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## CONTENTS

G. Nicci: The Political Murder of Matteotti and its Consequences.

### Politics

Arthur Rosenberg: The Political Parties in Germany and the Experts' Report.

The Lie Factory of International Counter-Revolution at Work.

### War Danger

Leon Trotsky: The Amsterdam International and War. II. To all War Victims and Ex-Service Men of the World War.

### In the Camp of our Enemies

Paul Fröhlich: The Party Congress of the German Social-Democrats.

### In the Colonies

A. Itkin: Persia on the Way to becoming a Republic.

### In the International

Amadeus Dunois: The Composer of "L'Internationale", Peter Degeyter.

### The Youth Movement

Prepare for the 10th International Youth Day!  
 Preparations for the IV. World Congress of the C. Y. I.

## The Political Murder of Matteotti and its Consequences.

By G. Nicci.

The case of the abduction and murder of the leader of the unitary Socialists, Giacomo Matteotti, has assumed the greatest importance and constitutes a turn in the political history of Italy. The fact in itself is without precedent. As is known, Fascism has on several occasions had recourse to political crime, but never have the circumstances, taken as a whole, been of such an atrocious character. It must be added that Fascism, as a rule, has not directed its blows against prominent leaders, but has sought to spread terror by striking at the rank and file and at the non-party workers; preferring not to convert the leaders into so many martyrs, but to discredit them by the easy process of designating them as worthless creatures. This time there was also entirely lacking the usual stage-managed "anti-national" provocation, while at the same time there was a lack of anything which could have given it the appearance of being in the nature of a collision or of a conflict. The attack by five armed men upon one solitary unarmed man, and the cruel murdering of the latter by means of revolver shots and dagger thrusts, had been coldly premeditated and prepared in all its details.

Furthermore, the chosen victim was not an extremist, but belonged to that reformist party which is obstinately following the chimera of social pacification and of purely legal action by the masses. Giacomo Matteotti, who came from a rich bourgeois family, who was derided as the "millionaire", was a serious and dispassionate man. In 1919 at the Bologna congress he sided with the Maximalists, but subsequently went over suddenly to the reformists and became one of the most faithful followers of Filippo Turati. Member of parliament for the province of Rovigo since 1919, he had long since been banished

from that province by the Fascist reaction ever raging in that district, which was at one time completely socialist. He showed great activity as a parliamentarian and was, moreover, an active secretary of his party. It was in this capacity that he sent the well-known replies signed by him to the proposal made by the Communist party for common action, the last replies being couched in very hostile terms.

As regards the perpetrators of the crime, it has become known that nearly all of them have been arrested. Who are they? On whose behalf did they act? They are well known Fascists and to those who were familiar with Italian affairs it was known that they belonged to an organization of the Fascist party which specialized in acts of violence of this kind, which organization was kept secret and was intended to be officially repudiated in the event of a scandal; nevertheless, it was formed, maintained and liberally financed by the Fascist party. This Fascist "Black Hand" had already carried out acts of violence against the homes and the persons of well known leaders of the opposition parties, enjoying meanwhile the fullest immunity from the law through the good will of higher circles. There is no reason to suppose that the leadership of the Fascist party and Mussolini himself had issued the order that Matteotti be removed — an act which could not fail seriously to damage Fascism — nor, on the other hand, is it to be believed that the group of persons concerned acted on their own initiative, prompted by a wave of criminal passion. Not even a case of downright "political madness" can suffice to explain the choice of the victim, who was not the man upon whom the hate of the Fascist fanatics must concentrate itself. The unavoidable explanation is that one, the evidence for which is coming to light through a political scandal of

enormous extent: the assassination had been desired by prominent Fascists who had been compromised by shady personal speculations to the detriment of the state, and who had reason to fear that the victim would have proved an implacable exposé of their misdeeds. Already the Italian press is referring to enormous sums spent by Italian and foreign capitalists in order to bribe members of the Fascist government who had an influence upon the measures and dispositions of the state.

Thus we have before us, not a case of extreme political fanaticism, but rather of the most sordid crime, carried out in order to keep concealed the guilt of those who, under the cloak of patriotism, were selling even to foreigners those interests which they claimed to defend.

This rapid survey of the facts is sufficient to explain the wave of indignation and disgust which is sweeping over the whole of Italy and delivering a terrible blow to the already shaken popularity of the Fascist government. One also knows that a crisis is developing in the high offices of the government and of the Fascist party, involving the removal of individuals whose power but yesterday appeared to be unshakeable.

It seems that Mussolini, who, as is known, precisely on the eve of the crime, had delivered a speech aimed at conciliating his opponents, desires to remedy the grave situation by turning to the left and by definitely breaking with the extreme elements of his party.

It is certain that the situation in Italy has at one stroke entered on a phase of instability. The aversion to Fascism, which until yesterday only expressed itself in under-tones, now shows itself in public demonstrations and agitations and in a spontaneous tendency on the part of the masses to reply with the general strike. The various groups of the opposition today express themselves in a language which they would not have ventured to utter a few days ago. One must ask oneself whether one is not confronted with the last drop which causes the measure to overflow.

When estimating the consequences of the grave crisis, and also if one is disposed to believe that the Fascist control of the state apparatus is in any way less firm, it must not be forgotten to what a great extent Fascism still has at its disposal a formidable political and, before all, military apparatus, which ensures it a very large degree of power.

In the parliamentary sphere, although the majority, obtained by the well known methods, will prove to be somewhat shaken, there is no reason to believe that the opposition parties will be able to overcome the disadvantages imposed on them.

In the sphere of civil struggle, nay, of civil war, the opposition parties have neither forces nor organizations which could in any way be compared to those of the Fascisti.

The Fascist government shows itself to be in the highest degree disturbed, and while being compelled to make by no means small concessions, it is mobilising the national militia and concentrating forces on the capital.

The parliamentary opposition parties have not succeeded in placing in a clear light the questions of the joint moral, political and historical responsibility of the Fascism of Mussolini for the horrible outrage, and have confined themselves to demanding the ordinary juridical procedure against the perpetrators and their principals. In such cases the revolutionary action for averting the blows and ensuring their due punishment is quite a different one.

Only the proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can state the problem in its proper terms, demanding and carrying out the trial of a whole political system of offensive class brigandage, of which the last action, the assassination of Matteotti, is the terrible but logical conclusion.

## POLITICS

### The Political Parties in Germany and the Experts' Report.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The Marx Cabinet has been resurrected. Thanks to the willing help of the German Social Democratic Party, the government was able to dispense with the vote of the German Nationalists when the vote of confidence was taken. During the debate over the government declaration one heard a good deal of stage-thunder in the encounters between Stresemann and Westarp, Loebe and Schlange. But as a matter of fact the

opposition of the German nationalists to the fulfillment government and the acceptance of the Experts' Report was quite lacking in seriousness. The clatter and racket of the German Nationalists was only a means to cover their retreat.

It is necessary to gain a clear insight into the real character of the present governing system in Germany, regardless of the speeches in parliament and the writings in the German press. There formally rules in Germany the small coalition of the middle bourgeoisie (German People's Party, Centre, Democrats). During the vote of confidence for the Marx Cabinet, there was already to be seen the great coalition (middle Bourgeoisie, reinforced by the Social Democrats), and in process of becoming there is the greatest coalition (the above mentioned parties, reinforced by the German Nationalists). This means: there is at present being formed in Germany a coalition Government possessing such a breadth and unity as was never before seen in the history of the Ebert Republic. One could, if one wished, designate it as the reappearance of the coalition of the 4th of August 1914; which extended from the Maas to the Memel and from the Conservatives to the Social Democrats. Or it might also be called the restoration of the Cuno Coalition, which conducted the Ruhr War. All Parties in Germany, from Tirpitz to Levi, are united in it, in order that, by acceptance of the Experts' Report and by the crushing of the proletariat, a new basis be created for German capitalism.

What is the explanation for the change of front of the German Nationalists which is becoming clearer every day? The German Nationalists in the election campaign played the part of the patriotic opposition, and the greatest portion of their 6 million voters placed the black-white-red voting paper (the nationalist colours) into the ballot box in order thereby to protest against the black-red-yellow state and its economy. The position of the German Nationalists before their supporters would be much simpler if they stood by their rejection of the Experts' Report. But the party leadership of the German Nationalists is not master of its own fate, but is held in check by a very long and very strong chain, and this chain is in the hands of the Federation of German Industry. German heavy industry is in favour of unconditional acceptance of the Experts' Report, as only by this means can it get rid of the Micum Agreements — quite apart from all considerations of international capitalist solidarity. The Micum Agreements mean absolute strangulation. Were the Micum System allowed to continue any length of time, it would mean the speedy collapse of German heavy industry. The Entente capitalists know very well, that the Rhine and Ruhr-Industry controls all the bourgeois parties of Germany. The German Nationalist Party receives special support from the firm of Krupp, the German People's Party from the Stinnes-trust, the Centre from the Kloeckner Concerns, the Democrats from the firm of Siemens, which on its part is a member of the Stinnes concerns. If the Ruhr industry is sufficiently prodded the bourgeois parties of the Reichstag dance as desired. The Ruhr industrialists say that under the present system they alone have to bear the chief burden, while the capitalists of the unoccupied portion of Germany merely look on. If reparations are necessary, then they should be borne by the German capitalist class as a whole. That is the will of the Ruhr industrialists and therefore the German Nationalists must accept the Experts' Report.

There exists a majority for the acceptance of the Experts' Agreement in the Reichstag without the German Nationalists. But the latter would, in the event of the opposition against the Experts' Report continuing, render the minority in the Reichstag against the Entente Policy too large. If over 200 members of the Reichstag were to vote against the Experts' Report, it would constitute so large a minority that international capital would have no real confidence in any financial operations in Germany. Apart from this the Reichstag laws necessary for the carrying out of the Experts' Report imply an obvious alteration of the constitution. That means that according to the Weimar Constitution they require a two-thirds majority in the Reichstag. If the government were to declare through the legal authorities that the laws regarding the railways, the note bank etc. could be passed by a smaller majority, this would give rise to serious conflicts, while the legal validity of such laws would be placed in doubt and the confidence of international finance would be further shaken. Therefore, in order that the bank directors in London, Paris and New York (whether Jewish or Christian) shall be able to sleep soundly, the great patriots of the German National People's Party must unconditionally accept the Experts' Report. The German Nationalists are already

in agreement with the economic section of the Experts' Report, they only make some reservations regarding the so-called questions of honour: liberation of the German prisoners in the Ruhr, return of the expelled inhabitants of the Ruhr and Rhine districts, some prospect of the withdrawal of the military forces of the allies from the Ruhr etc. It is clear that M. Herriot, who is by no means obstinate but who renders every formality as elastic as the interest of international capital demands, will, by means of a few harmless concessions, do what is necessary in this respect.

The unbroken united front of the German bourgeoisie for the Experts' Report, for M. Herriot and General Nollet, has met, as was expected, with the support of the reformist Socialist leaders. The Social Democratic Party lives and dies for the Experts' Report. They are basking in the newly arisen "Western Democracy" and tell the working masses that now, thanks to General Dawes, the millennium of the League of Nations must come. That the latter is extracting 2½ milliard goldmarks from the German workers is a matter over which the Hilferdings remain silent. This role of the Social Democrats is neither new nor in any way surprising. That on every occasion of fusion of international capital the leaders of the Second International must have a finger in the pie is a matter of course.

Opposition against the new greatest German coalition government is only being made by the Fascists and the Communists. But the German capitalists do not regard the Fascists as serious opponents. The Fascist leaders do not even take themselves seriously. Otherwise the hysterical campaign against Soviet Russia which has recently been conducted by the National-Socialists is unintelligible. If one is to give credit to the big words of Wulle and Graefe, the National Socialists are prepared, in the event of taking over power, to begin at once a war of aggression on two fronts: against the Entente and Soviet Russia at the same time. German capitalism has no need to fear such hare-brained politicians. In addition to this, the National Socialist movement is connected with German large capital by so many golden threads, that the opposition of these groups to the reparation policy need give rise to no fears.

The only real opponent of the German and international bourgeoisie in the carrying out of the reparation policy is the Communist Party of Germany. This Party, supported by 4 million German proletarians, is the greatest hindrance to the realisation of the infamous plan of Dawes, Breitscheid and Co. It is not by chance that the government parties of the Reichstag have decided to remove the Communist members from the Reichstag Committee for Foreign Affairs. During the bargaining away of Germany to Entente capital, which will be carried on behind closed doors by the Foreign Office Committee, the presence of the Hitler people will cause no disturbance, but the presence of three Communist members of the Reichstag would be another matter. This simple fact will, at one sweep, clear away from the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie the fog of phrases which enveloped the Hitler and Ludendorff trials.

## The Lie Factory of International Counter-Revolution at Work.

The "Morning Post" of May 7th 1924 published a communication from Paris dated 6th of May, which states, that according to the "Matin" the government of Sofia has seized several documents from the Bulgarian Communists, in which particulars were found as to the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Third International adopted at the session of March 12th of this year, and which were sent from the General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the President of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Kolarov, on the 25th of March under No. 10176 to the Berlin Communist Party. According to these decisions, large sums have been handed over to the English, German, French, American and Turkish organizations for the purpose of carrying on strikes, elections, Communist propaganda etc.

It is not necessary to say that these "documents" of the Comintern, as all others which have been "discovered" and published in the bourgeois press, were manufactured in the workshop of the forgers of lies of the international counter-revolution. The Executive had no sitting whatever on the 12th of March and the No. 10176 of March 25th, under which the decisions were alleged to have been sent to Berlin, is entirely fictitious. Up to the present time the Comintern has not issued the tenth part of such a number of communications. It is note-

worthy, that since the time when Bulgaria fell into the hands of generals and professors, the Russian Whiteguardists (followers of Wrangel) have had protectors (or rather agents) among them and that Sofia has become the centre where the "documents" of the Comintern are manufactured. We have recently exposed some of these forgeries. It is probable that fresh ones will follow. The Bulgarian Government recently stated that it had paid 500,000 Leva for such a "document". It required this "document" in order to prove the "treason" of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. Probably other states will require similar proofs. And they will pay for them. The former Tzarist Ochrana-Officers and agents provocateurs will not remain without work.

The "document" in question was discovered and published precisely at the moment when the negotiations between Russia and England began and when a part of the Turkish press undertook a campaign against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Is it not perfectly clear for what purpose this "document" was concocted and why just the anti-Soviet press of France and England has published it with such eagerness?

Moscow, May 30, 1924.

The Secretariat of the Executive  
Committee of the Communist International.

## WAR DANGER

### The Amsterdam International and War.

By Leon Trotsky.

II.

The question of the struggle against war is lit up with even greater clearness from another side. The French GGT. (reformist trade union federation) which is led by Jouhaux is closely connected with the French Socialist Party, just as the English trade unions are connected with the party of MacDonald, just as the German trade unions stand in the closest relationship with the Social Democrats etc. Naval and military expenditure the same which among other things, secures work for the munition factories, constitutes the most important section of the Budget of Mr. Snowden, of the "labour" minister, who is carrying out the task of British imperialism. Thus the Amsterdam Snowden compels the English workers to pay taxes to meet the demands of the English manufactures of high explosives etc. And as soon as the feverish time arrives when these high explosives are to be brought into use, these English workers are expected to put a stop to the production of munitions and to the whole of industry in general. And this does not refer to England alone. The French Socialist party has decided to vote for the Radical Budget. The Radical Budget provides for pretty radical expenditure on military purposes. And at the same time M. Jouhaux, who is conducting a common policy with the French Socialists, wants to pledge the French workers to enter on a strike at the very moment when it will become evident that the "radical" army does not exist as a mere plaything, but is destined for very serious work, i. e. for war. Can one imagine a more contemptible piece of charlatanism? In peace time we shall provide the Budget of the bourgeoisie, and in the capacity of Socialist ministers, shall urge the workers to pay the taxes for military purposes, support develop and promote the munition industry, maintain the strictest discipline in the bourgeois army and inculcate the idea into the workers that it is their duty to support the imperialist state... But at the very moment when the bourgeoisie, which takes the matter seriously, decides that the army, which has been created with the help of Socialist ministers and reformist trade union leaders, must go into action, — oh! at that very moment we shall summon the workers to a general strike and to adopt all other means of struggle. This policy assumes that it is a question of rams who are to be led to the slaughter.

But if, according to your opinion, a general strike for the prevention of war is impossible — we hear the cunning Amsterdammers reply — what else is to be done? Then the working class is defenceless against militarism. To this we reply: the working class is not unarmed against militarism, but you Amsterdammers are doing everything in order to disarm it. Let us begin with small things. Before calling for a strike in the munition factories, not to speak of a general strike, it would be better to decide on refusing to vote those sums provided in the bourgeois Budget for the maintenance of munition factories. It is nonsense to talk about the complete independence of the trade unions and

of the Socialist parties from each other, for it is clear and indisputable that they follow a joint policy. Should the parliamentary parties refuse to subordinate themselves to such a decision, then it would be the duty of the trade unions to call for a boycott of any party which, either directly or indirectly, supports a war Budget in a bourgeois state. But would this not mean a rupture with the reformists, with the compromisers, that is with oneself? Truly an insoluble task! One cannot day after day support the bourgeois state, sanction its budgets in the name of the proletariat, allow it to collect its forces and to restore its muscular system which had been seriously injured by the last war, and declare at the same time: At the very moment when you, the state, seek to put this muscular system to use, then we will at once oppose it with all our might. The criminal stupidity of such an attitude is truly enormous!

But would the refusal to vote for the budget in itself decide the question? So long as the bourgeoisie maintains parliamentary government, it always secures a majority for itself. This means that it will have its war budget even in the event of the representatives of the workers voting against it. The war danger will not be removed by this means. This is beyond dispute. The war danger cannot be abolished by means of mere parliamentary opposition. But it is perfectly clear that those workers' organizations which even lack the spirit to conduct parliamentary opposition are absolutely worthless. To vote against war expenditure (and against the capitalist budget generally) has some sense in so far as the trade unions and parties unite the workers for an irreconcilable struggle against the domination of the bourgeoisie, not only in the case of war danger, but also in peace time, i. e. in the time of systematic preparation of war danger. Of course the bourgeoisie will still have its budget and its militarism. But the trade unionists will say: Only the damnable enemies of the working class can vote for this budget; in this budget there is rooted, not only the slavery of today, but also the war of tomorrow; and whoever among the so-called "labour" representatives votes for this budget, is a traitor who should not be allowed to come within a mile of a labour organization.

The creation of a political mood of this kind among the working masses means the creation of the first elementary premise for the fight against the war danger.

This premise cannot of course be regarded in itself as sufficient. It is necessary to set up a militant organization of the working class. To render a strike in the munition factories possible, it is necessary, in the first place, that the working mass in these factories, at least in its majority, be filled with hate against the bourgeois rule; and in the second place, that there exist in this mass a solid core which is capable of leading the masses behind it at the decisive moment. Of course, even given these conditions, we can by no means guarantee that we shall be able to carry out a general strike precisely on the eve of the war. At that moment a strike (that is to say, a revolution) is less probable than at any other time. In fact either a revolution, with a general strike as one of its accompaniments, will arise out of the course of the class struggle and thereby render a war impossible, or the new war will bring with it a new aggravation of the class struggle and lead to a general strike and to a revolution. No serious revolutionary can give formal guarantees in this respect. It is otherwise with the political charlatan: he juggles, with the general strike, revolts, boycott, war etc. just as a clown does with tin plates.

Just as if it expressly intended to show itself in its complete reformist nakedness, the Congress of the Amsterdamers decided to appoint the 21st September next as a "day of protest against war". Woe to Militarism! but half a minute! — the reader will interject — the working class has already its day of protest against militarism: the 1st of May. But that is just the trouble, it is only once in so many years that this day falls on a Sunday. One cannot "protest" against war on the 1st of May without going on strike and coming into conflict with the bourgeoisie. And it is a far more difficult matter to prevent capital from exploiting labour on one day in a year than to promise general strikes, generally boycott and other miracles in the event of a war. It is for this reason that the Amsterdamers have postponed their protest to the third Sunday in September. On this day their terrifying protest will assume such a form that no one will notice it. Sunday is always Sunday. The final abandonment of the holiday on the 1st of May is the only new word of the Amsterdamers in the fight against the war danger.

The general conclusions to be derived from the anti-militarist decisions of the Congress of the Amsterdam International

are: It is necessary to render clear to the working masses, in a more persistent, urgent and systematic manner than hitherto, that the Amsterdamers are most treacherously betraying them on the most fundamental and most vital question of the development of modern society: on the question of war. The recipes of the Amsterdamers constitute a political opiate in the service of capitalist militarism. The chief war danger is to be found precisely in the position of the Amsterdamers. To destroy this position, that is to deprive them of the confidence of the masses is synonymous with disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat. That is the work which must be fulfilled.

## To all War Victims and Ex-Service Men of the World War.

**Comrades! Proletarians!**

In a few weeks we shall be celebrating the tenth Anniversary of the outbreak of the war. On the 4th of August ten years will have elapsed since the commencement of the slaughter of the peoples. Four years of war, six years of after-war time lie behind us.

Yet the wounds caused by the war are not yet healed. The results of the war are not yet overcome.

There are almost ten million injured, mutilated, sick and invalided. There are fourteen millions widows, orphans and mothers who have lost their breadwinners and who are now exposed to hunger and misery. Whole armies of unemployed, battalions of people without shelter, have been created by the war of the capitalist robber states.

**War-victims, Ex-service Men, Proletarians!**

Why have you made this enormous sacrifice? Has it served to bring you emancipation from bondage, slavery and oppression? Has it served to realise your aims and ideals? Has it served to bring world peace to humanity?

Not in the least! These sacrifices have only served the ends of your capitalist masters. These have enriched themselves in the war period, and have amassed capital in the post-war period.

And you, the victims of this society, for which you have created all this wealth in time of peace and in war have shed your blood, which, now you are invalids, should have provided you with proper care and preserved you from hunger?

You know that in this respect you have been deceived and betrayed. You know the international lie regarding a grateful country. Your capitalist masters know only one command: make profits, concentrate more capital. So as in peace they squeeze surplus value out of your labour power, so in the war they have minted gold out of the blood of millions of proletarians in uniform and out of the tears of their relatives. Now the most intense exploitation is being carried on.

It is not only the ex-service men who have returned home uninjured who have been robbed of the Eight Hour Day, along with them also are the seriously injured, the mutilated; even those who possess but a leg and an arm must toil in the factories of their capitalist masters for ten to twelve hours.

Miserable pensions and increased exploitation, that is the thanks you get for the bloody work on the battle fields.

In addition to this you are also robbed and cheated of your pensions. But it is not only a case of robbery of pensions, abolition of all social institutions and increased exploitation by prolongation of the working day, we are also faced with the danger of new wars.

And again, just as ten years ago, the millions of proletarians are confronted with the question: what shall we do on the outbreak of this new, and yet more cruel war, which is announced in the feverish arming of the capitalist powers.

And again the majority of the workers will decide the question of the defence of native country in favour of their own bourgeoisie.

Call to mind the outbreak of the world war! On the 30th of July the workers of various countries still protested against the war, and yet in August they willingly went to the front on behalf of their capitalist masters.

**Proletarians, Ex-service Men!**

Shall the shame of the 4th of August be repeated? Shall millions of workers from all countries march to the hecatombs? Shall fresh millions of war cripples be created? Again for the robber lust of the capitalists? Again for increased exploitation

and serfdom? Shall the proletariat again shed its blood in mass suicide?

War victims, proletarians, Ex-service men! These questions apply to you and to each one of you. You must answer them. In August of this year, in the days in which ten years ago we willingly entered into the massacre which lasted four years, the days which are indelibly inscribed in our memory, history once more faces us with this question.

The Executive Committee of the International of War Victims and Ex-service Men (I. A. C.) has called upon all its affiliated sections, to arrange.

#### Anti-war demonstrations

from the 31st of July to the 4th of August.

These demonstrations, which must be given the most imposing character by means of huge processions and by international exchange of speakers, are not intended to voice the cry: "never again war" as the bourgeois pacifists do. We know that wars are born out of capitalist antagonisms. So long as this system, which is stained by the blood of millions, is not abolished, so long can its inseparable partner — War — not be abolished. Capitalism is war, therefore

#### War on war!

This is the slogan for the anti-war demonstrations.

With this cry, war on war, we wish to express that we are free from the illusion that it is possible to prevent the coming war.

War on war means for us the setting up and maintenance of a revolutionary organisation, which insures the collaboration of all revolutionaries taking part in war.

War on war means for us that in the coming war we are prepared to take up the weapons which are served out to us upon mobilisation, not to direct them against our proletarian brothers, but in order to use them against the capitalist robbers and slave-holders.

War on war means for us the making use of the coming world war for world revolution, for the emancipation of the proletariat from slavery and serfdom and the attainment of world peace by the alliance of all states of the world freed from the domination of capitalism.

The Executive Committee of the I. A. C.  
signed: Karl Tiedt.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Party Congress of the German Social Democrats.

By Paul Fröhlich.

Writing in a bourgeois paper over the Social Democratic Party Congress which assembled on the 11th of June, Scheidemann states, that the Congress, contrary to all the other German parties has demonstrated the unshaken unity of the Socialist Party of Germany. The Party Congress certainly gives this impression. But it must be asked from whence comes this unity. It is characteristic that it is the first Congress held since the Nuremberg Unity Congress of 1922. In a time of tremendously stormy development of the political conditions in Germany, the highest authority of the S. P. of Germany has been kept from coming together for two years, although its convocation was repeatedly demanded by very strong groups. When the Party Congress assembled, nobody had more than a mere academic interest in it. The governmental policy has always evoked the fiercest differences in the Party. At present the Party stands outside the government. As it was not even asked whether it would take part in it, Hermann Müller, Sollmann, Hilferding etc. have suddenly become fierce class-war fighters, even in the eyes of those who once designated them as betrayers and assassins of the proletariat. The heavy defeat in the elections has not succeeded in evoking a penetrating criticism of the policy of the Party, but only the plea: let us draw our ranks closer together, let us overlook the past, otherwise we shall not only become disintegrated but will experience complete collapse. For the rest, it is to be observed that at no time has a keen opposition arisen in the Party itself. It was only the effect of outside stimulus. The more energetic the Communist attack upon the S. P. of Germany has been and the stronger its effect has been on the masses, so much the more deeper has been the process of decay in the S. P. of Germany. If

this Party to-day can create the impression of being fairly united, the cause of this is to be attributed to a very perceptible lack of activity on the part of the C. P. of Germany. It is necessary to understand these signs of the time, as they are a serious warning.

But these facts also prove what is really behind this unity of the S. P. G. It is no sign of power; the satisfaction displayed is no sign of consciousness of strength; it expresses the satisfaction felt over the fact that the stinking depths of the foul morass have not been stirred up.

The most eager effort of the Party Congress was to avoid disturbing the foul spots of the policy of the Party. In this Party there have existed for over a year and a day two tendencies, which fiercely combat each other. In this Party, which regards parliamentary action as everything, sharpest antagonism developed in the Republic and in the various states, which even expressed themselves in the voting in Parliament. In Saxony the fraction in the Landtag is actually split, a portion of the fraction is against the ministers of their own Party. But the Party Congress prevented the opposition from setting forth its standpoint even in the form of a full speech in reply to the political report of the Party Executive. The reason for this, said Otto Wels, is: "The Party Congress has refused to grant a counter-speaker to the opposition as it feels that it would not serve the unity of the Party nor help to clarify our ideas, if all the world is invited to witness the fact that the unity is only a sham and that now, as heretofore, two tendencies exist. The Party Congress refuses to regard the opposition as a body possessing equal rights." Therefore smother it over! And The Party Congress knew what it had to expect from this opposition. It has fully justified all expectations.

It was therefore no wonder that in all these important questions: coalition-policy, reparation questions, interior organization, no attempt was made to investigate thoroughly and to draw clear conclusions. Neither side attempted to do this. There merely remained a miserably shallow babbling, so that one even feels loath to state what arguments were used. How was the clique of leaders even able to venture to justify their deeds! How could the opposition venture to get to the bottom of the matter! Any thorough examination would have led to the recognition that we are in the middle of a period of open revolutionary struggles, that the urgent question is: which class is to rule! The official leaders of the S. P. G. are in favour of the rule of the bourgeoisie; they draw all the logical conclusions therefrom, even including Seeckt and the machine guns; but to state this openly and frankly is more than they dare, for in that case they would also lose the workers, who are accustomed to pay more attention to words than to deeds. The docile left, however, is terribly afraid of the revolutionary fight. Therefore they must take care to avoid a clear insight into political and social affairs. Therefore they must do everything to shield their counter-revolutionary leaders. And this they do precisely when they criticise them. It is then they seek to create the impression that the social-democratic policy is based on the class war. They express themselves as satisfied when the coalition policy is declared to be a question of tactics and not of principle — which is as much as to say that under no circumstances will the S. P. G. enter in a government when the bourgeois parties will not have them.

By this means the way to the bourgeoisie was kept free and one could even wish that Scheidemann's complaint as to the way in which the S. P. G. had been overlooked on the occasion of the formation of the last Government will reach the ears of Stresemann and Marx. Against the Communists, however, the way was completely barred. This was unnecessary, but at the same time characteristic. And the left elements from Saxony could only stammer out a few paltry words against this. In order to emphasise this shutting off from the Communists, it was at the same time decided, against very few votes, that participation in the "International Workers' Relief" is "incompatible" with membership of the S. P. G. Kurt Rosenfeld and Mathilde Wurm hastened to announce their withdrawal from the "I. W. R.", at the same time using certain pretexts for taking this step in order to keep up appearances before the throne of Hermann Mueller.

In the Saxon conflict, in which it was believed that the blood of the workers would yet divide the Saxon left from the party Executive and the Social Democratic ministerial heroes, a complete understanding was arrived at. The crime against the proletariat played no part in this question. Nor did the Saxon left stumble over such "trifles". But the question of competency was

settled. As is known, the Saxon left party leadership had forbidden the Landtag fraction to participate in a bourgeois government. As a result there was a split in the fraction. The rule of the parliamentarians over the Party, which in practice had already existed for a long time, was now formally sanctioned. "The decision as to formation of governments, choice of ministers and other questions of parliamentary tactics in the various states rests with the Landtag fraction concerned." As salve to a wound: If thought fit, the opinion of the party leaders of the state in question shall be consulted. The parliamentary fractions have to submit to the decisions of the provincial party conferences. But the Berlin Party Executive can veto the decisions.

This is an absolute and crushing defeat of the left. In the future the open counter-revolutionaries in the party leadership will hold all the trumps in their hands.

Taken all in all it is a perfect and undisputed victory of the Ebert, Hermann Mueller, Wels clique. The left has been beaten on all points. The courageous left, however, acknowledged this beating by unanimously adopting this decision.

The future line of policy of the party? One knows that the S. P. G. dare not look beyond the next step. For them there is only the question of the experts' report. And the whole party is in favour of this strangulation of the German working class by International capital. It fell to Hilferding to theorise over this question, and it was immediately to be seen that here one had to do, not only with a cowardly opportunism, but with a conscious counter-revolutionary policy. Who could have expected otherwise than that Hilferding would praise the MacDonald Government to the skies, that — in spite or because of its anti-labour policy? — he regarded it as the most effective champion of the class war? No one is surprised that he sees in it a guarantee for the "pacification" of the world. For years he has proclaimed that the world war has converted capitalism to vegetarianism. But the reasons therefor! Here, unexpectedly, MacDonald appeared in the eyes of Hilferding as the henchman of the English imperialists. England has stuffed her maw to the full in the war. Her imperialist appetite is satisfied, therefore she can conduct a conservative foreign policy of the balance of power. She needs peace in order to digest her prey, to plunder her colonies. MacDonald therefore is anxious for peace and hence it is a socialist policy to look to imperialist England with her Labour Government. But as the agreement of the capitalist tigers among themselves logically leads to a common fight against Soviet Russia, it comes about that Hilferding also makes a vicious attack on Soviet Russia and warns the German government "not to allow itself to become immeshed in Russian policy". This earned him the thunderous applause of the Congress. And when Paul Levi ventured to remark, purely from the bourgeois standpoint, that sooner or later the Russian state would exercise an enormous influence on the neighbouring countries, someone interjected: The Dissmann people want to fraternise with the Asiatics and African Negroes. This clearly indicates the level of the Congress and the future course of the S. P. G.

In conclusion, a reference must be made to the membership figures. According to the official report, the party, after the amalgamation which took place in October 1922, numbered 1,400,000 members. At the conclusion of the past year it had 1,260,000 members. It has therefore lost about 10 per cent (140,000) of its members. It is true that Scheidemann stated that in Berlin in the first quarter of this year the party lost 20 per cent of its members. Whether this is a local or a general phenomenon it is impossible to say. In any event as an organization-machine, the party is still powerful and, as such, still wields considerable influence over the workers — a fact which the revolutionary movement is continually learning. This organizatory strength is to be explained by several facts. When comparison is made with the Communist Party of Germany it must be remembered before all that the S. P. G. is free from all persecution and that it is not compelled continually to build up afresh the destroyed portions of its organization. In addition, the S. P. G. possesses a favourable organization basis in the small towns and in the rural districts, owing to its occupation of the official positions. It has over 169 daily papers at its disposal, which are never suppressed and which conduct a shameful campaign against the Communists precisely when the Communist party of Germany is defenceless. All these facts go to explain the membership figures of the S. P. G. But there is no need for it to flatter itself too much on this account. On the other hand, herein lies a stimulus to more intensive work in order to win away these masses from the Socialist party, which has once again openly proclaimed its counter revolutionary character.

## IN THE COLONIES

### Persia on the Way to becoming a Republic.

By A. Itkin (Teheran).

The republican movement in Persia has slowed down somewhat of late. Following the turmoil, the intrigues of the provinces, and the great demonstrations, the prevailing quietness is only natural.

The movement reached its highest point with the sudden resignation of the Prime Minister Riza-Khan (also Minister for War).

The result of the recent political struggles denotes that none of the governing groups can claim to have obtained a decisive victory: neither the supporters of the dynasty, the ultra reactionaries, nor those who attempted to identify the republic with the military dictatorship, nor the Democrats who advocate a constitution. Formally, the latter have gained something: the commission of twelve set up by the parliament has decided that the question of changing the present system of government is one which lies beyond the powers possessed by parliament and has to be decided by an appeal to the people.

What is the basis of the republican movement?

The rivalry existing between Riza-Khan has served to hasten the crisis. As a matter of fact Riza-Khan, who is exceedingly popular, is exercising a dictatorship which is incompatible with the authority of the Shah. The latter is ostensibly travelling abroad. When the republican movement broke out in Teheran he was in Paris. His first gesture was, to enquire by telegram to what extent the government had the confidence of the people. Riza-Khan at once resigned and left Teheran, to which he did not return until parliament — promptly — gave him a vote of confidence.

The real causes of the dissatisfaction of the people have nothing to do with the question of the dynasty. The feudal inertia is shackling the development of production. The tillers of the soil lead a miserable existence amidst enormous natural riches. An indescribable misery is the lot of the small peasant.

The influence of the Russian revolution can also be traced. Throughout the whole country the master of the situation is the great landowner, whether he be religious or irreligious. The commercial bourgeoisie occupy a tolerably important place in the economic life, but possess almost no political influence. The labour movement is only just beginning. There exist but two trade unions: that of the sailors of the Caspian Sea in Enzeli, and that of the leather workers in Reshd. There exist no very distinct political groups in parliament. During the election campaign very well-informed Persians told me: "This candidate has very good prospects in our locality but he has already nearly exhausted all his propaganda funds, while his opponent..." This fact serves sufficiently to characterise the parliamentary majorities.

The overthrow of the dynasty could result in the emancipation of the peasantry from serfdom. But the peasants are not yet sufficiently advanced to play an active role and the beginning of the republican movement has been marked by the efforts to start a political revolution without touching the agrarian question.

Riza-Khan will probably emerge victorious from the fight which he is waging against the Shah. The general opinion concerning the former is, that he is at once an intelligent politician and a courageous soldier. He can rely upon the army, the commercial circles, the landowners and the democratic clergy, in fact upon the masses. The Shah is supported by the reactionaries, the feudal proprietors and the upper clergy. The two parties are making use of religious sentiment in their struggles. Riza-Khan shows no great delicacy in his choice of means, nor is he characterised by a firm adherence to principles. On the eve of his resignation, after having convinced himself of the impossibility of establishing the republic by a military Coup d'état, he issued a patriotic appeal to the people, in which he announced the cessation of republican propaganda, invited all patriots to unite their forces in order to reorganize the state and, out of patriotic considerations, to abandon the idea of a republic.

Some days later the business people and the mullahs (lower clergy) from the district of Tabriz threatened to march on Teheran, in order to overthrow that stronghold of despotism

Khadjar, and to establish the republic." This manifestation and many similar ones must have reaffirmed the republican convictions of Riza-Khan. A memorandum in favour of the republic has been signed by forty former ministers and grand dignitaries. We consider the cause of the republic to have achieved a virtual gain. The republic will not have to fear foreign intervention. The fall of the feudal regime will, in fact, result in the intensification of the economic life of Persia and in the extension of the Persian market. The coming republic will be inclined to settle the agrarian question.

Simultaneously with the serious question of the republic, the next session of parliament will have to deal with the introduction of a system of passports and a plan for general registration.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Composer of "L'Internationale", Peter Degeyter.

By Amadeus Dunois (Moscow).

There recently appeared in the editorial office of our French Party organ, "Humanité" Peter Degeyter, the composer of the music to that world-famous battle song of the proletariat, "L'Internationale". In reply to the question: how he came to compose this melody, we learned that thirty five years ago he was a textile worker in Lille, the industrial centre of the north of France. At that time the Socialist movement in Lille was making great progress. Peter, along with his brother Adolf took part in it. Before all he was a great lover of music, and it was here that he entered a workers' choir which elected him as its leader. Among the members of this workers' choir there were two who have since become famous: Gustav Delory, the Mayor of Lille, and later member of parliament for Lille, and Henri Ghesquiere, who likewise became member of parliament and died during the last days of the German occupation. All kinds of songs were sung by this choir, the workers would willingly have sung socialist songs too, but they did not know any.

One day in 1889 a comrade handed to Degeyter a poem by Eugen Pottier, the former member of the Paris Commune, who had just died in the direst poverty in Paris. The poem was called: L'Internationale. The date next to the signature — 30. June 1871 — indicated that the verses of the revolutionary song had been composed immediately after the bloody week of the Commune.

This poem, charged with glowing force, began with a call to the defeated in the social battle:

"Arise ye starvelings from your slumbers,  
Arise ye criminals of Want!  
For Reason in revolt now thunders  
And at last ends the age of Cant!"

As the poem proceeds the whole program of the social revolution is indicated in the wonderfully compressed lines.

Peter Degeyter was quite enthusiastic. He again and again repeated these powerful lines, in which burned the fire of an unvanquishable hope. For in fact "L'Internationale" is not the lamentation of the vanquished, humbly deploring their defeat. It is the war-cry bursting forth from the inmost of a class, the working class, which is preparing its revenge and knows that its revenge will come...

The humble textile worker Degeyter at this moment had the inspiration that these lines of revenge were only lacking an appropriate melody in order to become the proletarian revolutionary hymn.

"I shall attempt" he said, "to put these verses to music."

He started work immediately and some days afterwards, the music was composed — this martial catchy tune, which we all know so very well. Peter Degeyter at once began to make copies for his comrades in the choir.

Thus in a suburb of Lille in 1889 "L'Internationale" was born. It is true it required some time to become popular. It was sung in Lille, but in no other place.

In 1899 a general congress of the workers' organizations and the French Socialists was held in Paris: The first Congress of Socialist unity. When the Congress was just about to disperse,

a delegate suddenly mounted a table. It was Henri Ghesquiere. And in the general silence he started a song, which to most of the delegates was unfamiliar... After the third couplet all the delegates joined in the refrain:

"Then Comrades come rally!..."

This was "L'Internationale". A year later the whole of Socialist France sang it, and thus it happened that the hundreds of delegates who attended the International Congress of 1900 learned to know this song. After this the simple song of Degeyter began to become known throughout the whole world.

While his song achieved such a great success in the Socialist world, Peter Degeyter had to have recourse to the law courts in order to establish his claim as the composer of "L'Internationale", as owing to the intrigues of Delory and Ghesquiere, his brother Adolf was held to be the composer of the song. It was only after 20 years of law suits that the court recognised him as the real composer of the "International".

Peter Degeyter, who is by now 70 years of age is leading a very poor existence along with his wife, earning only a few francs by the sale of confectionary. Now, when the Russian Comrades have learned of his situation, they have decided, on the suggestion of the French comrades, to grant him a monthly pension and to arrange a festival for his benefit.

Great homage was paid to Peter Degeyter at the last national Congress of the French Communist Party, when he was asked to take a seat on the tribune and to address the Congress with a few words. But owing to great excitement the worthy old man stumbled with his words until the chairman, comrade Sellier, asked the orchestra to strike up the "International". And the latter, a workers' brass band from Lyons, started the immortal music. The whole Congress rose to their feet and joined in the refrain.

At this moment Peter Degeyter was wholly changed. He looked as if the whole thing to him were a dream in his poor exploited life, which up to then had not found any expression. With his right hand he beat time, with the movements of his head he marked the rhythm. One could not turn ones eyes from the touching picture of this grey haired man. He was pale, his eyes appeared to be gazing into the distance, his nostrils trembled. And he seemed at this moment to be the living symbol of the working class, which will experience as a whole, after long and bitter sufferings, persecutions and injustice the day of its final victory.

It is very likely that this scene will be repeated in these days in Moscow. On the proposal of the French comrades the Executive Committee decided to invite Peter Degeyter to take part in the V. World Congress. He certainly has the right to receive the homage of the International and we hope that he will find no difficulty in accepting this brilliant homage in the Capital of the Communist International and the world revolution.

At the same time it is our duty to pay grateful homage to the old poet who wrote the verses of the "International", of "Jean Misere" and the "Monument des Fédérés" and many other revolutionary songs, inspired by the glorious Commune. We refer to Eugen Pottier, whose name we have to rescue from the oblivion with which it is threatened.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Prepare for the 10th International Youth Day!

To all Communist Youth Leagues!

Youth Comrades!

The E. C. of the C. Y. I. summons you to make all preparations for the 10th International Youth Day. Since the beginning of the war in 1914, this is the tenth appeal to celebrate the day of the working youth on the first Sunday in September. This year the youth day will assume on the 7th of September a very imposing character.

The importance of the International Youth Day consists in the fact that on that day the young working class of all countries of the world, in ever increasing numbers and with the same slogans, take up the fight against the bourgeoisie. Oppressed by the same need and threatened with the same dangers, at first

thousands, then hundreds of thousands and finally millions of exploited youthful workers and peasants have given allegiance to the flag of the C. Y. I. on International Youth Day.

Ten years ago the International Youth Day commenced the revolutionary work against war. No terror, no matter how brutal, against the young Communists has been able to prevent that from one Youth Day to another, the forces of the young working class against its enemies have grown stronger. The International Youth Day has become a powerful weapon against the bourgeoisie.

In this year it is necessary to rally in even greater number than ever.

This year's Youth Day is the first to be held without our leader Lenin. This causes us to bear on our banners on the International Youth Day the slogan: Fulfill the work handed on by Lenin! By an increased political mass propaganda by our organizations on the occasion of the Youth Day, we will show that we are in earnest in this matter.

The dangers facing and the need oppressing all young working men and women in town and country are as great as ever. Still greater however is the fighting solidarity and still stronger are the organizations of the young working class: the Communist Youth Leagues, which along with the revolutionary proletariat, lead the masses of the working Youth to the defence of their rights and to the overcoming of their enemy in the fight. And this is necessary!

Incapable of overcoming the effects of the war, but still capable of shifting its burdens from itself, the bourgeoisie continues its attacks against the proletariat and the poor peasantry. After the uprising of the exploited masses in Bulgaria, Poland and Germany, which were beaten down by the bloody terror of the military dictatorship, the bourgeoisie combined their attack on the economic field with political attacks of the reaction and the Fascisti.

Increased military preparations, secret agreements and encircling policies by groups of powers, insolent presumptions against Soviet Russia, imperialist conflicts following one another in Europe, as well as in the spheres of colonial interests, indicate the way, which sooner or later will lead to fresh bloody wars.

The Social Democrats in all countries, as the English Labour Government, act as the most faithful stewards of the bourgeoisie and are the most eager lackeys and assistants of the nationalist reactionaries and Fascisti.

The result of the elections in the various countries can in no way bring about a solution of the difficult economic situation of the states in question, and before all, as regards foreign politics, can bring no change in the situation.

On the other hand, the great increase of the Communist influence which is revealed by the elections, along with the powerful labour struggles and strikes, indicates a new revolutionary wave.

In Germany, where the nationalist reaction is attempting with every means to get unlimited power into its hands; while the proletariat will take up the struggle all the better prepared, we can soon be faced again with decisive struggles. The coming struggles in all countries must serve to support the German proletariat in its struggle.

In such a situation the tenth International Youth Day is of great political importance. The C. Y. I. shall, in every country, summon the working Youth to demonstrate with the slogans:

**Against new imperialist wars!**  
**For revolutionary work in the Army!**  
**Against the attacks of capital!**  
**Against Fascism and reaction!**  
**For the arming of the working class!**  
**Against Social Democracy, the upholder of the bourgeoisie!**  
**For the slogans of Lenin!**  
**For the Dictatorship of the proletariat!**

Every young worker in the workshop, every young land-worker in the village, every young soldier in the army, every young sailor in the navy, shall hold himself ready to follow

these slogans. For this purpose there is necessary a work of propaganda and awakening, which must set itself the aim, — the fullest participation in the Youth Day of the masses of the young workers exploited in the factories.

The youth in the work shops, under the leadership of the Communist Youth nuclei, form the most important part of our meetings and demonstrations.

The anti-military character of our Youth Day demands an increased propaganda among the soldiers and the organizational consolidation of our revolutionary work in the army.

The Youth Day shall also be a sign of the unity of the interests of the Youth of the West and of the colonial countries against the imperialist rulers.

An energetic beginning must be made to win over the working youth in the country. There must be taken up a comprehensive propagandist and organizational work for the enrolment of the youth in the country.

The Red Week which precedes the Youth Day, shall, before all, serve for the fulfilment of these main tasks. The concentrated recruiting activity for our organization and press, our ever deeper penetration into the masses of the young working men and women, will make our International Youth Day a demonstration:

**For the Communist Youth, the mass organization and leader of the working youth!**

**For the united struggle of the working youth in town and country!**

**For the fraternisation of the exploited youth of the imperialist countries and of the colonies!**

In connection with the Red Week there must also take place the International Children's Week. Our work among the children of the working class must be increased and the children's groups must be more closely connected with our political struggle.

Youth Comrades!

Begin now with the mass propaganda for the International Youth Day! The magnificent progress made by many of our Leagues has opened new possibilities for the application of new forms of mobilisation work for the Youth Day. Take up the initiative from the nuclei upwards! Make use of the experiences of the daily work among the masses and apply them to the campaign! The Youth Day must be celebrated in every locality. Every member of the Communist Youth shall make ready so that the 10th International Youth Day shall be a powerful demonstration and a fighting day of the working youth of the whole world.

With all forces!

The Executive Committee of the  
 Communist Youth International.

Moscow, June 5th. 1924.

## Preparations for the IV. World Congress of the C. Y. I.

Moscow, June 18, 1924.

Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. Y. I.

On Monday the 16th June there began in Moscow the sessions of the Plenary Executive of the Communist Youth International. All the still active members of the Executive Committee (18) were present with the exception of comrade Doriot (France), who has not yet arrived. During the first session the delegation of the C. Y. I. to the V. World Congress was decided on, consisting of twenty youth comrades (12 delegates from the leagues and 8 members of the Executive Committee), whilst at two following sessions the items of the Agenda of the Youth Congress were discussed. The firm support of the whole Youth International for the complete reorganization of the parties on the basis of the factory nuclei deserves special attention. The C. Y. I. has attained splendid successes in this connection during the past period and will therefore, supported by its experiences, insist upon the carrying out of the decisions as to reorganization of the Comintern.