

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 8 No. 31 [13]

5th April 1923

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

## CONTENTS

### Politics

- J. Steklov:* Soviet Russia and the League of Nations  
*K. Radek:* Powerless Germany.  
*P. Frölich:* The Ruhr War and the German Social Democracy  
*F. Dahlem:* German Reaction in Readiness  
*Bertreint:* Cordon Sanitaire and Barbed Wire  
*J. T. W. Newbold:* Political Situation in Great Britain  
*I. Amter:* Labor Party Movement in the United States.

### Economics

- J. Jacquemotte:* Situation in Belgium

### In Soviet Russia

- N. Lenin:* How we shall hold our own

### The Labor Movement

- A. Lozovsky:* Two French Federations—C.G.T. and C.G.T.U.  
The Russian Workers and W. European Struggles  
Russian Workers aid Ruhr Workers  
*Georo:* The Strike Wave in Hungary  
The Trade Union Movement in Mexico  
(I.P.C.) For the striking Miners in Alsace Lorraine  
(R.I.L.U.) To the Workers of Belgium

### E.C.C.I.

- Session of the Enlarged Executive  
To the C.P. of Belgium

### In the International

- The C.P. of Greece

### The White Terror

- A. Nin:* The Massacre of Guayaguil  
— Persecution of Communists in Belgium  
*Ch. Kabaktchieff:* In Bulgaria

### In the Colonies

- In India

### Fascism

- Circular I of the International Committee of Action against  
• War and Fascism

## POLITICS

### Soviet Russia and the League of Nations

By *J. Steklov.*

It is already well known that the secretary of the League of Nations, commissioned by the chairman of the League of Nations Council, sent a letter to the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic. In this letter he informs Russia that the League of Nations has decided to convene an international conference in Geneva.

The object of this conference is to discuss the question of extending the Washington naval disarmament agreement to all states which did not take part in drawing up this agreement; further, the question of participation in the agreement of Feb. 6, 1922—regarding the use of poisonous gases, submarines, etc.—by those states which did not sign the Washington agreement.

Obviously, this communication is so far purely informatory in character. It does not contain any direct invitation to the Soviet government to take part in the projected international conference. Indirectly the invitation is implied. It is possible that the League of Nations Council felt uncertain as to how the Soviet government would view its initiative, and, unwilling to expose itself to an official refusal, it did not venture to send a direct invitation to Soviet Russia. Apparently it was feeling its way. Now that the Soviet government has officially expressed its standpoint, we have reason to assume that the League of Nations will expressly invite the Soviet government to the projected conference at Geneva.

However, we do not venture to predict this with certainty, remembering as we do the vacillating and ambiguous policy pursued up to now towards Soviet Russia by the League of Nations and the states belonging to it. At one time they are anxious to negotiate with Russia, another time they reject every approach; at one time they enter into peace proposals, another time they undertake hostile actions against us. In view of all this, we must not be surprised if this first informatory letter from the League of Nations is not followed up by anything further, and the League of Nations does not even draw the logical consequences from its first step.

But however the League of Nations may choose to act, and whatever estimate we for our part may form of this institution, it is perfectly clear to everyone that the mere fact of an official approach on the part of the League of Nations toward the Soviet Government constitutes a highly important phenomenon, one entirely new in international politics. The world belongs to the brave! Whether the League of Nations wills it or not, whether it is agreeable to the League and its affiliated imperialist powers or not, Soviet Russia has already attained such international significance, its weight in international politics has so increased, that the present lords of the world have got to include it in their reckoning. And now they take the first step.



## Powerless Germany

By Karl Radek.

French imperialism is marching its troops deeper into Germany. The occupation of Mannheim, Darmstadt, and Karlsruhe, is not only an advance into the heart of Bavaria, but the occupation of the Neckar line controlling the connections between the Ruhr valley and Baden and Württemberg, is the beginning of an advance on Bavaria, the occupation of the railway leading to Augsburg and Munich.

This advance, which aims at forcing South Germany into a revolt against the central government, is the result of the failure of the attempt at a purely economic occupation of the Ruhr area. The French government assumed at first that it would succeed, with the aid of its engineers in dominating the production and distribution of the Ruhr coal, and that this would force Germany to capitulate. The flight of the coal syndicate from Essen to Hamburg shattered this hope. The French, unable to master the central apparatus of the coal basin had the choice between two methods: either to slowly organize their own industrial administration in the Ruhr area, or to exercise such a pressure on Germany that the Cuno government would be obliged to give in. The French industrial magnates are in favor of the former method. The criticism of their organ *Journee Industrielle* is not directed against the occupation, as the Paris correspondent of the "Kosta" is informed and as the German press imagines, but against the government because it has not delivered over the Ruhr basin to the representatives of heavy industry. Two hypotheses are possible: Poincaré fears that if he places the Ruhr valley in the hands of the *Comité des Forges*, he will not be able to get it back again if required; so that he would be forced to make up his mind to the final conquest of the Ruhr. The other possibility is: Poincaré is of the opinion that the economic seizure of the Ruhr may take a long time; therefore he made his calculations with the aid of political terror, the removal of all high German officials in the Ruhr area, the further military advance, the separation of South from North Germany, the execution of Foch's Rhine country plan for the dismemberment of Germany.

What was the reply of the German government? It issued the formula: So long as Poincaré is in the Ruhr, the German government enters into no negotiations. At the same time England was given to understand that, should the allies make a joint proposal for negotiations, Germany would not be averse to negotiating. But the debates in the English Parliament showed plainly that English imperialism has no intention of interfering in favor of Germany against France. France, for her part, will not talk to Germany until the latter offers an official program satisfying France's demands. But even if Germany agrees to do this, France would only accept the program with the reservation that the Ruhr occupation is to be continued as a guarantee for the actual execution of the program. Should England decide to intervene, this would signify the dissolution of the Entente. But even the dissolution of the Entente would not necessarily imply the evacuation of French troops from the Ruhr, but simply that the occupation would be continued in spite of England's open protest. Therefore the English government prefers to wait until France declares herself bankrupt. Poincaré tumbles ignominiously from his height, French imperialism capitulates. If this does not happen, England will try to compensate herself by securing a share of the booty. The London correspondent of the *Frankfort Journal* has already published reports on provisional negotiations between English and French industrial and financial circles with regard to a joint exploitation of the Ruhr valley. And the intentions of one section of the English bourgeoisie have been let out by some of the members of the English Labor Party (the clever ones keep their own counsel, the foolish ones let everything out). The lesser flunkies of the English bourgeoisie in the Labor Party spoke of the internationalization of the Ruhr, for it is a well known fact that internationalization is an excellent thing, and the German will not feel it so acutely when it is not the Frenchman alone who probes about in his wounds, but when the operation is assisted by the gentleman from the City, with a chloroform mask in his hand. And what further? The German capitalist press makes the best of it. It maintains that the purchase of coal in England has no detrimental effect whatever, on German economics. If all this talk had any sense in it whatever, it would be an argument for facilitating the Ruhr occupation by the French. But it is all nonsense. The German government is throwing several milliards gold marks onto the market for the purpose of raising the rate of exchange of the mark, in order that coal may be more easily bought by the industrial undertakings, and the industrial crisis thus retarded. But how long will it be in a position to keep this up?

We have a right to regard this step as a mild preparation for the general recognition of Soviet Russia. We may go even further, and say that this step taken by the League of Nations is synonymous with an actual recognition of the Soviet power, because such "informatory" letters (in the form of a concealed invitation) are not sent at all to governments which are not "recognized". One thing is beyond all doubt: the old tactics of ignoring Soviet Russia, the treatment of the Soviet power as if it did not exist, as something outside of all consideration—these tactics are now finally shelved.

And if Soviet Russia receives this invitation to the Geneva conference from the League of Nations, will it accept it? To this question we gave unequivocal reply in the communication sent by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs on the 13. March. Yes, Soviet Russia will accept the invitation to this conference, regardless of who convenes it. But is the acceptance of this invitation a sort of "recognition" of the League of Nations? Not at all.

The Soviet government has always protested against the blockade practised against it by the bourgeois states. For its part it has not the slightest inclination to ignore, boycott, or "blockade" any bourgeois state or group. The Soviet government agreed to participate in the conferences of Genoa, Hague, and Lausanne. It itself convened the Moscow conference, of the Baltic states; and it will appear at the Geneva conference, whether it be called together by the American government or by any other state or group of states. It will judge the questions debated according to their essential character, and will defend the interests of Soviet Russia and of the whole world. But in doing so it will by no means lend its signature to those machinations which may be carried on in international politics by separate bourgeois states, or by temporary alliances of states.

We regard the League of Nations as such a temporary alliance. We have nothing whatever to do with those "rights" arrogated by this alliance of powers, to dispose of the destinies of the peoples of the globe. We will never recognize these rights of the League of Nations, whether the demands are directed against us or against states allied to us, or against states neutral or hostile to us. We have never made a secret of the fact that we regard the League of Nations as a federation of bourgeois states, in which the real power lies in the hands of a few great imperial powers which utilize the League for their own purposes, and grant it far-reaching powers in so far as these are advantageous to them. From this standpoint we regard the League of Nations as an instrument of the imperialist policy of the largest bourgeois states—of the so-called Entente. But none the less we shall not boycott the Geneva or any other international conference merely for the reason that it is convened by a League of Nations not recognized by us in its present form.

We even enter into diplomatic or other relations with the separate states belonging to the League of Nations. And if we are able to resume connections with England, with France, with the United States, with Japan, with Italy, etc., individually, why should we boycott them merely because they chose to take this or that diplomatic step in common? Naturally we shall not adopt any tactics likely to be of advantage to our bitterest enemies.

But can we maintain that any conference convened by the League of Nations, or by any other grouping of bourgeois powers, can be expected to exercise any degree of serious influence on the disarmament question, the question of preventing wars, and of alleviating military burdens—not to speak of the fundamental question of universal peace? This is another question. Our answer to this is a secret to nobody. But it does not imply that the Soviet Government can renounce any opportunity of action in defence of its political principles—such action it will take wherever and whenever it can. We brought up the disarmament question at the conference in Genoa, we ourselves called together the Moscow conference, which should have worked out the conditions for a simultaneous disarmament of Russia and its immediate neighbours. Hence the acceptance of an invitation to the conference planned for Geneva would be nothing new, and would cause no misunderstanding with regard to the nature of our international policy.

We repeat: Whatever may come of this whole matter, two facts are established. The one fact is the involuntary acknowledgement, by the bourgeois states, of the incontestable truth that without Soviet Russia's participation it is not possible to decide on the question of the world's peace or any other question of international significance. The second fact is that we shall accept the invitation to the Geneva conference in the interests of the working masses, and for the purpose of preventing fresh wars, regardless of our relations to the conference. And then what is bound to happen will happen.

It is impossible for anyone to predict the issue of the conflict. We cannot know how long Poincaré will be able to continue his pressure, or how long the German bourgeoisie can offer resistance. But the Terror instituted by the French, and directed immediately against the masses of the population, is calling for a trend of feeling which may lead to unexpected events. That the French occupation powers are well aware of this is shown by the fact the French officers do not sleep in hotels any longer, but remain overnight in the barracks for fear of possible attacks. But the question of what the next few weeks may bring is not the most important, but rather the question of what the German bourgeoisie is really calculating upon. The *Vossische Zeitung* publishes an article by General Dauming, in which he declares most decisively that at the present time Germany cannot think of armed resistance. But General Dauming is a penitent militarist who has gone over to the democrats and pacifists. It is of greater interest to learn that the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the leading organ of the national party of the Junkers, the revenge party, published on the 24. February an article by General Seeckt, in which he declares the thought of direct military resistance to be pure fiction, and that any outbreak of feeling would only lead to bloodshed and to the fulfilment of Poincaré's hopes. If this is the case, what conclusion is to be drawn? Germany cannot reckon on the support of the allies. If these interfere at all, it will only be after the struggle has exhausted the powers of France and Germany alike. And then the conflict will be settled in such a manner that Germany will be completely subjugated, that is,—the question of further preparation for war arises again.

A short time ago there were some very heated debates in the German parliament, occasioned by the disclosures made by the Communist Party, accusing the German commander in chief, General von Seeckt, of preparing for civil war and the seizure of power, and of attempting to establish the illegal military organizations for this purpose, with the connivance of the Prussian government. This was the statement made by our German comrades. The seizure of power by the whites would not weaken France's position, on the contrary, it would strengthen it. Such a change of power would reveal to the masses of the French people the face of an enemy filled with hate, the face of those who devastated France. The petty bourgeois peasant masses would gather around Poincaré. It can scarcely be assumed that General von Seeckt has omitted to take this into consideration. But it does not mean that the alarm raised by the German communists was groundless. The German bourgeoisie, with the aid of the German social democracy, has disarmed the proletariat. The illegal military organizations existing in the country took part in this, and raged against the unarmed workers. These organizations constitute the greatest danger for the proletariat. Even if they are strengthened under the pretext of preparing for a struggle against French imperialism, there is no doubt whatever that moment an agreement is reached between Stinnes and Loucheur, between French and German heavy industry, these armed troops would serve to aid heavy industry to drive its bargain at the expense of the working class, at the cost of longer working hours and reduced wages. This would happen quite independently of the will of many of the men heading these organizations, who are dominated by the idea of a struggle against French imperialism; the illegal national organizations are maintained with the money of heavy industry, and it is heavy industry which has the final command over them. The German bourgeoisie is afraid of arming the workers, and this fear proves it to be incapable of leading national defence. Just as in Russia it was impossible to organize national defence without satisfying the peasantry and obtaining their support, so in Germany it is equally impossible, even in the future, to think of defending the country so long as the iron heel presses on the neck of the unarmed workers. The German bourgeoisie, in arming itself and its sons and refusing arms to the workers, proves that it fears the German workers more than it does French imperialism.

Anyone who doubts this should read the article published by the *Cologne Journal*, the leading organ of Rhenish industry, on 25. February. In this article the paper attempts to disillusion those who hope for Russia's help in the future. It points out the difficulties of an action by the Red Army outside of Russia, and declares: "But even if it were possible to obtain help from Russia, we should pray on our knees to heaven to save us from such friends: to let Bolshevik troops into Germany would be equivalent to driving out the devil with the aid of Beelzebub". What is the control over German industry by France in comparison with a workers' control? What is the tribute to be paid to the French in comparison to the fact that the workers would put an end to all speculation and ill-gotten luxury? The national war would require the utilization of the economic forces

of Germany, not in the interests of the bourgeoisie, but for the people.

In the past it was possible for the bourgeoisie to grasp the weapon of national defence, for it knew that the masses would follow. But to-day the awakening masses of workers have no faith in the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has to defend itself against the working masses, hence it cannot venture into a national war. It cries out for the salvation of the nation, but subordinates this salvation in favor of its money-bags. And the working class has not yet found the courage to set itself at the head of the nation, to take upon itself the burden and the honor of the hegemony, to unite its class war with the war of national emancipation. There is one section of the working class which still runs after the bourgeoisie, despite having lost faith in it, but this part is very small. Neither revolution nor counter-revolution can rely on social democracy. It is a passive mass; its leaders would like to deceive history. The communists are backed up by the active fighting elements of the working class, but these elements are still in the minority. And this minority is not yet aware that tomorrow it may be a majority, and that it should act today as a majority would act tomorrow. The attitude adopted by the communist fraction in parliament was characteristic in this regard. It was only powerful so long as it disclosed the white organizations, but its voice became weak and theoretical as soon as it was a question of declaring that the working class which seizes power will defend Germany against the capitalist world.

A feeling of powerlessness prevails in Germany. It makes Germany a victim of international imperialism. The proletarian revolution of the year 1918 proved weak in the fight for socialism, and capitulated to the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie contrived to convert the German workers into its slaves. Hence the German bourgeoisie is forced to capitulate before the stronger international bourgeoisie. The proletariat fights against its slave holders, it does not trust them, and it is also anxious to fight against a future slavery under international capital. But it is still fighting in the name of wages only; it has not yet learnt to fight on behalf of its whole future and on behalf of its whole people. Thus it drives into the arms of the nationalist fantasists even those strata of the population which would win much more than lose by the rule of the proletariat.

Thus the present occurrences in Germany are merely a trial of future events, not the decisive events themselves. It seems to us that events may develop, for the unfruitfulness and impotence of the bourgeoisie may create such a situation that all social classes come to one decision. But at the present time the great German people, the people of great workers and organizers, is struggling in a net like a captured giant, is so overpowered by its own impotence that it has become the plaything of the international kings of capital, a despicable object of foreign bayonets.

## The Ruhr War and German Social Democracy

By Paul Frölich (Berlin).

Two facts characterize the position of the German government in the Ruhr war: The decree issued by the president of the republic, Ebert, against military, political, and economic spying; and the speech delivered by the chancellor Cuno, the essence of which was: Let us talk no more of negotiations, let us hold out. Both facts give the impression of great strength and determination. In reality they imply the contrary.

The German front against Poincaré is beginning to crumble. The authorities are beginning to submit to force. The industrial undertakings are beginning to break through the boycott in every possible manner, a fact the more accentuated by their desperate denials. But what is most significant is the increasing acuteness of capitalist antagonism. The heavy industrial magnates have already drawn enormous profits from the Ruhr war in the form of fabulous rises in prices, of monopoly of coal transactions with England, of speculative utilization of the mark ramp, and of immediate unearned gains. The decisive question in the Ruhr war is concerned solely with their interests. But the industries working up the products, and wholesale trade, suffer through the conflict. In Germany almost all prices are below the level of the world market price. The stagnation in the selling markets is becoming more and more dangerous, losses are inevitably caused by the fluctuating prices and the future darkens. At the same time these circles feel a growing longing for peace. However much they try to maintain their attitude externally, behind the scenes they are plotting and intriguing. Even within the government there is a fraction striving after negotiations. This fraction is led by Hermes, who appears to possess an ambition for preparing every new govern-



ment within the old. Perhaps some other ambition is hidden behind this. One thing is certain, he is cooperating with prominent social democrats for the formation of a left coalition government capable of taking up negotiations, just as at one time he saw the salvation of Germany in the Cuno government, also "capable of negotiating". Cuno is associated with heavy industry, with the Heiferich wing of the German Nationalists, and the Bavarian government. Ebert's decree and Cuno's speech only signify a demonstration for the stratum of capitalists ruling at present. They disclose the weakness of their position.

In this situation the policy pursued by German Social Democracy is of special significance. It is perfectly clear that in a situation of such tension, and with the bourgeoisie thus internally disunited, the policy of a labor party could be extraordinarily fruitful. But the significance of this policy does not lie in this. Social Democracy officially is following entirely in the wake of governmental policy. Although Social Democracy is fully aware of the plutocratic character of Cuno's government, although it has been able to observe the anti-labor machinations of the government from the very beginning, although it knows that the object aimed at by Cuno's government in the Ruhr war is the realization of the desire of heavy industry for power, and although it plainly sees the great dangers involved for the working class in every outcome of this policy, still it proceeds with the government hand in hand. Where Social Democracy ventures to criticise, it is in a very mild form and merely intended to soothe its own followers. Though one scandal is linked to another, though the corruption in Germany poisons the air of heaven, Social Democracy never once ventures to exercise pressure upon this government.

The policy thus pursued by the majority of the party, or, strictly speaking, by the majority of the leaders, has to contend against a strong opposition. This may be seen from the utterances of a number of party publications, and has been very emphatically expressed at times. A large number of resolutions passed by local organizations have also expressed it clearly. But it is characteristic that this opposition broke down completely at a conference of the party committee held about two weeks ago, the oppositional elements, it is asserted, involving themselves in demagogic phrases.

This opposition demands that the Cuno government and the great capitalists be combated. Even on this first point its attitude is very uncertain, as far as the leaders are concerned, for it does not venture on any joint work with the communists. It sabotages the shop stewards' movement and the action of the control committees. What it wants is a war of words and not of deeds. Its political aim in the Ruhr war is purely pacifist; it strives for an understanding with Poincaré.

To thoughtless political dilettantes this may appear to be a case of only two alternatives: Either the fight with Cuno against Poincaré, in the national united front, or the conclusion of the Ruhr war by means of an agreement with Poincaré. For the bourgeoisie the question indeed takes this form. It need not be explained here that the policy of the national united front signifies nothing more nor less than a furtherance of the game being played by the Stinnes clique. The policy pursued by the social democratic majority is, as a matter of fact, the logical continuation of its war policy, the yoking of the working class in the service of its deadly enemies. What is the real meaning of the watchword of an "understanding"? The ultimate objective of the Ruhr war is admittedly the question of who is to rule the coal and ore trust. The understanding whatever form it may take, is bound to lead to a mighty economic and political extension of the power of the trust magnates. Just as the policy of the majority has thrust the burdens of the war onto the working class, the policy of the opposition subjects the proletariat to the disastrous results of a conclusion of peace. The policy of the majority converts the German working class into one of the auxiliary troops of heavy industrial capital. The policy of the opposition in the present hour of danger, consoles the working class with the hope of help from above. It does not regard the working class as a political factor at all. It does not strengthen the consciousness of power in the working class, but renders it the plaything of hostile powers.

It is extraordinarily characteristic that this opposition is led by Paul Levi, who, during the war, and at the time of the conclusion of the Versailles peace, overwhelmed this very same policy with contempt and derision. For this policy is indeed, but a continuation of the old cowardly tactics of the former independent Social Democrats.

Both lines of policy serve the immediate interests of the bourgeoisie. Both are pursued purely on bourgeois grounds. They completely deny the vital and future interests of the proletariat, and weaken the power of the proletariat instead of strengthening it. There is only one labor policy—the policy

whose aim is singly and solely the utilization and strengthening of the class power of the proletariat. If the proletariat will carry on the combat against the Ruhr war today, not with the object of obtaining an understanding among the capitalists, but with the aim of revolution, then it will fulfil that same task that was set it during the world war. Whether it is possible to attain this goal of revolution, depends naturally on the extent to which we succeed in mobilizing the working class in the countries concerned.

But even should the capitalists come to their understanding first, still this revolutionary policy signifies an enormous success. For then the working class is neither bound to heavy industry, as would be the inevitable result of the policy of the social democratic majority, nor is it defenceless against the dangers of a capitalist peace. It is armed and prepared, ready to take up the old battle again under the fresh conditions just created. Whatever tactics it pursues, Social Democracy sacrifices the immediate and the future interests of the proletariat, and drives it towards disastrous defeat. The communist policy, on the other, protects the proletariat against the dangers of today and tomorrow, and strengthens the power enabling it to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

From the above it may be plainly seen that the old fissure in the United Social Democracy has never been welded together; in the question of foreign policy it gapes as widely as if there were still two parties. But one thing must not be forgotten: that at the present time there is a great fermentation in the masses of the social democratic adherents, shown for instance, very distinctly in the manner in which the Saxonian government question was dealt with in the social democratic national conference. Even if these social democratic workers have not yet reached perfect clarity, still they are already filled with strong distrust of the policy of their own party. They want an unqualified break with the bourgeoisie, and their faith in the Communist Party has increased mightily.

## German Reaction ready to spring

By F. Dahlem.

The German bourgeoisie considers the hour to have arrived for a *coup* establishing its unlimited economic and political dominance over the working class. For months the active elements in the bourgeois camp have been in a state of feverish activity. Everywhere, and under the most various names, the organizations of counter-revolution have sprung up overnight like mushrooms in the warm spring rain. These are joining together to make military formations, and exercise in preparation of the coming armed conflict. Their leaders are almost without exception one-time officers and generals, experienced in war, even civil war. They possess a powerful stronghold in Bavaria; their influence in the leading administrative circles of the country and the provinces is extensive; the officers in the national guard and security police are their blood brothers. The whole apparatus is financed by banking and industrial circles. The program of these associations, which sail for the most part under the "national" flag, is: overthrow of the present government and national dictatorship for the purpose of first overcoming the internal enemy. The Ruhr occupation brought fresh grist to the mill of this nationalist movement.

The Ruhr conflict—as all signs now indicate—will be temporarily settled sooner or later by an understanding between German and French heavy industry. This understanding is only possible at the expense of the German working class. This signifies: The executive organs of German capital, the national and provincial governments, will decide on, and carry out measures against the proletariat: Longer working hours, reduced wages, increased taxation, etc. The legal powers possessed by the present state organs do not suffice to force upon the workers such conditions as would mean a sinking of the workers' whole standard of living. Therefore Fascism is being carefully nurtured by the bourgeoisie, therefore nationalist passions are lashed into greater fury every day. One great wave of reaction is to sweep away at one blow every vestige of proletarian influence yet remaining. Away with the shop stewards, away with the communist organizations, away even with the social democratic influence in parliaments and governments. The most determined counter-revolutionists have inscribed upon their standard: Ruthless extermination of "Marxism"; and here they make no distinction between communists and social democrats.

The counter-revolutionists—who see the most favorable moment for action approaching—are perfectly clear as to all the inner and outer political consequences of their intended action. They are aware that in civil war they would not easily force the whole German proletariat to its knees. They calculate on the possibility of the tables being turned by the working class in the most important states, on the seizure of power by the

working class. And therefore they are looking round for allies. It is not by accident that during the last 14 days we have heard of a *rapprochement* between good "national" organizations in Munich and Frankfurt and the French, with the idea of receiving French assistance in case of need. The history of revolutions teaches us that fallen powers have betrayed their "Fatherland" and "Nation" to the enemy in order to save their class interests. The German proletariat need be a prey to no illusions on this point: The German bourgeoisie will make pacts with God and the devil, will betray the fatherland a hundred times, will call upon the French for help, as soon as its class rule is threatened by the proletariat. The attitude taken by the leading politicians of the bourgeoisie in the Rhine country and in Bavaria, during the transitional months of 1918/19, when the fate of the German revolution still hung in the balance, is typical.

The reactionary preparations attained a certain culminating point during the last few days. The spiritual leaders of the nationalist movement had succeeded to a certain extent in bringing the many and often rival illegal and legal counter-revolutionary groups, associations, and parties under one uniform leadership. This signified an enormous increase of strength for counter-revolution, at one blow it had become a source of immediate danger for the republic and the proletariat. The alarm raised by the "Rote Fahne", its disclosures of the alliance and co-operation of the illegal organizations with the national guard and security police, roused the working class to activity. The workers, even in social democratic circles, recognized the acutely threatening danger, and self-defensive and counter-active steps were organized. The obvious necessity of uniting all proletarian powers against the bourgeoisie brought about the formation of the government in Saxony. This same recognition of necessity is now leading the workers to form proletarian Defence Units everywhere. This founternobilisation of the working class has caused the counter-revolutionists to accelerate their advance. During the last few days main troops which have hitherto advanced separately have now joined forces: The closest organizational connection has been established between Wulle (German national party) and Rossbach (illegal fighting organizations) on the one hand, and Hitler and Ludendorff on the other. Herr Rossbach gathered together national guard officers from the whole country in Potsdam, and asked for the assurance of their "neutrality" in the event of an armed conflict.

This development of events caused great uneasiness in the ranks of the social democrats. They had done their best to prove that the alarm raised by the "Rote Fahne" on the active conspiracy in the national guard, was not to be taken seriously. But on the eve of the Kapp putsch, Noske, in his capacity of minister for national security, also announced that "everything was in perfect order". Ebert, Severing, Scheidemann, and the rest of them, know very well what they have to expect from a victorious counter-revolution. Hitler, Ludendorff, and their friends, are not likely to jest in their attitude towards the "Marxists" and "November criminals" of any shade or color, and this thought may have made the social democratic leaders fearful for their skins.

In short: On Friday, March 23, the Prussian minister for home affairs, Severing, opened the attack. No doubt with the agreement of the president of the republic, Ebert. The chancellor Cuno had been sent to Bavaria, where he was granting audiences to the "fatherland associations". There is no knowing what went on behind the scenes before this. Severing accused the reactionary organizations, especially the "German National Freedom Party", of high treason against the republic. He read documents showing that preparations had already been made for the violent overthrow of the present government by means of armed formations. He disclosed the plan arranged by the counter-revolutionists, and declared that he would crush this mercilessly. He has since then proceeded to dissolve the German national party, and has had leading members of this organization arrested. It is symptomatic that in doing this, Severing has encountered not only the most violent resistance on the part of the German nationalists, but also from the German People's Party. Their organ, "Die Zeit", attacks in the severest manner the measures taken by the Prussian minister for international affairs, and demands that these measures be replaced by ones suppressing the proletarian hundreds and the communists. The party of the great industrial magnates knows very well why it backs up its proteges, the Fascisti and the illegal murder organizations.

The social democrat Severing did not however, adopt a fighting attitude only against the right; he declared that he would suppress the proletarian hundreds with equal ruthlessness. Thus at the same moment when he is holding the vanguard of bourgeois counter-revolution from his throat, at this very moment he makes a bow to the whole bourgeoisie, and offers his services against the most energetic section of the proletariat. The working class knows that these social democratic middle paths have

invariably led to betrayal. The German working class knows Severing. After the Kapp putsch he promised the formation of workers' guards against counter-revolution; he broke his word. After the murder of Rathenau he announced once more that the counter-revolutionary secret societies and their accomplices in the administration were to be smoked out; but today they have become so powerful under his government that they endanger his position and his life.

In threatening to combat the proletarian hundreds, the social democratic leaders are sawing through the branch upon which they themselves are sitting. Were it not for the proletarian hundreds, and for the power of resistance in the working class which they express, Severing would probably no longer be where he is today. But today the revolutionary movement in Germany is so far advanced that Severing's intention, should he venture on its execution, would encounter an iron resistance even among the workers of his own party. The threatening danger of counter-revolution will weld the workers of all parties into one solid block.

The ruling bourgeoisie and its state in Germany, whose situation becomes daily more desperate, cannot maintain their rule any longer without thrusting their own people into ever-increasing misery; they cannot even maintain their power without committing high treason against their own nation. Upon the attitude adopted by the German working class depends not only the emancipation of the toiling millions of Germany, in its hands also lies the fate of the German nation, its unity and independence.

These preliminary attacks on the part of the counter-revolution is a signal that the decisive battle has begun. The Frankfurt conference has shown the proletariat the way it has to go.

## Cordon Sanitaire and Barbed Wire

By Bertreint (Paris).

M. Poincaré is pursuing two lines of policy: that which he pretends to pursue, and that which he actually pursues.

The former policy, the pretended one, is characterized by his speeches every Sunday. He delivers these speeches for the benefit of Brown Smith and Jones, whenever he accords special attention to some devastated town after inspecting a mass cemetery at the front. This same policy may also be found expressed in his speeches before the Chamber, and can be summed up as follows: "On the basis of the Versailles peace Germany has to pay".

Poincaré's second policy, his real one, is formulated in the reactionary newspapers, especially in the *Action Française* and the *Echo de Paris*. The *Action Française* is the daily organ of the monarchist party. This party is numerically small, and exercises no influence on the masses of the people, but it is excellently organized and disciplined. It possesses nuclei in the army, in the administration, and in the police; in a word, in all the organs of the bourgeois governmental machine. From the material and theoretical standpoint alike, the monarchist party in France represents the most united class force of the bourgeoisie. It is striving to utilize Fascism as a means to a restoration which would place Philip of Orleans on the throne of France. Since the war the *Action Française* has undoubtedly extended its influence over the policy of the ruling class by means of a skilful application of the united front tactics to the bourgeoisie. At the present time the demands made by the *Action Française* are obviously having increasing effect on Poincaré.

The *Echo de Paris* is the organ of the industrial Roman Catholic large bourgeoisie, the followers of the old regime who have concluded peace with the republican form of state. Some of the editors are personally connected with Poincaré. It is an exact reflection of the policy of the present premier.

For communists, it is of great interest to hear the opinions of these two reactionary papers on the French Ruhr policy.

The *Action Française*, in its issue of February 23, states: "The destruction of German industry would be a great piece of work. If the French are not prepared to do this, there is no alternative but co-operation with German industry, but co-operation as ruler. After so many experiences, the last of which is decisive, it is only possible to think of one method of connection—that which makes us absolute masters. And if the Ruhr occupation performs the good work of reducing the German magnates docile, then we must remain in the Ruhr until their subjugation. For it is probable that they would not keep any contract once our backs were turned."

On the other hand the *Echo de Paris* of February 13, publishes the following, signed by one of its editors, who had made a journey to the Ruhr area and came personally in touch with the occupation generals:

"If I am to give my personal impressions, whose main outlines have not been altered by my extremely detailed investigations, I should be inclined at this moment to draw the noose more



tightly around Germany. Germany feels herself condemned. But she will not give way. She will plunge party into anarchy, and would have done so in any case, without our marching into the Ruhr area. In this organism the Rhine district represents a solid central core, and this again possesses one really sound organ. The problem consists of saving this organ by isolating it from the decaying body, and giving it free and independent life.

Thus nothing should be done hastily; the miners should be treated with consideration; and we should follow the example of our great forerunners in working with our thoughts directed to the future which is decisive for our children and grand children. But while we must thus act with forbearance towards the people of the Rhine country and Westphalia, I am none the less of the opinion that we must act with inexorable severity against the Prussian officials, for as the latest news clearly show, they are striving for a blood bath.

Thus Poincaré's real policy becomes evident: Either a union, as ruler, with German heavy industry, or, should Germany resist, then war—in any case an attempt is to be made to separate the Rhine country and Westphalia from Germany; the buffer state thus created is to be subjugated to France's influence, and the attainment of this result is to be furthered by granting temporary concessions to the German workers in the occupied territory.

No doubt Poincaré officially disowns any idea of wanting to annex, or of favoring a separatist policy. But his denials no longer deceive anybody.

Why does Poincaré find it necessary to conceal his real policy behind a pseudo-policy? He has his reasons for this, from the standpoint of home and foreign policy alike. If he admits his separatist policy, which implies a hegemony of French heavy industry over Europe—whether the policy be carried out by compromise or by war—that would mean challenging England and losing favor with America. Bourgeois France feels herself surrounded by the dull enmity of numerous rivals, and cannot venture to alienate these two powerful creditors. On the other hand, in France there is a numerous middle class between the proletariat and the large capitalists; farmers, lease-holders, agrarian small holders, craftsmen, and trades-people, who inhabit our sleepy provincial districts of the Centre, West, and South. These are permeated with pacifist ideology of the Wilson type. This considerable portion of the French population is completely saturated with the bourgeois spirit; but it clings to the illusions of justice, which it holds to be over and above the great interests of the struggling classes and of the great capitalist groups. It would be impossible to make an ill-concealed policy of annexation palatable to these middle strata.

Poincaré knows what the communists, on the other side of the barricade, also know. The middle class is split up. Its horizon is limited by the greed for small individual profits. It is disunited and inconstant. The elements of which it is composed rise in part to the ranks of the great capitalists, but the majority sink further and further down into the proletariat. The middle class is incapable of pursuing a policy of its own. It succumbs to the force of attraction of great capital or of the proletariat. The middle class lets itself be deceived by the talk of "war for the right", and of "international justice" to be attained by treaties; it believes that Germany alone is actuated by wicked intentions, and believes in the necessity of having productive pledges to counteract these wicked intentions. And then the time-honored diplomatic formula of "historical right" of annexation, invariably applied but never admitted beforehand, is created by the fact of permanent occupation.

The convincing forces of the productive pledge, Poincaré's apparent policy, adapts itself to the ideology of the petty bourgeois middle classes, and thus wins them for Poincaré's actual policy. The French prime minister does not himself believe in his legal hair-splitting. A dialectic vert for productive pledges, fulfils the peace of Versailles by violating it. And the tragic synthesis of this contradiction means for the proletariat that misery which kills slowly, or perhaps war which kills more rapidly, though not more effectually.

We, the French communists, turn to our brothers, the workers of the Ruhr, and say to them: Fight against your own capitalists, but do not agree to the infamous offers of the French generals.

"Nothing should be done hastily, and the miners should be treated with consideration"—thus the voices of the *Echo de Paris*, of General Degoutte, and M. Poincaré.

Comrades of Essen, Bochum, Düsseldorf, Gelsenkirchen; when our generals say to you: "Take the production into your own hands by means of your shop stewards!", do not fall into the trap. Reply to them: "Agreed! but you have to disappear first!" For while your shop stewards are organizing the production, the French military staff officers and civil engineers would undertake the works management on the pretext

of protecting you. They would replace your organizations. By persuasion, corruption, and every imaginable manoeuvre, they would ensure for themselves the aid of the trade union leaders; they would win over journeymen, masters, and individual workers; it is always possible to find proletarians who betray the proletariat, consciously or unconsciously.

And then, after the complicated machinery of your industrial area had been set running again, after it had been discovered whom it was necessary to intimidate and upon whom reliance was to be placed, then one fine day you would find yourselves beneath the heel of capital. The bourgeois military dictatorship would ruthlessly shatter your shop stewards' councils. The revolutionary flame which you kindled in 1920, and whose embers are still glowing beneath the reformist bourgeois ashes, would be cruelly trodden out by victorious imperialism, perhaps for a long time. In the meanwhile attractive bait is being thrown to you.

"Nothing should be done hastily, and the miners should be treated with consideration"—thus says M. Poincaré through the medium of the *Echo de Paris*. "Germany will plunge partly into anarchy", says the paper of French reaction, "and would have done so in any case, without our marching into the Ruhr area." "We must save the Rhine district by gradually isolating it from the decaying body."

Do you grasp what this means, comrades of the Ruhr valley?

This means: Our nationalists know that revolution is inevitable in Germany, and they want to create a counter-revolutionary basis against the coming proletarian risings, by separating the Rhine country from Germany. The approaching German revolution is already surrounded by a "cordon sanitaire", by a barbed wire fence. Poincaré is today taking the same precautions against a future German Soviet republic as those taken by Clemenceau against the Russian revolution in 1918.

The German revolution is almost completely encircled beforehand, by Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, the paid hirelings of French imperialism, by Bavaria, the tool of monarchist-Fascist reaction, and by Austria, the plaything of interallied capital.

All that is lacking to close the circle is the Ruhr area. Comrades from over yonder! After your struggles after your victorious rising at the end of the war, after having carried your proletarian rebellion to an almost victorious end, and setting up your red flags on the factory chimneys—comrades of the Ruhr area, will you now permit yourselves to be utilized to form part of a capitalist cordon sanitaire, or a section of the barbed wire network of counter-revolution.

It is not possible.

At the present moment the Ruhr area is the sole gate through which the influence of the German revolution can spread westwards. Do not close this gate—despite the "friendliness" shown by the occupation generals towards the workers.

## The Political Situation in Great Britain

Since the commencement of the present session of the Parliament, the Tory Government has suffered three very dramatic defeats at by-elections. In one case, they lost a seat to a Liberal and that in suburban west London, and in the other two cases, two seats to the Labor Party, the one in the petit-bourgeois suburbs of London at Mitcham, and the other in an industrial quarter of a city, famous for religious and racial strife, and consistent and continuous Toryism, the Edgehill division of Liverpool. The causes of the defeats were twofold. First, there was the customary habit of the British electorate to follow up a general election with a series of rebuffs expressive of their disappointment with a new government and, second, there was the question of the threatened increase of rents by reason of the de-control of houses by the state—a temporary war measure. The houses more immediately threatened were those of the petit-bourgeoisie who, therefore, voted labour to frighten the Government into making and keeping a promise to delay decontrol until, from some quarter unnamed, new houses can be provided.

Again, there is profound but unintelligent discontent amongst the British bourgeoisie at the way things are going with the prestige of the nation, the dignity of the Empire and the problems of taxation and trade. They want "Peace with honour". It is not peace itself that they mind about but "Economy". The Mesopotamia and Gallipoli campaigns have made any threat of war in those quarters very unpopular. It is unpleasant and unhealthy, even if honourable, to die for one's country on the hillside of the Dardanelles or in the river marshes of Irak. Besides, it is better to sell cotton goods in the Levant than to help a few cosmopolitan speculators like

Zaharoff to get oil with bombs and bayonets. Yet again, India seems to be willing to settle down and resume its normal relations with Lancashire if only the government will not antagonize the Khalifat movement. However, no British bourgeois will evacuate the East under threat of expulsion. To do so would be to lose "prestige" and risk trouble with "the beastly natives" everywhere, don't you know. Again, everyone smarts at the indignity of the French handling of British interests in occupied Germany just as much as he is incensed at the thought of letting off "the Huns" who made the war and now refuse to pay for it. But, the country has only one-third the aeroplanes that France has and less submarines as well. To cap all, the new Government has made a most undignified capitulation to the American bondholders and has burdened the taxpayer with yearly payments approximating £36,000,000 for eighty years. Trade is not improving at all well and taxation will not fall. The British bourgeoisie is a rat in a trap and begins to be conscious of that disagreeable situation.

The Liberals have failed him. The Tories are failing him. Therefore, he turns to the Labor Party for—"Peace, Respectability, Stability, and Economy". Even so, he is disturbed. There are those "wild men" from Scotland, and some thirty five others who object to their leaders fraternizing with Royalty. The leaders look and sound quite safe; but Snowden, though he may turn round and snarl at his supporters for cheering him too boisterously when attacking capitalism in his best parlour manner, and Macdonald, though he may tell the millionaire newspaper owners that his party has not one thousand millionth part of sympathy with Bolshevism, cannot restrain the avalanche that threatens from the back benches impelled forward by the hopes their own oratory has awakened in the congested towns of the Clyde. The bourgeoisie wants a change—back to the old world before 1914. It must be remembered that in Britain the bourgeoisie, economic and ideological alike, is very big indeed—this being the home of the classical or competitive type of capitalism. Respectability is rampant. Religion has been more democratic than authoritarian—this is the home of non-conformist sectarianism. Even Catholicism here has been associated with the Liberals as against the state Church and, amongst the Irish, has stood for the national revolt of the expropriated race against the alien and Protestant ascendancy. The State Church has, for more than half a century, but more with each succeeding decade, had bishops and clergy who were in idealist revolt against the Manchester School of political thought that has dominated industrialism. There is an enormous mass of floating religious emotionalism and idealism with no doctrinal bias and no sceptic cynism. There are ideological bridges and causeways innumerable connecting the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. All this had its historic origin in the slow but very early development of bourgeois trade, bourgeois farming of land and bourgeois industry in Great Britain.

The absence of a conscript army, the meeting of bourgeois and proletarian in the chapels and the coming together of all classes on the race course have given to these gradations of class subdivisions a number of ideas and prejudices in common. Again the rebel elements, the adventurous personalities, have made their way to a colony or to the English speaking United States.

British capitalism has, for three generations, been able to make its proletarians feel that their standard of life and comfort was continuously improving and that they had a share in the government and profits of the common imperial heritage.

All this is now rapidly altering economically but, psychologically, the change is very slow. The old traditions die very slowly away.

The Communist in Britain needs to have infinite patience, a foresight and a willingness to seem a dreamer and be ridiculed. He must remember that traditionally and psychologically he lives on an island of prosperity and of peace. He must equally realize and seek to make others realize, that economically and in the conditions of modern politics and war that insularity and privileged states have slipped away. Economically, Great Britain is riding at breakneck speed to revolution. Psychologically, her people think that everything in this country will be "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever".

It has been unfortunate for comrades throughout the International that, on the one hand, they have allowed enthusiasm and hopeful expectation to negate their Marxian interpretation of history when judging the prospects of a revolutionary crisis in Great Britain (and in certain other countries) and, on the other hand, that they have been unintentionally misled by engineers from the Clyde, with their views unduly coloured by local and occupational conflicts of a temporary though very dramatic character, who, generalizing from particulars, foretold

a revolutionary rising of the masses; also by other comrades from London where, almost alone in all Britain, the trades councils and labor parties have been as much or more influenced by the Marxists than by the religious sentimentalists of the I.L.P.

The Clyde industrialists have foretold a Soviet Revolution. The London politicals have overlooked the fact that as the Labor Party ceased to be a federation of autonomous units and became a centralized party, the opportunities of Communists within its ranks would become less and less. Formerly, the Labor Party had no all-powerful junta. Now it has a junta and a machinery of officialdom reaching down from the centre to the localities.

The bourgeois elements, discomfited and dislodged by the economic revolution, are coming into the Labor Party to strengthen it as an orthodox political machine and to saturate it still more with opportunism and the spirit of compromise. There may be a break inside the Labor Party. I think it will take the form of autonomy of organization for the Scottish section of the party but, as no Labor Party candidate can possibly secure election in the whole of the west coast area unless he is approved by and is a member of the I.L.P., that will not mean a union or even an early alliance with the Communists.

Out of this re-organization—made in the interests of opportunism—to get moderate men's votes in Conservative England, and extremist men's votes in Radical Scotland, there will, probably, ensue a Labor Government.

Then, the debacle will begin and the wholesale disillusion and disruption of the Labor Party rank and file membership. At present and until that time, the numerically insignificant Communist Party can best stand firm in asserting the inevitable failure of opportunism, the inevitable collapse of imperialism, demonstrating the domestic failure of capitalism, pointing to the fissures in its political superstructure, fighting with the masses of the unemployed to improve their lot, helping the unions to resist the ever increasing onslaughts on working conditions and wage-cuts, learning in the rough and tumble of everyday conflict to use the information and instruction which its slowly but steadily recruited membership will receive from the Party and from the International.

## Labor Party Movement in the United States

By Israel Amler.

Several months ago at the convention of the American Bankers' Association, Frank Munsey, a well-known publicist and newspaper proprietor, delivered an address on the present political and economic situation in the United States. Munsey frankly demanded a re-alignment of American political forces. He declared that there was no difference between the official position of the Republican and the Democratic Party. The time had come for the parties to take a realistic stand and join forces.

What we want, said Munsey, is a Republican-Democratic Party composed of the conservatives of the whole country, against the radicals who must now be forced out into the open.

Nicholas Murray Butler president of Columbia University, who also stands high in conservative circles, has made the same demand. Chas. Nagel, who served under Taft, and Lindsey Garrettson, who served under Roosevelt take a similar attitude.

All of these statements were applauded—the Bankers' Association voting to publish Munsey's speech in pamphlet form.

The time has come for a reorientation. Leading progressives and radicals, particularly in the ranks of the Republican Party have seen that. La Follette and Borah are the two men who have perceived it most clearly and are working towards a realization of this plan. Their methods are different—both of them are ambitious. Both realize that the workers of America, are getting a new point of view—and without them and the hard-pressed farmers, no new movement can succeed in the United States. It is the lesson of the Russian Revolution which has brought a new perspective into the mind of the American worker and farmer.

La Follette's method is to capture the machinery that already exists. That has been his policy since the early days of his career. He realizes the difficulty of building up a new organization—especially in the United States whose political life is dominated by big capital. Hence, La Follette is not, proclaiming a new party, but is remaining in the Republican Party, boring from within with the intention of capturing it. La Follette is a winning personality. He is a most courageous man, who dared to stand out against the war as few others did, as the *Socialist*, Meyer London did not! La Follette has known how to



manipulate forces. He is a friend of the farmers. He has not hesitated to electioneer for Non-Partisan candidates. He again knows how to win the sympathy of the workers. He sponsored the Seamen's Act, which was supposed to protect the American seamen, but which to-day is a dead letter. He delivered a speech at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, and was hailed by Gompers as Labor's candidate for the presidency in 1924. Like Borah and others of his group he dares to stand up and speak for Soviet Russia. His points of contact with all sections and tendencies in the Labor Movement are obvious.

The tactics of the Communist Party, the brutal attacks on the Communist Party, which, in 1919, was driven underground and the reactionary attitude of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy, left the American working class politically unorganized and untrained. The organization of the Farmer-Labor Party by the Chicago Federation of Labor in 1919 did not achieve the results hoped. Even the membership of the Chicago Federation did not support it as it should have. Although the Chicago Federation of Labor is one of the most progressive in the country, there was lacking political insight and penetrating, militant leadership to build up a party capable of meeting the bourgeoisie in America.

In February, 1922, a conference took place in Chicago to discuss the question of a Labor Party. During the few years preceding the date of the conference, the American working class had engaged in colossal struggles against their employers. The tremendous steel and railroad strike of 1919, the coal strikes of 1920 and 1921, the packing house strikes—all of which were followed by the fearful unemployment of 1921; the espionage in industry; the unmitigated use of police, private guards, State constabulary, militia and Federal troops against the workers; the issuance of brutal injunctions; the denial of the right of picketing and even of striking; the confiscation of union funds for the payment of fines and indemnities;—all of these factors induced the progressive elements in the country to meet in conference to discuss the possibility of a Labor Party.

Several large labor organizations had already gone on record in favor of a Labor Party. The United Mine Workers, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Non-Partisan League, the Farmers National Council, the various proletarian and semi-proletarian political parties, and a mass of confusionists participated in the conference. As a result of this lack of class point of view, the conference adjourned without having accomplished anything concrete. It decided to convene again in December to take up the question once more.

Between February and December 1922, many important events took place. The violent coal, textile and railroad shopmen's strikes occurred. The Supreme Court issued the Coronado decision, whereby workers were held liable to a penalty of three times the amount suffered by their employers as a result of a strike—which meant practically the confiscation of the Union funds. The Supreme Court declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional. But the most infamous event was the issuance of the Daugherty Injunction, whose aim it was to put an end to strikes—to declare them illegal, to subject anyone to prosecution who displayed the slightest sympathy with the strikers, either by word of mouth, by telephone or in writing, who supported them financially or otherwise. It was the most far-reaching the most sweeping edict ever issued by the United States Government against the Workers. Attorney General Daugherty declared openly that he would use the whole force of the United States Government in defense of the Open Shop movement. It appeared to be a life and death struggle for the workers.

War preparations were made against the workers. The troops were supplied with tear gas as a preliminary to other methods. The police were equipped with machine guns and an aircraft division was installed. A spying system such as even the most reactionary governments have not been able to adopt, was instituted.

As the time for the Labor Party conference approached, the campaign in favor of a Labor Party took shape and power. The Communists carried on a lively campaign through the Workers Party, and were the most energetic exponents of the idea of independent political action by the workers. The Socialist Party was loud in support of the idea. The organizations mentioned above, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, the Railway Crafts Division of the A.F. of L., the International Typographical Union, the World War Veterans, other farmers' organizations and large local unions advocated a Labor Party.

On December 2, a conference took place in Washington. La Follette, shrewd manoeuvrer as he is, called a conference of the People's Legislative Service for Progressive Political Action, to take a stand on the political situation. Its function was

obvious. It was to forestall the creation of a Labor Party a week later at Cleveland, at which, it was presumed, the Communists would be present, and at which a radical program might be adopted and a clear class standpoint manifested.

The Socialists and the "progressive" and conservative labor leaders attended this conference, only to go to Cleveland to sabotage the idea of independent political action by the workers. The Socialist Party, which made a big noise before the conference, completely sold out the idea in Cleveland. Hillquit openly worked with the retrogressive group of the conference—and thus postponed the establishment of a Labor Party.

The Cleveland Conference adopted a program that the progressive conference at Washington would have been ashamed of. It tried to "railroad" through every idea. First of all, it refused to seat the delegates of the Workers Party, the Young Workers' League (the organization of Communist youth), and the delegates of the local unions. The progressives in the conference were unorganized and without leadership and made no fight for the Communists. Then the reactionary leaders, together with the Socialists, Hillquit, Oneal and Berger, endeavored to prevent all discussion of the very purpose for which the conference was convened, viz., the question of a Labor Party. But the progressives forced them to grant this discussion on the basis of a resolution that they had submitted to the Resolution Committee, which the Committee tried to suppress. The Railroad Brotherhoods were against a Labor Party. The Socialist Party was too cowardly to put up a speaker at all. Their committeeman in the Resolution Committee voted against the Labor Party. The betrayal was complete. The Labor Party was lost by a small majority.

The conference adopted one idea, however, that was good for the promotion of a Labor Party. It allowed Municipal and State Labor Parties to be created for municipal and State elections. It was understood also that the groups participating in the Labor Party conference would accept the obvious meaning of this decision. It denoted a United Front of all working class organizations—with the idea of the eventual formation of a National Labor Party.

The Communists do not regard the failure to form a Labor Party at this conference as a calamity. On the contrary, it is good that matters should develop somewhat more before a Labor Party is formed. The Socialists are revealing themselves more and more as the bulwarks of capitalism. In New York City, St. Louis, and in the State of Rhode Island, they rejected a United Front in the November elections with the Workers Party. At the Cleveland Conference they voted against seating the Workers Party delegates; not, as the spokesmen for the reactionaries stated, because the Workers Party is made up of Communists who are "un-American", but because the Workers Party is trying to "disrupt the American labor movement".

Since the Conference, United Fronts have been organized in several towns—in San Francisco with the Workers Party in it. In Chicago, the Socialist Party nominated its own candidate for mayor and then expected the Farmer Labor Party and the Chicago Federation of Labor to endorse him. This has completely estranged the working masses of Chicago and exposed the piratical tactics of the Socialist Party.

The Farmer Labor Party and the Chicago Federation of Labor, totally disgusted with the outcome of the December Conference wish to establish the Labor Party at once. The Communists are against this step. A Labor Party that is not a Real United Front of all progressive and radical proletarian elements will be no Labor Party. The Labor Party must have behind it the organized labor forces of the country—the trade unions. Until they, or at least a large section of them openly support the Labor Party the Labor Party will not be successful.

The United Mine Workers are on record in favor of a Labor Party. At Cleveland, their delegates managed to evade voting on the question. The Nationalization Program recently issued by the U.M.W.A., but which is repudiated by the official journal of the miners, demands a Labor Party. The rank and file of the miners are for a Labor Party. The rank and file of all the organizations represented at the Conference are for a Labor Party. The movement in favor of a Labor Party, therefore, is only beginning. The Communists are carrying on a militant campaign in favor of it. The Trade Union Educational League, which has had success in the amalgamation movement, has added the idea of a Labor Party to its program.

Under the impetus of the revolutionary and militant organizations, the movement for a Labor Party will have gained great momentum by the time the next Labor Party conference is called. There will be a well organized group intent upon launching a party of labor.

## ECONOMICS

### The economic and political situation in Belgium

By Jean Jacquemotte (Brussels).

#### The abyss of deficit.

In the year 1919 the minister of finance, Delacroix, informed the Chamber that the budget showed a deficit of 600 million francs. The Chamber received this information with enthusiastic applause. We might therefore assume that the Chamber would succumb to an excess of joy on hearing that for the year 1923 the budget deficit amounts to 2,400 million francs. It will really be 4,000 million francs, if Germany does not pay the 1,600 millions which the Belgian government expects from her. All the attempts at economy which have been made for over a year have suffered complete shipwreck on these figures. The pace quickens towards the abyss of deficit. An idea of the financial position of the Belgian state may be gained from a survey of the rate at which the national debt has increased in recent years:

	Consolidated and floating debt
1913 . . . . .	5,004,874,656.81
1919 (until 30. 9.) . . . . .	23,337,000,000.—
1920 . . . . .	28,075,000,000.—
1921 . . . . .	33,937,000,000.—
1922 . . . . .	35,743,000,000.—

For the year 1923 it will be necessary to raise a loan of at least two milliards—even assuming that Germany pays the 1600 millions which the budget calculates she has to reimburse, but payment lies beyond the bounds of human probability. This will increase the national debt of the Belgian state to a total of 38 milliards. The 1923 budget provides for an expenditure of 1,581 million francs for the state debt alone. When we consider that in 1910, the total amount of wages for the industrial proletariat—men, women, and youthful workers, amounted to 1 milliard only,—we get an idea of the burden imposed on the working class by the interest to be paid on this national debt.

#### The new taxes.

The government, compelled to seek fresh sources of income, has had a number of fresh taxes on articles of consumption granted by the Chamber. The sugar tax is raised by 20 francs per 100 kgs. To this must be added the tax on matches, the 100% wage tax increase, etc. These new taxes, which affect the working masses only, will probably raise over 200 millions. They are to be employed solely for covering the expenditure involved by the increase of the national debt. This taxation, combined with the fresh loan necessary this year, obliges us to the conclusion that the financial stability of the Belgian state is completely shaken.

#### The Ruhr occupation.

This situation, which is drifting to a catastrophe, has doubtless influenced the attitude adopted by the Belgian government in the question of the Ruhr occupation. Here, as in England, in France, and in all the so-called victorious countries, the bourgeoisie built up its financial and economic policy, after the war, on the principle that the Boches would pay. No doubt, the bourgeoisie of the Entente was not really a prey to any illusions on this point. But it was an excellent opportunity of pushing its share of the blame for the great war onto other shoulders. In any case the Belgian bourgeoisie is not inclined to pay the costs of the imperialist war. But it does not quite venture to burden the whole load onto the Belgian proletariat, and so it collaborates with France in trying at least to gain time by military pressure. This adventure may easily come to a bad end. It may lead to difficulties much greater than the present ones. The Belgian bourgeoisie is well aware of this, but it has no alternative.

#### Social democratic pseudo-democracy.

The occupation of the Ruhr basin, has revealed the wide chasm between the words and the deeds of the social democrats. After the courageous resolutions passed at Rome and at The Hague, after the eloquent speeches on war against war, after the passionate declarations that the whole force of the working class would be thrown into a general strike against the threatened fresh carnage—after all this, the Belgian social democrats, unable to pray to God, glance fearfully towards the League of Nations as the sole power able to bring about the evacuation of the Franco-Belgian troops from the Ruhr area, and the resumption of a peaceful reparation policy.

Emile Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International, the defender of the Russian social revolutionaries, held a speech of protest in the Chamber because force was being used to solve the reparation problem. But at the same time he emphatically insisted that Germany must pay. No motion was brought in, and with good reason, for this would have exposed the sharp antagonisms existing within the social democracy. For one half holds that now that the fatherland is taking part in the occupation of the Ruhr no steps should be taken calculated to disturb the governmental action; while the other half endeavors to keep its countenance with the aid of oppositional explanations which are and remain mere phrases. The bourgeois press has eagerly discussed a declaration made by the citizen Paul Pastur, a socialist member of the "permanent commission" of Hainaut (provincial administration), in which he states that he is not in agreement with Vandervelde's policy, but regards it as dangerous for the country.

It is extremely interesting to read an extract from an article which appeared in the *Reil de Luxembourg*, the socialist organ for the Belgian province of Luxembourg, written by Colleaux, social democratic deputy and one-time minister. He writes: "It is generally believed that the socialist party is entirely, or for the most part, opposed to the occupation of the Ruhr area. When the *Peuple* maintains that the opponents of the Ruhr occupation are backed up by the organized masses who have sent 68 deputies to the Chamber, it is not telling the truth. The disagreements in the general council have demonstrated this. And a certain speaker who sought applause in Antwerp will have grasped this too, in face of the cold reception accorded him at Fieron. But with regard to the deputies, it is only necessary to put the question to the Chamber, and to observe the attitude taken by the majority of them. And their attitude is based on their firm conviction that they are acting in full agreement with the wishes of their constituents. Hence this disloyal byplay must cease; it is unworthy of such a party as ours, and dangerous to it."

It must be admitted that the minister Colleaux is not alone in this opinion. Not at all. The great majority of social democratic deputies from the Walloon provinces and from Flanders are so bound up with the nationalist policy pursued by the Belgian government that it is entirely useless to expect energetic action from them, such as could protect the European proletariat from a fresh catastrophe. It is solely the active propaganda of the Communist Party which arouses the consciousness of danger in the proletarian masses, and shows them that direct action is necessary in order to secure peace.

#### Social democracy as accomplice of international capital.

The Belgian Chamber was profoundly moved when it voted for the law empowering the government to participate in the Geneva Pact, concluded on the 4. October 1922 between the governments of England, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, for supporting Austria "in the work of economic and financial reconstruction". This project for the enslavement of the Austrian proletariat in the interests of international capital—to repeat the words of the Austrian social democrats—was unanimously accepted by the Belgian Chamber, including the social democrats. The head of the 2. International, Emile Vandervelde, agreed that the workers of the Austrian republic be subjected to this aggravated slavery, under the guardianship of that shepherd of souls and Roman Catholic priest, the prelate Seipel. In the name of right, of humanity, and of justice, the Flemish and Walloon social democrats combined with the bourgeoisie to settle the guarantees for the amount of booty reserved by the Belgian capitalists, 13 million gold crowns. And they accompanied this with congratulations to the government of Albert I. on the proof of humanity given by the "relief" of the Austrian people. Not one of these social democratic champions of the proletariat troubled himself about the fact that this "relief" afforded by the League of Nations to the Austrian proletariat is nothing more or less than the well soaped rope with which capitalism intends to hang it!

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### How we shall hold our own

By V. Lenin.

The general character of our present situation may be described as follows: we have destroyed capitalist industry, we have exerted every endeavor to entirely destroy that institution of the middle ages: large land ownership; we have replaced this institution by small and very small holdings, thereby creating a peasantry which now follows the proletariat,



trusting in the results of its revolutionary work. It will, however, not be easy for us to retain the faith of the peasantry until socialist revolution has won the victory in the most progressive countries, particularly because under the new economic policy—and this is an economic necessity—the proceeds of work are still very small in Russia.

In this respect Russia is also backward in international relations: the proceeds gained by our work are on the whole considerably less than before the war. The capitalist powers of Western Europe have done their utmost, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, to take advantage of the civil war, and to throw us back economically. They derived great advantage from this issue of the imperialist war: if we cannot destroy the revolutionary order in Russia, at least we can retard its development to Socialism. Thus they thought, and it was inevitable that they should think so. All that they have accomplished is a half solution of the problem. They could not overthrow the order created by the revolution, but they prevented us from taking that step forwards which would have justified the predictions of the socialists, which would have given us the opportunity of developing production with the greatest rapidity, and of awakening into life all the forces capable of co-operating in the constitution of socialism—in a word, they prevented us from giving actual proof of the gigantic forces latent in Socialism, and of its ability to raise humanity to a new stage of evolution, rich in unlimited possibilities.

In Europe international relations have assumed such a form that one state, Germany, is enslaved by several victor states. Several states, and among them some of the oldest of the continent, have been placed by the war in a position enabling them to make some concessions to the exploited classes, whereby the revolutionary movement is pacified for the time being, and a certain appearance of social peace maintained. At the same time various countries of the orient, as India, China, etc., have been completely thrown out of their old orbits by the imperialist war; their development has taken a decided turn towards capitalism of the European kind, and the same fermentation as we have in Europe has begun. It is perfectly evident that these lands have entered a stage of development bound to lead to a crisis of world capitalism.

Thus we are faced by the following question at the present time: will we be in a position—considering the state of our agricultural production, and considering our poverty—to maintain ourselves until the capitalist states of Western Europe are ripe for socialism? They are not developing as we had hoped, for their evolution is not determined merely by the growth of socialism within the states themselves, but also by the exploitation of the most important vanquished state in the great war; to this must be added the exploitation of the orient. On the other hand, it is precisely due to the imperialist war that the orient has been drawn into the revolutionary movement.

What tactics should we pursue in this situation? Obviously the following: We must do our utmost to hold our workers' power, and to maintain the small and very small holding peasantry under its authority and guidance. The whole world is entering upon a period of preparation for the social revolution, and this is one point in our favor, but we are out at a disadvantage by another circumstance—that the imperialists have been clever enough to divide the world into two hostile camps, a division further enhanced by the difficulty thrown in the way of the recovery of Germany, a country possessing a really advanced capitalist culture. All the capitalist powers of the West are plundering Germany, while on the other side there is the orient, with its hundreds of millions of exploited human beings, living in such conditions of abject misery that their physical and material forces bear no comparison with the physical, material, and military forces of any single European state.

Can we avoid future collisions with these imperialist states? Have we any hope that the internal contradictions, the conflicts of the imperialist states of the occident among themselves and with the developing imperialist states of the orient, will again grant us such a breathing space as we gained when the campaigns of European counter-revolution in favor of Russian counter-revolution became entangled in the contradictions between the counter-revolutionary exploiters of the East and of the West, of America and Japan?

It seems to me that this question can only be answered by the consideration of the great number of factors upon which its decision is dependent. The issue of the struggle can only be predicted from the following general consideration—that the great majority of the population of the earth is being prepared for and driven into the struggle by capitalism itself. The issue of the struggle thus depends mainly on the fact that Russia, India, China, and the other oppressed countries, constitute the great majority of the earth's population. In the course of the past year

this majority of humanity has entered with extraordinary determination into the struggle for its emancipation. There is no shadow of a doubt as to the final result of this world struggle: regarded in this light, the final victory of Socialism is secured absolutely and beyond all doubt.

But at the present juncture our main interest is, not the final victory of Socialism. What is of more importance to us at the moment is to know what tactics we are to employ, we, the Communist Party of Russia, we, the Soviet power, in order to avoid annihilation at the hands of the counter-revolutionary states of Western Europe, in order to secure our existence until the future collision between counter-revolutionary Imperialism of the occident and the nationalist and revolutionary orient, between the civilized states of the West and the states of the East which, though backward in a way, none the less comprise the majority of the earth's population.

In the meanwhile, this majority of humanity must endeavor to become civilized. We ourselves do not possess sufficient civilization for the direct transition to Socialism, although in our case the political pre-requisites are there. This conclusion shows us the line of tactics we are to follow, the policy we must pursue for our maintenance: We must endeavor to create a state in which the workers hold the reins of government and possess the confidence of the peasant masses, and at the same time we must exercise the greatest possible economy in all public institutions. Our state apparatus must be reduced to the minimum prescribed by necessity; we must banish from it every residue bequeathed to it by Czarist Russia and capitalist bureaucracy. Do we thereby run the danger of bringing about the rule of peasant retrogression? No. So long as we of the working class retain the leadership of the peasant masses, we shall be able to use all the results of our strict economy for the development of our heavy industry, for the electrification of water power, and for the completion of the electric plants already under construction, as in Volchva, etc. Herein lies our sole hope of being able, speaking figuratively, to replace the miserable rustic vehicle of a ruined agrarian country by the electrical ships to industry—the aim of the proletariat.

Hence, in my opinion, we must devote our main attention to our labor inspection, and to ensuring that our state apparatus is freed from all superfluous elements. If we succeed in abolishing everything which is not absolutely necessary, we are certain of being able to hold our position, and not only hold our position as a country of small agricultural undertakings, as a land of agrarian backwardness, but as a country striding irresistibly forward, towards large industry.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Two Confederations in France — C. G. T. and C. G. T. U.

By A. Lozovsky.

In France there exist two confederations. One of them considers itself to be the representative of the whole working class of France, and invariably appears in the name of the whole proletariat, even before the League of Nations, while the other only represents the revolutionary section of the working class. The former has a morbid tendency to take part in official and solemn conferences, and to hang round the ante-chambers of ministries—the latter avoids all parade, all official celebrations arranged by former, present, or future ministers. The former speaks at every opportunity, suitable or unsuitable, on liberty, equality, and fraternity, and the great work it is accomplishing for humanity—the latter only speaks of the class war and really battles for it. The former was represented at the international peace conference at the Hague; where its delegates in high-sounding phrases swore to carry out the general strike should there be an outbreak of war—the latter was not represented at the Hague, it swore no oaths, and made no promises. The former lifts up its eyes in ecstasy to the League of Nations as the fountain head of all right and all justice—the latter sees in the League of Nations an international band of robbers, and bases its hopes solely on the social revolution. The former is on a level with the Amsterdam International with its conservatism, its inner nationalist antagonisms, its mutual distrust, its subordination of international questions to national ones—the latter is the representative of the Red International of Labor Unions, is carrying to the masses the program and tactics of this organization, the irreconcilable class war, and places international questions above national ones. Those who swore to carry out the general strike forgot their promise when the French troops occupied the Ruhr area. But those who were not at the Hague, and had taken no oaths, remembered this sharp weapon in the

proletarian army. The members of the former confederation continue to write resolutions and to implore the League of Nations to interfere, while the members of the other confederation sit behind prison doors, and receive free board and lodging from the third republic.

Two confederations—both have proceeded from the working class of France, both are composed of the same social elements, but how fundamentally different are their programs, their tactics, and the manner of their development! How came it that one working class has created two diametrically antagonistic organizations? How did it come about that two products so foreign to one another could grow in the same proletarian soil? The historical development of the working class renders it the class of the future, but at the same time it is the class of the actual present. It forms one of the fundamental pillars of the capitalist state of society. It is the class which creates and destroys capitalism. It is the class which gradually develops out of and separates from the society whose foundation it formed at the commencement of the capitalist system. Besides this, the working class is not a group cut off from all others, it is not isolated from the other classes by an impenetrable wall. The working class reaches far into the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry. It invariably absorbs the new elements, works upon them slowly and constantly, and awakens them to a consciousness of their class interests. Its position with respect to production connects it by many strands to the existing capitalist order. The interests of the development of the working class, and of the whole of society, place the working class in opposition to capitalist society. This opposition results in various groupings of ideas, all having their roots in the working class.

The might of capitalist society, whose creator and destroyer is the working class, became particularly apparent during the war, where the national-chauvinist seed so generously sown for decades bore such rich fruits. Reformism is the concentration of the ideology which believes in a union between the proletariat and the bourgeois society; it mirrors that stage of the labor movement during which the working class was solely the creator of capitalist society. Revolutionary syndicalism and communism form another stage, another side, another tendency of the labor movement—the ideology of the class which arises as the destroyer of capitalism. Thus right and left members grow organically out of the working class: on the one side reconciliation with capital, subordination to national ideology; and on the other side the striving to destroy this capitalism and to cast down its gods.

These are the historical causes which have led to the creation of the two confederations at present representing the French working class. Where is the past and where the future of the working class, along what lines will the labor movement evolve? On the lines laid down by the knights of doleful countenance, from the reformist labor confederation; on the lines of class reconciliation, on the lines of rule of imperialist ideology over the working class? Or on the lines of revolutionary struggle, of emancipation of the working class from the ideological and material fetters of capitalist society? Is it possible to doubt in which direction society is evolving? It suffices to cast one glance around, one superficial glance at the conflicts increasing on all sides. It suffices to lend an ear to the subterranean rumblings from the depths of modern society, and we must recognize that the wheel of history is revolving in a contrary direction to reformism in theory and practice. There where revolution is victorious, there the reformist illusions are rapidly scattered to the winds (Russia); and where counter-revolution is victorious, there reformism establishes its power in the minds of the working masses (Hungary).

Two confederations, one representing the concentration of conservatism and backwardness in the working class, the other the concentration of its revolutionary ardour, its enthusiasm, the readiness for sacrifice and the traditions of the revolutionary struggles of the last century. The confederation which makes itself so loudly heard on all official occasions does not even enjoy the confidence of its own International. The national reformists of Germany know very well that they have nothing to expect from the national reformists of France. The other confederation enjoys the full confidence of the revolutionary workers of Germany, for it is the bearer of the best traditions of revolutionary France. Two confederations, two worlds, two different currents in the labor movement. If the reformist confederation was composed entirely of conscious representatives of labor conservatism, of trade union employees, then it would be madness and Utopianism for the Unitarian Labor Confederation to propose an amalgamation of the two confederations. But the reformist confederation counts among its members, hundreds and thousands of proletarians who are being urged into the new paths by the pressure of events, and who will march to battle shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary proletariat of France.

For this reason it is very well possible to entertain the idea of uniting the two confederations, a step greatly to the advantage of revolutionary syndicalism and communism. But it is just for this reason that the reformist bureaucrats do not desire this unity. But their resistance will not help them much! They did not want revolutionary syndicalism either, but it came in spite of that, and found expression in the Unitarian Labor Confederation. They do not want communism, but this "frightful spectre" is haunting the whole of Europe all the same. They do not want the revolution, but despite the resistance of the ruling classes, and of their agents among the working class, revolution has already seized upon a sixth part of the globe, and the day is not far distant when it will plant its standard in the other parts of the world as well.

## The Russian Workers and the West European Struggles

(RILU) Day by day the Russian working class continues to give proofs of its intense interest in the struggles of the West European proletariat. It exercises active solidarity with its class brothers in West Europe; it proves by deeds that it regards class solidarity as neither a dead word nor a ceremonious phrase.

It is already well known that the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions has sent 800 wagonloads of bread for the proletariat of the Ruhr area. It accompanied this gift with an appeal, dated March 3, expressing the profoundest feeling of solidarity with the West European workers.

The All-Russian miners' union appeals to the miners of all countries with regard to the miners' struggles in Alsace Lorraine, in Belgium, in the Saar area, in France, Great Britain, and that impending in Czecho-Slovakia. The appeal culminates as follows:

"Miners of all countries, demand from your organizations, regardless of political party, the collection of fighting funds by committees of ten, and by the formation of united fighting fund committees. Form special national committees in all countries for this purpose, and joint control commissions composed of representatives of the existing miners' organizations of each country; in order that a systematic collection of funds for the support of your struggles may be commenced and carried through everywhere. Your strength lies solely in your unity."

The conference held by the representatives of the Moscow-Casan railway, upon which are employed 44,000 railway workers organized in trade unions, dealt among other questions, with the events in the Ruhr-area and France, and with the arrest of our friends in the CGTU. It sent to the CGTU a message assuring fullest solidarity on the part of the Russian railwaymen for the CGTU, and for comrade Semard, and called upon the Moscow Soviet to undertake steps towards liberating the prisoners incarcerated by Poincaré—especially Semard, who has been nominated honorable member of the Moscow Soviet. The conference declared that the Russian worker will not lay aside the hammer and plough on the economic front, nor his gun on the military front, until the proletariat has destroyed the power of the bourgeoisie."

## Russian Workers Aid Ruhr Workers

The employees of the Yagoro Ramensk Trust have decided to give 2% from the salaries of the employees in the 1. to 9. wage classes, 4% in the 10 to 15. wage classes, and 6% in the higher wage classes, for the Ruhr workers.

The Petrograd Soviet Worker's Union assigned 25 chervonetz to the striking workers and employees of the Ruhr area. A chervonetz is an invariable bank-note of the Russian state, guaranteed by gold; in the middle of February it was worth about 225 roubles of the 1923 issue, so that if the rouble is calculated at 500 M. the donation amounts to about 2% million marks.

The Petrograd Soviet workers remitted 250 gold roubles from their strike fund for the Ruhr workers.

The provincial union of the Don basin miners remitted 50,000 roubles (about 23.5 million marks) for the relief of the miners in the Ruhr valley.

The central committee of the Russian educational workers subscribed 3,000 roubles (1.4 million marks) for the workers of the occupied Ruhr territory.

## The strike wave in Hungary

By Georg (Vienna).

The international proletariat has had its attention drawn to the events in Hungary by an appeal issued by the Communist International. The circumstance that the Communist International



for the first time since the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship—appeals to the Hungarian working class, suffices in itself to show that the present events in Buda Pest must be of very special importance. And as a matter of fact, the mass movement now agitating the Hungarian workers is an extremely important and instructive sign for the world proletariat, of the unbroken forces of this working class, which has not been weakened either by the White Terror, nor by the civil peace imbecility of the social democrats. It is scarcely 3½ years since the proletarian revolution suffered bloody defeat, and the Communist Party was exterminated, but once more thousands of Hungarian workers are rising to defend their existence in the spirit of the class struggle.

It was obvious for many months that by the spring, at latest, there were bound to be severe conflicts between labor and capital. The real wages of the workers sank lower and lower, prices rose, the employers' unions refused any improvements in wages. While the employers prepared themselves thoroughly for the coming struggle by the formation of a firm block, the reformist trade unions omitted to organize any means of self-defence which would have permitted them to take the initiative at the given moment. The initiative thus remained in the hands of the employers. After tedious wage negotiations, in which the obstinacy of the employers became increasingly evident, the largest undertakings of the Budapest metal industry locked out their workers. The number of those locked out rose within a few days from 20,000 to 90,000. But still the trade union leaders would not negotiate, and advised workers not yet locked out to continue work! Sound class feeling, however, proved stronger than the influence of the reformists, so that the workers of the metal industry took up the strike from motives of solidarity, against the will of the trade unions and laid the undertakings still. The lock-outs in the metal industry were followed by those in the wood and brick trades, and in the ladies' garment trade. Here most of the workers who were not locked out struck in sympathy with those locked-out. From the very beginning the fighting spirit of the locked-out and strikers was excellent.

The trade unions found themselves compelled to sanction the solidarity strike. Even the national trade union council condescended to deal with the question, and was induced by the pressure of the metal and wood workers' representatives to pass a resolution assuring the solidarity of the whole working class to the strikers, but otherwise a wretched document, permeated with reformism. The resolution runs in part as follows: "The trade union council finds that since August 1919 (overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship), the industrial undertakings have done their utmost to rob the organized workers of their liberty of movement and to convert the workers thus enslaved into defenceless objects of capitalist exploitation. . . . The lock-out is at the same time an attack on the whole population of the country, and on the longed for general well-being. . . . It is the first duty of the government (1) to intervene in the struggle thus forced upon the workers, and to exercise pressure on the employers. . . .

The central organ of Hungarian social democracy, "The *Nepszava*, writes in a similar spirit in its issue of Mar. 2: "The question must be asked, if it is not the duty of the government to interfere and to restore the lost balance. The government should use its energy and authority to induce the employers. . . . The government must not look on passively at this struggle, it must look for a solution. . . ."

The trade union bureaucrats and the social democrats have thus described a means of escape: they plead with the government (the Horthy government!) to interfere. This same government which still has hundreds of revolutionary workers rotting in its prisons and internment camps; this same government which is supporting the Fascist organizations openly and secretly; which has even social democratic editors sentenced to long years of imprisonment for the expression of political opinions; which submits a budget providing for 50 milliards of taxation on articles of consumption (to be paid by the workers), and 10 milliards (!) of ground taxes (to be paid by the large landowners); the deficit of 40 milliards to be "raised" by inflation, that is, to be burdened onto the working class. This government, the Horthy government, appears in the eyes of the reformists to be a suitable intermediary in the struggle between labor and capital.

It is quite likely that before these lines appear the government may have responded to the appeal of the reformists and has "interfered". Strike leaders have possibly already been arrested, strike meetings dispersed. However this mighty strike movement may end, it will at least give the Hungarian workers the opportunity of getting to know very thoroughly the despicable rôle played by the reformists. They will recognize why their standard of living has been reduced to starvation and misery since August 1919, and thousands of striking workers will

remember the 21st of March 1919, and the proletarian dictatorship which broke down beneath the shameful treachery of the Hungarian and other Menshevik and social patriots, but the memory of which, four years later, still steels the self-reliance of the Budapest workers, their faith in their own power.

## The Trade Union Movement in Mexico

(RILU) At the 2nd national congress of the General Labor Federation held at the end of last year a number of resolutions were passed, in which a definite attitude was adopted towards various questions of organization, press and education, and the general orientation in the trade union movement was dealt with. The resolutions are in part anarcho-syndicalist in spirit.

Comrade Ramirez, who took part in the 1st congress of the RILU in 1921, submitted to the executive committee of the Federation, a report on the congress and on the confusion caused recently by the syndicalists, who formed their own "international". Ramirez draws the conclusion that the syndicalist work of disorganization is to be decidedly condemned. The leading circles of the Federation however, continue to attack the RILU, the Russian Revolution, and Soviet Russia.

There is much that is interesting to be narrated of the recent mass movement. In January a strike was declared in the capital of Mexico. This led to severe conflicts with the military forces. About 20 were killed and 100 wounded. Another incident worthy of mention was the boycott of the naphtha company El Aguila in Vera Cruz, carried out by the trade unions in January. This boycott threatened cessation of work on the Mexican railways, which are in part dependent on oil fuel.

A ruthless class struggle against the exploiters is also to be observed in the agricultural labor movement. In January the agricultural laborers and small holders of the Ticoman district commenced to divide among themselves the land held by the large landowners and large capitalist companies.

## For the striking miners in Alsace Lorraine

The International Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Miners to the Working Men and Women of all Countries.

Fellow workers, comrades!

For more than five weeks a miners' battle has been raging against the coal kings of Alsace Lorraine. Since the 7th of February seventy-five thousand colliery slaves have been fighting in the Saar district for a 4 franc rise in wages. Over 30,000 workers in Lorraine have been fighting since the 8th of February for the restoration of their former wages.

For weeks the miners had demanded a necessary rise in their wages, which had been lowered by 7 francs, and twice reduced since 1920. The stubbornness of the colliery kings has forced their wage slaves to act. The demands for a decent human existence have been without result, and must be fought for.

The pitmen are not curs, they do not lick the hand which smites them. They have been fighting courageously and undauntedly since the 7th of February, at all the collieries. In the course of the struggle a united front has been formed by the members of the Christian, reformist, and revolutionary organizations. The miners are standing shoulder to shoulder in the battle. The will to victory is inflexible. Long weeks of uninterrupted struggle have not quenched the intrepid spirit dwelling in the exhausted bodies of the pitmen, nor have they been daunted by the military occupations of the whole strike area. All the pit heads, are occupied by the military, the directors' houses are guarded. There is every prospect of the proclamation of martial law.

This proves that the struggle is reaching a climax. It is a life and death conflict.

Miners of all countries!

The miners' struggle in Alsace Lorraine must be an alarm signal calling for your solidarity and aid. Their struggle is your struggle, their victory is your victory, and their defeat your defeat. The heroic struggle being carried on by the miners of Alsace Lorraine against the common enemy must inspire the miners of all countries with pride and courage.

Working men and women of all countries!

In your daily struggle for existence against your exploiters you are united by a burning hate against those who are ruining, more and more, the working capacity of the working class by increasing starvation. It is the miners of all countries who

suffer most from this. The proof lies in the self-defensive strikes springing up everywhere.

The miners of Alsace Lorraine are in the midst of the most violent conflict! Their fighting courage is unshaken, despite all the deprivation which they and their wives and children have been suffering in silent heroism for weeks. They are going to hold out until they are victorious. In order that their forces may not become exhausted, aid has already been sent them; the national committee of the German Shop Stewards has contributed 24,000 francs, the Unitarian Miners' Federation of France 50,000 francs, the All Russian Miners' Union 26,000 francs.

In this dark hour of severest conflict we appeal to your solidarity, to your sense of duty! Help the miners of Alsace Lorraine! Organize urgent and systematic action! Make collections in the workshops, trade unions, and meetings!

The more prompt the aid, the earlier the victory! Hasten before it is too late!

International Propaganda Committee  
of the Revolutionary Miners.  
A. Kalin.

## The RILU to the Workers of Belgium

The repressions in France were immediately followed by the persecution of revolutionary workers in your country also. Your bourgeoisie no longer believes in its ability to manage the working class with the aid of the yellow press and the yellow leaders of the trade union and political movements. The labor party and the trade unions, which have invariably rushed to the rescue of your exploiters at critical moments, now feel themselves powerless against the deepening anger and concentrated bitterness of the Belgian proletariat. The Belgian government, with its whole police apparatus, has therefore thrown itself upon the communists and leaders of the suppressed trade union movement. The object of these arrests is to scatter the movement which has arisen, and to come to the aid of the coal barons and iron kings. The democratic phrases are laid aside, and we are confronted with the mailed fist which is to crush the movement in the country, and enable the oppression of the working masses of Germany to be continued.

The Red International of Labor Union sends the warmest greetings to all the exploited of Belgium. It draws your attention to the despicable rôle being played by the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals in your country, as in all countries. The bourgeoisie, armed to the teeth, is confident of being able to crush the revolutionary movement in your country, but the repressions will only arouse your energies the more, and fan higher the flames of the class war. The comrades who are arrested will be replaced by others, for the working class is unconquerable. In the present state of society, the workers can do without the bourgeoisie, while the bourgeoisie cannot do without the working class. Upon this fact we base our conviction of the final victory of the working class, on this we base our revolutionary struggle. Have done with all slavish servility to the bourgeoisie and to its agents within the working class! The mighty Belgian working class must speak its decisive word against the shameful attack made by the bourgeoisie. Class must be opposed by class and the fight against the bourgeoisie must be carried on till complete victory has been won. We send you greetings, proletarians of Belgium.

Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

## E. C. C. I.

### Session of the Enlarged Plenum

At its last session the Presidium of the Comintern Executive, among other questions, paid special attention to the preparations for the session of the Enlarged Plenum to be held in May. In accordance with the decision of the IV. Congress the Enlarged Plenum will include, in addition to the 25 members of the Executive, three representatives each, from the Communist Parties of the following countries: Germany, France, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy and also the Y.C.I., and two representatives from the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Poland, America, Bulgaria and Norway and one representative of all the other Sections having voting rights.

The following preliminary agenda has been decided upon:

1. Report of the Presidium.
2. Occupation of the Ruhr, and questions in connection therewith.
3. Further practical measures for the United Front Campaign.

4. Struggle Against Fascism.
5. Trade Union Problems and Questions relating to the Shop Stewards Movement.
6. Discussion with the Scandinavian Comrades re the limits of Centralism within the Comintern.
7. The forthcoming Amalgamation of the Second and 2½ Internationals.
8. The Situation within the British Labor Movement.
9. Preparation of the Comintern Program Work.
10. Proposals by the Sections.

The final agenda will be adopted by the Executive after the receipt of amendments from the Sections; they must reach the former not later than April 15.

The reports of the French and German C.P.s will probably be added to item 2 on the agenda.

The Frankfurt International Conference will be of the greatest importance for the second question. The problem of the Workers' Government will be discussed in connection with the 3rd question. The 4th question will have to lay down actual methods for the struggle against Fascism, and must also deal with practical aid for the Italian workers. In connection with the 5th question, problems of the Trade Union movement (as for instance that in Czecho-Slovakia) will have to be solved and the development of the Shop Stewards movement in its various forms (from the initial stages in France to the complete development in Germany) will have to be considered.

The sixth question is necessitated by the fact that the majority of the Norwegian and Swedish comrades are laboring under the misapprehension, that the decisions of the IV. Congress imply some super-centralism which makes it impossible for the national Sections of the Comintern to settle their most important inter-Party questions with sufficient independence. Although these comrades represent only a very small minority in the Comintern, the latter will endeavour to convince them of the correctness of the decisions of the Congress. Moreover it does not raise the question with the object of arriving at new formal decisions, but only for the sake of discussion, hoping in that way to get rid of all misunderstandings.

In connection with the 8th question, a conference of prominent British comrades will be held, the object of which is a detailed discussion of the present situation within the British labor movement.

## To the Communist Party of Belgium!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends warmest greetings to the comrades of the Belgian Communist Party, thrown into prison by the Belgian government, and accused of "conspiring against the security of the state" and of "treason".

Despite the daily betrayal on the part of their social democratic leaders, the Belgian miners, under the guidance of the communists, have shown the workers the road they must go, and have thus proclaimed their confidence in the communists. King Albert's government, under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and the social democrats influenced by Mr. Vandervelde, may arrest the communists, but it will never be able to prevent the working class from finding and pursuing the right path.

Every Belgian worker now knows that it is the communists alone who defend his interests, which were betrayed by the Belgian social democrats allied to the great capitalists and coal companies. The arrests of the Belgian communists ushers in a new epoch of the revolutionary proletarian movement in Belgium.

Long live the Communist Party of Belgium!  
Down with the treacherous Belgian labor party!  
Down with reaction!  
Long live the world revolution!

Moscow, March 17., 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Communist Party of Greece

By M. Rube (Athens).

The life of our party is practically unknown to the comrades abroad. Our party, the Socialist Labor Party, affiliated to the Communist International, was founded in 1918 under the inspiration of the Russian revolution, and during the revolutionary period prevailing all over Europe at that time.

During the five years of its existence the party has carried on a continuous heroic struggle, first against the policy of Venizelos, and then against Constantine. Though this struggle



has cost it many sacrifices, it has at the same time greatly contributed to its vitality, and to its moral hold on the broad masses. The second party conference of the Socialist Labor Party, which was held in April 1920, resolved on affiliation with the Communist International. The third party conference, which was to have met in the spring of 1921, has not been held yet, on account of the rule of White Terror and the brutal policy of suppression pursued by the Greek government. In the place of this, the party convened an illegal conference in February 1922, and this elected a new party central and laid down a plan of action.

The great mistake made by this conference lay however, in the circumstance that it elected a party central composed of completely dissimilar elements, for the most part intellectuals. This lack of homogeneity in the party leadership, and the three months imprisonment suffered by the leaders, paralysed all serious activity in the party, so that it did not become internally stronger and firmer, but rather so disintegrated that the leaders were obliged to convene an extraordinary party conference in October of last year, with the following agenda: 1. Interpretation of the resolutions passed by the February conference; 2. Electoral tactics; 3. Re-election of party central.

This party conference occupied itself in the first place with the general political situation, involving the expulsion of Petsopoulos from the party, and then with the impending parliamentary election.

The majority of the party leadership demanded the exclusion of Petsopoulos, who was a member of the central and chief editor of the daily paper of the party, the *Rizospastis*. After the whole matter in dispute had been thoroughly looked into and discussed, the expulsion of Petsopoulos was unanimously decided upon. This decision was substantiated by proved lack of discipline, betrayal, simultaneous super-radicalism and social patriotism, etc.

Regarding the question of electoral tactics, three different tendencies confronted one another: In the first place there was Sideri, who as one-time deputy advocated co-operation with the most progressive bourgeois party. Secondly there was the party majority, opposed to any co-operation whatever with other parties. And thirdly there were the followers of Georgadi, who, though they rejected the suggestion of co-operation with bourgeois parties, demanded an all-proletarian united front at the elections. In order to accomplish this, the aid of those sincere workers who do not belong to our party but who exercise great influence on the working class, was to be called upon. This third tendency received the support of the two large local groups of the party in Saloniki and Vola, but was sharply contested by the majority at the party conference.

Our party is faced by the great propagandist task of working for and promulgating communism in the trade unions and in the country. The General Labor Confederation is in the hands of the communists but despite this advantage the party is lacking in the activity needed for the spiritual conquest and training of the working class. The same want of activity in the party is to be observed in the agrarian question, the educational question, etc.

Our first immediate need is a carefully worked out program of action for every sphere of activity, for work in the trade unions and in the country, for the work of education, etc. It is not by discussions, but solely by the practical struggle in every sphere, that our party will become large and strong.

The ground is already favorably prepared for this. The ruling economic crisis, with its poverty, its misery and high prices; the refugee question and the unemployment caused by the emigration of enormous numbers of fugitives from Asia Minor; the despairing loss of faith among the masses with regard to all the bourgeois parties; all this forms an excellent and promising background for a successful struggle, in which the whole of the party must take part and must participate.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Guayaquil Massacre

By Andrés Nin.

In Latin America there exists a rising labor movement of which practically nothing is known in Europe. Something is known of the labor movement in Argentina, but in general the tragedy of this young proletariat, struggling against a bourgeoisie combining all the faults of the European and North American bourgeoisie, and possessing none of their advantages is entirely unknown. Barbaric massacres as a means of suppressing the proletariat are events of daily occurrence. Thus in 1921 there were massacres in Patagonia, in which more than 1,000 workers were murdered, and in San Gregorio (Chile), in

which more than 100 proletarians were mown down by machine guns. Neither massacre awoke more than a very feeble echo in other parts of the world. In the same way we have only just received news of the frightful massacre which took place in Guayaquil, in the Ecuador republic, although the event happened over 2 months ago.

The railwaymen of the Guayaquil line—Quito entered on a strike for higher wages. The strike was supported by all the workers in the town, and met with general sympathy even from the petty bourgeoisie. The unceasing rises in prices for the necessities of life and the unbounded speculation, rendered life in the town unbearable. The workers obtained a partial success. They were however, of the opinion that the rise in wages granted them was insufficient, and addressed a petition to the government requesting it to intervene. A workers' committee, accompanied by two lawyers, was commissioned to submit this petition to the government. The delegates also demanded the release of the workers who had been arrested during the strike. This demand was granted. When the result of the interview was made known, a great multitude of workers proceeded to the barracks in which our comrades were imprisoned in order to greet them in triumph on their release. Police forces were drawn up before these barracks. As the demonstrators approached, the police opened fire on them. The embittered workers replied by throwing stones. A bloody conflict ensued. The police were reinforced by the military and commenced a frightful massacre. Over 500 workers were killed, over 1,000 wounded.

Events of much less significance than this throw the proletariat of the whole world into excitement as a rule. The international working class must pay more attention to the events happening in Latin America, and must proclaim its solidarity with the proletariat of these remote countries.

## Persecution of the Communists in Belgium

The Theunis government is doing its utmost to follow Poincaré's example. Just as the French premier has attempted to convert the dissatisfaction caused by the difficulties of the Ruhr adventure into an agitation against the CPF, M. Theunis also succeeded in discovering a frightful plot which our Belgian brother party is alleged to be hatching. The Belgian authorities assert that the Belgian CP, follows lines of action laid down in Berlin. The action taken by the Belgian communists against the Ruhr occupation was dictated by Germans, the communists were at the bottom of the strikes being carried on in Belgium, and the communist organ in Brussels has been receiving money from a German source! This utter nonsense, ridiculed by even Mr. Vandervelde's organ *Le Peuple*, caused the Belgian legal authorities to issue 47 warrants of arrest. Arrests were made in Brussels, Antwerp, Liege, Charleroi, Ghent, and other places. Among those arrested are Jacquemotte, Van Overstraeten, Mathieu, Wesly, Coenen, Gerard, Lahaut, Bondas, Thonet, Lesoil, Olineur, and comrade Nelly Rainchon. A quantity of pamphlets and documents was carried away by M. Theunis' spies. Among other questions, the judge of the court of inquiry asked the prisoners if they were members of the Communist Party, if they had taken part in organizing strikes, and if they had received money from abroad.

The real reason for the action taken by the Belgian authorities against our brother party lies in the strikes which have recently taken place in Belgium. Despite the civil peace policy of the social democratic leaders, the Belgian proletariat has taken decided steps to defend itself against a lowering of its standard of living. The lock-out of the textile workers in Verviers was followed by the great miners' strike in Borinage. The fact that on this latter occasion 30,000 miners entered the strike, against the will of the social democratic politicians and trade union leaders, but in agreement with the communist slogans, struck terror into the hearts of the Belgian capitalist class. For the first time it was recognized that our young and numerically weak Belgian brother Party, had become a real power. And the government has reacted to this recognition as capitalist governments are wont to do. The charge of conspiracy is however so ridiculous, that Belgian class justice will have to release the whole of its victims sooner or later. The whole interlude will simply serve to strengthen the fighting powers of the CP. of Belgium, and to knit it more closely together with the masses.

## Bourgeois Reaction in Bulgaria

By Chr. Kabaktschieff (Sofia).

The reactionary course being pursued by the old bourgeois parties united in the so-called bourgeois "bloc", and by the agrarian government, becomes more acute from day to day.

Despite the failure of all previous attempts at a *coup d'état*, all the old bourgeois parties continue their preparations to this end, and are at the present time directing all their blows against the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie forms illegal fascist organizations, adapts the existing legal bourgeois organizations, youth associations, rambler's clubs, etc., as also the associations of reserve officers and subalterns, to this fascist rôle, forms other associations under the most various guises, and arms all these associations and organizations for the fight against the Communist Party. It has already carried out a number of attacks, as for instance during the last elections in Dupnitsa, Stara, Zagora, and other towns.

The agrarian government not only tolerates these fascist organizations of the bourgeoisie, it protects and supports them. The demand made by the masses of town and country, that the bourgeoisie and its organizations be disarmed and the workers and peasants armed, was replied to by the government by a mass disarming of the town population.

At the municipal elections held on February 11, the agrarian government organized a wholesale terror against the Communist Party. With the aid of the police, it organized armed night attacks on the premises of the Communist Party in Russe and other towns. On the day of the election it arrested hundreds of communist voters and candidates. Despite all this, the communist increased their vote in almost every town and won the municipalities of Samokov, Lom, Dupnitsa, Kalofers, Klissura, Yambol, Nova Zagora, Brazigove, Gorna Dschumaya. In Sliven, where the Communist Party received 3,610 votes against 1,942 votes by all the other parties together, the municipal council was brutally dissolved. The agrarian government arranged for no further election.

During the last few weeks a crisis broke out in the agrarian association and in the agrarian government. Some of the ministers, headed by the minister of finance Turlakoff, left the cabinet abruptly. These ministers represent the "right wing" in the agrarian association. The government was now left under the leadership of Stambolisky, who represents what is known as the "left wing" of the agrarian association. But this left wing neither represents nor protects the interests of the masses of small holders and non-propertied members of the association; it is composed of the village bourgeoisie which has recently become wealthy, that is, of middle and well-to-do farmers, who have utilized the increased prices of food, as well as the state power, for the purpose of increasing their land and capital. This nouveau riche village bourgeoisie is anxious to rule independently, and to continue to employ state power and its advantages solely for its own further enrichment. This bourgeoisie is ruthless and insolent in the choice of means for its enrichment. It pursues a similar line of conduct in its politics, especially in the attitude it adopts towards the working class. It is only in order to be able to rule independently that the Stambolisky "left wing" and the newly enriched village bourgeoisie continue their policy of demagoguery and appeasement towards the small-holding and propertyless peasants, whose support they need.

This "left" which has emerged as victor from the crisis in the agrarian association, is the same party which has carried on an even more ruthless reactionary course against the Communist Party. The last piece of work accomplished by this "left" was an alteration of the franchise laws which almost does away with the proportional representation system. The result of this will be that more than 100,000 communists will be unrepresented in parliament.

This ruthless reaction and embitterment of Stambolisky's government against the Communist Party is to be explained by the fact that—except for the members of the "left"—the great mass of small-holding and non-propertied peasants, forming the overwhelming majority of the agrarian association, are filled with an ever-growing dissatisfaction with the politicians of the old and the new village bourgeoisie. Stambolisky's government realized that the ground is beginning to crumble from beneath its feet, and that the masses of the villagers pay more and more heed to the voice of the Communist Party. The organization and power of the Communist Party are increasing from day to day in the villages, and it is thanks to the influence of our party that the opposition against the village bourgeoisie and the governmental policy is increasing. Therefore Stambolisky's government has organized an extensive and merciless reactionary struggle against the Communist Party.

But this very struggle is discrediting Stambolisky's government in the eyes of the working masses of town and village, and is preparing the ground for the extension and strengthening of the united front of the city proletariat and of the working masses of the villages. The slogan given out by the Communist Party, for a workers' and peasants' government, has called forth alarm and confusion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and especially in the ranks of the village bourgeoisie and its leaders; it is

this slogan which has caused the embitterment and brutality of Stambolisky's government towards the Communist Party. But the broad working masses of town and country have welcomed this slogan with enthusiasm. At the last moment the bourgeoisie claimed a victim from the ranks of the Communist Party. The mayor of the Communist municipal council in Dupnitsa, comrade Kosta Petroff, was ambushed and murdered.

The Communist Party is calling thousands of meetings all over the country to take up action against the growing reaction, and against hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants being deprived of the franchise. It proclaims among the masses the slogan of self-defence against the armed attacks of the fascist bands.

## THE COLONIES

### In India

The following is a report of Mr. Singaravelu Chettiar's speech delivered before the 37th Session of the Indian National Congress. Owing to delay in transmission, we were unable to publish it earlier. It is noteworthy that none of the Indian nationalist papers, even those who indulge most freely in talk about "the masses", published more than a few words of this stirring address.

Mr. M. Singaravelu Chettiar, in supporting the Labor Resolution, spoke as follows:

"President, Comrades in this Hall, Fellow-workers, Peasants of Hindusthan, Ryots and Tillers of the Soil of Hindusthan:

I have come before you today to speak as a fellow-worker, on your behalf. I have come here as a representative of the great World Movement represented by that great order of the World Communists, to give you the great message which Communism offers to the workers of the world. I come to offer you the greetings of these workers,—of the Communists who are interested in securing you your liberty, your home, your food and your clothing.

Comrades, we all know that the Congress is fighting for your rights, the right to lead a free life in our country, and these rights ought to be secured for us all. We do not want the accumulation of power in a few or fewer hands. We want power enough to enable us to be fed properly, to be clothed properly. These are the essentials we want. Our Congress must pledge itself to this. The World Communists have pledged themselves to assist the Congress in securing these rights to you. Comrades, the Communists all over the world have a common faith in the greatness of our cause and in the justice of our demands. Therefore, you must understand that they are here in spirit to help you to obtain these rights and to attain Swaraj. Let us welcome them.

Comrades and Workers. You know not your own strength. Once you realize yourselves, the ignorance that blinds your eyes will vanish, and the world will be yours. In the land of Ukraina, in far-off Russia, there is a tradition of a huge giant called the Vee, whose eyelids were so long that they touched the ground. He could not see anything lying beyond him. His drooping eyelids are now being slowly lifted. He is now beginning to see beyond the frontiers, beyond the hills and mountains, beyond the seas and oceans. Through the workers of Russia, the workers of the whole world,—of India, Asia, Europe, America and Australasia, have become one in comradeship. They know no frontiers, race, caste nor class. They have all pledged themselves to work for that comradeship. We Communists believe in the real brotherhood of the world workers, and the workers of India must help to realize this unity. Therefore ye bourgeoisie, know that the workers of India are also awakened. Know that like their comrades abroad, they now see beyond the hills, beyond the seas and oceans, encompassing all the world workers in real comradeship. You cannot neglect them today. They have now realized their strength.

Today, the Indian laborer can be called the Cinderella of the East. To her have been assigned the bitter things of the world,—all the famines, pestilences, diseases and miseries of the world, all the cares and anxieties of the world. But beware, you rich men. While labor has given you all the good things of the world, you have kept her in the background; while all the time ministering to your wants, you have neglected her. By her skill, devotion and industry, you are enjoying all the luxuries of the world. But the change is fast approaching, when the bourgeoisie will sink into merited neglect. Cinderella, the Labor of India, will reign supreme. Indian labor is awakening, and is coming steadily and surely to her rights.



# FASCISM

## International Committee of Action against War and Fascism

Chairmen: *Klara Zetkin*, Berlin. *Henry Barbusse*, Paris.  
Berlin, Easter 1923.  
Rosenthaler Str. 38.

Circular No. 1.

To all Labor Organizations.

Dear Comrades,

The International Committee of Action against Danger of War and Fascism, now addresses all the organizations which were represented at the Frankfort Conference, or which are in sympathy with the decisions of the Frankfort Conference. This Conference has decided to institute an *International Propaganda Week* from April 15 to 22, 1923, during which the Frankfort decisions are to be popularized. In order that this Propaganda Week be a success, it must be thoroughly prepared and organized.

### I. Oral Propaganda.

Already before April 15, meetings and sessions should be called in the workshops, in the Trade Unions, and Trade Union Councils. At these meetings the tasks of the Propaganda Week are to be thoroughly discussed.

During the Propaganda Week, meetings are to be held in every large factory, and after the workers are acquainted with the Frankfort decisions, resolutions are to be passed expressing the solidarity of the workers with the Frankfort Conference decisions.

Similarly in the Trade Unions, membership meetings are to be held and the Frankfort Conference discussed.

Wherever possible, mass meetings are to be held, in order to acquaint the workers of the small workshops as well as the broad masses with the decisions of the Frankfort Conference.

In all public places, large demonstrations are to be held; foreign speakers are to speak for the carrying out of the Frankfort decisions. Foreign speakers are, wherever possible, to be used at the large shop meetings (in the great works of the metal industry, munition works, docks, mines, railroad centres, etc.).

As, unfortunately, the leading comrades of the 2, 2½ and the Amsterdam Trade Union Internationals were not represented at the Frankfort Conference, they are to be given an opportunity during the Propaganda Week of being heard on the decisions of this Conference. The leaders of these Internationals are therefore to be invited to these meetings.

It is to be seen that many non-partizan and unorganized workers and housewives participate in the demonstrations and meetings.

Information regarding speakers and propaganda material can be gotten directly through the Committee of Action.

### II. Written Propaganda.

In all the labor newspapers the Frankfort Conference is to be discussed daily. The daily political and economic events are to be connected with the Frankfort decisions.

All the resolutions, declarations, motions and decisions adopted at the various meetings are to be reported in the newspapers, especially in the trade unions press.

The Committee of Action will aid the written propaganda by issuing handbills and leaflets. One will contain the decisions of the Frankfort Conference; another the speeches of Lozovsky and Clara Zetkin, etc. The manifesto of the Frankfort Conference will be widely distributed in the form of leaflets and posters. Mass distributions of other manifestos to the miners, transport workers, seamen and metal workers of all countries will take place. All the corresponding trade union organs are to reprint these manifestos.

### III. Exchange of Speakers.

In order to enable foreign speakers to address the various shop meetings, an exchange of speakers is to be organized. All organizations wishing to have foreign speakers are at once to notify the Committee of Action. On the other hand however, it is the duty of all these organizations to furnish an equal number of speakers for foreign countries. A list of speakers for foreign countries is at once to be sent in to the Committee of Action.

### IV. Themes for the Meetings.

1. The Frankfort Conference and the tasks of the labor organizations.

2. Proletarian Struggle versus Danger of War and Imperialism.

Variations of these themes are to be adapted according to the country. In France and Germany the Ruhr occupation will occupy the foreground.

In England the danger of war called forth by the policy of the ruling class in the Orient, in Ireland, Egypt and India—are to be specially emphasized.

3. The Fight against Fascism. Here it is to be emphatically pointed out that if the working class fails to organize an effective defense, the same fate awaits it in every capitalist country, as has befallen the Italian proletariat.

### V. Defensive Measures.

a) *Defense-organs* to be created by all proletarian organizations, for the purpose of consolidating the proletarian ranks, facilitating unified action, checking the attacks of the enemy and strengthening the class consciousness of the workers.

b) Special measures against Italian Fascism are necessary:

1. Propaganda boycott of Italian goods.
2. Workers delegations to protest to the Italian embassies against the suppression of the Italian labor movement.
3. Demonstrations in the Parliaments against the Italian government and its Fascist methods.
4. Demonstration before Italian Consulates, embassies, Italian Commercial and Industrial Banks etc.

### VI. International Conferences.

According to the decisions of the Frankfort Conference, international conferences of the key industries are to be convened: miners, railway-workers, seamen. We propose the 27th and 28th of May for such conferences. *Agenda*: The tasks of the particular group in the execution of the Frankfort Conference decisions.

At the meetings during the Propaganda Week, attention should be called to these conferences, and the workers asked to elect delegations early. Besides these conferences, the Committee of Action will organize conferences of the munition workers, the electrical and chemical workers.

### VII. Propaganda among the Soldiers

for the decisions of the Frankfort Conference. All difficulties are to be surmounted and the united front of all workers with the uniformed proletariat is to be propagated. Written propaganda among the soldiers will greatly facilitate this work—(Soldiers' letters handbills, etc.)

### VIII. News Service.

The Committee of Action is to be kept in constant touch with the struggles of our foreign comrades. This will co-ordinate the proletarian actions and render them truly international.

### IX. National Committees.

should be formed in every country. All proletarian organizations fighting for the realization of the Frankfort decisions should send delegates to these national committees.

### X. A Fighting Fund.

is absolutely necessary in order to carry out all these measures. Collections are to be made in every country with the least possible delay. Contributions should at once be sent in to the International Committee of Action in Berlin. All monies are to be sent to: *Frau Frieda Düwcll, Berlin C.54, Rosenthaler Straße 38.*

The International Committee of Action against Danger of War and Fascism has its headquarters in Berlin. Its publications appear in German French and English. All communications are to be sent to the International Committee of Action against War and Fascism.

*Frau Klara Zetkin,*  
Berlin C.54, Rosenthaler Str. 38.

With fraternal greetings,

The Secretariat of the International  
Committee of Action against War and Fascism.