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## POLITICS

### The Annullment of the Treaty of Versailles

By *Karl Radek*.

Before the honorable authors of the Treaty of Versailles meet again, not to pull their hair in despair, but to proceed with their work, the Treaty of Versailles will probably have been annulled in all its parts by the force of events.

The Red Army had begun this liquidation of the Treaty when it cut with its bayonets the noose prepared for the Russian Revolution. The golden dollars of the United States, poured upon the Treaty, have continued the process. The United States has broken England's control of the seas. Mr. Marc Sullivan, the American historian of the Washington Conference, declared truly that no one had ever sunk as many English ships as Mr. House, Secretary of State, and that, without any naval combat. As for the reparations part of the Versailles program, neither dollars nor bayonets were necessary to tear it up. Since the purpose of this program was to force Germany to pay, it is destroyed by the very fact that Germany has no dollars. The only question is to know whether the reparations problem will be solved before or after the fall of bourgeois society in Germany.

And now we see the absolute failure of the Treaty of Versailles in the Near East. The victory of the Turks is a defeat for England. There is nothing platonic in Mr. Lloyd George's friendship for the millionaire Basile Zakharov. Mr. Basile Zakharov, of the firm of Vickers and Co. (war ammunitions), and the principal financial supporter of the Greek Government, had been able to lend this Government the handsome sum of £ 4,000,000 to conduct the present war. This financier is one of the binding agents between Greek and English capitalism. Greek capitalism represents the interests of England in the Near East, and the conflict between Mr. Venizelos and King Constantine was really the conflict of French and English capitalism. Mr. Venizelos is the agent of Schneider & Co. of the Creusot Works and the Bank L'Union of Paris. King Constantine was bound by Basile Zakharov to the firm of Vickers & Co. and the British Trade Corporation. The defeat of the Greek forces, then, is a defeat of English capitalism.

This is more for England than a purely commercial defeat. The Turks demand Thrace, peopled by Greeks and Bulgarians,

and in which England is greatly interested; not because it is anxious to defend the rights of nationalities (she has proved this when she delivered millions of Germans to France, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia), but because the question of Thrace is also the question of The Straits. Constantinople is formally occupied by the Allies. In fact the Turkish capital is controlled by England; at least this is what the semi-official organs of the French Government continually affirm. This is why Turkey has a much harder fight before it, to conquer Thrace than to defeat Greece.

England has always known how to let others fight her battles. Colonel Repington declares that the occupation of Thrace by the Turks would gravely prejudice the interests of the people living near the Black Sea. Whom does Mr. Repington mean? Czecho-Slovakia has a sea shore only according to Shakespeare. Jugoslavia borders only on the Adriatic. Roumania is divided between the opposite influences of France and England, and consequently does not quite know what its interests in the question of the Dardanelles are. Besides these there also exist near the Black Sea, Bulgaria, Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraina, Soviet Georgia, whom Mr. Repington certainly did not consult.

Mr. Repington made a mistake. Soviet Russia, even if it renounced the policy of Romanov and Miliukov, has nevertheless a great interest that the Dardanelles question be solved without detriment to the people of the Black Sea, and will never recognize any decision reached without consulting it.

English imperialism, wounded in Asia Minor and in Thrace, has suffered further defeat in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

During the War, fearing the rebellion of the Mohamedan people, it had adopted liberal manners, and distributed, here and there, diplomas of national independence. Last February, after imprisoning Ragul Pasha and the leaders of Egyptian nationalism, English imperialism proclaimed . . . the independence of Egypt. Over independent Egypt it set a ruler backed only by the English guns left behind in the liberated country. Then the leaders of the Egyptian National Movement still at liberty, published in June a protest against English tyranny. Lord Allenby then brought these leaders before an English court martial and punished each to seven years at forced labor;—this in independent Egypt. Another Egyptian delegation which protested against this interpretation of Egyptian independence, was also arrested. This is probably in accordance with Mr. Lloyd George's solemn agreement of February 27th: "From now on", said the English Prime Minister, "the Egyptians may decide on their own institutions".

The *Manchester Guardian* characterizes this as a tragic-comedy which may end rather badly. The liberal English organ

remarks that a new Egyptian Government exists only thanks to the support of English military authority and the English court martial; that it had never been elected by anybody nor would ever be. Elections under the regime of the English occupation would be only another irony. The explanation is that Mr. Lloyd George cannot recall the English troops from Egypt because Great Britain needs the Suez Canal. It is the bad luck of these unhappy Egyptians that they were born near this Canal. Why do the Governments of Penza and Tambov not live in Soviet Russia. Mr. Lloyd George would make no difficulty about recognizing their independence.

In Mesopotamia the English have also erected an independent kingdom which they have naturally robbed of its petroleum exploitations in Mossul. As a compensation it received the English troops of Sir Cox, and as King, ex-Emir Faysal of Syria, chased from his throne by General Gouraud, another founder of independant kingdoms, but for the account of France. To keep Faysal as near Syria as possible, the statesmen of London have made him King of Mesopotamia, naturally a duly elected king. That is to say, the English Commandant asked the chiefs of the Arab tribes if they wanted Faysal and his English pounds. The enthusiasm of these chiefs was great. But the beautiful English pounds in the hands of the Arabs may serve unexpected purposes. When Sir Cox came to pay a visit to the King of Mesopotamia, he heard England damned. He was naturally displeased. King Faysal suddenly fell ill . . . . (*appendicitis*). His ministers were arrested.

The English press is no medical authority. Mesopotamia and King Faysal are suffering from another disease than an inflammation of the intestine. The organism is suffering from the presence of parasites. No surgery will cure them, even if one cuts off the heads of the "Sick King" and his most robust ministers.

The situation of England in the Near East is another proof of the failure of Versailles. Versailles is being annulled there also. Where an organized force is working its annulment, as in Russia and Turkey, the process is much more rapid. In other countries, the process drags. But in both cases the annulment proceeds, and nothing can stop it.

## The Secret of the East.

By Wynkoop (Amsterdam).

Constantinople, the Byzantium of old time, is *The Gate* of a Europe thirsting for plunder, in the rich land of India.

Already in pre-Christian times, bloody combats were waged for the possession of this gateway between the antique trading states of Europe and the cultured countries of Western Asia. The Roman Empire laid its hands on it; the crusaders often preferred to settle themselves in this rich centre than to perish in the Holy Land; and in 1453 The Gate was closed, while the Mussulman Turks settled there for the ensuing centuries.

The way to India had now to be found by sea. Columbus with his discovery of America and the new navigation, opened the new era, in which the bourgeoisie developed capitalism into a world force.

Neither the small Italian City States, nor Catholic Spain, nor Calvinistic Holland could develop this world power. But in England, at the end of the eighteenth century, the factory system of the English ruling class began to lay its classic foundations, and before Napoleon caused France to flare up in her last convulsions, the world struggle between France, who dominated the continent of Europe, and England, the mistress of the sea, was already actually decided in favor of the latter.

The nineteenth century then saw the new preparations for the struggle for the land route between the two great continents of Europe and Asia. This world conflict had remained in abeyance for nearly four centuries. Long before the Prussians, as rulers of Germany and Central Europe, could think of exploiting Asia Minor and Mesopotamia through the *Berlin-Bagdad Railway* (via the Bosphorus), there resounded about the middle of the last century, the cry of *Constantinople*, as the slogan for the maintenance of England's domination against the then mighty Czarism. Then came the World War of 1914 which really centered about Constantinople, through the growing conflict between England and Germany over the domination in the Near East, in Greece, the Balkan States and Asia Minor, in fact, the route to India.

But neither did the World War succeed in solving this old problem, just as it has failed to solve the other problems of capitalist society. The problem of the world-dominating gateway on the Bosphorus now once again stands before us in all its magnitude. At about the same time when Soviet Russia expanded towards the South, when she captured Sevastopol, the northern Black Sea port on the Crimean peninsula, and drove General Wrangle into the sea, the leader of the Anatole

peasants, *Kemal Pasha*, began to establish his power on the south side of the Black Sea against the actual rulers of Constantinople at that time,—the English. Solely through the World War and through the Russian Revolution, both of which have exercised an enormous influence upon the hitherto passive peasant population of Asia Minor, India, China and Africa, an influence whose farthest consequences will only be recognized after some decades, the problem of the gateway to Asia via Byzantium has not remained quite the same. It seems, indeed, as if the German antagonist against the sole domination of the British in these areas has been simply replaced by the "French friend", who understands at least to make it as difficult there for the English as ever the Germans did. But the people themselves have undergone a change, especially the peasant peoples.

In Europe too, the peasants have come into a new position as a result of the war, but that is nothing compared with the changed condition of the peasant peoples on the South East borders of Europe and in Asia.

In Europe the peasants have chiefly begun to feel their power as possible exploiters in a working partnership; hence, they behave as an integral part of a modern capitalist society, a part which they appreciate the more, the more the people of Asia keep their harvests for themselves, thus rendering the European State more dependent upon its own peasant proprietors.

In the East, however, the peasant movement is, consciously or unconsciously, directing itself against modern capitalism and imperialism. This shows itself already among the so-called "communist" peasants of Jugoslavia and among the farmers of the Bulgarian so-called "Green International" who sympathize with Russia, but particularly among the peasants of Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan and Turkestan. At the same time, the Russian Revolution shows that the first peasant people, who in the unceasing struggle between armed exploiters and working country inhabitants, were actually victorious, were those who were led, not by heroic deliverers or brave petty bourgeois, but by a section of the international proletariat.

The Russian proletariat conferred no inviolable property upon the Russian peasant, but the free use of the soil as a preliminary condition for its own international victory. This fact of the final and lasting victory of millions of peasants over every form of exploitation for the first time in the world's history, is the great secret of the East, which in China, India, Asia Minor, and Africa, is circulating among the many millioned masses over all political frontiers and military barriers, and through which the people are awakening.

And it is this which marks the struggle that is now being waged for the gateway to Asia, between the Greeks (as representatives of the English) and the Turks (as the friends of the French). *Kemal Pasha*, who stands before the gates of Constantinople, is, of course, no Bolshevik, but it requires a certain measure of Soviet ideas and the moral support of the Soviet Power to lead his Turkish mountain peasants, the most warlike vanguard of the millions of Islamites, against imperialist England. And France, who hates Soviet Russia more than does any other capitalist country, is compelled, in spite of herself, to strengthen the friend of Soviet Russia in order to compel her world competitor, England, to respect her to the extent of possibly dividing the booty.

And at this sharpening of the world conflict, at this historical junction, America will not remain a mere passive spectator. This dangerous robber-play will be carried on at the point of the bayonet. Just as in the year 1914, so now, no one knows what a coil of conflicts this one conflict can draw in its train, not only in the Caucasus,—the source of the human race and . . . petroleum, but also on the Danube and the Rhine.

And whatever may occur, this conflict will certainly not end until the international proletariat follows the example of its Russian Comrades and takes into its own hands the conduct of the world's affairs. Only to the proletariat in its hour of victory will fall the task of establishing an eternal peace in that eternal city at the gateway of the Continent. Now, however, war approaches rapidly; and only if the proletariat closes its ranks, internationally, rapidly and solidly, together with Russia, will it succeed in keeping the world conflagration at least within certain limits.

## Horthy in the League of Nations

By Georg (Vienna).

From Geneva the following happy tidings have been proclaimed to an expectant world:

The Plenary Session of the League of Nations unanimously accepted Hungary into the League of Nations, after the Czecho-Slovakian delegate *Osusky*, in a long speech once more gave expression to all objections of the Small Entente to the acceptance. He called attention to the offences of Hungary against the disarmament clauses in the Peace of Trianon and to her infringe-

ment of the principle of equal rights of all citizens. He declared finally, that the *Small Entente* would vote for Hungary's admission, since it had been definitely established that such admission was based upon the solemn declarations of Count Banffy, in which Hungary promises to observe all her international obligations including, as Osusky expressly stated, the pledge to depose the Hapsburg Dynasty.

Hereupon the Session proceeded to the voting. All the delegates present voted for Hungary's admission. President Edwards congratulated Hungary, and instructed the Hungarian delegates to submit their credentials to the Examination Committee but in the meantime to take their places.

A truly glorious and a most edifying spectacle for the working class of all countries:—the notables of the League of Nations shaking the hand of Horthy which is soaked in workers' blood, and welcoming him as a champion of human progress, reconciliation of the peoples and of world peace. This tableau is still more impressive to those workers who know that in the same League of Nations—"Labor Bureau" department—there sit highly gifted, zealous leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, who, for their activities which are undoubtedly extremely beneficial to labor, receive from the world bourgeoisie a none too limited remuneration in Swiss francs. These very eminent labor leaders of the Amsterdam International are now not only in a close alliance with Horthy, but also in a certain—if we may so express it—wage relationship with the same imperial Vice Regent, while from now on the Horthy Government will contribute its mite to the monthly stipend of Mr. Thomas. Mr. Thomas will now feel himself doubly bound in the name of the Amsterdam Trade Union International to represent the interests of the working class in the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, since he is paid for this purpose by such friends of the proletariat as Horthy.

The Hungarian Social Democracy and the Social Democracy of all countries have reason to rejoice. Their dream, the fraternization of the nations, the securing of world peace—to be sure, in the form of the Versailles and similar treaties—is accomplished, since the disturber of the peace of central Europe, Horthy-Hungary, has declared her willingness to become one of the champions of human culture, and since neighboring countries like Czecho-Slovakia accepted (with some hesitation, it is true) this sincere declaration. The Hungarian Social Democracy will certainly not let the opportunity slip by of pointing out to the working class that the Hungarian white terror and the tendency towards political adventures no longer exists, as the highest peace body of the world (bourgeoisie) has solemnly confirmed the sincere desire for peace on the part of Horthy-Hungary by admitting her into the society of civilized peoples.

But the Social Democrats will, however, neglect to explain to the workers the true reason for this act, namely, that the white terror in Czecho-Slovakia, in Roumania, and in Jugoslavia leaves nothing further to be desired and that the bourgeoisie has no further occasion to stigmatize the Hungarian terror. The Hungarian bourgeoisie has, however, preferred to officially renounce its plans for expansion in order thereby to contribute to the consolidation of the counter-revolution.

The admission of Horthy-Hungary into the League of Nations is the political expression of the official entry of this country into the Central European Counter-revolutionary Constellation. Czecho-Slovakia was very much interested in accelerating this process. Since her rival in Central Europe, Italy, was eagerly wooing for the favor of Horthy. Hungary's admission shall restore (on paper) the Central European balance which hitherto threatened to tilt towards Budapest and lately towards Sophia and Belgrade. After this admission which was preceded by an official renunciation of the plans of expansion on the part of Horthy, the way is clear for inviting Horthy-Hungary into the *Small Entente*.

This new "attempt at consolidation" of the Central European counter-revolution which officially increases the danger of war in the Balkans as it also strengthens the striking power of the united bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and finally also, at the opportune moment, that of the intervention bloc against Soviet Russia, must be answered by the working class of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, Roumania and Hungary with a more active and determined struggle against the bourgeoisie.

This formal act of the Council of the League of Nations is not only a contribution to the natural history of the Amsterdam International, but also an exposure of the hypocritical "progressive" phrases, particularly those of the Czecho-Slovakian Coalition Government, which could not do enough to stigmatize the Horthy monarchists, and which whipped up the basest chauvinistic instincts of the people, now greets Horthy as an equal champion of human rights, for the better consolidation of the counter-revolution.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Draft of a Communist Program

By A. Thalheimer (Berlin).

*The Program Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has unanimously accepted the following theses as a basis for the Party program.*

#### The Form of the Program.

*The Communist Manifesto* gives a general presentation of historical development: development of the bourgeois state; its differentiation from former systems of society; the revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie from the technical, economic, social and political points of view; positive results: the creation of tremendous forces of production; then the rebellion of the productive forces created by capitalism, against the capitalist system of property and production; proof of this conflict: the periodically recurrent economic crises.

Objective results of the economic evolution:

1. Tremendous development and concentration of the means of production. Resulting political centralization (National Government, etc.). These economic conditions as a pre-requisite to any Socialist transformation.

2. Rebellion of the productive forces against the capitalist system of production. The capitalist anarchy productive of recurring and ever greater crises.

3. The working class as the *active force* working consciously towards the Social Revolution.

#### I.

##### Historical Development of the Proletariat.

1. At first divided by competition. United at first, not for its own political purposes, but for those of the bourgeoisie,—as an army against the enemies of the bourgeoisie (against absolute monarchy, nobility, petty bourgeoisie, etc.). Hence no class-consciousness at this stage.

2. Formation of proletarian coalitions and organizations against the bourgeoisie, to defend wages, shorten working hours, improve labor conditions, etc. Positive result: growing organization of the working class; united wage fight; quantitative growth brings qualitatively higher demands,—*Class War spreads on political field*. Reforms gained.

The bourgeoisie is forced by conflicts (national and international) to admit the workers into the political life. The ruling class then begins to deteriorate. Certain isolated sections pass into the proletariat; introduction of educating elements.

Proletarianization of the petty bourgeoisie.

Formation of the lower proletariat.

##### The Aims of the Proletariat, Determined by its Class Position.

The living conditions of the old society are destroyed by the proletariat. Bourgeois property, bourgeois family, bourgeois morals and religion, and national prejudice no longer exist for it. In order to acquire the means of production, the proletariat must abolish its own method of appropriation (wage labor), as well as the methods of appropriation of capitalist society (capitalist production, distribution, circulation).

This class struggle is national in form but not in nature and essence.

The proletarian movement,—an independent movement of the overwhelming majority in the interests of the majority. The class war breaks out in open revolution when the bourgeoisie is "no longer capable of securing the existence of its slaves within their slavery".

#### II.

##### Proletariat and Communism. The Principles and Aims of Communism.

1. Relation of Communists to the Proletariat:— They are the conscious section of the proletariat, fighting for and realizing the interests of the whole working class.

2. The immediate aims of the Communists.

a) To organize the proletariat into a class, i. e., to create organizations imbued with the spirit of class consciousness. *What is class consciousness?* Living, active realization of the common interests of the proletarians, and of the irreconcilable conflict between proletarian and bourgeois interests.

b) Overthrow of bourgeois rule.

c) Seizure of political power by the proletariat.

Differentiating them from bourgeois liberalism, the proletarian aims are more exactly defined:

1. Abolition of private property.
2. With the abolition of commerce, free trade disappears.
3. Abolition of classes.
4. Abolition of the bourgeois family; *social* instead of *family* education; freeing of education from influence of ruling class.
5. Seizure of power by proletariat which becomes thereby a *national class*, and represents the *nation*.
6. Elimination of national differences and conflicts.

#### The Means of the Proletarian Revolution are:

- To raise the proletariat to the ruling class.
- To fight for real democracy.
- To organize the proletariat as the ruling class.

#### State and Revolution.

*First step:* The proletariat becomes the ruling class through revolution, and organizes the State for the suppression of the bourgeoisie.

*Second step:* With the disappearance of classes, i. e., with the development of the Socialist Society, the State loses its political character.

#### Transitory Measures.

*Prime requirement:* Political supremacy of the proletariat.

*General aims:* Gradual expropriation of the bourgeoisie; centralization of means of production under the State; increase of productive power; transitory economic measures which will gradually prove insufficient, but which in the course of development, will expand by themselves. These measures vary with each country.

#### Proposals for the more advanced countries:

1. Expropriation of land, and use of ground rent for state expenses.
2. High progressive taxes.
3. Abolition of inheritance right.
4. Confiscation of the property of all rebels and emigrés.
5. Centralization of credits in the hands of the State through a National Bank, capitalized by the State and enjoying exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of transportation in the hands of the State.
7. Increase of national factories and means of production; cultivation and improvement of all land on a communal basis.
8. Equal compulsory work for all; creation of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Union of industry and agriculture; to erase gradually the difference between city and country.
10. Free public education for all children. Abolition of factory work for children in its present form. Coordination of education with material production, etc.

#### III.

Critical discussion of feudal Socialism, petty bourgeois Socialism (Sismondi), "true Socialism", conservative or bourgeois Socialism, utopian Socialism, and Communism.

#### IV.

#### Attitude of Communists towards the various Opposition Parties.

*In France,* union with Social Democratic Party against conservative and radical bourgeoisie.

*In Germany,* common action with bourgeoisie against absolute monarchy, feudal land ownership and petty bourgeoisie, but maintenance of class-consciousness of the workers.

*General line of action:* Support of all revolutionary movements against the existing social and political conditions, but always keeping the property question in the foreground.

#### The Erfurt Program (1891).

1. *Contents:* Tendencies in the economic development of capitalism: disappearance of small industry; proletarianization of the masses; monopolization of the means of production in a few hands; tremendous growth of productive power, and pauperization of the masses.

Development of the class struggle. Crises prove that the productive power of society grew inordinately.

*General Aim:* Transformation of the capitalist system of production into a Socialist system of production.

This struggle is a *political* one for political power.

*Task of the Social Democratic Party:* Unification of this struggle, rendering it conscious.

International scope of this struggle.

2. Minimum program: Democracy, social reforms, labor protective laws.

#### Spartacus Program.

The November Revolution as a starting point. Socialism and World Revolution as the only ways out of ruin.

2. The political form of the proletarian rule: Soviets, class organs of the workers, as against bureaucracy. The economic revolution must be brought about and carried on by the organs of the masses.

3. Revolution as civil war in its acutest form. Attitude towards terror. Definition of Dictatorship of Proletariat.

4. Measures for the *Defense of the Revolution*; for the realization of the Soviet System and of Socialism. International tasks.

5. Relation of Spartacus League to the bourgeoisie, to the working class, to the other workers' parties.

The *Communist Manifesto* develops historically the aims and principles of Communism, and contains in summary form, transitory measures (not minimum demands) as well as some demands for labor protection (regulation of child factory work).

The *Erfurt Program* insists primarily upon democratic and social reforms. The main text describes the aims only in an abstract, general way. No indication as to the concrete form of the Proletarian Dictatorship (its State form), nor as to the transitory measures to Socialism.

The *Spartacus Program* restricts itself to a statement of the concrete form and means of the Proletarian Dictatorship and the Social Revolution. These are the chief points. The democratic demands of the Erfurt Program naturally disappear. All that remains is a summary demand for "decisive social legislation", etc. The Spartacus Program contains no minimum demands and no transitory measures.

A new Communist Program to be formulated now, should return in form, but not in content, to the Communist Manifesto, insofar as it should contain, besides a statement of Communist aims and basic principles, transitory demands, and economic and political measures of transition, which, based upon the existing bourgeois democracy and capitalist production, would lead to Communism. These transitory demands agree in general character with those of the Communist Manifesto, but naturally not in content, since the starting point is different, and because the goal can be grasped more concretely thanks to the previous experience of the proletarian revolutions. These transitory demands differ essentially from the democratic minimum demands of the Erfurt Program. The minimum demands of the Erfurt Program aim at the enlargement of bourgeois democracy, at the elimination of the military, bureaucratic and feudal remains of the German absolutism, and at the reduction of the pressure of capitalist exploitation. The transitory demands of the Communist Program aim at the overthrow of bourgeois democracy, and of the capitalist order whose oppression can be overcome only through revolutionary action. The Spartacus Program did not bring forth any such transitory demands because its starting point was not the bourgeois republic, but the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, the final destruction of the capitalist system, and because its immediate purpose was the creation and defense of the Soviet System, and the Social Revolution.

Shall the program contain detailed commentary, shall it be also a propaganda pamphlet, a polemic? The Communist Manifesto was both a presentation of the materialistic conception of history and a polemic against "true Socialism", petty bourgeois Socialism, etc. This was necessary because no complete presentation of the Communist conception of history and its methods had preceded the Communist Manifesto. (The writings of Marx and Engels before the Manifesto were only preparatory work). On the other hand we have sufficient propagandist and critico-polemical presentation of the basic principles and aims of Communism in the theses of the Congress of the Comintern to make their repetition unnecessary in a Communist Program. The Program should therefore be limited to a short, striking statement of the final decisions, as is done in all the classical Social Democratic Party programs (Erfurt Program, Programm of French Social Democracy).

See F. Engels' criticism of the draft of the 1891 Erfurt Program:

"In general the draft suffers from the attempt to unite two incompatible things: to be at one program and commentary to the program. One is afraid not to be clear enough when one is concise and to the point. Therefore one adds explanations which encumber the program and make it too broad and dragging. It is my opinion that the program should be as short and precise as possible. It is not dangerous if some foreign term or some too general or too far-reaching sentence is not understood at first glance. The debate on the program, the discussions in the press, will furnish the necessary explanation, and the short, pregnant sentence once understood is remembered and becomes a motto." (F. Engels on the Social Democratic Program Draft 1891 — *Neue Zeit*, XX, 1, pp. 5.6. (1902.)

The commentaries to a Communist Program may be found in the Theses. The program itself should carry and be remembered, and therefore be short and precise.

The question is: Should a Communist Programm formulate transitory demands? We were against the Levi Group adherents who wished to formulate the Workers' Government programmatically. But there is here a basic difference. They had in mind minimum demands in the sense of the Erfurt Program, that is, demands which would come into consideration at a definite time, while the aims and basic principles of Communism had only theoretical, ideal, future, but no practical significance. We wish to formulate transitory demands purely as transitory demands; that is, as *possible intermediary steps*, and not as definite goals for a definite period; in the same sense, then, that the transitory demands of the Communist Manifesto are. There is here an essential difference.

The Levi Group, by its adhesion to the Independents, by its willingness to enter a bourgeois-socialist coalition government, by approving the anonymous coalition policy of the Independents, by its union with the Social Democratic Party of Germany (together with the Independents), has proven that it has given up the principles and aims of Communism, (a thing we have claimed from the very beginning).

Does not a similar danger menace the Communist Party if it formulates transitory demands on its program? Not in the least, if it remains fully conscious of their temporary character.

Another question: May general, transitory demands (i. e., acceptable for all countries) be formulated at all, and to what degree can a Communist Program be made universal.

The same applies as for the Communist Manifesto: the measures must, of course, vary for each country. Nevertheless the Communist Manifesto did formulate such general transitory demands for the "more advanced countries" of that time.

Today we have to consider a much larger and much more varied group of countries in which the revolutionary movement plays a role. Besides the most developed capitalist countries, with various forms of government, where the class struggle is more or less advanced and where the present economic crisis is more or less felt, we have also the countries where capitalism has reached differently developed stages of early capitalism, countries with simplified production, colonies and half-colonies with more or less absolute governments.

For these reasons, we deem the most practical to be:

1. For the *General Program*: a general section, and a section of transitory demands, divided into groups corresponding to the development of the countries:

Main Groups:

- a) Countries where the proletariat has already seized power.
- b) Capitalistically developed countries, with a more or less advanced bourgeois democracy, and in the process of economic and financial disintegration, such as Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, France and the Balkans.
- c) More stable capitalist countries, such as England and the United States.
- d) Capitalistically developed countries, but with an absolute government, such as Japan.
- e) Colonial and semi-colonial countries: India, Egypt, Persia, China, etc.

The general transitory demands for the separate groups should naturally be elastic, as in the Communist Manifesto.

2. For the Program of the individual countries: a general statement of principles besides transition demands, adopted for the country in question.

The transitory demands of the general program might serve as a basis for those of the individual countries.

## The Present Crisis in the Italian Socialist Party.

By Palmiero Togliatti (Turin).

The Congress of the Italian Socialist Party was finally set for the beginning of October. The various factions within the Party, therefore had over two months time after the last governmental crisis and the general strike to determine their theoretical attitude and their line of action at and after the next Congress. But we cannot say that all groups within the Socialist Party are fully clear on this matter and up to their task.

In their manifesto to the working masses and since their Milan Conference, the Reformists have acted unequivocally. This manifesto is especially important on account of its sharp polemics. Theoretically, it contains nothing new; it is

a mere repetition of the criticism which the Social Democracy has for years been directing against the Marxian conception of the immediate tasks and the tactics of the revolutionary workers' parties. The Italian Reformists did not hesitate to accuse the Maximalists and the Communists of the responsibility for the outbreak of the Fascisti reaction. They declared that the intransigence of these parties had prevented the workers and the peasants from making full use of the post-war period to gain for themselves some real advantages, and to better their economic and political situation within the bounds of the existing laws.

In reality, the contrary is well known to the world. The Italian proletariat was defeated because it did not get rid of its reformistic leaders at the right time, and because a firmly constituted party with a clear program capable of leading the working class to effective action, did not exist. The Reformists attempt to make us forget these historical facts, and throw the whole weight of their hatred against the Communist as well as against the Italian Maximalists. We insist on this fact because it proves that in Italy as well as in all other countries, the Social Democracy becomes the faithful ally of the bourgeoisie and the reaction when it thinks the time fit. Their work consists in discrediting those parties which are actually leading the fight for the proletariat.

From a purely Italian point of view, this reformist manifesto and its valiant polemics against revolutionary and semi-revolutionary groups is of great importance, because it will render the split between the Reformists and the Maximalists inevitable. At the Conference recently held in Milan, it appeared distinctly that should the Reformists win the majority at the Rome Congress, they would expel the Maximalists from the Party, or themselves leave the Party in case they found themselves in the minority. In that case, they would proceed with the formation of a new party, which would constitute the final autonomous organization of the Italian Social Democracy.

It is more difficult to predict the attitude of the Maximalists. Their official organ, *Avanti*, took a sufficiently clear position in respect to the split. There is open talk of a split. The recent activities of the Right Socialists, especially their open attempts at coalition during the last ministerial crisis, are considered sufficient grounds for the split which did not take place in Livorno.

This proves again the dangers of the Maximalists' duplicity, which is responsible for the defeats of the Italian proletariat. It is not the intention of the Maximalists to separate themselves from the Reformists, and openly to fight them in order to destroy the Reformists' influence upon the proletariat. The Maximalists intend to continue their former activity within the trade unions, i. e., to capitulate before the Reformists, and to unite with them against the Communists, as they have done recently when the Communist Trade Union Committee sought to reach an agreement among the Left organizations.

Politically, the Maximalists believe that it is impossible at the present time to effect any change in the conditions under which the class struggle is waged. And they have the audacity to declare that they have always been Communists. They probably mean that they intend to continue a similar activity to that of 1919-1920, that is, to keep on *talking* Communism and class war. But they do not have the courage to turn their words into action, to develop a concrete program for the material and spiritual preparation of the working class, which would enable it to hold its ground in its present struggle. For Serrati, it is merely a question of how he can retain his leadership of the Party of demagogues and bureaucrats. It is characteristic, and a fact, that up to now no concrete will to action has been shown by this fraction.

Under such circumstances, it becomes clear that it is necessary, once for all, to put an end to the duplicity of the Maximalists. The position of the Reformists, historically considered, will mean their defeat in the future. Their expulsion from those organizations which gather the proletariat for its struggle, is an unescapable necessity which will proceed the more rapidly the clearer the situation is stated.

The greatest obstacle to this liberation from the Reformists, is the existence of a central, ambiguous, undecided party. It is certain, however, that the absence of an independent program of combat to oppose to the Communists and to the Reformists, will lead to the disappearance of the Maximalists from the fighting front of the proletarian parties, unless they are able to convince the working class that their present intransigent attitude is something "higher" than their former insignificance, and unless they make use of this "advance" to mask the bankruptcy of certain leaders and of a few thousand officials.

The workers' movement at the present time is suffering from a serious disease, due partly to the reaction, but also, in a large measure, to this process of weeding out from the Socialist Party that false revolutionism which had served as motto to the masses during the great revolutionary wave of 1919-1920.

In the course of this cleansing process, a part of the proletariat actually left the political class organization. The present adherents of Maximalism are not workers or peasants, but officials, people incapable of recognizing the necessity of the hour or of undertaking the necessary preparatory and organizational tasks of a real revolutionary party.

The are attempting to take advantage of the great prestige of the Communist International to regain their power. We must defeat this attempt by putting it clearly before all workers and peasants in whom the spirit of a class war is alive that it is not sufficient today, in order to be a revolutionist, merely to leave the Reformists after one has helped to cover their betrayal for three years, but that one must have a program of action, and submit to an iron discipline, to become a true class fighter, not a demagogue fighting for his job.

The split in the Socialist Party of Italy will accelerate the influx of the masses to the Communist Party. For this it is necessary that Maximalism should also be gotten rid of. The Italian Communists believe that the liquidation of the Maximalists may best be brought about by their complete isolation, so that they may have no opportunity to delude the workers that they have a program of their own, and that they are capable of any action.

We can say with certainty, that if this happens, the crisis in the Italian Socialist Party will turn into a great victory for the Communist International. It is not that we have any particular satisfaction to see Serrati and his adherents confess their mistakes, but because this is the way which will lead to the final victory of the working class. The inert body of the Maximalist group was the block in the way of the working class. The gradual development of the political conflict in Italy will remove this obstacle and form around the Communist Party an organization uniting all those workers who are determined to lead again their class on the road to victory.

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Crisis in Czecho-Slovakia

By F. Kunte (Prague).

One of the long-sought aims of the Czecho-Slovakian government leaders, the improvement of the valuta, has now been achieved. The present value of the Czech crown surpassed all hopes and expectations. The dollar equals 28 crowns, the Swiss franc 5½ crowns, the German mark 3 hellers (.03 of a crown) and an Austrian crown is only worth 1/100 of a mark. The sudden change coincides with a crisis that threatens the whole economic life, and with the pauperization of a great portion of the masses. No wonder then, that many theories are connected with the high Czech valuta and that every group of interests applies its own special-theory. The task of the Communist worker, in this question is, however, to expose the capitalist fetish and to see clearly what class struggle underlies this play of forces which appear to be outside all human volition.

The enslavement of the working masses of Central Europe and the transformation of the Central European bourgeoisie into partners or slave-drivers for the Entente bourgeoisie, constitutes one of the aims which the masters of the League of Nations have pursued, not always through direct routes, it is true, and with a great deal of mutual distrust and friction, since the end of the War.

With regard to Germany and Austria, they are already at the goal of their desires. Austria is to be blessed with an international police force for the support of the native bourgeoisie. Germany shall begin to work under the Stinnes Agreement. The transformation of the German and Austrian workers into white coolies who will help reduce the wages of the workers of the West, seems to be approaching its conclusion.

In Czecho-Slovakia it did not proceed quite as smoothly and rapidly. The economic power of this country was by far not so strongly concentrated and trustified as in Germany. Czecho-Slovakia had no Stinnes who could have struck a bargain with his coolie laborers. The people were filled with the ideology of "victory", and were therefore little inclined to take privations upon themselves. But the masters of the world had more extensive projects for the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie than for the German. The Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie is to become not only the slave-holder of its own proletariat, but is to serve as mercenary against the German wage slave (who might raise his head), and against Soviet Russia.

For this purpose it must be supplied with a strong fist and initiated along the road to militarism. The aim was therefore: concentration of economic and political power into the fewest hands possible; creation of a strong and reliable milita-

rism. The great banks and the agrarians became the executors, the accomplices and the beneficiaries to this plan. The way to this goal was a systematic policy of deflation, or the strict abstinence from the issue of further paper money and the maintenance of the value of the crown by every possible means.

Czecho-Slovakia is an industrial country whose chief exports were directed to Austria and Germany. One can therefore easily picture the immediate consequences of the policy pursued by the banks and agrarians. Official statistics show 154,000 to be unemployed. But this is reckoned in a very mysterious manner, for this figure probably embraces only those in receipt of state unemployed benefit. It has been established unofficially that the number of unemployed surpasses the 500,000 mark. 39% of the metal workers, 43% of the textile workers, 50% of the glass workers and 90% of the workers in the shoe factories are unemployed.

Some data may help illustrate the alarming extent of this crisis. The textile factories of the Friedeck district dismissed 3,000 workers. The textile factories in East Bohemia have come to a standstill, and 8,000 workers were thrown into the streets. The textile factory *Horak* in Semil has discharged 2,000 workers. The textile employers have terminated the collective agreements which effect nearly 100,000 workers. The Mannesmann Works in Komotau will cease work in the next few days. The Glass Manufacturers' Federation has decided upon the dismissal of 1,600 glass workers. In the linen industry the dismissal of 6,000 workers is contemplated. And so it goes on without end. In all corners of the state it is the same. Standstill and discharges.

At the same time a terrible increase of prices! Flour costs 5 crowns, a bread 3 crowns, although the present world market price only amounts to 4 crowns for flour and 2 crowns for bread. The agrarians and the State share in the profit. The Government systematically increases the prices for the articles of necessity by means of high railway rates and import duties. Upon a liter of petroleum, for example, which on the world market costs 80 heller, it levies a tax of not less than 1.40 crowns. Railway freights amount to 20% of the prices. The agrarian spirit distillers have received a present of 200 Million crowns out of the pockets of the tax payers, in the form of enormously high prices. It must be remembered that the great agrarians are in close unity of interest with the *Zivnostenska* Bank and other great banks, and that the State spends its income chiefly for the maintenance of an enormous military machine.

A number of manufacturers, chiefly German, and all those who do not share in the gains of the united great bankers, agrarians and State exploiters, are becoming rebellious. They are opposed to the method of pauperizing the masses, a method which ruins them at the same time or brings them into complete dependence upon the great bankers. This opposition under the leadership of the previous Minister of Finance, Dr. Englis, advances the theory that the inordinate climb of the Czech valuta is not natural, but artificial. But in the present era of imperialism, in a period when the free play of capitalist powers in the bourgeois State has long since been supplanted by the conscious machinations of financial groups and their executive organs, such a distinction becomes ridiculous. According to Dr. Englis, the high standard of the crown would be "natural" if the inland prices would experience a corresponding reduction. But again, that would only be possible of the united bankers and agrarians were to lose their control over the State. This, however can be accomplished not by natural, but only by artificial means,—through the interference of another class.

Systematically and with success, the whole economic apparatus of Czecho-Slovakia is falling into the claws of a clique of financiers and agrarians who control the State, and who in turn are the tools and allies of French imperialism.

For those who are "well-posted" and who have a share in the business, the valuta conditions are a constant source of speculative winnings, and a constant pretext for the maintenance of high prices in the form of a premium against changes in the valuta. That portion of industry which is outside of the circle and is compelled to buy foreign raw materials or to sell abroad, is faced with the impossibility of every calculation and with the loss of all markets. Every partial stabilization of industry upon the inner market is made impossible through the systematic reduction of wages.

In Ostrau and Kladno a struggle is in preparation against the reduction of the miners' wages; the same is happening in the textile and glass industries. The proletariat is preparing for defense. Every partial success will only increase the crisis. Through fearful sufferings the workers will come to recognize that *only the overthrow of the ruling clique can insure their existence.*

In bitter class struggles it will be decided, whether the Czecho-Slovakian workers shall be reduced to coolies and mercenaries of the Entente bourgeoisie, or whether they will make the first breach in the bulwark of capitalism in Central Europe.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Executive Session of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International

By Heinrich Brandler.

On the 2nd and 3rd of September, the Executive of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International met at Frankfort. It appears from the report that the Americans sent three delegates,—*Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee* and *Jacob Panken*—and that the Socialist Party of America has applied for admission into the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International. The resolution on international relations was, according to the report of the *Freiheit* (central organ of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>), unanimously adopted, the Russian, Schreider, abstaining from voting. The second resolution on the fusion of the Social Democratic Parties of Germany was accepted by nine votes against two in the preliminary voting, and finally with all votes against that of Schreider.

That the Americans were represented by three delegates is not perchance to be attributed to the strength of the Social Democratic Party of America, but only to the favorable valuta conditions. The three American Social Patriots have not fifty thousand members behind them in all America.

After the Independent Socialist Party of Germany is fused with the Social Democratic Party, there will be no mass party remaining in the Vienna International outside of the Austrian and Swiss Social Democrats. The English who are affiliated to the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International have even less members behind them than Brake and Longuet in France or Marlow and Schreider in Russia, and the German Social Democrats in Czecho-Slovakia. The feebleness of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International will certainly not be reduced by the fact that this time a representative of *Poale Zion* took part in the executive session, who also had no masses behind him.

The resolution on international relations is indeed very long, but apart from the usual indignation over the Communist International in general and Soviet Russia in particular, it contains nothing. In the introduction, the Executive of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International apologizes for the fact that it is still in the world at all. The whole resolution is a product of confusion and embarrassment which is unable to conceal the fact that the fusion of the Social Democratic Parties of Germany means the death of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International. The sickly consolation that the remarriage of the two Social Democratic Parties of Germany will prove a strong impulse for livelier activity on the part of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International has no basis in reality.

In *Resolution I*, all the "deeds" of the adherents of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> were enumerated. In this resolution they claim to have cleared up the reparations question at the Five Nations Conference held at Frankfort, in February. Further, they pride themselves in having "cooperated for the protection of the German Republic" with the International Trade Union Federation of Amsterdam.

The Frankfort Menshevik Conference which, according to the manifesto, is claimed by them to have cleared up the reparations problem, was a typical example of that impotent speechifying, for the core of its resolution at the time was as follows: "The solution of the problem is only possible through measures . . . which have as their object . . . the rapid restoration of the devastated areas, without overburdening France and Belgium with unavoidable cash expenditures, and the promotion of the financial restoration of Germany, while the necessary postponement of payment and alleviations are accorded to her."

It is according to this prescription of the Frankfort Conference that Germany and Austria have been placed in the position they are in today, i. e.—faced with the immediate collapse of the working class of these countries. The Executive Session of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International did not trouble itself to say a word with regard to this crying problem which must be solved in the interest of the bare self-preservation of the working class, but instead, discussed for two long days, the question of maintaining their Party existence.

The leading Party of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International, the Austrian Social Democracy, stands impotent before the collapse of its policy.

The bourgeoisie is at its wits end and sends its ministers to go about in the world begging. The international exploiters unite to place Austria under an administration of force and to hold the rebellious Austrian proletariat in check by means of an international gendarmerie if it dares rebel against starvation.

The Austrian Social Democrats, instead of summoning the working class to organize for the struggle in order to transfer the burdens of the collapse upon the bourgeoisie, declare themselves ready to enter into an Austrian Coalition Government in order to help carry out the plans of the international robbers and exploiters.

The German Independents who are uniting with the Social Democrats in order to replace the secret coalition with open participation in the bourgeois government, likewise do not consider it necessary, in view of the disastrous increase of prices, to summon the proletariat, both national and international, to the defensive struggle.

Just as the Independent Social Democrats in Germany, criminally take advantage of the deep will of the proletariat to unite for the common defensive struggle; just as they delude the working class with the belief that the fusion of the two Social Democratic organizations, neither of which will fight, is the way to the proletarian united front which is to enable the workers to beat back the capitalist offensive,—so does the Vienna International take advantage of the international proletariat's desire for unity, in order to hold back the workers from the fight, and to accuse the Communists of being the hinderers of the proletarian united front, because they will not have a hand in this treachery.

This base trick is to be accomplished by the following false account of the failure to call a Workers' World Congress for repelling the capitalist offensive, as begun through the negotiations of the three Internationals and the Committee of Nine. The resolution states: "Further development in this direction was rendered exceedingly difficult through the attitude of the Second International and was finally made impossible through—the conduct of the Third International".

Fine diplomats who are exquisitely versed in the art of distortion! The conduct of the Third International has, according to this account, rendered impossible the World Congress and the united defensive struggle against the bourgeoisie!

It is a fact that the Communist International put all points of dispute into the background in order to render possible the united struggle. Moreover, it is a fact that the Communist International, and Soviet Russia had made the greatest concessions to the representatives of the Second and 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Internationals, in order to prepare for the World Congress and thereby, for the united international struggle against the bourgeoisie.

It was the representatives of the Second International who sabotaged the bringing about of the World Congress, because as flunkies of their national bourgeoisies they demanded as an ultimatum, the renunciation of the fight against the Versailles Peace, and instead of fighting against the bourgeoisie they wished to turn the Committee of Nine and the World Congress into a weapon against the first Workers' and Peasants' Government, against Soviet Russia.

The leaders of the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> International have faithfully assisted the representatives of the Second International by means of this sabotage, and although Soviet Russia declared herself ready to spare the lives of the protégés of the Second and the 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Internationals,—the Social Revolutionaries,—in the event of the World Congress for the organization of the defensive struggle against the bourgeoisie being convened, the Vienna International, in the resolution of its Executive Session reverts again to the lying accusations, that the Third International had hindered the World Congress and through the death sentences against the SR's had broken the agreements which had already been annulled by the rupture of the Committee of Nine and the obstacles put in the way of the World Congress by the representatives of the Second and 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Internationals.

The hypocritical whining, the shameless perversion of the truth is the starting point from which the resolution of the Executive Session diverts to the further existence of the Vienna International. They hypocritically declare: "We wanted the Workers' World Congress with the Moscow International. The project has been wrecked. Moscow itself has rendered such a congress impossible. But there must be a congress. It is an urgent and ever increasingly urgent need of the whole world proletariat."

If anyone assumes that this tirade would be followed by a summons to the convening of a Workers' World Congress of all those who are prepared to take up the national and international fight against the bourgeoisie, is sadly mistaken. The resolution closes with the following appeal: "The Executive Session therefore appeals to the affiliated Parties to immediately review all these questions; it empowers its Bureau to work in the direction indicated and to report upon the results of their labors

as quickly as possible at a new session of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

The second resolution with regard to the fusion of the Social Democratic Parties merely demands that after the fusion has taken place, the Social Democrats of the Second International allow the "United" Independents to continue their adherence to the 2½ International. The passage in question reads:

"We expect our Comrades of the Independent Social Democratic Party to act towards the two Internationals on the basis of equality of the two coalescing Parties, so that their adherents may continue to work for the principles set up at the Vienna International Conference, in February 1921, and that in international relations no sacrifice is imposed upon the membership of the I. A. S. P. (the 2½) which is not equally borne by the members of the other Party."

The coalition policy allows the members of the I. A. S. P. to act with the bourgeoisie. The sacrifice is not too great; but to give up its affiliation to the 2½ International,—to make this sacrifice is not permissible.

The Executive Session of the Vienna International on the 2nd and 3rd of September, reveals the nature of the emasculate union of the Social Democratic and the Independent Social Democratic Parties of Germany, as the effort of the 2½ to create an International, "which excludes no section of the world proletariat", by ways and methods which every thinking worker must recognize, will lead into the morass, into the united front with the bourgeoisie against the fighting proletariat.

This Executive Session also proves and confirms the part played by the 2½ International as the decoy and game-beater of the Second International and thereby also of the bourgeoisie.

## APPEALS

### To the Workers of All Countries!

Today the white terror rages again in the territory lying between the land of proletarian dictatorship and the countries of Western capitalism. Judiciary murder, torture, imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of proletarians, prove the hypocrisy of the bourgeois democracy, so highly praised by the treacherous leaders of the Second, 2½ and Amsterdam Internationals. The drunken eulogies on freedom, equality and brotherhood have now been followed by acts, which reveal the real value of the solemnly instituted liberties.

They proclaim the inviolability of the people's representatives in the Constitutional Assemblies. But this does not prevent them from throwing into prison the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. They proclaim universal suffrage; but they rob the class-conscious working class of its suffrage through arrests and similar persecutions, and destroy the freedom of electoral agitation through the menace of the firing squad, and through provocations with which they mean to terrify the working masses.

This new wave of terror first began in Esthonia, where a few months ago, the reactionary, democratic government shot, after the most cruel tortures, *Victor Kingisepp*, the leader of the Esthonian revolutionary proletariat. Not satisfied with this crime, the Esthonian Democracy, in its mad rage against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, brought to trial the representatives of the Communist Party in Parliament, and condemned them to several years imprisonment. Parliamentary inviolability did not save the representatives of the proletariat from prison.

#### Lettland Follows.

Not to remain behind its Esthonian colleague, the democratic Government of Lettland, in which the Social Democracy is represented, threw the whole Central Bureau of the Trade Unions in Riga into prison,—thirty persons, among them *Comrade Derman*, a member of the Constituent Assembly. Ground:—the ridiculous charge, that they had been circulating counterfeit money. The Government was anxious to prevent the popular representative *Derman*, (who had passed to the Left from the Social Democracy), from taking active part in the coming elections. And his former comrades from the Social Democratic Party voted for the withdrawal of his inviolability, although they declared hypocritically that they were convinced of his innocence.

But this was only a first attempt. After the Constituent Assembly had finally worked out a truly "democratic" Constitution, the Government hastened to extend the application of the martial law for the duration of the elections. The counter-revolution then actually began its work. On the 7th of August on the day of the final ratification of the Constitution which established "democratic liberties" the Lettish worker and Communist, *Comrade Purin*, was hanged, and at the same time it was announced that 32 other Communists who had been sitting in prison for over a year, would be brought to trial.

Comrades! The murdered *Purin* is only one of the numerous victims among the hard-trying Lettish proletariat. His was the first death sentence of a Coalition Government whose Minister of Justice, *Mr. Goltzmann*, a *Social Democrat*, had assured *Mr. Vandervelde*, the avowed enemy of the death penalty, who went to Moscow to defend the Social-Revolutionaires, of his friendship. The infamy of this murder grows when we consider that *Purin's* name stood on the list of those Comrades who were to be exchanged, in accordance with the signed agreement between Soviet Russia and Lettland.

The murder of *Comrade Purin* was followed by mass arrests of Communists, as well as of radical workers in general. The newly formed Central Bureau of the Trade Union in Riga, numbering 50 persons, was arrested. Same happened in Libau, Mitau, Vindau, Volmar, etc. According to official figures, 800 men were recently arrested in Lettland, among them all the candidates of the workers for the elections to the *Landtag*, which are to take place on the 7th of October. The bourgeois press cynically rejoices that no single Communist will be found in Parliament. The Social Democratic press does not sound a word of protest, against the reaction, and under the hypocritical pretence of a possible strengthening of the counter-revolution, appeals to the radical workers to vote for the Social Democracy. At the same time, the Social Democrats attempt to take advantage of the disorganization of the masses to gain control of the trade unions.

#### Poland Keeps Pace.

The election in Poland takes place one month later than in Lettland. None the less, we find there the same conditions before the electoral campaign. Poland does not respect the immunity of the revolutionary peoples' representatives either. *Comrade Dombal*, member of the Constituent Assembly, was condemned to prison to prevent him from taking part in the electoral campaign. In Lublin, a Communist trial has been framed up, resting on nothing but provocations, and 25 defendants were sent to prison. In Warlaw, Posen, Krakau, Lemberg and other cities, dozens of Comrades whose only crime is that they belong to the Communist Party, have been brought to trial.

Hundreds of our militant Comrades are suffering in prison. The Polish bourgeoisie wants to crush the revolutionary movement of the Polish workers by arrest and imprisonment. Mass arrests have taken place throughout Poland. We see whole processions of arrested led through the streets of the city, and insulted and menaced by organized bourgeois mobs. Universal suffrage, the pride and boast of the Polish Democracy, is cynically trampled underfoot by the Nowak Government, which cordered its officials to forbid the participation in the electoral campaign of any party which is "an enemy of the Polish State". This order robs the whole revolutionary proletarian movement of its electoral right. The Socialist Party of Poland (P.P.S.) is zealous to prove to the coalition that the Communists are enemies of Poland.

#### Workers of all Countries!

In that strip of land between Western Europe and Soviet Russia, the white terror is murdering your brothers! The bleeding, martyred working class of Esthonia, Lettland and Poland are not strong enough to defeat their bourgeoisie, supported by international imperialism and by the social-traitors of the Second, 2½ and Amsterdam Internationals. *They need your help!*

*Raise your voice against the white terror and against the oppression of the proletariat in all countries.*

*Brandmark the Socialist hypocrits, the friends and colleagues of the hangmen of the proletariat!*

*Demand the liberation of proletarian prisoners languishing in the democratic prisons of Esthonia, Lettland and Poland!*

*Down with the white terror of the bourgeoisie, the allies of the Social Democracy!*

*Glory and Honor to the fighters for the Proletarian Revolution!*

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.