Important Notice.

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

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

Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

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 bourgeois 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 provincial government with 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 the 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 recognize the Peking government as the supreme authority, while Sun-Yat-Sen has openly declared war on the Peking militarists. The citizens of Canton declare that it is their intention to liberate the country from military rule and to establish a united democratic Chinese Republic. Sun-Yat-Sen was the most prominent spiritual leader of the first Chinese Revolution. He opposed the militarist development and was striving with his friends of Canton to bring the Chinese Revolution to a successful issue. Sun-Yat-Sen was 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 warning to the Chinese Revolution. At Washington, Mr. Wellington Koo is representing the Peking government. The Canton government is naturally disliking the international capitalists because the Chinese radical democracy is just as much opposed to the foreign exploiters as they are to the internal oppressors. At Washington the Peking government has been recognized as the actual representative of China. To this Sun-Yat-Sen answered that he will consider as null and void all the decisions of the Washington Conference regarding China.

The prevailing chaos in China has been very clearly utilized by the Japanese. The Japanese set one governor 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 seized 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 Kiaochow 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 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
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 of the world war, during the demonstration of the revolutionary potentialities of the proletariat.

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 the first efforts of the capitalists to crush the workers.

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 at 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 the longness of the imperialist 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 political education, for the conscious class struggle of the workers. 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 its benefit. It is well defended and possesses security. Such are the essential characteristics of our international situation.

On the other band, the accumulation of the forces of the working-class and on the other the bourgeoisie's military police and political police which are still longer, seem to be offering resistance, 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 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 supremacy. This longer 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. The 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 Moroccan apolis between them. France has seized the bigger southern half and Spain the smaller northern valley and the coast. 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 is more subject to the latter end, but it proceeds more; clearly, 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 apparatus in the apparatus totally different from that of Spain.

The Spaniards are now attempting to gain actual possession of Northern Morocco, and to subjugate the natives by agreement. This agreement, 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 military police are not in the least discouraged. The red and white 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, by being won against much noise, but no decisive 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 Rif-pirates, Rasul, there is a talented and heroic Abd el Krim, who commands the rear guard. The Spanish are maintaining their positions with unusual fortitude and difficulty. The freeing of the prisoners or the regaining of the lost guns are not to be thought of.

In the meanwhile the Spanish military organization suffered a complete breakdown. In early May 15 per cent. of the soldiers have barracks at their disposal. The other must sleep deep in the open. It is true that the English, French, German and American capitalists have offered to furnish barracks to the Spanish, 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 herself has not enough 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 demoralized by epidemics. The Spanish adventure in Morocco thus will achieve a frightful consummation.

The Spanish Moorish 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 leaders 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' cauldron, then will not only the proletarian vanguard, but also the great masses of peasants and petty-bourgeoisie will 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 crushed. Yet, the French are interested 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 delegations 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 Welser, who want to deliver the masses of the Spanish proletariat to the Spanish rank and to the hangman's slavas, will be prevented by the German proletariat from getting the million pesetas blood-money that they expect.

ECONOMICS

Econmic 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 hard to give any conscious proof of the soundness of its arguments and prophecies. For it is obvious what are the motives behind this exaggeration of the bourgeois. It wishes to avoid the payment of reparations initially and desirous of the German people, but 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 non-reparation to win the German people over to a consideration of the sincerity of reparations are in favor of a lenient policy toward Germany. At the same time this hawling is intended to support the demands of the industrials for denationalization of the railways, increased exploitation of labour, etc.

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 the imperialists, who doubtless realize the importance of the bourgeoisie and those elements which profit by it in 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, it was a slave state. After the victory of European "Culture", the Indian people are submitting to a general occurrence which recurs much more often than before. The war, which cut India's economic relation with the capital, opened the way for the native capitalist and rapacious 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 Oriental nations has pushed the masses into the fight for their liberation. The most noteworthy feature of this new national movement is its genuine character 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 unanimously demand, however, the "Swadai"—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 economic purposes. In 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 crushed, 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 council-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 same native "moderate" liberals, most of whom are government officials. These confine their demands to autonomy for the individual provinces.

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

The attitude of English circles can best be judged by the following excerpt from the "Civil and Military Gazette" of the 27th of August: "The Moplahs' uprising should be a timely warning to Ghandi. Do not play with fire!" This is true that it 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, but weak. 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.
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 Ministry's great plan of 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 fluctuation of foreign exchange is the ground from which 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 a based on the fact that the falling foreign exchange continually brings the price of labour under its true value. These metal-workers are fighting a strike there has probably been. The enterprises are trying to counteract that in a very conscious manner. It may be that they can only be untiring enthusiasm. There are almost fabulous profits. 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 prices with those of a year ago. The mark has been largely depreciated in order 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 prices with those of a year ago. The mark has been largely depreciated in order to do away with the eight-hour day which interferes with their exploitation of the situation to the limit.

The situation of the workers on the other hand is desperate, as the rising prices have upset all calculations. 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 fight of 500,000 metal workers in the Düsseldorf district. Their demands were rejected. If the workers and the unions had failed to accept the award, there is no doubt that the strike would have become another example of the increasing 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. The 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 uniting energy and self-sacrifice. This only can be attained if the workers are not only strike-breakers. This policy has as its obvious aim the equalization of the strike and the consequent defeat of the Düsseldorf strikers. Through the constant depreciation of the mark, the employers are enabled to pay the workers in mark less than the market value of the mark. This is to the benefit of stockholders and stock-tables, which must not be taken into consideration.

The workers' organization meets this policy with all the forces at their command. The Düsseldorf strike has been sanctioned by all the trade-unions—free, christian, and Hirsch-Dukner. But the whole leading trade-union body has already tried to obtain from the ministry a declaration that the arbitration award is binding on the workers. 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 it? Because they fear the collapse of the strike and desire to save their souls. Thus they practically assist a fight against their own working class. But not only are they afraid of 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 would not agree to such a development. The employers are trying to counteract that in a very conscious manner. It may be that they can only be untiring enthusiasm. The employers are trying to counteract that in a very conscious manner. It may be that they can only be untiring enthusiasm. The employers are trying to counteract that in a very conscious manner.

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 to rush through the new taxation program. 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 to rush through the new taxation program.
to leave the party and establish a new wing which called itself the "Indian Socialist Democratic Party", which is without any influence. The masses of the Indian revolutionaries under the leadership of Sreeveet 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 India. Even though they were passive, were 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 upon the lower classes in existence, which was called "Sarakat Islam", and included only Mahomedans.

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 "Sarakat Islam" was completely changed, and placed on a Communist basis. Soviets were recognized, and parliaments repudiated, although they continue to exist, they are treated like cattle by the ruling class. The task is different. A totally backward population treated with such a flag as the government which is constantly working to destroy the Communist movement, by employing the same institutions. They have not succeeded, however, in discrediting us with the masses.

On the 19th of June 1920, eighteen trade-unions were represented at a conference, and it was decided to name the central labor organization — "The Revolutionary Central Union". The president of this "Revolutionary Central Union", is comrade Smaaen, who is the leader of our party, the president of the railroad-union of the East Indies, and at the same time, of Saraket Islam. The frequent persecutions, arrests and exile with which the government hopes to overthrow the Communist movement, only increase our influence with the population. That is self-understood. In Europe, people have been arrested and 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 division of the classes is even less. The masses are not working for the development of the working class, but for 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 1,000 percent of the population lays the foundation for capitalism as the basis for its existence. Through our fighting organization we will create the possibility of combating these conditions. Although as already said, we revolutionized "Sarakat 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 organization, 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 strikers. The fact that the workers of the East Indies have never been able to take union 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 tremendous profits will not last for long; for the world crisis will also reach the East Indies and that such occurrences as wage reductions and various other attempts to annul the conquistades of the working-class will also take place here. Then the already existing class differences will become still more sharpened. It is not only 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 press campaigns of the Communist Party in the East Isles 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 is of great importance to intensify the revolutionary movement in these countries with greater care.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Unity Convention of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

by Bohumil Smeral.

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

In Czechoslovakia there live about 5,000,000 Czechoslovaks, 3,500,000 Germans, not quite a million Magyars and several thousand Ukrainians. The territory which this party comprises is the scene of the three most momentous international conflicts. The world war which decided the victory or defeat of some of the national groups, has set the national ideology aslaw. The setting of relations after the world war has not in the least diminished this glorification of national ideology in the masses. The Germans and Hungarians are subject to the national feeling because they suddenly found themselves overnight subject instead of ruling races. The Czechs are subject to the national feeling because they suddenly lost overnight their newly won independence.

Under such conditions the Communist movement in Czechoslovakia assumed a mode of development different from that in other countries. This is no place to describe the method by which this development was accomplished. It will suffice to point out that the main obstacle to the masses is a systematic course of instruction without any exaggerated pressure, by constantly arousing their attention and educating them, to lead them through experience and fact in such a tempo that the masses will perceive the masses will be able 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 Czechoslovak 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 were characterized by different national slogans, ideas of national unity, national and class unity, and of national solidarity.

This united, international party is now established and its unity is not only formal, but real. Every national distinction has vanished. The organization of the international is not to 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 prove the fact that we succeeded in transforming the Communist Party into an actual mass-party. I wish to avoid every exaggeration. I shall therefore name a figure which is one third less than the one employed domestically. I take into consideration the irregularity in the payment of dues, as affecting the number of goodstanding members, and I leave out all members who do not fulfil their duties precisely. But even with this reduced figure, the number of members in the Czechoslovak Communist Party amounts to 205,000. During Communist 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 party, which is not only in theory, but also in practice, united and connected by comrades all over the world, in 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 Czechoslovak, 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 occasions may be the place here and there in our common life, which will not at once be understood by the comrades in the onelanguage countries.
It is possible that life and practical necessities may in the transition period create definite auxiliary organs which were not previously employed. It will be seen, however, whether this happens, 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 exceptionalism; the introduction of a broad basis. The somewhat

incomprehensible elements I misunderstood would be dispelled.

This is a radical point of view. This change took place not after we an also received reproached before the Moscow Congress. Comrade Dobuovolus recommended guarantees for it. Among other things, this was effected by prejudices and bitternesses. This happens to 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 Dzuvor as directing editor 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 Dzuovolus represented a position to the left.

That was 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, when one 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 can sometimes damage 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 Skala. Our delegate to Moscow, who returned just before the party congress took place. He was reproached by certain speakers, also by comrade Geniar, for some sort of "secret" manipulation with the letter that he had received from the Executive, dealing with the organization of the newspaper. I had the opportunity of expressing my personal conviction that the criticism against comrade Skala grew out of a mutual misunderstanding, which possibility was later admitted by comrade Neurath, speaker of the organization committee who closed the Congress with an important report on the matter. This matter, while it is not an unimportant one, should be 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 in the party are fighting upon the common ground of the Third International's decision. We are in the midst of an important struggle in the labor unions. On the 22nd of January a general trade-union congress will take place. It is necessary for the foreign comrades consider our positions in this fight and to support us. 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 we have proceeded to from the party, the foreign comrades should have been 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 Czechoslovakian Commissar at the present representative Mортов, 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 current social and political struggles which are stirring things. 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 1903. Already it realizes that it will have to see the Restorers and the Mercenaries, represented by 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 camp on the Gallipoli Peninsula within range of the guns of the Allies' cruisers. The White press can no longer hide up the complaints and protests of the former officers who have fallen under the yoke of General Kentoep, governor of the camp, and of his court-martials quite according to the mode of the "ancien régime" conceived by embittered executioners over whom there is no moderating control. Wrangel's assistant showered 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 "Positivische-Nbhowosi" (Latest News), Milukov's organ, publishes in Paris a letter from Wrangel to his brother, Russian officers, veterans of all the counter-revolutionary campaigns, against the usurpation of power by General Wrangel, the tyranny and excesses of his lieutenants Chatlov and Kentoep and the terror which is being inflicted on the people in the whole of Czecho-Slovakia. 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 Siaschev, 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 recognized the irreparable failure of the Russian Counter-Revolution in their country, and do not want to submit to 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. But these officers of the former commissary corps of the Whites are being handled by the Extraordinary Commission . . .

General Siaschev'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 dangerous among these officers are those who have been shown by the French Police who have started various investigations in this connection. (Doubtless Siaschev 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
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 promised a counterpart to the Washington Conference. The German pacificist organizations—including the "League of religious Socialists"—greeted the conference "with great satisfaction", and prescribe its line of action. The Berlin Trade-Union Commission, in accord with various societies of intellectual pacifists, 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 militarists. 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 purée up one's mouth; one also has to whistle. It is not sufficient to formulate paper resolutions for a general strike. Such resolutions have to be made for a general strike the moment an imperialist war breaks out, by means of revolutionary propaganda and agitation which is to be carried on day in day out, and which is to rouse in the highest quantum of masses. 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—by the bloody civil war and the revolutionary development.

The gentlemen are ill chosen to prepare and lead a case of such a monstrous action! The gentlemen have started the "disarmament Conference", 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 governments 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 ignorant 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 angel conscious of the fact that he has still a soul.

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 the enormous pacificist and militarist "League of nations" 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, in honor of the opening of the 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.

There are the antecedents of the Amsterdam "disarmament" conference. The men who are working together with the imperialist bourgeoisie day in and day out, and who are cooperating with them in the disarmament fraud, are complaining that they are not being admitted to the serious business conference of the imperialist powers—for that is what the Washington Conference is, and nothing more! and play the insult 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, ousted reformers, traitors with the imperialist bourgeoisie men who hinder and sabotage the revolutionary struggle every day, men who seek to restrain its surging and who are working energetically for its suppression.

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 runners 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 the bourgeoisie and for the imperialist governments and none of their representatives, once again the traitor Jouhaux also wants to play an historical part. He has started 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, in honor of the opening of the 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.

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 Jilava Fortress, which is 5 or 6 kilometers distant from Bucharest, and comprise...
only the period between Sept. 1, 1920 and Sept. 1, 1921. During this year, 333 political criminals, i.e., Communists and Socialists were sentenced. 30 to 36 months were given for 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 the 23rd of August. The prisoners have been more or less regularly visited by their families. As to the management of these establishments, the following considerations are of importance: The government newspaper "Indreptarea" and "Universal".

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 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?" and "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 such thing as a hospital in Roumania.

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, was that of B. G. Bujor. We do not mention the hundreds of those imprisoned and thousands of those arrested, who are still languishing in the prisons and salt-mines of Oucule-Mara, Doflanta, Stenichani and other places in Bessarabia, Dobrudjana 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 the prisoners who are in the prisons near Bucharest; among these are the delegates to the May 21. 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 not take place without the presence of the press which promise has 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 Varghese prison on the 22nd 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 consider these our political views to be false. The capitalist expression of life 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 100 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 are not at all surprised to learn that no trial will be held. Upon these grounds M. Comissioner, 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 readers of the Romanian social-patriotic press. For the benefit of our friends in the foreign press, 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 Doflanta. His guilt (7) consists of the following: he, together with others, was with a group of workers who were 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 Leonhardt for which we have to serve 4 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 be conditions in the future, if the social-patriotic press, the=head of the Erewmanian press, the government's "irredeemable" press, the "universal" press, the newspapers and periodicals are to be the mouthpiece of the government. In 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 these 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 children, the lack of redress, the liberty of the living and the freedom 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 the dogs' cells. It is true that this has been written 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 fate of the 130 brave and determined workers who 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.

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 understood, and wanted to understand—class-justice and its details 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.

Ah,然而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, their struggle, their hunger, their sad and horrible sufferings. 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 infinity!