

- INTERNATIONAL -

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

POLITICS

Washington and the Future of China

by Arthur Rosenberg.

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

The international position of China, in view of the political dismemberment of that gigantic country, will in fact be extremely difficult. China passed through its Revolution ten years ago.

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

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

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

In opposition to the Japanese aspirations for economic predominance in China, America puts forward the policy of the open

door in China. Through this open door any one is to be able to enter China in order to do business undisturbed. What American capital really means by the open door is obvious from a proposal which recently was put forward by America. According to this proposal, American, English, French and Japanese banks, which are interested in China, should jointly establish a big consortium. All the loans, obtained up to the present by China from individual states should be taken over by this consortium. China would then have no longer the separate foreign groups of capitalists as creditors but united world-capital. The international group of banks would thus establish its guardianship over the economic life of China. It is obvious, that in such a fraternity the American capitalists as the strongest would predominate. Thus the open door does not mean free competition but the replacing of Japanese predominance in China by that of America.

The Peking government regards American predominance as the lesser evil since America is further off than Japan and because the American capitalists would carry through their plans in a milder form than the Japanese. America would if she had her own way still keep up appearances in China while Japanese militarism desires to trample down China as it did unfortunate Korea. Wellington Koo, therefore, declared in Washington that China demands unconditional political independence, that China must have control over her own railways, i. e. the Japanese must give up the railways of Shantung and Manchuria. Wellington Koo further demands that the concessions lately granted to foreigners in China should be annulled. This too is directed against Japan. It is true the bankrupt gentlemen of Peking by themselves matter little, but the American capitalists like to hear these voices. Hughes, if he wishes to snatch from the Japanese their Chinese booty, can pretend that America, acting unselfishly as usual, appears now as the protector of the suppressed Chinese people. Meanwhile the directors of the American China banks are laughing in their sleeves.

The International Situation and the Role of the Red Army.

by L. Trotsky.

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

The fact which dominates our whole situation is that four years after the October Revolution we are still surrounded by capitalist governments. The Proletarian Revolution was unable to develop victoriously outside of our borders. The bourgeoisie has succeeded in holding out all over the world, retaining its hold in the most critical moments, on the morrow of the imperialist war, during demobilization. In that moment it was weaker than ever before as a ruling class menaced by the workers, to whom the deception of the war was at last revealed. It was the time of the greatest spontaneous revolutionary movements among the masses, and of the greatest panic among the rulers. We were somewhat justified, then, in hoping that the bourgeoisie would succumb in this struggle, and that the peasants' and workers' army, formed by us to defend our class in our country would have no more reason for existence after the completion of its task.

Events have decided differently. A ruling bourgeoisie still encircles us. Our hope that the first uprising of the masses would sweep them away has been deceived. The most important fact in the international situation of to-day is that the bourgeoisie has retained its domination. But the revolutionary forces are growing. It is no longer the insurrectionary movement that we saw in 1918-19 although even now there are outbursts of violence here and there. In almost all countries it is the patient systematic work of creating revolutionary parties, of the acquisition and extension of revolutionary experience, of the methodical preparation for the conquest of power. For we can no longer hope that the workers' offensive can take the bourgeoisie by surprise and overthrow it in a short, sharp struggle.

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

As the conclusion of the foregoing premises we have the following. In the first place the bourgeoisie which has succeeded in holding out in 1919, 1920 and 1921 no longer considers

Bolshevism as immediate a fatal danger as that which in 1918-1919 it combatted by means of armed intervention. It thinks that it can enter into relations with us in order to begin the reconstruction of its ruined economic system. The danger no longer seems imminent. Since it is still alive three years after the war it concludes that it will remain alive. . . .

That is why the resumption of relations with Russia has become psychologically possible. Moreover it is ready to keep up a long struggle to crush the proletarian revolution. It is changing its tactics. We are not the only ones who tuck about, who manoeuvre in the international and in the interior arena, at times against the bourgeoisie, at times against the mass of wealthier peasants. And as we have also held out, it must be admitted that we have not manoeuvred very badly. The bourgeoisie, in the meanwhile, acts with intelligence on its own side. The time has come for it to put to use the natural wealth of Russia, to re-establish the Russian market, to bandage the most serious wounds, and also to repress the revolutionary movement. What perspective results therefrom? A permanent, stubborn, more and more implacable fight of the working-class for power in Europe and in the entire world. In this struggle there will be flux and reflux. How long will it last? No one can foretell. But it is evident that its repercussions on our international situation will be very varied.

The iron circle will at times press around us; new interventions, new aggressions, new attempts to strike us down by force of arms; then again the enemy's knot will be loosened and we will again conclude commercial agreements. The hand to hand struggle between the working-class and the bourgeoisie will be long and uninterrupted. And the Red Army, under these circumstances, is and will be one of the essential forces of the working-class. Such are the perspectives which the future opens to us. And it is in the light of these facts that we ought to consider the role of the Red Army in our party as well as among the laboring masses.

We often repeat that we are passing from the period of military conflict to that of economic struggles. In a general way that is correct—in the future we can apply to the economic struggle forces which formerly were retained at the front. But the idea must not obtain credence among the masses that the mission of the Red Army is terminated!

Spain's Adventure in Morocco.

by M. Rosé.

Three-quarters of the standing Spanish Army has been for months fighting a few miserable mountain-tribes of Northern Morocco. And Spanish militarism is to-day further away from its goal than ever. Morocco, with its mineral wealth has always been a bone of contention of the capitalistic powers. The German capitalists who before the world-war laid great hopes upon the exploitation of Morocco are today completely eliminated. France and Spain have, formally at least, divided the Morocco spoils between them. France has seized the bigger southern half, and Spain the smaller northern half. But behind the Spanish colonial policy in Morocco are to be found various foreign capitalist groups, English and others, who together with the Spanish speculators are piling up profits there.

France succeeded in completely conquering its part of Morocco, and in subduing the natives there. The Spanish rule in Northern Morocco, on the other hand, is only on paper. How is this difference to be explained. The ruling class of France has had quite other experiences in the treatment of North African natives, than those of Spain. French capital also exploits its subjects to the bitter end, but it proceeds more cleverly; it decorates the native chiefs with ribbons of an order, and it knows other ways of winning their interest for the ruling system. Furthermore, France has at its command a military and organizing apparatus totally different from that of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards are now attempting to gain actual possession of Northern Morocco, which has been granted them by agreement. This summer, however, they have suffered severe defeats at the hands of the natives. Many thousands of prisoners fell into the hands of the Moroccans, and 140 guns were captured. But the Spanish capitalists and their militaristic friends did not give up their enterprise. The Spanish army in Morocco was increased in strength to 100,000 men, and under the command of General Berenguer, launched a "big offensive". This offensive met the same fate as many a world-war offensive, which was proclaimed with much noise; first, successes, jubilant military communiques, flags in the city, etc. But after a while the famous offensive came to a dead stop. The Spaniards advanced into the mountainous region south of Tangier. The city of Tetuan was their operating basis. They won some ground in the difficult region, but then

their advance came to a stop. At present the Moroccan leaders are organizing a counter-offensive on the whole front. Side by side with the old chief of the Riff-pirates, Raissuli, there is a talented younger leader Abd el Krim who commands the rebels. The Spaniards are maintaining their positions with great effort and difficulty. The freeing of the prisoners or the regaining of the lost ovens are not to be thought of.

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

The Spanish Moroccan war is a typical example of the methods used by rapacious Capitalism. The peasants' and workers' sons of Spain are driven to the shambles, in order that a few corporations may exercise their mining privileges. But on the other hand the existence of the whole army is staked in order that barrack-speculators may pocket their millions of pesetas. It is announced that 70,000 more soldiers are to be sent to Morocco. The indignation of the Spanish class-conscious proletariat over the Moroccan adventure is barely conceivable. After the first great Spanish defeat, the Communist party of that country made an attempt to overthrow the government by means of a revolutionary general-strike. But the strike was only effective in the district of Bilbao. Madrid did not join, and the workers of Barcelona were incapacitated by the frightful white terror which has been raging there for months. Thus the first revolutionary advance was broken. But when the breakdown of the second big Spanish offensive will be realized at home, and when new masses of recruits and reserves will have been thrown into the Moroccan witches' caldron, then will not only the proletarian vanguard, but also the great masses of peasants and petty-bourgeois rise against the system of Alfonso XIII and his capitalist subordinates.

At first glance it may seem strange that France does not offer aid to the needy Spaniards in Morocco. Were the French to attack the rebels from the South, the uprising would at once be at an end. But the French have no interest in turning the adventure of the Anglo-Spanish capitalist clique into an easy triumph. France looks on calmly, while the Spanish ruling class is exhausting its strength. France sees that its neutrality pays in other ways—see for instance, the attitude of the Spanish delegates at the League of Nations council in the Upper Silesian decision. France is only waiting until the Spaniards become completely bankrupt in Morocco; then it will become heir to Spain's legacy.

The Spanish system of government, domestically one of murdering workers, and in foreign affairs one of bloody Imperialism, was personified by Dato. The Spanish revolutionists who cleared Dato out of the way have thereby expressed the bitter indignation of the Spanish proletariat. The Berlin agents of Herr Weissmann, who want to deliver two of the supposed murderers of Dato to the Spanish rack and to the hangman's slaves, will be prevented by the German proletariat from getting the million pesetas blood-money that they expect.

India

by G. Safarov.

"Pravda", Nov. 3, 1921.

The Nationalist movement has recently made great progress in India. It is beginning to play an increasingly important part as an independent factor in world-diplomacy, in the calculations of imperialistic diplomacy. Only the incurable stupidity of the bourgeoisie and those elements which profit by it seek the roots of this movement in Bolshevik propaganda. During the war, India which was freed from the guardianship of the mother country developed its home industries considerably. 1918 was a

year of misfortune for India. According to official statistics, 6,000,000 people died of Spanish Influenza. 30,000,000 people died of hunger and epidemics which in India are the inevitable historical consequences of colonial exploitation. Before the conquest of India, famine had only a local character. After the victorious conquest of European "Culture", famine became a general occurrence which recurs much more often than before. The war, which cut India's economic relation with the capital, showed the native capitalistic and nationalistic elements, as well as the intellectuals and the masses, that the cause of the misery and poverty of the richest peninsula in Asia lay in the colonial regime, and in the appropriation of the total production of untold millions of people by foreign capital. The war has prepared the ground for the national movement. The awakening of the other Oriental nations has pushed the masses into the fight for their liberation. The most noteworthy feature of this new national movement is its general spread and the uniting of various strata of the Indian population such as the Mohammedans and the native Indians. In Mohammedan India, the movement is spreading under the flag of the Khalifate and under the watchword of "the restoration of Turkey". The Mohammedans and the Indians unaniously demand, however, the "Svaradj"—the independence of India.

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

The fight against foreign imperialism is first of all carried on for the economic and political independence of India. However, the more the great masses are drawn into the movement, the more of a revolutionary agrarian character their demands assume. So for instance, the recent uprising of Turkish Moplahs on the Malabar coast, which is being cruelly suppressed, was at the same time directed against foreign outrages and against the Zemindars, the former tax-collectors, who were made large property owners by the English government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ECONOMICS

Economic Struggles in Germany

by Paul Fröhlich.

The bourgeois press in Germany is speculating on ruin. It is full of complaints about the country's bankruptcy. It lays more stress on the financial collapse than communist agitation could ever do. It may be supposed that it is hardly conscious of the soundness of its arguments and prophecies. For it is obvious what are the motives behind this exaggeration of the bourgeoisie. It wishes to avoid the payment of reparations to the Allies and desires to influence the Reparations Commission at present in Berlin. The Commission, however, has given no ground for the realization of this hope but on the contrary has somewhat disappointed. They hope by their threats of state bankruptcy to strengthen those voices in England which are in favor of a lenient policy toward Germany. At the same time this howling is intended to support the demands of the industrialists for denationalization of the railways, increased exploitation of labour, etc.

The obviousness of these motives forces people to doubt the sincerity of the bourgeoisie and its paid scribes. What class would be able to face calmly the fact of its own bankruptcy? Yet this bankruptcy is undoubtedly approaching. German foreign exchange is wildly fluctuating up and down with a clearer and clearer tendency to fall lower and yet lower. The finances of the country are in disorder. The Finance Minister's great plan for placing the country's finances on a sound and healthy basis is a product of perplexity which will hardly assist in overcoming the first, minor difficulties. In general, all calculation is rendered impossible. Each new fluctuation of the foreign exchange takes the ground from under all projects.

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

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

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

In many ways the struggle is typified in the the fight of 50-60,000 metal workers in the Düsseldorf district. Their demands had been placed before an arbitration board. In agreement with the men's representatives an award had been handed down which gave the workers an imaginary increase. In reality, however, it only sanctioned the actual wages already being paid without taking into consideration the present enormous increase in the cost of living. To such an extent are the trade-unions afraid of serious conflicts. The workers declined to accept the award and went on strike with unusual enthusiasm. There are actually no strike-breakers.

These metal workers are fighting against the most powerful capital kings in Germany, men with an all-embracing consciousness of power. It may be said that a struggle against them can only be successfully carried through if fought with untiring energy and on a very broad basis. The workers are therefore instinctively striving to enlarge the field of the struggle. The employers are trying to counteract that in a very clever manner. While the men's demands were rejected in the Düsseldorf district, Krupp in Essen made such concessions to the workers that a strike there has probably been avoided. This policy has as its obvious aim the localization of the struggle and the consequent defeat of the Düsseldorf strikers. Through the constant depreciation of the mark, the employers are enabled to grant the equalizing increases, thus chaining the Essen metal workers and miners. In this manner they can constantly keep wages on an extremely low level.

The workers' organization meet this policy with all the forces at their command. The Düsseldorf strike has been sanctioned by all the trade-unions—free, christian, and Hirsch-Duncker. But a silent sabotage is already noticeable. The social-democratic police-president has already tried to obtain from the ministry a declaration that the arbitration award is binding on the men. In other words, the preparation for the intervention of the military police and the courts! The social-democratic and independent

socialist press is shameless enough not to accord the strikers even the support of a single word in their behalf.

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

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

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Labour Movement in the East Indies.

by Soedjammo.

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

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

The political and labor movements in the East Indies are very young. Organizations, in the European sense of the word, are almost unknown there. In the East Indies there were never any guilds or associations of which the present European labor-unions are an outgrowth. There are many illiterates among Java's population. Communal land-ownership is still in part the primitive basis of life. And when Java was drawn into the sphere of interest of European capital, its population became the involuntary object of exploitation by foreign capitalists. The first big impulse to increased political and trade-union activity was the increased cost of living during the war, when, due to the decrease of exports, the competition among the European capitalists was almost completely eliminated. Trade-unions were springing up everywhere and in 1919 they united into a central union. The leaders of this central union, which to-day comprises some 20 labor organizations, are communists. The Communist Party of the East Indies (P. C. I.) was organized in 1915 by Dutch socialists of both the reformist and revolutionary wings. It first called itself "The Indian Socialdemocratic Party". At the outbreak of the revolution in 1917, the party leader, Sneevliet, declared his solidarity with the Russian comrades, thus causing the reformists

to leave the party and establish a new wing which called itself the "Indian Socialist Democratic Party", which is without any influence on the working masses. The revolutionary comrades under the leadership of Sneevliet came into contact with the masses by starting an intensive agitation among them, and soon succeeded in obtaining the attention of the suffering population of the East Indies. Even those natives, who were poisoned by the confusing nationalist propaganda, and who hated the whites, began to consider their position, and slowly gained faith in the white-skinned Socialists. The task of the Communists was to gain influence in the loose organization then in existence, which was called "Sarikat Islam", and included only Mohammedans.

The sympathies of many members of these organizations were won by the Communists through their principles of struggle and through education, so that in March of this year the program of "Sarikat Islam" was completely changed, and placed on a Communist basis. Soviets were recognized, and parliaments repudiated, although up to this very day, there is no such thing as a parliament in the East Indies. We have repeatedly and bitterly attacked and unmasked the leaders of "Sarikat Islam", so that they are filled with hatred of the Communist movement. Having no actual weapons to defeat us with, they attempt at least to rouse the suspicion of the masses against us. When the Communist International for instance, issued its thesis on Pan-Slavism, and we translated it into the Dutch language, it was falsely translated into the Malayan tongue to read that the Communists were forcibly to do away with the Mohammedan religion. The enemy is also trying to destroy the central union which is under the control of the Communists, by employing the same insinuations. They have not succeeded, however, in discrediting us with the masses.

On the 18-19th of June 1921, eighteen trade-unions were represented at the trade-union conference in Java, where they decided to name the central labor organization — "The Revolutionary Central Union". The president of this "Revolutionary Central Union", is comrade *Semaoen*, who is the leader of our party, the president of the railroad-union of the East Indies, and at the same time of "Sarikat Islam" in the district of Samarang. The frequent persecutions, arrests and exiles with which the government hopes to throttle the communist movement, only increase our influence with the population. That is self-understood. In the East Indies the people have no rights at all and are treated like cattle by the ruling class. The class divisions are more sharply drawn than in Europe, which means that the influence of the disenfranchised population is still smaller. In Europe the development of the labor-movement keeps step with the development of industry, so that the worker is better able to react to the consequences of capitalism. In the East Indies it is different. A totally backward population faces modern, organized Capitalism. While capital pockets from 100 to 1000 % profits, the working population is sinking lower and lower into misery. Through our fighting organization we will create the possibility of combatting these conditions. Although as already said, we revolutionized "Sarikat Islam", it is impossible for us to remain in this organization, because there is an impassable gulf between our political views and those of some of the leaders of this movement; and it is also to be feared that they sabotage our program. This is the reason why we decided to leave this organization and to concentrate all our forces upon the strengthening of the party. The general attitude of the populace is good, their spirit not poisoned by party-struggle, and our agitation should therefore prove an easy task. Almost every strike which was declared between 1910 and 1920 ended with a victory for the workers, in spite of the fact that there were no labor-organizations to speak of. Capitalism will in future also have to get used to give up a part of its enormous gains to the workers. We know quite well that these enormous profits will not last forever, that the world crisis will also reach the East Indies, and that such occurrences as wage reductions and various other attempts to annul the conquests of the working-class will also take place here. Then the already existing class differences will become still more sharpened.

It is the task of the European comrades, particularly of those countries which have colonial possessions, to pay more attention to the colonial movement than they have hitherto. For a strong revolutionary movement in the East may become the signal for the European Revolution. The present exploitation of the working-class in Europe would hardly have been possible, had there been no backward Asia and no backward colonies. Every obstruction in the development of capitalism means at present a step nearer to the world revolution, because it tends to create a revolutionary situation in Europe.

Our task is to obstruct every road in the development of capitalism. Although we are unable to make the revolution, we

are however in a certain sense able to accelerate it. Since Asia and India still offer great possibilities for a greater development of Capitalism, it would be a great mistake not to prosecute the revolutionary movement in these countries with greater care.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Unity Convention of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia

by *Bohumir Smeral*.

The construction of the Czech-Slovakian Communist Party is completed. The convention which began on the 31st of October, and which lasted four days, has completely carried out the task assigned to the Czecho-Slovakian Communists by the Third World Congress in Moscow.

In Czecho-Slovakia there live about 9,000,000 Czecho-Slovaks, 3,500,000 Germans, not quite a million Magyars and several hundred thousand Ukrainians. The territory which this state now comprises was for decades the scene of the bitterest national conflicts. The world war which decided the victory or defeat of some of the national groups, has set the national ideology aglow. The settling of relations after the world war has not in the least diminished this glow of national ideology in the masses. The Germans and Hungarians are subject to the national feeling because they suddenly found themselves overnight subject instead of ruling races. The Czecho are subject to the national feeling because they live in constant fear of suddenly losing overnight their newly won independence.

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

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

But the unity of the organization does not satisfy us that we are an absolutely complete Communist Party. On the contrary, the communal life, the common work and especially the common fight must unite the Czecho-Slovakian, the German, Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian communist workers, into the absolutely unified body we want to be. To work for that is our next task. I admit that at first certain occurrences may take place here and there in our common life, which will not at once be understood by the comrades in the outlying countries.

It is possible that life and practical necessities may in the transition period create definite auxiliary organs which were not thought of in the simple, uniform party statutes. Should this happen — and the party leaders will not permit this, except in cases of absolute necessity! — let it be no cause for uneasiness. The foreign comrades should take into consideration the exceptional complexity of national relations in Czecho-Slovakia. I shall consider these in two fighting divisions of the Communist Party, the Czech and the German. Each one of these is working and fighting in a different milieu, each one faces a totally different front of the bourgeoisie; the German bourgeoisie pursues an anti-state opposition policy directed against the Entente, whereas the Czecho-Slovakian does just the opposite. Each one faces a different Social-Democracy; the Czech Social-Democracy forms the extreme right wing of the Second International, whereas the German one belongs to the International 2½. Finally, each one confronts absolutely independent trade-union systems, which in point of structure are entirely separate. If under these extraordinary circumstances, and for purposes of expedient direction of the struggle, some complementary organs which lie outside the scope of the simple organization statutes should be created for a transition period, such an act would certainly be considered one motivated by sincerity and by practical necessity.

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

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

Now it is necessary to hold and fortify the party on a broad basis. The somewhat "left" and the somewhat "right" elements can contribute to this by meeting upon the common ground of the Third International's decisions. We are just in the midst of an important struggle in the labor unions. On the 22nd of January a general trade-union congress will take place. I have the impression that the foreign comrades consider our positions in this fight as more favorable than they actually are. Only in the last few days, we suffered a defeat by only 10 votes in the election of the Central Committee at the miners' congress; this was due to the desertion of several delegates from Ostram. Four days later we suffered a similar defeat at the general

meeting of the railroad unions. The social-democrats succeeded with a "compromise", which even though for only two months is to appease the miners and keep them from the great wage conflict for which they were prepared. Furthermore the relief-committee of the united workers' parties (with the exception of the communists) which was already negotiating for the transfer of the collected sums with the Russian representative Mortoventés, has now decided to announce the results of the collections through Amsterdam. This is a symptom which shows that the struggle for the unions requires unity of all forces. The same is required by concrete social and political struggles which are before us. The decisive foundation has been laid by the building of the completely unified International Party.

Now forward, through work, greater activity, to the fight!

FROM THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Downfall of the Russian "Whites".

by R. A. (Berlin).

Since the crushing of Wrangel, and since the ministries of London and Paris have cut off their subsidies, the Russian Whites, the mercenary vanguard of the International Counter-Revolution in all its aggressions against Red Russia, are showing marked symptoms of disintegration. The monarchist and bourgeois emigration of contemporary Russia will surely be shorter lived than that of Coblenz after 1793. Already it realizes that it will not see the Restoration. And while the dotting Bourtzev, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, in one of his usual attacks of senile insanity writes the following: "Blessed be those who exterminate you to the last man, accursed Bolsheviki!", the poor remains of Wrangel's army are falling to pieces.

The greater part of them are shut up in a camp on the Gallipoli Peninsula within range of the guns of the Allies' cruisers. The White press can no longer hush up the complaints and protests of the former officers who have fallen under the yoke of General Kentepov, governor of the camp, and of his court-martials quite according to the mode of the "ancien régime" conceived of by embittered executioners over whom there is no moderating control. Wrangel's assistant showers upon his soldiers, escaped from the Crimea, a multitude of disciplinary and other punishments for trifling offenses. Sometimes he has them shot. Recently he had a superior officer, accused of having said, "In my opinion the Red army is a powerful force", shot.

The "Poslédní-Nowosty" (Latest News), Miliukov's organ published in Paris, has published a protest by a group of officers, veterans of all the counter-revolutionary campaigns, against the usurpation of power by General Wrangel, the tyranny and excesses of his lieutenants Chatilov and Kentepov and the terror-regime which they enforce in their camps in Gallipoli and Jugoslavia. Even among them! One can thus see what the military leaders of the Russian reaction, upon whom bourgeois France founded its hopes for such a long time and upon whom it had also staked its money, are worth.

But there is something even better. General Slashev-Krimsky, the last defender of White Crimea, who lived until now in Constantinople has just returned to Soviet Russia, together with a group of superior officers and military technicians. These have recognised the irreparable failure of the Russian Counter-Revolution and do not want to perish in its downfall. If it pleases them, should the occasion arise, to fight against their equals—the reactionaries of Roumania and Poland—it is hard to see why the Red Army, which needs qualified specialists, should not use them—under the control of workers' commissaries and watched by the Extraordinary Commission General Slashev's flight will in any case bring to a head the demoralization of the lamentable remains of the Reaction's armies to whose soldiers Soviet Russia has just offered complete amnesty. The most curious thing about this adventure is *the strange uneasiness shown by the French Police* who have started various investigations in this connection. (Doubtless Slashev was well informed concerning the French intrigues with Wrangel.)

Such is the disintegration in the Whites' military centers. As for the intellectuals, the psychological awakening of a group of influential Cadets who have passed over to the proletarian Revolution has taken place. In the future they will publish under the editorship of I. V. Kliutchnikov, a weekly magazine called Smena Vekh (A Change of Sign-Posts), of which the first

number recognizes "the extent and depth of the Russian Revolution" which these Counter-Revolutionists of yesterday want to serve from now on. They will be welcome—the victorious Revolution needs the co-operation of intellectuals. And these latter possess too much bitter experience of the Revolution's strength and the helplessness of the Reaction to begin again the useless misdeeds of sabotage.

The downfall of the Russian Reaction will also have in history all the significance of a vast social experience . . .

Amsterdam Professes to Fight for Disarmament

by W. Lada.

The "disarmament Conference", called by Messrs. Jouhaux, J. H. Thomas, Mertens, Oudegeest and Fimmen met at Amsterdam on the 15th of November. The Executive Committee of the International Trade-Union Federation, together with the international business secretaries of the miners, metal and transportation workers, were to consider a plan "of a continual action against war", and to prepare the above mentioned labor organizations "for the task which is to be theirs when a new war breaks out, namely, to stop work in case of war".

The Amsterdam Conference is planned as a counterpart to the Washington Conference. The German pacifistic organizations—including the "League of religious Socialists"—greet the conference "with great satisfaction", and prescribe its line of action. The Berlin Trade-Union Commission, in accord with various societies of intellectual peace-fanatics, calls a mass meeting in honor of the occasion of the meeting of the two "world" conferences, at which pacifist poems are to be recited, and pacifist speeches made. In a word: The Amsterdam "disarmament Conference" is assuming the shape of a "world event", which perhaps will even surpass the Washington Conference in its historical significance!

Well, let us examine the matter more closely.

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

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

The gentlemen are ill chosen to prepare and lead a "continual war against war"! Before the war they also promised to do that. They have in reality cheated and deceived the working masses, which were led by them. The moment their "Vaterland" was endangered, the moment the interests of their imperialistic governments were at stake, they turned against the "revolutionaries" so dangerous to the safety of the state. They became the worst war-provocators and lackeys of the imperialistic butchers. How are we, and how are the working masses assured against a second betrayal and deception?

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

Even before the business-manager of the American bourgeoisie Mr. Harding, had started the disarmament fake at Washington the Anglo-French imperialistic syndicate—the so-called "League of Nations"—treated the question of "disarmament". In order to lend a feature of sincerity to the matter, the League of Nations proposed that the International Labor Bureau send six labor representatives and six employers' representatives as delegates to its disarmament commission. The employers declined the offer with the ironical statement that their govern-

ments were taking care of the disarmament question without them. Messrs. Jouhaux, Mertens, etc., the "labor representatives", thus fell into the trap more readily. Jouhaux, Oudegeest and Thorberg (Sweden) were sent to the Commission. With all his characteristic (oral) energy Mr. Jouhaux demanded "serious" disarmament measures of the commission; he was indignant over the fact that not one of the governments and none of their representatives gave a serious thought to the question, and he threatened that the working-masses . . . "Indeed! the labor traitor Jouhaux himself fears the revolutionary movement of the working masses", so thought the government representatives, "he will therefore take good care not to let loose such a movement". And they smiled to each other and at Jouhaux, as the augurs used to do in Rome. And the comedy was over. The gentlemen parted pleasantly—with that satisfaction which makes an actor conscious of the fact that he had played his part well.

But Messrs. Jouhaux, Oudegeest, and Thomas have a competitor across the ocean—Samuel Gompers. This old labor-traitor also wants to play an historical part. He is no "Internationalist" and does not wish to be active in the sphere of the League of Nations, since his bourgeoisie is unfriendly to this syndicate.

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

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

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

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

The White Terror

The Roumanian Murderers,

The Roumanian Murderers.

Dr. Lupu's paper "Aurora", recently published for the first time, presents a small statistical table of the political prisoners in Roumania; these statistics, although incomplete, are important. They deal with the political prisoners in the Jilawa Fortress, which is 5 or 6 kilometers distant from Bucharest, and comprise

only the period between Sept. 1, 1920 and Sept. 1, 1921. During this year, 333 political criminals, i. e., Communists and Socialists were imprisoned. Of these, 30 were sentenced to penal servitude in the salt-mines, 121 are awaiting trial, 32 have been in "preventive imprisonment" for the last 6 months, 36 have been freed after having been in "preventive imprisonment" without trial from 6 to 12 months. 114 more who have been under arrest slightly less than 6 months are awaiting sentence. The prisoners are placed 18 or 20 together in a cold, dark and damp cell, 8 meters underground. They sleep together on wooden beds, without blankets. Most of the prisoners have no linen, and the prison-management does not supply any. The insufficient food has recently been further reduced by 25 %. The right to be supplied with food by the members of the families does not really exist, because of the many difficulties put in their way. Until the end of April 1921, all prisoners were constrained to perform hard labour: wood-cutting in the forest, the cleaning of roads, cleaning of toilets, etc. As to literature, the prisoners have at their disposal only books like the Bible, and the government newspapers "Indreptarea" and "Universul".

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

Be it also noted that among these arrested are the deputies C. Popovitz and B. Stefanov.

The trials of those sentenced consisted merely of the following questions: "To which party do you belong?" "Are you in favor of joining the Third International?" "Are you satisfied with the present form of Government?" "What will you do if again set free?" Among the other prisoners are 16 who are suspected of having distributed illegal leaflets. 33 are accused of having distributed such leaflets. Finally, 2 more comrades are under arrest because they are members of a Bessarabian Communist organization. It is characteristic of the execution of the sentences that those prisoners who become ill are not sent to hospitals. The authorities are brutal enough to declare that there is no room in the hospitals for communists.

This is a miniature picture of the great work accomplished daily by the murderers in Roumania even during the war. These statistics do not mention the numerous imprisonments which took place before the 1st of September, 1920. One of these, among others, is the deputy M. G. Bujor. Neither do these statistics mention the hundreds of those imprisoned and thousands of those arrested, who are still languishing in the prisons and salt mines of Ocule-Mars, Doffana, Slanic and in other places in Bessarabia, Siebenbürgen and Roumania proper. Neither do these statistics take into consideration the hundreds of young Bessarabian workers and students of both sexes who are awaiting a slow death in the Roumanian prison cells merely because they dared to establish educational circles. Nor do the statistics mention those who are imprisoned in the Vacarestie main prison, near Bucharest; among these are the delegates to the May 1921 Congress 5 deputies and 27 women. The bare statistical figures say nothing of the numerous hunger-strikes by our comrades.

One more the government has promised that the trials will take place on the 5th of November. Such promises have often been made, but never kept; hence the lack of faith of those arrested in these promises. We print the following excerpt from a letter sent by the political prisoners of the Vacaresti prison on the 23rd of October, 1921 to the royal commissioner, who has charge of their trial.

"Five and a half months ago, we were arrested at the congress which was permitted by the authorities and at which we proclaimed our political views. The same authorities still control the meetings, organizations, the press and freedom of expression in our country. 5½ months have passed, and we are still waiting, and have faith in your assurances that the trial will take place on the 5th or 20th of September, or on the 5th or 20th of October. During the 160 days of our arrest, you have examined us only once; you have examined only our views and

future intentions without being able to prove one of the charges of which we are accused. We have been purposely held under arrest for the last half year, and we do not yet know the date of trial. Upon these grounds M. Commissioner, we hereby notify you, that should we not receive our liberty or a definite date for our trial by Tuesday, the 25th of October, we shall start a hunger-strike."

It is also necessary to mention the physical and moral tortures suffered by the prisoners at the hands of the Roumanian murderers, but we shall reserve that article as a gift for the coronation celebrations of King Ferdinand I. In the meanwhile we must publish the following baseness of the Roumanian White Justice. Our 18 year old comrade, the student Leonhardt, has been sentenced to 4 years imprisonment and has been sent away into the salt-mines of Doffana. His guilt (?) consists of the following: he, together with other youths took the liberty of playing a practical joke. On the eve of the general-strike, Oct. 20th, 1920, they caused the bells of the Metropol Church to be rung. This is the great crime committed by Leonardt for which he will, after a year's "preventive" arrest, have to serve four years in the salt-mines.

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

The Lichtenburg Hunger Strike

A new infamy of German justice.

H. N. Not a day, not an hour passes by without international class-justice committing new crimes and new murders. There is no pause nor interruption in the hunt to the death of revolutionary workers and communists. Sacco and Vanzetti lie in the dungeons of Massachusetts; in Spain, Hungary and Jugoslavia thousands are imprisoned. The German republic follows close behind these reactionary kingdoms and the land of the dollar.

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

What is that to German justice? What are the public-prosecutors doing about it? What steps are contemplated by the social-democratic government ministers? They do not care a straw about the fact that 130 brave and determined workers are starving themselves to death. It does not cause them any unpleasantness, since no one hears anything of it. The walls of Lichtenburg are high and its locks are secure. The bourgeois press is silent about what is going on behind those walls. And the 130 proletarians are lying on their wooden beds, with empty stomachs, cursed at, defenseless, hopeless, abandoned.

Are they really abandoned? Is there no one who at the last moment stands before them as protector? It is unbelievable that the working-class will calmly and listlessly look on.

As Sacco and Vanzetti were to be sent to the electric chair the united proletariat of the world made its voice heard. It understood that the two sentenced to death were a part of itself, and it must understand, quickly understand—class-justice and death by starvation are all too fast—that the 130 nameless and unknown comrades of Lichtenburg are blood of its blood and flesh of its own flesh.

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

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