

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 2. No. 19

PRESS

10th March 1922

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POLITICS

Out With the Political Prisoners!

by Paul Fröhlich (Berlin).

** Soviet Russia also has prisons. And in these prisons there are political offenders, among them—"Socialists". There we find Social Revolutionaries who at one time threw bombs at Grand Dukes and chiefs of police. Today they are confined to the prisons of the proletarian state, because they wish to destroy the proletarian state with bombs. In Soviet Russia, Mensheviks are today confined in prison; Mensheviks who at one time worked underground and sought to undermine the Czar's government. Today they are imprisoned by the Soviet government because they attempt to undermine the Soviet government through sabotaging its management, by taking advantage of the economic crisis for purposes of anti-Soviet propaganda, and by conspiring with the international bourgeoisie. They claim to be Socialists. But what is certain is that they are enemies of the proletariat at a time when the latter is engaged in the most bitter struggle to maintain its power. That is why these Mensheviks are rendered harmless.

Yet they claim to be Socialists and for this reason all those who parade under the same mark wail over the intolerance, the crime against democratic principles, and the oppression of revolutionary fighters by the Soviet Power. At a time when the capitalists of all countries tell the Bolsheviks: "If you want us to recognize you, you must pay up the Czar's debts!"—the so-called "Socialists" of the Internationals 2 and 2½ cry in chorus: "If you want us to cooperate with you in the formation of an united proletarian front, you must first free the political prisoners in your country!" At every convention and at every congress, in Leipzig, in Vienna, in Amsterdam and in Frankfurt they pass resolutions to that effect. On this point they are all agreed, the Crispiens and Ledebours and Eberts and Noskes, the Longuets and Renaudels, the Vanderveldes and the de Bronquieres, the Renners and the Friedrich Adlers.

Friedrich Adler too!—he who once fired the fatal shot Count Stürgkh. Perhaps he has a special right to plead for the freedom of the political prisoners in Soviet Russia, because he also escaped the death-penalty which the capitalist state had passed against him? Is Russia therefore to be more narrow-minded against "Socialists" who are threatening the Soviet state with bombs and conspiracies?

We are not in the least interested as to why Friedrich Adler's life was then spared. But the example of this man alone shows the difference between one political offense and another. Friedrich Adler's was an act of murder. But it roused no loathing in the hearts of the masses in all countries; on the contrary, the act roused recognition, approbation and enthusiasm. However weak the voice of the proletariat was during the war, yet it rose to the defense of Friedrich Adler's life.

But last year, when Erzberger was murdered by some Nationalist officers, the German workers were swept by a wave of indignation, and they condemned those who aided and supported the murderers in Bavaria and Hungary. With their keen and healthy intuition, the workers are able to feel that the sentencing of revolutionary fighters may be a blow to their own class, even if the victim does not belong to their party. But they

are filled with disgust over the comedies of justice that are being enacted with counter-revolutionary traitors.

But wherein does the difference lie? Why do the workers differentiate between one political deed and another? Because they know that the one political act makes the perpetrator a hero, while the other makes him a criminal. If he serves the cause of the proletariat, and of the revolution, they cheer and exalt him. But if he serves the capitalists, they detest and condemn him. And this alone can serve as the criterion for deciding whether political offenders should be freed or not, and which ones are to be freed.

In Soviet Russia, political offenders, among them self-styled Socialists, are in prison because they conspired against the proletarian state and because they attempted to hurt the revolution. The Soviet power is not only the goal of the working-class in all countries, but it is today the only power which opposes the united international capitalist-class. It is therefore the power that sets limits to the insatiable exploitation appetite of the bourgeoisie. He who wants to overthrow the Soviet power commits a crime against the future interests of the proletariat and against its present life-interests. He who seeks to hamper or overthrow the Soviet Power at a time when it is fighting against the enemies of the revolution is robbing the proletariat of the whole world of its weapon and shield, and is himself an enemy of the proletariat.

The workers can test this. Who are the ones that shout the loudest for the opening of the Russian prisons? In Germany it is the Eberts, the Noskes and Radbruchs, who shed the blood of many thousands of proletarians, shooting them after they had been court-martialled; they who are keeping thousands of political "offenders" in prison and who in their helplessness against the capitalists are assisting the traitorous counter-revolutionaries.

In France it is men like Albert Thomas and their accomplices, who while holding portfolios threw the heroes of the Black Sea into prison, and who are now encouraging and promoting a system of police chicanery.

In Italy, it is "Socialists" who are sabotaging the struggle against the Fascists. In Austria, it was the Renners and Friedrich Adlers, the real rulers, that had the Hungarian fugitives arrested, and who tolerated the extradition of Bavarian fugitives for political offences, in the very same fashion that their German friends delivered our Spanish comrades over the Spanish inquisition.

In Jugoslavia and Roumania, it is the social-traitors who are shamelessly profiting by the frightful White Terror, and who dare do nothing against the murder-justice prevailing there. Yes indeed, it is the jailers of the European proletariat who are braying and shouting that the prisons be opened—in Russia of course. By so doing they are serving their masters, the capitalists.

But they are joined in chorus by all the parties of the wonderful 2½ International that are not participating in the government nor voicing any protest against the class-justice in their own countries. The most conspicuous of these are the German Independent Socialists, who under the influence of Martov and Abramovitch let no opportunity slip by without provoking against Soviet Russia, which keeps "Socialists" in prison. The reason for this is apparent. They realize that the Communist International is the force, the power that organizes and concentrates the revolutionary struggle against the madly

increasing exploitation of the proletariat, and against the disastrous international enslavement policy of the great powers. But they are battle-shy; they are afraid of the struggle; they fear the advance of the proletarian masses. And in order to disguise their own weakness, this weakness that leads to treason, they resort to slander and denunciations of the Soviet Power. That is also why they label as "Socialists" those who in Russia are carrying on the struggle against the proletarian power. They are demanding freedom for the enemies of the proletariat who are in Russian prisons, the better to be able to carry on their anti-proletarian policy in Western Europe.

The cry of "Free the political prisoners" should be directed not against the Soviet Power, but against Germany and France, against England and America against Italy, Jugoslavia, and all the capitalist governments; it should be addressed to the Internationals 2 and 2½ and to the leaders of these two Internationals, who are either participating in or supporting the governments of those countries. And to this cry we add another:—

"Protect Soviet Russia! Protect the international proletariat against the counter-revolutionary gang!"

The Polish Cabinet Crisis.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** The Polish cabinet crisis, which arose so unexpectedly, is a new episode in the old struggle which has been going on since the establishment of the republic between the National Democrats, representatives of the large capitalists, and the military adventurer, Pilsudski. Even before this struggle arrived at its present acute stage, it was known that the National Democrats were carrying on an underground guerilla campaign against the present Ponikowski cabinet. As is the rule in Polish politics, it was less a question of principles than of persons. Although the National Democrats, for example, had no complaint to make against Skirmunt's foreign policy, they felt injured by the fact that all diplomatic posts under Skirmunt were occupied by Pilsudski men, while the members of the Right parties were continually neglected. The same holds true for the minister of war, Sosnkowski, who although a former member of the P. P. S. is today surpassed by no National Democrat in his reactionary leanings. The charges against the minister of the interior, Downarowicz, and the minister of agriculture, Kiernik, were more serious. The former won the dislike of the National Democrats by his endeavors to create a Pilsudski election bloc under the name of the Polish State Party. The latter, as a member of the Peasants' Party, was distasteful to the National Democratic junkers and, since he was involved the well-known Peasants' Party scandal concerning the forest concessions, furnished a convenient point of attack.

None the less, the National Democrats who form only a minority in the Sejm, were not able to bring about the immediate fall of the cabinet. Their position was further weakened by the fact that the cabinet decided that in reply to their attacks upon individual ministers it would remain a unit and only hand in its resignation as a whole. This the Sejm majority was not willing to accept in view of the present delicate international situation. Therefore, the National Democrats chose the Vilna delegation as a tool against the present cabinet and Pilsudski. And in this connection it was clearly demonstrated of how great importance the Vilna elections were for the domestic as well as foreign policy of the Polish government.

As the time of the arrival of the Vilna delegation in Warsaw no one thought of a conflict. To be sure, Pilsudski had left Warsaw at this fateful moment and gone hunting in the region of Brest-Litovsk. The defeated protagonist of federalism, who had been so bitterly deceived by the Vilna elections, did not attempt to conceal his anger. Since however his cabinet, conceding to necessity, prepared a formal declaration for the Vilna delegation which aroused no opposition in the Sejm and also did not in the least contradict the notorious Vilna annexation resolution, it counted upon merely a solemn ceremony, disturbed by no unseemly dissonance.

But the National Democrats wanted a complete victory. A half-recognition of the annexationist Vilna decision was not sufficient for them: They wanted a formal declaration which expressly rejected all thoughts of a federation or even of the autonomy of the Vilna region. It was irksome to them that the third paragraph of the declaration which was to be submitted to the Vilna delegation, provided for "the elaboration of a statute for the Vilna region", by the Polish Sejm. Thus, the Warsaw Sejm whose majority had already once been intimidated by Pilsudski (in the question of the extension of the plebiscite region)

would once more do a favor for the Chief of the State and award the Vilna region a measure of autonomy. The National Democrats could not tolerate this for practical as well as fundamental reasons! For, an autonomous Vilna Diet would be controlled by a non-Polish majority after the next election, which would put an end to the Polonization policy once and for all.

In order to avoid this the National Democratic majority of the Vilna delegation resolved to oppose any equivocal formulation of the annexation declaration in order to make any later varying interpretation of the union impossible. Thus, the Vilna delegation refused to sign the declaration and the entire labor of compromise of the Polish cabinet came to nought.

The Ponikowski cabinet has resigned. Pilsudski also appears to be contemplating the employment of a threat of resignations as a means of intimidating the Sejm. The further development of the situation depends upon international conditions. For, it must be concluded that the pure annexationist position of the National Democrats is unacceptable to the Allied Powers. However, the rumors of a sharp note of the Entente powers seem to be exaggerated. Skirmunt himself declared in the Sejm commission for foreign affairs that Poland is in this question not bound by any undertaking to the Allies. It is also difficult to admit that the National Democratic lackeys of the French are acting on their own and totally independent of France. At all events, Pilsudski will have very strong international influence on his side and will be able to put through a part of his program. Whether he will derive much satisfaction from an "autonomous" Diet with his National Democratic enemies in control remains to be seen.

The Tragedy of Korea.

by B. Shumiatzki (Moscow).

** The Congress of the Workers of the Far East just held in Moscow furnish interesting data on the life of the Far Eastern countries, especially in Korea, suffering under the imperialist heel of Japan.

The most careful analysis of the data as far as they relate to Korea show that there is not one class in Korean Society not even the bourgeoisie satisfied with the present state of affairs. Naturally the bourgeoisie lives quite differently from the poor and working masses of Korea. Nevertheless it is dissatisfied. The Japanese capitalists gather the largest part of the surplus value created by the Korean workers leaving the rest to the Korean bourgeoisie. From the ranks of the bourgeoisie there is recruited one of the most powerful nationalist organizations of Korea, called the Protestant Party. It counts a few hundred thousand members and looks with sympathy to American Capitalism.

The Korean peasantry, forming the large majority of the country—14,322,295 out of a population of 16,617,431 or 87%—is in a miserable condition and full of hatred for Japanese imperialism. The colonial policy of Japanese imperialism is to split the industrial forces of the country and deliberately to create national and economic conflicts. The Japanese government has a state trust in the form of the colonial society "Tchek-Sik-Tchvei-San". The Korean government and the Korean capitalists proletarianize and pauperize the Korean peasants with the aid of this society. The Korean peasantry hates the Japanese plantation owner. Recently an insurrection of the Korean peasants in Kandotal broke out which was drowned in blood.

The Japanese capitalists also rob and oppress the city middle class and officialdom. All sea and river harbors of Korea, the richest parts of the cities, the most valuable real estate are in possession of Japanese and foreign capital. The Korean capital, Seoul, has among the 300,000 of its population 50,000 Japanese composed of policemen, gendarmes, officials, officers, capitalists and their agents. The best part of Seoul has been converted into a Japanese settlement Tchingota (an independent city district governed by Japanese laws). The most important harbor city, Tchemulpo, is cut into four parts. The Japanese, the Chinese, the English and American capitalists have each their own settlement. Over two-thirds of the city and harbor area belong to two gigantic joint stock companies, Ultungann & Co. and Wolter & Co. The same condition obtains in Fusin, the second largest city of Korea. Out of its 61,506 inhabitants 27,000 are Japanese retail merchants, money changers, stock exchange speculators, officials and policemen. In Wansong (Genson) out of 50,000 inhabitants 10,000 are Japanese businessmen, officials and gendarmes. In Pienjanne out of 25,000 inhabitants 12,000 are Japanese bourgeois and their agents. In

Sienguscho out of 20,000 inhabitants 5,000 are Japanese of the same classes as in Seoul.

What is the result? Japanese imperialism holds the land and all the classes of the population paralyzed in its grip by means of mass immigration, colonization of the villagers and taking possession of the cities, the cultural and economic centres of Korea, which are the organizational and proletarian nuclei in the chaos of an agricultural country.

The condition of the Korean working-class, as pictured by the delegates to the Congress of the Far East, is so miserable that one is shocked by the very thought of the sufferings of the Korean proletariat exploited by the Japanese capitalists. A twelve hours working day, an incredibly low wage, from \$2.50 to \$5.00 per month, absolutely no laws for the protection of labor and a continual orgy of the Japanese soldiery are the living conditions of Korean labor. This state of affairs is turning the Korean working-class, in numbers rather weak but none the less an important part of the population, into slaves. This condition of the Korean proletariat is making it the most irreconcilable and determined fighter against the imperialist capitalists.

All classes of Korea's population are indomitable enemies of the existing regime. The Congress of the Workers of the Far East and the large Korean delegation, representing numerous organizations, completely confirmed this. Only a short time ago a part of the Korean bourgeois-democratic intelligentsia, in their faith in the Washington Conference, believed that it was possible to obtain the voluntary evacuation of Korea by the imperialists of the Far East by means of negotiation.

The course of events and the results of the Washington Conference proved to these naive visionaries that the day of miracles exists no more, that it would, to say the least, be out of the ordinary to expect that the wretched tragedy of the Korean people can be brought to an end by the voluntary renunciation of their booty by the imperialists. Now, after the world war, after Washington and Versailles, it must be clear to everyone that the freedom and independence of the country can only be achieved through struggle.

ECONOMICS

The Industrialization of China.

by A. Friedrich (Berlin).

** The problem of China was the middle-point of the Washington Conference. It was the great wish of the finance powers, especially England, America and Japan, to open up China as a market and place for the investment of capital, and in this way to overcome the "industrial crisis" from which until now international capital has found no escape. And this all the more, because in recent years there has developed in China a native bourgeoisie which is itself interested in taking over the industrialization of China. Thus it seems as if a similar process is taking place in China, as in its time took place in Japan, which was able to establish a financial power of its own of world significance.

The immense possibilities for profits in the industrialization of China beckon to foreign capital. A few months ago, Lennox Simpson estimated in the "Daily Telegraph" that today Chinese foreign trade equals approximately one pound sterling per head of the Chinese population. It is quite possible to raise this figure to at least ten pounds sterling. That would mean, with a total population in China, of 400,000,000, a yearly foreign trade of £4,000,000,000. Other English newspapers also published estimates of the profit possibilities which would result if foreign capital would export certain special articles like cigarettes, electric bulbs, shaving apparatus and other such things to China in very large quantities.

In fact in the last few years *China's imports* from the various capitalistic countries have already *greatly increased*, especially from England. German capital participated very slightly in this growing import trade and there is little prospect that the recently concluded trade treaty will alter its position much. But *China's export trade* to certain countries has also increased to a great extent; not only the export of raw material, especially coal, which has come as far as Europe, but also the export of certain special articles particularly in the textile industries.

A few months ago the trade expert of the British Embassy in Peking wrote to London of the impression he gained there, as follows:

"I cannot emphasize enough the process of transformation that is going on in China now. In the province of Shansi I found a regular army of soldiers in the act of building a street which would cross the province from one

end to the other. Along the railroad lines, I saw towering up factory chimneys and industrial plants under real Chinese management. In many states of the interior, I saw how streets were built and plants were publicly set up, a most unexpected agility of capital and people, who are manifesting an altogether new basis of activity. There is no doubt of the fact that a real development has taken root in China and among the Chinese.

"A great part of this work is naturally in the experimental stage; it is hindered by a lack of technical knowledge and has something unfinished about it. But I am convinced that sooner or later we shall see big Chinese business houses, and big Chinese industries cropping up everywhere, and that they will play no insignificant role in world commerce".

What the British expert reports here of the quick process of industrialization, is illustrated very quickly by a few figures. In 1919 there were already 41 modern spinning-mills with 1,200,000 spindles in China, in 1920 there were 55 spinning-mills with 1,700,000 spindles, in 1921 the number of spindles has grown to at least 2,000,000. The textile industry shows a similar development in every field. In 1918, rugs were exported from China to America to the value of \$330,000, in 1919 the amount was already \$820,000. In the last few years the mill industry, the beet sugar industry and particularly the paper and electro-technical industries have been greatly developed. China has today at least 100 electricity works.

Mining has also made great strides in the past year—of course, in contrast to the other industries, with a big participation of foreign capital, especially the British in the South and the Japanese in the North. China's supply of a very valuable coking coal amounts to 1000 to 1500 billion tons, according to estimates; thus its supply is considerably greater than Europe's.

The transportation system has been especially well built up in recent times. The activity in the building of railways was of course very slight during the war, but now several big cross-country lines have been undertaken. Chinese capital, besides British, French and American, and also Dutch and Italian capital have an interest in this. Very important is the building of gigantic causeways to be used especially by automobiles. The street from Peking to Tientsin is nearly completed, it corresponds in every respect (it is about 30 yards wide) with the most modern requirements. In this way whole provinces will soon have big roadways cutting through them.

The Chinese shipbuilding industry is still in its early stage, to be sure, but it has already accomplished results. The American government ordered from a yard in Shanghai 4 steamboats, each of about 15,000 tons displacement, two of which have already been launched. These and similar results of Chinese undertakings show to what degree they are already today capable of doing highly qualified work.

Of course, the picture of the development of modern China is not complete. The growing import of machines, the arrival of foreign technicians, the employment of foreign patents only shows that the industrialization of China is going forward at a furious pace. But this process bodes no good for China as a government.

The real rulers of China are the Tuchuns, the generals of the individual provinces, and three of these have created for themselves positions of exceedingly great power; they take advantage of the financial weakness and the military debility of the Republic, and their power is so strong, that in the event of the downfall of China, three independent governments, Peking, Canton and the middle valley of the Yangtze-Kiang can be counted upon. The Tuchuns are the real promoters of industrial capitalism in China; this is already evident from the fact they are all stockholders in the Chinese undertakings.

It is self-evident that hand in hand with the industrialization goes the rise of a real proletarian movement. The impulse to it was given by the 153,000 Chinese laborers who worked in France during the war. Naturally they did not go back to farming, they want to remain working in the industries, and they employ those powerful weapons in the fight for their existence which they learned from their European comrades. The strikes which formerly took place in China were of no significance because the workers were not organized and had no means of continuing a fight for a long time. It is different today, when a few unions have already been formed, with demand as the most important points of their program, a ten-hour working day. The first big wage fight took place in Hongkong in April 1920—a strike of dock workers lasting a month—which ended with victory for the workers. The workers fought for a raise in salary of 32% and the reinstatement of the discharged workers.

We cannot here inquire what political obstacles hindered the plan of international capital to hasten the exploitation of China. But this much is certain, that first of all independent Chinese capital—finance and industrial capital—is developing itself to a greater extent, and secondly, that the ever progressing industrialization of China, no matter whether it is built on Chinese or foreign capital results in diminishing the significance of China as a market for foreign industries.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Is a United Trade Union Front a Possibility?

Ole. O. Lian on his negotiations with the Amsterdamers.

** The president of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, who, commissioned by his organization and the C.I., has been in negotiation with the Bureau of the Amsterdam Federation with a view to setting up a united proletarian front in the international trade-union movement has just returned from his journey. Referring to the course of the negotiations in an interview with a representative of "Social-Demokraten" Lian stated, among other things:

"The Conference took place in the premises of the Belgian Trade Union Federation at Brussels. There were present Jouhaux, Mertens, Fimmen and Oudegeest; Jouhaux acted as chairman.

"Our communication to the Amsterdam International and the Red Trade Union International formed the basis of the discussion. I was the first to be called on to speak and expounded the reasons which had induced us to take the initiative in calling a World Congress. I proposed that as the first step in this direction a preliminary conference consisting of representatives of the R.T.U.I., International Trade Union Federation and of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation should be called.

"What should this conference deal with? Before everything the coming together of a World Congress at which also America and Russia should be represented. The Conference should in addition draw up a provisional agenda for the Congress.

"What was the attitude of Amsterdam with regard to this? First they wished to know the program of this proposed Congress. That will be decided on by the preliminary conference, I answered. But I proceeded from the stand point that the position of the trade-unions with regard to the League of Nations and the International Labor Bureau ought to be one of the chief topics. After that the question of international trade-unions tactics, the collaboration of all the chief trade-union groups, further the question of building up a real positive Trade Union International.

"And the result of the Conference? Well, you have seen my dispatch, though the Bureau was not so strongly opposed to the resolutions as you here at home probably believe. All present declared themselves quite willing to meet the representatives of the Russian Trade Unions in a Conference. The words "bona fide" signify in their opinion representatives actually chosen by the Russian trade-unions and none who are constantly residing abroad, not emigrants, politicians and such like but real representatives of the Russian trade-unions. That was the declaration which I received. "Thus one would hear nothing of a Conference with the R.T.U.I.?" No, their opinion was that the R.T.U.I. only consisted of one national organization, that is to say the Russian, although possibly some smaller countries might be attached to it. All the remaining national centres belong to Amsterdam. They pay their affiliation fees to the Amsterdam Bureau and that equally for the minorities within the various national organizations sympathizing with Moscow.

"I observed that it was not necessary to stick to such formulas. If the Moscow International consisted only of Russian trade-unions the result would be, that only real representatives of the Russian trade unions would appear at the Conference. The Bureau did not agree to that. But I still believe it premature to think our attempts for forming a united trade-union front will be abortive. Other methods must be found in order to proceed in the direction indicated.

"Do you think of a definite mode of procedure? I do. There are many courses open. Our Norwegian Secretariat

could invite the representatives of the Russian comrades and the Amsterdamers to a sitting in Christiania. So far as I could understand the Amsterdamers have no objections to a meeting with the Russian representatives, with a view to calling a World Congress. It is true that my work in Brussels was rendered more difficult by our not having heard anything positive from the R.T.U.I.

"Did you hear anything else that was of interest? Yes. Fimmen will come to Christiania by the end of March. Afterwards he is to take part in an International Conference of the Transport Workers in Stockholm. At the end of April or beginning of May, he will assist at the Congress of the All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation."

"What is your opinion are the chances for the formation of an international united trade-union front?"

"Many tokens indicate that the idea of a united trade-union front has taken root and is growing in all countries. In this respect the Brussels Conference was of significance. There was no bitterness or animosity shown during the conference, and there was but little confidence in the League of Nations. That, at any rate, was my impression."

After the Miners' Strike in Czechoslovakia.

by Eugen Paul (Prague).

** Now that the miners' strike is ended, and before we start balancing its account, we must state the simple fact that the miners have won nothing, absolutely nothing what they were fighting for. This absolute defeat, this complete surrender to the mineowners without as much as a drawn sword, makes one gape open-mouthedly and ask wonderingly, of what use was this strike anyway?

Could not the wishes of the capitalists have been granted without a strike, just as well? But this strike, (this sounds a bit queer for a Marxist, yet it is only a fact) has had its *psychological primary causes*. Under the pressure of the continual wage reductions which took place during the past few months, great fighting-energy was stored up in the masses, and it simply had to find an outlet. Had the trade-unions leaders attempted to yield the same concessions to the employers without a strike, the great majority of miners would have stampeded. For, though it be true that the bulk of the most class-conscious and most militant miners is concentrated in the Ostrau-Karwiner district, yet the strike in the *Karlsbad-Falkenauer* district, which broke out nearly two weeks before the general strike, showed clearly that districts other than Ostrau-Karwin, contain miners who refuse to accept more miserable living conditions without first putting up a fight. At any rate we had an opportunity to see in the course of the strike that the will to fight and class-consciousness are also variable qualities, shaped by experience and development and which can not be acquired overnight, but in the course of long and bitter struggles. The very same Falkenau miners who themselves struck two weeks before the general strike was called, thereby demonstrating the inevitability of the struggle to the other miners, have *unanimously* ratified the agreement drawn up by their leaders with the mineowners. A trade-union leader or a Social Democrat would use this as another illustration to prove his point, namely, that the people like to be deceived, as the phrase goes in those circles. Of course, for us Communists this has quite a different meaning. To us the Falkenau miners are no puzzle, in spite of the fact that they enter into the struggle two weeks before their fellow workers call a strike, and then *unanimously* accept the agreement which binds them hand and foot and hands them over to their exploiters, as distinct from the Ostrau-Karwiner miners, of whom we shall have occasion to speak again. The Falkenau miners are *on their way* to become class-conscious fighters, and (whoever wishes may espie the play of higher forces in this case too) it is just this *unanimously* ratified agreement that will accelerate their revolutionization.

Not only the Falkenau miners, but all the others, those of Ostrau excepted, have ratified the agreement unanimously, or almost unanimously, even though the ratification did not take place by a vote of the workers, but through conferences of the district-councils. The voting results in the Ostrau-Karwin district, on the other hand, showed clearly that there are advanced and class-conscious elements among the miners of the republic, which know better than to take a U for an X. In this district the agreement with the mineowners was ratified with 162 against 120 votes, and those workers who at first refused

to resume work, went back only on condition that their final decision is to depend upon the results of the *referendum* which is being instituted in the district against the will of the leaders. This resistance offered by the Ostrau workers has a deep significance. Not only because it stands in such sharp contrast to the flat acceptance of the agreement by all the other districts, but because it happens for the first time in the history of the Czecho-Slovakian labor movement, that a *very considerable* part of the working-class (the number of Ostrau miners is about 45,000, about one third of all the miners in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic) is offering open resistance to the all-powerful trade-union bureaucracy. The Ostrau miners are the first who not only vehemently protest against this bartering away of the workers' interests, but who at once apply the axe to the roots of the matter; they demand the resignation of the trade-union leaders, and also that the negotiations with the mineowners be carried on not by these leaders but by ordinary workers chosen for this purpose by the miners themselves. And it must be emphasized that this definite attitude assumed by the Ostrau miners came about without the least influence of the Communist Party, indeed it may even be said that to a certain degree it took place in direct opposition to the instructions of this party, which all through the strike as well as at the end of the strike warned against any separate actions. In this struggle, the Communist Party confined itself to criticizing in the most concrete manner the measures adopted by the trade-union headquarters in leading this strike, and to making clear to the workers the difference between the mere talk of a united front and its realization. None the less, when the trade-union headquarters issued the order to resume work on the 14th of February, hardly a third of the mines situated in the Ostrau-Karwin district obeyed the order; two third of the shafts continued to strike, and only later upon the direct request of the Communist leaders, was work resumed.

Wherein does the deciding-factor of this "insubordination" of the Ostrau workers lie? In the fact that it discloses a chapter of these workers' past experiences.

Technically speaking, the development of the broad masses of organized workers into Communists may be divided into two main phases. One of them is the phase in which the workers still labor under illusions and permit themselves to be led by the nose; the other is the one in which the workers may still be compelled to surrender by the brutal means applied by the trade-union bureaucracy, which is of course joined by the power of the capitalist state.

The Ostrau-Karwin district has already graduated from that phase in which the well-known tricks of the trade-union demagogues sufficed to whip the workers into "behavior". Here the trade-union bureaucracy will already have to resort to force in order to make the miners "behave".

No matter what the result of vote in the Ostrau-Karwin district may be—the miners of this district alone cannot carry on a successful struggle, and sooner or later they will return to work fully conscious of the fact that they were defeated not by the capitalists but by the trade-union bureaucracy who are birds of the same feather. And as a result of such knowledge, they will inevitably soon become convinced that they can defeat the capitalists only if they fight the trade-union bureaucracy at the same time that they fight the capitalists, and only if they proceed against the former as ruthlessly, as decisively and in an equally revolutionary manner, as they do against capitalism itself.

It is therefore the primary task of the Communist Party to promote and encourage this realization among the miners of Ostrau, and to draw ever greater masses of workers from other districts and of other categories into the struggle which is flaring up between the workers and the trade-union bureaucracy. With the fulfilling of this task ends the preliminary struggle to the inevitable great, decisive battle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The Lockout in Denmark.

Conference calls for General Strike.

** Sm. The general lockout in Denmark has now lasted four weeks, and still there is no sign of the conflict being settled. The Arbitration-Committee daily confers with both the conflicting parties, but at present it considers that a fresh attempt at settlement would be fruitless. The only agreement they arrived at was in the barbers' and hairdressers' trade.

The Smiths' and Engineers' Union has entered on a sympathetic strike. This strike also includes the machine repairers for the newspapers. The number of the unemployed, not

including those locked-out, has mounted to 102,000, of which 41,000 in the capital. The local trade-unions are prepared for a long struggle. They have reduced the strike benefit at the same time greatly increasing the contributions of those at work.

Upon the invitation of the Union of Shoe Factory Workers, on Monday, 27th of February, 99 delegates from 35 trade-unions and 3 cartells, representing about 35,000 workers, met in conferences in Copenhagen. The conference passed the following resolution:—

"The measures adopted up to the present against the lockout have proved ineffective to gain for the workers a sound basis for a satisfactory arrangement. The conference therefore unanimously declares that the only effective means against the lockout is an all-embracing general strike, and appeals strongly and urgently to the Committee of the Trade Union Federation to take the initiative for the strike as soon as possible, conducting it on the following lines:

1. Every encroachment on the normal eight-hour day to be rejected.
2. No reduction of wages exceeding the fall of prices.
3. The present unemployment pay to be kept up without reductions throughout the course of the year."

The Reorganizations of the Norwegian Trade Unions.

by Smohlan.

** The trade-unions of Norway have gone through a more rapid development towards the left than those of most of the other countries. The opposition which began in 1911 obtained the majority after the war and stands—although it still belongs to the Amsterdam International—on the platform of the Red Trade Union International. Not that it accepts cheap resolutions, it acts. At present it is diligently at work in completely rebuilding its organizations.

For this purpose a committee was elected at the congress of the General Federation of Labor which is to work out the reorganization plan and present it to the next congress.

"The congress recommends that the national organization of the trade-unions be so organized that it be based on local organizations. The local organization will take over principally the rights and duties of the present craft unions. The national organization (Trade Union Federation) will be divided into groups or sections, in accordance with the important industries."

In a large meeting in the capital a committee member, the secretary of the metal workers' union, Stolvard Olsen, gave a very interesting lecture about the various proposals of the committee. He said among other things:—

"Our national organization is a real organization for struggle, while the national organization of Sweden and Denmark are generally merely organizations of adjustment among the various craft federations who possess the real power. The differences in wages and working conditions among the various trades are extremely small in our country. Since 1910 the development is in the direction of the disappearance of special craft interests. The tendency is toward a representation of class interests. The capitalists do not consider masons, painters or bookbinders as something in themselves. For them they are all workers. Modern industrial life is an entity and the capitalists have an interest in making wage agreements at definite times, in order to avoid continual disturbances in industrial life. That is the decisive cause why we have now gotten into a period where class struggles are taking the place of craft struggles. The craft trade-union as to blame for the continuance of craft differences, and that can only be eliminated by uniting the various labor unions. Through this the system of organization becomes simpler in that there are only two—the local organization and the national organization.

"As long as the national craft federations exist, the local craft unions have an important purpose. If, however, the federations are dissolved, then the union turns into a kind of appendix in the organizations, which is not alone superfluous, but dangerous. We have seen how a federation can be split and divided into several. The craft unions are to blame for this. As long as the craft unions exist they will attack that system of organization for which we are striving and therefore the operation must be carried out today that is, the removed of the appendix. The craft unions should not

be dissolved but united. Fear is expressed that such a large organization will be too clumsy for the purpose of administration. To this I would like to reply that in the larger countries there are unions with more than 100,000 members. Furthermore, the local organizations are to be divided into industrial groups and the shop councils of the large plants will take over a large part of the work now carried on by the federations: I do not see anything discordant in the fact that the printers and bookbinders take care of their interests in the graphic industrial groups, the mason and painters turn to the group of the building industry in the same local organization. Thereby the industrial groups will be turned into real living aggressive organs in the daily struggle of the workers on the field of labor."

The president of the Trade Union Federation, Ole Lian, declared himself in agreement in principle with the exposition of the speaker. The goal must be reached, where the professional differences can be removed and the trade-unions turned into a single labor organization. The highest morality of the workers lies in class solidarity. To develop this and bring it to its highest development has more value for our struggle for emancipation, than to conclude ever so many good wage agreements with the capitalists no matter how necessary these may be in individual cases.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Austrian Women and the Increase in Prices.

by E. P. (Vienna).

** Already during the progress of the war, the investigations of statisticians showed that among all the countries in which the war raged, Austria suffered the most from the rise in prices. The situation did not change with the ending of the war, on the contrary grew worse. What the blockade and the scarcity in food products had caused during the war—an important increase in the prices of food products and necessary articles—was continued and increased after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, through the cessation of governmental control and the re-introduction of uncontrolled trade. During the war and for some times afterwards, the government had tried by means of state enterprises to prevent price increases; but in vain. The prices increased incessantly only because of the "underground" trade, where the profiteers and the private traders had no bounds and where prices soared to a fantastic height. Thus one could already notice at the end of November 1918, in spite of governmental price regulations, a fifty to one hundred-fold increase in the prices of all food products and necessary articles, while at the same time wages had increased only thirty to forty-fold.

All the measures of the government failed in view of the profit greed of the agrarians who forced the abandonment of the governmental grain and potato control. Of what use were price investigation commissions, market control, a profiteering law, a profiteering commission, etc., to keep a sharp eye on prices and stabilize them? Trade capital recognized no limitations and continued to plunder the masses, especially since the state and the municipalities did not in any way set a good example—the foremost being the municipality of Vienna under the leadership of the Social Democrats.

Under the pressure of the unheard-of rise in price and the steadily growing excitement of the masses, the Social Democratic Party had proposed to the government a financial plan for satisfying the financial and economic needs of Austria. This financial plan of the Social Democrats is of a very peculiar sort: It contains among other things the demand for the abolition of the extra food subsidies, a measure which the government was at one time forced to enact in order to assure at least flour, bread and fat to the poorest classes. No wonder that the bourgeois government immediately accepted this financial plan and gradually abolished the food subsidies, so that with the 31st of March every further subsidy of the government for bread and flour as well as fat, disappears. It was to be foreseen that this abolition of the food subsidies would bring about an undreamed-of rise of prices and the first withdrawal of the subsidies—this is to be accomplished in three steps—has already led to that tremendous rise in prices which we have experienced with trembling during the last two months. Through the reduction of the food subsidies the price of flour immediately jumped from 42 crowns to 450 crowns, and that of bread from 34 crowns to 314 crowns. In February after the second reduction, prices rose

to 452 crowns for bread and 612 crowns for flour. It was clear that a tremendous price revolution had been set into action, since the bread and the flour prices regulate the rest of the prices. The results of the price revolution are clearly to be seen in the following table, which on the basis of peace prices gives in percent the rise in prices.

	Nov. 1918	Feb. 1922
Flour	7,500 %	40,000 %
Sugar	2,300 %	120,000 %
Fat	4,000 %	137,000 %
Meat	1,700 %	80,000 %
Rice	10,000 %	200,000 %
Gries	5,000 %	160,000 %
Potatoes	1,600 %	250,000 %
Eggs	1,700 %	240,000 %
Coal	400 %	125,000 %
Wood	1,000 %	112,000 %
Gas (per cubic meter)	250 %	67,000 %
Textile Goods (average)	2,500 %	200,000 %

The destructive effects of the withdrawal of the food subsidies upon the prices is seen still clearer by contrasting them with the amount necessary in kroner to satisfy the barest needs of one person.

	Dec. 1921	Jan. 1922	Feb. 1922
Food	9,663.00	16,723.30	25,372.08
Clothing	5,535.42	7,855.00	10,200.42
Rent	1,670.00	2,320.00	2,870.00
Misc. (books, papers, theatre)	1,670.00	2,320.00	2,870.00
Total:	24,615.00	38,174.12	55,745.52

Average wages, however, actually amounted to merely 800-10,000 crowns in December, 14,000-18,000 crowns in January and 20,000-30,000 crowns in February. This deficiency can only be overcome by decreasing the amount of barest necessities which is synonymous with starvation and privation. In figuring out the indices for the sliding wage scale, the capitalists omitted eggs from the index list on the ground that these were articles of luxury!

With all these price increases the contents of the Pandora Box which the state, provinces, municipalities and private trade are pouring out over the working-class and the lower middle class are not yet exhausted. A building tax of the municipalities of Vienna and a relieving of the protective measures against rent profiteers, prepared by the government, threaten to raise rents eightfold. The increase of the freight rates just carried through and to be continued in the future, raises for Vienna the prices of milk and vegetables, food products which today are practically beyond the means of the proletarian household.

Thus the burdens increase and continually press down upon the workers' living standard. Above all, they press down upon the shoulders of the proletarian woman who is burdened not alone with her household troubles, but also with her own job, since the income of her husband does not suffice to secure the minimum amount necessary to exist. Day in and day out, the women are carrying on the exhausting and self-annihilating struggle with the rise in prices, and again and again they must perform the trick of creating something out of nothing. With growing anxiety they see their children pining away, sick with tuberculosis, their husband sickly, threatened by unemployment, to which they themselves often have been condemned. Then they are forced to work as a houseworker for miserable wages and completely exhaust their powers. Often the children are forced to work and as a result of the continually increasing rise in prices child-labor is increasing at an appalling rate.

Proletarian women have therefore the greatest interest that at least the increase in the rise of prices is stopped. Repeal of the indirect taxes on all food products and necessities for the broad masses, adjustable price scale for food products, cessation of the withdrawal of food contributions, free feeding of school children (as opposed to the children's houses kept by the state and private groups), especially, however, raising of the real wages of women to those of men, as well as the same wages for the same work; these are the demands which the proletarian women make of the democratic republic. The Communist Party has already raised these and other demands in a campaign lasting for several weeks carried on in shop and public meetings. On the 8th of March the Day of the International Conference of Communist Women especially emphasized these demands in order to make the women still more conscious of them, and in the struggle against the rise of prices to bring them into the ranks of the Communist Party.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

by Cheik-Zaman (Guitat).

** If the Bolshevik Revolution could not find its complete counterpart in Europe because of the treason of the social patriots, its force of attraction was tremendous in the Islam world, particularly among the Mohammedans of Russia who number about 40,000,000.

Of the Russian Mohammedans who have conserved their traditions, their language and their culture despite the rigors of Czarism, the people of Azerbaijan undeniably hold first place.

This is the second time that a Soviet regime has been established in Azerbaijan. The first time it lasted only from March 28th to September 1918. To the number of great martyrs of the Bolshevik Revolution must be added the 25 Peoples' Commissars of the first Bolshevik regime of Azerbaijan, who, overthrown by the *Mensheviks* (mostly Armenian) and deported to Turkestan, were all shot to death by another *Menshevik* organization.

Very fortunately Comrade Narimanoff, the president of the Council of People's Commissars of the first Bolshevik government of Azerbaijan, was able to escape arrest by reaching Astrakhan from where Lenin called him to Moscow to be the Peoples' Commissar for the Orient.

The second Bolshevik Revolution in Azerbaijan was accomplished quietly at the end of April 1920, following the ultimatum of the Azerbaijan Communists, and strange as it may seem, the bourgeois Parliament before disbanding, recognized the Communist government as the legal government of the country. The revolution was hastened by the state of mind of the army, by the exasperation of the peasants with the arbitrary will and extortion of the functionaries of all degrees, by the high cost of living and by the cessation of work in the petroleum fields, following the curtailment of the export of petroleum.

Since the Communists have come into power the spirit of the people has changed completely. While among the other Mohammedan peoples, monarchist and religious ideas, as well as the women's veil still maintain their importance, in Azerbaijan the republican spirit always prevailed, even under the bourgeois government. While in Turkey and Persia women are forbidden by law to go out into the streets unveiled, at Baku in a monster demonstration of women, they made effigies of the *mullah* with their veils, and burnt them in fires as a symbol of the emancipation of women from the omnipotence of the clergy and enslaving customs.

Since the Bolshevik Revolution of Azerbaijan, the Communists have not only worked hard at home, but have spread their influence among the Mohammedan peoples. Thus, it is due to them that the Communist Party "Adalat", has been created in Persia, and it is through the efforts of the young Red Army of Azerbaijan that a change has taken place in the very imperialistic policy of England toward Persia. Mustapha Kemal became affiliated with Moscow through the mediation of the Communists of Azerbaijan, when it was still under the bourgeois regime. However, it is true that Kemal Pasha is now lukewarm in his relations with the Communists, and according to recent reports, under the dictatorship of Kemal, the great revolutionary Turk Mustapha Subhi, with ten devoted Communists, has been put to death.

The greatest work of the revolutionists of Azerbaijan is the convening of the First Congress of the Orient, which was presided over by Comrade Narimanoff.

From the point of view of public instruction in Azerbaijan, more has been done than in Russia. Every illiterate person who attends the public schools receives a *pyok* (a food ration) and some tens of thousands of rubles make it possible for a person to devote the whole day to his education, without being obliged to work elsewhere.

Economically Azerbaijan is richer than any other country, detached from Russia. In the production of petroleum Azerbaijan holds second place in the world after the United States. According to the statement of Comrade Housseinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, economic life is growing better from day to day and is approaching the pre-war standard.

In order not to dissipate their energies, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia have together established a commercial dele-

gation at Constantinople. It consists of the delegates of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, who, through this delegation are carrying on an extensive trade with Europe and America.

From the point of view of foreign relations, Azerbaijan is an independent republic and is represented in all places where the old bourgeois government had its representatives, and in addition has a representative in Moscow with all the prerogatives accorded to the other accredited powers affiliated with the Soviet Government. All the reports of the so-called hostility of Russia toward Azerbaijan circulated by the agents of the old bourgeois government are completely false.

Red Azerbaijan will play a significant role. The place which has fallen to Red Russia in Western Europe, Azerbaijan will take with ease in the Islam world. However, its action will not be of a Pan-Islam nature, nor permeated with religion, but essentially Communistic. This was demonstrated by Azerbaijan in its convocation of the First Congress of the Orient, where there were representatives of all oppressed peoples, Mohammedan or otherwise.

Azerbaijan, at present, too well remembers the yoke of the old Czarism, to fall asleep on the morrow of its liberation. We must travel over many roads, whole-heartedly, united with the heroes of the sublime Bolshevik Revolution in Asia, in Africa and even in America, until all the oppressed peoples will be liberated not only from foreign capitalism, but also from their national oppressors.

The First Congress of the Orient was only the beginning. The Second Congress of the Orient, the calling together of which has been undertaken by the Communists of Azerbaijan, as in the first place, and should not be delayed, ought to sound the death-knell to the ears of all oppressors and a new era should be opened to all oppressed peoples.

THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

Roumania's "Relief" work.

** Fridtjof Nansen has appealed to the Roumanian Premier to join in the general relief action for Russia and (to tell the truth)—the government responded. In what manner is shown in the paragraph from the Bukarest press we print below, which constitutes Take Ionescu's, "Briand's diplomatic messenger", answer to Doctor Nansen's appeal.

"Her Royal Highness, the Queen, has handed me your telegram of January 9th. Her Highness is very much gratified at your noble endeavors to relieve the suffering and desires me to inform you that Roumania has not remained passive towards the victims of the famine across her border. Approximately 100,000 refugees have been allowed to enter Roumania where they are being supported thanks to the noble spirit of our citizens. Several thousand soldiers of Wrangel's army are even now being cared for by the Government".

It is difficult to say which is basest, the hypocrisy with which it is asserted that one did "not remain passive towards the victims of the famine", or the cool admission that Roumania is a haven of refuge to Wrangel's gangs.

In its answer to Nansen the Roumanian Government merely speaks of 100,000 counter revolutionists and only mentions the Wrangel Army in passing. Why be so modest? It is a well-known fact that the Roumanian Government supports the various bands of Petlura, Makhno, etc., who have been driven out of Russia, and provides them with Roumanian and French weapons.

Really, an excellent famine relief campaign!

THE WHITE TERROR

S. O. S.

by A. Badelescu (Bukarest).

** It is time that the international proletariat, especially the Communist International, come to the aid of the class-conscious Roumanian working-class.

There is no end to the illegal cruelty and barbarity of the would-be civilized Boyars of Bukarest.

Their victims are countless and their deeds terrifying.

The theoretician Max Wexler and the Bessarabian propagandist Toil Kogan have been shot "in an attempt to escape".

The veterans of our Party, comrade I. C. Frimu and Dr. Aroneanu were simply beaten to death in the prisons of the "Eastern Belgium".

150 workers, who demonstrated in solidarity with the striking typographical workers, were moved down on the Theatre Square with machine-guns.

Carageale and Palade became insane as a result of their during their arrest "pending trial". The "Apostle" (as he was called by the workers) Bujor was sentenced to life-long penal-servitude for "plotting" against the safety of the state; Enciu Atanasoff was sentenced to 10 years, Neculan and Theodorresco to 15 years each, Bogdan and Corutz to 7 years each because they could no longer keep quiet after the blood-bath of the 13rd of December, 1918.

Outside of these there are many, many others, hundreds of others who had been simply murdered or are about to be murdered; the treatment accorded to our comrades in the prisons inevitably leads to certain death. The weak and delicate Bujor is languishing in the salt-mimes, shut up in a cell, and deprived even of the privilege of seeing the other prisoners, irrespective of whether they are comrades or not. The physical torments which our comrades have to undergo by far surpass anything that took place at the time of the Spanish inquisition.

We, who have until now been spared by the beasts of the Bratianu, Averescu and Take Ionescu governments, have held our mouths because the revolutionary Socialists of Roumania can bear much and keep on fighting without immediate complaints. But today, at a moment when the government and the king of Greater Roumania are about to wipe out the last trace of the good and the noble that is still left in our labor movement, today we cry to the revolutionary proletariat:

Help, Save Us!

At this moment the so-called "Communist trial" is taking place in Bukarest. 300 people have been under arrest for almost a year, and they were accorded such treatment that they had to resort to the hunger-strike almost every fortnight. Almost everyone of them is accused of "conspiracy against the safety of the state". This "conspiracy" consists in their having recognized the Communist International at their last Congress. This is a result of provocation on the part of the bourgeoisie, for the Congress which was called for this very purpose of joining the Communist International was permitted by the government at a time when we had a state of siege. These are the methods of the blood-reeking Roumanian bourgeoisie. It prepared the blood-bath of 1918, since it was later proven that the government had prepared the machine-guns, a day in advance, that is at a time when the workers did not even think of a demonstration. It provoked the general strike in October 1920, since according to the deposition of General Averescu, who was at that time Prime Minister, he could have prevented the strike but he did not want to.

Today, after untold suffering and tortures, 300 comrades are brought before the court-martials.

200 pages of charges and accusations are brought up against them. The prosecution is headed by the notorious Major Cernat, the tool of Bratianu family, who in four years rose from the shoes of a poor and obscure lawyer to the multimillionaire that he now is. Thanks to General Misu, another lackey of the Bratianu family and at present Adjutant to the King, Major Cernat became a court-favorite. He acquainted the King and Queen with the aims of the Communist International, showed them that they were constantly threatened (by the Communists) with the fate of the former Czar, and in this manner the royal family was won over for the condemnation of our comrades.

To judge by the way in which the preparations were made and the manner of procedure, we cannot hope to expect anything but a verdict of "guilty". The attorneys for the defence are not permitted to speak to the defendants; the evidence is withheld even from the lawyers; machine-guns decorate the entrance to the court; every possible means is used to break the morale of the prisoners, who are beaten even in the course of the trial, so that they are compelled to resort to the weapon of the hunger-strike. Even the population in the district where the trial is taking place is terrorized in order to influence public opinion in favor of the military "Justice".

The present trial means the removal of our best comrades (theoreticians and propagandists) for 10-15 years out of the midst of the working-class.

These sentences will mean that the Socialist movement will be forced underground, and will have to become illegal, which in turn means a new period of great sacrifices.

Only the comrades of other countries can help us; only they can save us.

Choose the means yourselves!

Communists Sentenced in Jugoslavia.

** On February 23rd sentence was passed in the Jugoslavian Communist trial.

Accused were either charged with having attempted to assassinate the king or with having participated in a conspiracy to overthrow the lawful government. Those accused of the first crime were both non-Communists and Communists, among them five deputies, and two secretaries of the Party. Under the second charge all the members of the Party Executive were arraigned before the court.

After 7 months of investigation and 1 month of court proceedings, 14 of the 33 comrades were found guilty, while the remaining 19 had to be discharged.

Among the 4 persons found guilty on the first charge there was not one responsible member of the Party; all Executive members, together with the Communist deputies, were acquitted of connection with the plot. Sentence was passed upon the worker Stejic, the assassin, who was condemned to death. The worker Czaky, father of four children, received 20 years hard labor, and the students Nicolic, and Palincas were sentenced to four and two years hard labor respectively.

Under the second charge the seven members of the Executive and three Communist deputies were found guilty and each sentenced to two years hard labor on the following grounds:—

"The court declares that accused in their capacity as officials of the Communist Party in our kingdom, have, by means of conferences, public meetings, persuasion, pamphlets, handbills and other agitational measures actively participated in carrying out the Communist program adopted in 1920 at the congress of the party in Vukovar." That is the legal justification for sentencing the Executive

of the Communist Party to hard labor for a program adopted in June 1920 at a legal and public congress!

This condemned program of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia which differs in no respect from those of all the other Communist Parties throughout the world, represented all the proof they had both against the Communist Party and its representatives.

There can be no doubt that the White clique in power utilized the attempt at assassination on the part of irresponsible party members as a weapon against a party whose rapid development was making the bourgeoisie tremble in its boots. Accordingly the government made the attempt the starting point of a countrywide series of pogroms against Communists, 70,000 of whom were arrested within a few days. In Belgrade among whose populace of 112,000 there had at no time been more than 12,300 organized in the trade-unions, 11,500 men and women were brought in by the drive. Of this ridiculously high number of arrests, 33 persons were after seven months arraigned before the courts, and of these 19 had to be acquitted. And in spite of third degree methods neither the Party nor its officers could be convicted of participation in the attempt of assassination which was made the pretext for the white terror.

The court was in a cleft stick, so to speak. Acquittal of the Party Executive was equal to an admission that the government had unjustly muzzled the Party and the Communist deputies and offended against both the funds and the press of labor. Hence the court could not acquit and passed a formal sentence intended to legalize the government's oppressive measures during the last 7 months.

A Party with 80,000 members and 300 local organizations, and 2,000 trade-union organizations with 360,000 members were dissolved; the Communist municipal councils in several score large towns were suspended; 59 Communist deputies were ousted from Parliament; an anti-Communist "Law for the Protection of the State" was railroaded through which threatens with capital punishment anybody conducting Communist propaganda; a number of persons were murdered while in jail awaiting trial; the funds of both Party and trade-unions were confiscated, etc. etc.

The government lost the political trial, and the Communists were sentenced . . . "Bourgeois justice" has spoken and killed the last vestige of the illusions as to the fairness of the capitalist judicial apparatus.