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POLITICS

The First Congress of Communist and Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East.

by Sen Katayama.

Moscow, Feb. 10, 1922.

** For the first time the representatives of Communist and revolutionary organizations of the Far East met at Red Moscow and at Petrograd. They came there at the invitation of the Communist International and met, deliberated and decided many important revolutionary matters under the auspices of the Communist International. It is strikingly significant that this Congress was called and met as it did, because the capitalist countries of the world have just concluded a temporary agreement under the Four Power Pact jointly to exploit the Far East. At present the toilers of the Far East are exploited by the capitalists and are compelled to fight against each other under the imperialist designs of Japan and other Western powers who are interested in the exploitation of the Far East.

At the First Congress of the Communist and Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East, China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia and Java, were duly represented; and also India, France, Germany and America, fraternally. Russia, of course, assumed the role of host. Thus at the First Congress of the Far Eastern toilers the workers and peasants of the East and West met under the same great banner of the Communist International. It is doubly significant at this time the Far Eastern toilers' representatives came together in the only workers' and peasants' republic. They have no liberty in their own country to have such a gathering even if they so wished, while their exploiters are always meeting and consulting as to how to exploit these poor toilers of the Far East as they have done in Washington recently.

What are some of the achievements of the Congress?

Until now the proletarians of the Far Eastern countries have been smoke screened by the capitalist and imperialist interpretations of the Far Eastern situation, such as patriotism and nationalist mottoes, and made them fight each other in interests of the capitalists and imperialists of Japan and of the Western Powers. They were misled by the capitalists and imperialists of each and every country to look upon things from the standpoint of a narrow nationalism so that they could not realise that proletarians of all countries have no enmity against one another: the enemy of the proletariat of one country is not the proletariat of another country but the capitalists and imperialists of their own country.

All the reports to the Congress made by different countries show that Japanese imperialism is the greatest menace to the welfare of the Far Eastern countries. The blood-suckers of Japanese imperialism are devastating Korea, and enslaving the poor peasants in a veritable hell. China is a prey of world imperialism and the Chinese capitalist classes and Tu-Chuns are cooperating with the foreign capitalists and imperialists to exploit the poor workers and peasants. Mongolia, which just recently liberated herself from feudalism and old religion, has been menaced by Japanese and Chinese capitalism

and Japanese imperialism. The Japanese workers and peasants are in no better condition than those of Korea and China. They are politically and economically oppressed and have no liberty to organize nor to strike.

The toilers of the Far East had a supreme opportunity of understanding each other at this Congress and, indeed, they did understand each other as is well shown by the resolutions passed on the Theses, Tactics and Manifesto of the Congress without much discussion. The speech on "The International Situation" by Comradé Zinovieff gave the keynote to the whole Congress. His thoroughgoing review of the Far Eastern Question and the Washington Conference made the whole Congress clear as to where the toilers of Far East should seek for their help and how to organize themselves nationally and internationally.

The Washington Conference, by concluding the Four Power Pact, abandoned Korea to the Japanese imperialists and at the same time it consciously or unconsciously demonstrated to the proletariat of the Far East that it does not concern itself with the welfare of China as some of the Chinese politicians thought it does. The imperialist powers want above all to exploit China and nothing else.

And yet many Oriental statesmen thought President Harding's Washington Conference might turn out to be a beneficial one, so they made the pilgrimage to Washington with the expectation of receiving some alms from the Conference!

The Moscow Congress of the Far Eastern toilers exposed the aim and purpose of Washington Conference and it is convinced that the hope of the proletariat of the Far East as of the whole world is not in Washington, London or Genoa but in Moscow.

When the proletariat of Japan met with that of Korea and China and studied the situation in the Far East, they all understood that they are all equally exploited and oppressed by the imperialist and capitalist class. The workers and peasants of Korea found out that their enemies are not the workers and peasants of Japan but the imperialist and capitalist class of Japan that compel them to murder and burn the poor Koreans. It is the same with the Chinese proletarians, who were misled by ill-advised nationalist leaders to hate the Japanese proletarians. It is Japanese imperialism and capitalism that the Chinese workers and peasants should hate and despise but not the Japanese proletarians. They are all exploited and oppressed equally and in reality are brothers and sisters and comrades.

Thus the toilers of the Far East assembled at Moscow and Petrograd could readily see the supreme necessity of combining different revolutionary forces into one great revolutionary army nationally and then internationally in order to fight successfully against the imperialist and capitalist powers in the Far East. The proletariat of China, Korea, Mongolia, Java and Japan realised it would be a big mistake to fight against one another in a capitalist or imperialist war. But they all combined to fight against the Japanese imperialism first of all, which is the greatest and most immediate menace to the entire Far East. In this plan the Korean, Chinese, and Mongolian as well as the Japanese proletarians agreed. Until Japanese imperialism is destroyed neither Korean nor Chinese proletarians will get peace and their emancipation. This sentiment was again and again expressed on the floor of the Congress.

Although the same revolutionary movement has been going on in the Far East, yet the nature and aim of the movement vary according to the different countries. The revolutionary movement of the Koreans in and outside Korea has been so far nationalistic

and its aim has been the independence of the country. The great uprisings of 1919, the subsequent invasion of the Korean soldiers from Siberia and their defeat after giving battle to the Japanese imperialist have given the Korean revolutionary leaders invaluable experiences and lessons as to their future movement. The Communist Party of Korea is yet weak and unable to lead the revolutionary movement of entire Korea. This Congress pointed out clearly that in order to establish the independence of Korea it must first strike the hardest blow at the imperialist government of Japan and that the best way to do so is the cooperating of the Korean proletarians with those of Japan under the leadership of the Communist Parties not only of Korea and Japan but also of all the Far Eastern countries.

China as Korea is as yet an agricultural and largely feudal country. The population of China consists largely of poor peasantry with a countless number of coolies. China's industrial revolution has just begun; consequently the proletariat of China is in a formative period. But China is still in a revolutionary period that had its inception in 1911-12. She has no stable government. The Peking government is in a bankrupt condition and only sustained by the creditor nations. The Canton government of Sun Yat Sen is yet struggling against the Peking government. It is possible that the Peking government backed by the imperialist creditor countries may crush the Canton government. What China needs in for her immediate future is a strong Communist Party and the combined forces of all the revolutionary elements in order to advance the revolutionary movement of the country. The toilers of China as was expressed in the Congress will readily unite to drive the foreign imperialist exploiters out of the country, as they have shown lately in boycotting Japan's merchandise.

Every country represented in the Congress expressed its supreme interest in crushing capitalism and imperialism and they chief aim of the revolutionary movement in the Far East. And this task must begin with the fight against Japanese imperialism in Korea, China and Mongolia. All the countries and the Pacific islands are interested in driving imperialist capitalism from their own territory except Japan, which is oppressed by its own imperialism and capitalism.

The Congress of the Far Eastern Toilers was a success in every way. The imperialist robber nations at Washington made a temporary truce among themselves under the Four Power Pact, but they clearly demonstrated that they could not agree on any fundamental questions. They are against each others. But they can not fight now being worn out on account of the late war. They want to prepare for the coming war by exploiting the Far East jointly among themselves. While the capitalist countries themselves exposed their weakness nationally and internationally the toilers of the Far Eastern countries got under the Red Banner of the Communist International for the interchanging of views and thought frankly and openly without the least hesitation and came to understand each other. They seriously discussed and formulated the program and tactics for the toilers of the Far East that will show how the world capitalist powers are fast crumbling to pieces under their own economic pressure. The proletarians of the Far East for the first time have united with the proletarians of the West under the single banner of the Comintern, while the imperialist powers of the world are becoming more and antagonistic to one another.

The First Congress of the Communist and Revolutionary Organisation of the Far East which met at Moscow and closed at Revolutionary Red Petrograd is a great epoch-making event in the history of the revolutionary movement of the world. The toilers of the Far East have gone home with iron determination to fight against the imperialist powers in the Far East with the combined forces of all the revolutionary organizations. We the workers of the East and West have only one enemy, capitalism and we have only one banner, the Red Flag of the Communist International that unites the entire proletariat of the world!

The Government Crisis in Germany.

by Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

** For the first time since the founding of the German Republic, the Prime Minister as the head of the Government has asked Parliament for a vote of confidence. Dr. Wirth declared after sharp criticism coming from the Right as well as from the Left upon the policy of the government in the railway strike, that for a continuation of his work and in particular of his foreign policy it would be necessary for him to be supported by the confidence of the majority of the Reichstag. The "fulfilment" Chancellor thought he could venture to ask for this vote of confidence, because, besides the regular government parties the

Independent Socialist Party as well as the Stinnes Party do not wish for an alteration of the foreign policy of Germany before the Genoa Conference.

How right he was in this supposition is demonstrated by the fact that only the small Communist group brought in a clear and open motion for a vote of no confidence, whilst all the other parties including the German Nationalists, only brought in qualified motions against the conduct of the Government during the railway strike. For the German Nationalists, of course, the conduct of the government was not reactionary enough and not harsh enough. They demanded reckless victimization of the striking officials and workmen. What they aimed at was the restoration of the authority of the state in the old Prussian sense. The Stinnes party, on the other hand, declared itself agreed in the main with the attitude of the government and in particular with that of the "Scharfmacher" (coercion) ministers Groener and Hermes. Their vote of non-confidence was aimed directly at the Premier, Wirth. The Stinnes people wish to replace this Christian-Democratic "fulfiller" by a man possessing their confidence and prepared to carry out the fulfilment of the Entente demand as a purely capitalist business in a more brutally open manner against the workmen and officials.

It was characteristic of the ever wavering attitude of the U.S.P.D. that, in spite of the sharp tone of the attack of their spokesman Dittmann against the government and its high-handed policy they could not determine to move a clear vote of non-confidence; they only wanted to express their distrust in the government on account of the victimization of the strikers, and the non-recognition of the right to strike of the railway officials. The Communist vote of non-confidence was expressly repudiated by the speaker for the U.S.P.D.

The U.S.P.D. again profited by the discussion which, in consequence of the adjournment of the vote on Wednesday, had to be taken up again, to explain their impossible attitude. With a very small majority the U.S.P.D. fraction had finally made up its mind to vote against the vote of confidence of the Government parties. Their spokesman Crispian complained as it were, that this vote of confidence only referred to the attitude of the government during the railway strike. This argument made it quite clear that the U.S.P.D., in spite of the railway strike, and in spite of the terrible measures of the government following the strike tried to support this Wirth Government at least through their abstinence in the case of a general vote of confidence referring to the foreign policy. The Independents through Dittmann, following the Communist speaker, expressly declared again that they would continue to recognize the foreign policy of the Prime Minister Wirth as their policy, that they would even offer him their general confidence, and that their attack was only directed against some of the cabinet ministers.

The Social Democrats who, of course, once again backed up all the shameful deeds of this capitalist government, very cleverly recognized the weak point in the political attitude of the U.S.P.D., and tried in the event of the fall of this Government to lay upon the U.S.P.D. the responsibility for the downfall of the "fulfilment government" as a result of the vote.

The Communists pointed to the fact that the Social Democrats as well as the U.S.P.D. had, by supporting the foreign policy of the Wirth government, created the conditions for the coercion machinations of the present capitalist government. Since this government had decided on carrying out the fulfilment of the reparations without touching property and at the cost of the working masses alone, it had been obliged to resort to reckless suppression of the economic struggles of the workers. It was characteristic of its further designs, that, at the time when this government took the suppressive measures against the railwaymen, Rathenau was appointed foreign minister. To the victimization of the railwaymen, the taxation-compromise and the increase of bread-prices it must, on account of its pledges to the Entente, add further coercive measures, such as the attack on the eight-hour day and on the workers' right to strike. Thus, not only by reason of their interior policy but also on account of their foreign policy the Communists were obliged to say; "Down with this capitalist government!" The U.S.P.D. should at least understand that it is the foreign policy of the Wirth Government which will lead to a fatal end for the German workers. The Government is completely dependent upon England, and this had already led in the case of the decision with regard to Upper Silesia to fatal results. The irresolute attitude of the German government in its position with regard to Russia threatens to lead to a still greater disaster for the German workers. This capitalist policy which is being carried on by Rathenau just as recklessly as by Stinnes should be opposed by the demand for a proletarian policy, a new government, that would have to look for its support to the great proletarian masses. The strikes of the railwaymen and of the Berlin muni-

cial workers might have led, by means of concentration and growth, to an increase of the power of the proletariat. After having betrayed this fight as the S.P.D. had, and having hindered it as the U.S.P.D. had, it would be nonsense afterwards to censure single measures of the capitalist government. The fight against the capitalist coalition policy should be immediately carried out without reserve. Through the votes of the S.P.D., and after, along with some other deputies, about a dozen U.S.P. deputies had left the House, the capitalist government Wirth-Rathenau-Groener, the government of the taxation robbery campaign, the increasing of the bread-prices and the victimization of the mass of the strikers, has again been saved. The government parties totalled 220 votes, and the combined opposition, Right and Left, mustered 185 votes, whilst 16 deputies abstained from voting.

This vote will be felt by the mass of the proletariat, by the fighting municipal workers, the railway workers and officials as an aggravation of the situation, for not only has the Wirth Government now a free hand for its policy of fulfilment at the expense of the disinherited, but it has also been granted the express permission to proceed against the proletariat with the most reckless measures, exceptional decrees, the ruthless destruction of the right to strike, arrest of strike leaders, confiscation of strike funds, increase of the Technische Nothilfe (strikebreaker organization) as a governmental blackleg-guard against the slightest movement of the proletariat. This government, which, through its policy of exploitation compels the workmen to fight in defense, has now the permission to club down every attempt of the proletarians to defend themselves against fresh exploitation.

The Franco-Polish Treaty.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** After years of back and forth negotiations the Franco-Polish Treaty has finally been concluded. The public undoubtedly received this news with astonishment, for one should think that this two allies, so heartily devoted to one another, had sufficient time to put their mutual relationship in treaty form long ago. But the matter did not go so smoothly. France demanded for herself a dominating position in Poland which would result in reducing the Polish State to a French colony. The details of the negotiations were naturally not given publicly, but enough was known of the French demands for concessions in the naphta territory and the coal districts (including future Polish Upper-Silesia) to tell pungent stories. The situation during the first negotiations for the Trade Treaty (the time of the defense against the Soviet offensive, which was repulsed thanks only to French help) when Pilsudski had to come to Paris on Millerand's invitation, was so unfavorable for Poland, that France allowed herself some liberties. But her demands must have been so shameless, that the Poles themselves, despite their situation at the time, summoned up the courage to refuse to sign the treaty. This was done by the Polish Foreign Minister at that time, Prince Sapieha, who was somewhat Anglophile, (he was formerly the Polish ambassador in England) and because of his refusal he was vehemently attacked by the lackeys of the French and the National Democrats in the Warsaw Foreign Sejm Commission.

Now, however, the treaty has actually been signed, and although it deviates considerably from the original French plan, it still affords France many profitable advantages. France was granted a number of important reductions in duties. Her luxury articles—wine, liquors, jewelry—received a duty reduction of 50%; the same holds true for articles used in great quantities—thread, textiles, etc.; then reductions from 25 to 75% on forty other export articles. And no doubt these reductions also hold good for merchandise which is not manufactured in France but only brought in by the French commercial firms. Thus France secures an important priority over other countries, in that she is permitted to have a big influence in the Polish import trade. Besides other concessions (not to forget the petroleum district) France receives profits from the promotion of Polish oversea emigration.

The yielding of Poland in the trade negotiations shows clearly that France had brought about a junction of the trade and military treaties. The latter was completed fully a year ago, but could not be signed because of the postponement of the trade treaty. But now in view of the actual question of the English-French Guarantee Treaty, in which Poland wishes to participate, she must take her medicine whether it is bitter or not.

That the economic treaty was accepted in commercial and industrial circles with varying emotions, is quite natural. Therefore the obviously inspired Polish bourgeois press is laying

great stress on the completed Military Treaty. Suddenly the press discovered once again, that the bloodthirsty Germany which was longing for a retaliatory war, was preparing for it, in fact had already prepared for it. The smallest incident gives this press enough cause to paint the picture of the devil as representing the immediate, impending German danger. Thus the frame of mind is prepared for the ratification of the treaty in the Polish Sejm.

The Branting Cabinet and the Riksdag.

by Frederik Ström (Stockholm).

** The Swedish budget debate, in which the budget proposals of the government are given over to the Riksdag Committees, in which the party leaders submit their explanations concerning the general policy of the government, and announce the future aims of their own parties, was this time less interesting than could be expected considering the new government and its Social Democratic character. This debate was more significant as a result of what is not said—but perceptible between the words—than in consequence of what was said openly.

The debate hinged principally on three questions which were closely related to one another: the economic depression and its influence on the State budget and the economic life, the contributions toward fighting unemployment and the reductions and savings in almost all the main budgets made for the purpose of economy.

The speakers of the Right attributed the prevailing economic depression to the methods of Government and doctrines of the Lefts, who had caused injury to industry and agriculture in that they left these unprotected in the competition with cheaper goods and with the dumping-policy of the countries with the law rate of exchange. This created an immense amount of unemployment and injured public finances, thus forcing a policy of economy that affected the means of maintaining a living force of resistance of the volunteer protective movement; a policy of economy that the Rights consequently could not approve. On the other hand, the Rights wished to make reductions in other fields, particularly to decrease the large contributions made by the Government for the support of the unemployed. The leaders of the Right were sceptical about the plan devised to give credit to Russia in order to procure work for the Swedish workers. Such a plan could be of use only then when full guarantees could be procured for the payment; otherwise credit to Russia would only be a new contribution for the unemployed. The Rights then astonished everybody with the statement that in view of the fall of the rate of exchange they refused to bring up again the former proposals concerning the new industrial and agrarian taxes and the repeal of the eight-hour law. That means a new tactical line of approach of the Rights who intend to make the road clear by a pretended restriction of the united bourgeois front. By moderating their tone at present, the Rights hope to win the Liberals for the united bourgeois front, and thus to reinstate the capitalist parties to the possession of the power of the government. The Liberal press immediately took the bait, for it printed flattering reports about the leaders of the Right in the debate, and declared itself in agreement with almost all of their opinions.

Also in the debate proper, the Liberal speakers in many respects pursued the same line of thought as the speakers of the Right. To be sure they praised the economy of the government; but just as the Right, they also thought that this economy should not be applied to the army but ought to be limited to the contributions for the relief of unemployment. Because the Rights cleverly concealed their real aims, they found themselves in accord with the Liberals. It is particularly characteristic to see how later the Liberal press emulated the extreme Right in the attacks on the unemployment policy of the Government, in that it showed that it was an immense waste of public money and a class policy; although the 102,000,000 crowns demanded from the government sufficed only to procure a slight subsidy for half of the unemployed of Sweden or badly paid emergency jobs. At present there is talk of secret negotiations between the Right and the Liberal groups, first in committees and then in the Riksdag, for the purpose of limiting the grants of contributions for the unemployment subsidies, and also of cutting the means at the disposal of the government, so that the proposals of the government will actually have to be rejected. That the Rights through this manoeuvre, aim at the downfall of the Social Democratic government is already apparent in that the Right tried to hinder its coming into power with every possible means, while now it is trying to incite the Liberals against the government.

The policy of the Liberals is rather out of the ordinary; either to take over the government themselves, or to enter the Social Democratic government. Although Branting by far did not pursue a Socialist policy, but instead tried to go in the Liberal direction as far as possible, he is nevertheless attacked from ambush in every way by the Liberals. Whether these manoeuvres really aim to overthrow Branting in order to replace his government with a bourgeois coalition government, or merely to drive him as far as possible to the Right, is hard to say. Many things point to a bourgeois coalition government. Aside from the pretended limitations of the Right, and the attacks of the Liberals upon Branting, there is apparent a more and more vehement criticism of the workers' government within the Peasants' Party. Here, especially, there is much dissatisfaction with the high taxes, the unemployment laws and the non-appearance of the expected agrarian duties. All the landowners of the bourgeois parties have formed their own organization to further agricultural interests. Should this organization show signs of a decisive attack against the government, then the position of the latter would be very gravely menaced.

The Branting Government was in the meantime also criticized by the Lefts; not by the Centrists, who supported the Government body and soul, but by the Communists. They declared, of course, they would support the Government against the bourgeois parties as long as its policy was friendly toward the workers and that they wished to work against capital and for a proletarian united front; they censured the Government, however, for its all too great concessions to the bourgeois class compared to the small contributions to fight unemployment. Furthermore, they demanded the recognition *de jure* of Soviet Russia and the granting of credit to its government, also the making of laws for protection against the breaches of the law on the part of the police and against class justice, as well as measures against the ruthless action of finance capital, finding homes for the workers, and taking measures against the reduction of wages.

Later the Communists, by special proposals, demanded 150,000,000 crowns for the unemployed, 2,000,000 crowns for the starving in Russia, and large sums for the building of homes. The capitalist press attacked the Communists vehemently and the Right Socialist press declared that the demands of the Communists were unfair and asked where the money for all this should be taken from. Thereupon the Communists responded that the property taxes should be increased and the military expenses decreased.

The immediate future must show clearly whether or not the bourgeois coalition will be formed, and if it will venture to proceed against the Branting government. If this government should fall, then it is very possible that the Riksdag will be dissolved and new elections will be held. Such new elections on the ground of the unemployment question, should mobilize all the workers for the elections and should intensify to a large degree the class antagonism in Sweden.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Vienna International Conference of Metal Workers.

by Ernst Haidt (Vienna).

** The Conference which included representatives of almost all countries belonging to the Metal Workers' International met at a time when the bankruptcy of the Social Democratic finance plan for the salvation of Austria had already become apparent and the bankruptcy of the reformist trade-union leaders close at hand. It may be symptomatic that Vienna should be chosen as the place of meeting — Vienna where every tendency for struggle on the part of the trade-unions has been eliminated, so that the employers think the time come in which openly to begin the struggle. In this sphere Merrheim, Ilg and Dismann may feel themselves at home.

The Conference itself concentrated upon the following points:

- 1- Reports.
- 2- Statistics about war and armament production.
- 3- Statistics of wages and the reduction of the cost of living.
- 4- Attitude with regard to the world situation and to the International Trade Union Conference at Rome.

The report states that in the International of the metal workers England is only represented by a minority, and that America, Spain and the Balkan States do not belong to it. Of course it also discusses Russia, of whose organization of metal

workers the secretary characteristically says, "We have no knowledge". By the bye, the Russian metal workers can, according to a resolution of the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation only belong to the International when they have left the Red Trade Union International. But now the Amsterdammers found themselves in a dilemma. As is well known the Norwegian trade-unions lean towards Moscow, and logically the Norwegian Metal Workers' Union should have been treated in the same way. There, however, the Amsterdammers acted differently. Through the Metal Workers' International the Norwegian Metal Workers' Union is a member of the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation, although all the trade-unions of Norway belong to Moscow. The arguments of the representative of the Polish Metal Workers, Tuller, who vaunted the hangman's work the P.P.S. is carrying on against Soviet Russia at the command of the capitalists of the Western powers, and who did not in the least conceal his counter-revolutionary opinions, were objected to even in this circle that certainly is not a revolutionary one, and it was—Dissmann, who stood up with decision against this hiring of the capitalists.

On the other hand, the well-known Amsterdamer resolutions in favor of capitalist reconstruction were agreed to, and their activity in this sense was resolved on. With regard to war and war-armaments the following resolution was decided on, to be submitted to the Trade Union Congress in Rome.

"The Conference of the International Trade Union Federation held on the 23rd of April and following days in Rome reaffirms the resolution, that affiliated organizations have to use all their power in fighting against militarism and in preventing warlike actions and wars. In particular the Conference resolves:

- 1- Wars are to be prevented by the general strike.
- 2- Organizations affiliated to the International Trade Union Federation are to be called upon as soon as possible to declare as binding for all their members the following decrees by resolutions of conferences or by referendum.

a) The members of the trade-unions belonging to the International Craft Federations, and the International Trade Union Federation sitting at Amsterdam, have in case of war, to cease work, and thereby to render any war impossible.

b) The national organizations and the international craft-organizations have, in all regions, to try and gain the control of arms and munitions production of all kinds for military or civil use, to limit this production, and, whenever possible, to reduce it to the minimum requirements of civil use.

c) For the realization of resolutions a and b an international committee has been set up, which is to ordain further executive measures, as well as to decide in each special case whether work has to be struck or not.

d) If possible, all craft organizations and the headquarters of the Trade Union Federation are to be represented in this committee."

Thus the resolutions of the Second International have come to life again. They are easy-going—a post-dated check, and if this check should never be honored the necessity of national defence can be pleaded, as was done in 1914.

The control of war production as well as the limiting and reduction of the production of munitions had already been resolved upon in an international conference of metal workers held after the war—but has never been carried out.

In spite of this resolution and although there are no unorganized metal workers in Austria, ammunition is produced in great quantities, and transported to the divers robber-states, and it is done exclusively by organized workers. Only a few days before the International Conference of Metal Workers the Vienna "Rote Fahne" reported on the following consignments of munitions made in Austria:

On the 18th of January 10 carloads of 10 cm. guns to Laibach (Jugoslavia), on the same day 8 carloads of 15 cm. fuses to Esseg (Jugoslavia). On the 6th of January 10 carloads of mounted brass fuses to Czechoslovakia. Evidently for a transit to Roumania or Poland, so that their employment against Soviet Russia is to be expected. On the 25th of January 10 carloads of 15 cm. fuses to Laibach and 10 carloads of gun spring-capsules (10 mm.) to the same place.

This is the manner in which resolutions are carried out in practice.

If we briefly survey the outcome of the conference and its resolutions, we find: full adherence to the aspirations of reconstruction of the capitalistic economy and the decline of any

revolutionary tactics or of fighting aiming at the removal of the capitalist exploitation; sham-resolutions against the murder of the nations and production of the instruments of murder—resolutions which are contradicted in practice; retreat before the offensive of employers at a time when the attacks of the employers in all countries require the most stubborn fighting, and, lastly, refusal to form a united proletarian front.

Nevertheless the proletariat of all countries will have to form this united front for a revolutionary fight, heedless of their leaders, and they will do this in spite of them.

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Protest of the Metal Workers of Jugoslavia.

"The Metal Workers of Jugoslavia repudiate with the greatest indignation the attitude of deputy Blagoje Bracinac, who pretended to represent the Metal Workers' Union of Jugoslavia at the Congress, and who opposed the resolution which demanded an energetic action with the employment of the general strike, to prevent the outbreak of fresh wars. They say: In no other country has the proletariat ever experienced such shame and exposure as the Jugoslavian, and in particular the Jugoslavian metal workers, had to suffer through the person of their secretary Blagoje Bracinac. This, however, is not to be wondered at, for this secretary can only keep at the head of the federation thanks to the police-power of Messrs. Horthy-Pasitch and Pribicevitch. The class-conscious metal workers of Jugoslavia have long since broken with him.

"In order to oppose the opinion extant in the international metal workers' movement that this M. Blagoje Bracinac is the representative of the metal workers of Jugoslavia, we feel bound to declare that this is not the truth, that he obtained the mandate neither from the Central Committee, nor from the general assembly of the workmen, neither in Belgrade nor in Agram, nor from any other organization in the country less still from the Congress, which alone is competent and really expresses the will and the attitude of the metal workers of Jugoslavia. The metal workers of Jugoslavia must protest in particular to the international proletarian world, to the Metal Workers' International and to its secretariat, against the insincere and unscrupulous activity of Blagoje Bracinac in the Union of Metal Workers of Jugoslavia; against his ambitious appropriation of the mandate for their representation at the International Conference in Vienna. The metal workers' organizations in Belgrade, Agram and in other places had no knowledge of this usurpatory proceeding; they therefore could not have entrusted him with their representation at the Conference.

"Therefore the metal workers of Jugoslavia require an explanation and call him to account for this fraudulent representation of their attitude and will the more so, as through this 'representation' humiliation and shame have been heaped upon an important and class-conscious part of the Jugoslavian proletariat before the whole proletarian world."

Class Struggle in South Africa.

by W. Lada.

** The strike in South Africa has already lasted weeks 20,000 men are affected, workers of the gold mines, coal mines, and the power stations of the Victoria falls. The controversial questions are the wage reductions and the employment of colored workers—the number of colored men to be engaged, their type of work, wages. Although all the stock-exchanges of the world are interested in the conflicts—the stock of the border mines is quoted in Paris, London, etc.—and although the important capitalist newspaper as well as the telegraph agencies bring regular news in regard to the strike, we are quite in the dark in regard to the character and progress of the movement, because the information is very partial. Nevertheless one can see that we have to deal here with a big struggle between labor and capital.

The deeper cause of the conflict lies here as everywhere in the attempts of the capitalists to counteract the results of the world-wide economic crisis by increasing the exploitation of labor. At present some gold mines are working at a loss. The aim is to make up this loss by lowering the cost of production by means of a more intense exploitation of the labor power of the natives. And in spite of this the capitalists declare that the talk about an attack upon the standard of living of the workers is merely a phrase (compare, for instance, the London "Economist" of Jan., 14th).

As usual the workers went a long way to meet the capitalists' demands—the latter none in regard to the workers. Before entering the strike, the workers proposed mutual negotiations in order to find a way out of the situation without a

struggle. The capitalists rejected the proposals. The government supported them. Both wanted a struggle in order to destroy their opponents. They reckoned with a definite success, because the power stations and railways were provided with coal reserves for a month. (London "Times", Dec. 31th).

On January 2nd the workers went on strike. The strike committee decided to call out even those men who served the pumps—a sure sign of how bitter the struggle is. On the 9th, following a referendum, in which over 14,000 workers took part and which the advocates of the strike had a ten to one majority, the Labor Federation proclaimed a general strike. The industrialists, on their part, declared that in case the strike were not broken off by the 16th, they would begin to transport the 200,000 native workers back to their home country. The police forces were increased. And in spite of this the workers carried out their threat. On the 26th, Reuter reported that Johannesburg is without street cars because the power is reserved for light, although the latter is already scarce. There is a demand that the water supply must not be interfered with under any circumstances. According to all appearances a "citizen guard" has been formed here to prevent the proletariat from forcing concessions from the capitalists. In fact, on the 19th of January, the Daily Herald reported that in one district officials were performing work as strikebreakers.

On the 30th of January, news came from Cape Town that the authorities are very much disturbed in regard to the situation. 80% of the strikers are said to be Dutchmen (Boers) similarly the majority of the police. Premier Smuts urged the conflicting parties—after a month of strike!—to arbitrate, by declaring that neither strike nor force could produce a solution of the situation. ("Temps" of Jan. 31.)

At this moment we do not yet know whether the strike is ended and what the results are. It, however, shows that the class struggle between capital and labor is raging throughout the whole world with more tenacity than ever. And the causes of this increase in the class differences are the same in the whole world. Capital is not able to guarantee its wage slaves a human existence. They must free themselves from this pressure and take the leadership of the affairs of the world into their own hands.

THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

The Situation of Proletarian Youth in Horthy's Hungary.

by Stefan Komlos.

** The changes which have recently taken place in Hungarian politics also left their mark on the young people's movement in Hungary. As the Social Democracy wished it, a peculiar situation arose in Hungary, whereby there are no independent young people's organizations at all, except that the individual large trade union organizations have youth sections. But these sections retain their trade-character in the capital only, whereas in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital (Neupest, Altöfen Elisabethdorf) and in the province (Szegedin for instance) they have assumed the typical character of a sectional or local organization. The Social Democratic Party has systematically prevented the organizing of the Hungarian youth; this explains the fact that today the greater part of the youth are not organized at all. But in spite of this, we find young people's organizations and it is not very rare that we find young people's trade-union organizations with a membership of over 1000 (the metal and wood workers of Budapest for example). Even in the provinces, we often find groups with a membership of from five to six hundred.

Their greater freedom of movement now enables the Hungarian youth, almost all of which is revolutionary, to take up the struggle against its own stepmother, Social Democracy, and against the trade-union bureaucracy.

The persecutions of proletarian youth by the police have not yet ceased. The police still look upon every apprentice as a Communist dangerous to peace and order. And although 26 youths who had recently been arrested were freed again after the amnesty decree, there are nevertheless enough of them still in prison.

We can easily form an idea of the situation in which the proletarian youth must be in a country where even the adult workers' wage is fixed by the one-sided wage dictatorship of the employers, and where the Social Democracy and the trade-union movement, which is in its hands and which has become part of it, being the only lawful workers' organization, do not at all concern themselves about the economic situation of their youth.

Under these circumstances, we are no longer surprised to hear that the weekly wage of an apprentice is between 40 and 70 crowns, which is about the cost of a good dinner in Budapest, and that in most cases the apprentice is worked 10, 12 and 14 hours a day. The employers of course, try to take advantage of this situation for the increase of their own profit, by employing a great many apprentices instead of adult workers. This is particularly the case in the small and medium-sized factories, where the average shows 2 to 3 apprentices to one adult worker. We find a similar situation, though to a lesser extent, in the larger factories. At conferences the employers discuss ways and means of increasing the number of apprentices employed. The government has already consulted the oracle and received the magic word with which it hopes to solve this problem. In the reforms proposed in the vocational laws now in force, there is a clause which reads as follows: "In case the apprentice does not pass his trade-examination, he is to be sent back to his apprenticeship for two more years." Thus, the problem is very ably solved. An eternal apprenticeship misery is about to be legalized and codified. But to add the final touch, the proposed amendment proceeds as follows: "In cases of necessity the prescribed schooling may be shortened and even shifted to the evening hours, after six o'clock, or to Sunday."

Unfortunately, we have no data on the situation of the agricultural youth, for, the Terror and the neglect of the Social Democracy made it impossible to organize even a single group of the agricultural proletarian youth. This is the more easily understood if we remember that hardly 1% of the adult agricultural proletariat is organized. There is wide-spread unemployment among the agricultural workers, much greater than that of the industrial proletariat. Districts in which the majority of agricultural workers were out of work during the greater part of last year, are not at all rare. The *maximum wage* for an agricultural worker is very often fixed by the local authorities by order of the ministry; if the employer goes beyond the limit set, he is fined.

We thus see that the proletarian youth of Hungary has only begun its work. Its first and most important tasks are: The extension of all the trade-union sections; the organization of the proletarian youth employed in the large factories as against the Social Democratic Party and the trade-union bureaucracy; the breaking away from their guardianship, the struggle for human living and working conditions for the proletarian youth.

And although the proletarian youth of Hungary has not as yet become fully conscious of these aims, it has nevertheless struck the road which in the course of the coming struggles is to lead it to their attainment.

THE WHITE TERROR

Pages of Blood (1920-1921).

Manifesto of the Spanish National Federation of Labor.

We have received from our comrade of the Spanish N.F.L. a moving manifesto which is justly called: Pages of Blood. We reproduce its essential passages. We request that these terrible pages will be brought to the attention of all workers.

The Editor.

****** It is a year now since the ferocious persecutions reached their acme. The crimes committed have no precedent in history. The aim seems to be the extermination of the working class.

Members of the N.F.L. have been deported from prison to prison, suffering along the routes and in the jails, hunger, thirst, cold, anxiety, and the brutalities of convict guards.

Members of the N.F.L. have been imprisoned by the hundreds without legal procedure. They have been in prison for months and years.

Members of the N.F.L. have been horribly maltreated and tortured. *Their bones were broken, their flesh burned and torn.*

Members of the N.F.L. have been assassinated in the streets, in cafés, in their own houses, to the great satisfaction of the bourgeois press.

Members of the N.F.L. have been liberated from prison, only to be killed the same day.

Members of the N.F.L. have been mutilated and tortured. Their eyes have been burned out by cigars, testicles twisted by guitar strings, tongue and lips torn out.

Members of the N.F.L. have become insane after having been tortured by an application of the electric current.

Members of the N.F.L. have seen their homes broken into at night, their families maltreated, their dwellings laid waste.

Members of the N.F.L., in the thousands have left their children and their families abandoned in poverty while they themselves are in prison.

The locals of the N.F.L. have been closed; its press has been forbidden; its bank deposits seized, the right of association, meeting and speech have been refused it. It is persecuted in all Spain. But it is in Barcelona that the White Terror has reached its apogee.

Here is an unfortunately still incomplete list of the crimes which the White Terror committed against the N.F.L.

The 5th of November 1920 all the Catalan bourgeoisie without distinction of party met. The industrial crisis had become menacing. The employers decided to take the offensive and demanded that the government dismiss Governor Bas, accused of lax rule.—On the 6th, the Employers' Federation issued a manifesto demanding the suppression of workers' unions.—On the 7th, Governor Bas resigned "not desiring to become an assassin" as he said.—On the 9th General Martínez-Anido was appointed civil governor of Barcelona.—The 10th, the raids against workers' organizations began. Search, seizure of union books and papers, arrest of 8 comrades.—The 11th, arrest of 11 comrades.—The 12th, arrest of the journalist Amador.—The 17th, night arrest of comrades, members of various committees.—The 20th, arrest of 11 union presidents and secretaries.—The 20nd, night arrest of 22 comrades, notably of Salvador Seguí.—The 24th, arrest of the president of the Metal Workers' Committee.—The 27th, assassination of comrade José Canella and attempt upon the life of Andrés Nin.—The 28th, arrest of the republican lawyer, Companys, counsel for the Syndicalists.—The 29th, several arrests; attempt upon the life of comrade Borth.—The 30th, assassination of Francisco Layret, lawyer, counsel for the Syndicalists.—In the street in full daylight 36 militants, most of them presidents and secretaries of unions seized and deported to Makón.—The same night over 50 comrades are arrested.

December 1920. The 4th, the lawyers who undertook the defense of the militants receive letters threatening death.—8th, assassination of Evaristo Villana.—9th, arrest of 57 militants.—12th, night arrest of 12 militants.—14th, deportation of 20 militants into the province; they travel on foot through deep mud under winter rain.—17th, arrest of comrade Pestagna, expelled from Italy.—Deportations continue; they are becoming permanent. The deportees torn from their families and led to some unknown destination. They receive for their food the ridiculous sum of 50 centimes daily. 23th, assassination of Juan Lobet. Jaime Parra and three other comrades are wounded by assassins of the free unions. 24th, assassination of José Soler in the street. 28th, assassination of José Aymerich in the workshop.

January 1921: 3rd, José Julian Monclus killed. 5th, Olegario Miro, president of the unions of Saint-Andre seriously wounded. Mass arrest and deportations. 20th, Juan Villanueva, José Feries Ramon Gomar, Diego Parra of the Valencia organization arrested in a café and taken to prison; on the way, three of them killed by the police and the fourth mutilated. 21th, attempt upon the life of Antonio Elias Quer and his apprentice Gonzalo. They are arrested and tortured by the police. Assassination of José Perez Espriu, Francesco Bravo and Benito Menacho; Augustin Flor seriously wounded. The four comrades were first tortured by the police in presence of the General Martínez Anido who himself struck Benito Menacho in the sexual organs. 21th, at Valencia, Comrades Manuel Hernandez and Antonio Gil are assassinated by the *Guardia civil*. 22nd, again at Valencia the secretary of the Wood Workers' Union Alfredo Masero is assassinated. The same day the *somatenas* kill Hermenegildo Latasa. 25th, 2 young men, Domingo Ribas and Ricardo Pi, 18 and 20 years of age respectively are killed through the application of the *ley de fuga* (law of flight) after having been atrociously tortured at the prefecture.

February. 8th, Alberto Coll and Batista Tolon, members of the building trade-union are killed by assassins in the employ of the free unions. 10th, José Torres Cortés seriously wounded. 17th, assassination of Lorenzo Planas. The hunt after union members becomes the order of the day of the bourgeoisie and is approved by the government of Dato. 17th, Antonio Barguer Casanova is seriously wounded. 22nd, Hernandez and Joaquín Villana are seriously wounded by the police; José Riera is killed. 25th, Comrades José Crusat and Sébastian Canals are killed. 26th, André Valls Ventura is killed, 3 other comrades are wounded. 28th, attempt on the life of Agustini Canet and Luis Tubau who is wounded. At Valencia Juan Perez is killed by the *Guardia Civil*.

March. 3rd, Arrest of Evelio Boal who is kept in secret confinement several days. When he comes out he is incapable of moving his bruised and broken limbs. 4th, Juan Barachi is

wounded by the police. 8th, the man chiefly responsible for all these crimes, the president of the Council, Dato, is killed at last by a courageous representative of general indignation. 18th, Armando Rodénas dies as a result of the torture he underwent at the hands of the police. 19th, attempt on the life of Comrade Corominas. 22nd, assassination of the young comrade Emilio Despla. 28th, Augustin Subirats is killed in his home; 4 other comrades are wounded the same day.

For about one month assassinations cease. Only arrests and detention go on as before. But the bloody series is soon continued.

April. 15th, Hilario Felipe, struck in the street by several bullets, is wounded mortally. 16th, several workers of the farm Alexandre are attacked by members of the Free Union—1 is killed, several wounded. 27, José Piquetas is killed by the police. 28th, Jaime Gras is seriously wounded. 29th, assassination of Francisco Rafols and José Monserrat. 30th, assassination of Felipe Lozano.

May. 1th, Andre Scabré and Julian de Pedro are wounded by the *somatenas*. 6th, assassination of J. Torrecasana. 10th, Gregorio Faber is killed by the police (*ley de juga*). The same day Bertan and José Palau fall under the blows of the White bands. 18th, assassination of M. Mas. 20th, Vicario Pfeifferer is killed.

At this time maltreatment and torture become general in the prisons. The prisoners are threatened with "poison injections" to be rid of them. General Arlegui presides at the special cross examinations which are sessions of torture.

June. 1st, assassination of Pedro Planellas. 2nd, assassination of Ramon Girones. 8th, assassination of Pedro Ramos. 10th, assassination of B. Peyo and E. Miguel. The same day at Mataro, several comrades killed in the Aragonats bar. 11th, assassination of Jesus Parrado. 17th, assassination of Rosendo Gimenez, editor of the liberal *Tarde* and attempt on the life of the director of the journal who disapproved of these crimes. The same day, Evelio Boal and Antonio Pehu, secretary-treasurer of the N.F.L., are assassinated on leaving the police station. The workers in the prison who refuse to receive "injections" are liberated only to be met by assassins upon leaving. 18th, José Dominguez of the glass workers' committee is killed. 21st, Antonio Coll is killed. 27th, Ramon Archs and Pedro Vandellos, two of the best militants of the Barcelona organization, are killed after having been frightfully tortured. Archs had his eyes crushed, his bones disjointed, his skull cut up. Vandellos was decapitated. Francisco Jordan, former secretary of the N.F.L., well-known libertarian writer, is assassinated. Conrade Gaspar after having been tortured is liberated only to fall in the street under the blows of the police. 29th, Emilio Cervera Caves and Ramon Panella are killed by the police after frightful tortures. In Gironella, Comrade Segal is wounded. At Bilbao 2 union workers are killed in the shop.

August. At Sueca (Valencia) Camillo Albert, José Franqueza and Batista Frau are assassinated.

November. 30, Disappearance of Jaime Llenas and other comrades.

In the first days of December comrades J. Aycart, I. Calduch, Mestre, Molins, Jaime Espina, Juan Alemany, El Mano were assassinated.

There are now in the prisons over 1500 of our comrades at the mercy of their inquisitors. For three years, the country has been witnessing these crimes insensibly. Whenever one speaks of social questions it is only to enlarge the police army that is, the army of crime. The blood of the hundreds of militants assassinated, the suffering of the thousands of prisoners, the anxiety and starvation of the families are crying vengeance, Remember them!

The Russian Counter-Revolutionists in Bulgaria.

by Chr. Kabaktchieff.

** The Bulgarian bourgeois and the Stamboliski government have thrown open Bulgaria's doors to the Russian counter-revolutionists, who are at large in our country as in the Russia of the Czar. And even more. The Bulgarian Government has fully subordinated itself to the Russian counter-revolutionists. Under the influence of the Allied Powers and the princes and generals living in Bulgaria, the Government is carrying on an insolent, hostile and provoking policy towards Soviet Russia. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie, who cringed before Czarist Russia, bears a deadly hatred against revolutionary Russia, against the Russia of the workers and peasants.

Yet only the bourgeoisie is taking this hostile, irreconcilable and criminal attitude towards Soviet Russia. The workers and peasants of Bulgaria are inspired with sympathy

and gratitude towards the revolutionary Russian people. This sympathy and gratitude are deeply rooted in their hearts. The liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke was the result of the Russian war against Turkey in 1877-78. This war was undertaken by Russian Czarism with the aim of dominating the Balkans and Constantinople. The Bulgarian people, however, are grateful to the Russian workers and peasants who shed their blood in the war from which resulted the liberation of Bulgaria. Furthermore, the Bulgarian and Russian peoples, being both of Slavic origin, have kindred language, religion etc. And last but not least the Russian Revolution, by overthrowing Czarism, abolished the danger of Bulgaria and other Balkan states being conquered and transformed into a "Danube Government" of despotic Russia. This was the aim of the Czar for decades. Therefore the Bulgarian workers and peasants appreciate the heroic revolutionary struggle which the Russian people is carrying on for all oppressed peoples and exploited classes of the world.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie and its Government, however, do not take into account these feelings of the Bulgarian people towards the Russian Workers' and Peasants Republic. Against these sentiments and the most evident economic, political and national interests of the Bulgarian people, the bourgeoisie has become an instrument in the hands of the Entente imperialists and of Russian princes, generals and *Pomeshtiks* (Junkers) and maintains a criminal provocative policy towards Soviet Russia.

The publication of the secret documents of the Russian Czarist government exposed the criminal treaties which the Bulgarian bourgeoisie had concluded with this government. In one of these treaties, signed in 1902, Bulgaria put its army, its harbors and its independence at the disposal of the Russian Czar. The treaty of 1912 in which Czar Nicholas bribed the former Bulgarian "Czar" Ferdinand with 5 million leva, caused Bulgaria, as an instrument of Russia, to participate in the war of the Balkans which resulted in Bulgaria's defeat.

During the world war, the Bulgarian government sold itself to the German emperor. To-day, however, it is again a tool of the Entente and in common with the Russian counter-revolutionists conspires against Soviet Russia.

In 1919 the Bulgarian Government permitted a number of Denikin's generals to enter Varna (harbor at the Black Sea) thus making Bulgaria a refuge of the Denikin army. Simultaneously the government provided this army with hundreds of carloads of munitions. Proceedings were started against the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party because they exposed this support of the counter-revolution and conducted an energetic campaign against it. Yet, the great victory of the Communists in the ensuing elections prevented the government from throwing the E.C. into jail.

Some time later the government undertook the support of the army of Wrangel. After the defeat of this army, Bulgaria became the refuge of a large proportion of these counter-revolutionary troops. Thousands of "fugitives", among them a great number of generals, officers and junkers, overran the towns and cities of Bulgaria and the government spent tens of millions for their support. Recently the government has begun to employ for this purpose its debt of 82 millions to Russia in spite of the clear and energetic protest of the Russian Soviet Government (Chicherin's note of July 10th, 1921).

The most revolting and scandalous act, however, was the transport of the remnants of the counter-revolutionary army of Wrangel, comprising about 20,000 men, from Gallipoli (near Constantinople) to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Government did not only not protest against the arrival of a foreign *armed force* in our country, but officially welcomed and liberally supported it. The Communist Party published a number of documents proving that this Russian counter-revolutionary army receives financial support not only from Paris, but also from Bulgaria. This army is housed in the barracks of all important towns. It is in possession of guns and other weapons; it has its own police and court martials which on Bulgarian territory are condemning to death and executing Russian workers and peasants who are not willing to submit to the yoke of the counter-revolutionary gang of Wrangel.

The admission of this foreign army to Bulgaria signifies the abolishment of the sovereignty of the state and the occupation of our country. This army is a direct threat to the political independence of the Bulgarian people and may force the people to participate in a counter-revolutionary war against Soviet Russia. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie does not care for that; on the contrary, after the disarmament of Bulgaria by the Allies, it needs this foreign army in order to maintain its rule over the discontented masses of workers and peasants. The government itself is threatened by the proximity of Soviet Russia and the Red peril haunts the bourgeois in their dreams.

As the Bulgarian bourgeoisie is not able itself to fight the Communist Party and the ever growing revolutionary movement, it is willing to utilize these foreign mercenaries to keep down its own people. In September 1918 it used German soldiers, machine guns and cannons in order to slaughter 300 Bulgarian soldiers who had undertaken a revolt. To-day the generals of the Wrangel army are freely moving about in Bulgaria and publicly threatening that they will revenge their defeat in Russia upon the Bulgarian Communists. The leaders of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, the Government and Czar Boris, however, are arranging banquets in Sofia in honor of Wrangel's generals and are toasting the victory of Wrangel over the Russian people.

Now, the entire staff of the defeated Wrangel army, with its present leader general Kutepoff, notorious for his horrible atrocities, has taken refuge in Bulgaria. The arrival of Wrangel is expected. This counter-revolutionary staff has established two military schools in Bulgaria with several hundred officers as pupils. It has, moreover, under the name of "Battle Society for the Rescue of Russia" organised a secret counter-revolutionary organization which is sending conspirators to Russia over the Black Sea. According to the rules of this society these conspirators must blow up railways, factories, electric stations, etc., to assassinate the leaders of the Soviet Republic, to prepare counter-revolutionary upheavals, etc.

The Bulgarian Government answers the repeated notes of Chicherin and Rakovski with insolent lies and insults or with silence. The miserable lackeys of Briand in Sofia use a still more infamous language towards Soviet Russia than their master himself. The Bulgarian Government is a blind tool of the French counter-revolutionists. The president of the Government, Stamboliski, recently stated to the correspondent of the Paris "Journal": "If the Red Army successfully attacks (?) our neighbor Roumania and the Allied Powers ask us to remain neutral, we shall follow their advice. If France, however, calls 'onward!' we shall without hesitate unanimously join our flags with the French in order to preserve the culture and freedom of Europe." The appeal of the Russian Red Cross on November 27th, 1921, to the Bulgarian Red Cross with regard to the workers and peasants of the Wrangel army, who have been pardoned by the Soviet Government (decree of the Central Executive Committee of November 3rd) was answered in the negative. In this appeal the Bulgarian Red Cross was asked to bring its influence to bear upon the Bulgarian Government towards supporting the above mentioned soldiers, a large proportion of whom are willing to return to their country.

The following facts are typical for the attitude of Bulgaria towards Soviet Russia. In May 1921 an Ukrainian commercial mission in Varna, consisting of three persons, was arrested and robbed; in September of the same year another Ukrainian commercial mission at Oarna was confined under the pretext of "quarantine" and later on expelled from Bulgaria. The protests of the Communist Party and its 40 representatives in parliament, were answered by silence. The Party however, put this question before the broad masses and will with them open the battle against the bourgeoisie and its government.

In general the Bulgarian bourgeoisie executes the policy of Entente imperialism and of the Russian counter-revolution. After having made Bulgaria and the other Balkan states a bridge to Constantinople and Asia Minor, Entente imperialism has set itself the task of crushing Communism in the Balkans and of utilizing the peoples of the Balkans for the intended counter-revolutionary war against Russia. For this purpose they have transported the Wrangel Army to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie is supporting this policy; they welcome the Russian generals and junkers with open arms and conspire together with them against Soviet Russia. The Communist Party of Bulgaria is fighting this treacherous counter-revolutionary policy. In common with the Communist Parties of Jugoslavia, Roumania and Greece, it is raising the banner of the future Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of the Balkans.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Session of the Enlarged Executive.

Moscow, 22 February.

** The session of the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International opened on the 21st of February in the Kremlin in the same hall in which the Third Congress held its

sessions. Over thirty countries are represented. Delegates are also present from the Red Trade Union International, the Young Communist International, the International Women's Secretariat, the International Cooperative Secretariat and the International Union of Red Proletarian Sport Clubs.

There are present 92 delegates from the following countries:—

America	Finland	Latvia
Armenia	France	Lithuania
Australia	Georgia	Norway
Austria	Germany	Poland
Bulgaria	Holland	Russia
China	Hungary	South Africa
Constantinople	Iceland	Spain
Czecho-Slovakia	India	Sweden
Denmark	Italy	Switzerland
England	Japan	Ukraine
Esthonia	Jugoslavia	

After the opening of the session by Zinovieff, the Presidium was elected, containing among others, Zinovieff, Clara Zetkin, MacManus and Valetzki. Rakoczy reported for the Credentials Commission. Four committees were elected: On the French question (7 comrades), on the English question (5 comrades), on the Youth (7 comrades) and on the Hungarian question (4 comrades).

An order of business was adopted, containing 21 points, as follows:—

- 1— Report of the German Communist Party.
- 2— Report of the French Communist Party.
- 3— Report of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party.
- 4— Report of the Italian Communist Party.
- 5— Report of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
- 6— Report of the Communist Party of America.
- 7— Report of the Polish Communist Party.
- 8— Report of the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries.
- 9— Report of the Executive Committee.
- 10— The united front.
- 11— The fight against new imperialist wars.
- 12— The trade-union movement.
- 13— The economic policy of the Soviet government.
- 14— The famine and economic relief for Soviet Russia.
- 15— The condition of the labor movement in France.
- 16— The Communist press and the "International Press Correspondence."
- 17— Proletarian Youth, its economic demands and the fight against its impoverishment.
- 18— The Hungarian question.
- 19— The inner organization of the Third International.
- 20— Preparations for the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.
- 21— Election of the Presidium of the Executive Committee and of the secretary.

Under the first point on the order of business, Comrade August Thalheimer reported on the economic situation in Germany. He stated that the condition of the working-class has in the last year gone from bad to worse. The "prosperity" of German industry due to the depreciation of the mark and the dumping of German goods in the markets of the world, has begun to vanish. The Communist Party has been at work since the Jena Convention to put into practise the tactics outlined by the Third Congress. The efforts of the Social Democrats and the trade-union bureaucrats to make political capital out of the so-called "revelations" of the Berlin "Vorwärts" has met with practically no success. The Communist Party lost merely a group of leaders, but the masses' confidence in the Party was not affected and is growing day by day.

Clara Zetkin spoke on the political significance of the recent railway strike in Germany. She declared that the objective conditions for the proletarian revolution are ripe, yes overripe, in Germany. What is lacking are the necessary subjective conditions—the readiness of the German proletariat. The railway strike forged a firm bond between the Party and the masses of the workers and had tremendously increased the prestige and influence of the Party.

Marcell Cachin pictured conditions in the French Communist Party. He pointed out that numerically the French Communist Party is the most important political party in France. Its central organ, "Humanité", has the largest circulation and the greatest influence of any working-class journal in France. The Party has concentrated its agitation and propaganda campaign upon the fight against militarism, imperialism and war.