

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2. No. 17

3<sup>rd</sup> March 1922

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III  
for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

## POLITICS

### Poincaré and the Soviets.

by Charles Rappoport (Paris).

\*\* It is the unfailling custom among bourgeois politicians to renounce their program when they assume power. A radical minister does not mean a minister who is really radical. A Socialist cabinet minister is not a cabinet minister who practises Socialism. Even the moderates renounce their moderation. Having come into power with the cooperation of the moderates, they attempt to maintain their position by wheedling the opposition. It is to be hoped therefore, that Poincaré in power, will also renounce his foolish policy of opposition.

He is nothing. Poincaré is a fool and a deceiver. Or, to be more exact, he incarnates the capitalist policy of foolishness and knavery. His incurable hatred of Germany caused him, for a brief moment, to be just and sensible toward Soviet Russia. By accident he wrote a few reasonable sentences on the Russian revolution. And this was so unexpected, that one could believe that an awakening of good sense, which is justly considered the dominant trait of the French people, had been visited upon him. Recently the official organ of the French Foreign Office, the "Temps", published an article which created a sensation. After four years of deliberation and observation, the "Temps" has discovered for the first time that the Soviets exist and that they represent Russia. This is an unprecedented concession on the part of the "Temps". It even had the audacity to declare that sooner or later it will be necessary to give to new Russia the official authorization to live, of course upon payment of a large indemnity.

But one does not know Poincaré if one believes that he is capable of persisting in any good plan. The old President of the Republic, whom the people have baptized "Poincaré-la-Guerre", is not a soul absolutely barred to every new idea. He is a man who reflects and hesitates. Sometimes he opens a little the window overlooking the outside world, only to close it quickly in horror; he is so frightened by new ideas, although not of their own accord, for finds them quite reasonable and sometimes attractive. But, with perfect and prudent reason he perceives that these ideas are deadly to his career. M. Poincaré knows that in order to come into power supported by the small French property holder, it is not necessary to have many ideas, but fixed ideas, invariable like the 3% of the perpetual government *rente*. And it is necessary to pursue them patiently and systematically.

Before the war, Poincaré's *idée fixe* was the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. As long as small business feared the war, Poincaré, himself in the background, waited and was patient. But when the soil was well prepared by the Franco-Russian alliance, by the Entente Cordiale, by the cockade nationalism of the ex-Socialist Millerand, he had the audacity to force Russia secretly into a policy of war, in order to have a powerful hand and to be able to say, "You see, I did not want that; we are attacked".

M. Poincaré is a deceiver; and here is one of the many proofs. While preparing for his presidential election—as President of the Republic he could without any danger prepare for a war of revenge in secret—he invited to his home one day, a German professor, M. Ludwig Stein, who as director of a large international review, had access to the court of Wilhelm and above all was a frequent guest at the Chancellor's. He addressed him

in a vein which could not be more pacifistic. He tried to convince him that his presidency signified lasting peace and perfect harmony with Germany.

He did more. During the Balkan war of 1913, he collaborated with Germany to preserve peace; the best proof, parenthetically, that the capitalist states can preserve peace if they wish it, that is, if it is in their interest to wish it. But having attained the supreme honor, of which he had dreamt since his entrance into political life, the Presidency of the Republic, M. Poincaré immediately changed his tactics. He appointed Delcassé ambassador to Petrograd and allied himself with the bandit Isvolsky. That was war.

Therefore I advise our Russian friends to have no confidence in Poincaré. Even if he seemingly makes concessions to them, he is partly in league with reaction and with the Bloc National. And he will live and die with them. It is useless to talk reason and good sense. He sees them sometimes, but he realizes that they are not the means of getting anywhere, and he turns his back on them. *Meliora video, deteriora sequor*. He sees the good but pursues evil, slave as he is of his petty bourgeois career; the nationalistic folly!

Poincaré's *idée fixe* after the war, is another foolishness: "Germany shall pay!" M. Poincaré knows how to count. He knows that there is nothing to take from a box which is absolutely empty. But he also knows very well that if France's fortune cannot be made with "Germany shall pay!"—he can very easily make his own fortune. And he holds that uppermost.

M. Poincaré is a well-known business men's lawyer. He has a dossier instead of a heart. And he argues that victorious France has "a right" over vanquished Germany. Being a headstrong lawyer, he will ruin France to win his case. He has nothing to fear: his retainers are paid in advance.

But outside of Poincaré, there is France. The French commercial world is beginning to get anxious about the business stagnation, which shows no sign of revival. And, as everywhere else, the capitalist will have the last word.

The working-class, too, before long will have enough of paying with their last sous, taken from wages which are decreased each day, for the election expenses of the Bloc National, which is even more stupid and deceitful than Poincaré himself.

Thus the Soviets have powerful auxiliaries in France. The politicians are irreconcilable. No diplomatic trick will reconcile French reaction with the Russian revolution. That will kill everything. Soviet Russia has only to make an appeal, unceasingly, to the real interests of France, and she will certainly strengthen her cause. Forced by public opinion, Poincaré will finally comprehend that the interest of his political career demands a change of attitude. And if he hesitates before the immediate interests of France, he will not hesitate when his own interests are in question. "To see and to say all that is", that is the only diplomatic principle of the Revolution.

### English Petroleum, French Diplomacy and American Imperialism.

by S. Briquet (Moscow).

\*\* Young American imperialism has, a long time ago, ceased to limit itself to the American Continent in its economic and political ambitions. The world war merely confirmed its claims to the hegemony of the world. American imperialism, based upon a powerful and extremely concentrated production,

is disciplined and objective. Thanks to these qualities it has already defeated its European colleagues on many occasions.

Colonial policy is a business, above all. The American business man is interested primarily in saving time and cutting down expenses. After the successive partition and repartition of the world, it is very difficult and it will take a long time to acquire imperialistic markets, i. e., colonies in Asia and Africa. American capital interprets this difficulty in a purely commercial manner. "It is impossible to establish a new undertaking. It is more profitable (as far as the questions of time and expenses are concerned) to acquire a running commercial establishment of good reputation, to increase its capital considerably and also to enhance the good name of the old firm."

A suitable firm was found in France. From that moment, the rapid penetration of American capitalism into the sphere of European imperialism began. This process of penetration has already caused a series of bitter political conflicts in Europe. The last of these, which led to the withdrawal of Briand was recently enacted.

The Franco-Turkish Treaty of October 20, 1921 was very significant in the conflict. The "White Book" recently published by the British Government clarifies a little the circumstances under which the Angora Agreement was concluded. Negotiations between France and Turkey have been going on since the beginning of 1921; until September 1921, however, the French Government asserted that M. Franklin-Bouillon was in Angora only as a private citizen. Only one month later the treaty in its final draft was undersigned. Curzon demanded of France in his note of November 5th that the concluded treaty be annulled. He maintained that it contained a number of secret points which were directed against English interests. Curzon cited as examples a large war loan to Turkey which reinforced the equipment of the Turkish Army with French weapons and the obligation to instigate an uprising in Mesopotamia against British rule. The French government denies the existence of these secret points. Nevertheless, England obstinately demands that the Angora Agreement be renounced and is ready to enter into an open conflict if necessary.

The reason for England's obstinacy naturally does not lie in the fact that France has gained from the Angora Agreement a few advantages, which after all, as far as can be judged from the official text of the agreement, are very shadowy. England was victorious in its political and economic war with France in Asia Minor. The tendency to remove France from its positions in Asia Minor has been made very apparent in the last few years. The evacuation of Cilicia is by no means the last link in the chain. However, the opposition of interests between England and France in the Orient question will become especially acute and irreconcilable only in case the third rival, the United States of North America, steps into the fighting arena.

America does not take an open part in the conflict. She confines herself to the recognition of the English mandates concerning Mosul and its petroleum riches. Besides she installed a splendid educational apparatus in Anatolia; and two American torpedo-boats cruise uninterruptedly up and down the length of the Turkish Black Sea coast (Samsun-Tireboli). There is an American tobacco factory in Samsun, but it is self-evident that the American warships do not remain in Turkish waters on account of the factory.

A few notices about economic prospects in Anatolia did appear in the American press. But it is sufficient to call to mind a few figures to demonstrate the insignificance of America's commercial interests in Anatolia. The American exports to Anatolia and the resulting exports to America only amounted to 95,000,000 gold piasters in the record year of 1913-1914. This foreign trade has at present fallen considerably. If we closely examine the figure of 95,000,000 gold piasters, i. e., \$4,500,000 it becomes perfectly clear that this foreign trade is not the reason for the particular power of attraction that Asia Minor holds for America.

The extraordinary abundance of American petroleum falls heavily on the Anatolian market. The petroleum imports exceed the local demand. The equipment (oil reservoirs, auto transportation, etc.) is built for a much greater trade. The petroleum is sent inland from the Black Sea harbors by two roads, one over Angora and the other over Konia and Diarbekir. A number of branches of the oil company along the whole length of the northern border of Mesopotamia distributes the petroleum. A considerable number of American charitable institutions are to be found in this area (Marasch, Ufra, Bitlis, Einab, Mardin, etc.). All this represents the educational department of American capital which conceals its great interest in English petroleum by the extensive import of American petroleum.

However, this game of hide and seek deceives no one. Djelal-ed-din Aref Bey, the former delegate of Anatolia in Paris,

declared in a interview with journalists that the non-recognition of the Anglo-French agreements concerning the Mosul petroleum fields was the best proof that the latter was the power of attraction for the Americans and for American capital. He said, "I am convinced that at the end, America will compel England and France to consider her interests, and England is forced, in the solution of such important economic problems, to obey America" ("Chiljal" of Nov. 21, 1921).

This declaration leads us behind the scenes of the Franco-Turkish Agreement. We have already pointed out that the official text of the treaty did not grant France any particularly important advantages, for whose sake she would determine to break openly with England. The obstinacy with which France refuses to grant England's demands for the annulment of treaty, shows that the Quai d'Orsay is ready for this break with England. All of which shows that *certain parts of the Franco-Turkish Treaty have not been published*. These secret provisions are directed either against Russia (the Caucasus) or against Mesopotamia. The former is less probable considering the friendly co-operation of the Russian Soviet government with the Turkish National Assembly. If, however, France had signed in Angora a secret agreement against Russia, such an agreement would hardly have called forth so vehement an attack from London. England is concerned with English interests, first and foremost. France has apparently conspired against London in Angora; the secret points therefore concern Mesopotamian petroleum. Mesopotamian petroleum, however, lies a great distance away, but the break with England is inevitable. What real advantage are forcing France to play this risky game? What power will France fall back on in case of an inevitable conflict with England? It is self-evident that in this case France is not playing the game alone. The stakes are very high and must promise even higher and very alluring profits. Not only French diplomats, but also the leaders of the Standard Oil, know fully well what profits are at stake. The fact that American experts on oil well boring have been in Angora since the beginning of the negotiations shows that France is merely a branch of American capitalism.

In a number of cases France was known to be the agent of American "expansion". We see an example of this, for example in China where this same Standard Oil Company is working under the mask of French finance capital. The same play is repeated in Upper Silesia and even in the Near East.

France willingly leases her imperialistic apparatus to America. She hopes to bind herself with the powerful finance groups of the United States through this amalgamation of economic interests, and in this way to draw America into the circle of the political and economic ambitions. The secret section of the Franco-Turkish Treaty should be the corner-stone of this artistic diplomatic building. Only when we view the situation from this standpoint, can we understand the obstinacy of the English and the energy of the French.

Recent events fully confirm this opinion. The Cannes Conference was to bridge over the Anglo-French differences and to liberate Mesopotamian petroleum from the really threatening American danger. To attain this result, England had decided to make the maximum concessions—the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty. "The whole treaty is the price which England is ready to pay France for its agreement with England on the Near East question". (Manchester Guardian of Jan. 2nd.)

In the course of the Cannes Conference, England upon several occasions made the imperative demand that the Angora agreement be revised. France constantly offered strenuous opposition to this demand, at least during the open sittings of the Conference. As late as the 10th of January, the correspondent of the "New York Herald" reported that the French were quite ready to accede to England's demands concerning the submarines and the reduction of the army, but that they would not accept the revision of the Angora Agreement as a condition for the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty. It appears that behind the scenes, lively bargaining took place about the price for France's renunciation of the Angora Agreement. It is unknown at what price the agreement between Lloyd George and Briand was bought. The declaration about the impending convocation of a conference in Paris in the Orient question, and Briand's communication on the Genoa statement of the English Prime Minister, show that everything is already prepared, behind the scenes. The "Temps" of January 12th also conjectured that a secret agreement about Turkey was concluded between Lloyd George and Briand in Cannes.

The remaining events passed by very quickly. They are very characteristic. It is unknown which group of the Bloc National, this citadel of the French finance bourgeoisie, effected the withdrawal of Briand and the annulment of the agreement of

Cannes. This fact only is important, that the official duet of the two Prime Ministers, so well prepared behind the scenes, cannot take place because of Briand's resignation, and the Orient Conference which should have been held in Paris has been postponed to the indefinite future. After the withdrawal of Briand, the Cannes Conference decided to act according to the resolutions decided upon earlier. Consequently all the countries with the exception of Turkey were invited to Genoa. England paid dearly enough for this drastic change of Briand's in the French Near East policy.

Briand's successor, Poincaré, nullified all the statements of Briand on the Turkish question. The capitalistic groups which supported Briand attached special weight to the advantages arising from the treaty with England. For the clique which supports Poincaré the alliance with "American democracy", i. e., the Standard Oil Company is, on the contrary, of great value. The Washington government responded to the sympathetic attitude of Poincaré and Co. by giving the latter very hearty support. In this connection it is interesting to note Sid's article in the "Times", according to which only the pressure the American government exerted upon the press, prevented a severe storm of indignation of American public opinion against France's chauvinistic policy as manifested in her attempt to obstruct the Cannes Conference.

In the future there will probably be an intensification of the Anglo-French conflict, the results of which cannot as yet be foreseen. France and her American master, who have been united through the Angora secret, will probably resort to every way and means to sabotage the Genoa Conference, which is to give England commercial freedom in Asia Minor and secure her supremacy in Europe.

The quarrel over the booty stolen from Turkey will continue to convulse the world until the proletarian revolution will throw off the imperialistic yoke and set free the oppressed nations of the Orient. Current history shows the Turkish working masses very clearly that Soviet Russia is the only true friend of Turkey.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Lesson of Two General Strikes.

by Eugen Paul (Prague).

\*\* Of the two general strikes which commenced almost at the same time and which ran a curiously parallel course from the very start, one—the German railroad strike—succumbed in perfect conformance with all the rules and regulations of trade-union bureaucratic double-dealing. This was a hard blow to the striking miners of Czecho-Slovakia. For, aside from the moral effects of the defeated German strike, the railroads and the other industries of Czecho-Slovakia may thereby be able to draw the necessary coal-supply from Germany, thus rendering the isolated Czecho-Slovakian miners' strike, still more ineffectual. Despite the indisputable encouragement which the exploiter-class received as a result of the abruptly ended railroad strike in Germany, the Czecho-Slovakian miners' strike could be won *only if* the miners themselves and the rest of the proletariat did not hesitate or refuse *fearlessly to learn* from the broken German strike, and to force their leaders to take another road than the one followed by the German trade-union leaders. The German railway-strike was broken off at a moment when the overwhelming majority of the Berlin proletariat was determined to declare a general strike, whereby a *national general strike* was dangerously near. The Federal government, which originally refused to enter into any negotiations with the striking National Union of German Railway Officials (*Reichsgewerkschaft*), yielded a bit at the moment when the nation-wide general strike was on the threshold, and concluded "peace" with the *Reichsgewerkschaft*, or rather with its leaders. *The ghostly fear of a nation-wide general strike with which the trade-union leaders and the government were equally seized was the primary cause of that peace, which could only be a peace between trade-union leaders and Government, and only a betrayal of railway officials and workers, because the interests of the officials and workers can only be protected in an open and honest fight.*

But whether they succeed in crawling along another few weeks in Germany, or whether the flames suppressed in Berlin, will soon flare up in other parts of the *Reich*—one thing, however, has been clearly and unmistakably shown us by the manner in which the strike was nipped, namely, that even in the face of a threatening nation-wide general-strike, the German government was willing to yield only such small concessions as would hardly relieve the striking railwaymen. With this bit of "yielding" as a premise, we can with some logic draw a conclusion as to

what would inevitably have happened if the trade-union leaders had taken advantage of the threatening general strike and had used it not as a basis for its surrender to the government but as a *still stronger means of representing* the interests of the striking railway-officials, with which task they had been entrusted. Had the trade-union leaders only assumed the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat of Berlin, instead of betraying it so ignominiously, the government would soon have shown itself more yielding, indeed it might even have seen no other way out than to make *actual* concessions to the railway-workers and officials. The striking miners and all other workers of Czecho-Slovakia should not have lost sight of these simple truths, and should have *forced* their leaders to call a *national general strike at once* and to employ the *whole* power of the proletariat, instead of dulling the striking and non-striking workers into "peace and prudence". Instead of unhesitatingly performing the safety-work in the mines, thus insuring the mine-owner and his mine against any loss or danger, they should have organized mass-demonstrations and *shown* the mine owner in an unmistakable manner that the "losses" they incur in their mines can be "cured" through means other than the increased impoverishment of the miners. In thousands of mass-meetings the demand for the *immediate expropriation* of the mines should have been voiced, thus making it clear to the exploiters that the moment the workers "mean business", the presumptive "right" of the mine-owners to the mines crumbles like rotten tinder.

The workers of Czecho-Slovakia were not yet in a position to free themselves from the influence of their trade-union leaders to the extent of carrying out actions against the latter's will. It seems as if the workers of Czecho-Slovakia must *themselves go through bloody experiences* before they acquire that bit of knowledge which the *Berlin proletariat* already possesses.

### The Finishing Stroke On the split within the French Trade Union Movement.

by J. Horten.

\*\* From February 14th to 16th there sat in Paris the National Council of the old C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) of Jouhaux, Merrheim and Dumoulin. As this session sounded the death-knell of the unity of the French trade-union movement, it is of international importance and as such well within the range of matters deserving of special attention.

Ever since December the Amsterdam leaders of the C.G.T. had industriously widened the split within the organization. Wherever a district sided with the revolutionary C.G.T., Jouhaux' and Dumoulin's agents promptly formed new trade-unions which, however, (and there can be no doubt on that score), were at no time anything but mere skeletons of trade-union organizations. Jouhaux, did not care a fig for this, and thus, in the course of one month succeeded, after the fashion outlined above, in rebuilding 27 districts. And as the vacillating trade-union organizations were not admitted to the session of the National Council, there was in Paris a decisive majority who listened willingly to all their leaders had to say. The survey of the history of the split, as rendered by Jouhaux, was without discussion approved of by the members of the National Council, although this survey was of course doctored to suit the ends of the splitters. According to Jouhaux, the split was the result of the sinister doings of the Moscow crowd, and the revolutionary opposition was responsible for it. The majority (so Jouhaux said) had done everything to preserve unity.

Jouhaux was assisted by Merrheim who, having recently returned from Austria and Germany, applied the method the S.P. of Germany is so enamored of—that of unearthing Moscow plots, so-called. With material collected from Dissmann (leader of the German Metal Workers Union) and from French counterparts of Paul Levi, Merrheim proved "conclusively" that in France as well as in Germany Moscow is endeavoring, by means of all kinds of tricks, to control the trade-union movement in order to prepare the world revolution. And when Moscow today speaks of a united front, it is nothing but more hypocrisy and falshood, and a fresh attempt at manœuvring the trade-unions into dependence on Moscow.

In this fashion two prominent leaders of the French C.G.T. depicted the conflict of opinion in the trade-union movement both in France and throughout the world. They calmly assured their adherents that Moscow attempts to control the French trade-union movement, that alien forces strive to use French labor for their own sinister purposes. And this the two did at a moment when, before the Congress they had to answer to the charge that in Vienna, Geneva, Amsterdam, Paris and Rome they had conspired with the bourgeoisie behind closed doors. In Vienna, Merrheim had made the metal-workers move

a resolution demanding that the Amsterdam trade-union movement be admitted to the Genoa Conference. In Geneva and Amsterdam, Jouhaux together with his Amsterdam colleagues had tried very hard for admittance to Genoa as "experts of the International Labor Bureau". Albert Thomas himself made a trip to Rome to win the then Italian Premier Bonomi to exert the influence of his government for the invitation of a delegation from the I.L.B. (the Amsterdam labor leader included) to Genoa. And Dumoulin, finally, has partaken in the conference of the Second and 2½ Internationals with a view of (as he said making sure of the assistance of both bodies.

And all these things are to be mere nothings? According to Jouhaux' declaration before the National Council, the action of the Executive of the I.L.B. for participation in the Genoa Conference, and the action of the Amsterdam International in convening a parallel conference which is to exert a greater influence upon the deliberations of its neighbor, are "two totally different things!" And although Jouhaux, Oudegeest, Paulton and Torberg are members both of the I.L.B. and the Executive of the Amsterdam International, there can, in Jouhaux' opinion, be no question of collaboration between the two.

It is difficult indeed to imagine baser hypocrisy than was manifested by the leaders of the old C.G.T. in Paris!

But the end justifies the means. The Amsterdamers reject at all costs unity with the revolutionary opposition, which, for its part, declared its readiness to dissolve as soon as the leaders of the old C.G.T. has accepted the following two conditions: cessations of the policy of expulsions, calling of an extraordinary congress of the Federation, the agenda of this congress to be: unity of the trade-union movement. At the Paris session the reformist leaders repeatedly and in all keys told their followers that in their opinion an extraordinary congress with the opposition was neither advisable, possible, nor desirable. And thus a resolution sanctioning the split was finally adopted with 88 votes "and 7 non-voting". The split which, the resolution solemnly declares, "had been realized in all organizational units" was the outcome of "an attempt on the part of a political party to interfere with the labor movement" and the consequent resultant necessity for the reformist C.G.T. to adopt new statutes, to be a safeguard against a "repetition of similar endeavors to destroy unity". A new congress is also announced in this resolution. Only those trade-unions will be admitted to it which have earned the approval of the leaders, even if this involves destruction of their federation. Simultaneously the National Council issued the new program of the C.G.T. which is nothing if not reformist, the C.G.T. pledging itself to center all propaganda and action upon the realizing of the reforms desired by labor. And among these reforms mention is made of opposition to the tax on wages which the reformist leaders have already accepted under the condition that it is to be applied within reasonable limits.

"Is the split between the Syndicalist who have remained faithful to the old C.G.T. and the extremist followers of Moscow final? It appears that the decision adopted yesterday by the National Council puts an end to the doubtful situation prevailing since the infamous Vienna Congress", said the "Temps", the organ of the upper bourgeoisie. And it continued with hardly suppressed triumph, that apparently the reformists had after all mustered the courage to cut the cloth between them and the followers of Moscow. The "Temps" then went on to explain to the humble servants of the bourgeoisie that the independence of the trade-unions would cease as soon as the latter left the trade-unionist field and allied themselves with Socialist or Communist parties with a view of launching revolutionary actions.

This quotation will suffice to enable one to grasp the historic significance of what was finished on February 15th. On that day Jouhaux, Merrheim and Dumoulin gave the unity of the French trade union movement the miserable in order to oppose on behalf of the bourgeoisie the steady progress of revolutionization going on within the French trade-unions. It is the duty of our comrades to take care that that progress does not come to a standstill and that the wound in the body of French Labor be healed soon.

## The Labor and Trade Union Movement in Chile.

by R. J. Mittelbur.

Public attention is centered on the economic crisis and unemployment. The number of unemployed in the nitrate fields is very big. The state does nothing, however, to assure them subsistence during the crisis. A large part of the unemployed in Santiago is kept in forced detention. Several hundred unemployed who gathered in the suburbs of Santiago intending to hold a meeting were attacked and massacred by the police.

There were dead and wounded on both sides. Chilean reaction, not content with this, made a general attack on all workers' organizations, using the well-known odious violent methods of the Romance countries. Two attempts were made to set the printing plant of "La Federacion Obrera" on fire. After the clash with the unemployed every open meeting was forbidden under the pretence of the necessity "of preventing the spread of the plague". At the same time an attempt was made to put the unemployed of Santiago out of the way by sending them South in small groups; here they were left to their fate. The land-owners refused to employ them because they were "agitators". According to recent information 400 men are on the way North to find employment in the nitrate fields though that is hardly probable. While, however, the unemployed are thus sunk in poverty and misery, the State full of love for its capitalists is helping them through the crisis; the Nitrate Trust recently received "compensation" of 1,500,000 pesos for its losses during the crisis. At the same time the budget of the small Chilean republic which counts no more than 4,000,000 inhabitants, shows a deficit of 300,000,000. The municipal finances are in no better condition. The railroads demand a state allowance of over 8,000,000 pesos, and the officials and police of Antofagasta have not been receiving their salaries for several months!

The main attack of the employers and the government is led against the *Redondillas* (literally "small circles") of the dockyard workers. They are workers' cooperatives which took over the work from the employers and are connected with labor organizations. Under the pressure of the employers a large number of harbor captains prohibited the work of these *Redondillas* as "unlawful". However, the workers are determined to defend these organizations to the very last. Some years ago they struck for several months for this end. The Socialist deputies took the part of labor in this question and led a lively fight in Parliament for it.

Despite these circumstances the labor and trade-union movement is not standing still. So for instance, during a seven days agitation tour through the coal mines of Lota and Concepcion, the deputy Recabarren collected over 25,000 pesos for the labor press. The periodical of the Socialist Party printed many communications from its members demanding affiliation with the Third International and the Red Trade Union International. The Federation of Magalanes of South Chile which had until now been outside of the Chilean Federation asked for admission to the Congress, which demand was granted.

## THE WAR VETERANS

### To the War Veterans

by Henri Barbusse.

\*\* My dear comrades, my brothers of the war, I have often made appeals to you from far away, and you have always responded. When Raymond Lefebvre, Vaillant-Couturier, Bruyère, and a number of other comrades founded the Republican Association of War Veterans in France, I turned to your distant multitudes and I called upon you to come nearer to us for the realization of a great idea.

This idea was to create an association of war veterans which would in no way resemble the others. The other associations had as their aim, the formulation and consolidation of the material claims of the war-veterans, the mutilated, and the victims of the war, and to elaborate the means and instrumentalities for making the public authorities listen to the voice of those who fought in the war.

Willingly or not, these authorities were bound up with the official authorities whom they needed, on whom they counted, whom they implored and served. It has been our wish to act differently, to place the war-veteran above public charity and government condescension and to show him the best means by which his claims will bear results if they deserve to do so. Thanks to you the cries of need and of discontent of those whom the war had exploited have echoed very far and very loud; the war veteran has become a respectable force in the movement of ideas and of things, and a phalanx has been formed whose work has taken on great and imposing proportions and which is distinct from the well-thinking and obedient associations.

The soldiers of the Republican Association of War Veterans not only believe that for obtaining satisfaction, it was necessary to make their voice heard with menacing dignity. They also considered that their work was complex and extensive and that they did not simply have to take care of themselves: They thought that, in order for the war-veteran to remain or become a man worthy of the name he ought to use dignity which decorates the man has been wounded, crippled, or even the man who has

simply risked his life, in order to fight in the future the very idea of a capitalist war.

At the side of their "corporative" program the war veterans launched upon a general program which consisted in doing everything in order to spare young men of the future from the shameful absurdity of imperialist war. By the force of circumstances this antimilitarist creation was bound little by little to take on an international form. Powerful propaganda, which is so to speak, the specific task of the war veterans, that for which they are best qualified—this mission of anti-militarism and anti-imperialism, tends to spread irresistibly and to become harmonized above the factitious separation between nation and nation.

It is then that as a result of the work of the Republican Association of War Veterans (which has more than once supported the whole of Socialist propaganda), that a new organization was formed—the War Veterans' International.

What was done in one country had to be done in all—to create only one group of material claims and moral and social ideas, out of all the protests, the cries, and appeals that come from the breasts of men who had fought against each other.

In 1920 a first International Congress took place in Geneva, at which there were delegates sent by the associations of war veterans belonging to most of the belligerent nations. In the magnificent sittings of this congress of deliberate fraternization, German soldiers, soldiers from Alsace-Lorraine, French soldiers, English and Italians, shook hands and set down a rule of common propaganda with the purpose of crushing abject militarism more effectively and of frustrating the sophistries and snares of imperialism by means of their union.

The International of War Veterans is thus constituted. It is an enormous instrument for agitation which we have no right to allow to vegetate. We must make an incessant campaign for it, and to give it all its force to permit it to use all its means in order to shake public opinion, to stir it up and throw it brutally against reality of war and armed peace.

As we already made clear even in Vienna, which for the second time united the associations of revolutionary war veterans of the world in vaster numbers and on a larger basis even than in Geneva, the official associations of war veterans were in danger. The moment had arrived when the failure of the promises which had been made to them could no longer be dissimulated. Those who are discontented, who are angry, are coming to us and many of our comrades realize that they have followed the false road and have wasted their time and efforts.

I ask all the war veterans to keep alive more than ever the memory of the war, not to permit it to be thought or said about them that the war veterans are superannuated forces which should in the future be considered with the past, but to range themselves more and more energetically in favor of the cause which seems more and more clear to everybody.

Let all the militants, all those of good will turn to us and enable us to give to the revolutionary influence of the Socialist War Veterans an importance which will at least make it equal to the shameful traditions against which it is born to fight.

The War Veterans' International includes the following organizations:

- Germany (Internationaler Bund and Friedensbund);
- America (World War Veterans and the Rank and File);
- England (National Union of Ex-Service Men);
- Austria (Zentralverband der Kriegsinvaliden, Reichsvereinigung der Kriegsteilnehmer);
- Belgium (Association Internationale des Anciens Combattants Socialistes);
- Bulgaria (Association of Former Prisoners of War, Communist Organization of Invalids);
- Canada (National Union of Ex-Service Men);
- France (Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants, Fédération Ouvrière et Paysanne des Mutilés);
- Italy (Lega Proletaria);
- Czecho-Slovakia (Bund der Kriegsverletzten);
- Jugoslavia (Udruzenie ratni invalida).

The Executive Committee elected by the International Congress of Vienna comprises:

France—Henri Barbusse, P. Nauny, Marianne Rauze, Ch. Brousse;

- Germany—August Flacher, Duderstedt, Karl Tiedt;
- America—W. G. Heidenberg;
- England—Hornsby;
- Austria—Schmid, Brandersz and Anna Sturmer;
- Belgium—Dr. Marteaux;
- Bulgaria—(to be designated).

Address all communications, useful information, and questions to Charles Brousse, 251 Rue St. Denis, Paris, France.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Past and Future of the International Communist Women's Movement.

by Hertha Sturm (Berlin).

\*\* Since the Second International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow, a solid tie binds all sections of the Communist women's movement of the world. The ever more uniform and energetic organization of women's propaganda results in closer and closer connections between the various sections and the International Women's Secretariat. While the latter—besides the work of the Women's Secretariat—has been especially engaged in establishing connections with the countries of the Near and Far East, with the Russian border states as well as with Poland and the Balkans, the Berlin Sub-Bureau had to keep up communications with the Western European countries. The means and results of this activity will be outlined in the following review.

Only very seldom and at special opportunities the Sub-Bureau addressed general circulars to the sections. It rather exchanged opinions and material with this or that country on national problems of special practical importance, thus giving the communications an individual character. The reason for the employ of this method is evident. Only the International Women's Secretariat is authorized to discuss and decide on problems of international importance. In consequence of difficulties of communications between Soviet Russia and the Western countries proposals and decisions of this kind did not arrive in Berlin as often as would have been desirable for a close and vigorous co-operation. In order to carry through the tasks set by the International Women's Conference it was necessary, however, to consider the particular national conditions in every country.

Immediately after the World Congress the International Women's Secretariat addressed a first circular to the Party Executives and women correspondents of all countries clearly summarizing the demands of the International regarding women's propaganda, which are of fundamental importance for a systematic organization of the activities among women. Among these demands the most important were: the setting up of National Women's Secretariats, publication of women's periodicals and women's pages in the Communist daily press, providing of continuous financial support for purposes of women's propaganda. The Party Executives were asked to support by every possible means the realization of these measures and to give a report on the results of this work within three months.

On its own initiative the Berlin Sub-Bureau twice appealed to the Communist women of all countries for participation in the actions and demonstrations of the world proletariat. Two manifestoes were issued dealing with the relief campaign for Soviet Russia. These manifestoes were dispatched to the international Communist Press and to all women correspondents. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the proletarian revolution in Russia a circular was issued containing material and organizational directions on the participation of women in the manifestation. Moreover, an article on the significance of the Russian Revolution with regard to the liberation of women was conveyed to the international press through the "International Press Correspondence" (Vol. I, No. 3).

Of great significance is furthermore a plan for the study of the economic, juridical and social position of working women after the war in all countries of the world which has been elaborated by the Statistical Institute in Moscow in conjunction with the International Women's Secretariat. The Berlin Sub-Bureau communicated this plan to all Sections together with an accompanying explanatory letter.

In close co-operation with the Berlin Sub-Bureau the International Women's Secretariat is now preparing the International Women's Day which is to take place on March 8th. It is endeavoring to make this day an impressive manifestation of the proletarian women struggling for their emancipation.

"The Communist Women's International", edited by Clara Zetkin on behalf of the E.C. of the Communist International and of the International Women's Secretariat in Moscow, contains information on the Communist Women's Movement and on important political, economic and organizational problems concerning it. This international organ, however, is until now only published in German and the material contained therein can only be utilized by a few countries. With regard to this fact we consider it necessary to publish regularly the most important articles in the "International Press Correspondence" and thus to convey them to the international Communist press. Moreover the Sub-Bureau itself is translating part of the material and sending it to the various countries.

Another important task has been begun by the Berlin Sub-Bureau: the publication and distribution of Communist booklets for agitation among the masses of politically indifferent proletarian women. In countries with very few trained agitators this task meets with great difficulties. In order to overcome them the entire women's propaganda material which has been published until now by the National Women's Secretariat of the Communist Party of Germany, has been sent to the various sections for information and utilisation. Furthermore, the organ of the Communist Party of Germany for women's agitation "The Communist Woman" is regularly dispatched to all sections which are in connection with the Sub-Bureau. On the other hand the Berlin Sub-Bureau receives more or less regularly all women's periodicals and women's pages as well as all pamphlets on women's problems from the various countries. The Sub-Bureau has also commenced to organize an exchange of this material between the Sections which, however, has not yet been completely accomplished. By exchanging articles and reports on the women's movement which are of international interest, the character and the methods of women's propaganda will become more uniform, and experiences, successes and plans of every country can be utilized on an international scale.

The Sub-Bureau furthermore considered the idea of translating pamphlets of international significance into the most important languages, and of publishing booklets for countries with the same language (Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland; France, Belgium, Switzerland). The first attempt in this direction was made by the booklet "Working and Peasant Women in Soviet Russia" by Alexandra Kollontay, which is now issued by a German publishing house. For translation into other languages two pamphlets were chosen which have already been published in German and which are especially suited for agitation for the Russian Relief Action: "The Working Woman in Soviet Russia" (illustrated text) as well as "Soviet Russia and Her Children". The simple descriptions of revolutionary ideas and inspirations as well their rich illustration of these booklets have met with great sympathy among the German proletarian women.

On the organizational state of the Communist Women's Movement in the various countries the following may be reported:

The Berlin Sub-Bureau is lacking information on *America, Australia* and on the following Western European countries: *Jugoslavia, Roumania, Spain* (where the Communist Party is working underground), *Portugal* and *Luxemburg*. Material and reports on Hungary were provided by an Hungarian woman comrade who is working in Moscow. Though we have received no reports from Bulgaria since the International Women's Conference, we realize from the Bulgarian women's organ "*Ravenstvo*" (Equality) that our comrades there are doing active and successful work. The other Western European countries are all in communication with the Berlin Sub-Bureau. Some of them are even reporting regularly and in detail.

*National centers for women's propaganda* (women's secretariats or women's committees) exist in the following countries: Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, France, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland. In Italy, where heretofore only some district committees were in existence (Turin, Milan), the Party is at present organising a National Women's Secretariat in the new headquarters of the Party in Rome. *Secretaries for women's propaganda paid by the Party* are employed in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and France.

In Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria (?) France and Holland the *responsible directors of women's propaganda are members of the Party Executive* with deliberative and in some countries even with decisive voice.

In Belgium, Great Britain and Italy (where the formation of a national committee is only a question of time) the *Party Executives have charged certain comrades with the task of organizing the women's propaganda*. In Denmark Comrade Marie Nielsen has been appointed president of the Relief Committee for Soviet Russia. We hope that this fact will have a good influence on the propaganda among the Danish women.

*Communist women's magazine* are being published in Germany ("Die Kommunistin" — The Communist Woman), Czecho-Slovakia ("Die Kommunistin" — the Communist Woman in German, "Zenski List" and "Zeny" in the Czech language), Bulgaria ("Ravenstvo" — Equality), Holland ("De Voorbode"), Sweden ("Roeda Roestér" — Red Voices) and in Norway ("Arbeiderkoniden" — Working Women). In France the publication of a women's magazine was decided upon at the Marseilles Congress; in Austria this problem is being discussed.

*Women's pages* in the daily papers were arranged for in Germany (Tribune of the Proletarian Woman in the Central organ, "Die Rote Fahne"—The Red Flag, and pages under various headings in 24 provincial organs), in Austria (Women's

Page of the Vienna "Rote Fahne"), in France (Tribune des Travailleuses—Tribune of Laboring Women in the "Humanité" and an increasing number of women's pages in the provincial papers), in Switzerland (women's pages at irregular intervals in the "Vorwaerts" at Basle and in the "Kaempfer" at Zurich). Occasional articles, contributions and reports on women's problems appear on the editorial pages of the Communist Press in Germany ("Die Rote Fahne" and the provincial papers) Czecho-Slovakia ("Vorwaerts" at Reichenberg), France ("Humanité"), Italy ("Ordine Nuovo"), Holland ("Tribune"), Belgium ("Drapeaux Rouge") and Switzerland ("Kaempfer").

Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Holland and Sweden have published pamphlets for women's agitation.

Women's National or District Conferences since the World Congress have taken place in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, France and Finland. In Austria a National Women's Conference will be organized in conjunction with the forthcoming Party Convention.

Two problems of great importance for the character and the spirit of Communist women's propaganda as well as for its firm organizational structure could not be dealt with in this report and will be discussed separately: the mutual information and support of the sections and the Berlin Sub-Bureau by appointing delegates of the International Women's Secretariat with instructions for temporary collaboration in this or that country; secondly, the international mobilization of proletarian women for the Russian relief action and, vice-versa, the utilization of the campaign for the enlightenment of the Communist women's movement.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### Sound the Tocsin!

by I. Karakoff (Moscow).

From the following quotations from various documents and reports it will be gathered how in the Republic of the Tartars the struggle for existence is day by day assuming ever more cruel and ever awful forms:

"It is no longer human beings that live here, but merely shadows who hardly stir and are not able even to bury their dead. Their huts reek with the foul stench of decaying corpses". (From a report by the women physician Nikolskaya.)

"A family of six has for weeks been subsisting on the flesh of cats and dogs. They are so famished that they can hardly wait till the meat is cooked and devour it while it is yet half raw" (From a report by the president of the local relief committee in Spassk).

"In the first days of January rumors were circulated that stirred the entire populace of the Tartar republic. These rumors were founded on the official report upon the occurrences of the eating of human flesh in the canton of Spassk. The peasant Stefan Maloff (32 years old) and his wife Nadeshda of the village of Tochtale had on January 1st, urged on by hunger, dismembered and eaten the corpse of their seven year old son Theophil." (Report of the investigating officer who reported to the Department of Justice that Maloff is about to die for want of nourishment. "He lies motionless and no particulars could be learned from him.")

The same investigating officer reports that in his district he has come across a great number of deaths from starvation and concludes that unless help be forthcoming soon, the entire population will perish and the cases of consumption of human flesh will multiply. The Village Soviets can no longer keep track of the increasing number of deaths which, with conditions being what are, cannot always be buried immediately.

How frightful they sound—these simple and short accounts! And how much must be done to overcome that greedy monster, Famine! All endeavours and all energies must be concentrated upon this one single aim. The thought of the tremendous catastrophe should ever be with all men, haunting them and giving them the forces of giants to combat the scourge with united strength.

## The Workers' Russian Relief Campaign as the Germ of Socialist World Economy

by Jussuf (Berlin).

It was in August 1921, when in Germany the Workers' Relief Committee was being formed, that a well-known woman comrade exclaimed while they were talking about the well-known accusation and sneers of the bourgeoisie that the Soviet govern-

ment was responsible for the famine, "They really give our Bolsheviks too much credit supposing them to be on treaty-terms even with the sun", Ironical as this remark was, it should, however, cause every workman, every Socialist earnestly to reflect.

What can organized humanity do against natural calamities? Really nothing at all? Barring the possibility of forecasting the approach of such catastrophes through science, it will only be able to do, what today is completely (or as good as completely) wanting—it can from all sides hasten to the rescue of the stricken district.

What do we see, however, up to now, or even today, even in the natural catastrophes of smaller dimensions? The relief work is started late and is insufficient, and every time it is the propertyless and the laboring people who suffer incomparably more under the consequences of the catastrophe than the ruling class. But when we have to deal with a scourge, such as has smitten the Soviet Republic in the Oolga districts, the support of those who really could help almost completely fails in today's capitalist society.

We may say completely, when hearing how Nansen, the great philanthropist and explorer, who is free from every suspicion of Bolshevism, made the following statement at the second international bourgeois conference on the Russian famine in Geneva, held at the end of January 1922: "If only the Governments had in September 1921 granted me the millions I asked them, and which for each of them would only have meant a paltry sum, I would certainly have been able to save those 19 millions of lives, which today I must despair of saving". And the same Nansen in his speech of November 12th, 1921, at the Second International Conference of the "Labor Bureau of the League of Nations" said: "Is not the world gone mad? . . . Is there in the world—considered as a whole—too little corn and food? Certainly not. Only some few hundred miles from the East-Russian famine districts there are in Roumania gigantic quantities of corn, which alone would suffice to save the greater number of the starving people, to shield them from death for months and months". At the same time the engines in Argentina are being heated with corn and wheat, and in the United States colossal stores of corn are rotting in the grain elevators, on account of the impossibility of selling them. The Soviet Government has often been reproached both from the bourgeois side as from that of the Socialists with having ruined Russian agriculture through "incapable Communist methods". This argument is most effectively defeated by the above-mentioned speech of Nansen. Before all, these precious gentlemen say, the Soviet rulers are not really concerned with saving the famishing people, for otherwise it would have been quite easy for them to direct not only the immense relief forces of the bourgeois governments but those of the whole international financial and commercial world to the suffering districts, by recognizing the debts, by "restoring order", by newly establishing the "proved principles of faithfulness and loyalty in trade and commerce".

And look you! The Soviet Government has in principle declared itself ready to recognize the debts of the Czarist government. It has tried to take up with all its might international postal service, as well as banking and commercial intercourse. And yet no relief for the starving population, for the millions of innocent and suffering people. In Russia itself, by day and by night all possible pains are taken to help the hungry; the workmen and the employees, the soldiers of the Red Army, yes, even the children contribute their mites.

But the help of the world dallies! What do those \$20,000,000 mean, those dozens of grain-ships ordered by President Harding, and which are partly under way? It is the superabundance of the American multimillionaires, the exploiting class of America. And even if they should save the life of some Russian babe, of some Russian peasant, compared with the mass of the underfed it is like a drop in the ocean. It is, so to say, an iron, a devilish law, it is the nature of capitalist world-economy, that—even if really human persons may now and then be working in it—it is still incapable of effectively rescuing a stricken part of its community.

In face of these facts, what the international working-class has up to now attempted and achieved in their Russian relief action must be called marvelous. The International Trade Union Federation in Amsterdam, which though a rather large organization, has but the voluntary wage-deductions from the poorest of the workers of the industrial districts at its disposal, now feeds 40,000 children in the particularly hard-stricken Tchuvas district. And it hopes to double and treble this number, yet up to now it has only sent two relief transports of foodstuffs and drugs to Russia. The international workers' relief committee, which appealed to all workers without distinction of party

for solidarity with and support of the workmen and peasants of the Soviet Republic, has sent up to now and through its center for the West, the "Foreign Committee" in Berlin—no less than 25 convoys (mostly foodstuffs, besides clothing and drugs) to the Volga regions. But as everybody knows—the hardest and the most dreadful period is yet to come, the period just before the harvest! The work done by the Workers' Relief must not only constantly remain at the same high level—this need no be mentioned, and there will not be a struggle worker, male or female, that would leave a hungry brother to his dire fate, after having begun to feed him—it must be increased the farther we get from the old harvest. The International Workers' Relief has, as is known, begun not only to send foodstuffs but also, though within modest limits, means of production into the famished districts. This will be comprehensible to every thinking workman, as the question is not only of feeding part of the people through some months, but, because and before all care has to be taken to sow for the new harvest, quickly to replace the underfed peasants by motor-ploughs, so that, at least certain "islands" be saved for agriculture and the construction of implements from which the needs of the neighbouring population could be provided.

Once again: carlist world-economy, the more or less beautifully made-up "League of Nations" and the conferences of the capitalist governments have completely failed in the Russian relief campaign, as they have in many other problems (unemployment, armaments, reparations, etc.). And for this reason it is all the more the duty of the workers, ignoring all differences of party or organizations, hourly and daily to develop their Russian relief work, to make it a more uniform, more steady, more lasting, and perfectly functioning one of truly international solidarity: the first germ of a future Socialist world-economy.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Appeal of the Moscow Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet

\*\* The newly-elected Moscow Soviet, the union of the representatives of the factories and shops, of the Red Army, of the employees, and of all the working masses of Moscow, sends brotherly greetings to the workers of the world.

The working-class of Russia, which threw off the yoke of Czarism and Capitalism, and successfully defeated all the attacks of the bourgeois counter-revolution, has now been working for more than four years to build up the Proletarian Workers' Republic. The starved and suffering working-class of Russia considers itself merely a section of the united international army of labor. At the time of the victorious advance, of the approach towards the common goal of the working-class, and also on the day of the forced retreat, the Russian working-class drew its strength from the thought that the struggle of the world proletariat must end in victory; that the triumph of the Socialistic regime over capitalistic slavery, oppression, and war policies, is inevitable.

The newly-elected Moscow Soviet has sanctioned the policy of the Soviet government, which forced the capitalistic world powers to enter into direct negotiations with the Workers' and Peasants' government for the economic rehabilitation of the world. The Moscow Soviet sincerely hopes that the delegation of Russian workers and peasants to the world conference will be supported by all the working masses of the world. The program of our delegation is only a reflection of the requirements and ideals of the working masses who are suffering intensively because of the war and the forced peace. In the name of the unity of interests of all the workers, the Moscow Council appeals to the oppressed and suffering with the battle cry:

Proletarians of all Countries Unite!

Long live the Victory of the World Proletariat!

## THE WHITE TERROR

### A Court Martial in Bukarest.

by Balkanez.

\*\* A court-martial has been sitting at Bukarest for more than a month for the purpose of sentencing the best agitators of the Communist Party of Roumania, its Central Executive Committee the Trade Union Committee, the Party Council, the Parliamentary group, writers, etc.—together 270 persons who are

being sentenced because they had the courage openly to avow themselves Communists at the Congress of the Roumanian Communist Party.

For this courage of their convictions the Roumanian bourgeoisie shut them up for months in cells, under a frightful prison-regime, without being able to gather enough evidence for the prosecution. Now the court-martial is to sanction the infamous crime against justice, and sentence the defendants as "conspirators against the state", as "criminals", "terrorists", etc.

The court is composed of army colonels, majors and police commissioners. It sits in a small room, obviously for the express purpose of keeping out the workers and preventing them from attending the procedure lest they get a glimpse of the justice-scandal which the forum of the court-martial presents. Only ministers generals, Bojars, editors of the bourgeois press and the like, in other words only "trustworthy" elements, are admitted. Every possible means is used to prevent the public from getting acquainted with the blood-stirring charges of the accused against the prison and the investigation authorities. Indeed, the bad conscience of the bourgeoisie finds no peace even with these measures. The bourgeoisie, which alone is responsible for the sufferings and torments of the prisoners, fears the vengeance of the proletariat and for that reason it closes not only the trial-room but also blocks all the streets leading to it and has them guarded by the militia. The defendants are also guarded by soldiers. They are placed in cold cells, which are separated from each other by iron grates. A barbarian order robs them of the possibility of communicating with each other or with their relatives. At first they were even forbidden to communicate with their attorneys. Letters which the defendants had sent to their attorneys were intercepted or destroyed, and it was only after the energetic protest of the defense that short conferences between the prisoners and their attorneys (in the presence of an officer) were at all granted.

Having been imprisoned for months and having undergone brutal torments, the health of the prisoners is now completely undermined. Many of them still show on their bodies unmistakable signs of brutal treatment. Five of their prisoners are critically ill. It is rumored that they will be discharged—not to return to freedom (God forbid!) but only to be handed over to the servants of the bourgeoisie after they will have recovered.

The trial is still going on. But no matter what frightful consequences it may yet have—the decision is as well as signed! The Roumanian reaction will have its victims, and the defendants, in spite of their absolute innocence, will be marched off to prison or even to the gallows. The government hopes that by getting the defendants out of the way, it will be able to exterminate Communism in Roumania. Hence martial law, the suppression of freedom of speech and the press; hence the frightful White Terror which is raging among the workers and poor peasants to an hitherto unprecedented degree. The class-conscious part of the Roumanian proletariat recognizes the dangers which the workers and peasants are facing—it will find ways and means of meeting them effectively.

## Documents of Disgrace

by C. K. K. (Prague).

\*\* In the Czecho-Slovakian Declaration of Independence of the 18th of October, 1918, we find the following: "The Czecho-Slovakian state shall be a republic, . . . . it will indefatigably strive to be progressive, . . . it guarantees the complete freedom of religious convictions, of science, of art, of speech and press, of assembly, and the right of petition . . ."

We shall not speak of the fact that our Communist press is daily exposed to the most disgraceful chicanery, nor of the sentence of the Kladno comrades, which was in part censored in our central organ "Rude Pravo", because we published it as part of a public procedure. Neither shall we here speak of the notorious rules of procedure of Parliament, which was even still more "improved" by the five-man-committee of the coalition parties, so that the opposition is completely robbed of every means of initiative, criticism or grievance. Neither shall we here enter into a detailed discussion of the wholesale rejection of all pressing Communist interpellations. It will suffice to examine two of the most recent documents of our democracy to help the world form a correct opinion of our form of government and of those parties which support it.

Our Parliamentary fraction had presented an interpellation to the government. A large number of cases of confiscation of

the "Rude Pravo" were cited. This interpellation was brought in a few months ago; only due mainly to some "technical difficulties", it could neither be printed nor taken up. At last, thanks to the energetic activity of our Parliamentary fraction, these "technical difficulties" were overcome. Our member of Parliament, Comrade Kluck, received no answer from the government to which the interpellation was addressed, but instead he received a note from the Speaker of the Lower House, the Social Democrat Tomasek, reading as follows:  
Nr. 3351/XVIII.

Prague, January 19, 1922.

To the Members of Congress, B. Smeral and Jos. Haken, of Prague.

At the session of January 13, 1922, the chairman of the lower house of the Czecho-Slovakian republic, has as per § 9 of the standing-orders taken out the following parts from their interpellation to the government of the Czecho-Slovakian republic dealing with repeated and ungrounded confiscations of the "Rude Pravo" and of other press-organs. (The parts referred to are then cited.)

The Speaker of the Lower House of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, Tomasek.

In this excellent manner, the Speaker succeeded in rendering our interpellation perfectly harmless, thus preventing the unmasking of our altogether unbearable censorship. It could be easily foreseen that the Speaker of Parliament, who is the real censor, would not be satisfied with this one act.

On the 26th of January, Comrade Haken read a statement in Parliament, which defined the attitude of the Communists against the army. He wanted to make use of the Parliamentary tribune for the purpose of speaking to the soldiers, since every appeal to the soldiers which we printed in our press had been confiscated.

He pointed out in his declaration that the soldiers who have not yet forgotten the years of horror of the last war had at that time united in declaring eternal war against imperialistic capitalism. In place of the former imperialism of the Central Powers, a new and still more horrible imperialism than the former one has now arisen.

"The Czecho-Slovakian Republic is one of the standard-bearers of this new imperialism. In this bourgeois-capitalistic state, the army is the tool of the capitalist class. The Army is used for the purpose of guarding the capitalist means of production against any encroachments. The army was given weapons against the 'inner enemy', its own brothers who are exploited by capitalism. The Communists are striving to abolish the capitalist system and to establish a lasting peace which is to be achieved only through the destruction of the existing economic system. Soldiers, awake to the fact that the world is divided into two camps, that of the bourgeoisie and its parasites, and that of the workers, the Socialists and Communists. Soldiers, you must decide! Unite with the people from whose midst you have sprung, and into whose midst you shall return!

"Be not deceived by the motto: 'The army must keep out of politics'. Soldiers, you are an important factor of the state. Whoever has the army-weapon in his hand is master of the situation. As long as you are slaves of the bourgeoisie, the workers must also be enslaved. Soldiers, come to us and rally under the red flag, share your weapons and munition with us, and help us organize the great proletarian army for the liberation of the entire working-class!"

Again, as per § 9 of the standing orders, which empowers the Speaker of Parliament to sponge all immoral, traitorous or state-endangering statements out of the minutes of the National Assembly, the Speaker struck this speech from the stenographic minutes. Mr. Tomasek was not quite satisfied with this, and he took great pains to put through an heroic masterpiece for the safety of the state.

Upon his orders, the speech of Comrade Haken in the "Rude Pravo" was censored. The Speaker of Parliament had thereby slapped the law in the face. The Press Law provides that any and all speeches held in Parliament are immune even if they are not entered into the stenographic minutes.

At the next session the coalition government will undoubtedly pass a law which will sanction the censorship orders of the Social Democrat Tomasek. Nor can there be any doubt that the two documents of disgrace mentioned in this article only mark the beginning of a long series of documents still more disgraceful. But all this is easily comprehended if we remember that our republic has chosen the motto, "The Truth Conquers" and that our president coined the phrase "Democracy is Discussion".