Important Notice.

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

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

POLITICAL

Washington and the Future of China

by Arthur Rosenberg.

Mr. Wellington Koo, the parade diplomat of the Peking government, has transferred the field of his activity from Geneva to Washington. The very clever and worthy Chinese was representing his country in Europe in the League of Nations. For some time he even presided over that estimable institution and thus proved how high a Chinese can rise nowadays within the circles of international diplomacy if he only understands to swim with the stream. Mr. Wellington Koo, further, participated with solemn mien in the decision on the Upper-Silesian question. Now he is to participate in the settlement of the Chinese question and it is now perfectly clear that he will have very much less to say in the Chinese question than he did in the Upper-Silesian problem. Curiously enough, just twelve days before the opening of the Washington Conference, a very unpleasant accident happened—the Chinese government had to admit its insolvency. The Chinese government has not paid the interest on its American loan which fell due on the 1st of November. To put forward demands in the name of a bankrupt Government is not a very enviable position.

The international position of China, in view of the political dismemberment of that gigantic country, will in fact be extremely difficult. China passed through its Revolution ten years ago. The Chinese middle-class at that time overthrew with surprising rapidity the feudal monarchy of the Manchus. The Chinese bourgeoisie was, however, unable to retain political power. In Peking there is a clique of reactionary generals, who style themselves the Government of China. Further, in each province of China there is a military governor with some thousands of soldiers. The chief steals precisely in the same manner as his subordinates and the military governors are fighting one another. The Peking government has no authority outside Peking. The Chinese Republic serves only as a cloak under which a pretty show is made of a false and confused military rule. Only in one part or that country, with its 400,000,000 population, is there a really republican, democratic government namely, in the big South China city of Canton, where Sun-Yat-Sen is the head of the independent government. The military governors at all events pretend to recognize the Peking government as the supreme authority, while Sun-Yat-Sen has openly declared war on the Peking militarists. The citizens of Canton declare that it is their intention to liberate the country from military rule and to establish a united democratic Chinese Republic. Sun-Yat-Sen was the most prominent spiritual leader of the first Chinese Revolution. He opposed the militarist development and was striving with his friends of Canton to bring the Chinese Revolution to a successful issue. Sun-Yat-Sen was supposing in the first place the military government and generally the young intellectuals who have grasped the idea that only together with the workers and peasants of the country will they succeed in defeating the Reaction. Thus Canton is giving a new impetus to the Chinese Revolution. At Washington, Mr. Wellington Koo is representing the Peking government. The Canton government is naturally disliked by the international capitalists because the Chinese radical democracy is just as much opposed to the foreign exploiters as they are to the internal oppressors. At Washington the Peking government has been recognized as the actual representative of China. To this Sun-Yat-Sen answered that he will consider as null and void all the decisions of the Washington Conference regarding China.

The prevailing chaos in China has been very clearly utilized by the Japanese. The Japanese set one governor of ruler against the other and thus obtained very valuable concessions. For Japanese capital, influence in China is an absolute necessity, because in Japan during the last few years industry has greatly developed, Japan has neither iron nor coal while China, on the contrary, is very rich in mineral wealth the exploitation of which in most cases has hardly yet begun. The Japanese are striving to obtain from China the raw materials which they require for the development of their industries. Further, they desire to utilize China as a market for their commodities.

After the victory over Russia, the Japanese in the first place gained the peninsula Liau-Tung where the Russians had built Port Arthur. At the same time the Japanese obtained the railway which crosses Southern Manchuria. The Japanese managed through their control of the railway to attain the political and economic domination of Manchuria. During the world war the Japanese exploitation of China made great headway. Japan then seized Kia-Chow from the Germans and in addition it laid its hands on the railways and mines of Sinkiang. By such means the Japanese succeeded in actually annexing huge Chinese provinces with a population of many millions east and south of Peking. Nothingstanding the bitter opposition of the Chinese population which does not wish to be remodeled by Japanese capital, Japan has since the end of the world war obtained still more and more new positions of power in China.

In opposition to the Japanese aspirations for economic predominance in China, America puts forward the policy of the open
The International Situation and the Role of the Red Army.

by L. Trotsky.

Extracts from a speech made on October 24th at the All-Russian Congress of the Political Educational Sections of the Red Army.

The fact which dominates our whole situation is that four years after the October Revolution we are still surrounded by capitalist governments. The Proletarian Revolution was unable to develop victoriously outside of our borders. The bourgeoisie has succeeded in holding out all over the world, retaining its hold in the most critical moments, on the morrow of the imperialist war, during demobilization. In the same way as before, the foreign capitalists, the envoys of the world bourgeoisie, are conquering the new powers that were somewhat justified, then, in hoping that the bourgeoisie would succumb in this struggle, and that the peasants’ and workers’ army, formed by us to defend our class in our country would have no more reason for existence after the completion of its task.

Events have decided differently. A ruling bourgeoisie still encircles us. Our hope that the abolition of the masses would sweep these counsels was deceived. The most important fact in the international situation of to-day is that the bourgeoisie has retained its domination. Bud the revolutionary forces are growing. It is no longer the insurrectionary movement that we saw in 1917, in Paris and even now, with outbreaks of violence here and there. In almost all countries it is the patient systematic work of creating revolutionary parties, of the acquisition and extension of revolutionary experience, of the methodical preparation for the conquest of power. For we can no longer hope that the workers’ offensive can take the bourgeoisie by surprise and overthrow it in a short, sharp struggle.

Although the ground is trembling under its feet, the bourgeoisie has sufficiently recovered its political coolness and control of the government mechanism for the struggle in the future to be tenacious, systematic, prolonged and peaceful. Such are the consequences of the world economic situation. On the one hand, the accumulation of the forces of the working-class and on the other the bourgeoisie’s military police and political forces which are already preparing their battle-positions, are offering resistance, and are determined to fight to the last.

As the conclusion of the foregoing premises we have the following. In the first place the bourgeoisie which has experienced in holding out in 1910, 1920 and 1921 no longer considers Bolchevism as immediate a fatal danger as that which in 1918-1919 it combatted by means of armed intervention. It thinks that it can enter into relations with us in order to begin the reconstruction of its ruined economic system. The danger no longer seems imminent. Since it is still alive three years after the war it concludes that it will remain alive. . . .

That is why the resumption of relations with Russia has become an exclusively psychological procedure. Moreover it is ready to keep up a long struggle to crush the proletariat under its own制度. The international group of banks would thus establish its guardianship over the economic life of China. It is obvious, that in such a fraternization the American capitalists as the strongest would predominate. Thus the open door does not mean free competition but the replacing of Japanese predominance in China by that of America.

The Peking government regards American predominance as the lesser evil, as an improvement over Japan and because the American capitalists would carry through their plans in a milder form than the Japanese. America would if she had her own way still keep up appearances in China while Japanese militarism desires to trample down China as it did unfortunate Korea. Wellington Koo firmly believes that the concessions lately granted to foreigners in China should be annulled. This too is directed against Japan. It is true the bankrupt gentlemen of Peking by themselves matter little, but the American capitalists like to hear these voices. Hughes, if he wishes to answer the challenge of the Japanese militarists, can say that America, acting unsafely as usually, appears now as the protector of the suppressed Chinese people. Meanwhile the directors of the American China banks are laughing in their sleeves.

Spain’s Adventure in Morocco.

by M. Ros.

Three-quarters of the standing Spanish Army has been for months fighting a few miserable mountain-tribes of Northern Morocco. And Spanish militarism is to-day further away from its goal than ever. Morocco, with its mineral wealth has always been a bone of contention of the capitalist powers. The German capitalists who before the World War had the exclusive control of Morocco have been totally eliminated. France and Spain have, formally at least, divided the Mooros spoils between them. France has seized the bigger southern half, and Spain the smaller northern half. But behind the Spanish colonial policy is the desire to hold the Spanish population that groups, English and others, who together with the Spanish speculators are piling up profits there.

France succeeded in completely conquering its part of Morocco, and in subduing the natives the Spanish rule in Northern Morocco, on the other hand. It is a question how long this situation will remain if one multiplies the signs of resistance. Even the ruling class of France has had quite other experiences in the treatment of North African natives, than those of Spain. French capital also exploits its subjects to the bitter end, but it proceeds more cleverly; it decorates the native cotton with ribbons and colors, and it knows other ways of winning their interest for the ruling system. Furthermore, France has at its command a military and organizing apparatus totally different from that of the Spaniards.

The Spanish are now attempting to gain actual possession of Northern Morocco, which has been granted them by agreement. This summer, however, they have suffered several defeats at the hands of the natives and prisoners fell into the hands of the Moroccans, and 140 guns were captured. But the Spanish capitalists and their militaristic friends did not give up their enterprise. The Spanish army in Morocco was increased in strength to 100,000 men, and the army was launched in the "big offensive". This offensive met the same fate as many a world-war offensive, which was proclaimed with much noise; first, successes, jubilant military communications, flags in the city, etc. But after a while the famous offensive came to a dead stop. The Spaniards advanced into the mountains of Tangan. The city of Teguett was their operating basis. They won some ground in the difficult region, but then...
their advance came to a stop. At present the Moroccan leaders are organizing a counter-offensive on the whole front. Spain, beside with the old chief of the Rif-irates, Raisauli, there is a talented young leader Abd el Krim who commands the rebels. The Spaniards are maintaining their positions with great effort and difficulty. The freeing of the prisoners or the regaining of the losses would be a step forward.

In the meanwhile the Spanish military organization suffered a complete breakdown. Only 15 per cent. of the soldiers have barracks at their disposal. The other must sleep in the open. It is true that the English, French, German and American captives have been furnished barracks to the Spanish authorities on a large scale. But Spanish industry has protested against this attempt to deprive it of such fat profits; and it succeeded in getting the contracts. The Spanish factory owners secured enormous prices from the Government. Moreover, Spain itself has not the wood for building these barracks; whereas Spanish firms must first order the necessary wood from Norway. One can faintly imagine when that wood will reach Spain, when the backward Spanish industry will have the barracks ready, and when the Spanish bureaucracy which is still more incapable will ship them to Morocco. Furthermore, the question of shelter is a life- and death question for the whole Spanish expedition in Morocco. The rain season occurs in the near future, and if the unfortunate Spanish soldiers should spend this period in the open they will be decimated by epidemics. The Spanish adventure in Morocco thus will achieve a frightful consummation.

The Spanish Moroccan war is a typical example of the methods used by rapacious Capitalism. The peasants’ and workers’ sons of Spain are driven to the shambles, in order that a few corporations may exercise their mining privileges. But on the other hand the existence of the whole army is staked in order that barracks-speculators may pocket their millions of pesetas. It is announced that 70,000 more soldiers are to be sent to Morocco. The indignation of the Spanish class-conscious proletariat over the Moroccan adventure is in no small degree conceived of after the first great Spanish defeat, the Communist party of that country made an attempt to overthrow the government by means of a revolutionary general-strike. But the strike was only effective in a few districts. In Madrid and Barcelona, the workers of Barcelona were incapacitated by the frightful white terror which has been raging there for months. Thus the first revolutionary advance was broken. But when the breakdown of the second big Spanish offensive will be realized at home, and when new masses of peasants and reservists will be thrown to the Moroccan witches’ caldron, then will not only the proletarian vanguard, but also the great masses of peasants and petty-bourgeois rise against the system of Alfonso XIII and his capitalist subordinate classes.

At first glance it may seem strange that France does not offer aid to the needy Spaniards in Morocco. Were the French to attack the rebels from the South, the uprising would at once be at an end. But the French have no interest in turning the adventure of the Anglo-Spanish capitalist clique into an easy triumph. France cannot sit idly by and see her laboring masses being thrown to the wrecks. It is exhausting its strength. France sees that its neutrality pays in other ways—see for instance, the attitude of the Spanish delegations at the League of Nations council in the Upper Silesian decision which was only waiting until the Spaniards become completely bankrupt in Morocco; then it will become heir to Spain’s legacy.

The Spanish system of government, domestically one of murdering workers, and in foreign affairs one of bloody imperialism, was not shaken by the first defeat. The harsh realization of the fact that those who cleared Dato out of the way have thereby expressed the bitter indignation of the Spanish proletariat. The Berlin agents of Herr Weismann, who want to deliver to two of the supposed murderers of Dato, the Spanish crown and to the hangman’s slaves, will be prevented by the German people from getting the million pesetas blood-money that they expect.

India

by G. Safarov.

"Pravda", Nov. 3, 1921.

The Nationalist movement has recently made great progress in India. It is beginning to play an increasingly important part as an independent factor in the calculations of imperialistic diplomacy. Only the incurable stupidity of the bourgeoisie and those elements which profit by it seek the roots of this movement in Bolshevik propaganda. During the war period India which was freed from the guardianship of the mother country developed its home industries considerably. 1918 was a year of misfortune for India. According to official statistics, 6,000,000 people died of Spanish Influenza. 30,000,000 people died of hunger and epidemics which in Italy are the inevitable historical consequences of colonial exploitation. Before the conquest of India, famine had only a local character. After the victorious conquest of European "Culture", famine became a general occurrence in those parts of the country showing more than usual the marks of the colonial regime. In the affected region of the country four million to five millions of people by foreign capital. The war has prepared the ground for the national movement. The awakening of the other Oriental nations has pushed the masses into the fight for their liberation. To thanks for the new national movement is its general spread and the unifying of the strata of the Indian population such as the Mohammedans and the native Indians. In Mohammedan India, the movement is spread under the flag of the Khilafate and under the watchword of "the removal of the British" and the Indians unanimously demand, however, the "Svaraj"—the independence of India.

The National movement assumes peculiar forms, which at first glance cannot be understood. For instance, such an occurrence as the burning of foreign clothing on the streets, the boycotting of foreign textiles; the undertaking of collections for the National fund. In many places, organs of national seige-government are created in a revolutionary way.

The fight against foreign imperialism is first of all carried on for economic, not political independence of India. However, the more the great masses are drawn into the fight of a new agrarian character their demands assume. For instance, the recent uprising of Turkish Mohlapns on the Mahratta, which is being cruelly suppressed, was at the same time directed against the Zemindars, the former tax-collectors, who were made large property owners by the English government.

State counter-revolutionary leagues are being founded for the combating of this movement. Of course, the public is not in favor of these leagues. Apart from the movement are the same native "moderate" liberals, most of whom are government officials. These confine their demands to autonomy for the individual provinces.

The position taken by the official leader of the movement, Ghandi, is ambiguous. The representatives of the Turkish wing, the brothers Ali, are more radical. In December the National Congress, which will be of great importance, will take place.

The attitude of English circles can best be judged by the following excerpt from the "Civil and Military Gazette" of the 27th of August:

"The Mohlapns’ uprising should be a timely warning to Ghandi, "Do not play with fire. The match which set fire to the small pile of foreign clothing, may cause a conflagration which the tears of a whole nation will not be able to extinguish."

This is the way a "strong" government speaks; but it is not strong.

Together with the Indian National movement grows the labor-content in the industrial centers of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras. This labor-content is now beginning to act in the economic field. But India has millions of proletarians, and the national movement is its preparatory-school.

ECONOMICS

Economic Struggles in Germany

by Paul Fröhlich.

The bourgeois press in Germany is speculating on ruin. It is full of complaints about the country’s bankruptcy. It lays more emphasis on the financial collapse than on the social problems which could ever do. It may be supposed that it is hardly conscious of the soundness of its arguments and prophecies. For it is obvious what are the motives behind this exaggeration of the bourgeois. It wishes to hamper the advance of the Allies and desires to influence the reparations Commission to present in Berlin. The Commission, however, has given no ground for the realization of this hope but on the contrary has disappointed. They hope by their threats of state bankruptcy to strengthen those voices from the bourgeoisie which are in favor of a lenient policy toward Germany. At the same time this bowling is intended to support the demands of the industrial for denationalization of the railways, increased exploitation of labour, etc.
The obviousness of these motives forces people to doubt the sincerity of the bourgeoisie and its paid scribakes. What class would be able to face calmly the fact of its own bankruptcy? Yet this bankruptcy is undoubtedly approaching. German foreign exchange is wildly fluctuating up and down with a cleft exchange rate. Chaos is everywhere and yet today the finances of the country are in disorder. The Finance Minister's great plan for placing the country's finances on a sound and healthy basis is a product of perplexity which will hardly assist in overcoming the first, minor difficulties. In general, all calculation is rendered impossible. Each new fluctuation of the foreign exchange takes the ground from under all projects.

It is scarcely to be expected that the constant change for the worse of Germany's financial position will take place without accompanying catastrophes similar to those in Austria. Every step on the road to state bankruptcy will be accompanied by severe exchange losses. Now it seems possible that there will be a great deal of disorder and that there may be a lack of essential commodities, however, there is an unprecedented trade-boom in Germany. It is all production for export—in other words a diminution of the national wealth and is based on the fact that the falling foreign exchange continues to bring the price of labour under its value. It is possible only as long as the employers succeed in keeping wages down to a starvation level. For that reason every attempt to bring wages on terms of equality with the ever-increasing prices meets with most violent opposition on the part of the employers. The landlords have every possible way to do away with the eight-hour day which interferes with their exploitation of the situation to the limit.

Profits are fabulous. Of course, in measuring them the fall of the mark has to be taken into consideration. It would, however, be utterly incorrect, in estimating profits, merely to consider the difference between exchange and present market value. For many years past, "big business" has systematically watered its stock. The undivided reserves are so enormous that financial balances are strained to the bursting point. The employers are securing fabulous profits almost in fabulous dimensions. Thus recently the Schwarzkopf machine factory in Berlin doubled its capital and in connection therewith turned over to its stockholders an extra profit of approximately 400,000,000 marks.

The situation of the workers, on the other hand, is desperate. Food prices are rising faster than wages and bourgeois workers are threatened with an increase of rents. New and increased taxes are contemplated. If the workers are not to die of starvation they must receive higher wages. A new strike-wave is passing over Germany. Municipal, metal and textile workers are engaged in serious local conflicts. In part these are "wild" strikes, carried against the will of the trade-union leaders.

In many ways the struggle is typified in the fight of 50-60,000 metal workers in the Düsseldorf district. Their demands had been placed before an arbitration board. In agreement, the employers presented a board which they knew down which gave the workers an imaginary increase. In reality, however, it only sanctioned the actual wages already being paid without taking into consideration the present employment situation. The workers indignantly rejected this and the consequent defeat of the Düsseldorf strikers. Through the constant depreciation of the mark, the employers are enabled to grant the equalizing increases, thus chaining the Essen metal workers down. In this manner they can constantly keep wages on an extremely low level. The workers' organization meet this policy with all the forces at their command. The Düsseldorf strike has been sanctioned by all the trade-unions—free, christian, and Hirsch-Duscker. But a silent sabotage is already noticeable. The social-democratic press is shamelessly enough not to accord the strikers even the support of a single word in their behalf.

Why do they do that? Because they fear the collapse of the strike and desire to save their souls. Thus they practically assist in causing a defeat. But not only are they afraid of a defeat; they fear an extension of the struggle, though this would save the strike. They fear that so gigantic a strike might assume a political shape; even a radical government and these workers did not agitate for the strike because they realized that a struggle that demands such sacrifices must not be brought about by agitation but must arise from the inflexible will of the masses. Now that it has come under the fulfilment of the above conditions the communists are supporting it to the utmost. The sabotage of the others will be of no avail, even if they succeed for the moment in avoiding what they consider a grave danger. The whole situation is driving towards general conflicts. It may be only after one of these conflicts before Germany becomes the arena of embittered economic struggles between the classes, which must lead to momentous political consequences.

Great political consequences are expected as the political situation is in a state of tension. The parties in power are trying to rush through the new taxation program in order to prevent its becoming the ignition spark for a mass movement. In this effort the independent socialists are offering the necessary assistance. The captains of industry have commenced a violent political offensive, which will compel the two socialist parties to relinquish their present quietism. Economic problems are bound within a short time to increase anew the tension of the internal situation. Each large economic movement involving important industrial districts is from the outset bound to be of great political significance. The coloring of such importance as those mentioned are influencing this hol-bed of the class-struggle, that has only one meaning: Germany today is on the brink of a severe disturbance of the equilibrium of the classes.

The LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Labour Movement in the East Indies.

by Soedjaman.

The East-Indies, a group of islands with a population of 60,000,000 people belongs to the Netherlands. Of the single islands, the small one of Java is now the most important, because it is capitalistically the most developed. The reason for Java's rapid development is its very dense population of 41 million people on an area of 130,000 sq. km., or 315 people to the square mile. The native Java is living in a network of railway lines, whereas Sumatra is still building its lines. Borneo is the largest of the islands, but compared with Java and Sumatra it is the most backward one, because it is only thinly populated, and the native Bornean is living in a state of semi-savage industry is the only one that Borneo has. Celebes is on the same plane of development as Borneo and is rich in manganese.

The products of Java and Sumatra are mainly of an agricultural character. They are cane-sugar, tobacco, quinine, cocoa, tea, coffee and rubber. The most important of these is the cane-sugar industry. In Java, the petroleum industry has also assumed great importance.

The political and labor movements in the East Indies are very young. Organizations, in the European sense of the word, are almost unknown there. In the East Indies there were never any guilds or associations of which the present European labor-unions are an outgrowth. There are many illiterates among Java's population. Comminal landlords is this is still in part the primitive basis of life. And when Java was drawn into the sphere of interest of European capital, its population became the involuntary object of exploitation by foreign capitalists. The first workers' struggle into the country to increase the cost of living. When Java was in the sphere of interest of European capital, its population became the involuntary object of exploitation by foreign capitalists. The first workers' struggle into the country was the strike of the sugar workers in 1919.
to leave the party and establish a new wing which called itself the "Indian Socialist Democratic Party", which is without any influence on the working masses. The revolutionary comrades under the leadership of Sneevliet came into contact with the masses by starting an intensive work among them, and succeeded in obtaining the attention of the suffering population of the East Indies. Even those natives, who were poisoned by the confusing nationalist propaganda, and who hated the whites, began to consider their position, and slowly gained faith in the white-skinned Socialists. The task of the Communists was to gain influence in the loose organization then in existence, which was called "Sarikat Islam", and included only Mohammedans.

The sympathies of many members of these organizations were won by the Communists through their principles of struggle and through education, so that in March of this year the program of "Sarikat Islam" was completely changed, and placed on a Communist basis. In that period the following statement was published: "Although up to this very day, there is no such thing as a parliament in the East Indies. We have repeatedly and bitterly attacked and unmasked the leaders of 'Sarikat Islam', so that they are standing in the way of the movement. Having no actual weapons to defeat us, they attempt at least to rouse the suspicion of the masses against us. When the Communist International for instance, issued its thesis on Pagslaviism, and was published in the English and Dutch language, it was falsely translated into the Malay language by the Communists, in order forcibly to do away with the Mohammedan religion. The enemy is also trying to destroy the central union which is under the control of the Communists, by employing the same insinuations. The attempt is not succeeded, however, in discrediting us with the masses."

On the 18th of June 1921, eighteen trade-unions were represented at the trade-union conference in Java, where they decided to name the central labor organization "The Revolutionary Central Union". The president of this "Revolutionary Central Union", is comrade Sembon, who is the leader of our party, and the president of the railroad union of the East Indies, and at the same time of "Sarikat Islam" in the district of Sambang. The frequent persecutions, arrests and exiles with which the government hopes to throttle the communist movement, only increase our influence with the population. That is self-understood.

In the East Indies the people have no rights at all and are treated like cattle by the ruling class. The class divisions are more sharply drawn than in Europe, which means that the influence of the disenfranchised population is still smaller. In Europe the development of the labor-movement keeps step with the development of capitalism, so that the working class is bound to react to the consequences of capitalism. In the East Indies it is different. A totally backward population faces modern, organized Capitalism. While capital pockets from 100 to 1000 % profits, the toiling masses are reduced to slavery and misery. Through our fighting organization we will create the possibility of combatting these conditions. Although as already said, we revolutionized "Sarikat Islam", it is impossible for us to remain in this organization, because there is an impassable gulf between our political views and those of some of the leaders of this movement; and it is also to be feared that they sabotage our program. This is the reason why we decided to leave this organization and to concentrate all our forces upon the struggle with the whole party. The general attitude of the people is good, their spirit not poisoned by party-struggle, and our agitation should therefore prove an easy task. Almost every strike which was declared between 1910 and 1920 ended with a victory for the workers, in spite of the fact that there were no labor organizations. Capitalism is in the future also going to be used to give up a part of its enormous gains to the workers. We know quite well that these enormous profits will not last forever, that the world crisis will also reach the East Indies, and that the capitalists will have to make a concession and warn the workers against the conquests of the working-class will also take place here. Then the already existing class differences will become still more sharpened.

It is the task of the European comrades, particularly of those who have colonial possessions, to pay more attention to the colonial movement. For a strong revolutionary movement in the East may become the signal for the European Revolution. The present exploitation of the working-class in Europe would hardly have been possible, had there not been a backwardness. Every obstruction in the development of capitalism means at present a step nearer to the world revolution, because it tends to create a revolutionary situation in Europe.

Our task is to obstruct every road in the development of capitalism. Although we are unable to make the revolution, we are however in a certain sense able to accelerate it. Since Asia and India still offer great possibilities for a greater development of Capitalism, it would be a great mistake not to prosecute the revolutionary movement in these countries with greater care.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Unity Convention of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

by Bohumir Smeral.

The construction of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party was completed on the 14th of October, and which lasted four days, has completely carried out the task assigned to the Czechoslovakian Communists by the Third World Congress in Moscow.

In Czechoslovakia there live about 9,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 3,000,000 Germans, not quite a million Magyars and small minorities. The state now comprises was for decades the scene of the bitter national conflicts. The world war which decided the victory or defeat of some of the national groups, has set the national ideology adrift. The settling of relations after the war put to rest the least diminished this glow of national ideology in the masses. The Germans and Hungarians are subject to the national feeling because they suddenly found themselves overnight subject instead of ruling races. The Czechs are subject to the national feeling because they live in constant fear of suddenly losing overnight their newly won independence.

Under such conditions the Communist movement in Czechoslovakia assumed a mode of development different from that in other countries. This is no place to describe the method by which this development was accomplished. It will suffice to point out that the main object was to give the masses a systematic course of instruction without any exaggerated pressure, by constantly rousing their attention and educating them, to lead them through experience and fact in such a tempo that the unity of the masses would at no time be broken, and at the same time to free the masses, as a whole if possible, and as soon and as effectively as possible, of their national illusions and of their democratic illusions, both of which played an important part in the struggle of the working masses. That is, the majority-national, after the overthrow. At the time of the war the masses were deliberately and systematically influenced in an attempt to bring the points of view of the workers of various nations nearer to each other, which would thus systematically effect unity of thought and unity of deed leading to a united International Communist Party.

This united, international party is now established and its unity is not only formal, but real. Every national distinction has vanished. The organizing international unity in the structure of thought and work is now the only labor organization, all the way to the Central Committee. We are full of joy, and believe we may to a certain extent be proud of the fact that we succeeded in transforming the Communist Party into an actual mass-party. I wish to avoid every exaggeration. I shall therefore name a figure which is one third less than the one employed domestically. I take into consideration the irregularity in the payment of dues, as affecting the number of goodstanding members; and I leave out all members who do not fulfil their obligations. But my estimate of the number of members in the Czechoslovak Communist Party amounts to least 250,000. During the summer the membership was considerably higher. In recent months, a certain stagnation has manifested itself in our ranks, which I do not consider proper to hide before international Communist public opinion. Yet, the above figure may be considered as a conscientious expression of the proletarian power, with which we are now stepping into the Communist International battle-front, and in a formation which completely corresponds to the decisions of the World Congress.

But the unity of the organization does not consist in that we are an absolutely complete Communist Party. On the contrary, the communal life, the common work and especially the common fight must unite the Czechoslovak, the German, Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian communist workers, into the absolutely unified body we want to be. To that is our next task. I admit that at first certain occurrences may take place here and there in our common life, which will not at once be understood by the comrades in the one language countries.
It is possible that life and practical necessities may in the transition period create difficulties for the organs and the party not thought of in the simple, uniform party statutes. Should this happen — and the party leaders will not permit this, except in cases of absolute necessity! — let it be no cause for uneasiness. The party leaders should take into consideration the exceptional complexity of national organization and not only the formal "right wing of the German bourgeoisie."

I shall consider these in two fighting divisions of the Communist Party, the Czech and the German. Each one of these is working and fighting in a different milieu, one faces a totally different question. In the German section the direction of the German bourgeoisie pursues an anti-state opposition policy directed against the Entente, whereas the Czechoslovakian does just the opposite. Each one faces a different Social-Democracy; the Czech Social-Democracy forms the extreme right wing of the Second International, whereas the German one belongs to the international 2%. Finally, each one confronts absolutely independent trade-union systems, which in point of structure are entirely separate, with none of the extraordinary circumstances, and for purposes of expedient direction of the party line, some supplementary organs which lie outside the scope of the simple organization statutes should be created for a transition period, such an act would certainly be considered one motivated by sincerity and by practical necessity.

At the third World Congress in Moscow, the Czechoslovakian and the German delegates represented different attitudes. With the present unity convention of the party, the gap between the extreme right and the extreme left was not bridged over with the nationalities. These tendencies manifested themselves in a rather lesser degree among the Czechs as well as among the Germans. The author of this article as well as comrades Kreibich were ready to follow the advice offered at the Congress, which dealt with the question of taking recommended steps, one towards the left, the other towards the right, which were necessary for the building of an actual Communist front. The inclination of the Czech division more towards the left found expression in the author's speech and particularly in the debate at the Congress, but we also attempted to create personal guarantees for it. Among other things, this was effected by appointing comrades Dobovouloz to the chief-editorship of the Comrade Travač, instead of the writer of this article. This step was expressly declared by the organ before the Moscow Congress a comrade Dobovouloz represented a radical point of view. This change took place not after a foot behind the scenes, but with the assent of all of us, without any inner bitterness, as a thing natural in the Communist Party. Above all we will do everything in our power not to disturb the unity of the party through any personal prejudices and bitternesses. In this respect every one of us will have a good mood that he is not dominated by ambition or by petty bias or prejudice. With the tendencies aforesaid are these small things taken for granted, but even such petty things could seriously damage the development of the party. We are ready to suffer personal humiliations, if these prove beneficial to the party.

At the party congress there was also a personal criticism directed against comrade Skalak, our delegate to Moscow, who returned just before the party congress took place. He was reproached by certain speakers, also by comrade Emmari, for some sort of "secret diplomacy," with the letter that he had received from the Executive, dealing with the organization statute. I had the opportunity of expressing my personal conviction that the criticism against comrade Skalak grew out of a mutual misunderstanding; which possibility was later admitted by comrade Nemir, speaker of the organization committee, who closed the congress with an important report on the matter. This matter, which was of course of secondary importance, did nevertheless bring a certain discord into the sessions of the congress. In my opinion — I was it a question of a misunderstanding, would be glad to tell the comrades of the Central Committee ask the comrades present for a written report of their impressions; in this manner the impression caused by this misunderstanding would be dispelled.

Now it is necessary to hold and fortify the party on a broad basis. The approved right elements can contribute to this by meeting upon the condition ground of the Third International's decisions. We are just in the midst of an important struggle in the party. On the 22nd of October the second congress will take place. I have the impression that the foreign representatives of the party will take up positions in this fight as more favorable to them than they actually are. Only in the last few days, we suffered a defeat by only 10 votes in the Central Committee at the miners' congress; this was due to the desertion of several Ostram. Four days later we suffered a similar defeat at the general meeting of the railroad unions. The social-democrats succeeded with a "compromise," which even though for only two months is sure to increase the great wage conflict for which they were prepared. Furthermore the conservative committee of the united workers' parties (with the exception of the communists) which was already negotiating for the transfer of the demands of the Russian representative Morozov, has now decided to announce the results of the collections through Amsterdam. This is a symptom which shows that the struggle for the unions requires unity of all forces. The same is required by concrete social and political struggles which are before us. The decisive results of the completely unified International Party, now forward, through work, greater activity, to the fight!

FROM THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Downfall of the Russian "Whites."

by R. A. (Berlin).

Since the crushing of Wrangel, and since the ministries of London and Paris have cut off their subsidies, the Russian Whites, the mercenary vanguard of the International Counter-Revolution in all its aggressions against Red Russia, are showing marked symptoms of disintegration. The monarchist and bourgeois emigration of contemporaneous Russia is less than that of Cobienz after 1793. Already it realizes that it will not see the Restoration. And while the doting Bourtiez, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, in our usual cant, solemnly writes the following: "Blessed be those who exterminate you to the last man, occurred Bolsheviki!" the poor remains of Wrangel's army are falling to pieces.

The greater part of them are shut up in a camp on the Gallipoli Peninsula within range of the "Whites" cruisers. The White press can no longer hush up the complaints and protests of the former officers who have fallen under the yoke of General Kentiopov, governor of the camp, and of his court-martial quis qui adhered to the Russian Counter-Revolution and do not want to perish in its downfall. If it pleases them, should the occasion arise, to fight against their equals—the reactionaries of Roumania and Poland—it is hard to see why the Red Army, which permits no moderation in its Conduct, should not under the control of workers' commissaries and watched by the Extraordinary Commission—be world-wide. General Stalichev's flight will in any case bring to a head the demoralization of the lamentable remnants of the Reaction's armies to whose soldiers, according to the confusion of the Allies. The curious thing about this adventure is the strange uneasiness shown by the French Police who have started various investigations in this connection. (Doubtless Stalichev was well informed concerning the French intrigues with Wrangel.)

With the disintegration of the White military centers, as for the intellectuels, the psychological awakening of a group of influential Cadets who have passed over to the proletarian Revolution has taken place. In the future they will publish under the editorship of I. V. Klutichnikov, a weekly magazine called Smena Vech (A Change of Scene and Post), of which the first
Amsterdam Professes to Fight for Disarmament
by W. Lada.

The "disarmament Conference," called by Messrs. Jouhaux, J. H. Thomas, Mertens, Oudegeest and Filmen at Amsterdam on the 15th of November. The Executive Committee of the International Trade-Union Commission, in accord with various societies of intellectual peace-fanatics, calls a mass meeting in honor of the occasion of the meeting of the two "world" conferences, at which pacifist poems are to be recited, and pacifist resolutions made. In a word: The Amsterdam disarmament Conference is assuming the shape of a "world event," which perhaps will even surpass the Washington Conference in its historical significance!

Well, let us examine the matter more closely.

During the World-War the leading personalities of the Amsterdam labor International were all raging social-patriots and war-cryers for their yesteryear's opinions, and since the time when the victorious allies forcibly dictated their peace to the world, they wish "to carry on an energetic struggle against a new war." In case of a new war, they even want—yes, even—to prepare a general strike.

It is not sufficient to pursue up one's mouth; one also has to write! The men have in reality charged paper resolutions for a general strike. The workers have charged paper resolutions for a general strike the moment an imperialist war breaks out. By means of revolutionary propaganda and agitation which is to be carried on day in day out, and which is to rouse in them the highest quantum of revolutionary energy. It does not suffice merely to wish for or to attempt to carry out a general strike in case of such a war; we also have to be prepared for the consequences, and the logical developments—for the bloody civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Are Jouhaux Mertens, Thomas, Oudegeest prepared for that? Do they unfold their activities in a revolutionary spirit, in the sense of genuine class-struggle?

The gentlemen are ill chosen to prepare and lead a "continental war against war."! Before the war they also promised to do that. They have only charged paper resolutions for a general strike, and deprived the working masses, which were led by them. The moment their "Vaterland" was endangered, the moment the interests of their imperialist governments were at stake, they turned against the "revolutionary mass movement," (dared to the safety of the state. They become the worst war-provocators and best imperialist butchers. How are we, and how are the working masses assured against a second betrayal and deception?

But once again: Perhaps these people have "learned"? Perhaps they are really determined to fight war in good faith and with their utmost energy? Perhaps we should forget the past and bury the war-age? Then we must examine the preface to the Amsterdam "disarmament" farce.

Even before the business-manager of the American bourgeoisie Mr. Harding, had started the disarmament farce at Washington the Anglo-French imperialist syndicate—the so-called "League of Nations"—had already asked the question of "disarmament". In order to lend a flavor of statistical importance to the disarmament farce of Nations proposed that the International Labor Bureau send six labor representatives and six employers' representatives as delegates to its disarmament commission. The employers declined the offer with the ironical statement that their government was taking care of the disarmament question without them. Messrs. Jouhaux, Mertens, etc., the "labor representatives," thus fell into the trap more readily. Jouhaux, Oudegeest and Thomas (Brazil) were the leaders of the Laurentian Congress. Characteristic (oral) energy Mr. Jouhaux demanded "serious" disarmament measures of the commission; he was indignant over the fact that not one of the governments and none of their representatives gave a serious thought to the question, and he threatened that the working-masses "indeed the labor traitor Jouhaux himself fears the revolutionary movement of the working masses," so thought the government representatives, "he will therefore take good care not to let loose such a movement." And they smiled to each other and at Jouhaux, as the augury seemed to do. But the gentlemen parted pleasantly—with that satisfaction which makes an actor conscious of the fact that he had played his part well.

But Messrs. Jouhaux, Oudegeest, and Thomas have a competitor across the ocean—Samuel Gompers. This old labor-traitor also wants to prepare the working-men for the case when war comes. He too is an "internationalist" and does not wish to be active in the sphere of the League of Nations, since his bourgeoisie is unfriendly to this syndicate.

He does not permit revolutionary talk, although a revolutionary movement in America is much further away from his horizon than is the case here. Rather, it is the case here that the International merely provides, in addition to its normal purpose, only puri pacifist activities, decorated in the Quaker manner with citations from the Bible, in the service of Mr. Harding. Mr. Gompers has therefore recommended that the labor leaders in the individual countries should see to it that they send a labor representative from each country, to the Washington Conference. Those at Amsterdam answered that the I. T. U. F. has very little interest in this proposal, and Filmen, the secretary of the international, substantiated this disinclination by the great pessimism which exists in labor circles concerning the disarmament Conference. "Particularly the fact," he added, "that the great nations have sent their foremost generals and admirals to Washington proves that they are not serious in this matter and at its last session, which took place in Geneva towards the end of October on the occasion of joining the labor Conference, the gentlemen of the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam International declared that they would take part only in such international conferences, which are "actually general and international.""

There are the antecedents of the Amsterdam "disarmament" conference. The men who are working together with the imperialist bourgeoisie day in and day out, and who are co-operating with them in the disarmament fraud, are complaining that they are not being admitted to the serious business conference of the imperialist powers—for which they believe the Gompers Conference is, and nothing more!—and play the insulted and call a conference which is to protest against Washington. But it is not such a conference and cannot be, because behind it are old labor-traitors, raging social-patriots, assailed reformists, true collaborators with the imperialist bourgeoisie—men who hinder and sabotage the revolutionary struggle every day, men who seek to restrain its surging and who are working energetically for its suppression.

That is why we Communists are saying to the workers: "Beware of the yellow Amsterdam leaders and see, day and day out, that your class-struggle does not cease for a moment and that it is never deflected from the goal of the social revolution, that it embraces ever greater masses, and that it rises in ever mightier waves. Do not stand for a moment rest in your struggle against the inciters and ruiners of nations against war-raging imperialism! But do not for a moment believe the old traitors who have already so often sold and deceived you! They will again sell and betray you—when the hour of danger comes for dying capitalism, for the hour of the revolution of the proletariat."

It is only in this way that the proletariat can prepare itself for an effective fight against war in case of a war, and for winning the victory in that fight.

The White Terror

The Roumanian Murderers.

Dr. Lupu's paper "Aurora," recently published for the first time, presents a small statistical table of the political prisoners in Roumania; these statistics, although incomplete, are important. They deal with the political prisoners in the Jilava Fortress, which is 5 or 6 kilometers distant from Bucharest, and comprise
only the period between Sept. 1, 1920 and Sept. 1, 1921. During this year, 333 political criminals, i.e., Communists and Socialists were imprisoned. Of these, 30 were sentenced to penal servitude in the salt-mines, 12 to serve a term awaiting trial, 20 have been in "preparatory imprisonment" for the last 6 months, 36 have been freed after having been in "preventive imprisonment" without trial from 6 to 12 months. 114 more who have been under arrest slightly less than 6 months are awaiting sentence. The prisoners, in all, are housed in a series of cellars and barracks underground. They sleep together on wooden beds, without blankets. Most of the prisoners have no linen, and the prison-management does not supply any. The insufficient food has recently been further reduced by 25%. The right to go to the open air for forty-five minutes each day is, as the families do not have really exist, because of the many difficulties put in their way. Until the end of April 1921, all prisoners were constrained to perform hard labour; wood-cutting in the forest, the cleaning of roads, cleaning of forest roads, etc. The prison is a religious hovel, with the prisoners only books like the Bible, and the government newspapers "Indreptarea" and "Universul".

Among those imprisoned are four comrades, who have been languishing in prison over a year without having been tried or sentenced; 20 are between the ages of 18-21; 4 are young men under 16. Of these 24 minors, 5 have been under arrest less than 6 months, the other 19 over six months. In seven of these cases, the grounds named for arrest are that the prisoners have attended the general congress in February, which took place with the approval of the government in that case. The other two, the one arrest given is that the prisoner attended the May congress. Four of the prisoners were arrested because they intended to attend the labor congress in May of this year, which could not take place. Twenty-six of these under arrest are party-leaders, educators, or party-officials. Four of them have been arrested, because they happen to have brothers among the Communists arrested. Four Socialists who do not belong to the Communist party have also been arrested. Besides these, nine comrades have been imprisoned for whose arrest not even the judges could at the first trial be blamed.

It also be noted that among those arrested are the deputies C. Popovitz and B. Stefanov.

The trials of those sentenced consisted merely of the following question: "Are you of good moral character? Do you belong? " "Are you in favor of joining the Third International?" "Are you satisfied with the present form of Government?" "What will you do if again set free?" Among the other prisoners are 10 who are suspected of having distributed illegal leaflets. 33 are accused of having distributed such leaflets. Finally, 12 comrades are under arrest because they are members of a Bessarabian Communist organization. It is characteristic of the execution of the sentences that those prisoners who become ill are not sent to hospitals. The authorities are brutal enough to declare that the health of the prisoners is not their concern.

This is a miniature picture of the great work accomplished daily by the murderers in Roumania even during the war. These statistics do not mention the numerous imprisonments which took place before the 1st of September, 1920. One of these, among others, is the case of I.B., who do not have one who is called the one hundred of those imprisoned and thousands of those arrested, who are still languishing in the prisons and salt mines of Ocuca-Mara, Doftana, Slanic and in other places in Bessarabia, Siebenbürgen and Roumania proper. Neither do these statistics take into consideration the hundreds of young Bessarabian workers and students of both sexes who are awaiting a slow death in the Roumanian prison cells merely because they dared to establish educational circles. Nor do the statistics mention those who are imprisoned for the mere fact of being a Rosenblatt, these are the delegates to the May 1921 Congress 5 deputies and 27 women. The bare statistics say nothing of the numerous hunger-strikes by our comrades.

One more the government has promised that the trials will take place on the 5th of November. Such promises have often been kept; they have not been. Of those arrested in these promises. We print the following excerpt from a letter sent by the political prisoners of the Vacaresti prison on the 23rd of October, 1921 to the royal commissioner, who has charge of their trial.

"Two months ago we were arrested at the congress which was permitted by the authorities and at which we proclaimed our political views. The same authorities still control the meetings, organizations, the press and freedom of expression are present. We are still waiting, and have faith in your assurances that the trial will take place on the 5th or 20th of December, or on the 5th or 20th of October. During the 160 days of our arrest, you have examined us only once; you have examined only our views and future intentions without being able to prove one of the charges of which we are accused. We have been purposely held under arrest for the last half year, and we do not yet know the date of trial. Furthermore, we hereby notify you, that should we not receive our liberty or a definite date for our trial by Tuesday, the 25th of October, we shall start a hunger-strike."

It is also necessary to mention the physical and moral tortures suffered by the prisoners at the hands of the Roumanian murderers, but we shall reserve that article as a gift for the coronation celebrations of King Ferdinand I. In the meanwhile we must publish the following baseness of the Roumanian White Guards: the year old comrade, the student Leonhardt, has been sentenced to 4 years imprisonment and has been sent away into the salt-mines of Doftana. His guilt (?) consists of the following: he, together with other youths took the liberty of playing a practical joke. The 15-year old comrade caused the bells of the Metropolitan Church to be rung. This is the great crime committed by Leonhard for which he will, after a year's "preventive" arrest, have to serve four years in the salt-mines.

This is the appearance of things in democratic Roumania. This is the way things are run under the government of the People's Party. Such were conditions in the past, and such will they be in the future under the rule of the liberal party. Roumania, even more than Poland and Jugoslavia, is now the seat of reaction. Blind and ignorant are those democrats and social democrats from South Eastern Europe. The Roumanian government will intervene and put a stop to the reaction in South Eastern Europe.

The Lichtenburg Hunger Strike

A new infamy of German justice.

H. N. Not a day, not an hour passes by without international class-judges committing new crimes and new murders. There is no pause or interruption in the hunt to the death of revolutionary workers and communists. Sacco and Vanzetti lie in the dungeons of Massachusetts; in Spain, Hungary and Jugoslavia. Thousands upon thousands have been sentenced to death. The reaction against the republic follows close behind these reactionary kingdoms and the land of the dollar.

In the Lichtenburg prison, principally employed as a place of confinement for political prisoners, a cruel and frightful tragedy is being enacted. 130 political prisoners, at the time this is being written, have been on hunger strike for the last eight days. The abuses which are turning them into physical wrecks, the sufferings of their families, the hunger of their children, the cruelty of the government, and theấ free and just, patient and honorable republic of the social-democrat Ebert has brought them to the point where life is merely a curse, where they are ready to put an end to their dog's existence in their own cells. At the time when this is being written they have been without food for nearly 200 hours with but a single thought: Freedom or Death!

What is that to German justice? What are the public prosecutors doing about it? What steps are contemplated by the social-democratic government ministers? They do not even know about the fact that 130 brave and determined workers are starving themselves to death. It does not cause them any unpleasantness, since no one hears anything of it. The walls of Lichtenburg are high and its locks are secure. The bourgeois press is silent about the fact that 130 nameless and unknown comrades of Lichtenburg are blood of its blood and flesh of its own flesh.

Workers of the world! In the midst of your hundred cares and worries, think for a few moments of the remote prison of Lichtenburg. You, who in your own countries stand under the lash of the White Terror, think of the 130 starving comrades, in starvation threatened with new punishments. Think of them! Spared of them?

Small though this occurrence may be in the immensity of the oppression and persecution of the proletariat of the world—all your honor is at stake! Save the victims of Lichtenburg! Save the victims of the white infamy!