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POLITICS

The Hague Conference.

by *Karl Radek*.

The French memorandum of the 2nd of June as well as the English answer of the 12th of June roused a discussion in the French press, which together with the above-mentioned notes, throws a certain light upon the conference that is to take place at the Haague.

First of all, it is interesting to note that the English memorandum emphasises the *sovereign rights of the Russian Soviet Government*, and warns France to make no encroachment upon these rights. We greet this part of English memorandum as a significant step forward from the first memorandum which was presented to the Russian Delegation in Genoa, and which would have meant nothing more than the capitulation of Russia, that is, the attempt to make Russia a colonial country. *The unmistakable language of the Soviet Delegation finally convinced the English Government that Soviet Russia was neither Old Turkey, nor Old China.* The English Government defends the sovereign right of the Soviet Powers to *nationalize every sort of property*, and it announces that any encroachment upon these rights is a contradiction to the conditions of Cannes.

The Paris *Temps*, the leading organ of French imperialism, answers that the sovereign right of every Government to nationalize is connected with the right of foreign capitalists to be indemnified for their nationalized property. If the existing Government has no means of paying these indemnities, then its sovereignty must bow to the moneybags.

We have here a classical example of capitalistic "right" in general, whether it concerns a person, citizen or nation. "Where there is money, there is right", announces the Paris Stock Exchange sheet. We shall not waste any time answering the capitalistic metaphysics of right with revolutionary metaphysics. Instead of discussing the differences between proletarian and capitalist "right", we will rather talk business, for we think that even the French capitalists are interested not so much in abstract right, as in concrete interests.

It is true that at present the Soviet Government is not able to pay cash to the French capitalists for their offended innocence, even if such an act were motivated by the desire to be "just" in the capitalistic sense. But if we are unable to pay indemnities in cash, you gentlemen are unable to support your beautiful rights, your "holy" rights, by force. You have been sufficiently convinced of that.

You are able to support your claims only by means of a *financial boycott*. But in the first place, your financial boycott will not last forever, for if Russia is in need of foreign capital, foreign capital is also in need of Russia. For this reason, foreign capital will not for the sake of past profits shut the door to future profits, and the English Government is right when in its memorandum, it points out that if no business relations are established with Soviet Russia in the name of the bourgeois governments, various capitalist groups will enter into business with it for the sake of concessions.

Secondly, Soviet Russia is an agricultural country. One or two good harvests, and its position will be strengthened; then it will make less concessions than it does today.

In such a case there is no capitalistic humanity which was offended by the proletarian revolution in Russia, whose legal point of view, as expressed in the memorandum of the 11th of May, the French Government simply seeks to reject and the English Government kindly to ignore (as befits noble lords). At the Hague the facts must be learned and practical conclusions drawn from them. And here is what the facts teach us.

In the first place, although the Soviet Government possesses no bagfuls of gold, it will not agree to the restoration of property that was in the hands of foreign capitalists. The greater part of the Russian metal, coal and oil industries was in the hand of foreign capital. The restoration of such conditions would mean that the Russian Government would be left without coal, without iron and without oil, and that it would have to buy all these things. This would mean in turn that the Russian Government would have to burden the Russian peasant with huge taxation. The return of the former foreign-owned industries to the foreign capitalists would destroy the industrial foundation of the Soviet Government; the basis which enables the Soviet Government to direct the economic development of Russia. It is useless to make demands which the opponent cannot satisfy, if he is not to commit suicide. The enemies of

Soviet Russia did it many a wrong, but it is not yet known that Russia intends to commit suicide. For this reason, it is better to drop all talk of restoration.

Secondly, such a restoration is impossible because in many cases the property in question has either been destroyed or would be absolutely worthless to the owner. It is not rational from a technical point of view. So for example, the destruction of the property relations in the coal mines of the Don basin and of the oil industry in Baku, may be looked upon as a great technical step forward which may become a source of income that will lead to the improvement of the industries in question. For this reason, the demand that these be returned to their former foreign capitalist owners seems to be an act of stupidity or the game of banking interests that seek to buy out the rights of the former property owners in Russia and at the same time to negotiate with the Russian Government and get concessions from it favorable to their respective Stock Exchanges. That is why it is unpractical from an economic point of view even to speak of the return of this property.

Thirdly, the question of indemnity as well as the question of debts are more questions of the possibilities and the paying capacity of the Russian Soviet Government in the future. If the experts of the capitalistic countries wanted to distinguish themselves from the diplomatic know-nothings who unfortunately so often speak in the name of these countries, then instead of wasting time in idle talk about property rights they would ask the Soviet Delegation, "What branches of industry does the Soviet Government intend to keep for itself and what other branches of industry it is ready to lease?" Secondly, they would ask the Soviet Delegation for the most favorable conditions upon which the former foreign property owners in Russia could receive their old undertakings on a concessionaire basis, if the Soviet Government were to decide to keep these in its own possession; or on what basis it would grant new concessions. It should be clear that the Soviet Government, being interested in the attraction of foreign capital, would not proceed to boycott the old owners who are already *en rapport* with their former activities. Thirdly, the experts would state on what conditions and to what extent the capitalist groups which they represent would be willing to furnish credit to the Soviet Government. If they really desire to work in Russia and not merely to receive "rights" which would become the object of speculation on the Stock Exchange, they will and must understand that even for their own benefit it is necessary to improve Russian transportation and the Russian financial apparatus.

Fourthly, in the question of debts we must use concrete language based upon concrete facts. Russia is financial bankrupt. A bankrupt always pays only a certain percentage of his debts, and he pays them not at once, but only after a certain time has passed during which his creditor helps him get on his feet, for otherwise the creditor, with all his "rights", would have about the same chance of getting a settlement as an ordinary corpse has of seeing his own ears by looking into the mirror. The Soviet Delegation is going to the Hague to speak business for the simple reason that it is a Delegation sent by a proletarian Government, and that it consists of Communists. It knows that it is useless to argue with capitalist representatives about principles. In Genoa it announced its principles while the capitalist representatives, instead of talking of their robber appetites, also announced their principles. In the Hague, however, the Soviet Delegation will only talk business. The only question is whether the representatives of the capitalist world will display as much interest in business. Should it do so however, it will be possible to strike a bargain without giving up principles.

The Elections in Hungary.

by *George* (Vienna).

The results of the Hungarian elections must be considered in two separate and distinct parts: the results of the elections in the provinces, and those in the capital, as well as in the big industrial and commercial centres. The new election act, on the basis of which the elections were held, renders this distinction necessary. The real struggle took place in the fight over the franchise. After the suffrage had been greatly curtailed by the raising of the age of those entitled to vote, the abolition of woman suffrage and other reactionary measures, the *struggle turned on the question of the open or secret ballot*. The terrorist government was well aware that in the event of its not being able to carry out any direct election terror, it would receive a very severe setback. From the discussions on this question it was apparent that the Opposition Parties in the event of an open ballot would seriously consider *not taking part in the election*.

Upon the question of the secret ballot a concession was made to the Opposition which apparently assured their participation in the election. In the electoral districts of the capital and in some of the larger industrial and commercial centres, the secret ballot was retained. On the other hand in the country and in the villages and small provincial towns, the ballot was open. In making this concession, the Government was influenced by the consideration that in the constituencies in the big towns the Opposition was so strong, especially among the workers, that its suppression even by the most brutal methods would not be possible.

In those districts with the open ballot where the Government terror raged undisguised, the Government candidates secured their return in almost every case. On the other hand in those districts with the secret ballot, the Government Parties suffered a decided defeat. According to the final returns, the Government got 167 and the Opposition 77 seats. Of these 80 Opposition seats 25 went to the Social Democrats.

The Government appealed to the country as the so-called "United Party". This electoral partnership however can be characterized as anything but "united". There raged the most embittered conflicts over the setting up of the list of candidates and the Government failed to set up an actual united list. In many districts there were various candidates of this "United Party" opposing each other. Some of them are still awaiting the second ballot. It is a conglomeration of such divergent groups of interests that already before the election the break up of this bloc was repeatedly threatened and will continue to threaten in the new Parliament. If one should enquire the program of this united party, only *negative* items can be enumerated, such as: *against the bourgeois-democratic and radical Opposition, against the legitimist feudal wings of the aristocracy*. The interests of the partners in this alliance extended and diverged beyond these negative election slogans, only agreeing upon one point, that for the time being they considered Horthy and his officers a sufficient guarantee to safeguard their interests. But generally speaking even this cannot be maintained. Already before the election it was clear that the terrorist anti-Semitic wing of the bloc, supported by armed officers and student bands of the "Awakening Hungary" movement had lost ground. The elements of the old Tisza Party who entered the united party through the election compromise—the representatives of modern financial and agrarian capital—attempted to push aside the candidates of of this city petty-bourgeois terrorist wing. But the agrarian petty-bourgeois wing of the bloc—the so-called Small Farmers' Party—the leaders of which supported the great landlords—were also pushed aside by the new elements. So it comes about that the governmental party in the place of the city and agrarian petty-bourgeois, represents in its overwhelming majority the financial and agrarian capitalists. Horthy and his Prime Minister have succeeded in making use of the terrorist formations which rendered them allegiance to secure the victory at the elections and have now cast them aside in order to base their rule upon the support of a part of the great bourgeoisie.

The proposed election coalition of the Opposition Parties has fallen through owing to different reasons. In this connection the part played by the Social Democratic party must also be described.

The Hungarian Social Democratic Party is, as is well known, one of the most beautiful ornaments of the Second International. The leaders of this Social Democratic Party were sitting with White Terrorists in a Coalition Government and when the hangman had no further use for them they were compelled to go into the Opposition. This opposition consisted for a long time in maintaining complete passivity and in secret and open pacts with the government of the White Terror. After the working class had recovered from its apathy the Social Democrats were compelled, if they did not wish to lose their influence completely, to enter upon an active policy. This consisted at first in an open pact with the Horthy Government. The indignation of the working masses however compelled them to withdraw from this pact, at least publicly. Before the elections they had neither a definite line of tactics, nor a program, nor an effective election slogan. The Opposition within the Party—a "Left Wing" consisting of Independents and Communists—repeatedly threatened a party split. The Social Democrats themselves would have welcomed this split. The pressure of the Government against the radical bourgeois parties was much stronger than against the Social Democrats. In the first place, the election slogans of the radical bourgeois opposition were much more "radical" than those of the Social Democrats; secondly, the Government had no need to fear any great loss of prestige from the possible election passivity of this bourgeois party. The Social Democrats profited by this opportunity to gain "successes" without any struggle. They made a weak protest

against the setting in of a White Terror from which they enjoyed a certain amount of immunity. They did not even dare openly to acknowledge the October revolution and the republic in their election slogans. Just before the election they concluded an election pact with the Agrarian Democratic Party. The Hungarian Social Democrats have never succeeded in winning the great mass of the agricultural proletariat. For this purpose it would have been necessary to carry on a revolutionary propaganda activity and to have a revolutionary agrarian program which they however always fought shy of. At this time also the Social Democrats restricted themselves to registering the spontaneous utterances of the city proletariat as their "success". The agrarian proletariat—with the exception of a few villages where the fire of the revolution still smouldered under the ashes—were quite disregarded. The Social Democrats only put up candidates in those districts where victory appeared "certain". To carry on extensive propaganda and organization work, especially among the agricultural proletariat, in connection with the election campaign never occurred to their minds. They merely aimed at gaining seats. Where this did not appear certain without a struggle, they left the field to the radical bourgeois Agrarian Party.

The question arises, "How was it possible that the Social Democrats in spite of this supine and treacherous election policy, were able to get so many votes that they became the strongest Opposition fraction in Parliament?" The answer is perfectly simple. The active working masses, awakened from their torpor, demanded an active policy. An obvious method of activity appeared to be participation in the elections. The working masses who were opposed to the Social Democrats were not yet sufficiently well organized to set up their own candidates. Legal Communist propaganda is quite out of the question. The official Social Democrats have in their hands the whole machinery of organization. A further reason for the great election successes is to be found in the fact that a left wing bloc was formed involuntarily. Where the Opposition bourgeois parties had no prospects of electing their own candidates, they supported by their votes the Social Democratic candidates against the Government candidates. In this they made use of their previous experience from which they have learnt that in critical moments the best guardians of their interests are the Social Democrats.

That part of the feudal aristocracy which is opposed to the Government clique and which feels its interests bound up with the fate of the Habsburgs came through the election very badly. The cause of their defeat is to be found in the fact that, apart from the Terror employed by the Government, the pacifist minded voters have had about enough of the continual *putsch* attempts and they consider the existing state of affairs a necessary evil.

The Horthy Government has succeeded in giving the new Parliament the appearance of a modern "democratic" Parliament with a great agrarian capitalist majority. This modern Parliament will even have a "Social Democratic" Opposition—an unmistakable hallmark of "democracy". The Hungarian working class however will soon learn from the Parliamentary activity of their "representatives" that they have been duped; they will sweep away their reformist illusions and proceed the way of the inexorable class war.

The Polish Government Crisis.

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

Pilsudski wants an election. That in short is the cause of the latest Polish cabinet crisis.

The Polish crisis at first raised no little dust abroad and in Soviet Russia. In Warsaw there was something in the nature of a war panic. One spoke of the great military demands of Pilsudski. The "Chief of State" demanded from the government 40 or 400 (here the information varied) milliards of fresh war credits. He was also annoyed over the peaceable policy of Skirmunt towards Soviet Russia, over the Riga "Protocol" and over Skirmunt's negotiations with Tchitcherin at Genoa.

To be sure, the annoyance of Pilsudski over the present foreign policy is rather deep. But the alarmist reports are simply put into circulation by the National Democratic parties of the Right in the Sejm, who seek to exploit the aversion to war existing in inextensive Polish circles against Pilsudski.

In reality it is merely a question of the approaching election campaign. If Pilsudski pronounced his lack of confidence in the Cabinet on the ground that the Cabinet did not possess sufficient "authority" to be able to carry out the election, the fact is that Ponikowski, although he is on good terms with the Belvedere Castle (Pilsudski's residence) yet shows no inclination to address the electors in such an outspoken manner. Pilsudski has still a strong personal interest in the issue of the election, as according to the Polish constitution the President as is the

custom in France, is elected at a general session of the Sejm, so that an unfavorable result of the election will also put an end to the glorious "reign" of Pilsudski.

But still Pilsudski will in no circumstances renounce his power and his civil list. In this he has the support of two parties: the Peasant's Party and the inevitable P. P. S. The members of the Peasant's Party fear a majority for the parties of the Right, who would probably immediately proceed with a revision of land reform. The Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) is a clique maintained by the Government. The entry of the National Democrats into power would mean for them in the first place the loss of the State printery which they now possess for an absurdly low rental. One can feel sure that these parties are firmly decided to stick to Pilsudski through thick and thin.

The National Democrats have of course not given ready credence to this government crisis of the hero of Belvedere. In order to convince him that he has too pessimistically judged the "authority" of Ponikowski's Cabinet, they placed a motion before the sections of the Sejm and obtained for Ponikowski the imposing majority of 256 against 164. After this Ponikowski promised to think over the matter and consult with the State Chief. Yet after this consultation Pilsudski declared to the parties that Ponikowski himself—in spite of his (Pilsudski's) urging—had refused to take over the forming of a cabinet. The veracity of Pilsudski is more than problematical, but Ponikowski stands faithful to his chief and corroborates his statement.

The further course of the crisis takes on the form of a caricature. As he is not able to rely upon a majority in the Sejm, Pilsudski will set up a Cabinet independent of Parliament. As however this Cabinet can at the very first sitting be overthrown by the National Democrats and their allies, Pilsudski will reserve to himself the right to dissolve the Sejm. Now the Sejm according to its own decision is constituted "Sovereign" and cannot be dissolved by anybody. Happily however the Constitution which was voted by the Sejm three years ago is not clearly formulated and states that the State Chief shall nominate the Prime Minister "in agreement" or "after consultation" with the Sejm (the expression can be translated both ways). Pilsudski now declares that this passage in the Constitution is "not clear" to him. The consultations with the party leaders have up to now not been able to give the poor State Chief "any clearness". As the Belvedere clique is not yet decided upon how it can best suddenly surprise the Sejm majority one can scarcely reckon upon a speedy settlement of the government crisis.

If the existing government crisis has nothing to do with any immediate war intentions (Pilsudski knows too well that the voters have no desire for war) yet the military tendencies of Pilsudski are a serious factor in the crisis. In the first place, Pilsudski regards a miniature war panic as a good means of convincing the public of the necessity of a "strong" Government. Thus he bases his vote of lack of confidence on the fact that the "serious" international situation demands an "authoritative" government. And the Socialist leader, Daszynski, rudely expressed this when he declared:

"In Russia there is an army of one and a half million only waiting for the right moment in order to overthrow us. Not treaties, not peace notes, only bayonets—that is the thing which according to the opinion of the State Chief must clear up the situation."

The P. P. S. fraction was, it is said, not particularly pleased with volcanic outburst of their fiery leader. In their caucus they denounced the old fireeater and decided that they could only give support to a peace cabinet and one with a civilian at the head. The decision only proves that Pilsudski also has civilians in his party, which is no discovery.

The P. P. S. claims, to be sure, that Daszynski's words had been twisted by the National Democrat press and that he did not say "according to the opinion of the State Chief but" according to the opinion of Trotsky. That may be true. The question only remains what has Trotsky to do with the Polish government crisis? This dragging in of the Red Army by Daszynski in a discussion upon purely domestic policy shows clearly enough that the Belvedere party desires a fresh strengthening of the influence of militarism in Poland.

On the other hand it is clear that Pilsudski will not "make" the election on this issue, in order in the event of its favorable issue to continue the peaceful policy of Skirmunt towards Soviet Russia. The decided victory of the Belvedere Party at the election would without doubt mean new war developments in Eastern Europe. This victory would mean the new election of Pilsudski and the new election of Pilsudski with a Sejm pliant to his will means war. The existing crisis in the Polish state is also of very grave importance for the further peaceful development of Soviet Russia.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Workers' Party of America and the United Front

by Jay Ell (New York).

The American Labor movement is today in a state of flux. Confusion is rampant in its ranks. The capitalist class is everywhere on the offensive and is meeting with no effective resistance. The railway workers, the steel workers, the textile workers, the garment workers and the miners have been repeatedly menaced with wage-slashing, lengthened hours, and lowered standards.

As a result of the severe industrial depression the ranks of organized labor have been considerably thinned. If Gompers were to disclose the actual state of affairs in the American Federation of Labor, one would find a dues-paying membership of about 2,000,000—a loss of about 1,500,000 since last year. The independent unions have fared no better and the once-revolutionary I.W.W. is, as far as the class struggle is concerned, a huge minus quantity.

Politically, the American working class is as impotent as ever. The Farmer-Labor Party is neither Farmer nor Labor. The Socialist Party numbers at most a little over 5000. Its influence is comparable in weakness only to its numbers. The Communist Party is still, as a Party, underground despite its persistent efforts to extend its open activities, and the Workers' Party, the strongest organized open expression for the Third International, numbers at most 20,000 and has a long way to travel before its word will count for decision amongst the masses.

The New Current.

In reality, then, the united front in America can be summed up thus: there is today neither front nor unity in the ranks of the workers. But out of all this depression, weakness and confusion there is arising amongst the masses a new, powerful desire for a common front against the common enemy. This desire has manifested itself most tangibly in a vague, yet growing movement toward amalgamation in industrial organization, and independent political action. In many Central Labor bodies there is a strong current for independent union tickets in the coming election campaign. In the railway and machinist crafts there is a particularly strong tendency toward forming an independent political Labor organization. It must be remembered that the Railway Brotherhoods, "the aristocracy of American labor", have, in the past, been strongholds for Republican votes. The repeated wage-slashing orders of the Harding Administration have done a good deal towards disilluminating the railway workers and the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Locomotive Fireman, at their recent conventions, came out very strongly against the Republican Party and severely condemned it as an enemy of labor. So bitter is the disgust with the old parties in the ranks of the railway workers and so widespread and strong is the tendency toward forming an independent political Labor Party, that their leaders have been forced to act. Of course the reactionary Brotherhood bureaucracy is attempting to capitalize this situation for its own ends and is trying to foist on the membership a fake "political" substitute for the genuine Labor Party. This is evidenced by the fact that the leaders of the Brotherhoods were the guiding spirits of last winter's Chicago Labor Political Conference. They are now the power behind the throne in the Labor Political Conference to be held next December.

The Outlook.

Under these circumstances, what are the possibilities and impossibilities of the united front tactics as applied by the Workers' Party of America?

There are two main aspects to the problem of the united front in America: political and industrial. Before considering these two phases it will not be out of place to say a word or two about the Workers' Party. The Workers' Party of America is an outgrowth of years of effort on the part of the revolutionary workers to find the proper approach towards winning the broad masses for the proletarian revolution. It is true that the Workers' Party is not yet a dominating force in the life of the millions workers. But its influence is growing and growing steadily. In the Miners' Union, in the needle trades and in several of the large Central Labor bodies the Workers' Party members are more and more getting a voice in the inner councils and winning the confidence of the membership.

The Workers' Party is wholeheartedly committed to the united front policy. In America, the united front tactics cannot today bring forth gigantic mass struggles having as their ob-

jective open conflict with the capitalist State Power. The best we can hope for just now is an awakening of class-consciousness by drawing large numbers of the working masses into the struggle for the satisfaction of their immediate, pressing needs. We are still before the task of awakening the most basic and simple forms of class-consciousness. The practical and real revolutionist in America harbors no illusions about the open, armed struggle being around the corner. He puts his all towards welding and leading the masses for a sharpened fight for their tangible demands of the day and thru these elementary struggles, the ever-more potentially revolutionary, he aims to prepare the workers for the broader and ultimate battle. This is the keynote of the united front policy of the Workers' Party.

On the Industrial Field.

Applying this tactic industrially, the Workers' Party, thru its organized nuclei in the unions, persistently works for a closer, more compact form of organization—industrial amalgamation. In this field our efforts are already bearing fruit as can be seen from the vicious onslaught of Gompers on the industrial amalgamation policy endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the bitter attack on the advocates of amalgamation in the needle trades made by the "Socialist" Schlesinger at the recent Convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The sentiment for a more solid front on the industrial battle-front is making such strong headway that some Central Labor Bodies, for instance Milwaukee, have gone on record as being opposed to participating in the national convention of the American Federation of Labor in order to protest against Gompers' attacks. The tide of industrial amalgamation can be neither stemmed nor turned back and the Workers' Party is fortunately in a position to lend increasing energy to the waves which will sweep away the labor-fakers and strengthen the proletarian industrial front.

The advantages of achieving success in this field need no emphasis. America's dominant unions are the most archaic and backward organizationally, especially when compared with their powerfully organized opponents, the huge corporations, the trusts, the manufacturers' associations, and the Chambers of Commerce. Far more than in any other country, do these organizations of Capital dictate in the shop, the home, the school, the press. To hold their against, let alone break thru, such a phalanx of the enemy, the workers must first of all, have well-knitted, efficient fighting unions. It is such a primary need for revolutionizing the masses that the movement for industrial amalgamation is filling and that the Workers' Party is energetically meeting.

On the Political Front.

Politically the American labor movement is even more backward and impotent than it is industrially. At the same time, its enemy is more powerful and aggressive than any other capitalist class. In the United States the Communists are before the first and simplest problem of elementary working class political education. The broad working masses have not even the slightest concept of class interests and class conflicts. Their thoughts are enmeshed by a closely-woven network of such prejudices and illusions as the "good man" in politics, "my father was a Republican and so am I", "vote with the winner", and—worst of all balderdash—the official policy of Gompers and the other labor-lieutenants of capital, "reward your friends and punish your enemies". The latter bunkum has served most effectively as a subterfuge thru which the workers could be led sheepishly to the stables of the Democratic Party and the stalls of the Republican Party.

We see, then, that under such conditions the tendency toward independent political action by the workers and the consequent formation of a Labor Party is a positive step of inestimable import for revolutionizing the masses. In the United States, the organization of a mass Labor Party on a federative basis, guaranteeing organizational autonomy and freedom of criticism to its constituents would mark an auspicious beginning. Undoubtedly, this would mean further progress at a pace featured by the swiftness so characteristic of American methods. Hence, the desperate efforts of the capitalists and their labor-fakers to undermine, sabotage and mislead this movement.

The same accounts for the energy with which the Workers' Party, thru its press, platform and union nuclei, is pushing the idea of independent working class political action and the formation of such a Labor Party. The one hope for the American Communists, the one chance for their getting the ear of the laboring masses and coming in contact with the workers in their actual struggles can be found in the formation of a Labor Party organized on the above basis. Of this the Communists are fully aware and the Workers' Party is shaping its political united front policy accordingly.

A word or two about another side of this phase of the united front tactic; that is co-operation with such working class and near-working class political organizations as the Socialist Party and the Farmer Labor Party. Towards united action with these bodies for such general political demands as the release of political prisoners, saving Sacco and Vanzetti, etc., the Workers' Party is favorable and many of its sections are effectively participating in such joint action. But towards united actions these organizations on the parliamentary field we do not have a general favorable policy for sundry reasons. First of all, neither the Socialist nor the Farmer Labor Party has any actual following amongst the working masses. Secondly, on this field the American Communists are still new and very weak. They have not yet succeeded even in establishing their own political identity on a national scale. Consequently, for the Workers' Party to pursue any other policy on this section of the battle line would not be unity of action but confusion and suicide.

To sum up: the broad chasm between the class strength of the proletariat and the capitalists in the United States limits, for the present, the application of the united front policy to the most elementary task of revolutionizing the American working masses. Industrially, the Workers Party is advancing the trend toward more effective, closely amalgamated fighting unions and their united struggle for the immediate, pressing needs of the workers. Politically, this policy resolves itself for the Communists into promoting the movement for independent working class political action, the formation of a Labor Party on a federative basis guaranteeing organizational autonomy and right of criticism to constituent units, and joint action for general political demands.

The Communists of America are still before the first and most elementary tasks of the revolution and their application of the united front policy is calculated to hasten the achievement of these basic ends so as to pave the road for the more broad, more decisive, and ultimate revolutionary struggle.

The Trade Unions and the Political Levy.

by Tom Quelch (London).

The British Labour Party is a loose federation of trade unions, Trade Councils, local Labour Parties, and such Socialist organisations as the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society. The question of the affiliation of the Communist Party is a matter for consideration at the forthcoming Labour Party Conference to be held this month in Edinburgh.

The finances of the Labour Party are made up of affiliation fees from its constituent organisations and contributions and donations from individual members. As within the last ten years the Labour Party has increased in influence and power, it has attracted to it quite a large number of ambitious politicians of the middle-classes—lawyers, doctors, ex-army officers, etc.—and many of these, possessing wealth, make considerable money contributions to the support of the Party. But the chief strength of the Labour Party, both from the point of view of members and of finance, is drawn from the trade union organisations.

When the Labour Party was called into being, over a quarter of a century ago, by the Trades Union Congress, the trade unions decided to levy their members for political purposes.

This was put into effect. Quite large sums of money were contributed by the big unions into the Labour Party exchequer. Then between 1909 and 1913, the unions, on account of the Osborne judgment, were not permitted to make a levy on their members. The excuse for this judgment was that—so the capitalist forces in the country claimed—there were many men in the trade unions who were, politically, not in agreement with the policy of the Labour Party, and were supporters of either the Liberal or Tory parties. The Osborne judgment decided that if men were in agreement with the Labour Party they could individually make voluntary contributions, but that the unions, as such, had no right to impose a levy on all their members.

A year after the Osborne judgment, the Trade Union Act was passed, owing to the volume of pressure brought to bear on the Government by the industrial organisations, and the unions were once again empowered to raise funds for Labour Party purposes.

Now, just recently, with the introduction by private members in the House of Commons of a Bill to amend the Trade Union Act of 1913, the continuous attempt of the reactionary capitalist interests opposed to the trade union movement to cripple its political activities and to destroy its unity enters upon a new phase.

The Bill is really an attempt to throw the unions back into the confusion occasioned by the Osborne judgment. Its purpose is to make it impossible for them to support the Labour Party financially by imposing a levy on their members. Pretending to

safeguard the interests of the individual trade unionist, the Bill requires every trade union which desires to raise a fund for political purposes to take a ballot of its members. In this ballot at least 50 per cent of the members must vote to make the result valid, and a majority of at least 20 per cent must be recorded in favour of the political levy to enable the union to impose it. When the ballot has been taken those members of the union who wish to contribute to the political fund must intimate in writing their intention to do so, and renew this intimation every year.

In view of the present crisis in British trade unionism—which has recently suffered a decrease of no less than 20 per cent of its membership—and the general indifference of the workers concerning all matters relating to their industrial organisations, the difficulties of securing a successful ballot are many and various, and the further conditions proposed by the Bill make the possibility of support for the Labour Party from the trade unions very questionable. Nor is this all. We are on the eve, in this country, of a General election. And the measure is in reality a most sinister move to cripple the Labour Party, and to prevent it securing that support at the election which it would otherwise obtain.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Enlarged Executive Committee.

By Mathias Rakosi.

Moscow, June 14, 1922.

The break up of the Commission of Nine marked the conclusion of a phase in the fight of the Communist International for the united front of all workers. The first attempt to advance the desire of the masses for unity through negotiations with the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals had to fail because the Social Democracy, and particularly that part of it belonging to the 2½ International, returned after some vacillation to the slogan with which it replied to the first movement in the proletariat for unity during Autumn 1921, "the united front of all social traitors, reformists and centrists against the Communists!"

The employers' offensive, the defensive struggles of the proletariat, the fermentation and the increasing readiness to fight in the ranks of the workers expressed in all industrial countries in the desire to fight with united forces against attacking capital, already thwarted this plan once and compelled the Macdonalds, Fritz Adlers and Vanderveldes, who had hitherto fought so heroically in the common front with the bourgeoisie against the Communists, to negotiate with the Communist International.

After the first attempt to advance the united front not only from below through the masses, but also from above through negotiations with the leaders failed, it was the task of the Communist International to examine the conditions for the continuation of the campaign for the union of the forces of the proletariat. The Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee which commenced on June 7th served this purpose.

Comrades Radek and Zinoviev reported on our experiences and the outlook for the united front. They pointed out that the economic forces, above all the employers' offensive against wages the eight-hour day and the pauperization of the proletariat, which combined together gave rise to the feeling of the necessity of a joint defensive struggle in the working masses, still exist and exist in even greater degree than before. The further attacks of the exploiters will compel the masses to enter upon new struggles and will strengthen the idea of the union of all forces. In accordance with that, the activity of the Communist Parties in the near future must continue to be concentrated upon the united front.

In order to be able to apply the best tactics in this struggle our experiences and methods employed hitherto must be examined. In the struggle the weaknesses of our enemy were revealed and attacked; there also appeared the failings and errors of our own Parties. It was found that the organization and above all the international discipline of several of the most important sections of the Communist International left very much to be desired. Comrade Zinoviev, subjected the attitude of the French, Italian and in part the Norwegian, Communist Parties to sharp criticism. He pointed out how the hesitating execution of the slogan of the united front weakened the position of the entire International. The chief lesson which he drew from this first phase was that our parties do not yet possess the unconditionally necessary discipline for the successful execution of international action. One of our principal tasks in the future must be the creation of this discipline.

The most important result of the united front campaign up to the present is that we no longer stand before the masses as "splitters". In spite of the cries of our enemies, the simple

worker realizes that after we had built up the necessary fighting organizations through the creation of Communist Parties we immediately advocated the union of the forces of the divided proletariat. The Berlin negotiations showed the workers of the world who splits the proletariat and who desires to unite it. The results of this success of the Comintern are not as visible as an election victory but they are profound and of great importance.

The Enlarged Executive Committee occupied itself in the main with the situation in the French Party. The delegates of the Communist Party of France to the Session of the Enlarged Executive in February promised discipline but in reality commenced an intensive agitation against the slogan of the united front adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee. A systematic campaign against the united front was carried on which turned into a campaign against the general policy of the Comintern and in which the Right Wing was strengthened owing to the passivity of the Party Centre. The development of a Left group was the natural consequence of this situation.

The situation was sketched out by Comrades Frossard, Secretary-General of the Party, Souvarine and Trotzky. In the discussion the representatives of the most important Parties took part. All the questions relating to the French Party were handled from every point of view in the sessions of the Executive Committee itself and in the Sub-Commission. The principal cause for the development of this situation was the passivity of the Centre which permitted the Right Wing to exercise an influence upon the leadership of the Party for which it had neither a moral right nor the necessary numerical strength. Not only in the united front but in the questions of the trade unions, of the press and organization, the activities of these elements showed that they are consciously carrying on a reformist policy under the mask of verbal radicalism, which led the Party to a grave crisis. The Executive took the field against this wing with the exclusion of Fabre; the Enlarged Executive demanded the political liquidation of the Fabre case as well. In various resolutions it took a stand upon all the questions affecting the Party and demanded a radical change in every field. The criticism of the Party was often very sharp but was objective. Most of the resolutions were unanimously adopted, securing the votes of even the French delegation. In so far as they voted against the resolution on the united front or the resolution criticising the policy of the present Party Executive they promised the sincere execution of these decisions. The resolutions consider the collaboration of the Centre and the Left in the sense of the decisions of the Communist International and the fight against the reformist tendencies within the Party as the way which will lead out of the present crisis.

Comrades Jilek, Smeral and Kreibich reported on the situation in the Czecho-Slovakian Party. There is no crisis within the Party; it is merely a question of personal controversies and scarcely perceptible differences in the trade union question. The Sub-Commission on the Czecho-Slovakian Party was not able to find any fundamental differences within the Party but complained of passivity in propaganda and in work within the trade unions. The resolution which demands a more active policy of the Party was unanimously adopted.

Comrades Friis and Kuusinen pictured the situation in the Norwegian Communist Party. The Communist Party is there pursuing a policy of parliamentarism which is justifiably rejected by the Norwegian comrades. The Lian case is no isolated phenomenon but the consequence of the lack of clarity and the indecision noticeable in the leadership of the Party. Under such circumstances there arose an opposition which through the rejection of the united front and its inadmissible methods of criticism injured the Party. The Executive Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on the situation which demands a radical change in the tactics of the parliament fraction of the Party's work in the trade unions and of the press and points out the mistakes of the opposition.

The differences with the Communist Party of Italy arose from the fact that the Party wanted to put the united front into practice only in the trade union field. There were also differences of opinion on tactical questions. However, objective conditions compelled the Party to apply the slogan of the united front upon the political field as well. In the tactical questions the Party also accepted the standpoint of the Comintern so that after two sessions of the Italian Sub-Commission complete agreement was reached. The question of the Communist Party of Italy was therefore not at all discussed in the plenary session and the Enlarged Executive Committee merely laid down the next tasks of the Party in a short resolution.

The discussion of the Syndicalist question was postponed and the report of the situation in the German Party was omitted because of lack of time.

The Fourth World Congress was set for November 7th, 1922, the anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. In addition to the treatment of the tactical and trade union questions the chief task of the Congress will be the elaboration of the program of the Communist International and of its most important sections. If we succeed in giving these Parties a clear Marxist program adapted to conditions upon the basis of mutual experience we will have afforded the Parties and the International important and effective assistance.

In spite of the "crises" in the various Parties the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee proved that the Communist movement is being consolidated and is on the increase. The crisis and differences discussed are diseases of growth which one Party already passed through yesterday and another will experience tomorrow. The more the experiences of the various Parties are exchanged and made public the easier will the overcoming of these crises be. Conferences such as the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee are in this respect of great service. They cause the dearly paid for experiences of the individual Parties to become the common property of the entire International. They bind more closely the ties of unity through this mutual aid and hasten the growth of the Sections into a firm consolidated international fighting organization. In addition to this, the Enlarged Executive Committee illuminated the as yet unelaborated or unclear parts of our tactics and removed by this detail work a large part of the theoretical obstacles hemming the development of the Communist Parties. The session of the Enlarged Executive Committee concretely and clearly outlined the next phase and therewith solved the problems relating to the united front which came before it.

The E. C. of the Comintern to the Workers of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Irish proletariat is again being faced with a fateful decision. After prolonged peace negotiations English Imperialism is again preparing to coerce the Irish people by force of arms.

After all the efforts of the English bourgeoisie to maintain its domination by force of arms had been frustrated by the heroic self-sacrificing defense of the Irish people, it was obliged to come to an understanding with the Irish bourgeoisie. For the semblance of an independent Irish Free State the representatives of the Irish capitalists, Collins, Griffith and Co., sacrificed the fruits of the long and successful struggle, and received in return, as a Judas reward, the right to exploit the Irish workers together with the English bourgeoisie.

The party of the small peasants and of those workers who are not as yet class-conscious, represented by De Valera, saw through this game. However, the election compromise which this party has arrived at with the Irish exploiters, shows their lack of determination to fight against the latter. The working elements of this party, and above all the Irish Republican Army, which consists mostly of proletarian elements, are justified in being indignant at this pact, and in seeing in it the beginnings of a future betrayal.

The Irish Labour Party is fully aware that every attempt at emancipation on the part of the Irish workers will be hopeless until the party will direct its struggle against the twofold oppression of the English imperialists and the Irish capitalists. Nevertheless, the Irish Labour Party is much too opportunist to continue the revolutionary traditions of Connolly or Jim Larkin. In all questions concerning real independence and the Irish Republican Army, the Irish Labour Party does not go beyond fine phrases. Instead of demanding complete independence, it clings to an ultra-constitutionalism, just like its twin-sister, the British Labour Party. Instead of supporting the Republican Army under arms, it advocated an army "under the control of the people". Confusion and indecision exists in its own ranks, and prevents it from being the leader of the Irish Proletariat.

It is only the young Communist Party of Ireland which has the courage and the determination to point to the right path, and to say:

"It is only after the yoke of the English imperialists has been shaken off, that the struggle against the Irish exploiters will have any chance of success! It is only after the establishment of real independence that the class struggle will be able to develop, untrammelled by any nationalist question."

The attitude of the proletarian majority of the Irish Republican Army is a proof that the Irish Communist Party, notwithstanding its short existence, is on the right path and represents the will of the Irish working class. The clearer and the more determined it pursues this path, the sooner will the English and

Irish capitalists understand that the large majority of the Irish people, the workers, are not inclined to have filched from them the fruits of a long and self-sacrificing struggle for the semblance of the independence which is being offered to them.

The English capitalist class is fully aware of this, and at a moment when it sees that the Irish workers refuse to be swindled on this question, but demand from England a real free state, it again lands its troops in Ireland, and is ready to renew the war rather than grant an independence which would interfere with its plans of exploitation.

Workers of Great Britain! Your duty now consists in frustrating this predatory campaign of your bourgeoisie! Do not allow the Irish people to be subjugated once more by English capitalists!

Workers and Peasants of Ireland! You must be fearless and determined in your struggle for the liberation of Ireland, and thus continue your fight for your own emancipation. But you must bear in mind that liberation from the yoke of the English oppressors is only a prelude to the great final struggle for the abolition of the reign of your own exploiters. In this struggle the Irish Communist Party and the Communist International will assist you with counsel and action.

Long live the Irish people freed from national oppression!

Long live the Irish proletariat!

Long live the solidarity of the English and Irish exploited workers!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

An Open Letter to Vandervelde.

Moscow, June 15, 1922.

In the speech made by you on the 13th of this month, you very proudly announced that you were ready to enter into a public discussion with Bukharin on the question of the policy pursued by the Second International, wherever and whenever he may desire it, but on one condition, namely, that this discussion take place not in an artificially packed hall, but under conditions that were fair and equal to both contesting sides.

Citizen Vandervelde! I was so anxious and aching for an opportunity to enter personally into a discussion with you on the question of the policy of the Second International that I even proposed in Berlin that the session of the three Internationals take place in Brussels, although I knew very well that the Belgian Communist movement was a very weak one, and that the majority of the audience that I would have to address would consist of members of your own party. But you answered me with a sour smile that to your regret the democratic government of Belgium would not give me a passport to enter Brussels. I did my best to get an opportunity for such a discussion with the German representatives of the Second International, but the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Citizen Severing, a German Social Democrat and member of the Second International, seemed very much scared of the idea. And although the French occupation authorities in Dusseldorf granted me permission to appear at the meeting, at which representatives of the Second and 2½ Internationals were also to appear, Herr Severing refused to grant the same permission. The Foreign Office, which seems to defend not only the interests of foreign capital, but also the interests of the Second and 2½ Internationals, notified our embassy that in case I were to appear at the meeting, it would have to follow the instructions of your comrade Severing and take action against me.

How are we then to come to a discussion between you, M. Vandervelde, and the representatives of the Communist International? In the country whose minister you were, and in which your party counts one-third of all the voters, the effect of your loud speeches is so weak that your government disregards the most basic principles of democracy. In Germany, where your comrades are in the government, they appear as defenders of the limitation of all liberties to Russian Communists. For this reason only one thing is left me, and that is to propose to you to rest on the strength of your argumentative powers, and to organize here in Moscow a farewell evening at which you will have ample opportunity to explain to the workers of Moscow the righteousness of the Second International. I am ready to take all measures to see to it that this evening should not be a musical one, and that you should not have to listen to that kind of music which the Germans call "Katzenmusik", nor experience any other disagreeable effects, outside of those that may be caused by you by the Communist arguments.

Accept, Mr. Vandervelde, the expression (as is usually written in such cases) of my highest respect and sympathy, in case you decline such an honor from the workers of Moscow.

Karl Radek.

THE COLONIES

The Peasant Movement in India.

by M. N. Roy.

The most powerful factor in the Indian movement is the spirit of revolt that has affected the peasantry throughout the country. While the Moplah outbreak is not yet fully liquidated in spite of the free use of machine-guns and bombing planes, the Akali movement in the Punjab, the Aikya Sabhas in the United Provinces and the Bheel revolt in the Native States of Central India are assuming alarming proportions. The Akali movement is very well-knit with the political movement, although it is decidedly an agrarian question aiming at the "reform" of the large temples holding vast estates, on which millions of poor peasants toil and starve. The intended reform is nothing less than expropriation. The Akali Dal has a good organization with a registered membership of approximately 50,000. The government has turned its attention towards this movement and in course of two months no less than 2,500 members of the Akali Dal have been put into jail. But the movement is still showing signs of growth. Armed bands of peasants are moving over the entire province terrorizing the landholders and agitating for a revolt which will overthrow the British government and establish a government of the Sikhs. This movement has affected the army as well. The Sikh soldiers are recruited from the peasantry, therefore they are also involved in a movement fundamentally agrarian. Of late, cases of refractoriness in the Sikh regiments are frequent; and some of these instances were so serious that entire regiments had to be disarmed and disbanded.

The Aikya movement, which originated among the peasantry of Oudh, the stronghold of the worst type of landlordism, is a very significant development of the agrarian agitation. Its object, as the very name signifies, is to create a unified movement of the peasants. It grew out of the Kishan Sabhas which had a very stormy history during 1920 and 1921 and whose revolutionary energy was dissipated by the non-cooperation propaganda for an undefined Swaraj, and whose acute outbursts at Rai Berelli, Gorakhpur and Chauri Chaura terrified the pacifist leadership of the Congress. The betrayal by the Nationalist leaders and the activities of the officially inspired Moderates to organize the rival bodies called Aman Sabhas (peaceful associations) led to the recrudescence of the movement in the form of the Aikya movement, which expresses the growth of class consciousness among the peasantry. This unity movement has transgressed the boundaries of the United Provinces. Its influence was to be found in the Bheel uprising in Central India several hundred miles away. Even after they were beaten by overwhelming military forces, the Bheel peasants refused to accept the terms dictated to them because they would not break the vow of unity.

If any single slogan can involve a large number of the Indian population it is undoubtedly that of "Non-Payment of Rents". The temporary proclamation of Civil Disobedience has caught the imagination of the poor peasantry. They have found a weapon which they are not going to abandon at the bidding of any man or any national organization. Therefore we find the agrarian disturbances spreading like wildfire all over the country. This outstanding phenomenon is even having its repercussion on the Congress. Of late there have been signs of the crystallization of a tendency advocating the renewal of mass Civil Disobedience. Resolutions to this effect have been passed in several informal meetings of Congress workers. But the faction which is putting forth this point of view seeks to use the masses for revolution. They have still to go farther on the road of revolutionary understanding before they will advocate revolution for the masses.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Ten Years Ago.

by Safaroff (Moscow).

Ten years ago, *Svesda* (the Star), the predecessor of the "Pravda", published in a black border the following words:

"On the 4th of April, 77 workers were killed and more than 400 wounded in the Lena gold mines."

This horrible news shook the Russian working class like a thunder-clap. All industrial centres united for a powerful protest. Indignation took the place of the exhaustion and apathy of 1908, 1909 and 1910. The working class woke up.

However, what had happened in the Lena mines? Serfdom had continued there under the mask of industrial capitalism. The workers and their families "belonged" to the administration of the mine district. The workers worked 11 to 12 hours a day in water up to their waists. According to an old custom, their wives, daughters and sisters were compelled to give themselves to the Don Juans of the administration. The workers were obliged to buy only in the shop of the mine company where the goods were of very poor quality. No humiliation, no insult was spared to the miners of the Lena mines.

The shareholders of the Lena Gold Mines' Company enjoyed life in London and Petrograd. One of them, M. Timasheff, was Minister of Commerce and Industry; another, M. Timiryasoff, former Minister, was an influential personality.

No complaint was permitted. The influence of gold ruled everything. The Czar's gendarmes were its servants.

Finally the desperate miners went on strike. They demanded a nine hour day, decent treatment and payment in money and not in tickets good only for the company store.

The last straw on the camel's back was the sale of the meat of a dead horse to the workers. On the 4th of April the peaceful Lena miners demonstrated before the house of the Public Prosecutor, Preobraschensky, and demanded the release of the arrested miners. Everything was ready for the reception of the workers. While the representatives of the miners negotiated with Engineer Tultchinsky, Captain Trastchenoff ordered a company of soldiers to advance and fire upon the unarmed masses.

When the Social Democratic fraction of the Duma addressed an interpellation to the Government upon this tragedy, Makaroff, Minister of the Interior, stepped to the tribune and said with cold disdain, so has it been and so will it remain for ever". These words became famous. However, he erred and many others erred with him.

The first Russian Revolution began on the 9th of January 1905 with the mass murder in the square before the Winter Palace. The second Russian Revolution in reality commenced on April 4th, 1912. In 1914, on the eve of the war, barricades were already erected in the streets of Petrograd and Baku. This prevented Czar Nicholas from welcoming Poincaré in his capital, as he had desired.

In January 1912 an All-Russian Conference reorganized our Party, which had been destroyed by the Mensheviks Martov, Dan and the rest. In the elections to the Fourth Duma six Bolsheviks were elected. This was a success, as according to Czarist franchise every two thousand property-owners elected one deputy, while 125,000 workers also elected only one deputy. In 1927 we Bolsheviks, supported by the "Pravda" and our illegal organisations, drove the Mensheviks out of the legal labor movement. They abstained from illegal work.

At the beginning, the war hindered the growth of the revolutionary movement. In March 1917, however, the explosion occurred. Czarism was overthrown. In October, the bourgeoisie and with it the S. R.'s and Mensheviks fell into the abyss.

Five years after the assassination of the Lena miners the Russian proletariat conquered power. Ten years after the tragedy of the Siberian gold miners the Russian proletariat stands at the head of the first proletariat Great Power.

THE WHITE TERROR

The German Counter-Revolution closing its Ranks.

by Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

The militarist, monarchist reaction is at present conducting with great tenacity and method a campaign in Germany for the arousing of national sentiment in wide circles of the population.

After the collapse of the Kapp *Putsch* the reactionary ranks were thrown into confusion, for the overcoming of which the Nationalist needed several months. Through persistent opposition against the weak petty bourgeois Socialist Government the intriguing reactionary parties of the German Nationalist and the Stinnes people, got behind them the conservative peasants, artisans, and independent small traders, and soon a greater crowd of miserable, half-starved intellectuals, small capitalists and capitalist rentiers and even groups of deluded clerks, employees and workers.

The old militarists, the officers of the defeated army understood exactly how to organize these deluded groups under the banner of nationalism. The "Stahlhelm" groups are like the Escherich organization; War Veteran Associations awakened

to new life. When in Summer 1921 the character of this national movement showed itself in all its brutality in the Erzberger murder, the Nationalists had at least publicly to abate their impudent activities before the closed ranks of the organized workers and the republican-democratic associations. But after a few months the national-militarist Hydra again raised its head.

In Bavaria, the anniversary of the death and burial of the last Bavarian king, chased out by the revolution, gave them an eagerly seized opportunity for loudly proclaimed nationalist propaganda. At the Wittelsbach celebration the former Crown Prince Rupprecht delivered an anti-republican speech, in which he announced quite openly his "legitimate" monarchist aspirations.

Encouraged by his example, the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hessen-Darmstadt, interrupted their compulsory vacation to visit their former capitals and hold festive reviews of "their" regiments, which no republican official complained of.

The Hohenzollern Prince Sigismund held together with Field-Marshal Mackensen in Belgard, Pomerania a review of the veteran associations and front line fighters in which even the Reichswehr (government troops) took part. General Von der Goltz held a similar review in Eisleben which led to a bloody conflict with the workers. Lettow-Vorbeck and other former heroes went around the country and issued regimental appeals, held veterans' reviews, war remembrance festivals, control meetings with rifle practice, Kaiser memorial festivals with torch-light processions, and similar propaganda. And behind all these groups stands Ludendorff, directing this campaign with persistent tenacity.

The Nationalists are now ready after all these preparations to go over to the offensive. They have put forward the strongest figure in their game, Hindenburg, in order to begin a greatest mobilization. At the Hindenburg festival in Königsberg in East Prussia, where the united organized workers came out in a counterdemonstration, blood was shed, and some workers were killed and badly wounded.

Simultaneously they pursue—as outpost skirmishes, so to say—terrorist tactics against the labor movement: in Hamburg, dynamite attacks on the Communist book store, the Communist printing plant, the Revolution memorial, and the dwelling of a leading Communist. In Cassel the prussic acid attack upon Scheidemann, in Munich a bomb thrown at the printing works of the Social-Democratic *Münchener Post*.

So it goes from attack to attack, without any of the republican authorities taking steps against them.

These outrages must have been organized by reactionary troops. These heroes will soon be so emboldened by the inactivity of the authorities that they will be able to follow the example of the murderous incendiaries of the Italian Fascists. The extra-political aim of this intense and very active militarist-monarchist campaign is given quite clearly in the propaganda which is being made for gigantic demonstrations on the 28th of June against the Versailles Treaty. The Nationalists wish to mobilize against the "Treaty of Shame" and the "war guilt lies". The pressure of the Entente, the ever-greater swelling burden of taxation and the stubborn attitude of the French capitalist clique under Poincaré daily gives German chauvinism the desired material for agitation for their campaign.

The weak Wirth Government was unable to hinder in any way the work of the Nationalist demagogues. The "Government of fulfillment", from whose retreats resulted only failure after failure, drew ever greater numbers of the deluded into the ranks of the Nationalists.

They had never attempted to pursue their policy of fulfillment of the treaty with a strong domestic policy against reaction. They had never attempted to fulfill the promise for the suppression of the reactionaries given after the defeat of the Kapp *Putsch*, nor to make true the valiant words of the Right Socialist leaders and the Chancellor against the open counter-revolution after the Erzberger murder.

The petty-bourgeois government, which so often prattles about the safety of the republic, shows a remarkable, lighthearted patience in the face of the counter-revolutionary outrages. It allows the former monarchs to parade and make speeches in Munich, Karlsruhe and Darmstadt. It even makes enthusiastic tumult for the former generals, murderers of the people, Hindenburg, Mackensen, Von der Goltz and Lettow-Vorbeck. It allows all acquittals of the Nationalist murderers to pass unnoticed. Nothing occurs after the attempts upon working class enterprises and working class leaders.

To their weakness to the Entente corresponds their pusillanimity against reaction. In the Reichstag they fearfully dally from week to week with great political difficulties, such as the strangling demands of the Entente and the activity of the Nationalists.

The proletariat can place no hope in this weak and always hesitant Government. The power of the Entente and the crimi-

nals of national reaction fight on common ground against the workers, whom they wish to crush. For the militarist-monarchist assassins there is no difference between Social Democratic and Communist enterprises. They wish to strike the organized proletariat as a whole, in whatever form they meet it.

This fact shows the German proletariat clearly enough the road it must take. The nationalist united front must be met by the united front of the proletariat. The militarist-monarchist outrages must be met by the of defense readiness of the working class. Until now, that has only occurred in a few cases.

But the danger grows daily more threatening and more general.

The Communist Party has therefore addressed an open letter to all parties and unions, in which they ask these organizations to prepare with them for defense against reactionary outrages on one common, broad front. The Social Democrats have spoken once in Munich of the readiness of defense of the proletariat. They wish to hold counter-demonstrations on the 28th of June against monarchist reaction. The Independents have sounded shrill cries of alarm. But as yet nothing has happened for the unification of defense. Words, statements and single meetings, however, will no longer suffice. The gigantic danger which threatens the German proletariat can only be averted by the closing of the ranks of the organized workers. The Social Democrats of both parties, after the open letter of the Communists, must announce whether they are prepared for this urgent united action.

The Fascisti Invasion of Bologna.

by Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

The valley of the Po is certainly the most fertile in Italy. It is a region of great cultivated tracts, where there lived a whole population of proletarian land workers, poor and exploited, who, after 30 years of strife and conflict, have succeeded in attaining, with the aid of a powerful organization, a strong economic position. Before the persistent proletarian advance, the landowners saw their influence little by little disappearing. The general strikes of 1919 and 1920—both crowned with success—marked the apogee of their advance. At that time the agricultural workers had just forced from the Italian agriculturists an agreement most favorable to the workers and the monopoly of distributing exploitation as would allow the bourgeoisie to renew the fact decay of the agreement.

This position was naturally intolerable for the owners who were seeking by every means to take their revenge. Profiting by the general critical situation of the Italian proletariat, after the period of factory occupation (September 1920), they joined their efforts with those of industrial capitalism and governmental reaction to shatter the red organization of the agrarian wage-earners.

Thanks to the treason of the Socialist leaders the formation of armed Fascisti bands was relatively easy work, as these bands were materially subsidized by the great agrarian and industrial bourgeoisie, besides which they received from the government its moral backing and the arms necessary for an offensive on a grand scale. This offensive was not only launched for the destruction of the trade organizations of the town and country proletariat, but to wrest from the masses the gains of their organization, and to make them submit to such a degree of exploitation as would allow the bourgeoisier to renew the fact decaying fabric of its economic system.

The plan of the Italian bourgeois counter-offensive is an integral part of the great bourgeois counter-offensive against the world proletariat, which has manifested itself especially by political and judicial reaction in all countries during the period following the war and which succeeded because the reformists, as much in the unions as in the Socialist Party, had undermined the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat.

Terrorized by the violent and brutal attack of the Fascisti, and abandoned by their leaders, the Italian proletariat have only opposed a passive resistance to the attacks of the White Guard of the bourgeoisie.

After this, when the resistance of their employees is quite broken, the employers will openly announce their intentions, which they had in the beginning veiled with hypocrisy in saying that they desired the freedom of employment of labor. They are now busy abolishing agricultural agreements, reducing wages and suppressing the monopoly of labor exchanges in the hands of the peasant wage-earners' organization. Seeing, because of the passive resistance of the proletariat, who submitted with resignation to violence and abuse, for thus they had been exhorted by the Social Democratic leaders, that victory was too slow, the employers had recourse to a new stratagem to achieve their ends more quickly. They abandoned lands and ceased cultivation, thus

artificially increasing unemployment. At the same time they offered employment to anyone not organized.

Making a pretext of the opposition of the Prefect Mori (who in reality is a brother Fascisti) to their attack, the Italian agriculturists in possession of this extra-legal arm for the realization of their demands, and certain of immunity, launched their avalanche of White Guards upon Bologna, which was not very long ago the heart and citadel of Italian agrarian Socialism. The Fascisti in their advance, like the mercenaries of the Middle Ages, looted, burned and killed. This region, so prosperous for the Italian workers' movement, possessed numerous cooperatives and countless socialist circles. The White mercenaries pillaged and destroyed them, and then, to leave bloody evidence of their passage, threw bombs, sowing death in the proletarian ranks. Arrived at Bologna, the authorities, who were in accord with the Fascisti, ordered the troops to retire. The Fascisti made their camp in the principal square of the city, in front of the Prefecture, and immediately began the man-hunt.

Among the most horrible episodes is the following: Comrade Bonazzi, ex-secretary of the Bologna Labor Exchange, lay suffering in a sick-bed. The Fascisti invading his house and entering his room, began to stab him with their daggers. His wife and his mother, running at his cries, covered him with their bodies and only thus were able to save him. Suspected houses were drenched with petrol and burned, the most prominent men in the workers' movement summarily "brought to justice" and, to prevent the news of this modern St. Bartholomew's Eve spreading, all telephone and telegraph wires were cut.

What did the Government do during this time? It issued a decree forbidding the carrying of arms and the holding of public meetings. At the same time it sent the Italian Chief of Police, that old notorious policeman, Senator Vegliani, to conduct investigations on the spot. Vegliani is the father of the Italian Fascisti and is not the father to deny such a child. On the other hand, the forbidding of public meetings could not touch the Fascisti as daily they held several meetings under the prefect's nose and he could hear them, from his own balcony, taking him to task for his "partiality". As for the ban upon the carrying of arms, it was not worth mentioning, for the bombs, revolvers and munitions are supplied to the Fascisti by the Italian army; as the arrest of several of the guilty has unmistakably shown. Thus the Government has shown itself openly and without scruple to be on the side of the invaders and has destroyed the fiction of the neutrality of the State in the conflict of class and party, in which fiction our ingenious Social Democratic leaders still believe. One would have thought that in face of such a "breach" of neutrality, they would have acted, have done something. But not at all, the Socialists at this time commenced to crowd the Parliamentary lobbies, to hold conversations "for a better government", and the masses, already electrified by the example of the courageous defense of the people of San Lorenzo near Rome, where they had felt a rebirth of the will to conflict, and who commenced to think it were better to fight than to die without striking a blow, have had nothing for an incentive, for a rallying cry, but a simple manifesto from the Labor Alliance protesting vehemently against the Fascisti invasion and requesting the proletariat, by remaining disciplined, to have confidence in their organizations.

The Communist Trade Union Committee had proposed, from the 26th of May, that they must reply to Fascisti menaces and attacks by the organization of a common action of the whole Italian proletariat. The E.C. of the Communist Party of Italy has issued an appeal for the formation of a united front against the employers' offensive, advising it be done in such a manner that this united front of defense and revolt become a reality which should lead the Alliance of Labor to a real goal, embracing all working-class organs and that it is only by uniting all proletarian forces and launching them in one general action, that the enemy can be brought to reason.

The epilogue of the drama of Bologna is that the Fascisti, after having obtained from the Government, through the offices of their leader, the renegade Mussolini, the head of Prefect Mori (who has been recalled to Rome, because they thought him opposed to their plan of "conquest") and the promise of absolute immunity, abandoned the town with patriotic songs and the waving of tricolors.

Since then the plan of the Italian bourgeoisie is quite evident: they are engaged at the moment in separating industrial Northern Italy from Central Italy by occupying the entire Pó valley, which has become, they assert, Fascist.

The valley of the Pó will be for a long time to come a valley of tears for the Italian agrarian proletariat, at least if it does not arouse in the whole of the martyred proletariat the conviction that only in their unity lies their strength.

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