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The International Communist Women's Day

by Clara Zetkin.

** Storms of enthusiasm greeted the motion of our Bulgarian comrades and the resolution of the Second International Conference of Communist Women at Moscow, to celebrate Women's Day everywhere on March 8th, the day which previously was observed only by Russian comrades. Hearts beat wildly, eyes had a far-off look, and the will to do dauntlessly rose supreme. Memory flew back to the fact that it was the monster demonstration of the Petrograd proletarian women for peace and liberty which on March 8th, 1917 ushered in the Russian Revolution. The knowledge and will of the 82 representatives of the Communist women of 28 nationalities formed them into a great, unified, resolute body. Our International Women's Day this year must become a giant recruiting of the broad masses to Communism and it must be an irresistible battle-cry against the bourgeois order and for the seizure of power by the proletariat. It must show that we Communists not only *will* but also *can, can act*. Now is the time to swear our silent but binding oath, in order to make the will a living deed.

The present hour binds thereto. What the capitalists begin in on country, nationally, they continue internationally—the effort to set up again and fortify for all times the capitalistic economy which is torn apart and decayed because of the world war and its after-effects. Not due to the strength of this historical economic system. No indeed. Merely at the cost of the bloody exploitation and most rigorous enslavement of the proletariat, the producing people.

The bourgeoisie of all countries has shown during its imperialistic war and in the years that followed that it has neither the capacity nor the will to conduce and manage for the general good the fabulous forces of production which have been developed under its rule. It can only paralyze them and neglect them through the misery of crises and the crimes of war, and bring them to destruction and ruin. Capitalism cannot, like the traditional phoenix, rise from the flames and ashes of the world war into a new life, rejuvenated. It is weak when it comes to chain the chaos that it has unloosed, but it is really powerless to cause a new, higher, material and cultural existence for all blossom from the ruins. It can still go on in the hum-drum way with the result that it will transform a minority of millionaires into billionaires, satisfied idlers overfed with culture and bread and triflers with scientific, artistic and social merit into squandering degenerates.

The developments towards the abyss, cannot be arrested by the meetings of the diplomatic tribe, the politicians, captains of industry, and kings of finance, with their buzzing and whispering, with the false secret treaties, and their clenched fists against the working-class. They will remain real in spite of the prophecies of those tired and afraid of revolution, who see nothing on the historical horizon but a rebirth of capitalism and its order. Just as nobody can leap over his shadow capitalism is unable to swing itself over the boundaries of its existence. Its wonderful and well-known "adaptability" to higher forms of organization has shattered on its unyielding nature as an individual and anarchistic profit economy. The historical hour of capitalism has passed. It must yield to Socialism and Communism, the necessary prerequisites for which have been generated within its own breast.

This assurance is not a blissful faith but an unshakable, scientific well-grounded knowledge of social facts, associations,

and laws of evolution. In the midst of the terrible distress and the bitter struggles of the times, this assurance will give to the International Communist Women's Day an unflinching strength and a flaming enthusiasm which will attract and recruit the masses. It will forge the unyielding will of millions to fight and conquer capitalism, and to pave the way for Communism. For this will, and only this will, can kick into the grave capitalism whose process of decay fills the air with poisonous, putrid bacilli, and the nauseating breath of pestilence. Should this active and self-sacrificing will be lacking, then capitalism can vegetate more extensively—although it has been sentenced by history. The price for this will be paid by the exploited and oppressed wage-slaves, by the taxed and ruled producing classes outside the ranks of the Junkers, the captains of industry, the rulers of the stock-exchange and their illegitimate but nevertheless natural brothers, the speculators and profiteurs. And this price will be recorded in history with blood and tears, as a crushing defeat, the destruction and death of whole proletarian armies.

The Communist women were conscious of all this when they adopted their resolution in Moscow for the International Women's Day. Today they are conscious, with a greater clarity and a stronger power of resolution, of how to prepare for this demonstration. The International Communist Women's Day must also answer the question of destiny which stands, full of responsibility and sacrifice, but nevertheless hopeful and blessed, before the men and women of the producing classes of all countries—patient, humble satisfaction with dirty and blood-dripping capitalism, or a resolute inexorable fight for its destruction? The answer to this question must be clear and distinct, without any twistings and turnings with "buts" and "ifs", and millions of women and men must answer it.

The liberation of the workers can only be the work of the working-class itself. It can never accomplish this gigantic and terrible work of history, however, if it is torn in two halves by the sex distinction. As the men and women of the proletariat are united body and soul in their crushing life of misery, so must they also unite a burning hatred of capitalism with a more confident, more daring will to fight for the Revolution. The International Communist Women's Day must not remain only a women's demonstration in any country or town. It must everywhere be the expression of the will and the work of the entire Communist Party. The latter must support our Women's Day with all its physical and moral strength. The power, the character, the tenor, the goal of our Women's Day should make the necessity for it as apparent and self-evident as the existence of every party of the Third International.

Dare we forget that we are Communists? Communism binds! Our place is in the struggle with the capitalistic monster, in the work and fight for the far-off sunshine-filled edifice of Communism in which everybody will find a home of the greatest humanity, men as well as women, just as in the fight for complete humanity we must fight for the things concerning men as well as those concerning women. Before our thoughts and wills stands a great gathering of millions of all the exploited, the enslaved, the suffering and oppressed and the one great, sublime common cause which calls to the fight! Here the proletariat longing for a fuller life, there the bourgeoisie yearning for gold and power! Here Socialism, Communism developing people as the creators and enjoyers of culture, into perfect happy human-beings, there capitalism uses people as the material for profits, bemirches them, lowers their standard of living, cripples them and grinds them down. With this conviction, the International Women's Day is to

win the broad masses for the fight in the cause of Communism. Men and women without distinction! The memory of the glorious deed of the Petrograd working women on March 8th, shall wave over our Women's Day like a blazing banner which points out the way and kindles our courage. Moreover, as a recruiting force for the Communist Party of every country, for Communism, for the Third International, the demonstration will continue during the week of March 5th-12th. For it is to carry the spark of thought by which the act of emancipation is kindled into the depths and to the remotest little corner inhabited by people whose humanity is ground by capitalism in its profit-mill.

With this aim in view, our demonstration will speak in a brazen voice of the sufferings and fate of countless women. It will also speak of untiring labors and bitter poverty, of consuming cares and miserable wretchedness, of injustice and unappeasable ardent longings, of the brutal obstinate power of men and the inflexible, daring and defiant revolutionary will of the exploited and the little. Does not capitalism stick to the heels of the working woman from the gray dawn of morning until late at night, in order to squeeze out of her flesh and blood—and from her often with doubled cruelty and unscrupulousness—the riches with which it wishes to pay for its ravages in the world war and for its future destructive existence.

The rising cost of living, intensified by profiteering and high taxes tear the piece of dry bread from her mouth. Her earnings or those of the husband are decreasing and no skillfulness, no ability protects her from unemployment. The working day is growing longer, the burden, the torture and the danger of work is increasing. The employers, insolent and challenging under the protection of the state, are destroying the poor beginnings of legal protection for the wage-earning proletarian woman, for the children, the half-fledged sons and daughters of the producing class. The exploiting capitalist wants to hold his own on the market, and demands bigger profits. Unfeelingly he tramples under foot all consideration of the fact that the woman who is continuously employed, the housewife of the factory worker, of the civil service worker, of the hand worker and the small farmer, is a wife, a mother and a person. And, under this sacred gold hunger of the individual capitalist there stands today the consciousness of the whole capitalist class that the existence of its exploiting and ruling power is at stake.

Therefore, money in lavish abundance to protect and support this power with bayonets and machine guns. On the other hand, if it is a question of making provisions for mother and child, or of social institutions and measures which would make easier the lot of the crushed housewife and mother whose duties are doubled and tripled; absolute poverty. On the one hand, in the name of democracy, there is privilege and a strengthening of power for the rich, even if they, as drones, hinder society. On the other hand, there is a withholding of political and social rights for the working-women, who with hands and brains promote the welfare and the culture of the community. Bound also by the chains of sex slavery, the lot of the working woman, as a victim of class slavery, is doubly hard. And, if in spite of this she should dare to rise against this slavery, if her class brother rises against it, then the bourgeois community, with the aid of the White Terror, seeks to put to death her class justice and the Red Terror of her class army.

Such are the effects of dying capitalism, desperately fighting death, which dictate the slogans of our Women's Day. They begin with a demand for immediate and decisive measures for the cheapening and security of the necessities of life, until the time of the control of the economy by freely-elected councils of the workers without distinction of sex. Having begun with the demands for the full political and social rights for women and efficient social protection for them, it finishes with an appeal for unlimited amnesty for all revolutionary fighters, men and women. One or another proletarian life question is used as an opening point or, else very strongly emphasized in each country, according to the given existing circumstances. In all countries, however, the individual demands should be combined into a powerful, confident will to fight for the capture of the government through the proletariat, and for the establishment of its dictatorship on Soviet lines. In the lands of the vanquished and the victor, as well as in the so-called neutral countries, capitalism no longer punishes with the whips of its prime but with the scorpions of its decay. The sufferings of the producing-class of one nation become the pain of the others. This develops and strengthens the international revolutionary determination to fight, and the international revolutionary battle-cry, "Down with the Minotaur, the man-eater!" Our Communist Women's Day must develop this. The international solidarity of the oppressed and the starved of all countries imperiously demands at present tangible expression — an abnegating, brotherly help for those starving and threatened with death in Soviet Russia. The impe-

rialists of France and England demand as spoils of war a tremendous share of the wealth which the German capitalists extort from the proletariat. As compensation they want to let Stinnes and Rathenau have a share in the well-planned plundering and dismemberment of Soviet Russia. It is to become an colony for the inexhaustible exploitation of world capitalism under German management. Deadly hatred for the one proletarian state of the world, permeates those greedy for gold and power, and the international clan of exploiters who hunger for lives. Can this state live, can it develop its young forces, if the cracking and bursting building of world capitalism can only be cemented with the blood and sweat of millions of miserable beings, if it can only be supported by the bones of those who have been destroyed? Is not its mere existence a not-to-be silenced admonition to the enslaved to throw off the yoke from their wounded shoulders and their shattered souls.

The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia have performed immortal deeds in heroic fight and silent martyrdom. Alone, weakened by civil war, attacked by internal foes, their country was unable in four short years to blot out the criminal inheritance of Czarism and capitalism and to make up for the lack of economic and cultural development, which has stood still for centuries. And it needed that which would accelerate and make easier the building of a new and fuller life; collaboration with other proletarian states in which the social revolution has unchained gigantic forces of production. Soviet Russia was forced to resume negotiations with capitalism, which desires to uproot its government. This action was not a bitter fruit of the "bad mistakes" of its ruling, revolutionary party, but much more the fault of the proletarians of other countries — above all Germany — who dared not think of and fight for freedom.

Capitalism which has been admitted into Soviet Russia must remain the well-paid servant of the proletariat and its republic, and is never to become the commanding master or the ruler. The power is still with the Soviets and it must remain with them. Proletarians of the whole world pay your tremendous debt to your Russian brothers and sisters! And you, producing women of the entire world, do likewise! Is not Soviet Russia the only country which calls for and recognizes women's work in every field, which socially protects and values motherhood, in that the wife is a citizen and her equal rights are recognized? Hands off Soviet Russia! Clear the road for Soviet Russia! On with the energetic development of Soviet Russia! Such a call to battle against the booty-seeking bourgeoisie of all countries must spread from our International Women's Day over the whole world.

The international women correspondents of the Communist Parties of many European countries have in a general conference with the representatives of the women's secretariat of the Third International, consulted them about the carrying through of the Women's Day. In their decisions they were in accord with the orders of the Third International. It can not be, it should not be. The Communist Party of every country can and must devote its full strength to the success of our demonstration.

The International Communist Women's Day begins on March 5th, Rosa Luxemburg's birthday. The life work and the good example of the intrepid, genial immortal among whose body was mutilated by murderous hands, but whose spirit lives immortal among us, will be a column of fire to light and show us the way. March 8th is the day on which the women tolled the tocsin of the Russian Revolution in 1917. The manifestation of will, the decisive rally to the fight by the international proletariat must be the answer to Genoa, the demonstration of the international counter-revolution. And women will fight with honor and glory in the front ranks of the united revolutionary front. Their International Day must build a strong proletarian armed force against the counter-revolutionary intriguers of capitalist power and their political flunkeys. Women helped to prepare the way for Christianity and to bring it to power. Women brought the King and the National Assembly from Versailles back to Paris on October 5th and 6th, 1794, the funeral procession of the absolute monarchy and the feudal state, and a triumphal procession of the Revolution. Women on March 18, 1871 prevented the robbery of the artillery of the Parisian people by Thiers' White Guards, and gave the signal for the Commune. Our hard times, in which the freedom and even the barest existence for the proletarians of all countries are at stake, our great period in which world reaction and world revolution are preparing for armed conflict, should find no insignificant female sex, no illusions and no fearful and faint hearts! Let us prepare for the fight! Let us go into the fight earnestly and fearlessly!

POLITICS

Genoa, Soviet Russia and the Proletariat.

by *Wilhelm Koenen* (Berlin).

** The severe crisis which makes itself felt in the drop of exports as well as of public revenues in the Allied countries, and in protracted unemployment, compels the Entente capitalists for profit's sake of course, to seek new markets for their goods and to establish profitable trade-relations. Under such economic pressure, the Entente capitalists, headed by England, were compelled to call the Genoa conference.

The very fact that all the capitalist powers are "resigned" (even though under many sighs and groans) to negotiate officially with the Bolsheviks shows how heavily the frightful economic crisis weighs upon all the capitalist governments. Western European as well as American capitalism is sorely in need of economic relations with the 150,000,000 Russians, firstly in order to increase its exports, and secondly in order to resume the exploitation of the unemployed masses, with whose taxes the empty government treasuries are to be refilled. All of the leading Allied statesmen, particularly those of England and Italy, are agreed that there can be no talk of economic reconstruction without first opening the Russian market and raw-material resources.

Up to the present, the world revolution could only maintain one strong outpost—the Soviet Power in Russia. This revolutionary vanguard had to battle against death and the devil, against the storming armies of 10 different White Guard generals, against the attacks of Entente mercenaries in the North and in the South, in the West and in the East, and with untold sacrifices, it finally came out victor. Then, after the warcries of the White Guards and Allied mercenaries had died down, and war-discipline also had to be eliminated from the economic life of Russia, and it became necessary to transform war-production into peace-production, the Russian Bolsheviks were at once confronted with the difficult task of bringing the Russian industries, during this period of temporary peace, into contact with the outer world from which it been cut off by the battle-fronts.

In Germany, Austria and even in Italy the proletarian masses failed to seize and to *hold fast* the power that was already theirs; for this they are indebted to their reformist-Social Democratic leaders. But Socialism or Communism cannot successfully be established in a limited territory. Even the theoreticians of the Internationals 2 and 2½ do not deny this. But even if Socialism cannot as yet be fully established, the prerequisites for Communism can nevertheless be created and under proletarian rule, the way can be paved for the transition to Socialism. But the greatest and most important task of the Bolsheviks and of the Communist International at present is to protect and with all the means at their disposal to maintain the *vanguard* of the world-revolution—the Soviet Power in the first proletarian state of the world:

The concessions which the slow, drawn-out course of the world revolution compel the proletarian state to make to the economic forces still in existence and surrounding it, must always be examined from two sides. The concessions must be such that they acquire for Russian economic life that which it has not or cannot by itself acquire; on the other hand, they must bind the enemy forces by agreements or active participation, and ward off the enemies of the Soviet Power, who might otherwise become a real danger to the safety of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia.

It is for this double purpose that the Soviet Government brought some relief to the peasants by introducing the tax-in-kind, and that it again left the smaller industries and some branches of the manufacturing industries to free trade, while it fortified itself as a proletarian state-power more and more upon the centralized traffic system, nationalized power resources, coal and naphtha production and upon large-scale manufacturing industry which it also nationalized and with which the economic life is completely controlled.

And it is for the very same purpose that the Communists, as the rulers of Russia, agree to enter into negotiations with the capitalist world-pirates in Genoa or wherever else possible. Now is the time when they have no reason whatever for refusing to enter into negotiations, since the great economic world crisis compels the capitalists of all countries to supply the Russian market with goods and to "tolerate", for the time being, Russian conditions. If the Soviet Power survives; it will have

to be recognized; at first perhaps only *de facto*, but very soon officially.

But the degree in which Soviet Russia in its negotiations with the capitalist robbers will succeed in obtaining actual relief which it so urgently needs for its economic reconstruction, depends to a great extent upon the interference of the Western European proletariat. The proletariat must perceive that the economic relief that Soviet Russia requires means the fortification of the only proletarian outpost of the world revolution.

But the proletariat must also be fully aware of the fact that now that warcries have for the present died down, the Soviet Power is threatened not only by the famine catastrophe, but that a *tight ring of capitalist forces* of the whole world, if permitted around Soviet Russia's neck, could simply choke this first proletarian power. The syndicate which England wants to form, and which is to unite all the European capitalists together with those of Japan for the exploitation of Soviet Russia, would be just such an iron ring of enslavement around the Soviet Power.

The proletariat of Europe must see to it that this iron ring be broken, not only for Russia's sake but also for their own. For, this syndicate is perhaps the only hope of the capitalists to alleviate the frightful economic crisis of the world and it may even help them to overcome the crisis altogether. This could be accomplished only at the expense of the Russian and the Central and Western European proletariat. Thus the interests of Soviet Russia and those of the World proletariat coincide.

The Social Democrats therefore lie when they say that the tactics of the Communist proletariat in the Western countries are being dictated by the particular interests of Soviet Russia. The contrary is true. The strength or weakness of the international proletariat's actions is the final determinant of the policy of the Bolsheviks. For, if the world-proletariat succeeds in rising in an energetic struggle against the exploiters of its own country, and if it succeeds in curbing its own capitalist forces, or even in overpowering them altogether, then it can and may count upon the direct or indirect aid of the Soviets, as long as the Communists are at the helm in Russia.

In the meanwhile it is necessary to make inner and outer concessions for the safety of the Soviet Power and in the interest of the revolutionary proletariat. And in order that these concessions which are made for the safety of Soviet Russia may be as small as possible, and that the economic measures which shall be decided upon in Genoa may really work the salvation of Russia, the Western European proletariat must let itself be heard in an unmistakable manner.

Sidelights on the Washington Conference.

by *Arthur Rosenberg*.

** Anybody wanting to learn the truth about the Washington Conference, now fortunately adjourned, must needs peruse French papers. Both the American and the English press have all reason to laud the Conference and what it has accomplished. For American and British diplomats staged the Washington Conference, sought for a superficial solution of the world's problems, and are now, through their press, telling the public that everything sought for had been obtained. The French Government was looked upon in Washington as undesirable and treated accordingly, which, of course, did not favorably impress the French who are now retaliating by telling the truth. The "Temps", the semi-official Paris daily, recently published very interesting disclosures as to what was meant in Washington by "disarmament". These revelations are proof of the scandalous manner in which capitalist diplomats and the kept press hoodwink the public.

The limitation of naval armaments is generally held to be Washington's biggest achievement. The four great naval powers, Great Britain, the United States, Japan and France have reached an agreement not to build any new warships for a period of ten years. The easily fooled pacifists and reformists of all countries wept with joy . . . everything they had so ardently hoped for and which always had to be delayed owing to the resistance offered by Imperial Germany, was now to become an accomplished fact. The "Temps", however, points out that there are a number of serious flaws in the widely-heralded agreement. Paragraph 2 provides for exceptions in case one of the contracting parties should be involved in warlike operations. It would not be difficult for either the United States or Great Britain to conform to that preliminary. If, for instance, the American capitalists, should once more think fit to enter Mexico, an American fleet would steam into Mexican ports. Thus an entirely new situation would arise and automatically nullify the disarmament agreement.

But worse is yet to come. Paragraph 21 states expressly that "if during this period one of the undersigned powers should come to the conclusion that its provisions for safeguarding national security are, as concerns naval defense no longer sufficient, owing to new factors having come to the forefront, the contracting parties will meet at the instance of said power, reconsider the clauses of this agreement and come to an understanding regarding the necessary alterations". Put into practice this would, for instance, mean that if in the midst of peace Japan should suddenly discover that political developments render necessary an increase of her fleet, she would invite the other three powers who, having heard Japan's arguments, would promptly accede to her request for a number of new capital ships. But what if the United States, Great Britain and France should decline to do so? For obvious reasons the agreement is silent on that question. This silence can be interpreted to mean that the power concerned would then no longer be bound by the agreement and would simply build as many ships as it deemed necessary.

There can be no doubt that this agreement is nothing but a fake, as was maintained by the Communists from the very beginning. No capitalist power, determined to increase its fleet, would ever allow a scrap of paper to be a barrier in its way. But the agreements signed in Washington have been so carefully worded that it appears as if the signatory powers were exhorting each other not to pay any attention to them. Both in peace and in war every great power will build as many warships as it thinks fit and can pay for. This is commonly called "disarmament".

The "Temps" has overlooked a very important point. Supposing for a minute that Great Britain abides by the agreement and does not construct capital ships for a period of ten years (subject to the exceptions dealt with previously) what will happen if Siam or Portugal orders a warship at an English yard? Do the Washington agreements interfere with the right of British industry to accept large orders such as that? Hardly. Provided they can procure the necessary faked orders from the smaller states the four powers can continue to construct as many ships as they desire. All that remains to be done is to haul down or the flag of the smaller state and run up the Union Jack instead, or the Star Spangled Banner, etc., and the ships will be ready for battle, whenever the time arrives. This, too, is commonly called disarmament.

Another agreement signed at in Washington was drawn up with the purpose of regulating submarine warfare. Under the clauses of this agreement no cargo or passenger ships may be sunk without warning. Every ship must first be searched and her crew placed in safety. Any submarine commander offending against these rules will be treated as a pirate. That sounds uncompromising enough, and the "Temps" has nothing to say with regard to this agreement, because in this respect France sits in a glasshouse and cannot afford to throw stones. Some months ago, a French naval officer, Castex, was so ill-advised as to publish an article advocating the methods of submarine warfare that are closely bound up with the name Tirpitz. The French militarists' indignation at these methods has evaporated since they themselves hope that some day they will "force Great Britain to her knees" by means of ruthless submarine warfare. As the British naturally took exception to the rash Mr. Castex, the French government played the innocent and assured its late allies that its officer had been totally misunderstood and that civilized France would never tolerate such "Boche methods". The submarine agreement apparently admits of no misinterpretation; like a code hewn into stone, it threatens all submarine commanders offending the laws of humanity. Very strict and precise regulations protect cargo-carriers against unjustified torpedoing by submarines, but not one single word is devoted to a definition of what constitutes a cargo-carrier. It is very probable that in wartime a ship with a cargo of hand grenades will not be designated as a cargo-carrier but as an auxiliary cruiser, especially so if it carries a number of armed soldiers or a gun, as was very often the case during the last war. If in a future war France blockades Great Britain, will she permit the passage of a ship carrying foodstuffs, for instance, or cotton? Would she not say that the food was destined for the army and the cotton for soldiers' coats, and torpedo the ships, claiming that they were no cargo-carriers in the sense of the Washington agreement, but auxiliary cruisers in the service of the British War Office. The Washington submarine agreement has as many loopholes as that on disarmament.

The contracting parties at Washington furthermore undertook not to use any poison gas in future wars. Here again it is the "Temps" which calls attention to a flaw in the agreement, viz., the term "civilized peoples which is used throughout the agreement. This allows of the inference that no objections will be raised against that the use of gas bombs against the uncivilized nations, so-called. France can set up as many poison gas

factories as she thinks essential, provided she declares that the gas will be used exclusively against savages. Who will define the term "civilized nation"? The Council of the League of Nations?

All parties, however, seem to be agreed on the fact that proletarians are not to be counted among "civilized nations"; proof of this is furnished by the fact that after this agreement had been signed the New York City administration armed its police with gas bombs. The French, English and American capitalists' will continue to employ against the exploited masses both at home and in the colonies, the poison of their press and, if necessary, the poison of their gas bombs. The objects of so much devotion, however, will defeat all such attempts the more they lose faith in their governments.

The "Temps" suggests that the deficiencies of the various agreements would be rectified by leaving the administration of them to the League of Nations. The United States, in the opinion of the "Temps," did wrong in holding aloof from that laudable institution. The League of Nations as it is today is the instrument of French imperialism, as was shown in the case of the Saar region and in Upper Silesia. To leave the realization of the Washington decisions to the League of Nations would be equivalent to allowing France to interpret the agreements for her own ends, which the British and the Americans could and would not admit. The working-class is not over-interested in the domestic conflicts of capitalist diplomacy. The workers know that conferences such as Washington are only staged in order to hoodwink them. The intrigues of international profiteers must be brought to nought by international labor policy.

France and Intervention in Russia.

by P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

** The recent interviews accorded to reporters of the "Matin" by various of our Russian Communist comrades have somewhat blurred the vision in France as to the foreign policy of M. Poincaré; at any rate this is the case in revolutionary circles.

However great the pressure of current events and of the financial world upon the minister may be, it is nevertheless clear that the idea of intervention has not been totally abandoned in official circles.

Before the recent contacts established by the Quai D'Orsay, the camp of the interventionists was swept by a wave of agitation, and the president of the Senate was bombarded with numerous requests which sought assurances of consistent firmness against Russia. We can distinctly see preparations for an offensive all along the line.

In official government circles we hear the statement that for the present no military projects are in view, but at the same time we hear persistent demands which are constantly growing in intensity and bitterness, that the Genoa Conference be postponed; in the meanwhile the Russian border states are continually being armed.

In Parliament, M. Poincaré, answering to the interpellations, affirms the willingness of the government to aid the famished Volga regions, confirms the existence of relations between his cabinet and Tchitcherin's Commissariat, but he does not forget to return to his firm decision "not to recognize the Soviet Government".

The advantage of the policy of M. Poincaré, that is, the old policy of notes, denials and confidential whisperings, is that it permits one to vacillate between contradictory positions until the day when one spies a favorable opportunity and grasps it. This manner of acting always permits one to find a happy medium of conduct with which one justifies any assumed attitude, no matter from what side the attack comes. Let us not for a moment forget the hypocritical role played by M. Poincaré in preparing the war of 1914.

On the 17th of February, at a moment when negotiations with Russia are under way, M. Paléologue, former Ambassador at Petrograd (whose connections with M. Poincaré we already know) calls a conference at Paris, at which he voices his belief in the "violent death" of the regime with which the Quai d'Orsay is negotiating.

And he finishes by pointing out that France's chief aim should be "the re-establishment of a free, homogeneous and strong Russia". Through what means may be easily guessed.

On the 20th of February the Honorable Charles Crane, former United States Ambassador at Peking, declares that Soviet Russia is nothing more than "a prison and an insane asylum"; he then proceeds with a series of the most common lies about

Russia and closes with the following interpretation of M. Poincaré's recent statement:

"Those who are acquainted with the experiences of the noble Russian people, as I am, applaud the reserve of your government, whose only aim is the *liberation* and lasting welfare of Slavic democracy."

In view of preparing this "liberation" about which neither Poincaré's note nor the note of Cannes mention anything, Messrs. Savinkoff and Bourtzeff, whose connections with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs are only too well known, are multiplying their statements to the various newspapers. They have not renounced the operation so brilliantly set into play. The united Russian reaction which is organized behind these "revolutionaries", turns with a high pitch of anxiety towards the Baltic states, the Little Entente and Poland, who are in favor of postponing the Genoa Conference.

What will come of the conference of the ministers of foreign affairs which is to take place at Warsaw from the 5th to the 15th of March? And what of the economic conference at Belgrade, which was approved by Poland? That not doubt depends upon the differences of opinion between France and England, rather than upon the good intentions of the participating governments. It is thus that the hostility of France towards certain English projects regarding Petrograd, has recently played a very important part in the checking of Finland's policy of veiled intervention.

M. Ehrlich, a Paris deputy and the mouthpiece of the interventionists in Parliament, has delivered a note to the French government signed by M. Noulens, demanding in the name of the "League of French Interests in Russia" the recognition of the pacts entered in by the White government, the unrestricted reestablishment of the institutions of private property and individual liberty, and that securities be given and damages be paid; in short a complete trusteeship of the Soviet Government is asked for.

"Believing it absolutely necessary to insure the enforcement of the demands made upon the Russian government through verified declarations, and taking into consideration the undisputed facts in this matter, the League urgently asks the government to take the necessary steps to insure the verification of the declarations made to the minister of foreign affairs, in conformance with the decree of the 15th of January, 1919."

Here is an open field for all possible forms of sabotage, and for the organization of the counter-revolution by safe and discreet agents. The source from which this note comes is in itself a condemnation of its intentions.

But the "Temps" of the 21st of February goes still further. It complacently appoints itself interpreter of the German interventionists, who are avowed monarchists.

The wave of emotion caused by the interview given on the 22nd of December by General Hoffmann to a representative of the "Matin" has not been forgotten. M. Guillerville, of the "Temps" tapped at the same door; and once more M. Rechberg and General Hoffmann present a grand plan of attack against Russia by Anglo-Franco-German troops. Russia can be saved only "by surgical intervention". In spite of all the precautions taken by M. Guillerville to show us that he is only "translating", it is piquant enough to see the "Temps" in its hatred of Bolshevism print at such length statements made by Pan-Germans of Ludendorff's cut, thereby advertising the internationalism of its class.

At a moment which may be decisive for Soviet Russia's future it is advisable to impress Communist opinion everywhere with the necessity of *being on guard* more than ever and of not being hypnotized by a victory which has not as yet been won.

The Election Campaign in Hungary.

by E. Pal (Wien).

** In Hungary an election contest is now in progress. The National Assembly, which by reason of a "franchise" astutely devised under the regime of the counter-revolutionary adventurer Stefan Friedrich was convoked two years ago as the "Constituent" for the purpose of legalizing and perpetuating the regime of the White Terror, was dissolved on the 16th February at the expiration of its two years' mandate. Need we emphasize that the expiration of the two years' mandate though the ostensible reason for the dissolution of the Hungarian National Assembly is not, however, the true one? In a country where the White Terror has been able to exercise its cruel sway for years without limit and without consideration or hindrance of any kind, where the

open law of the fist, the categorical denial of all law, had become the supreme law of the land, and—to a great extent—is so today, they would not have been so scrupulous as to the "unexpired mandate" of the National Assembly. We thus find the first characteristic feature of the present situation in Hungary in the fact that the election could neither be hindered nor postponed. The fact that the elections are taking place signifies that the antagonism between the parties and classes of the counter-revolution has become so acute, that the government based on the old National Assembly, and on the power afforded it through the existing government-majority, could no longer carry on. The *Karl-Putsch* and the open battle in the Budapest suburbs have clearly proved that the armed conflict, the struggle for life and death between the Legitimists and the Horthyites is by no means a mere figment of the imagination, but a palpable reality. Karl's troops having been defeated by those of Horthy, his cause may be considered as done with. The Legitimist movement, however, in so far as it is a class-movement, is not done with yet. The Horthy Regime is a petty bourgeois and peasant regime. The great landowners and the "great bourgeois", who without striking a blow, without the slightest attempt at resistance, had surrendered the field to the workers, were not able after the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Government immediately to grasp the helm of the state again. In the first moment of general confusion only an adventurer such as Friedrich could seize it, a man possessing enough pluck and charlatanism to usurp the government, supported by his half dozen or so of burly policemen. After the successful "coup d'état" he bestowed upon himself the title of "the only and supreme source of law". The nucleus of the troops of the White Terrorists, whose bestial brutality was a dire contrast to the mild socialistic methods of the so-called Hungarian "Red Terror", could only recruit themselves—according to the existing situation—from the small bourgeois and peasant population. In the name of those classes who, it is well known, are not able to exercise the power of government themselves, and must always be governed, Friedrich, i.e. his "armed powers"—the White detachments of officers and the "awakened Magyars"—rule the land.

But no government, whatever its power or its form can possibly remain independent of the economically decisive class in the long run. In Hungary it was the great landowners who controlled the government up to the end of the war, and the great bourgeois-class was in its wake. The government of the White Terror had most thoroughly exterminated the Communists, most powerfully fettered the Hungarian proletariat, and was therefore supported not only by the petty-bourgeoisie, but also by the great landowners and bourgeoisie. But once the proletarian danger was removed, the landowners and the bourgeoisie again thought themselves of their historical rights and the struggle for the conquest of political power, for the ruling of the country, began. Hungarian history for the last year, in particular, is made up of these struggles which became incessantly more violent. Horthy and the officer detachments are supported by the city petty-bourgeoisie (with the exception of the Jews) and the small peasantry. The Legitimists are the representatives of landed-property and the great bourgeoisie, of those classes that, up to the end of the war, held the helm of the state. It is these classes which ought to undertake the government, as only under the leadership of these can a capitalist reconstruction be thought of, so far as it is at all possible. Only capitalist reconstruction will save Hungary—as all the other capitalist countries—from collapsing. Capitalist reconstruction or collapse, that is the historical alternative capitalism in Hungary now has to face, and this alternative is the only and invincible power of the Legitimists, invincible in that it is the outcome of the course of development.

It will be easily understood that Horthy, after having recognized the invincibility of this historical tendency, will do all that he can to form a compromise with it. The Legitimists, who fought Horthy's troops before Budapest that is, not only prepared a regular armed riot, but carried it through, have—after a short term of unprisonment that in reality was none—been set free again, and though a complete "restoration of order" will, for some time to come, be out of the question, yet the government quite ostensibly tries not to give the Legitimists or the Liberals ground to complain of brutalities on the part of the Horthy troops towards non-proletarians. We have to point out here that the government of Count Bethlen, before the dissolution of Parliament, had done all it could to have the new franchise, on the basis of which the new National Assembly was to be elected, discarded by Parliament, i.e., in the constitutional way, which, however, would only have been possible by means of a compromise between government and the Opposition. The latter, however, preferred dissolving the National Assembly—though a new franchise had not been created—and setting up a commission of the highest legal dignitaries of Hungary, to examine

juridically and pass judgment on the franchise-law on the basis of which the new elections should take place, and to give the government free scope to carry on the elections as it might think proper. What changes have taken place in the course of the last two years becomes evident through the fact that the government dares not simply carry on the elections on the basis of the reactionary Friedrich franchise, which had been particularly adapted to the demands of White Terrorism; according to press statements the government intends to put divers restrictions of great consequence into operation. It means to grant the franchise only to those who have been Hungarian subjects for ten years (and how, considering the existing confusion, is that to be proved?) for two years have been living in the same place, and have gone through at least four elementary school classes, etc. Of the women only those are to obtain the franchise who are 30 years old, and have likewise gone through four classes. As however, no public school registers are in existence in the towns and villages the import of this restrictive measure alone is quite clear. The vote, it is said, is in general, to be a public one; only a few cities will exercise the secret ballot. Of course the whole proceeding is going to be fixed according to divers regulations, which alone suffice to transform the whole "election" into a farce.

The present election-contest proves that the White Terror is compelled to change its front and is trying to find legal forms, to base itself on a new and stronger legal ground, so as not to be swept away by force. The election campaign in Hungary is a class-struggle at its keenest—a struggle, which, through the election of a new National Assembly may possibly adopt milder or harsher forms, but will not thereby be decided.

Both the parties, the Horthyites as well as the Legitimists will make use of the coming elections as a means of strengthening their positions. But no matter the result of the election, the contest will go on. Legitimism, in so far as it signifies the desires and aspirations of a capitalism that has suffered a setback, is invincible, as the petty-bourgeoisie and middle classes, even though for a time in possession of the military power, are themselves not able to govern. And the Horthy system is invincible because the reconstruction of capitalism in Hungary more than anywhere else is quite impossible. What will be the forms of the contest after the election of the new National Assembly does not in the first place depend on the issue of the elections, but upon the activity of the working-class. As long as the working-class remains comparatively quiet and as long as proletarian tendencies to revolution do not arise, the Legitimists and the Horthyites can exert all their strength in fighting each other. On the other hand, the strike movements of the last months allow us to come to the conclusion that the Hungarian working-class is about to enter again the arena of open contest. And this alone will suffice finally to compel the fighting brothers to form a compromise.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Split in the Danish "Communist Federation".

by Smohlan.

** The revolutionary movement of Denmark consisted up to 1921 of the syndicalistically-colored "Fagopposition" and the "Communist Party". Both had only a very limited sphere of influence. At the beginning of 1921 they united into a "Communist Federation", maintaining, however, their independent organizations. An obligation of mutual membership did not exist, although such a wish was expressed and several Communists joined the "Fagopposition". The two existing daily newspapers "Solidaritiet" and "Arbejdet" were united into a common organ "Arbejder-Bladet". The results of this union did not however correspond to expectations. Because of the existence of differences in principles, no common decisions could be reached, and it often happened in such cases that the basic differences soon led to personal quarrels among the leaders, which made a successful cooperation impossible. Several Syndicalists stood up for their well-known slogan "only economic struggle" just as before and did not want to know anything about politics. Under no circumstances did they want to work at the formation of a strongly united C.P. and in their sections propagated political neutrality in the trade-unions.

A Syndicalist opposition developed, and a lamentable incident occurred during the beginning of February that split the Federation apart. A common meeting of both organizations in Copenhagen, controlled by the opposition, decided to take pos-

session of the paper and the headquarters of the Party. Editors and Party officials were forcefully removed from their posts and a proclamation was issued saying that the old Executive of the Federation had been removed because of its inability and that a new "Unity Party" had been formed. They called a congress for the 12th of February in Copenhagen, in which their actions were approved and it was decided to form a unity party, called the Communist Party of Denmark. A program was worked out and accepted and a decision formed according to which "for the future all financial support from foreign countries must cease". In a resolution the readiness is expressed to come to an agreement with the split off section on the basis of the accepted program and under the condition that "the discharged executive should withdraw its representatives from the general committee and refuse all economic support from abroad". The "Arbejder-Bladet", that had up to now appeared daily, is to be issued only once a week.

The Communists under the legal executive held a special convention at the same time at Odense. Here the largest Party sections as well as the fraternal parties of Sweden, and Norway were represented. In a resolution the convention proclaimed itself as the only existing section of the Third International in Denmark and expelled the other group. A weekly "Klasskampen" is to be issued. The two representatives of Norway at the convention were instructed by their executive to try to bring about an agreement between the opponents. One of them writes about the matter in "Social-Demokraten", Christiania:—

"Our negotiations with the two parties led to the result that the discussions are to be carried on between the old C.P. and the 'Fagopposition' in regard to the division of the property of the 'Communist Federation' in regard to the division of the property of the 'Communist Federation'. The division is to be carried out according to the decisions which were accepted at the founding of the Federation. The 'Fagopposition' has declared its willingness return what it had carried off in the 'coup d'état'. At the convention at Odense all provincial groups were represented but there were no elected delegates from Copenhagen".

Some Facts about the Communist Party of America

by James Carr (Moscow).

** The Communists of the entire world know less of the movement in America than of any other large country. One of the reasons for this is the impossibility of discussing things openly, because this would invoke the repressive measures of the American authorities against the Communists. Also, for the same reason, it will be necessary to leave much unsaid in this article, and the reader will have to read a good deal between the lines.

It is, however, necessary for the Communists of all countries to get a correct conception of American conditions and to follow up the development of the movement, so that this information can be taken into consideration in the perspective of the world revolution. The United States form at present the center of international capitalism, the nucleus of reactionary imperialism and will probably maintain this role until the end of capitalist rule. The world war, which weakened and undermined the power of the ruling classes in all European countries, enormously raised the power and authority of the ruling classes in America. The United States which before the war was in debt to other countries has now become their creditor and has at its disposal more than 60% of the gold reserves of the world.

Since the beginning of the war over 20,000 new millionaires have been created in the United States; a figure which exceeds the sum total of the former millionaires of the whole world. This class stands on firm ground and orders about the American working-class at will. With the aid of written and verbal propaganda it holds the workers in mental and spiritual slavery. At the first sign of a revolutionary tendency, it unmercifully crushes every movement with an iron fist. It is the strongest and best-organized bourgeoisie in the entire world, and its power over the American working-class is almost despotic. As long as the power of the American bourgeoisie is not broken, the strength of world imperialism remains unshaken. Therefore the development of the Communist movement of America is of great importance to Communists of other countries.

The Communist Party of America consists of 12,000 to 13,000 members, who are organized in about 1700 groups. Each group is composed of about ten members and holds meetings regularly. All members are compelled to take an active part in party work. Admission to the party is gained only after three months' trial in a special recruiting group of party candi-

dates; thus making it more difficult to enter than any legal organization.

In order to facilitate party work, the whole territory of the United States is divided into twelve districts, corresponding to the distribution of the main industrial centers. Every district has its own administration and has a permanent leader, who is simultaneously a member of the Executive Committee. Although the party, up to the present, has not issued an English daily paper, there are in circulation eight daily papers in other languages, and over 30 periodicals appearing weekly, bi-weekly, and monthly. Besides the party influences several papers, copies of which are distributed by the millions.

United States is a land of immigrants. Over one-sixth of the population is foreigners, as for example at the steel works in the environs of Pittsburgh, Pa and in Gary, Indiana. In every large city of America one-fourth of the population is foreign. Thus these are in Chicago over 300,000 Poles, and just as many live in Detroit. In New York there are 400,000 Italians and over 1,000,000 Jews. Hundreds of thousands of the workers born in foreign countries speak hardly any English. The American revolutionary movement, naturally, cannot neglect this element. The Communist Party of America has devised a special apparatus to disseminate the Communist idea in all the languages spoken by the American workers. During the last three years the American Communists have spent much time on the peculiar tasks arising from this situation. In America all nationalities have their own cultural and national organizations, so it is quite natural for the revolutionary element of each nationality to belong to their particular Federation.

Before the war these foreign organizations formed a stronghold for the reactionary leadership of Berger and Hillquit, and carried on with the Right a fight against the so-called Reds, who had attempted to take the leadership of the Socialist Party in their hands. After the Russian Revolution the situation changed. Naturally the Russians and the other Slavic Federations of America were influenced very quickly by the Russian Revolution and thus were the main support of the Left Wing. Their autonomy made it possible for them to carry on independent Communist propaganda within the Socialist Party. Thanks to their independence, they were able to break up the Socialist Party completely. And for this reason also, these Federations made strenuous efforts to preserve their independence, when the time came to form a united Communist Party. It was this very question of the autonomy of the Federations, which resulted in a split in the Left Wing and caused in September 1919, the formation of two Communist Parties in America instead of one. For a long time the leaders of the Russian and the other Federations openly opposed unity with the other Communist Party, most of whose members spoke English. Only seven months ago they complied with the authority of the Communist International and called together a unity conference.

This conference which took place in the Spring of 1921, showed that no fundamental differences of opinion existed between the parties and that it would make for general satisfaction to have a joint party program. A form of organization would also be found for the foreign-speaking comrades, which would take into consideration the requirements of propaganda in foreign languages, and would indissolubly unite the foreign sections with the English speaking sections in all cities. The autonomy of the Federations would be done away with, and the whole party would assume an undivided, centralized form, with its management in the hands of the Executive Committee. The Unity Convention elected a new Executive Committee, whose first problem was to unite the disorganized illegal groups into one organizations. This was accomplished within three months. Thereupon the Executive Committee devoted its entire strength to the problem of bringing about an affiliation with the broad masses of American workers. It endeavored to make the party a living factor of the struggle against the exploiting class. Soon, however, it appeared that the illegal apparatus was inadequate for extensive Communist activity, and it was necessary to find new ways and means of uniting the masses politically for the fight against American capitalism.

This problem involves greater difficulty in America than in the European countries. The American worker has no tradition of class-consciousness, and the class-conscious element is permeated with the spirit of sectarianism and has no practical knowledge.

The Central Executive Committee understands very well that the party cannot solve its problems without possessing suitable methods and forms of organization. To solve these problems with the help only of the illegal organization would be impossible. Hence the American Communist Party resolved to make use of all the legal possibilities which are at its disposal

in the United States. The course of events compelled the party to do this. The economic crisis is becoming more and more acute; the unemployed, whose number exceeds 6,000,000, are continually on the move, and this mass of millions offers not only a vast area for propaganda, but also means a grave danger for the bourgeoisie. An entirely illegal organization would not be in a position suitably to cope with all the problems arising from the crisis, which demand solution more urgently all the time. The party is confronted with this dilemma: either to find ways and means of conducting an open, legal propaganda among the masses, or to give up this field to others and to renounce its claims of being the vanguard of the American working-class. Realizing this, the party decided to take advantage of all the possibilities at hand for open propaganda among the masses.

At the last elections the party put up its own candidates. This first step toward participation in parliamentary elections is, it is true, a very modest one; but its importance is by no means slight. The experience which the party gained through this step can be used in the approaching Congressional elections.

The party took a very active part in the collections for the famine sufferers of Russia and succeeded in raising a very significant sum. Furthermore, the trade with Soviet Russia, and for the official recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The activity of the party members in the trade-unions is becoming more and more forceful. Every party member really works at present, not only in his party group, but also in the trade-unions and other workers' organizations.

The majority of the party members takes an active interest in carrying out the rulings of the Central Executive Committee. There is, however, an opposition of an organized minority, which is against the employment of legal, political methods, on the grounds that this could lead to the disruption of the illegal party. The falseness of these objections is very apparent; for the use of legal methods will by no means disrupt the illegal organization. Its character will only change somewhat; it will become an organization which controls and guides the manifold branches of party activity. The forming of a legal party offers fertile soil for the gaining of new members; it also will be instrumental in adding new strength to the Communist Party and furthering its growth.

The sphere of activity of the Communist Party of America is extending continually. The party formed a special organization for propaganda among the 10,000,000 Irish who live in America; also a group for agitation among the 12,000,000 Negroes and for organizing the Negro masses. The party has not yet begun the organization of the farm workers, but during the past six months it arranged for special research work in this field of activity. The results of this research will be used in working out an agrarian program. The party realizes that a revolution is impossible in America if it must resist a strong bloc of farm workers and small farmers; and above all, ways must be sought to isolate these elements from the wealthy landowners.

The party is engaged in an active campaign for the Red Trade Union International among the various workers' organizations which are swinging toward the left. Some of the most active leaders of the trade-union movement in America have already come over to our side. However, Gompers' organization is still so strong that we do not dare to entertain any great hopes for the immediate future.

Our party is at present, in spite of its small membership, the strongest political organization working in the interests of the workers in the United States. The Farmer Labor Party which came out as a roaring lion in the elections of 1920, made out very poorly and has now actually disbanded. The best leaders of the Anarchist movement have joined the Communist Party. Undoubtedly the Bolshevik Revolution accomplished a cleansing in its ranks, in that it separated the worker element from the intellectuals. The latter are now carrying on a bitter anti-revolutionary propaganda. The membership of the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) is shrinking in favor of the Communist Party. There are only a few groups left of the Proletarian Party—all the rest have joined the Communist Party. The Socialist Labor Party lost its political influence long ago. When they refused to join the Third International and actually became counter-revolutionary all the revolutionary elements left the organization, and a short time ago the largest section of the Bulgarian Federation withdrew from the party, because they were dissatisfied with the attitude of the S.L.P. toward the Third International. Its attitude toward the Third International also led to the breaking up of the yellow Socialist Party, which since March 1919 lost 99,000 members and at present, according to official statements, numbers only about 6,000 members. The party received its last blow in September of last year when the Jewish and the Czech Federations left, and finally over 20 of the best-

known English-speaking Left Wingers declared their solidarity with the Third International, organized a special group known as the "Committee for the Support of the Third International" and issued a monthly paper under the name of the "Workers' Council". They got their following from among the 100,000 former members of the Socialist Party and with these they wanted to organize the Workers' Councils. Although they declared themselves for the unconditional acceptance of the 21 points, strong centrist tendencies are becoming apparent. The Communist Party does not by any means shut its eyes to the shortcomings of this group, but assumes a friendly attitude toward it. These people are attempting to organize the 100,000 former members of the Socialist Party, by promising them affiliation with the Third International without having to become members of the Communist Party of America. If their agitation under this slogan is not made an end of soon, it is feared that they will succeed in forming a centrist party of this element, which otherwise would not resist the influence of our legal organization.

The slogan of the Executive of the Communist Party of America, "Our Party must become a party of action", is being realized in many ways. As long as two parties existed, they forgot the wide perspective of the class-struggle in America, and exhausted precious strength in fruitless fraternal warfare. Now that the unity of the Communist forces has put the Party on a healthier foundation, attention is being turned to the problem of contact with the American working masses. A new era has opened up for the Communist movement of America. The period of revolutionary phraseology has gone. Now a period of revolutionary activity has begun. That gives us the right to hope that the Communist Party of America will, in the near future, successfully carry out the responsibility with which it is burdened.

THE WHITE TERROR

Two Communist Trials in Jugoslavia.

** Besides the numerous minor proceedings against Communists which are taking place every day before the courts or in the cellars of the police in Jugoslavia public attention has recently been drawn to two greater trials. In one of them in Belgrade the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party are accused of having participated in the attempt on the life of the Regent on July 28th, 1921, and of having incited to uprising and revolution by means of the press and the spoken word. The second trial is taking place in Tuzla (Bosnia) against 350 miners who are charged with resistance against the authorities during the general strike of the miners in 1920.

Both proceedings are of great significance not only for the labor movement but also for the entire life of the state in Jugoslavia. The general strike of the miners and the attempt on the Regent's life are two events in the history of class struggle of this country which have been fully utilized by the bourgeoisie for an attack against the working class. The latter was insufficiently developed and disciplined and not yet permeated with clear class-consciousness. After the general strike of the miners the famous "Obzana" made its appearance—an unconstitutional governmental decree, prohibiting all activities of the Communist Party, confiscating its funds and dissolving its branches. Simultaneously the police was authorized to sentence to one month's confinement everybody whom they considered hostile towards the state, i. e., every Communist. This right was fully utilized. By means of the "Obzana" the trade-unions were also dissolved and their funds confiscated. The attempt on the Regent's life gave rise to a new law for the "Protection of the State", according to which Communist propaganda was punished with hard labor up to 20 years. This permitted the infliction of death sentences for political offenses even on minors, and the annulment of the mandates of all Communist members of Parliament and municipal councils.

Bourgeois reaction needed more than one year for the collecting of evidence against the accused. During this time the defendants were most brutally maltreated in jail, in order to make them confess their "guilt"—needed by the government to justify its measures against the working class. Despite all that, however, they did not succeed in obtaining the results they had expected, and the trials had to be postponed again and again.

At present, while the trials are going on, the mad, fierce hunt against the working class seems to have stopped. Only some police organs are continuing their activity and are doing their best to drown the terrible accusations of the defendants against their accusers in their cries against the Communists. The trial did not become what its originators intended it to be. Instead of justifying the measures of the state against the accused

and the entire working class, it exposed the unheard-of arbitrary acts of the state, from the cabinet down to the lowest official.

Irrefutable facts proved that the conflict with the miners, on which part of the accusation is based, was caused by the government itself in order to furnish a pretext for its intended measures; it was furthermore established that proletarian women and children were not only turned out from municipal but also from private houses; that not only the strikers but also their wives and children were mercilessly maltreated by policemen; that the authorities ordered the arrest of all workers not native to the city and their deportation at Christmas; that the White Guard consisting of masked policemen attacked the workers and killed two of them, which then caused the workers to defend their lives by means of violence. Horrible facts were also brought to light in the examination. In jail the workers were brutally beaten and thus forced to sign their so-called "statements". White Jugoslavian justice demands for one of these workers the death sentence and for the others from one to five years at hard labor.

The testimony of the defendants in the Belgrade trial is still more shocking. They described the details of the mass arrests and deportations throughout the country. With the exception of some members of parliaments, the accused were cruelly beaten in order to get them to confess what was demanded of them, i. e., that the Executive Committee of the Party asked them to organize groups of terrorists, to undertake assassinations, etc. The defendants and many witnesses reported nearly incredible facts on the methods employed Jugoslavian authorities in political inquiries. The officials themselves write the "statements" and ask the defendants to sign them. In many cases the latter naturally refuse to do so and are then delivered over to the gendarmes and their officers. The prisoners are by these executors beaten till they lose consciousness; in summer people were confined in chimneys without getting food or water for 24 or 48 hours after which period they were once more "examined", i. e., asked to sign the "stenographic report" presented to them. Some of the accused died of this maltreatment; others had to be sent to the hospital for several months. Some of them had their teeth knocked out; burning cigars were pressed into the noses and faces of others. Those victims who collapsed under the blows were mercilessly trampled upon. When they fainted, water was poured over them and then the thrashing was continued. Most of them received one hundred blows; they were undressed and beaten with ox-sinews by four policemen and their officer Vukoman, who at the same time called to them, "Confess that you are a member of the terrorist organization, that you have furnished arms, that you knew of the assassination!" Such were the examinations of Communist defendants whom the government at any rate wanted to accuse of having something to do with the attempt on the life of the Regent. The minutes of these inquiries were in many cases signed by the officials themselves and later on served the police and the Attorney General as the basis for long reports on the "terrorist" activities of the Communist Party.

All defendants without exception in their trial gravely accuse the government, report of arbitrary acts and crimes committed in the course of the examinations and reveal the falsifications of the police and the boards of inquiry. He who committed the attempt on the Regent's life declared that the attempt was his personal act, that he had no accomplices and least of all was instructed or encouraged by the Communist Party; that his "examination" and "confession" still more than in the case of other defendants was invented by the police and the Attorney General.

As there is no evidence which could justify the condemnation of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, the government press is in a very disagreeable position, especially with regard to the terrible accusations made by the defendants. It is endeavoring, however, to save what can still be saved. It is indignant at the "insolent" disavowal of all former "confessions" of the defendants "which they should not have signed, even if they would have been killed". This is the basis of the press for its indignation. At the same time it charges the judicial authorities with stupidity.

The attitude of the accused is admirable. The trial is developing favorably. The originators of the "Obzana" and of the "Law for the Protection of the State", however, seem to look forward to the end of these trials with a certain displeasure, as the principal causes and reasons for the unheard-of reaction against the working class have proven false and as even the most ignorant workers have been convinced that the bourgeoisie has committed a brutal and entirely unfounded arbitrary outrage against the proletariat.