

Polish Government, the "Socialist" Government of Moraczewski, who in turn was only a puppet in the hands of Daszynski and Pilsudski and who after his entry into the Government, with a stroke of the pen abolished a whole series of Czarist laws. But he did not repeal clauses 102, 126 and 129 of the Criminal Code under which Communists are sentenced to eight years hard labor. Further he did not repeal the clauses which rendered strikes and strike propaganda liable to punishment, although he could have also done this with a stroke of the pen. He retained these clauses, because Pilsudski and Daszynski as guardians of the capitalist order did not wish to be without these anti-strike laws.

In Soviet Russia the Courts are party courts; in Poland, however, party courts do not exist. But the Communists who under Moraczewski were kept in prison for many years by reason of the exceptional laws, would have been glad if they had only been brought before a party court. The hangmen who in the Summer and Autumn of 1920, during and after the offensive of the Red Army caused hundreds of workers and peasants to be shot down on account of their "cooperation with the Bolsheviks" (impartial justice!) were not even brought before a party court. The officers of the Minister Sosnovski who but recently, during the strike of the agricultural workers in Posen and Pomerania, flogged and insulted the workers by beating them with a red flag, are still allowed to go scot free and need not even fear a party court. This does not hinder the leader of the Polish Social Traitors from assuring Vandervelde that Polish justice deserves the confidence of Socialists. And he cannot do otherwise, for it is his justice. The shooting of workers in the Summer and Autumn of 1920 was carried out by the Witos Government in which Daszynski himself participated as Vice President. He is therefore a direct accessory to the shooting down of the workers by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. In Poland there is no party justice!

But the crowning cynicism was reached by the Polish Vandervelde, when in his telegram to the Belgian Daszynski he congratulated him because he was able to leave Russia safe and sound after throwing up his task as defender.

One would think that Soviet Russia is a barbarian state into which its enemies are only admitted, to act as defenders at political trials in order that they may be murdered. This is written by the spiritual guide of the Moraczewski Government which actually had crimes of this sort on its conscience. For there has never been in Russia a murderer of a member of a foreign mission which was previously invited, even if he proved himself to be a spy and a counter-revolutionary. In Poland, on the other hand, in the year 1919, a Soviet mission under the leadership of comrade Vesolovsky which had been invited by Pilsudski to take charge of the transportation of Russian war prisoners, was foully slaughtered by the Gendarmes of the "Socialist Government". The Foreign Minister, the "Socialist", Vasilevski caused the Mission to be deported under an escort of Gendarmes who shot down the whole mission—without as much as a party court. Up to the present nothing whatever has been done to the murderers, but the protector of these murderers today has the brazenness to congratulate a foreign Socialist on his safe and sound return—not perchance from Poland, but from Soviet Russia.

The telegram of Daszynski which constitutes one of the most shameful documents of international social treachery, was certainly not written for the Russian workers. The latter are following with interest the Dombal trial as they followed the trial of the Roumanian Communists and the German political trials. They know that in the event of a victory of the Social Revolutionaries, of the protégés of Vandervelde, they would receive exactly the same "impartial" justice as obtains in the capitalist countries. They are not in the least desirous of this "justice" and they stand firmly by that "party justice" which all the capitalist flunkies of the world seek to bespatter with mud.

## Makhno and Anarchist Prattle.

By G. Melnichansky (Moscow).

In number 165 of *Le Libertaire*, we find an article on Makhno, by the Anarchist Alexander Berkman. In his desire to whitewash Makhnoism from the pogroms and the banditism of which it is accused, Alexander Berkman attempted to draw a resemblance between the army of the famous "little father", and other armies. He arrives at the conclusion that excesses are a thing inevitable in any army, and that they took place not only in Makhno's, but also in the Red Army; and in support of his assertions he cites me as a "witness".

"It is true", he writes, "that there have been cases of banditism in Makhno's army; but banditism is a phenomenon com-

mon to all armies. Did it not occur in the cavalry of the famous Budienny, when they attacked the Jewish population? Is it not a fact, that many soldiers of this very army of Budienny, were shot in March 1921 for acts of pogromism? These facts are well known throughout Russia. I have heard them cited by Melnichansky, whom I knew intimately. And Melnichansky is a Communist of rank for he is the president of the Moscow Trade Union Council. He himself was member of a special committee composed of Communists, charged with investigating the crimes committed by Budienny's army."

I became acquainted with Alexander Berkman during his stay at Moscow, and during this time I have seen him but six or seven times all told. I took him for an honest man and did not consider him capable of distorting my conversations with him in such a clumsy manner. Unfortunately, however, his article shows that I was mistaken.

And now let us examine the crux of the question. Alexander Berkman is right in saying that every army contains some undesirable elements who commit robbery and murder, but on this point his own article hits its writer. Berkman claims that many regiments from Budienny's army had been severely punished, and that in March 1921, numerous soldiers had been shot for having taken part in pogroms. What does this signify? It signifies that the Red Army of the Soviets is a disciplined army, and that all the massacres and acts of robbery perpetrated against the civil population are severely punished, even to the point of executing all the guilty ones.

But what of the "little father" Makhno? Has he ever attained such discipline? Let Makhno's defender cite a single case where the bandits of Makhno's army had been disciplined! Alexander Berkman speaks of this army quite intimately. One's hair stands on end on hearing the "exploits" of Makhno's bands. Since I am referred to as a witness, permit me then to tell you the following: "I am a native of Ukraine from the district of Elizavetgrad. I have there many relatives and friends. This region had been invaded by Makhno several times, and I affirm that everyone of these invasions was a nightmare; massacres, cases of looting and pillaging were without number. The inhabitants of this district are terror-stricken at the very thought of Makhno's army. And as far as I know, not a single section, nay, not a solitary soldier of Makhno's army was court-martialed. In the eyes of all the criminal elements, Makhnoism was a paradise of unpunished crime. As to the participation of some soldiers of the Red Budienny Army in pogroms, the following are the facts: At the time when Budienny's army was passing through Volhynia, on the Crimean front, the agents of Poland and of Wrangel, working under the mask of "volunteers", attempted at first to disorganize the Red troops through their propaganda. The result of this provocation was that a small band, consisting of the scum of the army, organized pillage, and assassinated the Communist Commissar of the Division who had learned of their plans and tried to stop their ignoble work. The pillaging recurred in two or three places. As soon as the Army Revolutionary Council heard of this, an investigating Committee (with myself at the head), was appointed. The result was that three regiments were disciplined, 140 men arrested and handed over to the authorities. The arrests were carried out by the soldiers of the disciplined regiments themselves, who later, desirous of regaining their honor, distinguished themselves in the fighting against the armies of Petlura and Wrangel. At that time the whole incident was reported in the Soviet press. This shows that it is inadmissible to draw a parallel between the robber bands of the "Anarchist" Makhno, the organizer of pogroms, and the Red Revolutionary Army. I spoke of this to Berkman, and since he cites me, he should also cite the slogan of the agents provocateurs, which I told him. This was: "Kill the Jews, the Commissars and the Communists. Come, let us join the 'little father' Makhno".

If he had inserted this passage, it would have interested and instructed the readers of "Le Libertaire".

In conclusion, here is a question I put to Berkman: "Would you seriously imagine that, if Makhno and his army were really the champions of Revolutionary Anarchism, the bourgeois and robber Government of Roumania would have accorded them an asylum?" In the history of the revolutionary movement there are no cases where bourgeois governments take militant revolutionists under their protection. Moreover, why is it that the same Makhno, the "Anarchist", who on "conscientious" grounds refused to deal with the Soviet power, now finds it so easy to live in peace with the blackest and most reactionary government in existence? Why is it, that now when he is in a country where the White Terror rules supreme, he does not raise a finger against the Boyars and the Roumanian bourgeoisie? Not only does he not fight against them, but he organizes with their aid new bands; for new crimes and new massacres in Soviet Russia.

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## The Capitalist Plundering of Soviet Russia Under the Mask of World Economic Reconstruction To the Workers of the world!

Comrades!

The Hague Conference has come to an end. The last attempt of the capitalist world to establish "peace" with Soviet Russia and to commence the economic "reconstruction" of Russia has been disclosed to be nothing but a cynical attempt to turn the Russian workers and peasants into slaves of world capital. This attempt has been broken upon the determined resistance of the Soviet Government. We know how heavily the pressure of capitalist exploitation bears upon you. We know how the capitalist offensive for the reduction of your wages, for the lengthening of working hours and the destruction of the trade union weighs upon you and deprives you of the energy to follow the other activities of the capitalist rulers of the world. But non the less we think it necessary to call upon you to consider what the Hague negotiations mean. Not only were the interests of the Russian workers and peasants, the interests of the Russian Revolution, concerned, although these are sufficiently important to be worthy of your closest attention; your vital interests, your future, are at stake.

It is one of the greatest crimes of the Social Democratic Parties of the Second and 2½ Internationals that during the Genoa and Hague Conferences they not only failed to call upon you to put the greatest pressure upon the capitalist states, but on the contrary stabbed the representatives of Soviet Russia in the back.

### Soviet Russia and the Capitalist World.

Soviet Russia is the first country in the world in which the workers have seized power with the aid of the peasantry. The capitalist world attempted to destroy Soviet Russia by armed force. At first, German Imperialism tried to do so. It was shattered to pieces before it could succeed. Then, for two years, the Allied capitalists overran Soviet Russia with the White Armies formed by them. The Russian workers and peasants have beaten back these attacks by their heroic defense. After they had assured the independence of their country, they turned to the capitalist states with a proposal of peace. They succeeded in concluding peace with their nearest neighbours, the Polish, Lithuanian, Lettish, Estonian and Finnish petty vassals of the Entente, who feared that, if they did not conclude peace with

Soviet Russia, the latter would crush them. Soviet Russia has signed a temporary trade agreement with England which hoped in this manner to halt Russia's revolutionary activity in the Near East. It has also concluded such trade agreements with the small capitalist countries of the North which are compelled by their severe economic crisis to seek a market in Russia. It has finally compelled the German bourgeoisie to conclude a formal peace with Soviet Russia. Cowardly as Germany may be, she nevertheless realized after the collapse of all her hopes for a victory over Soviet Russia and after the bankruptcy of all her attempts to offer her services to the Entente, that—if Germany ever wants to be freed from the exploitation of the Entente—she must live in peace with the Russian people.

Soviet Russia aims at peace with the capitalist states in the profound conviction that if in peace, she is economically strengthened, her importance for the future emancipation struggle of the proletariat will only be increased. Soviet Russia sought peace in order to deprive the capitalists of the opportunity of prejudicing unconscious masses of workers against Communism with the tale that Soviet Russia is attempting to compel you to accept Communism by armed force. Soviet Russia sought peace in order to establish the economic traffic in goods with the West which is necessary for the economic reconstruction of Russia. Since you, workers, have not yet seized power and are not in a position to deliver machines and tools to the Russian workers, Soviet Russia must try to obtain them from the capitalists.

Soviet Russia knew that peace with the capitalist world would cause it sacrifices. Workers, if you were the rulers of the economically developed world, you would understand that your own interests demand that you support the Russian Workers' Republic to the limit, so that it could supply you with grain in exchange for your machines.

The capitalist world is Soviet Russia's sworn enemy. And Soviet Russia knew that if she were to obtain its aid she would have to make sacrifices and would be compelled to pay profiteer prices. Soviet Russia declared its readiness to buy peace with the capitalist world at the price of extensive concessions. The capitalist governments demanded from Soviet Russia as a



condition for the conclusion of peace that she recognize the debts of the Czarist and the Kerenski Governments. They demanded the return of the factories and mines which previously belonged to the foreign capitalists and which were declared by the October Revolution to be the property of the Russian people. Soviet Russia answered that the debts of the Czar were contracted without the consent of the Russian workers; they were incurred for their enslavement and exploitation. The Russian people paid these debts in oceans of blood shed in the Allied cause for the interests and the victory of the Entente stockbrokers. Without declaring war, the Allies treacherously fell upon Soviet Russia and through their intervention destroyed more in Russia than was ever owed them.

Their demands are therefore founded upon nothing but force, nothing but speculation on the famine in Russia and on the needs of the Russian people. The Soviet Government thinks of this misery and is therefore ready to recognize the debts if they are reduced to a reasonable sum and if the Allies enable Soviet Russia by means of credits to restore its economic power rapidly so as to be able to pay the debts.

As for the factories and mines belonging to the foreign capitalists, Soviet Russia declared that it will under no circumstances return these factories. The money with which they were built was squeezed from the labor of foreign workers. And for this money the foreign capitalists have bled the Russian workers more than enough. The Russian proletariat can not return these factories, for only through their development will it be able to create the goods in the future with which it will rebuild the devastated country, develop agriculture and also be able to pay the foreign sharks. Russia will not give them back because the blood with which the Revolution was saved, would have flown in vain. The October Revolution which made the factories and villages the property of the Russian working people was the first step of the world proletariat on the road to the emancipation from the yoke of capitalism. This step will not be retraced, cost what it will. But Soviet Russia is ready to pay the foreign capitalists a certain compensation if they help to reconstruct Russia by granting new credits; it is ready to lease a part of the factories.

The Soviet Government was ready to make great sacrifices in order to obtain a final peace with the capitalist countries, so that the working-class and the peasants of Russia could commence peaceful work after the hard battles and after famine and misery.

#### The Capitalists' Robber Plan.

All these proposals of Soviet Russia fell upon the deaf ears of the representatives of the capitalist states, who demanded the complete and unconditional recognition and immediate payment of all the debts of the Czar and of the Russian bourgeoisie. They demanded the complete and unconditional return of the factories and mines; they wanted to lay their hands on Russia's mineral resources in order to obtain guarantees for the payment of the debts. If Soviet Russia were to consent to this she would not only turn the Russian workers and peasants into slaves of the Entente, but would deliver future generations of the Russian working people over to the Entente's exploitation. It would mean that in order to defend its bare existence the Russian Revolution would have to renounce the purpose of its existence; that it would have to renounce its position as the vanguard of the international proletariat. It would mean that what the proletarian traitors and renegades of the Second and 2½ Internationals maintain is true: that the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Government have forgotten the slogans of the October Revolution and are ready to prolong their existence as the watchdog of capitalist exploitation. Perhaps, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who have forgotten the revolutionary past of their class, counted with such a surrender. Perhaps, the gentlemen of the Second and 2½ Internationals expected that the Soviet Government would, after years of difficult struggle, sink to their own level and consent to make capitalist exploitation palatable for the Russian proletariat. They were mistaken. The Soviet Government, born of the Proletarian Revolution, the vanguard in the struggle for emancipation of the international proletariat, has remained true to the principle of the proletarian Revolution, taking account of the slow pace of the development of your struggle. Coolly taking these circumstances into consideration, it was ready to make such concessions as were consistent with the further existence of the proletarian dictatorship. But it determinedly refused to renounce the fundamental conquests of the Revolution. It refused to put the Russian working-class again under the capitalist yoke and to enslave the future generation of the Russian workers. It refused to surrender the position which was defended by the Russian workers and peasants with their lives.

The Russian Republic is fighting for you, proletarians of the world, by repelling the attack on the conquests of the October Revolution. It has defended not only the rights of the Russian proletarians; it defended your rights, workers of the world! You, proletarians of England and America, are fighting for the nationalization of the mines and the railways! Proletarians of Germany and Italy, you too are fighting for the socialization of industry! And if the capitalist world presses so forcibly for the return of the factories, they are fighting not only for their profits in Russia, they are fighting against the fundamentals of Revolution. They want to show you, proletarians of the world, that their power is infinite. Woe to him who dares to shake the foundations of capitalism; the Socialist principles must not oppose the capitalist principles of private property. When the capitalists determinedly refuse to grant Soviet Russia credits, they do so because they fear that the development of nationalized industry in Russia will throw out of court all their statements as to the impracticability of Socialism.

The fight of the Soviet Government against the demands of the capitalist world is not only a fight for the further development of the Russian Revolution. It is a fight for the development of European Socialism, a fight for you, proletarians of the countries which are still capitalist; when in the near future you arise to fight for Socialism, you will be able to count on the support of a strong nation led by proletarians whose enormous economic forces will be placed at the service of the international proletarian Revolution. The restoration of Russian agriculture under the regime of the proletariat will protect you, proletarians of Germany, Italy and England against a blockade of American capital which will be more difficult to defeat than the capitalists of Europe!

#### The Duty of the International Proletariat.

It was therefore treason to your vital interests when the Second and 2½ Internationals prevented the assembling of a world congress of the proletariat during the negotiations in Genoa and the Hague. It was therefore a Judas deed when the press of the Second and 2½ Internationals sought to make you believe that the Soviet Government had surrendered to the bourgeoisie, that it was playing capitalist politics, and that it was not your duty to support it. Proletarians of the world, your faces must color deep red with shame when you see how you are being deceived by the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, when you see that you have left your Russian brothers-in-the-furth, in a difficult struggle not only for the interests of the Russian proletariat, but for those of the entire international working-class! Contempt for and fight against those who so despicably deceived you! Aid, active aid of the proletarian working masses without consideration of Party to the fighting Soviet Republic. The fight of the Soviet Republic will also be difficult in the future. Of course, the good harvest enables her to take the most necessary steps for the improvement of the condition of the proletariat and the peasantry. But you must never forget how frightfully great the misery in Russia is and how infinitesimal the aid you have up to the present rendered Soviet Russia is. It is the duty of the proletarians of the countries with an undepreciated currency to do all in their power materially to aid their Russian working brothers. Follow the example of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which has founded an organization together with the Russian Soviet Government for the improvement of the Russian clothing industry and which is subscribing a loan of one million dollars among its membership for this purpose! But it is not only a question of economic aid. After the failure of the Hague negotiations, French imperialism will no doubt, do all in its power to mobilize its vassals against Soviet Russia again, and to organize new conspiracies in Russia, where it will receive the assistance of the Social Revolutionaries, the protégés of the Second and 2½ Internationals. The counter-revolutionary plots in Russia and the military adventures of the Entente vassals will again begin and it is your sacred duty, workers of the world, to demand energetically immediate general peace with Russia, peace without piracy, peace without burdens for the Russian people, peace which does not tie a rope around the neck of the Russian people, but grants it material assistance!

Close the ranks of the proletarian united front round Soviet Russia and you serve not only the cause of the Russian proletariat and the Russian Revolution, but your own cause, the struggle for emancipation!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Down with the capitalist robbers!

Long live the united front of the proletariat for the defence of the positions conquered by the World Revolution and for the conquest of new ones!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.  
Moscow, July 22, 1922.

## POLITICS

### The Political Development in Australia After the War.

By W. P. Earsman (Sydney).

It is in the political arena that most workers have heard of Australia. It has been held up as a model capitalist state, by press, bourgeois professors and clever parliamentarians. It has been pointed to as the workers' paradise where the class struggle has been put out of business by social legislation. This humbug has been trotted out everywhere and in many cases used to good effect in misleading the toiling masses of European countries. Nevertheless it would be good if working class students spent a few moments in studying what has been attempted in Australia by social legislation. For one thing, the class struggle is very real and the misery of the masses will soon be on a European level.

With the outbreak of the European war conditions politically were thrown out of gear. The Labor Party which was in power at the time threw all its weight into its support like its brethren of the Second International. Their slogan was, "The last man and the last shilling". This of course, got the backing of the bourgeois parties, and the Labor Government was safe for office during the period of the war.

In 1916 when the conflict appeared to be going against the Allies the Labor Party Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, came out with the demand for conscription. The party was so divided on the question that it was agreed to take a referendum of the people. Officially the Labor Party came out against it and after a very bitter fight the people rejected the Government's proposal. The same thing happened in 1917, but on this occasion the Labor Party expelled all its members who assisted or were in favor of conscription. The expelled parliamentarians joined the bourgeois party, the Nationalists, and formed a new Government to "win the war", so that in 1918 there were only two political parties, the Nationalists and the Labor Party.

Since then a new party has been formed by the farmers, who have come to realize that they have interests which are not exactly in line with the industrial capitalists or the Labor Party. This development was seen during the war because of the political significance of the farmers, arising from their economic power. They were not satisfied that the Nationalist Government was giving them a fair deal, believing that industry was served before anything else and that taxation was based on these lines. Again, in the administration of many of the government departments country interests were sacrificed to the town interests, particularly in the railways. The position today of the three parties is as follows:—The Nationalist party, representing the industrial capitalists; Farmers' Party representing the country interests; and the Labor Party, workers' interests.

The difference between the programs of those parties is very little and the Nationalist and Labor Parties are really one. The Labor Party slogan for the past twenty years has been the nationalization of all industry. Today they find the Nationalist Party actually carrying it out. With the expulsion of a large section of the Labor Party parliament faction, who joined the Nationalist Party, it was natural that they should take with them some of the ideas they had held. With the power of office at their command they were able to persuade the Nationalist parliamentary group to accept this principle in deed if in no other way. The Nationalist Party program does not include "nationalization" but nevertheless rather than give up control of the Government they have carried out this plank. It has meant votes and it has been the means of putting the Labor Party out of business for some time if not forever. The Labor Party at the present time does not know what to do to regain the confidence of the masses. A more advanced program has been drafted but it is afraid to come out with it.

In 1919, the advanced section of the Party saw the position and at the Annual Conference many of the trade union leaders, recognizing what must be done to recover the lost ground, drew up a new program which was something very much in advance of anything that they had in the past. The reactionary crowd won and immediately expelled the "left" elements. Since then the Labor Party has gone from bad to worse and the masses have lost all confidence in it. This is seen in the fact that the workers will not record their votes. They are not anti-parliamentarian but they demand a party which will be a fighting party.

This is a peculiar position in Australia and can only be understood by full knowledge of the local conditions. The workers of Australia have had no less than twenty years' experience in Labor Governments. In every State Parliament with the exception of Victoria, Labor has been in power. Only this year in New South Wales the Labor Party was turned out of office and they had a good reform program. At the present moment the workers are looking for a lead and the Labor Party has failed to give it to them. They are sick to death of the tinkering and the promises of politicians. The local color is such, that the Australian knows nothing of extreme poverty and degradation as it is in Europe. They suffer misery and tribulation but from an entirely different standard. The fact that it is a new country with a warm climate makes the situation easier as a whole. Frost and snow is unknown and there has never been the serious problem of unemployment until the present world-wide crisis. Political parties of all kinds have always been ready to placate the worker to secure his support. Now the worker has come to that point where he realizes that something more is required to meet the present situation. Nationalization in all its glory in every industry has been tried and today is found wanting. It will not meet the position.

#### Nationalization.

If it were possible to achieve emancipation by the ballot box the Australian working class would have reached its goal long ago. It is a sad story to think that for 20 years the workers have been tickering with this institution believing that it would make life easier for them. There is no panacea under capitalism that has not been tried. Yet the workers have unemployment, a bare subsistence when at work, slums and unsanitary housing conditions. The Labor Party and now the Nationalist Party have gone in for Nationalization, that is, they have taken over certain industries and run them for the State or as some muddle headed people would have it, "for the people". The have certainly kept them going but, the interests of the people were the last consideration. The capitalists and the beauracrats are the only ones who have profited by this developed form of capitalism.

Nationalization, when it first raised its head in the Labor Party, was thought to be the last word in Socialism. Today it stinks in the nostrils of the working class of Australia. The cry for nationalization has been fully realized and still the workers are wage slaves. Today the Labor Party politicians have gone a step further and their slogan is "Socialization". Don't ask one of them what it means because he would not tell you if he could. If it is suggested that Socialization with workers' control is what it should mean and should be stated as such, be prepared to be looked upon as an extremist.

Today Australia is politically bankrupt. Every social act that has been put on the Statute Books is a dead letter. Arbitration and conciliation, wage boards, compulsory military training for all boys between the ages of 14 and 26 years, Maternity Bonus, Old Age Pensions, Nationalization, Compulsory Education, Free Universities, along with one or two other acts, have passed into the stage of uselessness and are viewed as experiments that have failed to improve the lot of the worker.

Australia has been the happy hunting ground of scheming political scoundrels and stupid social reformers. They have had their day, but to-morrow is at hand when an account of the past will have to be rendered. If only the experiences of Australia could be conveyed to the workers of all other countries, a lot of energy, time and misery would be saved travelling the same ground. The social revolution would be a little closer and many of the debatable questions would be solved which are dividing the working class at the present moment. Our tactics would be clearer and less ducking, shoving and log rolling would be required to convince many who refuse to be convinced.

### The Communist Victory in Finland

By Niile Wallari (Helsingfors).

After the civil war of 1918, the general elections took place in 1919. The only Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party, then captured 80 seats out of the 200 in the Diet. Under the Finnish Constitution new elections take place every three years. Accordingly, a general election was held this year from July 1st to 3rd. The results of this election were in some respects unexpected. In 1920 the Labor Party was split into two factions, the Left quitting the old Social Democratic Party and forming a new Finnish Socialist Labor Party with a Communist program. It was the first time therefore, that this new Party participated in a general election. In spite of the fact



that it dominated the various labor organizations in Helsingfors and the trade unions throughout the country, its general influence could not be very great, as the old Party retained all the Party property, printing presses, and most of the labor papers throughout the country. At present, the F.S.L.P. possess only two dailies as against about a dozen dailies of the S.P. This means an enormous handicap in propaganda work. It was only with difficulty that the F.S.L.P. has been able to counteract this handicap.

Another important point to be taken into consideration, is the fact that practically the entire staff of the F.S.L.R., including the Party Executive and many editors and local officials, are now serving sentences in various prisons for acts of so-called "high treason". As a result, the Party is at present headed by young and inexperienced men who have to struggle against the greatest difficulties to keep the Party machinery going and the masses organized. This fact constituted a second very serious handicap in the last election campaign.

Generally, we expected some 18 seats in the new Diet. That would have approximately corresponded to the intensity of our propaganda and the real strength of our Party. However, the election netted us no less than 27 seats, leaving only 53 out of 80 to the Social Democrats. That was certainly a considerable victory for a young party like ours. Its importance is so much the greater, because it shifted our strongholds to the chief coast towns of Helsingfors: Abo, Wasa, Uleaborg, etc., whereas the Social Democrats were strongest in the country, in the inner provinces and generally in the economically most backward parts of Finland. Our Party completely dominates the South, the South-West and the North of the country; it flourishes wherever there is an industrial proletariat. This means that the F.S.L.P. is the only real workers' party in Finland, the Social Democratic Party drawing its strength chiefly from the petty bourgeois elements and the small peasants.

It is to be observed that had the two labor Parties entered into a coalition, as provided by the election law, some ten more seats could have been won. Such a coalition was proposed by the F.S.L.P., but refused by the S.P. As a result, about 45,000 labor votes were cast to no effect.

Another unexpected result of the election was the defeat of the centrist bourgeois parties and the victory of the extreme Right, represented by the Swedish Party and the Finnish Coalition Party. The class character of the new Diet will thus be very pronounced and the struggle within it very bitter. This means that the Diet will accomplish very little in the way of legislation and contribute still less to peaceful development. It is highly probable that in September, when the Diet assembles, the present "non-party" government will be replaced by a reactionary bourgeois coalition government made up of the Finnish Coalition Party, the Swedish Party and the right wing of the centrist Agrarian Party. Such a coalition would have a sufficient majority in the Diet and will probably do its utmost to repress every radical labor movement in this country.

Such are the prospects for the near future. Our representatives in the new Diet will be confronted with great difficulties, particularly because all of them with only three exceptions are entering the Diet for the first time and consequently have no experience in revolutionary Parliamentary work. All the Party leaders and the most active members are in prison with no prospects of gaining liberty for some years to come. For this reason, it is of the utmost importance for our Party to be informed and to learn from the Parliamentary experience of our brother parties in other countries. We feel confident that our extreme difficulties will be understood and that the sympathy of all truly revolutionary workers throughout the world will be ours in our hard struggle against a most reactionary and blood-reeking bourgeoisie.

## ECONOMICS

### The Fight for Mineral Oil

By S. Erkner (Berlin).

In the foreground of political actions, disputes and treaties of the great powers stands King Oil. This is due to the importance of this raw material in the technical economic processes. In consequence of various natural advantages mineral oil has greatly encroached upon the dominating position which up to now was occupied by coal in economic life, and has particularly displaced it in transport. In aerial transport mineral oil has the monopoly as a motor power. In shipping it is well on

the way to gaining it. In inland traffic oil is used for the motor vehicle which played such a prominent part during the war and the importance of which as a means of transportation is becoming greater and greater, particularly in the transportation of goods. If mineral oil has only slowly been recognized as a means of motor power for railways and for industry, this is less a result of rational technical considerations. Such a process of change which would place on a new basis not only transport but the whole of industry requires a very long time for its realization. Furthermore, the relative scarcity of mineral oil is restricting this process. In addition to this, those immediately interested in coal production would oppose such a transfer of the whole economic life to the widest possible oil basis and would seek to postpone it, however rational it might seem from a purely technical economic point of view. In agriculture the importance of mineral oil is likely to increase with the increased application of machinery. Thus in the future the use of oil must increase throughout the world, and those who possess mineral oil wells will have the greatest influence upon world economy and world politics.

Before the war, American oil capital had the monopoly on the oil market of the world. It was due to production for the world market that it carried on such a large export. It is true there were oil districts in Europe with a great production, particularly in Russia, but these catered only to the requirements of their own and neighboring countries, that is, chiefly to inland markets, so that they possessed only local importance and did not disturb the great enterprises of American oil capital on the world market. A colossal change has taken place. The oil consumption of the United States has reached such dimensions that in spite of her very large production she is obliged to import mineral oil. The oil fields of the United States will therefore be completely exhausted in a relatively short period of time, if oil production continues to develop in the way it has hitherto.

Yet, the Americans still dominate the world oil market. For apart from the fact that the United States still produce over 62% of the total world output of mineral oil, American oil capital controls about 1/2 of the present world supply, so that in this respect its home consumption and export are entirely met out of its own production. If the American oil magnates are fighting fiercely for the fourth quarter, their primary object is not to get hold of the actual output of the various oil districts. In this struggle they have an essentially more important end in view. It is the situation of the contested oil districts which constitutes their commercial, technical, strategic and political advantages.

In the future, world power must be based upon sea-power and every state that desires to seize world power, must strive to bring under its control those oil districts which are favorably situated for world transportation. For, mastery of the world will not go to the one who has merely succeeded in getting hold of the greatest oil supplies, but to the one who has at his disposal sufficient oil reserves at every center of world traffic. England has in the course of time gotten a grip on all such oil districts and left the United States in the background.

Thus England controls the greater part of the oil production of Mexico. Mexico is situated on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the merchant ships which are carrying cargoes to the South American markets and further on to the Australian and Polynesian ports are dependent upon Mexican oil.

In the other oil districts the conditions are still more unfavorable for the American oil capitalists. These oil producing areas are all at the other side of the globe, where up to now the Americans have no oil supplies under their control, and where in the future they will only be able to compete with difficulty. The mineral oil stores of the Dutch East Indies, Mesopotamia and Persia, are closely situated to the most important ocean routes of Asiatic commerce. Commerce in the oil products of these countries can easily be carried on; warships and merchant ships can have ready access to them at any time. Moreover, coal is dearest in those countries lying on the Indian and Pacific ocean, so that here, too oil must gain the predominant place in industry sooner than in other countries.

The reason why America is conducting such an energetic fight for the disputed oil districts is that she is striving for world hegemony. For she has secured the enormous requirements of her home market through her own output supplemented by part of that of Mexico. Those who bring under their influence those oil districts which are of importance to world commerce, naturally have an advantage in the competition for the most important markets, for through the control of motor power they have in their hands the means of transportation. Those who are defeated in this competition will finally cease to play any part as a world power.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### English Miners' Conference at Blackpool

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The annual conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain was opened at Blackpool on Tuesday, July 18th. This Federation represents all the miners working in and about the coal mines of Great Britain. The coal industry finds employment for some 1,094,000 workers. Of that number, 834,460 were represented at the conference by 162 delegates, officials and members of the Executive. The principal districts represented and their memberships were as follows: Yorkshire, 142,500 members, Durham, 126,240, South Wales 117,500, Lancashire and Cheshire 90,000, the Midlands 64,000, Northumberland 41,500, Derbyshire and Nottingham, 35,000 each.

The conference was opened with an address by the President Herbert Smith, who attempted to defend the present agreement which the miners have with the coal capitalists. It was an unusually weak and reactionary address; it failed entirely to give a lead to the conference, and the essence of it was expressed in his belief that the miners will have "better times within a year". This was exactly what the coal operators had said a years ago, when the miners' leaders signed the wage agreement after the lockout, also in the belief that the miners would have "better times within a year".

This has been the cry of the English capitalists ever since the trade depression commenced. The present wage agreement about which such controversy has developed, is based upon a profit sharing scheme, which obviously can only be of benefit to the miners during periods of prosperity. It also contains a clause called the *Minimum Wage Clause*, which stipulates that the miners' wages shall not be less than 20 per cent above what they were in July 1914. The official figures of the Board of Trade show that the cost of living is still 80% higher than it was in July 1914.

The Miners' Federation is made up of 13 districts, 12 of which are working for wages that represent the minimum. This means that in July 1922 the great majority of the miners are working for wages that are 60% less in real value than they were in 1914. And in the face of these facts, the miners' President puts up such a weak defense of this agreement, that even a capitalist newspaper like the *Manchester Guardian* in its leading article of July 19th, is compelled to criticize Mr. Smith's speech. Foreign readers of the *Inprecorr* can only imagine such a situation as this taking place in England. In the course of the article the *Manchester Guardian* says:—

"A minimum wage which does not provide the minimum standard of comfort is not worth much. The minimum wages of a railwayman are about double his pre-war earnings; those of a miner are only 20% higher. With the cost of living at about 80, the difference means that while the railwaymen must in any case be a little better off than they were before the war, the miners are so much worse off that many of them would do as well to accept poor relief."

We can only suggest after reading this passage, that the editor of *The Guardian* is more fitted to be the miners' President than Herbert Smith. In short, the failure of the Triple Alliance to act on Black Friday, and the bad leadership of the miners has brought such poverty upon the miners that Frank Hodges, the General Secretary of the Federation, has described the coal areas as the "famine area of England".

Mr. Smith then proceeded in the fashion of all our trade union leaders at the moment, by asking the conference to look to Parliamentary action. He said:—"The Miners' Federation would be responsible for about 60 of the Labor Party candidates. Politics would form an important part of the Federations' activity during the next four years." If the inference of this statement is that the miners' conditions will be improved by the return of these 60 members to Parliament, then we believe the miners are doomed to disappointment.

The immense development of oil fuel, and the American competition means that under no circumstances can the English coal capitalists absorb the miners' unemployed, nor can they keep these miners working at pre-war capacity. Mr. Smith never attempted to show the effects of the Versailles Treaty on the English coal industry and consequently upon the miners, and the English Labor Party, though pledged to a modification of the Treaty, does not stand for its repudiation. The Treaty must be scrapped if the miners are to climb out of the pit.

Therefore it is an indication of the hope there is for the miners, when their President is utterly unable to lay before the conference any clear lead for the organization as a result of its bitter experiences during the last 12 months.

### The Miners And the Red Trade Union International.

There was a resolution on the agenda calling upon the Miners' Federation to affiliate to the R.T.U.I. The debate on this question was opened by A. G. Cook, one of the miners' leaders of South Wales, who spoke in favor of affiliation to the Red International. He stated that the experience of the South Wales since the last lockout has been such as to convince them that only by a revolution could the miners improve their conditions; and he knew that the Red International stood for the overthrow of capitalism, and not for the compromising tactics of Amsterdam.

Mr. Frank Hodges, the miners' General Secretary, opposed the resolution in a speech full of bitterness and inaccurate statements. Among other things, he said, "What is the Red International? Where does it come from? Whom does it represent? There is not a national organization in Europe affiliated to it. If you want to save British trade unions you will wash your hands of anything of this description. I have lived too near to the Red International not to see the day-by-day movements of its destructive forces."

We are glad that Mr. Hodges asked these three questions: "What is the Red International? Where does it come from? Whom does it represent?" for whilst the resolution to affiliate to the R.T.U.I. was defeated by 883,000 against 118,000, that proves at any rate that 118,000 miners have already found the correct answer to those questions; and now when the delegates report back to their various districts, this resolution will be discussed at the conference and then in the lodges and will lead thousands of other miners to discuss the Red International, and also to find an answer to Mr. Hodges' questions, which within 12 months will produce a result that will not be satisfactory to Mr. Hodges and his friends at the next conference of the Miners' Federation. I consider the voting very satisfactory. The English trade unionists are the most insular in the world, and the fact that the Red International is even discussed at a National Conference 12 months from its inception, augurs well for the future. Many of Mr. Hodges' arguments will be answered very fully in the English press. I only wish to note one of Mr. Hodges' comments, and that was:—"In the meantime we have nothing to do but to stand by the Amsterdam International".

Well, it may be so; it is most certainly true that the Amsterdam International has never stood by the English miners. We all know that last year when the miners were engaged in their bitter struggle against the coal bosses, millions of tons of coal were imported into England from America and Germany. The unions whose members produced and transported the coal were members of the Amsterdam International. At present, there is a life and death struggle going on between the miners and the coal owners in America. Already many miners have been shot by the armed thugs of the capitalists, but the American miners are holding out. In June, the *London Star* reported that 250,000 tons of coal had been sent to America from England, and now we find the following announcement in *The Chicago Tribune*:—"It is learned that the government is considering a comprehensive program for importing coal chiefly from England. It is known that coal dealers here are already negotiating with British companies for the immediate delivery of large amounts of coal."

Yesterday it was the English miners who were defeated by international blacklegging; today it is the American miners who are being defeated by international blacklegging. If, as Mr. Hodges says, "the Red International represents nobody", then it means the Amsterdam International represents all the unions. Well, why not stop this blacklegging? Where is the International Miners' Federation? Where is the Amsterdam International? These are three questions that we ask not only Mr. Hodges, but the miners' leaders everywhere. If you must boast about your strength and our weakness, then prove it in action and call an international miners' conference immediately, to stop this blacklegging of the American miners, to demand the revision of the Versailles Treaty, and to frame ways and means of uniting the miners everywhere in order to stop the present capitalist offensive.

In the meantime the English comrades will intensify their propaganda within the Miners' Federation, and we believe that the miners will be the first English National Union to become affiliated to the R.T.U.I.



## A Year of Disruptive Work in Poland.

By P. Tokarski (Warsaw).

The resolution of the London Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International which called for a struggle against the adherents of the *Red Trade Union International*, found a cordial response among the "industrial peace" trade unions of Poland. The response was the more ardent in that our Scheidemanns, the members of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) represent a special variety of Scheidemanns and stand at the extreme right wing of the same. In fact they are no longer a right wing of socialism, but open unequivocal supporters of the reactionary rule of the bourgeoisie, a mere tool in the hands of that pinchbeck dictator, Pilsudski and his cronies.

When therefore, the London Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International decided upon a ruthless struggle against "red" tendencies in the trade union movement, our trade union Scheidemanns with Zulavski at their head seized upon it with avidity. The London resolutions have in fact sanctioned their most heart-felt wishes, the chief object of their activity in the ranks of the working-class. Now trade union reformism could openly engage in the fight against the Reds, without troubling itself with the so-called Socialist ideology, which in the long run, hindered a little their fraternization with the police and the bourgeoisie for the purpose of fighting against the Communists. Now it had opportunity of embarking on an official anti-Communist crusade.

This crusade was carried on by the Central Committee of the Polish trade unions, the Central Committee of the Class Trade Unions. The end of April of last year was chosen as the moment for commencing this anti-proletarian struggle. The signal for the campaign was given some days prior to the May day celebrations. The immediate cause was the fact that the majority of the Class Trade Union Federations had the intention of cooperating with the Communist Party in the May Day demonstration and of shunning the ranks of the party of labor traitors, the P.P.S. It was therefore necessary to save the situation, to terrorize the irresolute unions and force them to a common May demonstration with the P.P.S.

The Central Committee of the Class Trade Union Federations therefore, citing the decisions of the London Conference, resolved at the preparatory meeting for the 1st of May, on the 26th April 1921, "to break off all connections with the Communist Party and to work against its activities among the trade unions, as these activities are harmful to the proletariat and these tendencies hostile to the formation of a great consolidated trade union organization". The Central Committee called upon the unions to fight the Communists and issued the instructions necessary for paralyzing the activity of the "Reds" in the trade union movement. At the same time, as a practical expression of this new attitude, it was decided that no union may take part in the processions and meetings organized by the Communist Party and that the trade unions be allowed to demonstrate jointly with those political organizations which recognize the line of tactics of the trade union struggle laid down by the Amsterdam International.

This resolution had no practical importance for the May Day demonstration. The majority of the Polish workers organized in trade unions demonstrated under the slogan of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But from this time onward, the reformist unions began a ruthless struggle against the "red" tendency, a struggle which has been carried on for over a year. What is the practical effect of this struggle?

In the first place, all active comrades holding Communist convictions or having any radical Socialist outlook, have been expelled from the trade union organizations. Further, all groups opposed to the Amsterdam tendency were gotten rid of and expelled from the unions.

This disruptive work began in the metal workers' union at whose head there stood such tried and proven trade union bureaucrats of the Austrian school as Topinek and Teller. The last named came into prominence through the organization of "Flogging" groups of Polish workers, during the struggle with the Czech workers in the Czech area Silesia, at the time of the Polish-Czech quarrel over Teschen and Freistadt. This in no way prevented Tayerle and the Czech reformist trade unions from according Teller a welcome at the Congress of the Czechoslovakian unions.

The leaders of the metal workers' union decided at their session of July 2nd to expel two members, Kruba and Voycek from the organization on account of alleged harmful activity against the union. The actual reason, however, was that

the two members concerned did not adopt the reformist policy of the trade unions, that they would not subordinate themselves to the orders of the P.P.S., but that they criticized the reformist majority of the union and fought against their treachery. Almost simultaneously a whole branch in Dombrova (District of Dombrovar coal area) was expelled for passing a resolution which demanded secession from the Amsterdam International and affiliation to the Red Trade Union International.

These were the first steps in the disruptive work of our Amsterdamers. Others followed immediately. All unions, under the control of members of the P.P.S., began to exercise all kinds of repressive measures against the "Reds". With an enthusiasm worthy of a better cause, they began to purge the unions ranks of Communists, and of all who were not prepared to be tied in the leading strings of the Scheidemannish P.P.S. Party.

The net result of this year's activity is as follows: six branches of the metal workers' union, in fact branches in the most important centers of working-class life, such as Lodz, Dombrova, Gornicza, in the suburbs of Warsaw, Praga, in Warsaw itself, etc., have been disbanded. Further two branches of the miners' union have been shut down and many of the most energetic and active members of the union expelled. A branch of the textile workers' union in Ozarkov has been closed down. The activities of the leaders of the railwaymen's union in the administrative district of Radom, have been held up and several leaders of the same expelled. Two of the most important sections of the caterers' union, the bakers and the butchers have been closed down, etc.

The disruptive work of our Amsterdamers did not stop, however, at the mere expulsion of members and the exclusion of whole branches. The Central Committee took great care to maintain the split where it already existed and even to extend it. As our trade unions are separately organized in every province, there exists as a result of the amalgamation of the Polish States, several organizations in every branch of industry. The Trade Union Congress in May 1920 recommended the amalgamation of all separate unions and entrusted the Central Committee with the task of carrying this through. In places where in such action there exists the possibility of capturing the union for the purpose of the P.P.S. policy, in these places the Central Committee forcibly carried out this unification. But in those unions in which the Central Committee was not quite certain that the reformist group would get the upper-hand, they hindered it and worked in secret against it. An example of this pernicious disruptive work is furnished by a letter which the president of the Central Committee, Zulavski, sent to the Secretary of the Building Workers' Union in Posen, in which the former proposed not to hurry cooperation with the Executive of the Building Workers' Union in Warsaw as the last named was under the control of the Communists. The result of this policy of our Amsterdam representatives is naturally the breaking up of the trade union movement. It suffices to mention that in Poland there exist five organizations of building workers. And all of them are affiliated to the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation.

Finally, the choicest fruit of the anti-proletarian policy of our reformist trade unionists is to be seen in the denunciation of "red" opponents to the police and to so-called "Defensive", a government spy institution organized for the purpose of fighting any movements opposed to the bourgeois state. In this respect there is nothing comparable to it in the whole of Europe. In Poland, the Communist movement and anything connected with Communist ideas is ruthlessly persecuted. In spite of the democratic constitution, hundreds of Communists and their sympathizers are behind prison walls. Membership in the Communist Party is punished by sentences of from six to ten years hard labor.

The Polish Amsterdamers make use of these circumstances, to rid themselves of their opponents. If they are unable to remove this or that opponent from the trade union movement by any other means, then, either indirectly or directly, the "red" trade unionist in question is notified to the "Defensive", who will of course immediately carry out their duty by arrest, imprisonment, persecution, etc. In this manner, the radical secretary of the Miners' Union in Javorzna was arrested upon the information of the reformist leaders of the unions and even of the Central Commission, and with him, the whole of the Branch Executive and in addition the whole Executive of the Radom District of the Railwaymen's Union together with many individual "red" comrades. It would be interesting to learn whether the Bureau of the Amsterdam Trade Union International is informed of this matter and what its attitude towards these splitting activities of its Polish section is.

How do the "red" trade unionists behave in the face of this treacherous policy of the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation? Arrested and interned, beaten by the Police, driven from their work and denounced by their own fellow workers, the "red" trade unionists still indefatigably carry on their exceedingly difficult work. An intensive campaign is being conducted in all the unions against the reformist policy of the Amsterdamers. Protests are ignored, the resolutions of the Unions against the expulsion of the "reds" are not acknowledged. The "reds" fight energetically in spite of the most extremely difficult conditions, in order to capture the new unions. In many cases they have been successful. Single branches of unions, led by reformist champions, are under the absolute control of the "Reds".

In contradiction to the splitting activities of the followers of Amsterdam, the attitude of the "Reds" is based on the defense of the unity of the unions. In spite of the disappointment of the broad masses with the trade unions led by the reformist bureaucrats, in spite of the increasing demand of the working masses for the formation of definitely "red" trade unions, the far-sighted revolutionary trade unionists reject this idea and defend the principle of trade union unity.

Will this principle be maintained in spite of everything? Will the splitting policy of the Executive Committee destroy the whole trade union movement throughout Poland? It is difficult to foretell. Unfortunately, the doings of our Amsterdamers up to now in no way warrant our being too optimistic in this respect.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Russian Grain Loan

By Eugen Varga (Berlin).

For the first time since the Russian Soviet Republic came into existence, its Government turned to the public for a loan. First of all, we wish to state that the attempt at the first internal loan has been very successful. The 10,000,000 pood loan was fully realized and the money paid in full.

The peculiarity of this loan consists in the fact that it is paid in money, but repaid in grain. In addition it is a short-term loan. The money is being paid now and the bondholders will receive the corresponding amount in grain during this year, when the tax in kind is collected.

The special form of this loan was a result of the unstable money situation in Soviet Russia. Up to May of this year, the rouble depreciated rapidly. Consequently it seemed impossible to get a loan at home, because no one was able to tell what the buying capacity of the Soviet rouble would be six months later. (Just as it is at present impossible to get a loan in Austria).

The advantage for the creditors of this loan consists in the fact that even today, at the present buying capacity of the rouble, they are in a position to secure the grain they need; they thus protect themselves against a further depreciation of the rouble. The advantage for the Government is that it already has in the form of money a part of the tax in kind, which is due only in the autumn. This carries with it two advantages: 1. It enables the Government to buy grain at once for the famine-stricken regions with the money it thus receives, 2. It contributes considerably to the stabilization of the rouble and prevents its further depreciation.

As is well known, the rise in prices in Russia (at any rate on food articles) not only came to a standstill in May of this year, but a sharp decline set in, which in the South, in Odessa and Rostov for example, attained a 30% fall. In the Northern sections the fall in prices has been rather less. This means that the great increase in food prices during the current year was of a speculative nature, and the present drop in prices is due to the good prospects for a favorable crop and the arrival of foreign grain. It therefore depends mainly upon the expected crop to decide whether the grain loan participants speculated profitably or not, and whether the price of grain in autumn will be higher or lower than the price used as a basis for the grain loan.

An interesting innovation made by the grain loan is the provision that the peasants may use the grain loan bonds in payment of the tax in kind, due in autumn. The peasant who today pays the price for a certain quantity of grain in the form of a loan, may pay his tax in kind with his bond instead of with grain. We thus see an attempt to return from the tax in kind to the money tax.

This experiment, the first one of its kind, is being tried on a small scale. 10,000,000 poods amount to no more than about 170,000 tons and reckoned at the price which is at present being paid in Germany, it amounts to 2½ billion marks. It is not the quantity of grain or of money that lends significance to this loan, but rather the fact that the Soviet Government succeeded in raising an internal loan, an accomplishment to be envied by many a capitalist government. At the same time experience can be gathered and the apparatus created for future loans on a larger scale, which will be necessary for the stabilization of the rouble and the balancing of the deficit in the state finances.

The success of this loan carries with it a great political significance. For it proves that the broad masses of the Russian people have full confidence in the Soviet Government. It is a political vote of confidence given to the Soviet Government, expressed in the loan.

## Communist Youth

### The United Front and the Young Communist International.

By Fritz Reussner (Berlin).

The needs of the young workers grow from day to day. If we examine the statistics and reports on the situation of our proletarian youth, our opening statement can be substantiated by thousands of examples.

Many attempts have already been made to improve the condition of the proletarian youth. All these attempts, however, were isolated and consequently they could not help but end in failure in the face of capitalist and governmental resistance. We see for example, that a certain bill submitted years ago to the German Parliament was pigeonholed up to the present time, only to be defeated. In Czechoslovakia, the Workers' Vacation Law in conjunction with which the question of the vacation of minors was to be considered, is postponed and hindered. The economic crisis in that country has thrown many young proletarians out of work. As a result great distress is prevalent. In Austria the proletarian youth has made a very elementary gain in that direction. The benefits gained have however, long ago been wiped out by the ever-growing need. In Switzerland, in Sweden, and in England, many young proletarians have likewise been thrown out of work by the economic crises existing in those countries. No one seems to be concerned about them, however; so that they suffer immensely. This is true of every capitalist country.

The proletarian youth suffers not only because of the economic crisis, but it is also a victim of the general reaction. In Italy many young proletarians fall a prey to Fascist bullets. In Germany the young workers are badly mistreated by the reactionaries who even threaten their lives. In France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Poland the young proletarians are forced into the straight-jackets of capitalist militarism and then used to suppress the revolutionary movement of the workers. They are made to serve the purpose of maintaining the bankrupt capitalist economic system by means of bayonets.

The proletarian youth must be helped out of its misery and distress. The situation of our youth is only a partial phenomenon of the present situation of the entire world proletariat. For this reason the improvement of their situation is possible only to the extent in which the working class succeeds in improving its own condition. Even the dogmatic advocates of a separate struggle against capitalism by the proletarian youth will give up such illusions when they come to realize that even the adult workers were compelled to retreat step by step in their isolated struggles.

The adult proletariat has made an attempt to organize a united front against the onslaught of capitalism. The Communist International proposed a World Congress to include all the proletarian parties, and at which the demands of the proletarian youth are also to be discussed. Hundreds of thousands of young proletarians looked forward to this congress with great impatience. But unfortunately its hopes were shattered by the unwillingness of the Social Democratic Internationals to participate in this congress.

But our responsibility for the condition of our youth is too big for us not to make every possible attempt to find ways and means of drawing the adult proletariat to their aid. It is there-



fore necessary for every youth organization to use all its influence and moral persuasion on the respective parties and trade union organizations and to see to it that the united proletarian front become a reality in the interest of the working class in general and the proletarian youth in particular. The Young Communist International is fully conscious of the condition of our youth. It has therefore decided to convene a congress of young proletarians in which all proletarian youth organizations are to take part. The great importance of this decision should be clear to every young proletarian; for it shows that the Young Communist International has not yet given up hope of winning over the other proletarian youth organizations to a united action, in spite of the fact that the latter have so far disregarded or evaded all such proposals made by the Young Communist International and its various sections. This Congress which the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. decided to call, will be confronted with many important problems. One of its chief tasks will be to formulate joint demands that are intended to influence the proletarian parties to organize a united front that would include the youth organizations. A second task of this congress will be to take defensive measures that would protect our youth against reaction and against capitalist militarism.

It is understood that this congress will not touch the problematical principles of this or that organization, just as it does not mean agreement. This congress does not eliminate the free criticism of one organization by the other. It is only a question of formulating slogans that would correspond to the daily struggle, and would bring the workingclass and the proletarian youth into a united front for the purpose of realizing their demands.

We, the Communist Youth, believe that the present situation forces us to make this step. We think that we should take advantage of every opportunity to improve the condition of our youth. For this reason we firmly believe that no proletarian youth organization that takes the needs of our youth to heart can possibly refuse to participate in this congress. Hundreds of thousands of organized young proletarians and millions of unorganized ones are waiting for our aid. The Young Communist International is ready to do everything in its power in that direction. The proletarian youth of other organizations must decide whether they will cooperate or not.

Young proletarians in the factories, in the schools, trade unions and other organizations, define your attitude to this congress, give expression to your will; we are awaiting an affirmative answer from your organizations.

Long live the Proletarian Youth Congress!

Long live the united proletarian front!

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The First Communist Trial in Austria

By V. Stern (Vienna).

The Austrian bourgeoisie is at present not in a position to enter upon an open terror against the revolutionary working class, as is the case in Yugoslavia, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, etc. It is not even necessary, as long as a great Social Democratic Party and the leaders of the trade union movement render them the service of bringing the workers to do voluntarily, what in other capitalist countries has only been accomplished by force. The powerful demonstration of the Viennese workers on the 1st of December, 1921, however, led the bourgeoisie to fear that the Social Democratic leaders had not gotten the masses sufficiently safe in hand. And then it immediately appeared, that our bourgeoisie also attempts to be "energetic" when it becomes a question of self-preservation. Against the so-called "plunderers" of December 1st, a sentence has been pronounced which can only be characterized as bloody. The "Rote Fahne" has been repeatedly confiscated, arrests and house-searches increased and the state prosecutor has brought charges against a number of Communist leaders. Comrades Tomann, Koritschoner, Friedländer and Wertheim are charged with a series of "crimes" which are alleged to have been committed by printing articles in the "Rote Fahne" and reporting speeches delivered at Workers' Councils. The chief proceedings took place before a jury. They ended with a gigantic exposure of the state prosecution, but they showed also that not even in Austria where the bourgeoisie is compelled to preserve the

appearance of "Democracy" does the freedom of the press exist before the law.

In the so-called "criminal" articles in the "Rote Fahne", there was nothing demanding an immediate fight for the Dictatorship. The workers were simply enlightened as to the government's policy of high prices. The real causes of the 1st of December were set out. The bloody "justice" of the bourgeois class-state was exposed. The workers were called upon not to be content with isolated action but to set up a united front, to conduct a continuous, well-organized struggle of the whole working class in order to compel the government to do what was necessary in their interest. The workers were also called upon to use their power, in order to protect the victims of the bourgeois class justice from the vengeance of the exploiters' government, which did not venture to approach the real plunderers. It was also pointed out that plunderings and demolitions were not a proper means of struggle, but that the government and the exploiters whose politics drove the workers to desperation were alone guilty.

In all this the State prosecutor saw the most serious crimes which only stirred hatred and contempt for the state authorities, gave rise to public disturbances, the threatening of officials, disobedience against these officials, the using of force against the power of the state, etc. The most obsolete paragraphs were used to prove this, among others clause 65a, which was enacted 119 years ago and which was intended to protect the monarchy of that time against the demands for a constitution. Later they were used to protect the constitutional monarchy against the republicans and now it is to defend the brand new Republic. The whole accusation was, however, even from the legal bourgeois point of view so ridiculously untenable, that even the bourgeois Jury could not arrive at a verdict of guilty. The State prosecutor had made the thing too easy. He simply picked out four Communist leaders and asserted without even being able to produce a shadow of proof that they had published the articles in the "Rote Fahne". Our comrades, accepted full responsibility for all these articles, but they naturally could not, declare in defiance of the truth that they had published the articles. The Jury was thus compelled to bring in a verdict of not guilty. That, however, did not prevent them by their verdict of "not guilty" from finding in the articles themselves, all the crimes which the prosecutor saw therein and to declare the responsible editor guilty of having neglected his duty so that he was fined. In Austria it is therefore a "crime" to criticize the government's policy of high prices and the class justice of the Courts and to tell the workers that they must fight unitedly against the capitalist offensive.

During the proceedings, the judge systematically refused every motion of the defence, even the most modest one, although even the state prosecutor had to admit that there was nothing against them on principle. On the other hand every motion by the State Prosecutor was acceded to without more ado. In Russia, the land of the "Red Terror", Vandervelde and his colleagues availed themselves of the most absurd pretext in order to withdraw from the Court although their requests had been granted to the utmost possible extent. What would they have had to say in this case if it had been asked that Communists of every country should take part in the defence!

The trial provided our comrades with the opportunity of exposing the government and the exploiters' methods of ruling, of pointing to the struggle of the Communists in behalf of the interests of the workers, and of revealing the treachery of the social-patriots. Our comrades clearly and openly exposed the class nature of the Court, and showed that the Communist Party has but one end in view, namely, the demolition of the class state and the introduction of Communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat. They showed how the Social Democrats upon whom the Public Prosecutor repeatedly bestowed the highest praise, were betraying the interests of the proletariat. They pointed out how the Communists were laboring indefatigably to set up the united front of the proletariat in the struggle for its vital interests. It was not they who were the defendants, but it was rather they who compelled the Judge and Public Prosecutor to appear as defenders of the government's policy. The whole misery of the Austrian proletariat and the fearful culpability of the ruling classes and their social-patriotic confederates were fully exposed. If the purpose for which the trial was originally intended, namely, to render the Communist Party leaderless for some time, has not been achieved, it has certainly contributed to the enlightenment of the Austrian proletariat.

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## The Class Struggle in Germany After the Rathenau Murder

By Karl Radek.

More than a month has passed since the German Nationalists killed Rathenau. It was a month of stormy events, of villainous deceit and, to some extent, a great lesson for the working masses of Germany. And what was the result? Outwardly, the result was that the German Government, which in the person of Wirth, had declared, "The measure is full; this cannot go on", decided that everything should remain as it was. The Law for the Protection of the Republic was passed by a bloc which extended from the Independent Socialists to the Stinnes Party. That is all. The fact that the monarchists of the Stinnes Party voted for this law is a guarantee that the German monarchists are in no way affected by it. And since, with the exception of a few discharged Prussian officials, the entire administration of the German Government remains in the hands of the monarchists, it is self-evident that the Law for the Protection of the Republic will be applied exclusively against those workers who really wish to transform the bourgeois pseudo-republic into a real workers' republic. The Government will retain its present formation "until Spring". The only change that can be perceived is taking place in the parliamentary groupings, or to put it better, behind the parliamentary scenes. The Independent Social Democrats, who up to the present, also supported the Wirth government have entered into an alliance with the Scheidemann crew, thereby pledging themselves to support openly the government which the bourgeoisie will not let them enter until the Spring. By this manoeuvre, the Social Democrats will have 180 votes in Parliament instead of the 109 which they have had until now. In answer to this step the Centre and Democratic Parties together with the Stinnes Party proceeded to form a similar bloc in order to balance the reinforced Social Democratic wing in the Government. But since Parliament is not now in session, all these parliamentary manoeuvres which are merely political, serve to mobilize the forces of the reaction and the revolution for the coming struggle.

No one believes that the crisis of the last month is over and there is no doubt that it will develop still further.

### The Growing Forces of the Revolution.

Immediately following the assassination of Rathenau, when the German proletariat rose en masse, the German bourgeoisie trembled in its shoes. The Cologne *Kölnische Zeitung* headed its leading article "On the Eve of a Second Revolution". And it was right, for although the thunder of a second revolution

had died away, the storm had not yet passed. The crisis of the last week accelerated the nuptials of the two Social Democratic parties. Two months before this crisis the workers of the Independent Party chased the learned Rudolf Hilferding from the editor's chair of the *Freiheit* because he defended the idea of an alliance with the Scheidemann crew and the policy of coalition. The Independent Social Democrats of Leipzig were unanimous in denouncing Hilferding's policy. Faced with the dilemma, for the second revolution or for the alliance with Scheidemann and the bourgeoisie, the leaders of the Independent Party have risked the step which they were justified in fearing. The alliance with the Social Democrats will result in the best elements of the Independent Party quitting their ranks. But this step will not be retraced, not only because the leaders of the Independent Social Democrats fear the approaching revolutionary wave but for reasons which are very prosaic and which were pointed out by Paul Lensch, member of the Scheidemann Party and chief editor of the leading organ of the German finance king, Herr Stinnes. This worlds' wonder writes in the Stinnes organ, that the Independents could not help but unite with the Scheidemann Party, for otherwise they would have to face financial bankruptcy. The Scheidemanns on the other hand, are not financially pressed because they are strongly supported by the Government in which they occupy thousands of well paid offices. What reason could there be for not uniting? Herr Henke, the former editor of one of the most radical organs of the German Social Democrats, the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung* (the same Henke, who on the 3rd of August 1914 told Karl Liebknecht and myself that the reason why he did not refuse to vote for the war budget was that he was married and the father of six children) was careless enough to charge that the Communists were receiving material support from the Comintern. The Independent Social Democratic Party will go to the Scheidemann manger and peacefully, munch the hay of the German bourgeoisie. But the German workers will not permit this. According to newspaper reports, the largest Independent organizations, such as those of Düsseldorf, Frankfurt and Dresden, are opposed to this alliance and to this coalition party. There is not the slightest doubt but that this alliance will result in a split of the Independent Party and that as a result of this, considerable groups of workers will leave the Social Democratic Party.

The Communist Party had to resist a great temptation. In view of the Social Democratic treachery many Communists