

quick to answer, is speculating on the fact that the German reader does not know who this delegation really is.

We further ask Citizen Tchernov, member of the Central Committee of the S.R.P., and member of the Foreign Delegation of that Party, whether he has received money from the Foreign Delegation, and also, whether he passed it on to the White Guard organizations of Karelia and Ingermanland? Yes or no? Let him try to answer it with "No!" We state further that, in the Administrative Centre, and among the leading agents of the Administrative Centre are found only the principal members of the S.R.Party: Kerensky, Zenzinov, Avksentieff, Brushvit, Minor, Machin and Tchernov. We would like the Foreign Delegation of the S.R.Party to name just one person among the leaders of the Administrative Centre who was not a member of the S.R.Party. When the gentlemen of the S.R.P. assert the non-party character of the Administrative Centre, they are gambling on the chance that we do not possess all the documents of the Administrative Centre. They are mistaken. On the ground of these documents, we claim that the Administrative Centre was the chief coordinating machine of the S.R.'s abroad. Through the secretaryship of the Administrative Centre, the Social Revolutionaries, Fabrikant and Rogovsky, the S.P.P. obtained all visas for their members from the French Foreign Office, and from the Czechoslovakian and German embassies in Paris. The code telegrams of the S.R.Party were sent through the Administrative Centre, and it was through the Administrative Centre that the Social Revolutionary Party received the moneys from foreign governments which secured the existence of the Party for the year 1921. With the money obtained from the Czechoslovakian government through the Administrative Centre, appeared the official organ of the S.R.'s, *Volya Rossi*. All the disavowals of the Foreign Delegation, that is, of Citizens Tchernov, Zenzinov, Russanof, and Rubanovich are nothing more than cheap lies. These gentlemen are the *souteneurs* of the Czechoslovakian government, and the helpmates of the Czechoslovakian and French governments. This present article appears not only in the Moscow *Pravda*, but also in the German Communist press. Let these gentlemen present charges before the German courts. Let them call to account not only myself—and I pledge myself to appear before the Berlin court—but also the central organ of the German Communist Party. If they do not do this, it will be evidence that they admit having willfully lied, in order to deceive the German workers and German public opinion.

Messrs. Tchernov and Zenzinov declare that the documents of the Administrative Centre were stolen by monarchists. On this point, the organ of the Russian monarchists, the Belgrade *Novoye Vremya*, has answered them with the very reasonable question: Why then does the leader of the S.R.'s, Kerensky, employ monarchists for the guarding of the secret archives. We do not know whether Kerensky's secretary who aided in the passing of the documents into the hands of the Soviet Government, was or was not a monarchist. We regret greatly that Kerensky did not install a Communist as secretary. That would greatly have aided the Russian government in securing legal control over the Russian citizen Kerensky who has rendered himself liable before the Russian Tribunal for his criminal outrages. But, whether Kerensky's secretary is a monarchist or not the documents which are now in the hands of the Soviet Government will stand any test at the hands of the "legal democratic courts" of Berlin. These documents were published in the *Rote Fahne of Berlin*. Now let citizens Tchernov, Zenzinov, Kerensky and the other spies of the Entente who have been exposed through these documents, appeal to the German courts and prove, that these documents are falsified.

The mendacious reply of the S.R. Foreign Delegation,—a reply in which every word is a known lie—has much pleased the Mensheviks, who published an article relative to this document in the Berlin *Freiheit* of August 5th. Messrs. Martov, Dan & Co. and their Steins from the *Freiheit* have revived the old legend, fabricated by the S.R.'s, to the effect that the documents were stolen by the monarchist counter espionage department and then handed over to the Bolshevik counter espionage section. And because the documents have passed through "many dirty hands", say they, therefore Messrs. Martov, Dan & Co. do not know what is true in them and how much is false. Messrs. Martov and Dan know only too well the handwriting of the heroes of these documents, (which appear partly in photographic reproductions in the pamphlet) and also the whole method of their workings, to doubt for a moment, their authenticity. If they hypocritically pretend that they are not convinced of the genuineness of the documents, then they are the conscious aids of Tchernov and Zenzinov. But all these tricks on the part of Martov and Dan are but a child's game in comparison with the lie which follows this statement.

The Mensheviks wish to show that Gotz, Timofeyev, and the other defendants in the S.R. trial in Moscow, cannot be

legally held responsible for the actions revealed by these documents of the Administrative Centre. We will not quarrel over this point, but we would like to ask the following question: are they politically responsible or not for the actions of their Foreign Delegation and Administrative Centre? To this, the Mensheviks answer: "we are dealing now with foreign emigrants, separated from the mass, and out of control by the Party and its central body." That is an obvious lie. Tchernov and Zenzinov are the plenipotentiaries of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionaries. They have been working the whole time, under the direction of the Central Committee of their party. The Central Committee of the party knew of their activities, knew, at least, of their open activities at the time of the Kronstadt uprising. And the S.R.Party has never disavowed them. Further, the party has received large sums of money from the Foreign Delegation. And since the Central Committee knew that the Foreign Delegation had no resources from membership contributions, and also, as appears in the report—that it received no money from the Second International, the Central Committee must certainly have asked itself this question: from what financial sources is it able to maintain its existence? The defendants Gotz, Timofeyev, Gendelmann and others were in closest touch, (from prison) with the Central Bureau, as may be learned from the documents. They assumed responsibility for the Central Bureau and for the Foreign Delegation, and therefore, for the Administrative Centre. Further, the Mensheviks lie when they assert that Gotz and his comrades—in open letters, which were sent from prison and were published in the S.R. press—protested many times against attempts at armed struggle against the Soviet power, and against any new interventions. There are no such documents from prison, with the signatures of Gotz and his comrades, and the Mensheviks cannot point to such letters.

The Mensheviks cannot show such documents. On the other hand, we are in the position to prove the complete opposite. The tenth congress of the Social Revolutionary Party took place in August, 1921. In its resolution, it declared that: "The question of the revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship of the Communist Party, should be included in the agenda." This resolution was answered from prison by the present accused leaders of the Social Revolutionary Party, Gotz, Gendelmann, Donskoy, Lichatch, Morozov, Ratner, Timofeyev. In a letter dated September 5, 1921, which is at present in the hands of the authorities, and in which they spectfully welcomed this resolution, and declared their fullest approval. We maintain that the Mensheviks are the conscious assistants of the S.R.Party, in their attempts to hush up the counter-revolutionary White Guard espionage of the S.R. leaders, Kerensky, Avksentieff, Machin, Zenzinov, Tchernov, Brushvit and Minor.

This attempt at rehabilitation is anonymous, having been printed over no signature. The Mensheviks do not dare, any more than does the Social Revolutionary Foreign Delegation, to support their statements with their signatures. They assign the role of defenders of the Entente espionage to the editorial staff of the *Freiheit*, whom we congratulate on the assumption of this new part. But their attempt to hide behind the *Freiheit* is vain. We demand from the foreign delegation of the Menshevik Party, from Dan, Martov and Abramovich, a clear and distinct answer: how do they stand, with regard to the documents which unmask the S.R.'s? We also ask this question of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks. We trust that these honorable bodies will realize that we ask, not out of curiosity, nor out of the desire for knowledge, how it is that they, the knights of truth and morality, have lent themselves to flunking to the S.R.Party and its disgraceful actions? The question is, with whom, in the Menshevik Party, has the Soviet power to deal: with a political party which stands in opposition to the Soviet power, or with the allies of the Entente spies.

We know the howls and insults with which Martov and his confrères and the woeful *Freiheit* will answer these questions. But that will not get them far. All their hysterical outbursts will not release them from the duty of telling us what their position is with regard to the fact that the Foreign Delegation of the S.R.'s, through its secret organization, the so-called Administrative Centre, asked for, and received money from Entente governments, and with this money maintained their machinery in Russia and abroad, and published papers; also how, with the help of Entente governments, they organized spying systems against Russia, set on foot uprisings and asked for the military aid of France. We confess to Dan, Abramovich and Martov that we are very bad fellows, they need not bother to prove that; all they have to do is to answer us, concisely and clearly, how they stand with regard to the above facts.

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW, 48

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 71

23rd August 1922

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
To the Workers of Britain	531	The Situation in England. By Tom Mann.	535
In the International		The Situation in Denmark. By S. Hellberg.	530
The Interior Policy of the Communist Party of Russia. By G. Zinoviev.	532	The Labor Movement in Spain. By Andrés Nin.	530
The Fight Is Still On (Resolution of the C.P.R.)	532	The Class Struggle	
The Situation in the Communist Party of Bulgaria	533	New Attacks of the Reaction in Yugoslavia. By K. Novakovicz.	537
Politics		Agriculture	
Poincaré's Madness. By E. Ludwig.	533	The Second Congress of the International Agricultural Workers' Federation. By H. Rau.	538
Labor Movement			
The International Miners' Conference Fails. By George Hardy	534		

To the Workers of Britain!

Workers of Britain!

Show your Solidarity with the Workers of America!

The bitter struggle between the coal miners and the coal barons of America has now been raging for four and a half months. Over 600,000 workers, without distinction of race or language, have been resisting for months all the assaults of the American money kings.

Armies of strike-breakers have been called into service; military units have been mobilized in fifteen states; and a multitude of provocateurs have been set in motion. But all this has failed to break the solidarity of the miners or to force them back to slaves' working conditions.

Their heroic resistance has begun to bear fruit. The coal reserves which the capitalists had piled up for the struggle have given out. American industry is beginning to gasp for breath, and the American exploiters are faced with a great defeat.

The British capitalists know very well that the defeat of the American coal barons will signify their own defeat as well, and the strengthening of British labor. They have immediately realized their class interests, and they are hurrying to the aid of the hard-pressed mine owners of America. They are loading whole fleets with coal and sending them to the United States. Every cargo of coal which enters the harbors of North America during the strike strengthens the forces of the capitalists and robs the fighting workers of the successes which they have so far gained in the struggle.

There is danger that the struggle which our proletarian brothers have been carrying on with such unexampled endurance will be defeated by the international solidarity of the capitalists!

This danger must be met by the international solidarity of the workers!

The International Congress of the coal-miners which met in Frankfurt should have brought about this solidarity. But it remained true to the spirit animating the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and it did not dare to apply the only effec-

tive means, namely, the tying-up of the coal export to America. Thus, the Amsterdammers have shown once again, as they have so often done before, that they do not want to fight the capitalist class in earnest. They have left the American strikers in the lurch.

This desertion has weakened the fighting front of the American miners. Unless the British workers step into the breach by resolute action they will be partly responsible for their defeat.

It is your turn! You must understand that every shipment of coal leaving for America is a stab in the back of the workers struggling there! You must realize that you are performing strike-breaking service, and supporting the capitalist oppressors, if you do not put a stop to the loading and shipment of coal for America!

The defeat of the American workers will react upon you. The reduction of wages in America will prompt the British coal capitalists to launch another attack upon your wage standards with the cry that they cannot compete with cheap American coal.

But if you show your solidarity now, if you meet the united front of Capital with the united front of Labor you will increase the fighting power of the American miners and help them on to victory. And you will also share the fruits of the victory with our American fellow workers.

Therefore we call upon you:

Hasten to the aid of the American strikers!

Refuse to perform strike-breaking service for the capitalists!

Load no blackleg coal for America!

Long live the solidarity of the British and American workers!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
Moscow, August 19th, 1922.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Interior Policy of the Communist Party of Russia.

By G. Zinoviev.

Extract from Zinoviev's speech at the All-Russian Convention of the C.P.R.

Be assured we shall never renounce repression. The reactionary cooperator who thinks that in cooperation he has a weapon to restore the old regime, will be hit severely. But the cooperatives are a formidable machine of our social life which we ought to be able to conquer by an effort at penetration, which may last for years.

The trade unions have always been nearer to us. We have spent ten years in winning them. It was only at the beginning of the October Revolution that we began to be the majority. But it is the social composition of the cooperatives that keeps us away from them. Our party has done little work in them, and now is the time for us to concentrate all our forces; and those militants among us who wish to recourse to repressive measures are ill advised.

We have in Petrograd universities which discuss the democratic qualities of the League of Nations and the mistakes of the Russo-German treaty. Yes, comrades, these things are told and listened to by audiences of thousands of students. And this "academic" propaganda goes hand in hand with a great counter-revolutionary agitation. Manifestos, which say that Russia "has been deceived" in the Rapallo treaty are being circulated, in the streets and shops.

The university chairs are striving to become the seats of politics. We must realize this, and counter their designs, not only by repressive means, which we shall never renounce, but above all by other means; we must find men in our ranks who are capable of conquering the universities.

In 1920—21 this would have been ridiculous. Those among our comrades who were adapted for university teaching, we sent to the front. Our Communist savants met their death fighting. But in 1922 it is otherwise. In 1922 we must conquer the dominating positions in the university.

In Moscow, in Ekaterinoburg, the cooperators founded institutions which carried on a systematic counter-revolutionary propaganda. We have closed this sort of schools and will continue to do so. But it is more important for us to capture the cooperative schools that will train cooperative organizers for our immense peasant country. And here again repression is not everything.

The strength of our Party lies in the fact that when it has had to solve a problem by force it has not hesitated to use the rifle and to defend itself; it has not hesitated to crush the resistance of its enemies by pitiless measures. The strength of our Party lies in having dared to use power with a strong hand. Power is only an arm; a tool of the working class in the transformation of our vast country, a sixth of the total area of the globe, and in the establishment of a new society. I have spoken of the thirst for knowledge which one meets everywhere, in every town, in every Russian hamlet. This is a new and formidable factor. In 1917—18 this was either non-existent or kept down by other more important factors. But to-day we see it, and we owe to the revolutionary party that does not know how to reply. Look at our young workers, our young peasants, our tens of thousands of youths, who form the ranks of the proletarian army. These young intellectuals, half peasant, half proletarian, have an irresistible need of knowing and understanding. And the professors, born of the old regime offer them a poisoned cup. In all our great cities, in nearly all our universities, professors of bourgeois origin are attempting consciously to poison the minds of the sons of our revolutionary working masses. What then is our task? Our task is to proceed with the work of educating the rising generation. To some of the comrades this will perhaps appear an excessive demand. "We have", you will say to me, "perhaps a man or two in every district; but we cannot find a president for the District Soviets. Our militants are too young; we lack men". I realize that the general standard of education among our comrades is still too low. Our Party, in the condition in which it emerged from civil war, appears perhaps at first glance too feeble to fulfill this task. But we have accomplished even greater tasks. And we shall come out victorious in this one too.

For some years we cannot hope for any great success. But if we succeed in applying the principles of the October

Revolution, in making them real and living, our political adversaries, the Mensheviks and S.R.'s who are aping as faithful servants of the revolution, will be quickly unmasked.

When the workers see that their standard of life is being improved (and that will not be long delayed), and that we have succeeded in organizing the state well, it will be a question of liquidating the parties that are hostile to us, in so much organized force. We are in good trim and have good prospects. The years experience allow me to state that the hopes of our adversaries have not met with any success. They hoped to see interior conflicts in our Party, as a result of our new economic policy. It is they who have been disorganized. And if we remain in good trim, the organized enemy forces of the Soviets in Russia will disappear of their own accord. But this process, of the highest importance, can only evolve parallel with the solution of economic problems.

The Fight Is Still On!

(Resolution adopted by the C.P.R. Convention on the 9th of August.)

The resolution reports, after a year of the new economic policy, the differences existing in the ranks of the enemies of the Soviet Republic: "The Cadet Party has divided into a right and a left, and has formed two centres abroad. The tendency of the *Smena Vekh* is manifested in certain bourgeois circles; the Church is divided and the divisions have had incalculable consequences; the Mensheviks are divided into groups and sub-groups; the left S.R.'s have split into two groups and an extreme right has been formed by Kerenski, Minor, Bounakov; among the Mensheviks, the *Zaria* group has been formed abroad, a non-partisan Social Democratic group has been formed in Russia and a left formation can be observed. The student circles in Russia and in emigration are divided; even the old white generals cannot agree among themselves. These are a few of the symptoms of the weakening of our enemies."

But on the other hand a year of the new economic policy has revealed to us new dangers. The anti-Soviet parties are taking advantage of their legality and are attempting to penetrate into the Soviets, in the hope of transforming them little by little into democratic bourgeois institutions. These parties draw their recruits not only from the old intellectual and bourgeois circles, but also from the new bourgeoisie.

The first year of the new economic policy coinciding with the famine, the strengthening of the world reaction, and the demands for capitalist restoration presented to Russia at the Hague and at Genoa by the Entente, encouraged the work of the counter-revolutionaries. In 1921, the intrigues of the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee (Formed of notables from the old regime) were the commencement of the counter-revolutionary campaign by the so-called non-partisan intellectual circles. At the Pan-Russian Medical Conference, at the agricultural and rural cooperative conferences, the same elements manifested their counter-revolutionary spirit.

At the introduction of the new economic policy, the Mensheviks and S.R.'s hoped for an evolution from Communism to bourgeois democracy and for a coalition policy. They were disappointed. Furthermore, the leaders of these parties display an unexampled stubbornness, and criticize the policy of the Communist Party from the point of view of the October Revolution, representing themselves as the sole defenders of the demands formulated by the working masses at the outbreak of the revolution. But the years of revolution have given the mass of workers too realistic an education for them to have any success by these methods. We can only find here a justified tribute to the power of our slogans. In proportion as the principles of the October Revolution are practically realized, the workers see more and more the treason of the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s.

But these parties try to take every advantage of all possibilities offered them by legality. The congresses of any kind of organization gives them the opportunity to act.

The anti-Soviet parties are exploiting the cooperatives, to whose resurrection and economic strengthening, the C.P. should pay the greatest attention. But the C.P. is bound to admit that the cooperatives may become one of the bases of counter-revolution. At the All-Russian conference of rural cooperatives, two tendencies disputed for the majority, the constitutional monarchists and the S.R.'s. Recently an analogous situation revealed itself in the Artisans' Cooperative.

The anti-Soviet elements are attempting to use the higher educational institutions as tribunes for counter-revolutionary propaganda.

They are attempting to penetrate into the Soviets and the executive committees of the rural Soviets.

The tendency of the *Smena Vekh*, positive inasmuch as it consists of intellectuals accepting the revolution, embraces bourgeois restoration elements who think that political concessions will follow the economic concessions, and that we will thus return to bourgeois democracy.

The preceding assigns to the Russian Communist Party the following tasks:

The workers and peasants must be reminded that the revolution is still in danger; that international and the anti-Soviets elements in Russia are holding themselves ready, and that these elements wish to overthrow the Soviet Power.

The Party must devote its attention to those institutions where the counter-revolutionary forces have been most active in the course of the last few months: cooperative institutions, the trade unions (principally those whose composition is not purely proletarian) education, the youth education movement, libraries, etc.

The Party must encourage the differentiation in the anti-Soviet ranks, and facilitate the evolution of those who desire to participate in the economic rebirth of Workers' and Peasants' Russia. As for those non-party elements who are a feature of the social transformation, they should be systematically supported. The Party should improve and intensify its educational work. It must oppose bourgeois influence by an intensified propaganda, especially in the country. It must develop its scientific work of the Communist concepts (Socialist Academy, Communist Universities, conquest of University chairs etc.), it must give due attention to journalism.

On the other hand the Soviet Power must not renounce its repressive measures with regard to the Mensheviks, the S.R.'s and the "non-partisan" bourgeois democracy.

The Situation in the Communist Party of Bulgarian.

We take the following from a report of the Secretary of the Bulgarian Party, Comrade T. Lechanoff, delivered before the 4th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

On May 20th, 1922, the Communist Party of Bulgaria included 1534 local organizations with a membership of 38,036, as against 1512 local organizations with 34,898 members at the end of 1921. This represents an increase of 104 local organizations with 2849 members, between the 1st of January and the 20th of May 1922.

The Party controls the following organizations:

1—The General Trade Union Federation, comprising 19 trade unions with 497 local groups and 29,139 members. These are divided as follows; 3900 transport workers; 3197 tobacco workers; 2390 miners; 2583 metal workers; 1912 leather workers; 2038 helpers; 1846 textile workers; 1505 tailors; 1407 lumber workers; 1456 office employees; 620 engravers; 829 construction workers; 1027 restaurant workers; 836 agricultural workers; 178 theatrical workers; 429 hospital workers; 248 barbers; 1862 state and communal employees; and 2206 teachers.

2—The Central Women's Committee with 72 local groups and 4200 members, including 1552 working women, 2226 house-keepers and 293 women without exact occupation. Their organ *Ravensvo* (Equality) has 8155 subscribers.

3—The Central Foreigners' Committee, with 18 sections and 1310 members.

4—The League of the Bulgarian Communist Youth, which comprised at the end of 1921, 362 groups with 13,216 members. They are divided into 78 city groups, with 6831 members and 224 rural groups with 6355 members. Their organ, *Mladec* (The Young People) appears in an edition of 14,000 numbers.

5—The Communist League of War Invalids and the League of former War Prisoners, which united at the beginning of the year into the Union of War Victims. At the end of 1921 this union had a membership of 4261 members, divided into 105 local organizations. Their organ *The War Victim* has a circulation of 4,300 numbers.

6—The Group of Communist Engineers with 52 members.

7—The Cooperative Society "Osvobodzenie" (Liberation) which, on the 31st of March 1922, had a membership of 57,000. At the end of 1921 their consumers' division controlled 37 branches and 85 agencies. The publishing division prints all the newspapers, magazines and other publications of the Party. They have over 300 organs, possess headquarters, with

a modern printing press equipped with the largest rotary machines in the country. Their construction department disposes of a modern sawing mill and a well equipped carpenter's shop. They are now working on the construction of a new, five-story People's House. The cooperative has close connections with the Russian and American labor movement.

The Party has a representation of 43 members in Parliament. The election of 9 more Communist deputies was declared void by the government so that its majority would not be endangered.

In the local elections of October 2nd, 1921, and of February 19th, 1922, the C.P.B., received 126,464 votes. The party now controls 113 communes and 9 city executives. In a great many other communities it has won a greater or lesser number of offices. Altogether, it has elected 3,623 communal, and 115 provincial councillors.

The C.P.B. had to fight in all cases against a coalition of the other parties. All its campaigns have been successful. We need only mention the protest campaign against the burning of the People's House, May 24th, 1921, its campaign for the relief of Russian famine, and not least, and its campaign against the Wrangelists in Bulgaria. The propaganda is conducted by the Central Committee which has named a special committee for that purpose.

The Party publishes the following newspapers: *Rabotnichetski Vestnik* (Labor Herald), the central organ of the C.P.B. and the General Trade Union Federation with a daily circulation of 25,000; the *Selski Vestnik* (Rural Herald), a weekly with a circulation of 25,000; the magazine *Novo Vremia* (New Times) the scientific bi-weekly of the Party, circulation 5800; the *Tcherven Smech* (Red Laugh) a humoristic weekly, circulation 4,000; the *Ravensvo* (Equality), weekly organ of the Communist women, circulation 10,000; the *Mladec* (Young People), a weekly published by the Communist Youth and having a circulation of 14,000; the *Osvobodzenie* (Liberation) organ of the foreign Communists, which will be published in the near future in 3200 numbers; the *War Victim*, organ of the former soldiers, a bi-weekly with a circulation of 4000; the *Zia* (Light) published in Turkish for the Bulgarian Turks, 1800 numbers; the *Novo Svet* (New World), organ of the American Communists in Bulgaria, edited in 1000 numbers; the *Bratstvo* (Brotherhood) a magazine for propaganda among Bulgarian Jews; and, finally, the *Narodna Armia* (People's Army) a weekly for propaganda in the Army.

Outside of this, the C.P.B. published the Bulgarian number of the *Communist International*; during the year 1921 it also printed 61 books and many pamphlets.

POLITICS

Poincaré's Madness

By E. Ludwig (Berlin).

In every-day business, the creditor takes security, in order to get his money. In the business of world politics, Poincaré asks security in order to get rid of his money. "Therefore the man must be crazy", cry the German petty bourgeois, from all sides, with the Social Democrats and social pacifists of the Social Democratic Party and the Independents (soon to be happily united) at their head. And actually, in the German provincial press, Mr. Poincaré's complaint is quite seriously diagnosed as insanity. It is always the insanity of another and successful imperialism, which the vanquished perceive.

That there is a clear and definite method in this madness, is shown in an article, in the noon edition of the *Rheinische Westphalische Zeitung* of August 9th, entitled "Poincaré's Ruhr Policy". This organ of Rhein heavy industrialists knows just how the thing is done. It has long expressed the interests of its taskmasters, the builders of trusts in the heavy industries of Lorraine and France. And, as Poincaré acts in the interest of French capital, exactly as the German Government acts in the interests of "national" industry, so the *Rheinische Zeitung* publishes Poincaré's restoration project with a full understanding, and with some envy that they cannot copy it. The authority is ostensibly a former French colonial official, Francois Delaisi. He writes, for the *Rheinische Westphalische Zeitung*, in the weekly article, the "Rheinland Observer", as follows:

"The Versailles representatives believed that they had made sufficient provision for the French metal industry, when they allotted it the revenue of the Saar valley for fifteen years. This was a fatal mistake; however, as the Saar produces no good

furnace coke. Even when they were still under German control, the Lorraine furnaces obtained their fuel from the Ruhr district, as did also our foundries of the North and East. For this reason, the important French metal and coal industries are dependent upon the Ruhr district. Hence, the *Comité des Forges* desired the complete occupation of the Rhine and Ruhr valleys."

French industry wishes to appease Lorraine's strong affection for the Westphalian coke through the occupation of the Ruhr. Poincaré, as president, is to be the medium. Delaisi continues:

"It is clear that, if a customs barrier be erected for the whole length of the Rhine, the market on the left bank will be a splendid dumping-place for superfluous Alsatian products. It is impossible, however, so long as the Rhineland is officially a part of Germany. Therefore, we seek to make it, if not a French province, then at least a buffer state which must enter into a customs agreement with France."

The customs agreement is the principal feature of Poincaré's London programme. Behind the cloak of customs, which shall bind the Ruhr district to France, stand the powerful Rhine-Lorraine trusts, with all their imperialistic methods, who decided, after the "peace", to continue operating under French authority. The imperialistic aim is the economic and armed domination of France over Europe.

"If France only had at its disposal the Ruhr coal and the Lorraine iron, she could control the fuel for Rhinish Germany, and also in Silesia,—not merely the steel works, but also the Saxon textile mills and the Bavarian chemical industry, besides adding to its tributaries, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Russia. It would become a formidable rival, in the whole world, of Birmingham, Manchester and London."

Thus is the circle closed. The moratorium and reconstruction proposals of Poincaré are directed against Germany, which is incapable of paying, and against the imperialistic rival, England. It is true that France is now in the grip of her shattered finances, under the lash of her menacing debts to the United States and England. But she seeks, through her army and her air fleet, to attain the dominant power over Europe, to evade her troubles through an imperialistic advance which will, if it be successful, place her equal to, or above, England, and thus solve the French financial problem imperialistically.

It is clear that this French program must sharply increase Franco-British rivalry. Hence, the bitter struggle of Lloyd George and Poincaré in London, which bids fair to founder the whole Entente. Hence, also, Lloyd George's "friendship" and "humanitarianism" which seeks to save Germany from the claws of Poincaré, so that it does not become the spring-board for the launching of a French hegemony which would be disastrous to England's imperialism.

Poincaré's madness is the sober reason of French imperialism. He is so reasonable that, while Wirth and the Social-Democrats are resigning themselves to the mercy of God and Lloyd George, the great German capitalists are already reckoning upon possible negotiations with their French "enemy" brethren.

Since the publication of Poincaré's proposals, German *Montan* stocks have experienced a stormy rise.

If this whole scheme of the financial control of Germany is fulfilled, French imperialism can well renounce German money payments, as everything will then belong to it. But there will be no more reconstruction than previously. The profit will be made by the French capitalists who are dismembering Germany. The masses of Germany and of France, have all the trouble for nothing. They must stand all the suffering which comes from the capitalistic politics of Wirth and the imperialistic robber politics of France and England.

It is not Poincaré (who is merely carrying out the policies of his capitalist masters) who is criminally insane, but the social-chauvinists of the Second, and the social pacifists of the 2½ Internationals, who appeal from the ultra-imperialist Poincaré to the temporarily mild imperialist Lloyd George.

It is a crime against the proletariat when the *Vorwärts* begs for fair weather for its coalition government, and willingly offers the Entente securities—*cut from the flesh of the working people*—for a moratorium, to induce imperialism, the deadly enemy of the international proletariat, to extend leniency.

It is not Lloyd George, the man who is now defending imperialistic England's interests against Poincaré, who can save Germany from collapse; it is only the German working class that can do this, by putting an end to the capitalist machinations of the Wirth coalition government. Lloyd George cannot cure the insanity of Poincaré. Only the French proletariat can restrain this enemy in his own land.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The International Miners' Congress Fails.

By George Hardy.

No Action for American Miners.

The International Miners' Congress, which met at Frankfurt, Germany, on August 7th, is at an end. Nothing progressive was accomplished; it was the negation of all class-action, and merely revealed the meek and mild, class collaborative policy of the Amsterdam and the Second Internationals.

There were approximately 2,000,000 miners represented, three-quarters of whom were members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the United Mine Workers of America. These two organizations, having a majority, should have brought forth some form of international action in aid of the struggling miners of the United States. Instead we find the colossal betrayal of internationalism in the report of the Standing Orders Committee, that they had resolved to refrain from any form of direct action to relieve the U.S. Miners, by preventing shipments of coal to America. Instead, they shelter behind the paltry donation of £10,000 which will not keep up 2500 families one week. They evidently are bent upon repeating the defeat of the British Miners' Strike in 1921, when thousands of tons of coal were shipped and carried into Britain by the Transport Workers. There are now 64 ships in the River Tyne, awaiting cargoes of coal, which will assist the enemy in defeating the American miners.

Hodges Knows, But . . .

We can conscientiously say that the Miners' International Secretary, Frank Hodges, is quite aware of what he is doing, hence our accusation, for he admitted upon the floor of the Congress, that if the American miners did not succeed in maintaining their conditions, it would be increasingly difficult for the miners of other countries to hold their own against the coal barons. In other words, he admits that the Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions is right in calling upon the international working class to assist the miners of the United States, by all means at their command. However, like all the "safe and sane" labor leaders, he decided to aid the Steel Trust and the Standard Oil Company rather than speak for what he knows to be necessary to win. The American Miners' voices will be heard from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in protest against the pious congratulatory resolution. Only action can help them!

Truce or Class War,—Which?

Apparently Hodges is attempting to introduce his "ten years industrial truce measure" into the international movement,—a truce which Bob Smillie correctly characterized as a "truce of death". Aping the bourgeoisie, they desire peace and make fake proposals, while the class-struggle manifests itself more and more keenly. Witness the death list of miners in America. *There can be no peace until the ruling class is dispossessed of its power!*

That Amsterdam desires no breach with capitalism is evident, for the Congress, while voting a resolution for an international general strike in case of war, refused the French motion by a vote of 86 to 16, to make the resolution effective against the attacks of capitalism and for the improvement of general working conditions.

What We May Expect.

We remind the portly "labor leaders" of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, that previous to 1914, they passed anti-military and anti-war resolutions and then accepted portfolios in the capitalist ministries, betraying labor into the clutches of capitalism. And now they preach industrial peace, while the bosses are making war on every labor union. You attempt to enslave labor with your bureaucratic scheme of compulsory conciliation, arbitration boards etc. The adherents of the Red International will have none of it.

Russian Miners Rejected.

The All-Russian Miners' Federation applied for admission to the International of Miners, but was reminded of its affiliation with the Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions. They were told they must accept the statutes and program of the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions. These dividers of labor, say in effect: "You must abandon your class-position and revolutionary program," to which the miners must reply: Never! We reject your "Social Democracy"!

If the Amsterdam gentlemen think the Russian miners will accept their program, they are sadly mistaken. These battle-

scarred miners from the Don and the Urals are not going to surrender upon the altar of reformism, after fighting against Denikin and Wrangel for 3 years. They will accept cooperation, as an inclusive part of the Miners' International, for the purpose of solidarity of action, for a united front against capitalism, which the Frankfurt Congress evaded by a resolution to have a committee bring some recommendations for joint action next year.

Amsterdam Splits the Labor Movement.

Hodges attacked the R.I.L.U. in the British Miners' Congress and blamed them for the split in the French C.G.T. The miners of the Red International Labor Union in Britain replied: "Amsterdam is the cause of the split, for it has expelled those who were aiming at unity". But like the Russians, the French will not allow themselves to be used as pawns in the political juggling for the League of Nations.

It is clear to everyone as to who the splitters are. The Russian miners want unity; Amsterdam rejected their proposals. Just as the International Transport Workers Federation, a subordinate body of Amsterdam, threw out the French railwaymen and the Dutch transport-workers; just as your reformist brothers defeat the united front, by expelling the largest unions in Czecho-Slovakia; just as the Italian Amsterdamers refuse to allow the R.I.L.U. adherents proportionate representation in the central council of the *Alleanza del Lavoro* (Labor Federation), so has this international congress sown discord in the miners' ranks by rejecting the Russian miners, except upon terms of surrender to international imperialism.

We remind Hodges of the 118,000 votes for the R.I.L.U. at the last miners' congress in Britain; this is far short of our real strength, owing to the votes being cast as units from each district.

Retreat or Advance?

How much "progress" this reformist International has made, can be measured by the fact that they accept the Amsterdam decisions upon reparations and the Versailles Treaty. These recent decisions call for modification only. This is an admission that they are favoring one set of capitalists against another, instead of making war upon them jointly. They tell the German delegates how sorry they are for their condition; knowing that the German miners, and workers generally are being bled white, they decide to beg the capitalist class to modify its blood-sucking policy a little.

The Red International of Labor Unions invites you to action. Make good your resolution to "strike in case of war", *right now*. Your governments have never ceased war since 1914. Their armies march daily to some battle front. To the British delegates it is common knowledge that war is on in India and Ireland; it is known to the French that economic war is carried on in occupied areas and in Alsace Lorraine; the Belgians know the army of occupation has been used against the German workers during strikes; the American representatives know of the list of dead in West Virginia, etc. etc. This is the war that never ceases,—*the class-war*. They also know of the hundreds of class-conscious workers rotting in the prisons of America for the last five years, for their fight on behalf of labor; and every delegate there was acquainted with the smashing blows delivered at their own unions. *Is this not enough war to warrant your decision for immediate action?* It should be!

The Situation in England.

By Tom Mann (London).

"When things get to the worst they mend", says the proverb. It is difficult to think that industrial depression can get much lower than it is now. If that is so, the economic pressure should soon be relaxing. Notwithstanding the reduction in wages in the Engineering Trades, there is very little in the way of industrial revival, general engineering giving scarcely any encouraging sign of development. Textile machinery is in demand largely for India, but marine engineering is distinctly dull.

On the top of substantial reductions in wages, comes a considerable increase in prices of ordinary family requirements, and employers in the engineering trades are again attacking the workers' position by insisting upon the introduction of a system of "payment by results"; in some quarters attempts are being made to break down the recognized working-week.

In the printing trades the strike is still on in the provinces, resisting a reduction in wages; the men are making a splendid fight, but having no relationship with the organized men in the

printing industry in London, there is no solidarity, and consequently the struggle is a sectional one on the workers' side.

The miners have had such serious reductions in their wages that in some districts it is impossible to maintain the families. Discontent is growing. But apart from general action by other trades, the miners have no resources to fall back upon, to enable them to put up a fight. If the trade unionists were properly organized in *industrial unions*, and prepared to exhibit solidarity in each industry, not only could the downward tendency be effectively checked, but a considerable stimulus could be given to put labor force into action, to supply the urgent requirements of the people.

If anything is wanted to show the utter ineptitude of the capitalist controllers of industry, we have it exhibited in this country in the building industry. To meet the reasonable requirements of the people, fully a million additional houses are needed; yet men in the building trades have been thrown out of employment in increasing numbers for two years past, and one hundred thousand builders are now unemployed, and neither private enterprise nor plutocratic government is able to remedy the situation.

In a few weeks will be held the Annual Trade Union Congress, and if the right spirit prevails, a way out of the present morass would be found.

I should like to believe that the coming Congress will far exceed all previous ones, in breadth of outlook, in definite objective, and in courageous determination. I prefer to take a kindly view of what may at least be attempted, and certainly I would not discourage by prophesying that nothing will be done.

I sincerely hope that something of real value will be done, that there will be less evidence of minds being constructed in water tight compartments, and a greater readiness to face broad issues, and a resolute determination to travel as rapidly as possible in the direction of abolishing the wage system.

Our international friends must not despair of the British movement, no matter what may happen at the coming Congress. The men and women who thoroughly appreciate the Red International are steadily and surely on the increase.

Each nation has its peculiar characteristics and some are less hide-bound than others. The industrial experiences of this country have been largely responsible for deciding our outlook; but it is indeed difficult to account for the relatively high standard of many thousands of our British Workers in many subjects, coupled with a lamentable dearth of ideas on social economic subjects. Yet it can be said with certainty that the innumerable demonstrations of class solidarity manifested in all parts of the country by the unemployed, in connection with the many disputes during the last twelve months, is genuinely indicative of a very real advance in class consciousness. The unemployed, organized as such, in addition to being members of the Trade Unions, have not only scorned the idea of blacklegging (scabbing) upon men who have been locked out or on strike, have in hundreds of instances rendered splendid assistance to the men in dispute, helping them in picket work, in holding meetings and enlightening public opinion respecting the dispute, and particularly in giving a militant stimulus to the movement, thus promoting working class solidarity, national and international.

Now that the miners and railwaymen in the United States are in the thick of a great industrial struggle, and the United States Government and the capitalists are aiming at the defeat of the workers by importing coal from other countries, especially from Britain, how magnificent it would be to help the miners and railway men of America by the workers of all countries showing genuine solidarity, and refusing to help the capitalists by refusing to supply coal!

Every worker affiliated with the Red International is pledged at all times to help all other workers in the most effective fashion, to help our brothers in any fight with the capitalist class, and to advance the class-struggle in the workers' interests.

The fight so far of the miners and railroad men of America has been conducted very creditably, and the U.S. Government and mine barons find they have a far tougher proposition than they had counted upon. And here I wish to congratulate our comrades of the Trade Union Educational League, for the splendid work they are doing, and for the success they are meeting with. At least one can see there is real hope for the labor movement of America, that hitherto has been the despair of our class.

Comrades of all lands, be of good cheer. Every day brings us nearer to the triumph of the world proletariat over the vicious capitalist system. Let every one of us strive manfully to do his

full share, young, middle aged, or elderly; let us rejoice at having the privilege of speaking our word, of sharing in the fight for the overthrow of an effete system that inflicts untold misery upon millions of fellow humans. Young men, on to the front! See that it is a *United Front!* Cheerfully declare that you stand unmistakably for the Red International of Labor Unions.

Sincere greetings to our comrades in Germany, in France, and Italy, in Scandinavia and all other countries, and hearty congratulations to our Comrades of Russia! We know they will keep the flag flying while we are getting our armies into time for a universal brotherhood the world over.

The Situation in Denmark

By Sigvald Hellborg (Copenhagen).

The period which has elapsed since the end of the great working class battle of last Spring, has shown plainly that we Communists were right when claimed that there would be a reduction in wages, without a corresponding reduction in prices, and that reduced wages would bring no more employment than previously. We were right: prices are still the same, and, for certain commodities, such as meat, sugar, etc. they have noticeably risen; rents have also taken a definite upward turn.

The general reduction in wages of the working class has been accompanied by no fall in prices. In the case of unemployment, it is true that the official count of the unemployed has fallen from 90,000 to about 45,000. But firstly, unemployment is always greatest in winter; secondly, the unusual unemployment of January, February and May, was partly willfully caused by the employers, in order to wear out the workers; thirdly, unemployment last Summer, was just as great as it is now; and, fourthly, many workers have left their organizations (hence leaving their unemployment benefits) and are, therefore, not included in the registration of the unemployed.

The real fall in wages is much greater than the official figures, as owing to the great unemployment, many individual reductions have been taking place from week to week. The last four months also show a very evident deterioration in the economic position of the workers. What was previously saved out of wages, has since flowed into the pockets of the employers.

As a result of the strong discontent of the workers with their trade unions, there is at present an attempt to reorganize them from within. There are, however, good grounds for fearing that this reorganization will be quite meaningless. Before it becomes possible to inaugurate a thorough reorganization, there must be conscious and energetic work done within the unions.

The government made a new attack upon the workers, about the middle of July, when it withdrew state unemployment aid from about 17,000 workless. Whereupon the Social Democrats initiated a parliamentary action as well as a demonstration of the Copenhagen workers. The Communist Party naturally joined in the demonstration, although it did not expect much from the Social Democratic parliamentary efforts, as the Social Democratic trade union leaders were "loyal" to the government. Then, later, through a new act, about 5000 more unemployed workers were deprived of their state support. This brutal enactment of the middle of July was probably part of the attempt of the government to carry out its military compromise with the conservatives.

This military compromise nearly cost the government its life. It was accepted in the Folketinget (upper house) by only 73 votes against 70. The Social Democrats, the Radical Party, the Industrial Party (a party of petty traders and hand-craftsmen) and one Conservative member voted against it; the German member and five Conservatives refrained from voting. Thus the compromise was carried by less than half the members. Oddly enough, the compromise was opposed by an alliance, the composition of which ranged from Social Democrats to extreme Conservatives. Otherwise it is a speciality of the Social Democratic press to refer to alliances between the Communists and Conservatives!

The new military law does not imply a reduction of the Danish military machine but merely a modification, inasmuch as it replaces the 1909 plan of concentrating the military at Zealand, as a support to the Copenhagen coast fortification, with an equal distribution of forces over the whole country. (The Copenhagen forts have been abandoned.) In the debates, the opposition stated that this military plan was designed against Germany. It is my belief that no Danish government would wish to enter into a war with Germany or any other country; it is another question, of course, whether they might not find themselves forced into war by international pressure, such as that of the League of Nations. Such a question presents itself to every bourgeois government,

and is bound up with the capitalist system. Probably the knowledge of the insignificance of any military measures in Denmark would induce any Danish government to oppose as much as possible participation in any war. It is well known, on the contrary, that the Danish army has the sole task of maintaining "order".

The courts are also placing themselves ever more fully at the disposal of reaction. A few days ago, the leaders of the cab-drivers' union in Alsberg have been condemned to from three to four months' imprisonment. During the big struggle last Spring, several small employers, in the above-mentioned city, offered themselves as strike-breakers. They were forced to cease scabbing, through the publication of their names by the trade union committee. They had to pay to the organizations a few hundred crowns which were applied to the support of the striking workers. And now the trade union committee is sentenced to from three to four months in prison for blackmailing!

The charge against the Communists, Ernst Christiansen and Thogersen, are not yet "ripe". These defendants have committed no breach of the law, but agitated for a general strike, for which reason the police are seeking to fabricate grounds for their conviction.

In the meanwhile, the crisis in capitalist "reconstruction" is continuing. One company after the other, formed during the period of prosperity, is dissolving; and a series of bankruptcies shows that there is something rotten in the financial circles of Denmark. More and more the money flows back into the coffers in which it lay before the war,—but now, in greater volume.

But industrial capital is still lamenting. The peasant government, for two years and a half, had refused to come to an arrangement. But, in order to carry the military bill, the government was compelled to promise the Conservative representatives of industrial capital that, after all, something would be done for the "threatened industries".

The result now appears. It is almost unanimously accepted by all parties. It is a scrupulous regulation of tobacco and shoe imports, according to the rule that, for the importation of a specified quantity of these goods, a similar quantity of home products must be purchased. However, there is here no mention of price control,—the only method to prevent the advantages of this arrangement accruing to the capitalists.

The Labor Movement in Spain.

By Andrés Nin.

The latest news prove the correctness of our summary criticism of the movement before the Conference of the National Labor Federation in Saragossa. A reading of the minutes of the Conference, will convince any one that the delegates of the Anarchist Party (we say Party, because the Anarchists acted in conscious cooperation) had formulated their plans long in advance to bring about the secession from the Red International of Labor Unions—that is an actual coup d'Etat. The results could then have easily been foreseen.

The debates took place in an excited, passionate, but nevertheless correct atmosphere. The insults directed against the Moscow delegates during the last month found no echo at the Conference. The most important speeches are those of Pestana and Orlandis. The former gave a report on the activity of the delegation to the Second World Congress of the Communist International. He could not have performed that duty any earlier because, as is well-known, he was arrested immediately upon his return from Russia, and had obtained his freedom only a few weeks ago. Pestana remarked that he had signed a compromise at Moscow only against his will and because he believed that he was bound to do so by the decision of the Second National Congress.

Comrade Orlandis, in a lengthy speech, showed that the Spanish delegation to the Charter Congress of the R.I.L.U. had acted in accordance with the orders it had received. He demanded that the final decision be left to the National Congress.

Segni, one of the foremost anarchist leaders, for a long time general secretary of the Catalonian Federation, and whose reformistic tendencies came to light in the past few months, defended the secession from the Moscow International, "from whom we are separated for ideological as well as tactical reasons". But justice demands that we establish here that neither Pestana nor Segni, if they did criticize the leaders of the Communist Party of Russia, fell into the error of condemning the Russian Revolution, and insulting it, as did Borghi, at the Rome Congress.

Other delegates took part in the discussion, and it was finally decided to appoint a committee to draw up a resolution. Three days were spent on the discussion of the R.I.L.U. question. The resolution which was finally adopted, decided that the adhesion of the National Labor Federation to the Third International was less a matter of agreement with the principles of the Russian Revolution than an expression of sympathy and solidarity with it, and that therefore, the Conference must decide in principle the secession of the N.L.F. from the R.I.L.U. But since a conference could not change the decisions of a National Congress, the Conference would recommend to all labor unions affiliated to the N.L.F., a decided withdrawal from the R.I.L.U. and the Third International, and the support of all attempts to create a Red Trade Union International, independent of all parties. These questions should be put to the members within a month.

The desire of the Anarchists for a brutal break with the International, a question which vitally interests the Spanish proletariat, may easily be recognized in the wording of the resolution.

The offensive of the capitalists against wages and the eight hour day has begun in Spain. To meet this offensive the Saragossa Conference decided to leave to the individual organizations full liberty to prepare the counter-offensive. The respect for abstract principles and the painstaking care to preserve the purity of federalistic principles would have menaced again the interests of the working-class, if the proletariat had not reacted against them in large mass movements.

In Biscaya, in Asturia, the united mine and metal workers are conducting an heroic fight against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to force them to submission, and their reformistic leaders are forced against their will in this mighty proletarian current. The Communist Party which, at the meeting of the Enlarged Executive in February 1922, had decided against the application of the united front, has recognized that discipline is the fundamental necessity of any fighting International, and has finally submitted. Its Central Committee sent to the various Central Executives of the General Labor Union (Amsterdam affiliation), to the General Workers' Federation, to the Socialist Party, to the Anarchist groups, as well as to the independent trade union organizations the following program, in which the basis for the formation of a united front is laid:

1. To fight against all attempts of the capitalists to lower wages;
2. To fight against the prolongation of working hours;
3. To fight for the removal of Martinez Anido, (governor of Barcelona) of Arlegui, chief of police of Barcelona, and Zugual, the governor of Bilbao;
4. To fight for the amnesty of all persons condemned for political or social crimes;
5. To abolish the death penalty;
6. To stop the war in Morocco;
7. To fight against unemployment and to demand the introduction of state unemployment benefit.

The stand of the Party is much clearer than that of the N.L.F. and we are convinced that it corresponds to the desires of the great majority of the workers who have united to oppose the capitalist offensive with this program.

It is apparent that after the three tragic years which the Spanish proletariat has suffered under the worst white terror, and during which time it committed so many mistakes, a revision of the methods and tactics of the N.L.F. is a necessity. Nevertheless, nothing has happened in this direction. In Saragossa, the delegates have been satisfied to declare that the N.L.F. would remain true to the principles of anarchistic Communism. This constitutes no great danger to capitalism, and the bourgeoisie can rejoice.

Resolutions were also passed which promised support to those comrades who are being persecuted by bourgeois justice. The position of these comrades demands the serious attention of the international proletariat. Constitutional guaranters have been restored, and a great number of our militants were released. Nevertheless, there are still several hundred comrades indicted for crimes which they have never committed, from whom they are trying to draw confessions under the most horrible tortures. On the 3rd of this month, Comrades Carbo, Boiren, Parra, and Esteve will appear before the court in Valencia to answer for the murder of the former governor of Barcelona, Maestre Laborde. The most unheard-of penalties are demanded for the accused. But we can reassure everyone that all defendants are totally innocent.

Further, fifty comrades accused of direct or indirect participation in the murder of Dictator Dato will appear before the Ma-

drid Court. The death penalty hangs over the heads of some of these comrades. The penalties demanded for the others will amount to several hundred years of prison. And in Barcelona the white bands continue their crimes under the protection of governor Martinez Anido and the chief of Police, Arlegui.

The international proletariat must be on its guard against the new attacks of the bourgeoisie in Spain. Many murders may be prevented, if the workers of other countries manifest their solidarity with their Spanish brothers and help the N.L.F., the only organization which, in spite of its errors, has been conducting an heroic, determined fight against the capitalist class.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

New Attacks of the Reaction in Jugoslavia

By K. Novakovic.

The lackeys of the political bandits, of the court, and of the military clique, the present rulers of Jugoslavia, pursue their policy of force against the workers, pile up new penalties, fill the prisons with new victims and continue to persecute the proletarian militants. This oppression of the working class, this terrorization by a handful of capitalistic bandits in police or other governmental uniform, the continuous barking of a mercenary press,—all this became in Jugoslavia the accepted form of government, which is seeking to extend its power over all "undesirable elements" in the state, over all opposition parties who dare to doubt the infallibility of the present government or to think of a change. This reaction was cynical enough to legalize the most apparent infringements upon the Constitution, and now it also attempts to legalize its attacks against the most elementary liberties of the people. The Minister for Ordinances, Marko Trifkovic, has prepared a bill concerning public meetings and public associations. The whole text is still unknown, but the content of the articles has been published. It follows:

"All meetings purposing to protest against the constitutionally established authorities of the state, or to exercise a pressure upon the king, the government, the people's representatives or other institutions and agents of the state power, to induce them to renounce any of their constitutional or legal rights, or to decide any question before them to the wish of the demonstrators, are forbidden. All manifestations for ideals or forms of government which are counter to the present form, or which seek to destroy it, are also forbidden. Participation in any such meetings will be considered as crimes against public order, punishable by imprisonment up to one year. Those who are responsible for the calling of such meetings will be punished by imprisonment up to one year."

The robber band of capitalists, courtiers and militarists did not wait long to enlarge the field of their violence; on the one hand, because the suppression of the Communist ideals and the unpaucible class war did not furnish them sufficient guarantees for the peaceful exploitation of the Jugoslavian people, which they expected from their laws, and on the other hand, because the bourgeois and peasant opposition parties were totally inactive against the reaction. In this way the ruling clique expects to prepare a new assault, first against the working class which all violence has not deterred from organizing the class war; secondly against all opposition, so as to procure a decisive majority at the next elections, thus legalizing their system of violence.

The above bill forbids the citizens of Jugoslavia to make known to the government or to Parliament their wishes and protests at public meetings; the petition right is thereby wholly abolished; or the right to criticize the activity of government or Parliament at public meetings. The law would forbid all manifestation for the republican ideals, or for any other regime, be it even in a word, or a call. And the strongest opposition parties are either republican or favor a change of regime.

The regime of police brutality is merely pursuing its old tactic with this law, perfecting and expanding its system of government by violence. "Peace" must reign under the new regime, no sound of complaint must be heard, the bourgeoisie must enjoy its plunder in peace, the booty it has robbed from exploited people. The least political right, the least freedom would disturb these gentlemen's enjoyment of their booty, and must be repressed.

The only question which remains, is: how long can this oppression continue before a revolt takes place?

In spite of its weak organization, in spite of all the blows it has suffered, the proletariat of Yugoslavia must gather strength to lead the masses of the Yugoslavian people in the revolt against the present tyranny. The proletariat must use every opportunity to take its place at the head of every struggle against the reaction, to point to the oppressed people, to the suppressed minorities, to the rising nationalities, where the true enemy lies,—the militarist, capitalist, monarchist reaction, supported by the bourgeoisie of the world.

But the struggle of the Yugoslavian proletariat will be unsuccessful without the support of the Communist parties of the Balkans and the proletariat of all countries. This struggle will not be successful if it does not unite the proletariat of Yugoslavia into a single front and renders impossible the betrayal of the workers' interests by so-called "Socialist" parties.

AGRICULTURE

The Second Congress of the International Agricultural Workers' Federation.

By H. Rau (Berlin).

The character of the second congress in Vienna of the I.A.W.F. (5th—17th of August) is clearly defined by the resolutions moved by the various organizations affiliated with the I.A.W.F. Among others the congress will discuss a resolution by the English section, dealing with the regulation of food production on an international scale. There can be no doubt that this question is of outstanding importance, worthy of occupying the first place on the agenda of an international conference of agricultural laborers' unions.

An international regulation of food production will, however, only benefit the proletariat, if proletarian organs have at least a decisive voice in it, both, as regards production and distribution, and prices. This, in turn, would necessitate a large measure of proletarian control of food production. As such a control would be largely in the hands of the agricultural proletariat, it should be the duty of the congress in Vienna to elaborate a program for it and to launch an extensive international campaign against the usury practised upon the proletariat, and for the attainment of the partial aim intimated above.

The leaders of the important agricultural workers' unions represented in Amsterdam are without exception all for Amsterdam; they are the most reactionary among the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The English union which moved the resolution, proceeds to nip in the bud any illusion that the "international regulation of food production" might create among the proletariat and especially among the agricultural workers. The resolution welcomes the bourgeois attempts at regulation if the interests of the agricultural workers are not interfered with and their organizations are accorded adequate representation on all boards and in all conferences dealing with agricultural questions from an international point of view. That is to say: dear capitalists, if ever again you should summon a conference like that called last year by the League of Nations, do not forget to set apart a chair for us who are willing to discuss and carry out, international collaboration measures for capitalist reconstruction. And to the agricultural workers: you can rest assured that we shall protect your interests.

"International regulation of food production" under the capitalist system is the latest addition to the stock of idle schemes hatched out by the League of Nations. When adopting the resolution, the Amsterdam leaders of the agricultural workers will have given birth to another pompous platitude, and then reiterate their willingness for international collaboration with the capitalists.

All the more reason why the international working-class, and especially the rural proletariat should set itself the task of realizing the production of foodstuffs, a task that can only be carried out in the teeth of capitalism, never with its assistance. For the execution of this task it is necessary that the proletariat fight in every country for the control of production which on the one hand means a step towards Socialism, and on the other the abandonment of all and every compromise with the capitalists.

The followers of Amsterdam assembled in Vienna, cannot define their aim in conformity with this end, and act accordingly. They are looking upon Socialism as utopian and fear every action of the proletariat. Proof of this are the words of one of their most prominent leaders on the occasion of negotiations with the employers "I am more and more inclining towards the opinion that agriculture is one of the most unpracticable objects for socialization."

On another occasion the same leader explained to agricultural workers the tactics of Amsterdam:—

"Strikes merely further the collapse of the German economic system; they are not a suitable means for agricultural workers. The German Agricultural Workers' Union will send an order to pay, to all employers not recognizing the award; this will be effective."

When the bourgeoisie attempts a regulation of food production (as for instance in the case of the planned world wheat pool) it is intended to be used as a weapon against competing capitalists in other countries. If the English resolution before the Vienna congress has been moved in this spirit, and if such a regulation is hailed by them, the congress will split up in as many factions as there are capitalist combines viewing each other with distrust. The representatives from the various countries will side with their capitalists as they did during the world war.

The leaders of the German union, brought forward a resolution demanding that the decisions and agreements regarding the protection of workers in industry and trade, arrived at the Conference of Washington in 1919, be adapted to agriculture in all those countries belonging to the international labor organization of the League of Nations.

Do the leaders of the German union mean to imply that they are willing to take up the cudgel on behalf of the agricultural workers and urge their fellow organizations to do likewise? In Washington it was agreed "to elaborate proposals for the abolishing of employment of women before and after pregnancy, of night work for women and of child labor in industry". Is then, that resolution meant to demand prohibition of child labor, eight weeks holiday with full pay for women before and after pregnancy? Will the Amsterdam leaders of the German agricultural workers mobilize the trade-unions on behalf of the agricultural workers? Do they include protection against the scandalous 10 or even 12 hour work-day which agricultural workers are subjected to? Will they fight, and fight hard, that the Washington agreement on working hours, the 8 hour day, the 48 hour week, also apply to agricultural workers? For an answer it would suffice to recall the fact that the movers of that resolution only recently concluded an agreement providing for an extension of the already long working hours. We must furthermore call to mind the speech of the German representative, Faas, at the first congress in Amsterdam, who declared that the German representatives will this time also be as shrewd as their friends in other countries, and avoid everything even resembling a conflict with the capitalist class. They will limit themselves to the proposals brought forward at Washington dealing with the protection of women and children against white lead poisoning, etc. If however, they should decide upon leaving these narrow confines, they will, no doubt, demand that the agricultural workers be equipped with shinguards to protect them against oxen, and against Amsterdam trade union leaders.

Resolution moved by the Austrian agricultural workers' union, demand fusion with the agricultural workers' organizations into a guild organization of categories closely related to them, as for instance the small tenant farmers. As much as resolutions can be welcomed, it must be said that the agricultural workers expect of their international congress chiefly that it show the ways towards ameliorating oppression and pauperization. They will not remain content with the assurance of their leaders that they called upon the gardeners to affiliate with their organizations or that they demanded of the International Labor Bureau to protect them against mushroom poisoning. The agricultural workers will ask their representatives: have you found a way to break the chains of capitalist exploitation, and what is our task to achieve that end? To this question the Second Congress must formulate a clear and unambiguous answer; the rural proletariat is anxiously looking forward to it.

The rural proletariat knows that its interests are antagonistic to the landed interests; the congress in Vienna will show whether the pressure of the agricultural workers on their leaders suffices to make them decide and act accordingly!

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 72

25th August 1922

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Appeal for the International Agitation Week of the Russian Relief	539	In the R.I.L.U.	
Politics		The Great Red Drive (to the Miners' Federation of Britain. By J. T. Murphy	543
The German Crisis. By Ernst Meyer	540	The R.I.L.U. and the International Trade Union Federations. By Andrés Nin	543
Labor Movement		Economics	
Five Years of Trade Union Activity. By V. Kosior	541	The Economic Crisis in Switzerland. By J. Herzog	544
The Hungarian Trade Union Movement. By Albert Krally	542	The Cooperative Movement	
The Situation in China and Japan	542	The Cooperative Conventions of 1922. By Karl Bittel	545
		Polemics and Discussions	
		The Old Man Kautsky. By E. Ludwig	546

Appeal for the International Agitation Week of the Russian Relief August 27th — September 2nd, 1922.

Workers of all parties,
Friends of the Russian people,
Friends of Peace with Russia!

With today the Russian famine relief work completes its first year of activity. And not without success. The Berlin Conference of all relief organizations in Russia, which met on July 9th, 1922, and which was participated in by the Workers' Relief, the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee, the Nansen Committee, the Red Cross organizations, the Quakers, the Children's Relief, etc., has been able to testify that the extent of the catastrophe has been effectively reduced. The help extended to the peasants has strengthened them morally, and given them the energy to sow an unexpectedly large area.

But a great danger still menaces Russia. The danger which a great and heroic people of 130 millions driven to despair by economic disintegration, represents to humanity. Is that danger overcome? We would seriously deceive ourselves, if we believed it; and the result would awaken us rapidly to the bitter, terrible reality!

For this is the truth: Russia, this year, in spite of favorable weather conditions, will produce a crop not much above one half the normal, due to the lack of plows, tools and machinery; and this is another truth: no return to peace, to convalescence, to an orderly state of affairs is possible as long as Russian production is missing in the world economic household.

Bread alone will not help Russia. What it needs are tools, to produce bread! Scythes and hammers, motor-plows and machines, locomotives and trucks. We need modern tractors to tear up the ground, for our plowing animals have been slaughtered; we need nails, screws, and machinery to produce nails and screws, for our machines are all defective, and our houses falling in ruin.

The capitalist lords of the earth, the imperialists who have drawn up the Treaty of Versailles know this, but they have sworn death to Soviet Russia. For the boundaries of Russia are also the limits to the capitalists' power. Therefore they set out to kill Russia by refusing it the credits necessary to purchase machines. Genoa and the Hague broke up when Russia

demanded credits without agreeing to give up the benefits of the dearly bought Revolution. Russia, the liberator, the people that first spoke the promise of peace to a world in the throes of a murderous war, Russia is to be reduced to the level of Morocco, of China, of India!

Or is Russia perhaps not "trustworthy", as the capitalists say? Offers no guarantee of repayment? True, it has annulled the Tzar's war debts, as all war debts must soon be annulled. It has gotten rid of its parasites, as the Revolution of 1789 chased from power the French parasites. Never will a freed people pay for the chains which enslaved it! History has never witnessed it! But the money which it borrows now to cultivate the land, to enjoy in peace the freedom, which it has gained with its blood, such obligations will be considered as a sacred debt to a friend who has helped it in its hour of greatest need. Russia will remain grateful to her friends, and the money they lend her, she will return with interest, and interest on interest. For Russia is rich. Her "black soil" under modern cultivation will produce the richest crops in Europe; her petroleum and her forests, her gold and her platinum are the surest guaranties for this. Her government has proved that of all the governments on this earth, it is the most stable. An I.O.U. signed by Lenin and Trotzky will retain its value when all the French francs, and the Italian liras, and the German marks are nothing but a faint memory. . . . Russia, the land of the future, will respect its debts to those who honestly wish to help it today in its work for that future. Russia lacks the means for reconstruction. The International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia, which is even now working at the reconstruction of Soviet Russia, has decided to raise an international workers' loan of three million dollars to help it run its undertakings in Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government will guarantee the punctual payment of interest and prompt repayment. Repayments and interest will be paid on a gold basis. He who takes a share in the loan, does so with the certainty not only of helping the reconstruction of Russia, but providing for his own future.

Workers, friends of Soviet Russia, friends of world peace, help the first International Workers' Loan for Russian