Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective news-papers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

POLITICS

England's Role at the Washington Conference

by M. Philips Price.

It is always necessary in trying to estimate the relations between the ruling classes of the British Empire and the American Republic to take into consideration the question of Ireland. Now the general trend of the Irish crisis in the last few days has been favourable to those elements in England, who are anxious to bring about an Anglo-American Entente, even at the cost of sacrificing some of their former privileges in Ireland. It is not a mere accident that the American-friendly Lord Northcliffe and his newspaper trust have been uttering late warnings to the so-called "Die-hards", that is the irreconcilable extreme right wing of the English Conservative party, who have been trying to break up the peace negotiations between Lloyd George and Sinn Fein and reconvene the Irish war. For the far-seeing elements of the British bourgeoisie see that a recommencement of the war with Ireland would give such encouragement to the anti-English and Irish elements in America that the possibility of a real Anglo-American Entente would almost certainly be wrecked. And this Entente is realised to be essential, in order to save the finances of England from collapse and in order to find an insurance against an armed conflict with America, which would inevitably mean the break-up of the British Empire.

It is not surprising that at the Conference of the British Empire, or as it is called, the Unionist Party at Liverpool last week, a big conflict took place between those elements who realised the danger of failure in the settlement of the Anglo-American question to England's world position and those elements who were unable to look beyond the immediate interests of the near future. But the overwhelming victory for the former point of view at the Conference was a proof how great has been the change of opinion even among leading sections of the British ruling class. In this connection it is not improbable that the big engineering and shipbuilding interests of Belfast, who up to now have always been the chief supporter of the anti-Irish and anti-entente parties, now that they are bound up with their commercial connection with the British Empire, where their chief markets are, have realised now that the warring off of a conflict with America is more important for their maintenance of power, than some years ago. Lloyd George seems to have the way clear for forcing Sinn Fein to accept his terms, which are the recognition of the inde- pendence of Ireland on condition that it remains a "dominion" of the British Empire. This of course does not necessarily mean that there will be peace with Ireland, for it remains to be seen, if Sinn Fein will accept these conditions but one thing is certain, namely that by the acceptance of the principle of Lloyd George's terms to Sinn Fein the latter will be put in a difficult position. For it is by no means certain on how much American support Sinn Fein could now reckon, if it refused the terms and if the Irish war began again. The Northcliffe press has already published letters from American journalists, which indicate that this support will no longer be forthcoming, if Sinn Fein refuses. The present situation may therefore well cause a crisis within the ranks of Sinn Fein itself, that is to the satiric manoeuvring of the dominant class in England.

Both the French and German bourgeoisie have been in the last week emphasizing the possibilities of a failure to reach an agreement at Washington between England and America. On the other hand as far as England is concerned the utterances of the press and of leading statesmen all seem to point to the fact that the rules of the British Empire are in a healthy sense of self-preservation making great efforts to reach an agreement. The proposals of Mr. Hughes refer of course mainly to future construction of battleships but these are extensive enough to effect a very considerable relief for the overburdened budgets of the victorious capitalist lands. Thus the proposals, if accepted, will mean the abrogation from building in budget-rolls the heavyest of the greatest and latest type of battleship, which will mean an economy of some 200 million sterling. Also it will mean a reduction in building a number of smaller ships, the cost of which will come in the next two to three years to 100 million sterling, thus making a total saving of some 300 million sterling. Now taking into consideration the trade crisis in England, the independen of America, together with the amount of some 1 million sterling and the impossibility for England to com-
conpete with America in ship-building, if the latter seriously decides to outbuild England, there is every reason to believe that the pro-American slant of the Print will persist with the English delegates at Washington. England's friendliness is, and has always been, in the history of Anglo-American relations, a friendliness born of fear.

At the same time there are serious difficulties which may at any time wreck an Anglo-American naval understanding. Hughes proposals allow England a margin of superiority of four big battleships over America and 12 over Japan, 36 light cruisers over America and 44 over Japan. On the other hand America intends to continue her programme for destroyers and submarines, on the grounds that the American coast is of such a nature that it can only effectively be defended by these arms of defence. Now the submarine is just the one thing to which England's overseas trade is most susceptible in war time. It is no surprise that the English naval delegates at Washington have raised objections to this aspect of Mr Hughes proposals. They are not without some support among the British bourgeoisie, for the "Daily Telegraph" attacks Hughes proposals fiercely from this point of view and declares that England wishes to show her true pacific nature by agreeing to total disarmament even of the submarines and destroyers!!!

The real object of the American talk on naval armaments is of course political. America is determined to break up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, to bring the British Empire under its financial and diplomatic protection, in order effectively to isolate Japan in the Far East. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, which will take place between now and Christmas at Washington, will in all probability be concerned with this question. The opinion of the British bourgeoisie is on this question divided. Lloyd George with his genius for compromise has for the time being turned his back on the propagating of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance into an Anglo-American-Japanese Entente for the Pacific and the Far East. He seems to have the support of some financial interests in the London City, who are interested in Britain's trade and financial relations with Japan and who have been working for some time past for the partition of China between England, America and Japan. It is very doubtful if this will satisfy America, which is clearly aiming at using its demand for open door in China as a means of forcing the first step towards securing an agreement between the three chief capitalist powers in the Far East. The whole policy of Northcliffe, who in his recent despatches from Manchuria and China to the "Times", discreetly hints at the need of establishing an Anglo-Japanese alliance, is the first step towards securing an agreement between the three chief capitalist powers in the Far East. The whole policy of Northcliffe, is the policy of a powerful group of statesmen in England, including Winston Churchill, Churchill, Ceddes, Mr Kennedy and of financiers of the London City, who are interested in securing a postponement of the payment of the English war debt to America. These people would gladly sacrifice the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to secure an Entente with America of the kind that Entente meant, as it certainly would mean, the subordination of the British Empire to American financial imperialism.

It is thus clear that there are considerable dangers in these new developments in the relations between the great capitalist powers for the proletariat of the world and particularly for the workers and peasants of Russia and China. The "Times" correspondent at Washington has already hinted in some of his despatches at the possibility of an American proposal to the international control of China in all matters concerning concessions and finance and of the open door in Eastern Siberia, "as soon as an orderly government is established there". Can be not the slightest doubt that the danger which would arise to the workers and peasants of China and the Chinese and to those of South China from such a "peaceful penetration" of the Far East cannot be underestimated. The question, which the near future will decide at Washington, is whether this tendency to the creation of an international financial monopoly and to the exploitation of China and Siberia, by which leading men among the British bourgeoisie are giving this support, is likely to bring practical results, or whether the old rivalries within the capitalist Powers will result in new conflicts and give Russia and China a breathing space.

**ECONOMICS**

**Good Grain Crops - High Prices!**

A comparatively favorable grain crop is to be recorded thisyear in the capitalist world. At first glance an examination of this year's figures as compared with those of the last few years may give rise to the belief in the growing stabilization of the food-industries.

"The Deutsche Reichspresse" of the 9th of November shows in the following tables the wheat-crop of the world in the last 6 years. Without counting the Russian crop, the figures which are given in thousands of quarters (1 quarter = 2.9 hectoliters) show the following:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
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<td>11720</td>
<td>11720</td>
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<td>11720</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>32000</td>
<td>32000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>760</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>1573</td>
<td>1573</td>
<td>1573</td>
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<td>1573</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>14000</td>
<td>14000</td>
<td>14000</td>
<td>14000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>37685</td>
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The poor crop in India and in the United States, which are due mainly to the absence of intensive cultivation as well as to unfavorable weather conditions, are abundantly covered by the favorable grain crops of the other countries. Besides, Argentina as well as the United States exported a considerable surplus of last year's crop.

Europe, whose crops are not sufficient for its own consumption, and which does not possess any big reserves imported from the main grain-centers, Argentina, Canada and the United States. Of course, everything in good order! — here demand, there surplus. But capitalist economy is not at all concerned with demand, it asks: Can you pay? This question is extremely painful to the European peoples, particularly to the countries of Central Europe. The consequences of war and post-war economy were depreciation, the impoverishment of most of the European States, and the development of their internal'>

In Germany this condition is to be seen most sharply. Neither credit nor increased production on the part of the bank-note press can do away with this condition. On the contrary! The rate of exchange is sinking. The price of grain is constantly increasing. This is clearly to be seen in the development of the grain-prices on the New York market, as against German buying power. While the American grain-prices are dropping, the prices which are paid for the same amount of grain in German money, are rapidly rising. The prices on wheat were quoted in New York as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cents per Bushel</th>
<th>Marks per ton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>145.5</td>
<td>4,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>140.6</td>
<td>4,961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>138.0</td>
<td>4,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>5,626</td>
<td>1,010</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>5,616</td>
<td>1,010</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>5,606</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On account of the financial breakdown, the question of exporting to the countries of Central Europe is becoming more and more perplexing in spite of the reduction of grain prices. In America they find it more profitable to burn grain as fuel.

The Junkers and large land-owners of the countries which have a low rate of exchange are doing splendid business. Foreign competition is not to be feared; the prices in their own country can be raised enormously, within the limits of the world-market prices.
The following prices were quoted on the Berlin market for German grain. (The prices of 1913 are inserted for comparison):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1913</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Rye</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>4 040</td>
<td>3 240</td>
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<tr>
<td>9, September</td>
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<td>29, October</td>
<td>3 240</td>
<td>3 560</td>
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<tr>
<td>16, October</td>
<td>3 080</td>
<td>3 740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27, November</td>
<td>5 200</td>
<td>5 800</td>
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<tr>
<td>3, November</td>
<td>5 680</td>
<td>5 800</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The large agricultural owners of Germany are satisfied with the impoverishment of Germany and the depreciation of its money. The following resolution was passed at the plenary session of the Pomeranian agricultural chamber which was held on the 29th of September, 1921, under the chairmanship of Baron von Wangenheim, president of the "Reichsländbund".

"It is only the constant depreciation of the mark which until now has prevented the breakdown of the agricultural industry on a larger scale. Under this mask, the resolution really states that agricultural capital is pocketing enormous profits through the depreciation of the mark. That means enormous profits out of the misery of the working people. Those whose wages have not been reduced, the reduction of the buying power and thereby of the consumption by the working masses, famine in spite of abundant grain crops! That is the picture of capitalist anarchy. The struggle of the agricultural chamber can become the beginning of the real struggle of the working masses."

The leaders of the trade-unions (the Communists) are in prison, the Government gave the Centrists the opportunity of organizing themselves into trade-unions and to take over the leadership of the unions. Those workers who, in spite of the law, have accommodated themselves to the Tranku law, are suspected of being Communists could not come to this Congress. That is what happened, for instance, to the workers of Kadirola whose statements have not been considered as yet on this occasion. They could not appear at the Congress and raise a voice against trade-union autonomy.

In spite of all this the Congress did take place without some unpleasantness both for the government and for the Centrists. Revolutionary labor, with the Socialist Youth at their head, proclaimed certain truths. The only revolutionary proletarian periodical is the weekly "Socialist Youth". In the special Congress number the following appeared under the title "Our Point of View".

"Unfortunatley we are not all at the Congress. The Social-Democratic leaders have preferred to split up the proletariat, because they feared that the congress would not hand over to them the leadership of the future trade-union movement. They preferred to have their own trade-unions, their own General Council. We regret, however, to see that the influence of such people succeeded in holding back a portion of the workers of the new districts from collaboration in the building up of proletarian unity. But not only these workers are missing. An army of Red-military terrorists are terrorizing the country, especially in Bessarabia, in Southern Dobrudja (Kadirola) and in a part of Siebenbürgen and Banat. There is no unified party-organization. In many places the local organization is still in the hands of the Centracted. This can create order here. Do away with the capitalist profit system! Conquer economic control by and for the working-class!"

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Trade-Union Congress in Roumania

by A. Badeaescu.

Since 1915 no trade-union congress has taken place, the congress was planned for last year, when the number of organized laborers reached 300,000, failed to take place because almost all the delegates to the Congress of the Socialist Party had been arrested. Apart from a so-called trade-union congress held by the Social-democrats in June 1921, the Congress succeeded this time—it is a double victory, for Romanian labor and for the government! It is impossible to foresee as yet how much of a victory this was also for the Romanian Centrists.

It is a victory for labor because, after a year of frightful terror, after the old organizations were broken up and plundered (by the police and military-officers), it is now possible for the workers to unite and wage the struggle in solidarity and unity. It is a victory for the government, which has attained its desired end, the conviction of the Tranku-Jaschi and his government, and the acceptance of autonomy on the part of the trade-unions. The Centrists who had already created a provisional General Labor Council in June, have partly consciously and partly unconsciously paved the way to victory.

It will be a victory for the Centrists only then, when they will have been able to boast a trade-union leadership of longer duration (and not only with the present membership of 2 % of Roumania's working class).

In reality no one is opposed to organizing on the basis of the Tranku-Jaschi law. A number of Communists quite consciously did the contrary. Under present circumstances, as long as the arrested, and their places elsewhere the abolished, every possibility for organization must be taken advantage of.

A year ago the White Terror suppressed every sort of labor organization. The assertion made by the Social Democrats and Centrists that somehow or other the trade-unions (as in Siebenbürgen and Bukovina) these unions cannot be destroyed by the government, as happened in Old Roumania and in Kadirola, is absolutely false. The actual truth of the matter is that the trade-unions of Siebenbürgen and Bukovina have existed for centuries, and comprise thousands of workers of other nationalities against whom the government was afraid to make an attack, because these unions were and are still strong elements of the Socialist youth. The workers of these trade-unions have therefore, and also because the government intended to let these labor-unions stand as the model and kernel of the future organization.

The government felt that it could not perpetuate the Terror. Moreover the laboring classes had to be detached from the revolutionary Socialist Party. For this reason the Tranku-Jaschi law was passed; for this reason also, the trade-unions are forced to accept autonomy with regards to political parties. Since the economic interests of the young proletarians, somehow united, can not be satisfied without certain political rights. Therefore the present law is a compromise, which is considered to be the best possible compromise.
The CENTRIST POPP demanded that the credentials of the Youth be rejected because the Socialist Youth was a political and not an economic organization. On this point important and heated discussion took place. Comrade A. Moldoveanu, the representative of the Youth pointed out: "Between us of the Socialist Youth and Comrade Popp there exist rather a misunderstanding. According to the old statutes we have a right to participate in this Congress. According to these statutes the questions concerning the Youth should be second or third in the order of business. We are here that the Congress of the Socialist Youth, according to the powers of the Congress, has the right and the duty to speak up. The Congress has the possibility to change the laws and to make everything necessary to the proper development of the Labor Youth."

"The demand made by Comrade Popp that our credentials be not accepted is nothing more than the continuation of the Bucharest tactics against us. Not only no support was given us but we were even driven out of the trade-unions in the organization of which we have contributed a great deal. And were we driven out of the trade-unions? The answer to this is in the laws and in the resolutions where we are so far that the sale of our paper was forbidden in Socialist book-stores."

The Socialist book-stores are not your possession, Mr. Popp! This measure was resorted to by the temporary General Council at the same time that all bourgeois papers and all yellow-literature were permitted to be sold.

"Comrade Popp knew that our paper would not let him sleep, that we would represent another point of view. He knew that we would oppose him on the question of autonomy, and for that reason he demands that we be denied entry to the Congress... Here at a labor congress we must be heard." Comrade Popp wanted to speak but members of the Congress did not allow him, and he could not cast a vote. The same thing happened to comrade Niculescu who attempted to speak against the Youth. A majority of the delegates with the exception of the members of the Local and General Councils, cried "Comrade Popp" and the votes in favor of the Young Men's mandates thereupon the police-agent who represented the government caused the session to be suspended. The next day, under pressure by the Youth, a new vote was taken. There were 27 votes for and 36 against the Youth.

The report of the Centrist paper leaves out entirely all these details. This paper states that in the debates over the question of autonomy the following delegates spoke for the negative: Inbre, Roman, Ionescu, Simulescu and Dorian of Bucharest, and John Patruiuc of Galatz, Mihaiela of Kobani and Al. Lioz of Arad. Autonomy was accepted by 164 votes against 27. 10 not voting because the vote was taken by open ballot, instead of by secret ballot which was demanded by the Communists.

The Autonomy Resolution reads thus: "In view of the explanations made during the debates, whereas a division of Labor is necessary for the reorganization of the proletariat, due to practical grounds + whereas the economic organization of the proletariat is only a part of the class-organization and therefore calls for special and tenacious work embracing the total number of exploited, and whereas an effective economic organization must have an absolute unity of ideas and action, Be it therefore resolved that the Congress decides for trade-union autonomy." This autonomy is easy to understand in view of all the political disturbances. The Congress did not renounce, however, either the class-struggle, or the solidarity with the workers of the entire world.

The Congress declared solemnly (1) "that as a basis of the economic organizations of the exploited, only those principles can be laid down, which were taught by Marx and Engels and which will be the surest guide for the great economic organization of the whole world." It is the universal phraseology of the Centrists. A number of Centrist leaders who have already been languishing in prison, and among whom there is the former Party Secretary Moscosi and the former members of the General Council Paul Marc and Kahn addressed a letter to the Congress in which they recommended autonomy without further ado.

The counter-resolution was rejected. The other debates were less significant. The report on the press showed that the union periodicals had suffered a loss of 4,642 up to October 15, though there were 14 numbers. On account of the merger by five of five newspapers the question was decided upon. In future the periodical will be printed in Roumanian, Hungarian and German.

On the fourth day the new General Council was elected, consisting of seven members from New Roumania and four Old Roumania. Among these there is the coward M. Balincau, former General-Secretary of the trade-unions, who was the leader of the last general strike but who was recently set free from prison on account of his friendship with the Socialist-Democratic member of Parliament A. Dunsarea (cousin friend of the government and the police). In September 1923, Balincau had spoken at the Bulgarion Labor-Union Congress in Sofia in favor of the Roumanian trade-unions' joining the Red Trade Union International. The "Socialist Youth" writes the following on the results of this Congress: "Accord among the workers who are forced to show themselves different from what they are and the very ones who openly follow others, are in reality near and for us... Only here and there is it possible to speak openly. The coming of the joining of the Government's boot has crippled all enthusiasm, has checked every irritation."

"The government has triumphed. It has triumphed because the Congress has fulfilled the government's wishes... Until now we have kept a great deal that we knew to ourselves, desiring unity..."

The Young Men's mandates will be held in their hands as long as the scissor's of the censorship and the governments sabre will permit us." THE BEGINNING OF A MASS-MOVEMENT IN GERMANY by V. Obha (Berlin).

The Lichtenburg hunger-strike of the 130 imprisoned participants in the March Action, at first glance a heroic protest, has in reality shaken the passivity of the German working class and set millions of workers in motion. It occurred in a period when the workers, ignoring differences of party, began to see the necessity of union of the working classes under the banner of the "International" against the attacks of "Big Business." Even the Executive of the ADOB (General German Trade Union Federation) was compelled by the unanimous protest of the working class against Stinnes' incorporation to denationalization of union to issue a manifesto demanding the "Seizure of gold-values", i.e., the confiscation of the means of capitalist production.

In this situation, the Lichtenburg hunger-strike was the impetus necessary to bring the needs of the hour completely to the attention of the working masses. The elemental proletarian sentiment, the feeling of proletarian solidarity united the workers in an unanimous protest against the infamies of class-justice. This shows how weak those artificial fences are, which are drawn up by the reformist leaders in order to separate the workers and to paralyze their will to combat.

Delegation upon delegation from the factories, from Berlin, from all parts of the country, came to the Reichstag to demand from the federal ministry of justice immediate liberation of all political prisoners. Protest mass meetings took place everywhere. In Halle the workers threatened to go on general strike.

In the German Reichstag, however, a resolution demanding the immediate liberation of the Lichtenburg prisoners was voted down after a stormy debate by the united bourgeois parties together with the Social-Democrats against the votes of the Communists and the Independent Socialists. The Federal minister of the Interior, Dr. Radbruch, himself a Social-Democrat after the November-Revolution, one of the few social-democratic leaders till now uncompromised, rode the high horse as formerly Noske used to do.

Hostily applauded by the bourgeois deputies, he derided the suffering of the hunger strikers, spoke of an "empty demonstration," and called the communists his own enemies. The Social-Democrats approved his statements. In the Prussian Landtag even the consideration of the hunger-strike was at first defeated.

However, the workers and their delegations were waiting outside for a definite answer. Radbruch put them off with a few empty phrases. The masses' indignation increased. Even the social-democratic workers joined the general protest. In every factory resolutions were passed demanding the liberation of all political prisoners.

However, the social-democratic leaders, as usual, betrayed the cause of the proletariat. After the disgraceful behaviour of their minister and Reichstag-traction, the Central Committee of the Berlin district issued an appeal in the "Vorwärts," which absolutely defies the will of the working class as unanimously expressed all over the country. The Lichtenburg prisoners were reviled as common criminals. The protest of the entire labor movement against the arbitrary demands of the government and the communist machination, the communists were accused of aiming at a "Putsch," and the social-democratic workers were warned not to take part in joint demonstrations. The leaders of the Social- Democrats dropped all masks, openly turned against the united front of the proletariat and denounced this as communist party-politics.

The Social-democratic leaders knew that they were bound by their coalition with Stinnes. They showed this at the first
instance, when the joint action of the working class was at stake. Furthermore, the bourgeois press enthusiastically seized the social-democratic leaders,Thumb and the Communists, and immediately demanded the institution of martial law. Social-democratic police president Richter promptly prohibited all public demonstrations in Berlin.

The democratic regime, however, but also the Independent Socialists were constrained by the Lichtenburg case to show their colors. They were forced to decide between friendship with the leaders of the Social-Democracy and the united front of the proletariat. They had the choice — either the continuation of their policies as practised up to now, or compliance with the will of the masses in order not to lose the last remnants of their confidence. In the Reichstag-debate the chairman of the USPD, (the German Socialist Party) who is also in the leadership of the Communist Party, Dr. Krupp, declared that the government did not deserve the confidence of the workers. The government, however, is the Wirth government, which was only formed with the aid of the USPD. Immediately thereafter, the Central Committee of the USPD issued an appeal in which the threatening dangers were pointed out and the workers were summoned to the struggle against the continual rise in the prices, the increased exploitation of the workers, and the tax program of the bourgeoisie. In the appeal, the Central Committee declared that it was ready to enter into communication with the workers' parties and the trade-unions in order to facilitate the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle of the workers by the creation of a united front of the proletariat. The decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party makes it certain that the workers' leaders will have no choice but to follow this program. (Social-Democrats).

Of course, the leaders of the Independents will again attempt to let the matter rest with these empty words. Thus, they refused this time as well to participate in a joint demonstration of the Berlin workers for the liberation of the political prisoners, claiming that they possess an understanding waiting for the SPD. (Social-Democrats).

But the further matters go, the less will the leaders be able to hinder the union of the workers in the struggle. The movement is getting beyond their control. Thus, the delegations from all parts of the country, workers of all parties, decided, in agreement with the Berlin organisations, to convene a plenary congress of the Berlin shop committees, i.e., the legitimate representatives of the entire Berlin working-class.

The Communist Party appears at this moment to be the most forward of all the leaders of the working class. The goal of all workers, revolutionary unity for the conflict, can only be attained under the leadership of the Communist Party. Every mass-movement breaking out at the present time automatically comes under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The protest movement of the masses caused by the Lichtenburg hunger-strike creates a favorable "jumping-off point for the great struggle between the classes over who is to bear the post-war burdens, for the tax-conflict. This mass-movement has the character of the last great protest of the Social-democratic Party, who had already attempted to settle the entire matter — so uncomfortable for them — by secret negotiations with the representatives of "Big Business" leading to a shameful compromise. It has convinced them of the futility of this line of action and has made them aware of the danger of this impending struggle. Thus, the hunger-strike of the Lichtenburg prisoners, for them the final struggle, the struggle with life at stake — this struggle becomes a manifestation of a new era for the millions, a confrontation with far-reaching consequences.

Co-operative Movement

To the Co-operatives of all Countries.

Hunger reigns in Russia. An unusual failure of the crops, caused by drought, has affected the most fertile regions of the Volga region and the North Caucasus.

The governments suffering from the failure of the crops, were not prepared for any kind of civil war only one or two years ago and were laid waste by the White Guard generals who destroyed pitilessly the possessions of the peasants who rose against them.

The famine is formidable in its extent. The pictures of the famine-stricken produce a frightful and shocking effect. Emaciated human beings wander about like shadows and reed in the hunger. Desperate mothers throw their starving children into the river and under railroad tracks in order to save them from the torture of hunger. The streets are full of babies with the colourless feet of clay, to have with blood and life that they did not keep a sharper eye on their "leaders".

While everywhere sunk in the bloody intoxication of a bacchanal war, one labor organization furnished an exception: the Co-operative Union of the Movement of Proletarian Youth.

Unity in the Movement of Proletarian Youth.

by B. Ziegler.

Every worker still recalls those frightful days of August 1914 with terror; those days in which the "powerful" international of workers' societies fell to pieces before the moving sabre of the imperialists. Hundreds of thousands of proletarians were thrown into the inferno of war by the bourgeoisie, who, without care for life and (social order, hurled their fellow men into the bloody and lifeless war, and thereby brought about the Bolshevist seizure of power, which will result in the re-creation of the working class. Therefore, they worked hard and self-sacrificing, so that the organization of the co-operatives was incapable of organizing practical relief-work. The League of British Co-operatives has put 15,000 pounds sterling at the disposal of the International League for Russian relief purposes—Edison's note. 

Up to November 12, 12,000 Co-operative societies of the "Central League of German Co-operatives" in Hamburg have donated altogether 80,700 marks. Really a deplorable showing. In Berlin we are told that the boards of the Relief Department and the Manufacturers' Co-operative are to bring typhus and other plague in the winter in the west.

The workers of Russia who have been defending the great acquisitions of the revolution during three years of civil war, who have spared themselves neither fatigue nor suffering in the struggle for the ideal of Socialism, must now undergo new trials. Everyone in whom all human feeling is not as yet dead, must put forth every effort to help the famished. Even more energy must be displayed by those who consider the high ideal of Socialism as precious, and for whom the active Russian people has struggled valiantly, heroically and with self-sacrifice.

And the workers of Western Europe have not remained deaf to the appeal of the famine-stricken. Relief work has become one of the most important tasks of the labor organizations of Western Europe. And the Comintern has put great pressure upon the workers to organize this relief-work through contributions, through giving up a part of their wages, etc. The workers of the West who are themselves suffering from unemployment and a reduction of wages have responded quickly and with self-sacrifice. The work is full swing everywhere. Contributions are made, workers are donating part of their wages. A part of this money has already been forwarded to the famine-stricken regions. It would be a disgrace for any worker or Socialist to remain indifferent to the organization of the relief-work.

We have heard a great deal about the work done by the Communist parties and Red trade unions. But outside of the feeble, colorless resolution of the International Co-operative Congress at Basle, we have hardly received any information about the Co-operatives of the West intend to do in this matter. And yet the Co-operatives are, in a large measure, workers' organizations. The social democratic or Christian circles of the Co-operatives can and must participate in the relief-work for the famine-stricken, more so than any other labor organization.

The Russian Co-operatives are working energetically for the relief of the famine-stricken. They have created a host of wealthy, powerful organizations which can do a great deal for the support of the famine-stricken. Why then don't we see these organizations, and why don't we see you in the foremost ranks of the Co-operatives? You can, you must take this position.

Work first of all for the collections which can mitigate the misery. Wake up your comrades, bring up the question of relief-work in your co-operatives, induce the governmental and social institutions to do their part for the Co-operatives. 

Come to our assistance more quickly! The need is great. The famine calls for daily sacrifice. No time must be lost. 

Co-operatives of the Third International. 

Co-operative Executive Committee of the All-Russian Co-operative League, Moscow.
that was the "International Union of Socialist Youth", an organiza-
tion founded under the protection of the Second International in
1912 by groups of this international, who in a number of countries demonstrated against the war with all their power, be it ever so weak.

The very same groups were the ones which were ready for the first international labor conference against the war in 1915. While the Second International had sunk deep in the revolutionary swamp, in which it sank more and more, the International of Youth ascended the red bank, upon which the Third Communist International was later to be built.

One by one the single revolutionary groups freed themselves from the yoke of imperialism, and began to fight the old parties. The Second International began to split. In order to achieve their goal, the groups tending towards the left had to shudder the "curse of a destroyed soli-
darity of the proletarian front"

It was different with the International Youth which went on its revolutionary way as a unit. Only insignificant groups refused to follow the main body; this they did against the will of the masses, as in France for example. Those who remained behind and declined to take part in the Berne Conference and to carry out its decisions were at once generally considered as not belonging to the movement.

The unity of the International Youth movement thus remained intact, when the solid mass of revolutionary associations of Youth also finally constituted themselves the "Communist International of Youth", and consummated its union with the Third International, with the judgment that it had indeed almost all of the remaining organizations, which had not attended the Berlin-Congress, recognized this, and joined the only International of Youth, one after another. The stirring activity of this quickly growing Communist International of Youth, roused fear in the revived Second International and in the 2½ International which was founded in the meantime, and which saw their offspring endangered. In the spring of this year, the sad work of splitting the International of Youth was begun in a round about way, by the split off remnants of several leagues of Youth which in recent months had turned communist, and by several large social-patriotic societies of Youth which never stood on the basis of the International, or had ignominiously betrayed its principles.

The ones, faithful children of the Vienna 2½ species did it "in the name of Unity". The others, the yellow, with every one of their clubs expressly reserving tactical freedom for themselves, and the right to defend their "Waterland", had very loudly an-
nounced their aim, in order to be able at the right moment, to call their members to a fresh and merry fight against our comrades and against the revolution.

The aim announced was: Fight against the International of Youth which follows the directions of the Communist Interna-
tional.

The unity of the International of Youth is thus broken.

The followers of the Vienna middle-heads and the darlings of the Amsterdam Yellows have won the sad fame of a split.

Occupied in the struggle for the growth and expansion of the Third International, perhaps the Communist Youth did not do enough to prevent these infamous destroyers from accom-
plishing their handiwork. Now however, after its second Cong-
gress, the Communist International of Youth will use all its power in re-establishing the old unity of proletarian youth. The traitorous groups supported by the old parties of course can not be entirely eliminated, but we do not for a moment doubt that the Communist International of Youth will succeed in reducing them to insufficiency.

In the coming economic struggle, in which the social-
patriots will make way for radical leadership, while the cen-
trists will have to accept the Communist slogans, the young workers will open their eyes and realize who their true leaders are, who actually does anything for them, and whom they can trust.

The revolutionary susceptible working youth will now as ever recognize the revolutionary way as the only possible one, and in the new struggle for its International, it will give the word as an example as to where the unity in the proletarian movement is to be found.

Unity per se can never be the goal we strive for. But in the struggles which the Youth faces at this moment, the struggle against reduction of wages, and against lengthening the working day, the absolute necessity for unity in the proletarian ranks will show itself. In these very struggles, it will be shown that no one is benefited by unity as such, and that only unity on a communist revolutionary basis can help the working-class.
The White Terror

Spanish Czarism
by Bernard Lechev (Paris).

The "Guardia Civil" sitting on his horse in the middle of the street in Madrid under the thousand eyes of the crowd, Representatives of the cruel, confused, world of death, of torture-chambers—the real Spain. The poets and painters have nothing more to do in this country, raving for years by the feudal lords of Castile. Spain is a beautiful and passive eternal calendar, a phlegmatic phlegmatism (Associations for Military Defense), the priests, and the treacherous police. For the foreigner, Spain is a perpetual carnival. It has daily and bloody celebrations—the bull-fights—where this most resigned of peoples comes to forget their miseries. It has its dance-halls, its cafes, its unforgettable sun. Spain itself is a magnificent museum, from rich Viscay to ancient Andalusia. That, all that, is only is mask from which five centuries of Latin influence have made the only thing, the Moorish imprint Red, joyous, victorious mask—it fulfills its duty, it plays its role. And on beholding it, the world imagines that an eternal peace reigns over the country. But when one goes to the very heart of the peninsula, when on asks questions, makes inquiries or looks closely, then the mask falls. The true visage of Spain appears, with its sores, its miserable hideousness, the decay of the regime, the atrocities of justice. It shows itself in rags like those unnumerable beggars of the cities and such as it is—prisoner of poverty, blest white by sacrifices called for and obtained at every moment by its capitalism and militarism. Here it is, this ingrate land—real, harsh, upon which the old cathedrals establish the invincible power of the Church, with the "altos humos" (flambeaux) indicating the widespread-spread murder forges and the barracks and the prisons shuttering in lively and free youth.

Here is Spain, in the twentieth century, the new Holy Russia, stoning for the good fortune of its climate and its beauty under the heel of the Junker. Never, in the darkest hours of Czarism, did Russia undergo pogroms and persecutions as present-day Spain. King, courtisans, officials, officers, civil guards, secret and public police, armed bands of "somaten" (a formidable gang of mercenaries) all work in the pay of the international industrials and financiers. An unbelievable manhunt upon Spanish revolutionists is made every day and hour in the name of the king. The factories retain their private police. The work-shops are infested with spies. All the methods so dear to the heart of Rasputin's Okhrana and the trust magnates of the United States are revived and intensified in Spain. Everything which is independent in this country meets with death. It is impossible to imagine what to conseguire, the fury presides at the "maintenance of order", so called by the reaction which reigns beyond the Pyrenees. Public, open, avowed war against Communism and Syndicalism, assuming all forms. In all appearances—ignoble war, against which it would not be too much for all nations to react, and react immediately.

Those who have had the honor of disturbing the criminal government of Spain to such an extent as to be lodged by it in the prison-cells of Madrid or Barcelona, as I have, do not find words sufficient to picture what they have seen there, to describe what they have learned there. What lessons the Spanish jails offer to the Communists! What hatred they inspire them with against the executioners! What stoicism the victims display! The mass meetings in prison... There were solidarity, my friends who were massacred at the street-corners, the militants who were brought to reason through hunger—they were ours, our brothers, guilty of adhering to the "Party of Moscow", to "Lenin's Labor Union". They suffered and died in silence. Before this suffering, these deaths, the world proletariat kept quiet. For this it can never be forgiven.

The atrocities continue. Spain of the Junkers, of the junta, of the police, spreads its nets abroad, becomes attached to Germany, goes to Germany for ... and calls for their extradition. Vaillant-Couturier has caused a vigorous motion to be adopted by the Executive Committee of the French Communist Party. The "Humanité", the "Vie Ouvrière", are starting to protest by a resolution and calls for their extradition. I know only too well that more than that is necessary in order to save the revolutionaries of Spain—an incessant, direct, brutal action with which the martyrs of Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona are helpless.

The martyrs must be thought of. All that bloodshed in Spain merits our effort. We will make it.

The White Terror in Jugoslavia
by G. C.

At a time when bourgeois reaction is raging practically all over Europe against the Communist working-class movement, the White Terror in Jugoslavia would not appear as an exceptional case, had it not been marked by peculiar Jewishovinism. One of the most important of these peculiarities is that the communist movement in this agricultural country with its scarcely developed working-class and uncultured, and unmerciful young bourgeoisie is persecuted not by a rent commissariat, but by a Jewish comprador-made-up army. The instigator of the White Terror in Jugoslavia is not an industrial bourgeoisie of old traditions as is the case in Western European countries but an oligarchy of the young finance capital which arose from the war with the war profiteers, the landlords. The speculators and concession-mongers, of the small usurers, who in the Balkans represent a peculiar type, further the Mohammedan feudal Bega. In this Balkan militarist monarchy all of them find their strongest support and most reactionary implication in the notorious powerful militarist secret society "Bela Ruka" (White Hand), which has its members and agents in all important places of the army and gendarmerie up to the council of ministers.

This is the coalition, which by utilising the Parliamentary parties of the Radical, Democrats and Mohammedans not so much as a Parliamentary majority but rather as a semblance of such is in reality governing Jugoslavia. This coalition naturally comes into constant conflict on all economic and political issues with the Communist Party of Jugoslavia against which it has now combined in order to rid itself of its strongest and most dangerous enemy.

Under such a reactionary regime with a bourgeoisie completely incapable of solving even those problems which history has allotted to it and absolutely indifferent towards all social questions, all objective conditions that can lead to the first disappointments of the working-class movement which is almost identical with the former—the trade-unions and all other now dissolved mass organizations are suffering terribly.

The third important feature of the Jugoslav White Terror is the pacific Balkan forms and methods which it has adopted. Such European bourgeois-democratic ideas as constitution, "Law", "Legal forms", "Parliament government", "Immunity of members of Parliament", "Liberty of press and organization", "right to strike", etc., have long ago lost in Jugoslavia the meaning they still possess in other countries. In order to keep this constantly in mind. Although the most reactionary country in all other respects Jugoslavia today is the most progressive in tearing the mask from the face of bourgeois democracy. Against the majority of the people, notwithstanding the great social political and national discontent caused by the policy of suppression, in spite of the ever increasing chaos, this governmental coalition which is trampling under foot the constitution and laws of its own creation, has only one motto—to keep in office basing itself entirely on the power of bayonets.
In December of last year when the Constituent Assembly after three years of the existence of Jugoslavia met at last, its sovereignty was snatched away from it. The Communist Party which entered Parliament with 59 members and took up in Parliament the struggle against the regime of violence, was by 13 votes voted out. Unnatural justice. But behind the general strike of September 30th of last year in favour of the striking miners who had been militarised, the governmental-coalition by a simple decree has suppressed the Party and trade-union movement of workers' put undersoil. The occupation of the bookshops and printing offices, abolished the right of meeting, both for political and trade-union purposes, prevented all trade-union activity and took possession of their papers and funds between the cause of Communist Party and the masses of the workers has been made impossible.

Last June when the cabinet attempted to carry through at all cost the dictatorial centralistic constitution—the most reactionary in Europe—the Constituent Assembly was then but a phrase. The Constituent Assembly was boycotted also by the Croats and Slovenes, because the great majority of the Croat and Slavonic peasants and bourgeoisie, which is from an economic point of view somewhat more advanced, regards this constitution as a threat to its national and cultural interests. Since the democrats and radicals did not possess a majority in Parliament, they bought the club of the mohomedan Beys for 300 million Dinars in order to carry through with a small majority the law creating the military constitution.

Such a regime and especially the unceasing persecution of the working-class at last caused attempts of assassination. The object of the struggle of the C.P.J. on December 30th was the reopening of the trade-unions and the legalisation of the Party. Short of the election of a new cabinet the fanatic elements of its following would have never resorted to individual terrorism. Since the party has not been legalised and it was made impossible for it to maintain contact with its following it lead to two consecutive terrorist attempts.

The attempts gave the government coalition a pretext to intensify the regime of White Terrorism. The reactionary regime reached its culminating point, and for a period of two months actual orgies of white terrorism occurred. All the world knows what happened during this time. The trade-unions were dissolved only been reformed in June with the help of the fanatic elements of its following who have never resorted to individual terrorism. Since the party has not been legalised and it was made impossible for it to maintain contact with its following it lead to two consecutive terrorist attempts.

The economic, financial and political failures of the reactionary regime and what is accompanying it are becoming more and more apparent. The fall of the foreign exchange, the loss of credit abroad, the fiscal of the internal loan, one failure after the other in the foreign policy in the Albanian and Baranya questions, the revolts in the Sanjak of Novibazar, the terrible corruption of the state organs are undermining the position of the government. In the very ranks of the coalition the process of demoralization is going on. Frightened by the terrible consequences of their rule the coalition parties are trying to shift the responsibility for the government's deeds. Quarrels between them are growing more severe from day to day.

As a result of the changes in the economic and political situation, the opposition is beginning to raise its head. The inevitable fate of all reactionary governments now threatens this regime. But for the time be it never exists and is trying by all means to keep its power. The C.P.J. and the working class of Jugoslavia, who are present are isolated in the severe struggle against the White Terror, trust that one of the factors that make to the destruction of the reactionary regime will be the international solidarity of the working class.

APPEALS

The Red Trade Union Recruiting Week.

The Executive of the Profintern (Red Trade Union International) issues the following appeal to all the organizations, members of the Red Trade Union International.

"The Recruiting Week of the Red Trade Union International will be held from the 1st to the 8th of December.

The revolutionary workers of all countries will manifest during this week their adherence to the Moscow International and their inflexible decision to smash the destructive system of exploitation for ever.

The Executive invites all organizations and workers, deserving the name of fighters for the Social Revolution, to prepare the observance of this week by the appointment of special committees of action in all revolutionary organizations accepting the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These committees are to raise the public charge of the organization of the propaganda week as well as of the united action against the ever increasing wave of reaction.

The slogan of the propaganda week is, "The united front of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive."

The Executive of the Red Trade Union International.

Losowsky, General Secretary."