put forward in the last three years. The most important of these brutal imperialist conditions are the following:

1. Recognition by Persia of her debt to England amounting in all to 1½ million Pound Sterling. Of this amount only the pre-war credits amounting to 490,000 Pound Sterling constitute a formally justified demand of England. The remaining sums are: "subsidies" to various Persian governors, expenditure on the part of England for the upkeep of her troops in Persia during the world war and for financing her political programme in Southern Persia. A considerable portion of the last named items constitute "advances" which were given by the Bank of England to some Persian politicians who had participated in the preparation and signing of the notorious Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919 which converted Persia into a colony of England.

2. Recognition of the English railway concessions in Persia which were not confirmed by the Persian parliament.

3. Extension of the concession to the Bank of England in Persia by a further 50 years.

Not a single Persian government since 1921 could take upon itself to recognise these phantastic debts and conditions. The present financial crisis in Persia, however, obviously compels the Persian government to give way to English pressure. Reports state that it is prepared to recognise a portion of the debts to the amount of 4 million tuman (about 900,000 Pound Sterling) but refuses to accept the proposed English loan, the conditions of which mean the end of even the shadow of Persian independence.

In view of the resistance of the Persian government to the conditions of the English loan there appears in the newspapers of the capital, Teheran, the idea of an international loan.

This plan for an "international" loan obviously emanates from American financial circles, which are connected with Standard Oil and who are acting through the mediation of

a French consortium after having come to a previous understanding with financial groups of England. According to its conditions this loan means that the struggle to seize possession of the mineral riches of Persia, and in the first line the petroleum concessions, between the most important groups has been settled by a definite agreement.

At present a certain crisis in English policy in Persia is noticeable whereby England is obviously been driven to this agreement. The successful fight of the national government in Teheran against the border states, the subjection of a number of feudal chiefs, among them recently being the Scheikh Cheisal (Sardar Akdes) of the Persian Arabistan, reveals the untenability of the line of British diplomacy which aimed at the dismemberment of Persia.

The growth and the success of the national movement in the direction of creating a strong centralised state became a fact which one could not close the eyes to. And there now appears a tendency in the leading circles of the English Foreign Office to accept this fact, and in place to adopt the line of the political and economic control of the Persian national movement by rendering it entirely dependent upon foreign support. This line proceeds parallel with the programme of economic absorption of Persia by the English and American financial groups and oil trusts which are fighting one another in Persia.

The possibility of this new line is indicated by the tone of the English newspapers, which during the last few weeks have begun to praise the Persian national movement and to recognise the merits of Resa Khan, whereby at the same time the latter is given certain pieces of advice, for example, that he should abandon the Republican idea or that he should reconcile himself with the higher Shiite clergy of the holy cities of Nedshef and Kerbelly who are sharply opposed to the Republican movement. The declarations of the English press are very significant of the new course which England will probably follow.

Of course it is difficult to say how far this course will be successfully followed in view of the innate contradictions it contains. But in any event there is no doubt that it will scarcely succeed in subordinating the national movement in Persia to the interests of British colonial policy.

ECONOMICS

Most Favoured Nation Conditions as a Means for the Imperialistic Struggle for Power.

Re the Anglo-German Commercial Treaty.

By E. L u d w i g (Berlin).

The signing of the Dawes Plan was proclaimed by the bourgeois German Press as a great diplomatic success. The treaty is, however, the opposite to a success. The German Government has capitulated along the whole line to the demands of English imperialism.

As a matter of form, Germany is restored to equality of rights:

"The demolition of all the barriers to commercial intercourse is marked by a degree of thoroughness which seems to exceed everything to which we are accustomed, and which also has reference to the attitude towards third nations. Wherever it is possible, the way seems to be prepared for a 'reciprocal granting of rights equal to those of the subjects of the states in question', but always 'equality of rights with those of the most favoured nation'." (Wirtschaftsdienst, No. 50 of Dec. 12, 1924.)

Equality of rights and most favoured nation terms: that is the beautiful democratic pacifist formula, behind which the brutal, imperialistic power hides, even in international economic relations.

Thus according to the treaty, the German banks may again open branches in England. But they are already working with Anglo-American capital. The opening of branches of German banks in London is thus at least as advantageous for the English bank capitalists as for the German.

Both States reciprocally grant the most favoured conditions to each other's subjects in their own country. England, however, immediately makes a characteristic reservation. The right of domicile for Germans, even in England, is dependent on the granting of a visum, and is only valid till September 1st 1926 and does not apply to immigration of Germans into Egypt, India and the former German colonies which are now under an English mandate. The most favoured nation terms are therefore an extremely one-sided matter, to the disadvantage of Germany and to the advantage of the English capitalists.

The most favoured nation terms further apply to the reciprocal exchange of goods and to the custom barriers with which one or the other of the parties to the treaty may wish to protect itself. Any advantage which either of the states may grant to a third, also applies to the party to the treaty. It thus seems as though Germany were again "capable of world trade". But even here appearances are deceptive. It is true that Germany has opened her market to English goods, especially machine tools and English textiles. On the other hand, however, it is distinctly agreed in the treaty that India and the British dominions are excluded from the most favoured nation terms. The treaty takes care to provide that England may grant preferential tariffs to her colonies, and that vice versa the colonies may grant preferential conditions of import to the goods of the English mother country, without Germany having a right to claim equal preferential treatment for her goods in England or the British colonies, in spite of the most favoured nation clause.

Through this arrangement the right of England and her colonies to establish special duties and to introduce specially favourable conditions of import and export between the mother country and the colonies, is provided for and definitely recognised, and England thus completes the construction of her empire and takes the first step towards the erection of a customs' barrier round her world empire which was the dream of Joe Chamberlain.

In reality the plans of protective tariffs and the dreams of German industry of a world market are ruined by these most favoured nation terms which give advantages to England and mean disadvantages to Germany. The reason for this is clear. Protective tariffs are only one of the many forms of manifestation of the imperialistic policy of force. As the German bourgeoisie, having lost the war and having been defeated in the fight over the Ruhr, can no longer conduct any independent imperialistic policy, and as, through the Dawes Plan, Germany has become a colony of imperialism, the German bourgeoisie cannot establish any protective tariffs against the imperialistic robbers, its masters.

On the other hand, the most favoured nation terms in the commercial treaty by no means prevent England from establishing protective tariffs against Germany. Apart from the exceptional position which the treaty grants to India and the dominions, and which expressly gives England the right to establish protective tariffs against Germany, the treaty definitely confirms the continued collection of the reparation contribution of 26%. This reparation contribution has no other purpose than that of strangling German exports to England the realising of the aim of a high protective tariff against German goods. In the question of the reparations contribution which was the chief point of dissension in the negotiations for the commercial treaty, England remained obstinate and firm, in spite of all the adjurations of the German negotiators. The most that she agreed to was, that an agreement should be come to with the general agent for reparations, that the export contribution should no longer be collected from the individual German exporter. This simply means that the export contribution in its totality is to be deflected from the exporting industry to the German taxpayer, to the broad masses of the working people. Thus the workers have the pleasant prospect of paying about 800 million gold marks a year for the export contribution in the form of taxes to the capitalists, apart from the sums fixed in the Dawes plan.

German capitalism can only by great efforts maintain a position in the world market, by brutal plunder of the masses of the German working people and as the lackey of the great imperialist powers and of their capitalistic accomplices in Germany. The most favoured nation terms in the form of "the Anglo-German commercial treaty", which will probably be the form of all future commercial treaties, does not open the English market to Germany. Before the war, in 1913, the German exports to England amounted to 80.4 million pounds annually, the

English export to Germany to 40.6 million pounds. Germany and England were the best customers of one another. But this relations did not prevent their embittered rivalry on the world market. On the contrary, it was the starting point of competitive armaments, naval construction and the scramble for colonies and for spheres of exploitation throughout the world. It became one of the causes of the world war.

Through the war, England destroyed German imperialism. The Versailles treaty gags Germany politically. The Dawes Plan ties the economic fetters. The commercial treaty tightens the knot. In 1923 the German exports to England only amounted to 35 million pounds sterling thus not even half the pre-war export, whereas the English export to Germany has increased by 2 million pounds sterling, i. e. to £ 42,500,000. As regards the first 9 months of 1924, compared with 1922 and 1923, the Anglo-German trade balance is, according to the "Economist" of December 6th, in England's favour as follows:

	In million pounds		
	1922	1923	1924
Imports from Germany . . .	18.7	25.4	25.3
Exports to Germany	24.3	33.0	31.0
Re-exports to Germany . . .	13.6	14.3	21.2

The figures as to the import of English textiles into Germany, which was England's chief motive in opening itself to the German market through the most favoured nation clause, shows at the same time how this clause works exclusively to the advantage of England.

England's export of textiles increased from £ 126,400,000 in 1913 to £ 177,300,000 in 1923, whereas the import of textiles fell from £ 9,200,000 in 1913 to £ 8,700,000 in 1923. (Moreover the export of iron and steel from England also increased from £ 55,300,000 in 1913 to £ 76,700,000 in 1923, whereas the import into England has also fallen from £ 15,800,000 to £ 13,700,000.)

In the first half year of 1924 the export of goods for foundries and rolling mills, iron and metal works, machine and electrical industries amounted to 77 million pounds sterling the export of finished textile goods alone to 159 million. Even before the commercial treaty, Germany absorbed about 8% of the total export of English textile goods, while hardly 1—2% went to France. The average monthly export of finished textile goods from England to Germany in 1923 amounted to £ 738,000, in June 1924 to as much as £ 1,808,000.

The English commercial treaty confirms and continues the post-war development, which made Germany an open market for the imperialistic robbers, whereas she herself was shut out from the world market.

The projected Franco-German commercial treaty is an imperialistic supplement to this commercial treaty, built up on the most favoured nation terms, as a tool of imperialistic power against Germany. The said treaty is constructed on the basis of the iron and steel trust, the foundation of which is to be the association of the German Ruhr coal with the iron ore of Lorraine under the direction of the Paris iron-works committee. The idea is to create a "Pan-European" iron and steel production and to divide the market for export by peaceable arbitration among the various members of the international trust. In reality this is another attempt to establish an imperialistic regulation and distribution of the markets by exploiting particularly the cheap German labour.

The international steel and iron trust, which is to receive its sanction through the Franco-German commercial treaty, has exactly the same effect, as regards high protective tariffs, as the most favoured nation clause. For the international limitation of production which is the aim of the iron and steel trust, hands over the fixing of prices to the great Montane Trust which has the determining voice, that is especially to the powerful French-Lorraine iron-kings. The trust prices have the effect of protective tariffs, especially against Germany.

Thus the commercial treaties, which apparently recognise Germany as a partner with equal rights in the world market, in reality result in cutting off German industry from the world market.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The American Federation of Labour Convention.

By Wm. Z. Foster (Chicago).

In its 43 years of history, the American Federation of Labour has held many reactionary conventions. But the one in session in El Paso, Texas, Nov. 17—25, was the worst ever. Absolutely nothing of a constructive nature was done. On the contrary, a strong drift to the right, to more intensified class collaboration, was evidenced in all its deliberations. There were 375 delegates in attendance, representing a padded membership of 2,865,979, a decrease of 100,000 for the year. Even the building trades organisations, in spite of the greatest building boom in American history, claimed an increase in membership of only 20,000. The convention was opened by the delegates singing the "Star Spangled Banner", and by a Catholic priest asking a blessing. Patriotism and religion mix well with the usual proceedings of A. F. of L. Conventions.

Following out the imperialistic lead of the American capitalist class the trade union bureaucracy also arranged for conventions of the Mexican Federation of Labour and Pan-American Federation of Labour to be held in connection with that of the A. F. of L. The Mexican Federation convention was held in Juarez, just across the Rio Grande. The two bodies held joint sessions on two days. The Pan-American Federation held its meeting in Mexico City a few days later. The poisonous influence of Gompersism was spread through all three conventions. Skilful interpreters, translating Gompers' speeches, made them "red" to suit to Mexican delegates, and they toned down those of the Mexicans to suit the petty bourgeois American delegates.

The Question of Political Action.

One of the most pressing problems before the convention related to the political attitude of the Federation. Before the convention Lewis, Hutcheson, Barry, and many other prominent leaders affiliated to the Republican and Democratic parties, made strong protest against Gompers' endorsement of La Follette. A split threatened, but the sly old fox, Gompers, averted it. He mollified these ultra-reactionaries by refraining from all criticism of the old parties and demanding "a strict adherence to the policy of non-partisan activity".

Sentiment for a Labour party was conspicuous by its absence. The resolution of the left-wing stated that, "The necessary mobilization of the real power of the labour movement for its own protection and the effective defence of the workers' interests can only be accomplished under the leadership of a revolutionary party, the Workers Party, aiming at the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of a workers and Farmers Government". It was, of course, overwhelmingly beaten.

The A. F. of L. Executive Council came forward with a proposition cementing the alliance with the La Follette petty-bourgeois movement and opening the door for cooperation and participation in the eventual third party.

The Left-Wing and its Programme.

The left-wing was practically unrepresented at the convention. A. F. of L. conventions are made up almost entirely of the upper layers of the trade union bureaucracy. Each of the 120 affiliated unions send their highest officials. These make up the convention delegation. The rank and file have no representation. Hence, the left-wing has little opportunity to be heard effectively. What few rank and filers might come from the central labour councils, which are entitled to one delegate apiece, are usually deterred by the fact that A. F. of L. conventions are commonly held in such out-of-the-way places as El Paso. This offers no handicap to the officials. They look upon the conventions as so many joy rides. The El Paso affair, with its bull fights and drinking orgies, was in harmony with this spirit.

The Trade Union Educational League militants introduced a series of resolutions dealing with leading points in the left-wing programme. Almost all of these were either ignored or voted down overwhelmingly. A flurry developed over the amalgamation question. Swales, the British delegate, stated in his

talk that in England amalgamation movements were on foot affecting 3,000,000 workers. The A. F. of L. convention, however, showed its contempt for progress by voting down almost unanimously the amalgamation proposition. The resolution on Russia was treated with the usual avalanche of "red" baiting and misrepresentation. In the matter of the release of political prisoners, the convention, following its usual course, tipped its hat to the subject by adopting mild resolutions protesting against the imprisonment of Mooney, Rangel, Kline, Sacco, and Vanzetti. Nothing was done about organising the unorganised or to relieve the starving unemployed in the mining districts. No steps were taken to check the "open shop" drive, beyond a few empty threats by Gompers and Woll against wage cuts on the part of the employers.

Class Collaboration.

The American Federation of Labour and its affiliated organisations are fast dropping the last traces of militant struggle and are developing an elaborate and settled policy of class collaboration in every sphere of their activity. Mr. Gompers specifically denied any revolutionary intent on the part of the unions. He said:

"The trade unions are not inclined towards the Marxian theory of government. To the contrary, they are manifesting a constantly growing interest and participation in the institutions dependent upon private and cooperative initiative and personal and group adventure."

Matthew Woll, Mr. Gompers' understudy, informed a waiting world that, "Industrial democracy cannot come through the workers alone, we need help of the employers."

The so-called "Baltimore and Ohio Plan", the system of class collaboration developed by the Machinists Union after the loss of the great railroad shopmen's strike in 1922, was given Mr. Gompers' blessing. That other form of "cooperation", or class collaboration, labour banking, received fulsome praise at the Convention.

The report shows that in the last few years 30 labour banks, with resources of \$ 150,000,000, have been organized. About 60 more are contemplated. A strong point in the financial system of the labour banks, so it was urged, is that they do not finance strikes, as these are bad business propositions. They will not fight capital. "They have demonstrated that the interests of capital and labour are identical."

Enthusiastic over the spread of labour banking, the labour bureaucrats are about to take another plunge into the muddy waters of high finance. The new scheme of class collaboration is the formation of insurance companies. According to the report of the special committee charged with investigating this subject, the total amount of money invested in insurance in the United States is 60 billion dollars, and the annual income therefrom is 10 billion dollars yearly. Profits in life insurance average 20%, and in fire insurance from 141% to 1157%. With these rich flesh-pots in sight the bureaucrats are hot-foot for the insurance scheme.

American Imperialism.

The El Paso convention breathed the spirit of imperialism. One of the most popular speakers was Colonel Drain, commander of the American Legion. A notorious "open shopper", he lauded Gompers as "the friend of kings and presidents". In its report, the Executive Council declared squarely for militarism. It said, "Pacifism in any form is obnoxious to your committee, which is in agreement with the purpose of amply safeguarding our nation and its people and democratic institutions against any and all invasions." In accordance with this principle, the 14 metal trades unions called upon the United States government to strengthen the navy. The congress also endorsed the proposition of Citizens' Military Training Camps. It voted against Japanese and Mexican immigration, and for the restriction of immigration generally.

In the conventions of the Mexican Federation of Labour and the Pan-American Federation of Labour, Gompers carried on a militant defense of American imperialism. He cooperated openly with Calles, the tool of American big capital. The whole delegation to the A. F. of L. Convention were invited to Mexico City to attend the inauguration of Calles. Carrying on just enough of a fake denunciation of American imperialism to win the confi-

dence of the unthinking, Gompers industriously did the work of his American masters.

In the Pan-American Federation of Labour, which was made up of delegates from the United States, Canada, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Mexico, with the important countries of Argentine, Chili, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Porto Rico and Cuba not attending he waged a war against all manifestations of revolutionary spirit. All resolutions praising the capitalist governments were passed with enthusiasm; those that criticised them were got rid of by being referred to convenient committees.

In Mexico City the revolutionary left wing carried on an active campaign against the Gompers-Morones combination. The Mexican Committee of the Red International, combined with the Trade Union Educational League of the United States, and the Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League, issued a manifesto denouncing Gompers as an instrument of Yankee Imperialism.

Busy as Gompers was seeking to lash the workers of Central and South America to the chariot of American capitalism, he was not too busy also to attend to the imperialistic necessities of the American capitalist class in Europe. Now that the capitalists, through the Dawes Plan, are entering into an active struggle to dominate Europe and find the World Court a convenient instrument for them, naturally their lickspittle, Gompers, follows along in their train. The convention endorsed the World Court, taking a gratuitous slap at the League of Nations in passing. And Gompers began to manoeuvre to get back into the Amsterdam International again.

The three conventions, in El Paso, Jaurez, and Mexico City slopped over with praise of Gompers. This arch-faker was belauded endlessly. In this contemptible work, none exceeded the ex-socialists, who made up about a third of the A. F. of L. delegation. They went to extremes.

A striking end to these three conventions was the death of Samuel Gompers. He died of a complication of diseases, which were brought to a crisis by the high altitude of Mexico City. He was hurried at the point of death from Mexico to the United States dying shortly after crossing the American border. The capitalist press mourns his death. Gompers was 74 years of age and connected with the labour movement for almost 60 years. He was a Jew, and born in London, England. He participated in the formation of the A. F. of L. in Pittsburgh in 1881, and has been an officer of that organisation ever since. He was elected president in 1886 and has served continuously in that office, except in 1894 when he was defeated by John McBride. He was a member of the Cigarmakers' Union. It is likely that Lewis will be the next president.

In Conclusion.

The outstanding feature of the El Paso Convention was the powerful movement developed for the still further extension of the already complicated network of schemes of class-collaboration. The meaning of this is clear. The policies of the reactionaries have failed utterly to maintain the trade unions in any semblance of militancy. The weak craft unions have proved unable to withstand the ferocious attacks of the well-organised employers, and the political policy of the Gompers machine has been equally futile. The labour movement is in retreat before victorious capitalism. The growth of the class collaboration movement is the bureaucracy's recognition of that fact.

In this crisis the duty of the left-wing is clear and imperative. The revolutionaries in the Trade Union Educational League must renew the fight for the adoption of militant policies and leadership by the unions. The Gompersian leaders are hopelessly reactionary, nothing constructive can come from them. They are allowing the unions to be torn to pieces, and are helping the employers to do the job. The Socialists and the so-called progressives are in the same boat. They have no ideals, no programme, no militancy. The only quarter from which leadership can come is from the left-wing. The fate of the labour movement depends upon the growth and development of the revolutionary forces in the unions. We must realise this fact and redouble our efforts for the extension and establishment of the Trade Union Educational League in every phase and stage of the trade union movement.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Judas Iscariot Restoresh his Honour.

(The Ebert Trial.)

By Karl Radek.

Moscow, December 1924.

Our newspapers are publishing the reports of the slander action instituted by Herr Ebert, President of the German Republic, against a fascist newspaper which accused him of betraying the country during the strike of the munition workers in February 1918.

Let us call to mind the conditions under which the events forming the subject of the trial took place. For three years and six months the blood of the workers and peasants of the entire world had been flowing in streams. The world bourgeoisie was unable, even with the sword to cut the bloody knot it had not been able to unravel with its weak hands. Millions of proletarians have perished in order to decide who shall have the first place in exploiting the working masses: the Anglo-American or the German capitalists. In October 1917 the Russian workers and peasants, after having overthrown the bourgeoisie in Russia, took the cause of peace in their own hands. „To All“ there went the news that the proletariat in one of the states of the belligerent great powers had seized power and proposed peace to all the peoples. The bourgeoisie of all countries attempted to silence the messages from the radio station of Zarskoje Celo which summoned to the fight for peace.

Everywhere there was a ferment among the working masses, particularly in Germany, as nowhere had the working masses suffered so much from the war as in this country, surrounded on all sides by foes, where bread and meat were replaced by swedes and turnips — for breakfast, dinner and supper. When we passed through Germany in the so-called sealed railway carriage, the soldiers in Francfort broke the chain which separated them from our carriage in order eagerly to ask us when peace would come. The Central Committee of the German Scheidemann-Social Democrats, who from the very first day of the war never wearied in persuading the workers to rescue the German bourgeoisie, immediately they perceived the mood of the working masses, despatched Parvus to the foreign delegation of the Bolsheviks with the proposal to expedite the submission of concrete peace proposals, and declared themselves ready to call a general strike should the war party not agree to peace.

“Scheidemann and Ebert are ready for this”, declared Parvus “only Legien is opposing it; but we will push him aside. If the question is put: Peace or the rule of the trade union bureaucracy, then we will clear out Legien”.

The Peace negotiations were begun. When the moment arrived for decyphering the general phrases of the German delegation regarding peace and the right of self-determination of the peoples then it was seen that, for the representative of the German government, the right of self-determination meant nothing more or less than the annexation of Poland, Lithuania, Lettland, and the Ukraine by German imperialism. In the fortress of Brest-Litovsk, which was cut off by the troops of General Hoffmann from the rest of the world, the representatives of the Soviet power carried on a desperate struggle, not only in the interests of the Russian workers and peasants, not only in defence of the Ukrainian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Polish peasants, but also in defence of the future peace. It was more clear than ever that if an imperialist robber-peace was forced upon the Soviet Republic in Brest Litovsk, the working masses of the Entente countries would be flung again into a fight “to the very end”, that is, into a fight without end.

The robber-peace which was forced upon Soviet Russia in Brest-Litovsk meant that fresh millions of German, French, English and Italian workers had to perish for the sake of capitalism. There in the conference room of the Brest-Litovsk officers quarters, the Soviet delegation attempted literally to snatch millions of proletarians from the jaws of death. During their terrible struggle they heard not a single cry of encouragement from the workers, and only from the glittering eyes of the officers servants, from whose soul the savage war discipline had been unable to banish the longing for peace, were they

able to see how the heart of the German masses was reacting to their struggle.

At one time — it was in the evening of the 28th or 29th of January — we noticed that the German commander did not hand us the usual wireless report. We rang up the intermediary officer who hesitatingly replied that the munition workers in Berlin were on strike. Suddenly, the black clouds parted, and it was as if a patch of blue sky appeared. General Hoffmann had therefore not succeeded in cutting us off from the German workers; they have raised their heads, the news will also reach the Entente countries that, besides German imperialism which is seeking to place its foot upon the necks of the vanquished, there also exists a German working class! The German workers are the enemies of German imperialism! This will also encourage the workers in the other countries. The fight is extending, the capitalists have lost the game.

It is not they who will decide the question of peace and war, but the workers! This is how we saw matters. And that is how many soldiers in the German East Army also saw matters. The news regarding the Berlin strikes had apparently spread. Comrade Bitzenko seated himself at the piano and played the “International”. In spite of the icy weather we opened the windows, and suddenly through the stillness of the night, we heard somebody whistling the “International”. It was in this way that the passing soldiers replied to us.

All who were yearning for peace in the trenches and in garrets and cellars were reckoning without the German Social Democracy. It is true we had behind us the years of treachery of this Party, but many of us thought in the depths of our souls, as we saw how it betrayed the workers: Germany is encircled, she is between the anvil of savage tsarism and the hammer of cruel English imperialism; fear has deprived these people of reason, fear leads them into every kind of baseness. Once there is the least possibility of peace, then they will think of the workers murdered in the war and of the workers' children who are dying of starvation.

Now we learn from the mouths of Ebert and Scheidemann what they, what the leaders of the German Social Democrats were thinking of at that time. They were, of course, from the first day of the war for the defence of the fatherland. Trotzky threatened to break off peace negotiations.

“The government had therefore to be supported, a strike would have been an absurdity”.

The fatherland, which Scheidemann and Ebert were determined to defend, had already advanced to the Drina, to the Beresina and the Dnieper. But Scheidemann and Ebert are neither children nor Don Quixotes. They knew the mood of the masses, and although they have never read anything of Lenin, nevertheless they were good Leninists, only — in a reversed sense. Lenin taught the Bolsheviks that it is impossible to carry out a revolution without the masses. Ebert and Scheidemann had perceived that, alienated from the masses, they would be unable to help counter-revolution. They therefore decided to enter the strike committee in order to throttle the strike, in order to throttle the struggle for peace of the world proletariat. They admitted this with a cynicism which cries to heaven.

When the English communists accused J. H. Thomas, the English Ebert, after “Black Friday”, after the throttling of the big strike of the English miners, of having played the rôle of Judas Iscariot, Thomas brought an action for libel in order to obtain the verdict from His Majesty's Court of Justice that he is not a Judas. But Ebert declared before the court, so that everybody could hear him:

“The decisive question for the Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany was, not to allow the strike to injure the interests of the country and to bring it to an end by negotiations with the government”.

And all the witnesses who appeared on behalf of Ebert did their utmost in order to prove that Ebert, Scheidemann and Braun had only taken part in the leadership of the strike in order to deceive the workers and to get them to go back into the munition factories, so that German imperialism should not suffer the least delay in being supplied with means of destruction.

Five years have passed since the end of the world war. The international proletariat has not yet been able to recover from the wounds which the world war inflicted on it. The desire for peace among the working masses is so strong that the world bourgeoisie is afraid to admit openly its preparations for the

new war. The H. International arranges masquerades in order to appear before the working masses in the garb of pacifism. Ebert and Scheidemann, however, move heaven and earth in order to obtain a judgment of the court which shall testify that during the world war they were faithful purveyors of cannon fodder. Nobody must dare to accuse them of having, even if only for a minute, placed the life of millions of workers higher than the interests of German imperialism.

The reason why Ebert and Scheidemann fight so passionately for the proof of their fidelity to German imperialism is because they know very well that once German capitalism recovers, it must grasp the sword in order to find a way out of the situation in which it is involved. They have not only entirely bound up their fate with the restoration of German capitalism but they have placed themselves entirely at the disposal of German capitalism. And should they now risk losing the position they have won and the confidence of the capitalists? The pacifist propaganda phrases of the League of Nations — this is all right for fooling the eight million electors whose confidence they still possess. But they need before all the yellow pass (This refers to the yellow passports issued to prostitutes in Tsarist times in Russia. Ed.) in order that no one will be able to reproach them with not being true servants of imperialism.

The Ebert slander case reveals such an abyss of treachery, that in this connection the word "traitor" has lost all its force. Poets have attempted to unravel the psychology of the legendary traitor Judas Iscariot. By them Judas is regarded as a man who had undergone a moral breakdown. According to the biblical account, he commits suicide. But Ebert and Scheidemann do not feel the least remorse. They feast and guzzle with the most notorious profiteers and swindlers. Noske goes in the company of a whole gang of profiteers to a luxurious sanatorium in Switzerland. They enjoy the holiday they have earned, they are conscious of their merits in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and they make no bones about it. Their treachery is not treachery but a profession.

And now, to turn back from the sphere of literature to the sphere of politics, we must simply say: these people have, as a result of their conviction of the unshakability of capitalism and of the community of interests of the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat, become representatives of the interests of capitalism. In this they act with such a deep conviction that they are not even capable of perceiving the boundless cynicism of their declarations. They have to deliver the working class into the hands of capitalism. That is the aim — everything else is only a means. It may be good or bad, but it is only a means to an end, and therefore they see nothing bad in admitting that they have consciously betrayed the workers. This has been done in the name of the defence of the fatherland which is also "in the interests of the workers".

From this there follows one lesson: Between us and these people there can only be a life and death struggle.

A Characteristic Example of Social Democratic Treachery.

(Extract from the Treaty between the Horthy Social Democrats and their Government Chief.)

The Treaty does not contain anything which every socialist Party of the world — if we disregard the III. International — would not have recognised, or at least realised by its practical attitude. On the other hand, the treaty does not contain anything which would not have been the duty of every conservative bourgeois government; and a point of honour of the whole thing is that the Treaty has been fully observed and that both Parties have honestly fulfilled its provisions.

"Neues Pester Journal", 1st. January 1925.

The Social Democratic Party is ready to declare that it will consider the general interests of the nation and of the country under present day conditions and, after the experiences it has gained, as of equal importance to the interests of the working class; it must therefore fight and make sacrifices for the interests of the nation and of the country as well as for the working class. The Party will in its conduct aim at the above, and not only abstain from all propaganda injurious to the interests of Hungary, but on the contrary will carry on an active

propaganda on behalf of Hungary: on the one hand, among the leaders of the foreign social democratic Parties, with the foreign governments etc., and for this purpose will co-operate with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and on the other hand, will break off all connections with the emigrants; this it does openly and takes up the fight against them abroad.

A. With Regard to Foreign Policy.

The Social Democratic Party undertakes in all disputed foreign political questions concerning the nation as a whole, expressly to adopt the Magyar standpoint to the same extent as the German majority social democrats and other moderate social democrats always do, who, in questions of this kind, never adopt the standpoint of governments of hostile states.

It shall make use of its connections with the foreign moderate social democratic circles to counteract the unfounded reports spread regarding terror in Hungary and to exert its influence in order that the foreign countries shall obtain a picture of Hungary which is in accordance with the facts.

In order that this end may be achieved, the Social Democratic Party will, before all, in its organ "Nepssava", adopt an impartial attitude and loyally express in this paper the collaboration with the bourgeois society, which will result in these actions finding an echo in the foreign press.

It will do its utmost to inform the foreign social democratic press regarding this agreement, and especially undertakes that prominent Party members shall publish articles regarding this Treaty in the right wing labour press abroad, for example, in Germany, France, England, Switzerland, Sweden, Holland and the United States.

With regard to the obviously lying and malicious reports appearing in the foreign press, the "Nepssava" undertakes — when it is convinced of the untruth of the reports in question —, upon the request of the press department of the Foreign Ministry, to contradict these reports.

B. With regard to Home Policy.

1. It considers the reconstruction of the country, which is also in the interests of the workers, to be of such importance that for this purpose it is disposed to co-operate with the bourgeois classes in the economic sphere, to abstain unconditionally from political strikes, and to leave the solution of wages questions to that organisation which is mentioned in the II. clause of the 11th section of the present protocol. (Government intervention and arbitration court.)

2. In the sphere of home politics it breaks with the liberal bloc; it refuses to support the bourgeois demagogy and the octobrist elements. In its opposition to the government it will only employ decent weapons and will not carry on a factious demagogy. It will conduct no republican propaganda.

3. It takes note of the declaration of the Prime Minister, according to which the government interprets the item regarding the right of combination and assembly in such a manner that the social democratic Party shall not extend its agitation among the agricultural workers, as it did in the autumn of 1918 in the provinces.

The delegates of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party declare that they agree to the wishes expressed by the Prime Minister, both with regard to foreign and home policy, and give assurance of fulfillment on their part. They will do this all the more as all these interests, which are bound up with the restoration of the good repute of Hungary, with its inner consolidation and economic revival, are also the interests of the Hungarian social democratic workers.

They nominate on their part a delegate who constantly maintains connections with the Foreign Ministry. With regard to the above interpretation by the Prime Minister of the right of combination and assembly, the delegates of the social democratic working class declare that the Social Democratic Party is not in a position to forbid the union of agricultural workers to continue trade union activity in its existing organisations, but they take note of the declaration of the Prime Minister, according to which the government interprets the point regarding the right of combination and assembly in the sense that the Social Democratic Party does not extend its agitation to the agricultural workers, as it did in autumn 1918 in the provinces. Finally, it undertakes to get these interests and opinions adopted by its masses and organisations.

This protocol, after same was read in the presence of all parties, was confirmed in two original copies and certified. The one original copy is retained by His Hungarian Majesty's Prime

Minister, the other is handed over to the undersigned delegates of the Hungarian Social democratic working class.

Budapest, 22nd December 1921.

Signed on behalf of the government:

Stefan Bethlen, His Hungarian Majesty's Prime Minister;
Kuno Klebelsberg, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of the Interior;

Paul Tomcsányi, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of Justice;

Ludwig Hegyeshalmy, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of Commerce;

Ferdinand Bernolák, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of Health.

Signed on behalf of the Social Democratic Working Class:

Karl Peyer;

Stefan Farkas;

Franz Miákits;

Alexander Popper;

Dr. Zoltan Bencs, Secretary.

The Pact of the Horthy Social Democrats against the Proletariat.

By Eugen Landler.

The Central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary has published the text of the pact which the leaders of the Party concluded with the Horthy government on the 22nd December 1921. The declaration of the Prime Minister Count Bethlen, which appeared in the Christmas Number of the "Neue Freie Presse", that in the event of the resignation of the social democratic members of parliament he would consider it necessary to publish the pact concluded with the social democrats in 1921, compelled the party leaders of the social democrats to publish this shameful document themselves.

When one now reads the text of the pact one perceives that only the most desperate situation could have compelled the social democratic white guardists of Bethlen to publish this document. These Hungarian scoundrels, with the signing of this Judas Treaty, not only surpassed Noske's record, but also their own openly shameful record which they gained by their participation in the first bloody government of Horthy.

In the bloody Treaty which was concluded three years ago between the allied great capitalist and great agrarian government of the one part and the leaders of the social democratic Party of Hungary, expressly in the name of the Hungarian working class, of the other part, the Hungarian proletariat was delivered over, in the interest of the Magyar nation, to the white terror, in the strictest sense of the word.

As every social democratic programme contains a statement of principles and transition demands, so is it also the case in this programme, and it is difficult to decide which part of the social democratic Christmas programme of 1921 constitutes the greatest crime against the Hungarian proletariat.

When one reads the 12 points of the agreement contained in the protocol and which contain the practical demands, one sees that all theory is grey. Here, among other things, there is sanctioned the continuation of the internments and the compulsory police registration and control of thousands of workers; here the robbery of the right of combination of the railway men is approved in black and white; here the exceptional court is justified as against the thousands who have already been condemned and the tens of thousands who have not yet been sentenced but are in prison awaiting trial; and here it also stated that the freedom of the press is restored in Hungary.

In order to justify their shameful white guardist conduct, this treacherous gang tried to put forward three excuses: They state: that their relations with the Bethlen government were such that they had no other choice; that they did not fulfil the pact; and finally, that they only signed it in order to obtain an amnesty for some hundred political prisoners. So many words so many lies. It can be proved by innumerable facts that the pact has been "honourably" fulfilled on the part of the social democratic leaders. The official social democratic party organ has up to the present written nothing regarding class war, it preached class harmony, and even in August 1924 spoke of the consolidation of Hungary. For years even Garami and Buchinger, who belong to the extreme right wing of social democracy, were not addressed as comrades and refused to publish their declarations and even their denials. One of the leaders of the name of Rothenstein wrote articles under his own name, in

accordance with the treaty, in the foreign social democratic press and Peyer and Miákits, who were parties to the treaty, toured the whole world and proclaimed that not Horthy, but the revolution is the cause of all the sufferings of the proletariat.

In parliament the social democratic fraction, even in 1923, voted along with Bethlen for the chief of the police who assisted in bringing about the shameful treaty. Twice they openly concluded civil peace and promoted the "restoration", which aimed at enslaving the proletariat and strengthening the counter-revolutionary apparatus. Peyer advocated in Bratislava (Pressburg), at a conference with the Czechish government socialists and leaders of the emigrants, in the name of the Hungarian social democratic Party, the "unconditional" foreign loan for Bethlen. They throttled economic strikes, and when in 1924 the printers spontaneously entered on a general strike on account of the confiscation of the "Nepssava", the parliamentary fraction and the Party central repudiated the printers and even the central organ.

Equally futile is the excuse that these scoundrels only concluded the pact because by so doing they obtained an amnesty for some hundreds of social democrats. In Paragraph 6 of the pact the amnesty is limited to minor offences which were committed between the 31st of October 1918 and the 21st of March 1919. On the 31st of October 1918 the bourgeois Karoly government came into office, and the 21st of March is the date of the proclamation of the proletarian dictatorship. But during the Karoly government it was not thousands, not even hundreds, but only a few dozen proletarians who were persecuted by the Horthy government on account of minor offences. This amnesty could therefore in no way liberate hundreds from the dungeons of Horthy. And even among these few dozens a very careful selection was made, as the pact provided that only those would be pardoned "who are not dangerous to the public safety".

On the other hand, the many thousands of social democratic workers who honestly co-operated in the proletarian dictatorship, and were therefore threatened by the white terror, were excluded from the agreement. This fact is not altered by the clause of the pact which states: "the government is also inclined to propose from time to time to pardon all those who are recommended by the social democratic working class, and who, up to the time of the meeting of the National Assembly, have been condemned on account of creating disorder or infringements of the press laws, if the Minister of Justice regards this justified by the circumstances." Every worker in Hungary knows that by this clause only a few are set free "from time to time" and not in any case hundreds.

But clause 6 of the pact which has been published only contains a part of the amnesty and does not contain the actual general amnesty of Christmas 1921. This amnesty actually pardoned hundreds of counter-revolutionary murderers of proletarians who had acted out of "patriotic" grounds. Without the sham amnesty contained in the pact, Bethlen would never have ventured to grant a real amnesty for the murderers of the social democrats Somogyi and Basco, for the murderers of Orgovány and Siofok. Thus, by their action, the Peyer bandits did not sanction the liberation of hundreds of proletarians, but of hundreds of murderers of proletarians.

These are the naked facts regarding the pact, with the help of which the social democratic betrayers of the proletariat were able to continue their shameful existence for another three years. But neither their pact nor their lies regarding the pact will be able to save them in the long run from the court of the revolutionary proletarian masses.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The American Federation of Labour and Trade Union Unity.

By Wm. Dunne and Wm. Z. Foster.

The drive for unity of the world trade Union movement launched by the Red International of Labour Unions has produced two major responses.

First the rapprochement between the British Trade Union delegation and the All-Russian trade unions.

Second, and rivalling it in international importance, the manifest tendency of the American Federation of Labour bureaucracy to affiliate with the Amsterdam International, or rather to absorb the Amsterdam International, and thereby to become the labour agency of the House of Morgan in Europe.

The El Paso convention proved that the drive on the Communists culminating in the unseating of William F. Duane at the Portland convention a year ago was no mere outburst of bureaucratic injured vanity, but part of an agreement with American imperialism whose full implications were made plain at El Paso.

The entry of American finance-capital into the world arena explains the re-entry of the A.F. of L. into the international labour movement.

With large sections of the Amsterdam International showing evidences of friendship for the Red International of Labour Unions and Soviet Russia in spite of the Dawes plan, with unity of the world trade union movement becoming more probable every day, and with this phenomenon showing increasing signs of being the most dangerous opposition to the counter-revolutionary offensive of the American imperialists, the A.F. of L. bureaucrats at El Paso were forced to throw aside all pretence and come out openly as the labour wing of imperialism. During the year that has elapsed since Portland, the labour bureaucracy has conducted an intensive campaign against the Communist Party in the United States and at the same time has extended its activity to the semicolonial areas exploited by American capital—Canada, Mexico, Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Porto Rico. It has laid a base in all these countries for further aggression by American imperialism.

In Canada, the efficiency engineer employed by the bureaucrats of the Machinists Union, conducted an investigation of working conditions on the Canadian National Railways and succeeded in having the government adopt the infamous Baltimore and Ohio plan—the class collaboration scheme that makes of the unions mere efficiency organisations operating in the interest of the capitalists.

In Mexico, the emissaries of the American Federation of Labour, cooperating with the agents of American finance capital, threatened the officials of the Mexican Federation of Labour with the withdrawal of support unless the "labour" government of Mexico and the Mexican labour movement, adopted the A.F. of L. policy towards the Communists and—met the terms of the American bankers. These agents of American imperialism were successful. The officials of the Mexican Federation of Labour forgot all their previous denunciations of American imperialism and the blood shed in the dozens of counter-revolutionary massacres engineered by the American capital. They adopted the anti-revolutionary and anti-Communist policy of the A.F. of L. and, forgetting that the Mexican Communists were the first to mobilize against the counter-revolutionary De la Huerta in the last counter-revolution. Trevino, secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labour and tool of Gompers and Morones its president caused to be passed the following clause of a resolution:

"The Mexican Federation of Labour does not permit, and will not permit, the establishment in Mexico of Communist Parties dependent upon and directed by the Third International of Moscow."

The Mexican delegation then proceeded to El Paso and its surrender to American imperialism was greeted by Matthew Woll, heir apparent to the throne of Gompers, in the following words in an interview given to the "Daily News" of Chicago:

"The outstanding feature of the convention was the close co-operation developed between the labour movements of the United States, Mexico and Canada. Closer relations of the three governments and peoples is bound. By that I mean united resistance against attempts by foreign capital or foreign labour to get a foothold either in concessions, property or economic principles or aspirations."

The El Paso convention endorsed military training camps, the resolution of the American Legion (the organisation of ex-army officers) asking for universal military service, it asked for representation in the war department and it demanded more battleships and endorsed the world court and League of Nations.

Of these policies Woll said:

"We did not lose sight of practicalities in approving these instruments of international concord. Organised labour declared for every measure of self-defence and for the defence of our people and institutions. We approved the training of

the youth of the land to develop the body and mind and the spirit of patriotism."

The rejection of independent working class political action was hailed by Woll as "a repudiation of thought that American wage-earners desire to institute a class government."

The American Federation of labour delegates were the guests of the Mexican government at the inauguration of President Calles and there was complete accord between the Gompers clique and the yellow socialists who swarm in and around his cabinet like flies around a dung-pile. This amity is due to the fact that the Calles government has capitulated in the most abject manner to the American bankers and because the Obregon government—its predecessor—had severed relations with the British government—the most powerful rival in Mexico of American imperialism.

"The Monroe Doctrine of labour" as voiced by the A.F. of L. bureaucracy means therefore that the A.F. of L. will fight exploitation of Latin-American workers—by any other force than American imperialism.

Mexico was attached to the chariot of American imperialism at El Paso. Let us see what was done to further the Dawes plan in Germany.

The outstanding fact is that Grassmann and other Amsterdam spokesmen agreed to meet the terms of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy.

An exception must be made in this case of Swales, fraternal delegate to the A.F. of L. who defended the Russian unions and the Soviet government in public speeches. How far he will go in organisational resistance is problematical.

The Amsterdam representatives, in the words of the Daily Worker correspondent, "frankly admit willingness to drop objectionable features if Gompers will join the organisation". The death of Gompers since the adjournment of the convention will not alter these conditions which are:

1. The prevention of trade union unity.
2. Full support of all phases of the Dawes plan.
3. A relentless drive against Communists in all labour organisations.

That the right wing of Amsterdam will agree to these conditions with the same enthusiasm that it has advocated submission to American capital as in Germany is obvious. It needs the financial support of the American Federation of Labour, a support that will be of a substantial nature in view of the subsidy that will be forthcoming to the successful consummation of the gigantic scheme of betrayal of the world's working class—a subsidy that the House of Morgan will charge to "operating expense".

This manoeuvre of the labour wing of American imperialism is the best proof that the Profintern drive for unity has shaken the trade union tools of reaction as nothing else has. They see that they cannot combat a unity slogan merely with propaganda so they become outright advocates of imperialism in all its blackest forms of suppression and in this they play directly into the hands of the Red Labour International and the Communist International.

The unity of the imperialist powers against labour in spite of their endless rivalries in other fields, is becoming more apparent to the masses every day. So widespread is this offensive of imperialism, that even the capitalist press is forced to record its aggressions.

The pressure of world capitalism brings home to the workers as never before the necessity for world unity of the organs of struggle of the workers—the trade unions. There is no argument that can be raised against it and these lackeys of imperialism—the Amsterdam leaders and the A.F. of L. bureaucrats—will attempt to foist upon the workers who want unity, an imperialist substitute—the unity of the reactionary A.F. of L. and the imperialist lackeys of the Amsterdam right wing.

The "unity" programme of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the right wing of Amsterdam is really a splitting policy—a continuation of the policy of war on the left wing, the expulsions of its adherents from the trade unions and the consequent weakening of the labour movement. In the United States there is a united front of the yellow socialists, the A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the capitalists against the Communist—left wing.

This war on the left wing has weakened the American trade union movement to an extent that is little understood outside of America. At the El Paso convention, after a three years boom in industry, the Gompers clique had again to re-

cord, as it recorded in Portland, a decrease in membership. Class collaboration has disgusted hundreds of thousands of workers who, not very well informed as to the class nature of the struggle, are nevertheless in accord with a militant program and as a consequence of this there appears in industry a new group—workers who were once organised but who have left the unions—who refuse to pay dues to the bureaucrats.

The policy of class collaboration in industry has ended logically in the endorsement of the imperialist schemes of the House of Morgan and the United States government. Side by side with this betrayal and opposing it militantly is a new revival of fighting spirit in the unions.

In the machinists, the carpenters, the steel workers, the left wing slogans and programs have received large votes, in some instances a majority although the candidates were counted out by machine. In the United Mine Workers of America, under Communist leadership, there is a nation wide revolt expressing itself in strikes of thousands of miners because of violations of agreements and constant treacheries of the bureaucrats.

The A. F. of L. will re-enter the international labour movement because American finance-capital has become the slave master of the European working class.

The A. F. of L. forces its counter-revolutionary policy upon the colonial labour movements whose governments and economies are in the field of American exploitation.

The American Federation of Labour will insist that every labour movement which it absorbs—including the Amsterdam International—shall wage war on the Communists and prevent the consummation of the unity of the world trade union movement except under the black auspices of American imperialism. The American Federation of Labour will insist that every labour movement over which it establishes its hegemony as labour outpost of American imperialism, shall wage war on Soviet Russia.

The death of Gompers will make the task of imperialistic domination of the colonial and European labour movements more difficult but his successors will attempt to carry out his policy.

Those sceptics who doubted the wisdom and practicality of the unity drive of the Red Labour International must now admit that it has brought a clear alignment of forces in the labour movement and that the reactionaries have, in their submission to the A. F. of L. and the Dawes plan, furnished living proof of the charge preferred by the R. I. L. U.—the charge that Gompers, Grassmann, Jouhaux, Henderson and Thomas are cut from the same piece of cloth—the imperialist weave, with which world capitalism tries to strangle the world revolution.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy thus appears as the leader of a counter-revolutionary "unity" drive.

Against the unity from below of the organised masses with the left-wing—the programme of the Red International of Labour Unions—the A. F. of L. raises the slogan of unity of the right wing—unity for and under the auspices of American imperialism.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Prepare for the Liebkecht-Lenin-Week!

To the Working and Peasant Youth of all Countries!

To the Enslaved Youth of the Colonies!

The era of democratic pacifism is at an end. In England a reactionary government has taken the place of the "Labour government"; in all countries the attack upon the working class is assuming more acute forms. The left government of Herriot is persecuting the communists and preparing to render the Party illegal.

The pressure of imperialism upon the enslaved masses in the colonies and in the East is becoming more unbearable every day. China and the whole East are in an increasing state of ferment, while the terror of the white exploiters against the working masses of Asia and Africa is becoming more bloody.

In China the troops of the imperialist powers are threatening to crush the struggle for freedom of the Chinese people. In Egypt and in the Sudan the English imperialist government is continuing the bloody work which the "labour government" began in Irak.

In all countries of Europe thousands are pining in prison, the victims of the heavy blows which struck down the proletariat.

Bulgaria, the German October, the slaughter of workers in Esthonia, are the stations on the road of the proletariat to its Golgotha, they mark the stages of the bloody class war which began at the commencement of the imperialist slaughter of the peoples.

In spite of this bloody terror against the workers and in spite of the cruelest exploitation, which hands over hundreds and thousands of proletarians to quick or slow death from starvation, capitalism is becoming more and more incapable of ruling the world. More and more urgent becomes the task of the proletariat to overthrow capitalism and to establish the socialist order of society.

Liebkecht, Luxemburg, Jogisches and all the illustrious examples of proletarian fighting courage fell at the beginning of this struggle.

Liebkecht, who rallied the youth, who trained them for the struggle against war and social treachery, fell when the struggle had hardly commenced. His death will always be a bloody reminder of the base treachery of the social patriots.

Severe struggles have taken place since Liebkecht was taken from our midst, thousands of victims have fallen in open struggle, thousands are suffering in prison as a result of their courageous fighting spirit.

And yet all these struggles were doomed to be without success, for there was lacking the most important pre-requisite for success: the strong firmly welded Party, which can only be built upon the principles of Lenin.

These victims have not fallen in vain; the fighting proletariat, the fighting youth of the working class, are learning from bloody defeats.

There stands before us the brilliant example of the Russian fighters who, subject to unendurable suffering, starving and in rags, surrounded on all sides by enemies, were able to establish and to defend their state, the first workers' and peasants' Republic of the world.

Under their leader Lenin, the master of class war, they were able to gain the victory. Under the banner of Leninism the proletariat of Europe and the enslaved masses of the whole world, will be victorious.

Lenin's teachings, the firmly welded fighting organisation of the working masses, the close alliance with the working peasants, with the slaves of the colonies, are the pre-requisites for our victory. Learn with Lenin to fight against the bourgeoisie, learn to recognise and to fight the enemy—social democracy, learn to win the masses of the peasants!

A year ago we lost Lenin, a year without him, a year of severe struggles has made us the more certain than ever that we shall only be able to gain the victory if we are equipped with his teachings, that the cause of the proletariat will only advance under the sign of Leninism.

Lenin has been taken from our ranks. The place of the best fighter is vacant. Hundreds of thousands of new fighters must now help to continue and complete his work!

Close the ranks!

Call up the reserves!

Strengthen the ranks of your fighting organisations, the Communist Youth Leagues!

In the week from the 15th to 21st January the young proletariat of the whole world rallies round the Communist Youth International.

In the name of our great teacher Lenin, in the name of Liebkecht, the founder of the Communist Youth International, in memory of the thousands of fighters who have fallen for our cause, we call upon the young proletariat to study the teachings of Lenin, to test them in the daily struggles and to transform them into deeds.

Young proletarians in town and country—

Only the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League are the sole true fighting organisations of the proletariat, which are organising the struggle against all attacks and treacheries and will lead the proletariat under the flag of Lenin to victory.

Only the close alliance of the working people in town and country will lead us to victory.

Young workers of Europe and America! Ally yourselves with your brothers in Asia and Africa, the slaves of imperialism, for the common fight for emancipation!

The present time confronts the proletariat with severe tasks, it demands the gathering of all forces, the coming together of all who are devoted to the revolution. Therefore, fight for the unity of the trade unions, see to it that your trade unions follow

the example of the English and Russian comrades! Form a new army of millions for the class struggle!

Join the Communist Youth, the bearer of the teachings of Lenin!

Form the fighting organisations of the young proletariat!
Fight imperialism and social treachery!

For the teachings of Lenin — against its falsifiers!

For the Communist International, the organiser of the world revolution!

Freedom for the enslaved peoples of the East!

Long live the world revolution!

Moscow, December 15th, 1925.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

THE WHITE TERROR

For the Fighting Proletariat of Poland!

For the Liberation of Comrade Lanzuski.

(The following has already been communicated to the Press.)

To the Proletarians of All Countries!

The Polish bourgeoisie, in alliance with the Polish Socialist Party, has introduced an era of most brutal repression against the Communist Party of Poland, which is heroically fighting for the emancipation of the working class, the working peasantry and the suppressed peoples of Poland. The Communist member of Parliament, comrade Lanzuski, and the Ukrainian members of parliament are the first victims of this campaign.

Hunger, misery and the most brutal exploitation is driving the Polish Proletariat and the propertyless peasantry into the fight against the ruling classes. In the border states, in spite of the military dictatorship and of the death sentences, the flames of revolt are again arising among the doubly exploited masses of White Russian and Ukrainian peasantry. The White Russian and Ukrainian peasant is fighting, weapon in hand, against the Polish landowner for national emancipation and the right to self-determination. An economic and financial crisis of enormous extent, as well as unemployment and impoverishment of the masses, is undermining the foundations of the bourgeois feudal Polish Republic. The ruling classes of Poland are attempting to master the difficulties of the situation with the aid of terror and streams of blood.

The Communist Party of Poland, which is suppressed and exposed to the blows of an unheard-of persecution, is organising and conducting the struggle of the masses who are more and more threatening the rule of the bourgeoisie. Its influence is growing every day. It is gathering around the flag of communism the entire flower of the working class who have been tested in fierce revolutionary struggles. Its infinite devotion to the cause of the emancipation of the working class, its heroic fight on all fronts of the class struggle — in the dungeons of the Polish Secret Police, upon the barricades of the revolutionary struggles and in the „democratic“ parliament, where the Communist deputies raised flaming protests against the capitalist reign of violence and national suppression, which nailed down the whole fraud and hypocrisy of parliamentary democracy — all this is winning for the Communist Party the confidence of ever wider masses of the working people.

The parliamentary fraction of the Communist Workers Party in Poland has courageously and resolutely taken up the fight for the emancipation of the workers, of the peasants and the suppressed nationalities. The bourgeois-feudal rulers in Poland and their allies the Polish Socialist Party — these faithful watchdogs of the II. International and of world imperialism on the frontier of Soviet Russia, from whom all class-conscious proletarians of Poland have long since turned from in disgust — are now endeavouring, drunken with the workers' blood which has been shed, to silence the Communist parliamentary fraction.

The bourgeoisie and the Polish Socialist Party are seeking by this means to prevent the exposure, by the revolutionary representatives of the proletariat and of the poor peasantry in the Sejm, of their lies, their deceit and their base betrayal of the interests of the working masses.

The Polish Sejm decided to deliver comrade Lanzuski into the hands of the secret police on account of a speech which he

delivered at a meeting of the railway workers. Comrade Lanzuski — a worker, a railwayman, is accused of high treason. According to the laws of „democratic“ Poland, the penalty for this crime is capital punishment.

The arrest of comrade Lanzuski had long been prepared and did not come unexpected. During the whole day the police of the Polish bourgeoisie were lying in wait before the Sejm building in order to arrest comrade Lanzuski immediately the decision to hand him over had been adopted by the Sejm. In spite of this, comrade Lanzuski appeared before the Sejm in order to hurl in the face of the Polish bourgeoisie and of the Polish Socialist Party the defiance of the revolutionary proletariat. The accused became the accuser.

„Communism is growing and the day is not distant when it will sweep you off the face of the earth“, declared comrade Lanzuski in his speech; and these bold words of the proletarian champion will find a response, not only in Poland, but everywhere where there are revolutionary workers and peasants.

Comrade Lanzuski is torn from the ranks of the active champions of the proletariat, as was comrade Dombal two years ago. But the Communist Party of Poland lives and will continue its fight, in spite of the white terror and in spite of the campaign of lies of the bourgeois and social democratic press.

The Polish bourgeoisie and its confederates intend, by the arrest of comrade Lanzuski and of three Ukrainian deputies, to provoke the proletariat. The Polish rulers wish to arrange a massacre of St. Bartholomews, according to the Esthonian model; they wish to carry out a blood-bath among the revolutionary Poles.

This must not be permitted!

Revolutionary proletarians of all countries, remember that the reactionary clique in Poland form the outposts of world counter-revolution!

Protest against the shameful acts of the Polish bourgeoisie and the social traitors. Protest against the arrest of the working class members of parliament and the inhuman treatment of the workers. Protest against the unrestrained and ruthless suppression of nationalities in Poland.

The workers and poor peasants of Poland, who in the course of their long struggle against Tsarism have brought so many sacrifices to the altar of the Revolution, have a right to reckon upon your solidarity in the hour when, under the flag of Democracy, a new attack is being carried out against the workers of Poland.

Demand the liberation of the undaunted revolutionaries of Poland. Demand the liberation of the thousands and thousands of Polish, Ukrainian, White-Russian and Lithuanian workers and peasants who are pining in the dungeons of the Polish democracy.

Demand the liberation of comrade Lanzuski!

Down with the White Terror!

Long live the Communist Party of Poland!

24th December 1924.

The Executive of the Communist International.

The White Terror Raging in Roumania.

By D. Cosma (Bucharest).

Every time the coach of the ruling oligarchy of the Boyars and bankers begins to sway, a merciless campaign of terror sets in against the labour movement in Roumania. This is the method made use of by the Government, when it is anxious to distract public attention from its own crisis and to try to preserve its authority which is, in any case, distinctly weak-kneed.

The present moment seems more than ever appropriate for the bankers' government to make use of this method. The lack of capital — a result of the unlimited greed of the liberal bank capitalists — and the constantly diminishing buying capacity of the peasantry — also a consequence of the piracy of the liberal bankers — threaten completely to destroy the whole of the economic organism of the country. The disorganisation of the traffic and the anarchy in the sphere of administration have still more intensified this crisis, which is characterised by a simultaneous enormous increase in the cost of living and wholesale unemployment, already involving 80,000 workers.

The only expedient for the restoration of the dangerously sick economic situation, conceived by the Bratianu Government, is the acquirement of liberal foreign credits. Foreign capital however does not offer itself as long as there is no prospect of a definite solution of the Bessarabian question — that fundamental problem of Roumania. The liberal government has shown itself incapable of solving this problem and is consequently sinking deeper and deeper into the slough of the contradictions of its policy.

Along with the intensification of the crisis, the fermentation among the mass of workers and peasants, and even within the broader strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the national minorities is steadily increasing. All these manifestations have prompted the Bratianu Government, which is making convulsive efforts to maintain its authority, to resort to sharper and sharper methods of terrorism.

The terror has now reached its culminating point in that exceptional legislation which was recently inaugurated by the Bratianu Government, in order to clothe in a legal form of exceptional power, the exceptional condition which was introduced through the martial law which was up to the present based on regulations, i. e. on extraparliamentary measures. The laws on this subject which were recently accepted by both houses of the Roumanian parliament, with the spoken or unspoken approval of the bourgeois opposition — not excluding even the peasant party — are formally opposed to "movements with international connections" both of a right — Fascist — and left — Communist — tendency. It has however been clear from the beginning that this legalisation of the exceptional power was directed exclusively against the communist movement, and that its object is to drive the Communist Party of Roumania into a position of extreme illegality and to force the class war of the workers down to the level of "treachery to the state".

The last few days have offered numerous proofs of this. Thus it is no mere accident that, while the government is considering the question of releasing the Fascist murderer of the Jassy prefect Manciu, the whole apparatus of the power of the state has been mobilised against the Labour movement. In view of this new campaign of terror, workers, peasants and intellectuals have been placed behind bolts and bars, no longer singly or in groups, but by hundreds. In Bucharest 80 comrades have been arrested, in Ploesti 40, while in Jassy 50 comrades have fallen into the clutches of the Siguranza.

The terror is celebrating its orgies particularly in the annexed territories, especially in Transylvania. In Targu-Mures, a small industrial town alone, 60 workers, among them many juveniles and women were arrested in a single day. In the Schila Valley nearly all the comrades who are active in the labour movement, were taken into custody. In the same way numerous comrades in the towns of Kolozsvár, Brasov, Nagyvárad, Arad, Medgyes, Sibiu, Szatmár, Nagykároly and Nagybánya were arrested. The total number of workers arrested up to the present amounts to 400, of whom 150 have already been sent to the ill-famed prison of Jilava, the Roumanian Petropaulsk — among them the ex-editor of the Communist Party organ "Socialismus", comrade D. Fabian, the well-known revolutionary poet, comrade Moses Kahána, the trade union secretary Géza Simo, Oedön Lázár, Ladislaus Luka and Joseph Mihély, further the pioneers of the youth movement E. Filipovici, G. Filipescu, J. Zaharescu, M. Fischer and I. Iczkovits.

In connection with the arrests, the cruel maltreatment customary in the country was not omitted. In order to extract from the prisoners the "confessions" desired by the political police, methods of examination were resorted to which closely resemble those of the mediaeval inquisition. The leather worker Joseph Csotry, who was arrested in Targu-Mures, whose only offence was that he had attended the congress of the Hungarian minorities as a representative of the workers of the Muresch valley forest district, had an arm broken in the course of his "examination", comrade Ladislaus Luka, who was taken into custody on account of his activity in the trade union movement, was bound by agents of the Siguranza and in this condition was maltreated with iron rods until he lost consciousness. Comrade Ion Clotan, arrested in Medias, had to suffer similar "methods of examination". In Arad, the torturers of the Siguranza tried to force the prisoners to sign a previously prepared protocol, by passing a strong electric current through the ears and nose of their victims. No consideration was given to age or condition of health. Comrade J. Zaharescu was dragged from his sick-bed, and then maltreated till blood flowed, by the agents of the notorious Bucharest "communist brigade" of the Siguranza. Similar

ill-treatment was suffered by the others who were arrested, not even excluding women and children. Further warrants for arrest were issued against all the comrades who had at any time been active in the communist movement, and rewards were offered for the seizure of certain persons, in order to stimulate the agents of the political police to further deeds of heroism.

To all appearances, the government is striving, by the application of the newly manufactured laws for the protection of the state and on the basis of the manifold "material for prosecution", gathered together from the well-known dossiers of the political police for this occasion, to construct a new monstre process against the communists. The object is obvious: to remove, for a time at least, from the labour movement, the persons arrested, by means of infamous summary verdicts, of a kind which have never burdened the conscience of the Roumanian oligarchy. The government believes that by this method it will prepare the way for putting an end to the communist movement.

It will however very shortly be disillusioned. The Roumanian proletariat has already passed through a severe school of unlimited persecution and has steeled its forces in an unbroken struggle against reaction. The C. P. of Roumania will survive the present flood tide of the White Terror as it has those of the past, — and will be all the richer in revolutionary experiences. It is the duty of the international proletariat to support in the most decided way the fight of the Roumanian workers against the blood-guilty high-handedness of the oligarchy, and above all to pillory the criminal and insane rule of the Bratianu bandits, who have played the part of the "police of the Balkans", and who now, in order to gain a respite, want to surpass their former crimes by new deeds of infamy.

OUR PROBLEMS

The Re-Organisation of the Communist Parties on the Basis of Factory Nuclei.

By G. Piatnitzky (Moscow).

At a discussion which took place recently in a commission, appointed by the Communist International regarding the question of the re-organisation of the Communist Parties, the English comrades pointed out the special difficulties with which the re-organisation of the Party would meet in Great Britain. To the objections raised by our British comrades, comrade Piatnitzky, chairman of the organisation bureau of the Comintern, replied as follows (the report of this speech of comrade Piatnitzky is given by comrade Pollit, who took part in the meeting):

I thoroughly understand the difficulties which the British comrades have raised; but I ask, comrades: is the fundamental principle of factory-nuclei right? Is it possible to picture a really energetic Communist Party, the foundations of which are not in the factories and works? We all know that this is impossible. For this reason we must not let the difficulties of this reorganisation be an excuse for doing nothing at all. We must not worry because this work cannot be carried out in one night; what we must be clear about, is that we must begin at once with the reorganisation of the factory nuclei. In spite of all difficulties we must have the will-power to start the work. Even if only three members are employed in one factory they must form themselves into a factory nucleus.

In Russia the Party had greater difficulties than anywhere else, and yet we have accomplished our task. In one respect perhaps it was easier for us than for you. The separation between political and trade union activity which exists in other countries, and which is responsible for your having to fight against both parliamentary and trade union bureaucracy, has never existed in Russia. Our work was always political and never divided into different sections. You will however admit, that under the Tsarist regime we had greater difficulties to overcome than those which you bring forward.

Factory-nuclei are also necessary to prevent the Party consisting only of leaders who have lost all actual contact with the masses. The leaders who arise from the factory-nuclei prevent the Party taking any action which does not correspond to the instinctive demands of the masses. These factory-nuclei may easily form the foundation of factory councils.

When there are less than three communist members in one factory they must try to find sympathisers in order to found a factory-nucleus. The duty of these factory-nuclei is to interest themselves in all that concerns the workers, not only in the works themselves but in the trade unions, the proletarian parties and the cooperative societies.

If the members are not in any factory, street-nuclei must be organised. In long streets they may, if necessary, be organised according to blocks of houses. The factory-nuclei must of course work secretly. Nevertheless they must develop their activities in such a way that, although the heads of the factories know nothing about them, the workmen in the factory in question know that there is a group of their colleagues which represents their interests.

This group must distribute the party literature and, if possible, issue a factory paper, even if they only write or type it. I would again point out that by means of the factory-nuclei, the leading organisations are kept in constant contact with the masses, and that thus digressions from the right way are avoided. Two examples will prove this to you: in 1917 the Moscow district committee of our Party learned that Petrograd workers were fighting in the streets of Petrograd. The intellectuals among the district leaders wished to call out the Moscow workers to street-fighting at once. But those members of the district committee who came direct from the factory-nuclei, said: No, the workers are not yet ready for it, otherwise we should have recognised it already from their speeches! Let us organise an ordinary demonstration, so that we may see how many workers take part in it, and then we shall have an idea of the strength of the will to fight of the workers.

This was the right policy. The demonstration was not successful and showed that a much more intensive propaganda was necessary. Had the proposal of the intellectuals been carried, the insurrection would have been crushed immediately.

You know what happened in Germany in the autumn of 1923. The fact that the Party was found wanting was a blow to the whole International. The central committee was in no way in touch with the masses. The Chemnitz conference, from which decisive resolutions were expected, was no conference of workers from the factories, but a conference of party functionaries. You know the result: defeat and retreat. The true feeling of the masses found expression in Hamburg, where the workers actually fought in the streets.

I would point out that it was only through our factory-nuclei that we in Russia arrived at the achievement of our work, before and after the October revolution. How do you imagine that it has been possible for us so successfully to defend the revolution in all its varying phases? Only because we were in the closest contact with the masses and possessed their confidence. Our Party is a revolutionary Party. We must break away from the old social democratic ideas and methods. You know in what they consist: in the division between parliamentary and trade union action. Look at the example of the German social democratic party! In 1903 the trade union leaders were in favour of a general strike in order to carry through their demands, whereas the parliamentary leaders were opposed to it. In 1906, the parliamentary leaders demanded a general strike, whilst the trade union leaders refused it.

I need not call your attention to the dissension and the jealousy which exist between the general council of the English trade union congress and the leaders of the Labour Party. Is it not easy to see how the workers are thus split and their fighting spirit weakened?

One word more. Every comrade should take every work of the Party into consideration. It is bad when MacManus is regarded only as a politician and Pollitt only as a trade unionist. Every member of the Party should attempt to carry through any work of the Party. Work as one Party, think as one Party, always be ready to carry through the Party policy to the uttermost when it has once been decided upon. Our Party is a political Party, it is fighting for the conquest of political power. No member is in too high a position to carry through the party resolutions or to submit to the party discipline. Try to distribute the work over as large an area as possible, set to work with loyalty and enthusiasm, and in a short time you will see that the Party has become a real political factor in England, and you will soon discover that the demand for a daily paper in England is not a mere sentiment. The masses will put pressure upon you to compel you to create one.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia against Trotzkyism.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia adopted the following resolution with regard to the question of comrade Trotzky at its session of December 13th.

"The Russian opposition has caused considerable damage to the C. P. of Russia and the Comintern in that it sought to shake the confidence of the masses in the leadership of the C. P. of Russia and also in the leadership of the Comintern. The Russian Party Congress and the E. C. C. I. and the V. World Congress have completely refuted the reproaches and complaints of the opposition, and proved that the action of the opposition was chiefly attributable to petty-bourgeois deviations.

Comrade Trotzky, as his present attitude shows, has only formally submitted to the decision of the Russian Party Conference and of the Comintern. His struggle against the leadership of the C. P. of Russia and the leadership of the Comintern is continued with other means than in 1923, in that he attempts by his incorrect presentation of the history of the October revolution again to shake the confidence of the workers in the leadership of the C. P. of Russia. The Executive of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia most decidedly protests against these attempts to revive the discussion which was concluded by the decisions of the Party Conference of the Russian C. P. and to create new differences in the sections of the Comintern. Many members of the Russian opposition and their followers abroad have, after the decision of the Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia, reckoned on the so-called autumn crisis in Russia, which was to prove the correctness of the economic principles of the opposition and of the political tactics advocated by them. As a matter of fact, these predictions have proved to be entirely incorrect, and the policy of the C. C. of the Russian C. P. has proved to be quite correct. It was to be hoped that these facts would have a sobering effect upon the obstinate leaders of the Russian opposition and upon their followers in the other sections of the Comintern. The attack of Comrade Trotzky, his presentation of the October events, have, however, the character of an appeal, or at least of an encouragement, to all oppositional elements to fresh "actions" against the leadership of the C. P. of Russia and of the Comintern.

For these reasons the Executive Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia expressly declares itself to be in agreement with the condemnation which this new challenge has now received from the comrades of the most prominent Party Centrals of the C. P. of Russia.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

The New Big Initiative.

The II. Conference of the Workers' Correspondents of the "Pravda".

The delegates had come to the Conference from all parts of Russia; from sunny Georgia with its eternal summer, from far-off Siberia, from the Caucasus, from the Ural and Taschkent, — over 300 men, the representatives of 50,000 workers' and village correspondents.

"Last year only a few dozen were assembled here", said Maria Ilyinitchna in her speech of welcome.

And comrade Katayama, as if he wished to continue her line of thought, added in the name of the young revolutionary journalists of Japan: "You indicate the way and we follow".

Comrade Hesse, the representative of the C. P. of Germany hastened to rejoice our workers correspondents with the successes of their brothers in this time of black social democratic reaction.

"I'm a glad to be able to inform you", he said, "that we already possess 600 factory nuclei which already issue a kind of wall newspaper; with us however they are newspapers which are passed from hand to hand."

All speeches of welcome were short but they came from sincere and warm hearts and were full of revolutionary zeal, full of fighting spirit, full of profound belief in victory. They

all form to a certain extent a continuous record of the past days, of the days of struggle and of the strengthening of the proletariat, and with it the revolutionary "Pravda". It seems as if there would be no end to the greetings and congratulations — from the capital city up to the farthest corner of Russia, from Germany, Japan, France, England, from the East and the West, they are all endeared to the proletarian "Pravda" of Lenin.

A pile of letters — a heap of presents which have been lovingly fashioned by the workers in the various factories and workshops in their leisure hours.

The Conference of the Workers and village correspondents which was convened by the "Pravda" undoubtedly constitutes a very important stage in the development of the workers and village correspondents movement. A whole year has elapsed since the first conference. But in this year the movement has grown and has obtained a sure and firm foothold. It has created the basis of its organisation, attained international importance and found a response in a whole number of countries.

There has not only begun an exchange of information between our workers and their comrades abroad, some Parties are already following our footsteps.

In this way the movement is already capturing international positions.

The experiences of a whole year have, before all, fully and completely justified the attitude of the first conference regarding organisational questions. The non-binding character of the decisions, the fact that the correspondents must not be elected or appointed, the non-recognition of the correspondents, the peculiarity of the organisational form as the best guarantee against officialism and bureaucracy — all these principles have stood the severe test of practice.

The Conference has now continued the line laid down: organisational connection with the newspapers, leadership of the workers' correspondents movement by the party newspapers and by the editors; immediate specific party political education (history of the Party, programme and statutes, tactics, Leninism etc.); exact definition of the functions of Party political work, and of the work by the newspapers; detailing of the organisational mutual relations in the direction indicated by the first conference.

The situation is different with the village correspondents. Here the first steps have yet to be taken. All the participants in the conference, all comrades have thoroughly understood what enormous and general political importance the village correspondents will have in the future. All have recognised the general political importance of the problem at the present moment. And therefore they have proceeded with such deliberation and such caution to the laying of foundation stones for the village correspondents' organisation.

Beside the question of the workers, the village and the army correspondents, the question of the youth correspondents was also dealt with. The new form of organisation, which has proved itself to be sufficiently elastic in order to serve new cultural aims, is proceeding to victory.

A Letter from an Egyptian Worker in Moscow.

With hasty steps I go on my way to the factory. It is early, and the stillness of the streets is seldom broken by the rattling of a tram-car carrying the workers to their work.

When I get into the tram-car, which is already crowded with workpeople hurrying to their work, I look out of the window. The tram-car runs its usual course through the old familiar streets with the same old houses and innumerable Moscow churches, which I pass on my way to work every day. Yet this particular morning my thoughts are somehow carried far away from these sights that have become so familiar to me. My mind wanders back to far-away Egypt, and in my fancy I behold the sights of Egyptian buildings and mosques, and instead of the Muscovite women going to the market, I dream of seeing Egyptian women with veiled faces.

From my lips involuntarily the words escape: Lee Stake... ultimatum... Zaghlul Pasha... Sudan... Revolt. My neighbour stares at me in surprise, thinking no doubt that I am raving mad.

At last I arrive at the factory. I am working at a big aeroplane factory, the "Duxe", which employs fifteen hundred workers. It is a factory of great renown throughout Russia. I have been working here already for some time, and have become

quite skilled in my work. Here I am met by the friendly welcome of my mates, who are already gathered in groups, waiting for the whistle. In a corner I see a group of young communists of the Young Communist League, and the girls with the red kerchiefs, talking gaily and smiling, seem to breathe the very vigour of life. Suddenly the whistle blew. Everyone rushed to the place of work. Yet I am still a prey to my involuntary musings, and I go about my work in a somewhat absent minded manner, which is altogether unusual for me. Instead of saying to my mate: "Hand me over that hammer", I say: "Hand me over that ultimatum".

The whistle blew again for dinner, and before taking my meal I rushed to our club, where I eagerly read today's "Pravda" which announced in big headlines: Anglo-Egyptian Conflict. Revolt in Sudan. Five hundred thousand pounds sterling fine. Demonstration at Alexandria. And so on. A cold sweat covered my face, and with abated breath I read again and again the telegraphic news from my far away home.

In the adjoining rooms one could hear an amateur play on the piano, and the clatter of hundreds of workers enjoying their meal.

A light touch on my arm called me back to reality. I turned round and saw Volodya, a general favourite of the place. He asked me: "What is the matter with you today?" In reply I showed him the paper containing the news which had disturbed me. At first he looked quite cursorily through the news, but after a while his face flushed and assumed an angry expression.

A few minutes later an improvised meeting was organised by Volodya. With the newspaper in his hand, he told the audience about the stirring events in Egypt. As soon as he finished his speech I got up on the platform, where I was met by a storm of applause, which betokened everybody's sympathy for the Egyptian workers. In broken Russian I described the untold sufferings of my Egyptian brothers, the terrible oppression of the hardworking felahs (the agricultural labourers) the severe distress of the Egyptian working class, the brutal oppression by British imperialism, the mockery of the so-called "Independence of Egypt" the importance of the Suez Canal, the Nile and the Sudan to the British Imperialists and so on.

The meeting ended in loud cheers and cries: Down with British imperialism! Hands off Egypt! Long live the Egyptian workers and felahs!

In a happy mood I leave the place, I feel that the whole of my fellow workers here are in hearty sympathy with the cause of the people of Egypt, which has no friend elsewhere in the world, not even in the so-called League of Nations. And I turn to the workers of Western Europe particularly of England, with the question: What was your response to the news of the latest events in Egypt?

Hilel Mahmud.

Moscow, December 11, 1924.

PROLETARIAN ART

To Communist Newspapers, Periodicals and Publishing Houses of all Countries.

The working class of all countries is displaying a remarkable interest in everything which emanates from Soviet Russia, including proletarian literature.

Unfortunately, many newspapers, periodicals and publishing houses, not being properly informed, frequently translate and publish literary productions the artistic value of which, and what is more, the ideological contents do not warrant their publication. For instance, the excellent communist organ of the German Communist Party ("Rote Fahne") is publishing Jim Dollar's sensational serial novel "Mess Mend" of rather doubtful ideological value. Another excellent communist paper, the organ of the French Communist Party ("Humanité") is, we are told, publishing the works of Stepniak, which are now only of a purely historical value. And as to American labour newspapers, they publish even the works of Artzybashev, etc., etc.

It should be said that not all that has been written and published in Soviet Russia is either proletarian or desirable. In Soviet Russia there are still bourgeois and petty bourgeois writers. Some of them who have adopted the platform of the Soviet Power are giving clever and truthful descriptions of past

and present events in the country of the Great October Revolution. But others again are still openly or secretly hostile to the Soviet Government and to the Communist Party which is fighting for the establishment of proletarian power throughout the world. Although their productions are published in Soviet Russia, they can on no account be considered as productions reflecting the Revolution.

Animated by the desire to help foreign labour newspapers, periodicals and publishing houses, the International Liaison Bureau of proletarian literature has compiled for the first time a list of productions of Russian proletarian writers and of writers in sympathy with the proletariat. This is not by any means a comprehensive list. Other lists will be published in the future from time to time.

It goes without saying that we must not concentrate our attention only on Russian proletarian belles lettres, but that we must also offer lists of first class literary productions by our Comrade authors of all countries. We will shortly compile a list of works by the writers of some of the most important European countries.

Newspapers, periodicals and publishing houses desirous of translating or publishing the works of Russian comrades recommended by us, can do so themselves or they can get into touch with the International Liaison Bureau of proletarian literature through the Agitprop Department of the ECCI. If you choose the latter, the Bureau will have to arrange with you as to the sums necessary to cover translator's fees, postage, etc. Newspapers, periodicals and publishing houses wishing themselves to translate Russian works can obtain them through the Agitprop Department of the ECCI.

In the case of translations, the International Bureau would like to be informed what works are being translated and if the latter are being published with forewords by the authors themselves or by public men in Soviet Russia well known abroad, etc.

We guarantee you beforehand the author's consent to have their works translated. We ask you to send us to the following address: International Liaison Bureau for Proletarian Literature, c/o the Agitprop Department of the ECCI., Moscow, at least five copies of all works which have been translated and published.

A. Lunacharsky (Chairman).
Sigismund Valaitis (Secretary).

WORKERS RELIEF

Do not Forget the Starving!

The reactionary offensive in Europe, which aims at suppressing the revolutionary labour movement, is not only being conducted by police terror and prison, but to a more considerable extent by economic repression, by lock-outs, victimisation and starving out of revolutionary factory councils and workshop functionaries.

For every revolutionary proletarian in prison there are ten who have been thrown on the street, without help and without any support.

Thousands of workers who are valuable for the revolutionary movement are perishing, are compelled to emigrate, are thrust down into the slum proletariat or driven to suicide, that means that hundreds of thousands of the best comrades are yearly lost to the movement. In Germany alone in 1923 80,000 people ended their lives by suicide. Through emigration, loss

of strength, epidemics, death from starvation and suicide the German working class in 1923 lost over half a million of its fighters.

The Prussian Minister of Health stated in the diet:

"The number of those who are slowly starving cannot be estimated".

Has anything been done as a result of the official statement by the responsible authorities before all the public? Has the state immediately granted means for combatting the mass mortality? No, the authorities are endeavouring to prevent this "indiscretion" on the part of a Minister coming to the knowledge of the public.

The same horrible conditions prevail in the Balkan countries, in Hungary, Roumania, in parts of Yugoslavia and in Bulgaria where reaction has thrown hundreds of thousands upon the streets.

Only a transformation of social conditions from the bottom upwards can bring relief to all these victims of shameful capitalist reaction.

But in the meantime they must be helped. In the same way as the international proletariat cannot look on idly and wait for the hour of political emancipation by the proletarian revolution but has to help its imprisoned brothers with food and other necessities in order to keep them alive, so must the international proletariat do everything to save hundreds of thousands who are "slowly starving" among whom are some of our best fighters and to retain them for the movement.

The victims of starvation and suicide do not rebel in their graves.

Workers of the world, help us to prevent suicide and starvation from depriving us of ever fresh numbers of desperate workers. Help us to prevent the mass of fighting proletarians from becoming smaller and the mass graves becoming larger.

Workers, comrades, the International Workers Relief has undertaken a fresh action to relieve and save the victimised masses who are threatened by death and starvation. It is the most elementary duty for every worker in the name of proletarian solidarity to support this action with all energy, to agitate, to collect and to contribute himself.

Long live the solidarity of all workers! Every hour is precious. Every hour of delay deprives us of hundreds of valuable fighters.

Berlin, Christmas 1924.

The Executive Committee of the
International Workers Relief.

To Our Readers!

Address of the Inprecorr.

We regret that in one or two recent numbers of the Inprecorr. the address of the editorial offices etc., as well as the name and address of the responsible editor, were wrongly given. Owing to pressure of work caused by the issue of special numbers we were compelled to have the English edition of the Inprecorr. printed at another printers, and the latter took these obsolete particulars from an old number.

The present address of the Inprecorr., and the name and address of the responsible editor, are as given on the first and last page respectively of this issue.