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The Liberalism of the British Labour Party.

by M. N. Roy (India).

The ridiculousness of Wilsonian Liberalism fades away into insignificance when compared with the sanctimonious zeal of the international Social Democrats and Labourites for the doctrine of "self determination". When the Liberals, who do not conceal their pious anxiety to save bourgeois society, talk about such things as the "self-determination of peoples", etc. they at least deserve credit for loyalty to their class; but to the Social Democrats and Labourites, it is nothing but a doctrine; a doctrine to be utilized, not in order to serve the interests of the workers they profess to represent, but to mislead them, blindfold them, betray them.

Were it not so, how can we explain the shameful way in which the attempt to build a united front of the world proletariat to resist the determined assault of the bourgeoisie has been and is being sabotaged by the redoubtable Social Democrats of Europe and the liberal Labourites of England. What possibly could be the motive of Vandervelde or Ramsay MacDonald in adopting the obstructionist policy which almost wrecked the Berlin Conference? Can anybody help seeing through the crocodile tears shed by these two honourable gentlemen over imprisoned Social Revolutionary terrorists and the well-deserved fate of the Georgian Mensheviks, on recollecting how silently the one connived at the butchery in Congo and how conveniently the other forgets about the Irish political prisoners rotting until recently in subterranean dungeons, or the wholesale massacres in India, Egypt and the Rand? Before taking the Soviet Government to task for the alleged violation of the sovereignty of the Georgians, the Second International would do well to look after the morals of its own members. What about the colonial policy of the British Labour Party, one of the mainstays of the Second International?

The leaders of the British Labour Party never committed the crime of calling themselves Socialists; (the Socialism of the I.L.P. brand can be calmly discounted), but the Second International has in its folds a number of the celebrities of renegade Marxism, and as an organization it still pretends to lead the working-class in the struggle for social regeneration (the word revolution is taboo). Cannot the Second International see that if the victory of the European proletariat depends in any way upon the self determination of the peoples subjugated by the various imperialist powers, then it should leave Georgia alone, and turn its attention to such nations as the Irish, Egyptians and Indians, who are coerced into slavery with the connivance, if not support, of the British Labour Party! We know that the Georgian bogey has no earthly connection whatsoever with the much needed unity of the European proletariat. It is conjured up purely to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

But let us take for granted the sincerity of the democratic liberalism of the British Labour Party. Let us believe for the moment that Ramsay MacDonald, together with his kin on the Continent, believes in the doctrine of self determination. Let us also acknowledge that the Georgian Mensheviks are not tools of

the Entente, but "legitimate representatives" of the Georgian people. Now, if the British Labour Party is so passionately in love with the abstract principle of "self determination" that it will not work for the consolidation of a united proletarian front against a concentrated capitalist offensive, until and unless the Communist International induces the Soviet government to stop the "Bolshevik aggression" in Georgia,—may we not remind them that the Egyptians and the Indians stand in need of self determination no less than the Georgians? Would not the juridical knowledge of the leaders of the Second International be equally, if not more usefully employed, were it devoted to the defence of the harmless pacifist Gandhi, locked up for six years, to securing an equitable trial for those terrorists who have systematically tried to kill the leaders of the Russian Revolution? If a Tseretelli's right to deliver the Georgian workers and peasants over to the exploitation of the English capitalists is to be respected as sacred, why does the British Labour Party look askance at the movements led by a De Valera, or a Zaglul Pasha or a Gandhi? Is it because Tseretelli's "most democratic republic" accepted the dictatorship of British capital, whereas the right of self determination accorded to the movements headed by the latter three would mean the disruption of the British Empire?

We are expected to believe that the Social Democrats and the Labourites stand for freedom for all, as against the principle of proletarian dictatorship professed by the Communists. Well, the sincerity of the British Labour Party in this question cannot stand the test when its attitude towards the national movements in the colonies is examined. Let us look into its record. Never has the British Labour Party defined its attitude on the Colonial Question. Of all its leaders, Ramsay MacDonald has written the most about the imperial administration of the subject countries. We search in vain all through his writings to find a sentence which unconditionally recognises the right of the colonial peoples to determine freely what sort of government they would like to have. The most liberal statement he makes amounts to this: the old jingoist imperialism is untenable under the present circumstances; more liberal methods have to be adopted if the safety and permanence of the Empire is to be insured; the word Empire has become too odious, a more democratic term—Commonwealth—has to be introduced. He is sure that the "democratic Federation of the British Empire" will be safe and secure in the keeping of the Labour politicians; a Col. Wedgewood in the India Office and a Ramsay MacDonald in Delhi will be a great improvement upon the noble lords now occupying those comfortable positions. The Irish policy of the Labour Party has never committed the sin of exceeding the limits of Gladstonian liberalism. So much by way of generalization; now a few particulars.

When at the beginning of the war the Boer Nationalists of South Africa rose in revolt with the object of declaring an independent republic, the liberalism of the British labour leaders fell into line with those rank imperialists who found German intrigue behind that revolt and damned it as treason. Not a mur-

mur was to be heard from the British Labour Party when De Wet was sentenced to hard labour.

Such an event as the 1916 Easter Revolution in Ireland could not make the British Labour Party define its attitude regarding this thorny question. As a member of the War Cabinet, Henderson did not raise a finger to save *James Connolly*, not to speak of others whose genuine fervor for national independence cannot be blackened by the insinuation of underground German intrigues. The British Labour Party did not find it necessary out of loyalty to the working-class at least to withdraw from the Coalition which had killed the champion of the Irish proletariat.

In the present Irish embroglio, the British Labour Party has succeeded only in making itself ridiculous. Lloyd Georgian (not even Gladstonian) liberalism has stolen its thunder. The perfunctory Irish Settlement, which resulted in the betrayal of the Irish people by Collins and Griffiths, has satisfied all the demands the British Labour Party ever put forth on this question. Consequently, there is no other way left to it but to look on stupidly and impotently at the hopeless mix-up in Ireland.

The British Labour Party has maintained a sublime indifference towards the brutal repression in India ever since the earlier years of the present century. When the so-called "war services" of the Indian people—services for which even the pacifist Ramsay MacDonald congratulates the Indians and recommends a better lot for them—were paid for by the infamous Rowlatt Act, which practically put the entire country under martial law, not even a word of protest was raised by the British Labour Party. But the Amritsar massacre, which followed upon the heels of the Rowlatt Act, disturbed the philosophic calm of the British Labourites and elicited a conventional protest from them. This document, signed among others by Henderson, J. H. Thomas, Robert Williams and Lansbury, deplored the foolishness of such a policy of repression, and pointed out that thereby "the lives of the thousands of English women and children in India were endangered". The apostles of humanity, who are so indignant over the imaginary terrorism in Georgia, were only concerned about the precious lives of helpless members of the ruling-class, when the unarmed workers of India were being bombed and blown up by hundreds.

When Col. Wedgewood and Ben Spoor attended the Indian National and Trade Union Congresses as fraternal delegates in the stormy days of 1929, all they did was to prevent any dangerous turn in the Non-Cooperation movement by stalwartly pointing out the possibilities of the Montague Reforms, as well as the Divine Providence behind the Anglo-Indian bond which, they exhorted, should be preserved for the welfare of civilization. On his return to England, Wedgewood warned the British ruling-class of the seriousness of the Indian situation and advised them to be careful in handling it.

The reign of terror initiated in India by Lord Reading last winter has been overlooked by the British Labour Party. The situation became such that even the capitalist press was full of news about the daily arrest and imprisonment of hundreds of nationalist leaders and volunteers on mere technical charges. The debate in the House of Commons upon the Indian situation placed the British Labour Party in a very delicate dilemma. In order to evade the frankly imperialistic rôle of supporting the Government's Indian policy as against the blood-thirsty resolution of the "Die-hards", Col. Wedgewood led his flock dramatically out of the House. But no one can be fooled any longer by such naive political manoeuvres.

The resolution subsequently adopted by the joint session of the Labour Party Executive, the Trade Union Congress and the Parliamentary Labour Party concerning the reign of terror in India was a shameful instance of pseudo-liberalism. It suggested that the Indian National Congress should stop all Non-Cooperation activities before meeting with the Government for the purpose of negotiations. Such instances, which are but veiled imperialism, can be added to indefinitely. But these are enough to expose the hypocrisy of the doctrine of self determination, so dear to the British Labourites.

A few words more about Egypt. The Labour Party did not have anything to say against the proclamation of the British Protectorate over Egypt at the beginning of the war. The repeated persecution and the ultimate deportation of Zaglul failed to inspire these champions of liberty with holy indignation. They tacitly support the present policy of coercing the Egyptian people with the help of a few landed aristocrats, bought with sham concessions.

Such, in short, is the glorious record of those who are sabotaging the proletarian struggle. If, in the coming meeting of the Commission of Nine, the representatives of the Second International attempt to sidetrack the issue of proletarian unity by raising the Georgian question and that of the imprisoned

Social Revolutionaries, our representatives should ask them to put their own house in order first. They must call upon the British Labour Party to demand the recognition of the Irish Republic and the freedom of Egypt and India, under the threat of direct action by the British working class. At least let the British Labour Party openly advocate the right of self determination for the peoples subjugated by British Imperialism as ardently as they hold the brief for the Georgian Mensheviks. We know what the Second International and the British Labour Party will answer. They are defending the interests of the bourgeoisies of their respective countries. This will be another way of tearing the mask from their face so that the workers, who are still following them, will see them in their true light.

Citizen Vandervelde — "Socialist".

by R. Albert.

First apostle of capitalist colonization, then minister of a Catholic monarchy, later signatory of the Treaty of Versailles, and now defender of the Social Revolutionaries in Soviet Russia. Such is the brilliant career of this representative of Western European "Socialism".

What is Socialism? Even the most hypocritical of its servants will scarcely define it in any but the following words:—

"Socialism is a doctrine of the class-struggle leading to the emancipation of the proletariat, i. e., the abolition of private ownership of the means of production..."

The class-struggle, defense of labor and the workers, the fight against private property and against the class enemy—the rich, the exploiter, the oppressor—propaganda of a social ideal of rational organization, of solidarity and of liberty—have these not always been the tasks of the Socialist?

Is there any spectacle more illuminating than to read in one of these "Socialist" sheets which have for so many years prostituted Socialism to all the crimes of the capitalist system that "Citizen Vandervelde has left for Russia to take part in the defense of the Social Revolutionaries".

"Citizen" — "Socialist" — "Labor Parties" — "Social Revolutionaries" — have these words then lost all their meaning? Is it not the acme of impudence to employ these words to designate exactly the opposite of that which they ought to signify? If we did not know that this odious confusionism is consciously employed by the ruling classes to divide and deceive the workers, we should despair of the intelligence of man.

What has the lawyer and Cabinet Minister Vandervelde, leader of a "Labor Party", ever had in common with the working class? Has he ever come to know it except from the speakers' platform, through the windows of his limousine or occasionally in the course of his visits to the coal mines where the miners daily spit out their lungs but where the citizen-deputy only took care not to soil his hands? What can the Russian "Social Revolutionaries", who for five years have done the impossible to strangle a workers' revolution, possibly have in common with Revolutionary Socialism?

But let us come back to Citizen Vandervelde.

In the olden days he used to speak finely of Marxism and the emancipation of Labor. He denounced the abominable folly of capitalist wars. He waxed indignant against colonization, a particularly hideous aspect of the exploitation of man by man. The miners of Borinage and the metal workers of Seraing felt that he was bringing them the truth; they believed him, elected him, and ingenuously made him their leader, just because they are ingenuous and do not know that one can have several selves, several faces and many kinds of speech in one's repertory. They did not know that this savior, completely alien to their class, their labor and their convictions, in short, to all that makes the worker, would gradually turn Socialism into its exact opposite.

When the issue of the annexation of the Congo came up for decision in Belgium, M. Vandervelde revealed himself for the first time as a real man of state. Of what state? Naturally of the state ruled over by the King of the Belgians. "What is to be done with the Congo Free State, this virgin country in the center of Equatorial Africa, where 17,000,000 negroes are slaving?" the Belgian Labor Party asked itself. No one came upon the idea that the enslavement of millions of savages in the colonies only riveted more securely the chains of the European proletariat; that Socialism, which desires the end of all slavery, could only side with the negro against the slaveowner; that it must categorically indict colonization, while awaiting the day

when it will arise as the liberator of the primitive peoples without whose liberation the workers of the (improperly so-called) civilized countries will never obtain their freedom. The Socialist world only began to recollect these axioms after the Russian Revolution. At that time, Citizen Vandervelde was the eloquent advocate of the annexation of the Congo, although the terrible content of suffering and slime in these words was known to all. The actual price of the blood-stained rubber, upon which enormous fortunes had been built, was also no secret. Everyone knew the methods of Belgian colonization: The chopped off hands of rebellious slaves; villages burnt to the ground and civilized war with machine guns against arrows and clubs... M. Vandervelde proved that all that was commendatory and had to be continued.

At that time the visage of the future war minister peered through the mask. This last metamorphosis of Vandervelde the Socialist was complete, as perfect as an apotheosis. Minister of a Catholic King, member of a coalition bourgeois government, and why? In order in the duel of two capitalist imperialisms to serve the cause of one. In order to defend the Belgian Congo against the German colonizers—and to conquer German Kamerun for Britain. And finally, in order to Balkanize Central and Eastern Europe, divided into small rapacious states, ruined and without a future, vassals of French military imperialism, worthy successor of German imperialism. In order to substitute the dry powder of Poincaré for the dry powder of Wilhelm II. Citizen Vandervelde, in the name of his "Labor" and "Socialist" Party, did his best in the pursuit of these aims... at what a price! The poor devils, the workers and peasants of his own country, of his own party, know it, with the exception of those who sleep, buried under little wooden crosses, among the sand dunes between Ypres and Furnes. They have not forgotten the years in the trenches, nor the staffs behind the lines who maintained the morale of the army by calling upon the soldiers to do their patriotic duty and "save their lives" by advancing forward to death. The citizen and minister Vandervelde approved all that.

Then came the Armistice, the third stage in his brilliant career. Belgium, heir of the ruins of Louvain, Ypres and Charleroi, was evacuated by the German troops after having been rationed and exploited by the enemy military governors. Her King, her ministers, her national army and her own military governors returned to the country—and suddenly it was perceived that nothing had changed, at least not for the better. There commenced the suppression of the Germanophile and Activist elements and of those poor devils who, not understanding much of these quarrels between the powers that be, had adapted themselves to the Occupation. M. Vandervelde, Minister of Justice, supervised the work of the Belgian courts. Never before had the courts so much to do; never before had the Minister of Justice had so many cares. Arrest followed upon arrest. A wave of denunciations and of repression flooded the land. A Flemish *émigré* recently told of new idiotic and shameful convictions. It seems that death sentences are not executed. Belgian custom considers it more humane (or perhaps more refinedly cruel) to condemn a man to life imprisonment than to put a bullet through his head. How many life prisoners are there in the prisons of the kingdom? Is M. Vandervelde absolutely certain that these convicts are more "guilty" or less interesting than the "Socialists" of the counter-revolution whom he is going to defend?

At last peace was concluded and M. Vandervelde put his signature to the Treaty of Versailles. This peace was really a sentence. It condemned Europe to latent war—while waiting for the next great conflagration. It condemned Vienna and an entire country in Central Europe to death by starvation within a short period of time. It condemned Germany, with a longer lease of life, to ruin and famine. This is now being recognized. It condemned the German proletariat to hopeless misery. Is it for these reasons that Minister Citizen Vandervelde, accustomed to approve verdicts, is devoted to the Treaty with so great attachment?

There is a detail which we almost forgot. In the diplomatic councils of the Allies Belgium always concurred in the blockade of Revolutionary Russia. And at that time M. Vandervelde was Minister. Perhaps he nursed a secret pique against Russia for not having listened to his advice when he travelled there to preach "war to the bitter end" for Allied Imperialism?

In the next few days M. Vandervelde will defend in Moscow the "Socialists" of the counter-revolution. We do not doubt that he will employ the same eloquence in this trial that he put at the service of colonization, of the imperialist war and of the Treaty of Versailles. But we ask, "Is this career of a Socialist leader anything but a disgraceful blot upon the name of Socialism?"

The German Majority Socialists and the Right of Political Asylum.

by Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

The Second and 2½ Internationals are greatly agitated over the fact that those members of the Social Revolutionary party who attempted to overthrow the Soviet Republic and made attempts on the lives of the leading Communists in Russia are to appear before the revolutionary tribunal in Moscow. They demand that the Social Revolutionary assassins be set at liberty and be allowed to carry on their counter-revolutionary activities. The Social Democrats in particular cover Soviet Russia with abuse because it will not allow itself to be left weaponless against the attacks of its counter-revolutionary assailants. The hypocrisy of the Social Democrats becomes apparent when one recollects with what impudent self-assurance and cynicism the German Social Democrats defended the sentences of imprisonment at hard labor against the revolutionary fighters in the March Action. No Social Democratic paper at that time demanded the liberation of the political prisoners. Even now the Social Democratic fractions in Parliament still vote down the Communist motions for amnesty. The Social Democratic Ministers refuse to liberate these imprisoned revolutionary workers. They even allow themselves to be the instruments of the class law of foreign countries, allowing foreign revolutionary refugees to be thrown into prison and to be delivered over to the bloodthirsty justice of the counter-revolutionary foreign nations.

Some time ago the alleged murderers of the Spanish Premier Dato were arrested in Germany. In spite of the fact that the workers demanded their release and although there was no legal obligation to hand them over to Spain, the two Syndicalist comrades, *Fort* and *Concepcion*, were handed over to the persecutors of the Spanish working class. The Majority Socialist Minister of Justice, Dr. Radbruch, and the Majority Socialist Police Minister, Severing, employed the most flimsy pretexts in order to throw two Spanish workers into the hands of the Spanish hangmen. The Communists protested in Parliament against this. The Majority Socialist Ministers declared shortly before the extradition that the question was not yet decided, in order by this lie to avoid an answer to the Communist interpellation. In the last few days an Italian Comrade, *Boldrini*, has been extradited. In spite of the fact that the Italian Government did not make the demand for extradition within the time stipulated by the German-Italian Extradition Treaty, this time also the Majority Socialist Minister of Justice Radbruch and the Majority Socialist Minister of the Interior Köster hastened to comply with the wishes of the Italian authorities. At the moment there are two other Italians, *Vacchi* and *Ghezzi*, under arrest. These too will certainly be handed over by the Majority Socialist Ministers to the bloodthirsty judges of Italy in total disregard of the right of political asylum.

These Ministers in all these cases have recourse to the fiction that these foreign revolutionary refugees have not committed political but "ordinary" crimes. The assassins in Russia, who attempted to kill Lenin by means of bombs and poisoned bullets, who with the aid of foreign capital blew up and set fire to railway bridges and food stores in Russia, are, according to the opinion of the Socialist Party of Germany (S.P.D.) political idealists and recognized Socialists who should be set at liberty. The revolutionary workers of Spain and Italy who defended themselves by acts of terror against assassination, torture and the destruction of workers' papers and trade union headquarters by the Spanish reaction and the Italian Fascists are, in the opinion of the S.P.D., but common criminals and anti-Socialist terrorists whom the "freest republic in the world" and its Social Democratic ministers are in duty bound to hand over!

By this conduct the S.P.D. again proves that it only seeks to deliver Soviet Russia over to its enemies and to calumniate it under all circumstances. Where Right Socialists are in possession of the machinery of state they never think of using the state power for the protection of Socialists and revolutionaries. They make themselves the agents of the monarchist and counter-revolutionary enemies of the working class. If the Social Democrats raise a cry for the liberation of the Social Revolutionaries, we will with a thousand times greater right demand of them: **An end to the extradition scandal of the Social Democratic ministers of Germany and Prussia!**

The March Battles in Central Germany and the Social Democracy.

What the Official Prussian Investigation Commission discovered when it tried to prove the "Crimes of the Communists in Central Germany!"

by O. Kilian (Halle).

After the March 1921 uprising in Central Germany the Prussian Diet elected a Special Investigation Commission the real task of which was to prove the guilt of the Communists and to whitewash the authorities. What were the results of this investigation?

In the same way as the great political lie about the "Communist Putsch at the dictation of Moscow" has been promptly refuted by the evidence adduced before the Parliamentary Investigation Commission elected by the Prussian Diet, during the deliberations of this body the spook of lies and calumny, of blame and suspicion, false allegations and violation of truth regarding the "crimes of the Communists" has been laid. In the same way, the fiction of the police expedition against the industrial district of Central Germany being for the purpose of suppressing crimes against private property, by which means the Social Democratic Provincial Governor, Hörsing, had at first vindicated the sending of "Green Police", was dispelled even before it was submitted to critical examination by the Investigation Commission. Hörsing himself, who had made use of this fiction in order to mask his attack, had to abandon it after the Prussian Police Minister Severing had admitted in the paper *Ekkehard* at the beginning of May that the police measures against Central Germany were "prematurely to let loose the Communist revolt already in preparation, to crush it by force of arms and banish thereby the danger of Communism."

This confession by a responsible Minister of the Prussian Government has been confirmed by numerous witnesses before the Investigation Commission. Ministerial Director Abegg, a subordinate of Severing, testified: "The political secretaries of the Minister of the Interior were exclusively charged with the preparation and carrying out of the police measures against Central Germany." The Commissioner for Public Safety, Weismann, repeated a discussion he had with Severing in which the latter admitted "that he had let loose the revolt with the intention of obtaining an occasion for crushing it". This same witness took part in a conference at Merseburg, at which Hörsing said at the conclusion, "The police action will now begin with the occupation of the dangerous districts and factories". This provocation was therefore not merely for political motives but also for the purpose of placing the proletariat at work under police control and to enslave it economically. Police Major Folte, Generalissimo of the forces of Severing and Hörsing, bitterly complained before the Investigation Commission that when he received orders he had no knowledge of economic and political conditions of the District and had not been sufficiently informed on the attitude of the population. The only material information with which he was supplied was a list of the names of the Communist leaders. From which it can be concluded beyond doubt that the police attack upon the proletariat of Central Germany was not a criminal preventive measure, but a political provocative offensive attack by the German bourgeoisie for the purpose of bleeding the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian revolution.

The fighting in Central Germany was not a Communist Putsch. This is perfectly clear from the result of the investigation. The undertaking had been in long preparation. Not by the Communists but by their opponents! As early as the 12th of February the Government was deliberating on it in response to the demands of big industry. On the 13th of March the action was discussed in all details in Magdeburg and settled with the approval even of the representatives of the Independent Socialists. On March 14th, Provincial Governor Hörsing in accordance with the decision of the previous day's conference asked the Prussian Government "to send armed police into the industrial region of the of Merseburg district", as admitted in the official Green Book "The March 1921 Disturbances and the Prussian Schutzpolizei". Not only was the advance against Mansfeld planned beforehand but also that against the *Leunawerk*, and in addition to this (according to the statements in the Green Book) police troops were held in reserve in order "to nip any kind of revolt in the bud". The assertion of Hörsing that he had reckoned upon a peaceful execution of the police action is thereby officially characterized as a lie, and in whatever way the matter is looked upon, there remains no other explanation for the police measures than political provocation.

Many other "criminal deeds" of the Communists had been previously refuted by official investigations. The absurd story of "the instigation of two attacks upon the railways" in Central Germany by the Communist Party which Hörsing attempted to revive in the Parliamentary Commission received its death blow by the judicial verdict against the actual perpetrators of whom it was stated that they neither belonged to the Communist Party nor had any connection with it, nor had any orders from it. Three months before the revolt in Central Germany one of them had already had the plan of his crime prepared! What value can be attached to the statement that the Communists are responsible for all the dynamitings, incendiarism and pillaging is demonstrated by the example of Eisleben. The pillage, dynamiting and burning of the factories and the residence of the general director of the Mansfeld mines was, according to the verdict of the Eisleben Court, instigated and carried out by the First Lieutenants Neumann and Gede. They were both in the service of the Mansfeld Mining Corporation and were charged with the organization of the so-called "factory police". The report of the destruction of the Eisleben Town Hall was a falsehood as was also the military report of the blowing up of the Beerenstädter Castle. These two buildings remained absolutely untouched! The brazen accusation of the bestial crime of rape upon a pregnant woman has been proved to be a pure invention according to the woman's own testimony. The woman in question declared that during the March action no one had as much as touched her. The harrowing story related by a reactionary speaker in the Prussian Diet, according to which "an officer had hand grenades bound round his body by the Communists which were then exploded as a result of which no trace was left of the officer", bore the stamp of unreality upon it from the beginning. The member of the Diet when pressed by the Communists to furnish particulars of his statement could not produce the least evidence. Then the charge as to the mutilation of the corpses of military police at Gröbers as a result of which canard the whole world was poisoned and the the police engaged in the fighting were stirred up to bloody reprisals against imprisoned Communists was also an invention which, passed on from mouth to mouth, grew enormously. In the examination of the corpses brought to Halle it was clear that there were absolutely no "noses and ears cut off, eyes gouged out of their sockets and gold teeth wrenched out". Only some of the fallen had suffered severe wounds in the hand to hand fighting. This was also stated in the signed declaration of the physician attached to the armed police, which declaration was laid before the Investigation Commission. It says that in no case did any of the dead bear signs of extraordinary injury. The Prussian Government up to now has not had the courage to lay the photographs as official evidence before the Investigation Commission. This in itself shows them to be but faked up forgeries!

No doubt during the March action deeds were committed whose unnecessary was afterwards recognized and which even a Communist would not sanction beforehand. But in general the proletarian fighters not only showed themselves to be courageous but also possessed of a humane spirit. Where armed police were made prisoners by the workers they were on the whole well treated. This was stated even by a police non-commissioned officer before the Investigation Commission. The Red Cross Corps in the service of the workers in many cases rendered aid to wounded opponents and many of them had their lives saved by Communist first aid. This is a matter of course. We Communists, even when we are forced to fight with weapons, do not make war upon women and children nor upon prisoners and the dead. Our enemy is the capitalist system and political reaction. We are fighting against these powers and all those who support them.

On the other side however, in the name and in the interest of those who have calumniated us Communists as criminals, the most terrible cruelties have been committed. In certain police detachments which were sent to Central Germany, ostensibly to restore law and order, there were a great number of men whose deeds proved them to be criminals of the most dangerous kind. Among these are officers and N. C. O.'s. The greater part of the 88 workers who were killed received death at murderous hands. Abominable treatment was meted out to unarmed prisoners in thousands of cases. The phrase "Hell in the vaults of the Leunawerk" does not adequately express all the cruelties perpetrated for weeks against imprisoned workers. Not even the dead were secure against the sadist fury of their jailers.

There is not sufficient space in an article for the press for a detailed description of the shameful deeds which were committed against revolutionary workers by the members of the armed police forces of the Ebert Republic upon the orders of the Social Democrats Severing and Hörsing. We quote the

following cases brought before the Investigation Commission by eye-witnesses:

In Bischofroda eight unarmed workers were taken prisoner and after a few minutes were summarily shot, without even their names being taken.

In Schraplau the police after terribly ill-treating six workers drove them into a lime kiln and killed them with rifle fire. A police officer slit open the abdomen of a worker named Polentz after his death and tore out his entrails.

In Leunawerk more than a dozen murders were committed against imprisoned workers. One of them was forced to shoot himself. Six members of the Workers' Red Cross from Bad Sulza were among the victims.

In Querfurt a worker named Peter who was bound to the cycle of a police officer is reported to have been shot "while attempting to escape". This lying explanation was also given in the case of the murder of a stores clerk, Straube, who was killed in the sugar factory at Schafstädt.

After the battle near Beesenstadt several prisoners were brought there and shot, among them the Magistrate of Trebitz, Schöнемeyer, a Red Cross worker named Kurt Herzau of Bitterfeld and a worker named Gustav Thielecke of Löbnitz. A former police official testified in addition that the Von der Tann Volunteer Corps shot a young workman and threw the corpse into the Saale.

The shooting of the Mayor of Klostermansfeld, Müller, "while trying to escape" was also simply murder. On the morning of the day on which Müller was arrested the police officer said: "Müller's last hour has arrived". Surrounded by a guard of six police officers, the victim was led to the place where his corpse was later found.

Terrible was the treatment which a stores clerk named Mosenhauer of Osmünde had to suffer before he was "shot while trying to escape". His murderer has been acquitted by the Halle Extraordinary Court.

The murder of the worker Burkhardt of Querfurt, Steinbrück of Lauchstädt, a railway worker named Kegel of Burgörner, a miner Heinrich Plockertz from the Leimback district of Hetstedt and of a worker named Müller of Oberfarnstädt, as well as a number of further murders have not been examined by the Investigation Commission although it at first declared its readiness to do so. During the two days' deliberations on the cruelties of the armed police the bourgeois Social Democratic majority on this Commission were horrified in the face of the terrible excesses by the armed forces charged with the defence of their bourgeois Social Democratic State.

It is to these blood hounds that the Social Democratic Provincial Governor, Hörsing, has publicly expressed his thanks and recognition after the completion of their hangman's work. And this was not merely a phrase, for it is precisely to Count Poninsky, the military leader of the Düsseldorf police detachment, which according to the statement of the Investigation Commission (and even according to the opinion of the Berlin *Vorwärts*) is most culpable, that Hörsing, according to the testimony of two witnesses said at the beginning of the campaign of suppression: "The more bloody the first day, the more bloodless the following."

Indeed even if there had never been a Noske, the contempt of the whole proletarian world must be expressed for the Social Democratic Party which allows a Severing to provoke the revolutionary workers by armed forces on behalf of the bourgeoisie and still permits him to be minister; that party which allows a Hörsing to assassinate the fighting proletariat according to the principles of Hindenberg and Ludendorff and which dares to justify these methods.

Today there is no further doubt possible:—

Bourgeois society on whose behalf the murderers entered Central Germany, the Right Socialists whose responsible leaders in government office ordered this provocation, the Social Democratic Parties which supported or approved this criminal undertaking against the "Proletarian Heart of Germany", which right from the beginning were opposed to any industrial action as a means of defence proposed by the Communists in order to obtain the withdrawal of the order for mass mobilization of the police, the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D. who organised strikebreaking in favour of Hörsing and Capital, all these have made themselves responsible for an enormous crime. The Investigation Commission of the Prussian Diet which was to have formulated a great indictment against the Communists and their "crimes" has been converted into a tribunal by which the opponents and saboteurs of the defensive struggle of the proletariat have been pronounced guilty.

The Right of Political Asylum in Austria.

by K. J. F.

Democratic, police-ridden Austria with the imperial commissioner of police Schober as Premier with the support of the Social Democracy, has on its statute books a law which it boldly designates as the right of asylum. This inconvenient law dates from the time when the people's state and its Social Democratic chieftains thought it advisable to extend the hospitality of the republic to the counter-revolutionary refugees from Soviet Hungary. This right was automatically and as a matter of course granted to the victims of the Hungarian Whites, not, however, without proper Social Democratic modifications for revolutionaries.

We cannot recall the exact number of White Guards interned in Austria; some allege that the people's republic only deprived revolutionary fugitives of their freedom of movement. Nor can we remember an instance of an imperial and royal wholesale murderer being refused admittance to the territory of the social democratic republic. Or can Messrs. Adler and Bauer cite the name of a fugitive count who had to shoot himself outside of the closed gateways of the Free State because he was refused the right of asylum, as Tabor Szamuely was compelled to do?

The right of asylum for counter-revolutionists and Social Democrats patented by the "workers' and peasants' republic" assumed the form of an internment camp for Communists. While Count Sahn and his ilk lived in hotels and Kunfy and Ronai in fashionable villas in Vienna's suburbs, revolutionists were starving in Karlstein and women and children in Drosendorf were enduring pangs of hunger and the brutality (after the best approved imperial and royal fashion) of the Social Democratic camp police. And when the former guests of the Austrian people's republic had gone home to Hungary to wallow in proletarian blood, the naive revolutionists who had sought asylum in that republic, were thrown into the insane asylum, accompanied by the deriding sneers of the bourgeoisie. These sneers and the gigantic headlines of the bourgeois papers expressing the undisguised satisfaction of the bourgeoisie provide a standard for the Social Democrats with which they can measure the extent of their wrongdoing.

And while the *Arbeiter Zeitung* shed the crocodile tears of a noble soul over the assassinat of Rowin, its "fellows" flung Rowie's surviving brothers into the insane asylum. Levin, Axelrod, Run, Lindner and a number of others were crowded into the jails and insane asylums and the whole Social Democratic machinery was directed by "Comrade" Eldersch with the spectre of the imperial staff of police hovering close by.

But what has once been written survives all practice: the right of political asylum still exists. But it is being interpreted in a choleric Social Democratic fashion. The profiteers of all countries walk about unmolested while Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Bavarian and Roumanian revolutionaries are registered by the police, controlled, arrested and extradited to their hangmen. Axelrod was "by mistake" extradited to Bavaria; Lindner, who attempted Auer's life, was extradited as a "common criminal". The Social Democratic Burgomaster, Reumann, expelled a number of Hungarian proletarians and the Bulgarian revolutionary Sydaroff.

When two Hungarian revolutionists were robbed and murdered by Hungarian White Guards, the imperial and royal Public Prosecutor of the People's Republic said when arraigning these human wolves: "I quite understand the justified indignation of the accused against the Reds. Never before did I find it so difficult to arraign somebody before the court". Hungarian fugitives are given passports according to which they can never again tread the sacred soil of that democratic paradise, Austria. The committee for legitimization of the fugitives consists exclusively of Hungarian Social Democrats who give their hatred full play. All the persecuted revolutionaries, were put under police control. They are undesirable aliens, "dangerous elements", outlawed targets of the White Guards of all countries. The "republican" imperial police works hand in hand with the Horthy Government and its Vienna organs.

The "world-redeeming Social Democracy" has no jailers of its own and is far above all forcible measures; it merely employs the old, but well tried and smoothly running apparatus of oppression of the monarchy which is considered suitable for propping up its republican throne. The Social Democracy is a new-born babe; the old jails and the old jailers exist; it would be hard on the comrades chiefs of police and gendarmes to abolish them. The Social Democracy does not soil its hands; Pilate was innocent of the blood which his jailers spilled.

But sometimes, when the masses are nearly suffocating in this "free air", the alluring tones of human love are heard

"Look at Georgia, look at Russia—there the counter-revolutionaries are being jailed".

Friedrich Adler, who is fond of playing on this string, once advised the social traitors (at a time when he himself was still a Socialist and the social traitors with the Habsburgs on their backs had nothing more important to do than to fight against Russian Czarism under the leadership of Habsburg officers) to put their own house in order and quit worrying about other people's tyrants as long as there were Czars in their own country.

The Russian have overthrown their tyrants and Friedrich Adler instead of dethroning his tyrant joins with those who want to reharness Russia under the tyrant's yoke.

The Role of the Polish "Socialists" in the Persecution of the Labor Movement.

by H. Valetzki (Warsaw).

At the head of the first government of the "Independent" Polish Republic (winter of 1918-19) there stood the "Socialist" Moraczewski, one of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) which at that time belonged to the Second International.

Under this government:—

On December 29th, 1918, gendarmes fired on a peaceful workers' demonstration in Warsaw; result—a large number of dead and wounded;

In the beginning of January 1919, the members of the Soviet Russian Red Cross Mission were murdered by gendarmes in a most bestial manner.

Moraczewski reintroduced into Poland the notorious articles 102, 126, 128, etc. of the Czarist Criminal Code, which punish revolutionary propaganda and membership in a revolutionary party by imprisonment at hard labor up to 15 years.

In Summer 1920, Daszynski, leader of the P.P.S., which at that time belonged to the Second International, became vice-president of the Cabinet. Under his regime the persecution of the working-class reached its highest point. Seven thousand workers roited in jail. Torture was customary method of examination of the prisoners. In the Wronke prison there occurred a bloody pogrom against the female prisoners. Hundreds of workers, in the main members of the Agricultural Workers' Union, were sentenced to death and shot on the right bank of the Vistula.

During this period notable representatives of the Western European "Socialists" visited their Polish brothers, among others Albert Thomas, Renaudel, and Oscar Cohn. They never said nor wrote a word against the persecution of the Polish workers.

The P.P.S. clique, even when it is not directly participating in the government, works hand in hand with the political secret police, which in Poland has the deceptive name, "The Defensive". Members of the party are also members of the secret police. The director of this work is Deputy Marian Malinowski. The P.P.S. Press systematically denounces to the police all trade unionists who attack the Amsterdam International. This naturally leads to their immediate arrest.

Last winter, when a new Exception Law against revolutionary propaganda was brought before the Polish Sejm, the P.P.S. based their opposition to the bill on the ground that the existing laws—the paragraphs of the Czarist Criminal Code reintroduced by Moraczewski—were sufficient to repress the revolutionary danger! The government has actually dropped this bill for the present, but follows the advice of the P.P.S. and applies the Czarist paragraphs with unprecedented severity. The editor of a legal labor paper was recently sentenced to several years at hard labor, which never happened under the Czarist regime. All trials take place in absolute secrecy.

Conditions in the Polish prisons have become very much worse in the last few months; one hunger strike follows hard

upon the heels of another. The March hunger strike in the "Pawiak" prison in Warsaw lasted nine days. Have the readers of the European and American Socialist Press ever read a word about this strike?

(The P.P.S., after having withdrawn from the Second International, now takes an intermediate stand between the Second and the 2½ Internationals.)

Open Letter.

to Messrs. Stauning, Vanderveelde and the other representatives of the Second International.

Messieurs! You, the representatives of allegedly 24,000,000 workers, protest verbally in writing and in telegrams to the Executive of the Third International against the incarceration and sentencing of those guilty of murder and of crimes committed against a proletarian state on the grounds of humanity and the services these men had formerly rendered the Russian people in its struggle for emancipation.

Messieurs! Allow me to draw your attention to the recent struggle between the workers and a brutal employer class in Denmark in which the latter were victorious thanks to those antiquated methods of yours, M. Stauning. The natural opposition against the obsolete tactics of the Amsterdamers which demanded an offensive general strike instead of a mere defensive strike was brutally squashed by the military, the police and the courts with the tacit consent of the labor "leaders" and, as it was politely called, in the interests of the "public".

The leaders of the Communists who quite legally propagated a nation-wide general strike as the best means with which to counter the insolence of the employers were accused of inciting to rebellion, thrown in irons and kept in jail for months. Apart from our leaders, one of whom Comrade Thøger Thøgerson is still in Randers jail, close to 100 organized workers were arrested and part of them sent to prison.

M. Stauning, you are aware of these occurrences! Why, then do you not protest against this perversion of justice, this shameful treatment meted out to organized workers who defended themselves against impudent employers (whom you yourself had called "ruthless and brutal") with a legal weapon, the general strike which you yourself had used when your ministerial office was in danger?

M. Stauning, why talk about far-away things when there is much to be done at your own doorstep? You have power; why not use it to liberate class war prisoners from shameless justice and the iron grip of the police and *not* on behalf of assassins and prisoners. Release Thøgerson! Release the other jailed workers! Issue an amnesty for all the political prisoners!

If you should not yield to our demand, we shall expose you as a hypocrite to the proletariat!

Dansk-Tysk.

Copenhagen, May 16th, 1922.

This special number contains various articles on the persecution of the labor movement in different countries in which "Socialists" of various tendencies are directly or indirectly participating in the government. The necessity for bringing out the number as soon as possible prevented us from publishing material upon the classic countries of the White Terror: Hungary, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as upon America, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy and Spain. The more than abundant material on this topic is probably not entirely unknown to the defenders of the victims of political persecution, if not through the "Socialist" Press, at least through the rest of the labor press.