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POLITICS

The Present Situation in Switzerland.

by G. Herzog (Zürich).

** Swiss policy, which at the beginning of the World War was one of covert friendliness towards Germany, has since 1917 turned towards the Entente. The ostensible reason for this change was afforded by the well-known Petrograd incident of the Social Democrat Grimm who as President of the Zimmerwald Commission journeyed to Russia, but secretly tried to arrange a separate peace between the Russian bourgeoisie and the Hohenzollern, through the mediation of the Germanophile Swiss Minister Hoffmann. The discovery of his cipher telegram led to the dismissal of Hoffmann. He was replaced by the faithful Ententophile Ador, who converted the whole Swiss government into a servant of the Allies. This change was reflected in their attitude towards Russia: fanatical hatred as long as the Entente was agreed on this question; wavering and hesitation when the unity of the Entente on this point was broken.

Swiss industry is going through a grave crisis. An essentially industrial country (agriculture only employs about 22 % of its population and the importance of the so-called tourist trade is, apart from some thinly populated mountain districts, compared with the total population, very small), its exports were in the nature of highly skilled articles of luxury—watches, silk, chocolate, laces; moreover an old machine industry and a developing chemical industry. The increasing poverty of Europe brought these industries to a standstill; the extraordinary height of the Swiss franc which already exceeds the dollar does the rest and in Switzerland today every third worker is permanently unemployed. The characteristic feature of this crisis consists in the fact that the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie and the peasants, for a long time refused to seek a way out, on the grounds of clear, conscious, bourgeois class-war policy. These Swiss had viewed with anxiety the Russian and German revolutions and had themselves since 1916 experienced revolutionary tremors in their own proletariat. The latter in 1918 carried out a great general strike which violently shook the country and compelled the Government to seek protection behind the Army and the general staff. And then they studied Marxism in their way. One of the most influential politicians of then governing party, Professor Laur, recognized the root of the evil to be not in high prices, not in unemployment, but in the existence of proletarian masses and he sounded the slogan: Back to agriculture, to economic self-dependence. He stated that in Switzerland there were a million superfluous people who must disappear from the country. In short the bourgeoisie repudiated its historical task of developing the means of production from fear of producing its own grave diggers and instead of seeking employment for the hungry proletarians and markets for its manufactures, it advised them to emigrate and concentrated its forces on the formation of civil guards. Its sociological vitality was sinking and it sought to encase itself in a constantly increasing protective covering of physical force.

As long as the Entente blockaded Russia, the Swiss bourgeoisie quietly submitted to fate and abdicated the leadership

to Laur who meanwhile had formed his own Peasant Parties in several Cantons and a Peasant Group in Parliament. All proposals by our Comrades to alleviate the crisis by trade-relations and the granting of credits to Soviet Russia were opposed by an obstinate "We won't!" A government representative declared that it must first be ascertained whether the money with which the Bolsheviki would pay had not been stolen.

In the meantime the course of events changed. The blockade collapsed owing to differences between England and France, and the Swiss industrialists whose fear of a revolution since the general strike was not quite dispelled, began timidly to ask themselves whether they would not perhaps appear a little foolish in the eyes of history. But their conversion was complete when Swiss agriculture itself was drawn into the economic crisis. The peasants had during the prevalence of the high prices of food through the war earned tremendous sums; the price of land had increased and with it mortgage burdens. Today, owing to the high exchange, prices in Switzerland are tending towards their pre-war level and the peasant sees himself faced with gigantic new liabilities to meet which he no longer has a high income. Swiss cheese, condensed milk, milk chocolate, breeding cattle, etc., find an insufficient domestic market and abroad, scarcely any market at all.

These new conditions have led to the breaking up of the "Economic Self Dependence" school. A group of industrialists under the leadership of a manufacturer of chocolate openly demanded of the government the granting of a credit of one hundred million Swiss francs to Soviet Russia in order to revive the export of machinery, textiles and watches and also that of Swiss agricultural products. The breeders of cattle who were severely affected by the condition of the export trade, especially hope to be able to do good business by supplying the needs of Russia.

Our party in Parliament questioned the Government as to what its attitude was, and received the typical answer that the attitude of Switzerland to Russia depended upon the result of the Genoa Conference. Taken all in all it can be said today that Switzerland is hoping to trade with Russia, undisturbed as to whether Russian gold was stolen from the people by the Czar or from the Czar by the Bolsheviki. It would willingly, right willingly, trade with Russia, if it only dared.

As an illustration of the desperate economic condition of the Swiss people it suffices to mention that of a total of about 800,000 employed in industry 200,000 are wholly or partially unemployed, and that from month to month the number of the unemployed increase by thousands. This great mass is not able to emigrate in spite of the cynical advice of the bourgeois leaders to that effect; and so for the Swiss bourgeoisie there remain but two possibilities; either they must without delay place the workers again in the factories where they will work for the restoration of Russia; or they must in a short time cause them to face the machine guns of the civil guards, by whose bullets, however, will be destroyed, not only the hungry city proletariat, but the future of the whole country.

Corruption in Poland.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** The recent stormy scenes which took place in the Polish Sejm on the occasion of the exposures regarding the unsavory affairs of the Peasant Party created a great stir and directed the attention of the public to the cancerous corruption that is eating at the heart of the state organs of Poland. The facts which have come to light are of interest in so far as Poland is not an isolated instance, but only an example of a widespread malady, which makes particular headway in those states set up by the Treaty of Versailles.

This more or less international post-war phenomenon assumes in the Eastern Border and adjoining states a particularly vicious form, for the reason that these states, being for the most part agrarian, have with the introduction of the after-war "democracy" fallen into the hands of that class in modern society, which is the greatest enemy of culture—the large and moderately large peasant class.

This class of village bourgeoisie, which thanks to democracy has unexpectedly come into possession of political power, has absolutely no political ideology. Incapable of extending its political outlook beyond the narrow circle of its own parish, it regards politics in exactly the same way as its own peasant undertakings: only a means of self-enrichment. This class is indeed "democratic", but this democracy employs itself in the effort to weaken, and where possible, to exterminate aristocratic great landowners in whom the peasantry see the chief enemy. In Poland, Pilsudski has been able by appropriately emphasizing his "democracy", to make himself the accepted hero of this particular class. The struggle of the great bourgeois classes against the foreign policy of this former Austrian volunteer leader only increased his popularity with the members of the Peasant Party. They stuck to him through thick and thin and supported his military dictatorship, so much the more when the fortunes of war and the quite common war profiteering brought them considerable gains. And the corruption among the leaders of this "democracy" grew beyond all bounds. Now it is all slowly beginning to leak out. Not perchance because the moral tone of the ruling classes is beginning to improve, but because the the approaching election renders it imperative for every party to discredit its opponents.

It is characteristic that these unpleasant exposures for the Peasant Party leaders come from its own ranks. The Peasant Party in Poland has three fractions: the Piast Party (under the leadership of Witos), the "left" Peasant Party (Stapinski) and the "Liberation". The two first sections in particular, who already existed in Galicia under Austrian rule, where Parliamentary corruption reached enormous dimensions, carried on a continual partisan struggle with each other. Stapinski is known not only as a politician, but also as a petroleum agent; the previous Premier, Witos, dealt more in wood. When the Witos Party succeeded to power during the offensive of the Red Army in the Summer of 1920 it inaugurated an unexampled policy of corruption, which was only exposed much later. Thus the former Minister for Agriculture, Bardel, was recently compelled to resign his seat, because it was shown that he had as a Minister granted to himself and his relatives certain lucrative forest concessions. The latest scandals exposed by Stapinski and the National Democrats are yet worse, because all the heads of the Peasant Party are involved in them. It appears that the leaders of the Party with Witos at their head, founded a "Polish American Bank", which even before it was registered did a business running into millions. A member of the bank's board of directors was the chairman of the Standing Committee for the Realization of Land Reform, Kiernik, who, it has now been proved, expropriated a large manorial estate which was in German hands in favor of the "Polish-American Bank", which then proceeded to parcel out the property and demanded of the peasants a price exceeding the purchase price by about 2000%.

The outcry of the opposition parties in the Sejm over this episode was so great that a vote of censure was passed against Kiernik by a large majority and he had to resign. (Strange to relate the whole government did not feel itself disturbed by this affair and remained in office).

The Peasant Party revenged itself for this exposure by bringing against Stapinski the facts of his petroleum business and against the National Democrats the affair of the Posen Industrial Bank, which bank by means of its speculations in the fall of the Polish valuta "earned" no less than 317 million Polish marks.

We will not go into details concerning these attractive affairs. The nature of this peasant "democracy", which is nothing else than the rule of an unscrupulous clique of political speculators, is sufficiently evident. It is interesting to see how the Social Patriots respond to these unpleasant political phenomena. For it is actually this governing clique which established itself on the collapse of the defeated proletarian revolution, "Democracy" pure and simple. They care not in the least that under the rule of the Peasant Party the system of oppression of the working-class is in full bloom. They support the party of Witos because their real though unofficial leader, Pilsudski, possesses in this party his strongest bulwark against the capitalist parties (the National Democrats and their allied groups). During the last phase of the war against Soviet Russia they supported the Witos Government as the "Workers and Peasants Government" (the "workers" were represented there by Daszynski!) and took energetic part in the reign of terror against the working-class. During the sensational debate on the dealings of the Polish American Bank the deputies of the P.P.S. wrapped themselves in silence, abstained during the vote of censure for the speculations of Kiernik and in their press attacked the National Democrats who, moved by party considerations, had lowered the dignity of the Sejm. This corrupt great peasant republic is precisely the best ground for social patriotism, which defends it against undisguised bourgeois reaction as well as—and indeed much more effectively—against the proletarian revolution.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Situation in Alsace-Lorraine and the Iron Mines of Longwy-Briey-Nancy in 1921.

by A. Dubois (Metz).

There is nothing today to justify the jubilation of the French industrial and financial journals, who all too optimistically considered the tiding over of the economic crisis in France as having been achieved. From the statistical material we have at our disposal the contrary is to be inferred and a real restoration of economic life—compared with the production of the year 1913—cannot be spoken of.

The following figures may illustrate the position of the iron mines and smelting works of Lorraine and the adjacent basins of Longwy, Briey and Nancy:

Iron Production in tons:

	Basins		
	Metz-Diedenhofen	Longwy-Briey	Nancy
1913	21,133,676	18,062,016	1,916,916
1920	8,075,000	4,180,000	816,000
1921	7,816,674	4,819,156	603,644

The output of iron in the first month of 1921 was not reached again until the end of the year. In January the total output of the three basins amounted to 1,428,491 tons; this fell considerably in the middle of the year and in December rose again to 1,244,931 tons. We are still far below the average monthly production of 3,426,000 tons in 1913.

The stocks of iron ore lying at the pit mouths have further increased from 3,042,930 tons at the end of December 1920 to 3,519,215 tons in December 1921. The corresponding reduction of the stocks is of interest:

Employed:	Basins		
	Metz-Diedenhofen	Briey-Longwy	Nancy
1913	17,000	15,537	2,103
December 1920	10,013	7,467	1,346
December 1921	8,974	5,822	632

The expected increase of iron exports to Germany as a result of the Wiesbaden Treaty will for the time being not be realized owing to the disastrous fall of the mark and the high prices of Spanish and Swedish ore. The export to Germany amounting to 4,500,000 tons in 1913 was in the first 10 months of 1921 only 612,000 tons. In the last few weeks it has been absolutely nil. Nor is there any improvement to be seen at the smelting works. The following table shows the position in the different areas:

Existing blast furnaces:	In Operation:		
	Jan. 1, 1921	Dec. 31, 1921	Jan. 31, 1922
Lorraine	66	27	22
Longwy-Briey-Nancy	85	33	27
			17
			31.

The iron production of Lorraine amounted in 1921 to 1,424,000 tons as against 3,862,000 tons in 1913, the steel production to 1,30,000 tons in 1921 as against 2,263,000 tons in 1913.

The position of the coal mines in Lorraine appears much more favorable. The total production for 1921 amounted to 3,641,328 tons compared with 3,795,000 tons in 1913. We must recollect, however, that a great part of the French coal mines were destroyed in the war so that in spite of the reduced consumption by France a higher production by the remaining coal mines was required. With the restoration of the destroyed French mines, there must also take place a reduced production or a disproportionate increased storing of coal. The weakness of the market, which has made itself felt in the last few weeks, is responsible for the accumulation of huge stocks in Lorraine as well.

In the Alsatian potash industry the expected improvement has not taken place in spite of the storage of considerable stocks; the production of 1921 (895,744 tons raw salt) has not reached that of 1920 (1,203,000 tons). A even further decrease of the output and wholesale dismissals have been reported in the last few days.

The condition of the soda and textile industry has become more acute in the last year; these two industries suffer especially by every fresh fall of the mark, as up to now they have not succeeded in finding another market than Germany.

The few remaining important industries suffer under a universal depression and in comparison with the previous year exhibit no improvement.

Here as everywhere Capital attempts with desperate efforts to restore its shattered economic system at the expense of the working-class. This is shown by the general offensive against the eight-hour day the attacks on wages and the protest strikes which from time to time blaze out.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Question of the Eight Hour Day in France.

by Paul Louis (Paris).

** The eight-hour question is not developing very rapidly in France, and it seems that the possessing class does not dare to touch upon it without a certain prudence and for a good reason.

The law of 1919 which introduced the eight-hour day in France, at a time when this measure was the subject of international discussions, was never fully applied. Like all other laws of this kind, after having formulated a general principle, it denounced it in every way. The working receives something in lump form, and later it is taken from them bit by bit.

Under the cover of this, they have succeeded in making the workers put in much more than eight hours in many professions and many regions. Thus in the devastated region of the North, of Pas-de-Calais, of the Somme, of the Meuse, of the Ardennes, the eight-hour day has been reintroduced or maintained. They say the day should be lengthened because of the necessity of proceeding more rapidly in the restoration of cities and factories, restoration which has not made much progress on account of that law.

That was not all. France has not been by spared the industrial crisis of the world and its principal industry, that of luxury, has been hit heavily. Profiting by this, the employers lowered salaries. They threatened their force with a lockout if they did not consent to reductions which fluctuated between 25 and 30 %, and in many localities, a sort of compromise was drawn up in which the proletariat naturally paid the expenses. The owners diminished the hourly pay, and lengthened the day, sometimes giving a premium for additional hours, and the workers accepted this regime rather than suffer new privations. If the proletariat had a strong national and international organization, certain concessions would not taken place. But there is no doubt that they are now being made.

The possessing class, however, was not satisfied. They wished to superimpose a more general law on this law. First they proposed purely and simply to abrogate the law of 1919, that is to reestablish the 10 hour day in certain cases, and an absolutely arbitrary one in other cases; but this move seemed if not brutal

at least too awkward, and they resumed a more hypocritical method of procedure which appeared more artful.

Thus various motions were made in the Chamber:

Adjournment of the law for five years; suspension for 10 years; suspension for 10 years with the amendment that action upon it could be deferred further if the case demanded it; insertions of new limiting clauses in the law, those which appear being already considered as insufficient.

When the Poincaré Cabinet stepped into office it made no reference to the eight-hour law in its ministerial platform. The Minister of Labor, a Radical senator, M. Peyronnet, declared that he would not change the text, but he added that the provisions were so simple that they could be adopted to every economic need. What such language signifies is quite evident.

The Minister of Public Works, M. Le Trocquer, whose Napoleonic stand is well-known, has undertaken the task of reestablishing the long hour day, with a strong determination. His argument is that the eight-hour day ruins the companies, because the working force must greatly ingreased, and his conclusion is that it is not sufficient for the force to be present eight hours, but they should be obliged to put in eight hours of actual work. When a mechanic leaves his locomotive, the compulsory rest which he takes will be deducted from the eight hours, his day can thus be extended to 12 and 14 hours or more. The day of a station master would be 24 hours. The railroad workers are agitated and it is hoped that they will defend themselves.

But the offensive of the owners and the government will not last. The Radical Party in a motion declared that it supported the eight-hour day, but it agreed to make use of every angle of the law. The first part is for the workers whose votes it hopes to capture, and the second is for the owning class, whose interests it serves. This motion means that the Radicals will support all the violations that the minister choses to make.

In fact, the eight-hour day is threatened, but the working-class has an admirable opportunity to reestablish its united front of action against the Bloc National and against the possessing class. If it yields on this point, its servitude will some become more acute.

The Syndicalists and the International.

by Andreas Nin.

(On the Occasion of a Recent Incident in Germany).

** The strength of Revolutionary Syndicalism lies in this, that it relies chiefly for support upon the broad laboring masses, whose interests, and instinctive desire and efforts to struggle for life it embodies. The doctrine of Syndicalism finds expression in the uninterrupted class-struggle, in the unrelenting assault upon the stronghold of Capitalism. Syndicalism is action.

Nothing is more strange than when this fighting Syndicalism which is to be found chiefly in France, Italy and Spain is faced with German Syndicalism. The latter's chief representatives (Rocker, Kater and others) have not yet forsaken their old position of demagogic Anarchism and even the great events since 1914 (the World War and the Russian Revolution) have failed to change their outlook. Their press organs would seem to convey the impression that their contents are intended for the perusal of people living in the late seventies than for men of the present time.

Always "up in the clouds", as Rosa Luxemburg said, they stand aside as mere spectators in the great battles fought by the proletarian masses in Germany or, what is still worse, go hand in hand with counter-revolutionaries, as was the case in the March days of 1921. One would like to believe that this was not due to self-interest. On the question of political power, dictatorship and other dangerous problems which the historical time we are passing through places before revolutionaries, they take up a position which is more in keeping with the Tolstoian principle of "non-resistance" than with Revolutionary Syndicalism.

German Revolutionary Syndicalism represents a motley group of metaphysical theorists, who awaken the same interest as antedeluvian specimens in a museum, but no more. We would give no further attention to it, and had not some comrades of Western Europe informed us to the actual character of this Syndicalism, we would have ascribed more importance to it than it actually deserves.

This false valuation of the ideological riches and the numerical significance of the Syndicalist "Freie Arbeiter Union"

(Free Workers' Union) of Germany leads to the strange result, that whilst the movement is perfectly insignificant in its own country, in other countries it possesses a certain specific importance. For this reason it is necessary for us to deal with the attempt of the German Syndicalists to set up an International Union, which in the event of it being successful should lead to awakening of the powers of the international proletariat.

At their National Conference which took place in Düsseldorf it was decided to convene a conference for the formation of an autonomous Syndicalist International, in order thus to renew the splitting tactics which they already announced in December 1920 in Berlin and which the entire lack of any support on the part of the working masses turned into a fiasco. In Düsseldorf this attempt at disintegration was supported by Lansing of Holland, Kasparson of Sweden and Williams of the United States. For the rest none of them was empowered by his organization to subscribe to such a plan as could inflict a great deal of damage upon the revolutionary movement.

Lansing might express the feeling of the "National Workers Secretariat". Although in the Dutch Syndicalist organizations opinions are divided, their delegates to the formation Congress of the Red Trade Union International voted for unconditional affiliation with Moscow, this being the attitude of most of their members.

In Sweden a process of elucidation is going on, but the crisis is not yet solved and the Red Trade Union International receives strong sympathy.

Williams, this anxious and vacillating delegate, who during the Congress had declared that he could not recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, (he fears that in that case the authorities of the United States would close the central bookshop of his organization) cannot be regarded as representing the outlook of these proved and courageous antagonists of capitalism, the Industrial Workers of the World, whose most prominent representatives are either in prison or exiled. The Executive Committee of the I. W. W. has pronounced against affiliation with Moscow; at the same time, however, it refused support to the initiative of the German Syndicalists. We are convinced that the I. W. W. in a short time will free itself from the wavering elements who stand at present at the head of the organization and will affiliate with us.

In spite of the crisis of French Syndicalism and the indecision of the Italian as well as the Spanish and Portuguese Syndicalists we are convinced that the full recognition of the Red Trade Union International by the Syndicalist workers is only a question of time and that the German plan will suffer defeat.

We will now consider how the promulgators of the new International justify their activity.

"In view of the fact that the Congress of the Red Trade Union International which took place in Moscow, has come to no result", so runs a resolution adopted in Düsseldorf, "as it has not founded an actual Syndicalist International, this meeting decides to convene an independent International Syndicalist Congress".

The German Syndicalists had expected to obtain from Moscow what by reason of its very constitution was impossible. We were never of the opinion and certainly not a single delegate, who has taken part in our work, had ever thought for a moment, that the Congress could end with the formation of an International of a specific Revolutionary Syndicalist character. Its purpose was more the unification—upon the ground of mutual concessions—of all those Syndicalist organizations accepting the principle of the class war and opposing the compromising tactics and social peace propagated of the yellow Amsterdam International.

If every tendency and shade of opinion wished to form its own international organization, it would end in the formation of a great number of international groups which would fight amongst themselves to the advantage of the capitalist class. "Purity" of principles would be assured, but the interests of the bourgeoisie would not be in the least injured thereby.

We cannot understand the purpose of the German Syndicalists. There would be some sense in it, if these comrades could prove to us that those organizations, adhering to our principles, are strong enough to carry the social revolution to completion throughout the world. Revolutionary Syndicalism has its fighting traditions and a firm foundation in the workers' movements in the Latin countries. In Central Europe and in the scarcely awakened Orient Revolutionary Syndicalism is, however, absolutely unknown, and it would be a mistake to organize

the international revolutionary forces without taking into account the fight of the European and American masses as also the trade-union movements in Russia and in the East.

In the period previous to the world war the International in fact united only the proletariat of the European countries. Meanwhile there exist in the East and in the Far East millions of workers, who are exposed to the most terrible exploitation. The daily progressing industrial development has also awakened there the proletarian class. In the process of economical development and violent struggles, their organizations are becoming stronger and in the face of extraordinary difficulties they are fearlessly standing up against bourgeois exploitation.

In the period previous to the world war the International in fact united only the proletariat of the European countries. Meanwhile there exist in the East and in the Far East millions of workers, who are exposed to the most terrible exploitation. The daily progressing industrial development has there also awakened the proletarian class. In the process of economical development and violent struggles, their organizations are becoming stronger and in the face of extraordinary difficulties they are fearlessly standing up against bourgeois exploitation.

Over this gigantic area our Revolutionary Syndicalists have not the least influence, and we greatly doubt whether the German Syndicalists will obtain it, even if they for this purpose use a new International, which they propose to create.

Only the international mass organization which has the unshakable will to carry through the revolution can gather about it the revolutionary workers of all countries. No other organization outside the Red Trade Union International gives us so many guarantees in this respect. To sever from it means to leave the revolutionary circle and to promote the efforts to split the forces fighting against the bourgeois rule, and this at a moment when the capitalist class is concentrating and mobilizing all its strength. Therefore it is today more necessary than ever to safeguard the unity of all elements fighting for the social revolution.

The Labor Movement in Persia.

by S. M. Denkan.

We take the following interesting statements concerning the labor movement in Persia from the report of the chairman of the Trade Union Council of Teheran, Comrade Denkan, to the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International. (Compare the "Red Trade Union International" Jan. 20, 1922.)

** The first labor union in Persia was founded at Teheran in 1907. It included the workers of the printing establishments. In 1918, after a strike of fourteen days, it succeeded in achieving some betterments for the workers; moreover, the agreement entered into was confirmed by the Government. The most important achievement of this strike was the introduction of the eight-hour day and payment for overtime. This victory of the organized printers gave a stimulus for the creation of other labor organizations. Soon after, and especially in 1919, the Union of Employees of Textile Houses, the Bakers' Union and many others were organized.

At present there are about 10 trade-unions in Teheran and the membership is gradually increasing. These trade-unions are united into a Trade Union Council, with 3 delegates from each trade-union. The movement is also spreading in the provinces and Enseli, Rescht, Tebris and Kum have their labor organizations. Of the 8,000 organized workers of Teheran (Teheran has a population of 280,000 of which 50,000 are workers), the most (3,000) belong to the Bakers' Union; the Tailors' Union counts 2,000 members, the Shoemakers' Union 1,800, the postal employees, the telegraph workers, the pastry cooks, the printers, the store employees, the office employees possess 90—350 organized members each. In Tebris (200,000 inhabitants, 30,000 of those workers) the labor-unions have 3000 members. Attention must be drawn to the fact that the organization of Tebris does not possess the character of a real trade-union but rather that of a labor party. In Rescht (40,000 inhabitants, of these 15,000 workers) the trade-unions of printers, cap makers and shoemakers contain about 3,500 workers, In Enseli and its surroundings the Fishermen's Union contains 9,000 members, 30% of these being Russians. The Dock Workers' Union has 200 members. In Enseli and surroundings there are about 10,000 workers.

As one sees from the above during a short time about 20,000 workers have organized themselves in trade-unions in Persia. The economic situation is very bad; at the same time there is a state of siege in Teheran, Tebriz and several other places. In spite of this the trade-unions are trying to better the conditions of the workers by means of strikes and under the given circumstances this fact in itself can be considered as a great achievement for the trade-union movement. In the last half year, four strikes took place: those of the bakers, the printers, the employees of the textile houses, and the postal employees.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Resolution of the Executive of the Communist International on the Hungarian Party Differences.

** The question of the Communist Party of Hungary was dealt with in a meeting of the Executive on the 17th March. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

The Executive declares that the two fractions of the Hungarian Communist Party have sabotaged the August Agreement although the actual differences in no way rendered the splitting of the Party necessary.

The political situation in Hungary, the intensification of the struggle in the camp of the counter-revolution and the awakening of the labor movement render the unity of the Party an urgent necessity. This unity can only come about, provided the Hungarian Communists exert all their powers in order to assemble around them the fighting workers in the trade-unions and Social Democratic organisations, where they exist as mass-organizations or outside of them and lead them to fight for their interests. The utilization of the trade-unions and the Social Democratic organisations as a basis for gathering together the revolutionary workers and forming a legal labor party, requires the existence of an illegal organization which will hold the movement together and make it amenable to Communist leadership.

For the carrying out of this work the Executive decides to set up a Provisional Central Committee of three members, who will be nominated by the two fractions and the comrades released from prison. Abroad (Russia) the Executive is to appoint the editorial staff of the central organ. The Executive appoints its representative on this staff. The staff is in direct contact with the Executive.

Bettelheim is expelled from the Communist Party of Hungary on account of his pamphlet and *Ungar* from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (in the event of his being a member) on account of his brochure.

Comrades R. and P. who are mostly concerned in this Party conflict, are placed at the disposal of the Executive. All the other comrades who are guilty of breaches of discipline are severely censured. The Executive declares that in the event of any recurrence of these breaches of discipline, the guilty comrades will be instantaneously expelled from the Third International.

All Vienna newspapers are to be discontinued. No Hungarian Party organization is permitted to exist in Vienna. All fractions existing up to the present time are dissolved. The Executive declares in the most emphatic manner that those who do not submit to this decision will be without hesitation expelled from the Third International.

The report was given by Comrade Radek, who also submitted the resolution. The two fractions of the Hungarian Communist Party declared that they accept the resolution and will carry it out in the most loyal manner. Thus the conflict of the fractions within the Communist Party of Hungary can be considered as at an end.

The Convention of the Communist Party of Italy.

By Paul Böttcher.

I. The Result of the Split in Livorno.

** From March 20th to 25th the Second Convention of the Communist Party of Italy took place in Rome. In January 1921 occurred the split of the Socialist Party of Italy, which under the leadership of Serrati refused to exclude the reformists round Turati and thus decided in favor of Turati and against the Communist International. In Livorno the resolution of the Communist fraction received 58,593 votes while 98,000 members voted in favor of the Serrati group. Paul Levi, at that time chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, did not prophesy a good future for the Communist Party of Italy which after the split was formed in the Teatro San Marco in Livorno. For the present collaborator of Hilferding it was certain that the Communist Party of Italy, was a sect.

What was the development of the Italian Party in the first year of its existence? The organizational effects of the Livorno decisions were in most provinces more favorable for the Socialists than for the new Communist Party. In many cases personal reasons caused the members to remain in the Socialist Party. Number of groups remained in the Socialist Party though they had voted in favor of the Communist International. Those workers who were not touched by revolutionary propaganda, by the ideas of the Russian revolution and the Communist International were thus obliged to undergo their political experience under the reformist policy of the Social Democrats. The influence of Turati and of the Parliamentary group which nearly exclusively consisted of reformists, more than before dominated the Party. The policy of joint committees became more and more the policy of the Party. It supported the bourgeois government and entirely failed to struggle against the Fascists. The policy of the Party in the trade-unions and municipal bodies was reformist. The present policy of the Party is without direction, without uniform leadership. The Party is weakened by its political incapacity and its organizational decomposition. Three fractions are fighting against each other within the Party (Turati-Serrati-Lazzari). The revolutionary workers call this Party the Barnum and Bailey Circus. While the Socialists underwent a process of political decomposition, the Communists organized a solid centralized Party under a clear, uniform leadership. The Communist Party of Italy, inspired by a uniform ideology, by a militant spirit towards one aim, has become the organization where all revolutionary workers are gathering. It is comprehensible that in the beginning the Communist Party only hesitatingly admitted new members, because it feared permeation with reformist ideology. The influence of the Communists however, goes far over the limits of the Party. In the Parliamentary elections on May 15th 1921, the Party received more than 300,000 votes. In the trade-unions more than a third of all organized workers are under its influence. The workers within the Party are permeated with an active and militant spirit; they are inspired by a great enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution.

II. The Communist Party of Italy and the United Front.

The problem of the united front of the proletariat is now the centre of the tactics of the Communist International. It is natural that this problem was also the most important subject of the discussions of the Second Convention of the Communist Party of Italy. It is known that in the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee in Moscow, the Italian and French representatives voted against the theses of the Executive on the problem of the United Front. At the Party Convention, Comrades Bordiga and Terracini presented theses on tactics which in the problem of the united front advocate another point of view than that of the Executive Committee. Bordiga emphasized that his theses were meant for the entire Communist International and should be discussed at the Fourth World Congress. The Italian Party does not refuse the united front with the workers organized in other bodies. On the contrary, the Party is very eagerly and successfully carrying on activities in order to form a united front within the trade-unions. The difference between the Italian theses and those of the Executive Committee centres round the following problem: "May the Communist Party form a united political front with the Social Democratic parties, the aim of which is the labor government?" During the discussion on the tactics of the united front, three opinions were expressed at the Convention: The first (Bordiga, Terracini, Gennari) considers the theses of the Exe-

cutive inapplicable in Italy. They affirm that the Party risks losing its independence by forming a united front with the Social Democrats. Therefore these tactics should be employed only within the trade-unions. The second group (Tasca) in principle considers the theses realizable also in Italy, while the third group (Bombacci) is of the opinion that Bordiga's theses are incorrect and those of the Executive Committee immediately realizable also in Italy. The united front should be formed within the trade-unions and also among the proletarian parties. The Convention had to decide between the theses of the Italian Party Executive and those of the International Executive. However, in the discussion one got the impression that neither Bordiga's theses nor those of the Executive had been sufficiently discussed among the members of the Party. The Convention was mentally not prepared to decide the problem. The Communist Party of Italy is undergoing a process of clarification which was greatly promoted but not finished by the Convention. The situation resembles to that which prevailed in the German Party from the Jena Convention to the November session of the Central Committee, when the decisions of the Third World Congress had to be carried through in Germany. On the last day of the Convention, Bordiga's theses were approved against eight votes. At the same time the Convention accepted a special resolution in which it approved the declaration of discipline of the Italian member of the Executive Committee.

Thus we can not speak of a "crisis" in the Italian Party. The less so, as in political practice the Party has already extended the tactics of the united front over the trade-unions to the proletarian parties. In Turin and Castellamara, for example, the Communists have formed joint committees with the Social Democrats and Anarchists in order to struggle for the release of the political prisoners. The new Party Executive must thoroughly discuss the problem with the International Executive and furthermore open the discussion on the matter within the Party. The important experiences of the German Party in practising the tactics of the united front should be utilized by the Italian Party. The same should be the case with the discussion on the problem of the labor government.

III. The Trade Union Problem.

The same seriousness with which the Convention treated the tactical problem dominated the discussions on the activities of the Communists within the trade-unions. The absolute necessity of these activities remained uncontested. The formation of the united front within the trade-unions was also considered necessary by all delegates. The trade-union theses of the Party fully corresponded with the theses of the Third World Congress on trade-union problems: Only on two problems of subordinate importance there arose differences of opinion. Firstly, on the problem, which trade-union federation should form the basis of the united front; and secondly whether the Communists should enter the trade-union executives even if they are but the minority.

On the first item the following may be said. In Italy the "free" trade-unions are not organized in one trade-union federation. There exist three trade-union federations. The largest are the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro*, under the leadership of D'Arragona, and the *Unione Syndicale*. The latter was already affiliated to the Red Trade Union International but differences arose between the two and the Federation is now fighting the Red Trade Union International. There exists furthermore the Railwaymen's Union as a great independent organization which is affiliated to no federation. The minority of the Convention was of the opinion that the *Unione Syndicale* should be the basis of the united front because its members are more revolutionary than those of the *Confederazione* of D'Arragona. However, the majority of the Convention decided that the unity of all federations within the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* should be propagated. At last the Convention decided that the Communists should enter trade-union executives even if they had not the majority of the union.

In the discussion of the trade-union problems the *Alleanza del Lavoro* was also treated. The latter was formed on the initiative of the railwaymen. This joint committee of action of all trade-unions which has been formed by the workers in order to save the economic conquests of the proletariat should be given a more concrete political character. The Social Democrats want to make it a blunt sword.

The Communist Party of Italy is carrying on a very successful activity within the trade-unions. It is paying especial attention to the problems of the unemployed. In Italy there are now more than half a million adherents of the Red Trade-Union International while the Amsterdam International has approximately 1,500,000 adherents according to the latest reports.

IV. The Agricultural Problem.

The agricultural workers and small peasants form a very important part of the Italian proletariat, especially in Southern Italy. But also in Northern Italy, in the plain of the Po, these proletarian strata play an important part. The Convention therefore thoroughly considered the agricultural question. The difficulties of the problem in Italy are the following: how to win the mass of small peasants for the Social Revolution without, however, by distributing the great estates among the small peasants, causing the agricultural workers to oppose Communism. The theses of the Party Executive on the agricultural problem state that the nationalization of all the land must be the first measure of the revolution. The management of the great nationalized estates must be done according to Socialist principles. Where there are great numbers of small peasants, however, the State should give them the land for utilization. There was some opposition against this conception at the Convention. They argued that a State which distributes the land among the small peasants would acquire a petty bourgeois character. In future the Party will still more eagerly carry on its activities among the agricultural proletariat. A rural secretariat will be joined to the Party Executive. In the districts special committees for propaganda among the rural proletariat will be formed.

V. The Outlook for the Future.

The Communist Party of Italy has now passed through a year of internal organization work and eager construction. The Party already now exercises a great influence on the masses. The time has come, however, when the Party must make one step forward. It must transform its influence into political power, which will be considered by the government as an immediate danger for its regime. For that purpose it is necessary that the Party transgress the limits of its activities up to now. Also outside of the trade-unions it must attempt to get into touch with Social Democratic, Catholic and unorganized workers. It must lead the working class in all political and economic problems. The influence of the Party must be strengthened among the masses. It must lose its fear of reformist influence within the Party. By its activity the Communist Parliamentary group must force the Government and its parties to prove whether they are willing to act in favor or against the vital interests of the workers. The activities of the Parliamentary group must be in lively connection with those of the masses by its proletarian character the Party must also in its exterior distinguish itself from the Social-Democratic Party of lawyers. This convention has proved to the Communist International that the Communist Party of Italy is a Party of excellent quality. The historic situation demands that the quality be transformed into quantity!

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Death Warrant of the Social Revolutionary Party

by J. Stekloff (Moscow).

** Already at the time it was launched, the Social Revolutionary Party was nick-named "social reactionary" by Plekhanoff.

Whenever in the course of the last four years we proved this party the most reactionary of all White Guard cliques, the Social Revolutionaries averred that we were circulating malicious attacks upon their character. Now, however, their former adherents, Semenov and Konopleva, who have played an active role in the counter-revolutionary machinations of that party, have published disclosures, giving circumstantial evidence as to time, name and place, which confirm all our assertions.

One year ago I publicly stressed the possibility of the woman Kaplan having attempted Lenin's life in 1918 under orders from the Social Revolutionary Party. My allegation was based upon a statement of the Social Revolutionary Kujmina Karavaieva, made in 1919 to the military court in Ekaterinodar, and upon the declaration of Sensin, member of the Executive of the Social Revolutionary Party, who in his description of the fall of Koltchak, published abroad, asserted that the woman Kaplan had approached the Executive of the S.R.P. with a proposal to assassinate Lenin. Now everybody must realize that I was right and that the comrades who ascribed that attempt to the Savinkoff band were mistaken.

When I maintained that the Social Revolutionaries were siding with the Whites and the Black Hundred in their attacks on the workers' and peasants' revolution, the Tchernoff people accused me of slandering them. It is, however, generally known that the Social Revolutionaries cooperated with the Whites in the Volga region and in the Ural district, both in the North and in the South. The disclosures of Konopleva and Semenov merely provide some missing links in the chain of evidence in that direction.

Semenov tells, for instance, that among the troops in Petrograd the Social Revolutionaries had worked together with the Rights, and especially with the Filonenko organization which was being subsidized by the bourgeoisie and the high clergy. The Social Revolutionaries stated publicly at that time that the Bolsheviki had come to an agreement with the Germans while they themselves were remaining faithful to the Allies. This, however, did not prevent them from taking up connections with another "Black Hundred" organization which negotiated with Ludendorff with a view of securing German bayonets against the proletariat of Petrograd. Konopleva narrates that the Petrograd Social Revolutionary organization sent their members serving in the army to the Volga district to Archangelsk which was at that time occupied by a British expeditionary force.

It is remarkable that the Social Revolutionaries collaborated with and accepted money from the Black Hundred organizations with the permission of their executive; they received 100,000 Kerensky roubles from the Filonenko organization, and 40-50,000 roubles from the pro-German Tranoff organization which was in touch with Ludendorff. The Social Revolutionaries also took money from the League for Rebirth, though they knew perfectly well that such money had been provided by the Allied missions; nor were they above accepting money from the French mission directly.

I have no intention of wasting my time in talking about Social Revolutionary hypocrisy. Nor should one wonder at their attempts at having their followers, as alleged sympathizers with the Soviet Government, placed in responsible administrative positions. All things are fair in war! But that under these circumstances the Social Revolutionaries appealed to Europe for protection against the Red Terror, after we proceeded to practice their own methods upon them—that is, to say the least, base and cowardly.

At no time did I believe in the repeated declarations of the Social Revolutionary Party's Executive that it had no knowledge of the various attempts at the lives of our leaders.

The Executive knew of the terror acts contemplated by members of its party; and not only that—it approved of those acts and facilitated their execution, issuing orders as to who should be assassinated (Zinovieff, Volodarsky, Lenin, Trotzki, etc.). *Tchernov, the chairman of the party, and Gotz, his alter-nate, gave their assent to the assassination of Lenin.*

This by no means exhausts the long list of their counter-revolutionary deeds. Having decided upon the death of a number of Communists, the Social Revolutionary "fighters" proceeded to carry their designs into practice—guided by the principle that those who for technical reasons, would be easiest to kill, should also be the first victims. Hence, Comrade Volodarsky who had not arranged for any measures for his personal safety, was murdered; hence Comrade Lenin who attended all meetings quite openly, was attacked and seriously wounded.

Needless to say, in their enthusiasm the Social Revolutionaries committed a number of "errors", as for instance, the blowing-up of a hospital train. *The necessary clock-work infernal machines and the Piroxilin were provided by the French Military Mission!*

The expropriations of the Social Revolutionaries are not less interesting. Ever since the first days of the civil war they had been contemplating them. They accepted money, no matter where it came from, so why should they not go one step further and rob and plunder! Their most interesting expropriations were: 1—the robbery of the food distributing organizations and of officials of the Food Commissariat and the unsuccessful expropriation of the Provincial Food Committee. In this latter attempt the participants acted with the full approval of their Executive. 2—the expropriation of private persons, which did not very much differ from outright robbery, as for instance that of a merchant in Lesnoye who died of heart failure as a result of fright. Expeditions such as these were carried out under cover of house searches, alleged to have been ordered by the Soviet Government. The Social Revolutionaries also allied themselves with criminals, one

of whom sold them the acetylene torches with which they intended cutting through the safe of the Provincial Food Committee. Donskoi, a member of the Executive knew of the plot and also provided the money necessary for the purchase of the torches.

The Executive of the Social Revolutionary Party, though it was always fully in accord with the expropriations, was anxious to preserve its reputation. While declaring on one hand that "expropriating in the offices of the Soviets are justifiable", it nevertheless held that "such actions should never be brought in connection with the party". In order to protect its already rather doubtful reputation, the executive agreed to the sentencing of its "fighters" by the courts as criminals.

Baser yet are the declarations of the Executive following the murders. Volodarsky was killed by order of the Social Revolutionary Party's Executive. Donskoi and Gotz told their "fighters" in so many words that Zinovieff and Volodarsky must be the first to go. As it was easier to get Volodarsky, he was assassinated first. On the morning after the deed the newspapers published a categorical denial that neither the Social Revolutionary Party, nor any of its organizations or members had any connection whatsoever with the murder. This statement constituted a slap in the face of the "fighters" who were, however, fated to receive an even harder one from the same source.

Semenov, the former leader of the fighting squad, fearing that in case they succeeded in getting Lenin the Executive of the S.R.P. would promptly deny all knowledge of the matter, demanded of Gotz his word of honor on behalf of the party that in case Lenin and Trotzky were killed, it would not renounce the deed but publicly acknowledge either immediately or after a certain time its approval of it. When, this promise being given, the Executive of the S.R.P. issued, after the attempt at Lenin's life, a statement to the effect that it had nothing whatever to do with it, the indignation of the "fighters" was immeasurable. Speaking of this, Semenov says: "This left an ugly impression upon us. I told Donskoi quite plainly that the demeanor of the Executive was cowardly and against all rules. Donskoi replied that the course of the Executive was dictated by the necessity of avoiding the Red Terror which would have destroyed the party".

Though Konopleva and Semenov have left nothing unclear, I am nevertheless convinced that White Guards of the stamp of the Social Revolutionary leaders will continue to deny all knowledge of the matter. But what will be the answer of the few followers of the S.R.P., who have not yet emancipated themselves from the old prejudices and still reverently look up to the S.R.P. and its leaders?

THE WHITE TERROR

Political Prisoners in the United States.

by William D. Haywood.

** In the prisons of the United States there are many victims of treachery and conspiracy. Some of this conspiracy grew out of the maddened brains of fanatics suffering from war fever. But in many instances much sadness and tribulation has been directly caused by the cold-blooded conspiracy of capitalists and their political henchmen. This would be a desperate assertion if the facts were not conclusive. There are thousands that can vouch for the truthfulness of the statements made here, bitter though they may be, to those who imagine America to be a country of democratic benevolence, or a place of freedom, where one may held and express his personal opinions. Those who are laboring under delusions of this kind are entitled to become acquainted with actual conditions, and to know something of the many splendid characters who are rotting behind prison walls.

There is the case of Tom Mooney, a metal worker, which is one of the more serious cases, as this young man is serving a life sentence of hard labor in San Quentin Penitentiary, California. Mooney was convicted of murder, charged with being an instigator of an explosion which caused the loss of many lives during a "Preparedness Parade"—a campaign of advertising to arouse the people of America to war, years of such activity being necessary before the United States was ready to plunge into the world's blood fest.

It has been shown beyond peradventure that Mooney was not guilty of the crime for which he was convicted and sentenced

to death. His trial and conviction was brought about by the machinations of Prosecuting Attorney Fickert. Tom Mooney's sentence has been committed to penal servitude for life. He is not being punished for a crime he committed but because of his untiring efforts to improve working-class conditions.

In January 1916 a gigantic nation-wide conspiracy was entered into by the United States Government, the State and City authorities with the assistance of the many private detective agencies that abound throughout the U.S. against the I.W.W. This fact was admitted by Hinton J. Claybaugh, a secret service man, Superintendent of the Department of Justice, at the great Chicago Trial. Relentless persecution has followed ever since. Offices and halls raided, homes invaded, and thousands of members of the organization arrested. Hundreds were put on trial, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Chicago, Sacramento, Wichita Falls, Centralia, Omaha, were the scenes of these terrible travesties of justice. In nearly all cases all counts of the indictments have been eliminated except the counts referring to the Espionage and Selective Draft Laws. These laws have since the declaration of peace been expunged from the statute books. In spite of this fact more a hundred men are undergoing the ignominy of a vile and unjust imprisonment. In many States men have been railroaded to prison under so-called Criminal Syndicalism Laws. The victims of Centralia sentenced to twenty and twenty five years penal servitude are now confined in the Walla Walla Penitentiary. The crime of these men is loyalty to the working-class.

The New Year Raids of January 1920 were another outrage of the White Terror so general in the United States. On this holiday occasion over 3000 members of the I.W.W. and the Communist Party were thrown into prison. The Communists that were tried at Chicago were convicted, but an appeal was taken and their cases are still pending.

Comrades Larkin, Gitlow, Ruthenberg and Ferguson, indicted and tried in the State of New York and sentenced to long terms of penal servitude, are still confined in prison.

The cases of Sacco and Vanzetti which have become international in importance are also "frame ups" showing what is done in the name of justice in the so-called free United States. Both men are under sentence of death, having been convicted of murder, a crime that it was impossible for them to have committed as they were not in the locality at the time the deed was done. Their offence is that they have at some time belonged to some school of anarchy.

Arising out of the coal-struggle in West Virginia, this strike began in May 1921, the main issue being the right to organize. It developed into what might properly be termed civil war. The miners with their families who had been evicted from their homes pitched their tents on the hillside and ridge opposite the minig property. The thugs and gunmen of the company on the other side of the narrow valley without provocation fired volleys into the tent colony of miners who later armed themselves in self-defence and demonstrated their power by marching through Mingo County when the President of the United States threatened to declare martial law. Federal airplanes flew over the marching miners dropping bombs of chlorine gas. The outcome of this strike which is still on is the indictment of 113 miners who are charged with treason. 19 have been arrested and if convicted their sentence will be *death*.

This briefly presents the glaring outrages perpetrated against the working-class of America, which in the spirit of comradeship calls for international support.

An Appeal from Japan.

** A great wave of capitalist reaction has set in, and its white terror is rampant in every part of the globe.

International Capitalism, the allied exploiters, driven by the revolutionary working-class to their last trench, have now turned to a desperate counter-offensive.

In Japan, Capitalism has grown to maturity, and the bourgeois capitalists have firmly established a political supremacy of their own. But, there, unlike the "advanced" capitalist countries of Europe and America, the bourgeois domination does not take on the form of political democracy. The conquest of political power on the part of the Japanese bourgeoisie is complete just at the time when the World Capitalism has reached its final phase of reaction.

Then, the Japanese working-class which has been struggling under the iron hand of semi-feudal militarist Bureaucracy is now brought face to face with the bourgeois dictatorship of the most infamous type.

Not a thing is spared to keep down the Japanese workers. Their unions are illegal, subject to every sort of open and secret interference. Their press, meetings, demonstrations, and all the other organized activities are ruthlessly suppressed. During the last year, hundreds of strikes were crushed by the police and army and *Kokusui-kai* (the Fascisti of Japan!). In December, 1920, the Japanese Socialist League was ordered to dissolve on the very day of its formation. In October, 1921, the Japanese Communist Party became the victim of a sensational prosecution. In November, the Russian Famine Relief Committee was organized by two labor and socialist organizations in Tokio only to be forbidden to make a single move. To crown all, the government is now trying to enact an anti-radical law of unexampled severity. It reads:

Anti-Radical-Socialist-Movement-Law.

1. Persons who do or intend to do propaganda for the ideas and acts of disregarding the national constitution in connection with Anarchism, Communism, etc., are liable to less than seven years imprisonment or penal servitude. Persons who induce other to do the same as well as those who are thus induced are liable to the same penalty.

2. Persons who organize, assemble, or engage in mass-movement, with the object of doing propaganda for, or of carrying out the matters defined in the preceding article, are liable to less than ten years imprisonment or penal servitude.

3. Persons who do or intend to do propaganda for changing fundamental systems of society through riots, violence, intimidation, and other illegal methods are liable to less than ten years imprisonment or penal servitude.

4. Persons who offer money and articles, or afford other facilities to other persons with a view to letting them commit the crime defined in the three preceding articles, as well as those persons who accept such offer knowing its intention, are liable to the penalties prescribed in the respective articles.

5. Persons who commit the crime defined in the four preceding articles, if they surrender themselves to authority before their crimes are discovered, are subject to a reduced penalty or exemption.

6. The persons law applies to persons who committed the crimes both inside and outside the territory of Imperial Japan.

Comrades and fellow workers!

This is what every bourgeois government is anxious to do. The law reveals, only in a most haughty shameless manner, the brutality and ruthlessness characteristic of all exploiters. They are "reasonable", "liberal", and "democratic" only where the strength of the working-class compels them to be. The Japanese proletariat, historically young, inexperienced, and weak has never enjoyed even the most elementary human rights,—has never been free to speak, write or to come together, not to speak of organizing themselves. And now comes the law. It threatens to deprive it of what little it has.

But the chief aim of the law, as the "law maker" proclaims, is to smash the international movement, up to which the Japanese proletariat has marched despite untold difficulties. The law once enacted, no cooperation, no connection, indeed no contact will be possible between the Japanese proletariat and the revolutionary organizations abroad.

Comrades and fellow workers!

The Japanese working-class, though fettered and handcuffed, has resolutely entered the battle against the final offensive of the desperate Capitalism.

Proletarians of all countries!

Protest against the infamous law, against the brutal dictatorship of the Japanese bourgeoisie! Protest in the sacred name of International Solidarity!

Joint Committee of Workers and
Communists in Japan.