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The Situation in Germany The Frankfurt Conference

By Heinrich Brandler.

The English occupation authorities have forbidden the holding of the International Conference in Cologne. Herr Weissmann, the chief of the detective headquarters of the Ebert Republic has issued orders to raid the conference. M. Poincaré not only holds the participators in the Essen conference as prisoners, but he is organizing the suppression of the French revolutionary trade unions of the CGTU, and of the Communists, who, in spite of persecution are conducting a splendid campaign in preparation for the conference in Frankfurt. The rulers are all united in their persecution of the revolutionary working class. The violent quarrels over booty, which are taking place among the international bourgeoisie, threaten to plunge the whole world into a fresh war. But French and German, English and Italian, Czechish and Polish are—in spite of all the differences among themselves, so far as the bourgeoisie of these countries is concerned—united for the persecution of the working class, and in particular—its vanguard, the Communists. The French spy centre works hand in hand with the German political police. That disturbs neither the patriotism of the French nor of the German bourgeoisie.

A better illustration of the class solidarity of the bourgeoisie when dealing with the working class is impossible. This fact must make it clear to the dumbest worker, that the conflicts between the rulers of the various countries, in spite of all patriotic and nationalist phrases, even when the conflict is fought out by military means, are merely concerned with differences arising from capitalist class interests. The French bourgeois has more in

common with the German bourgeois than with the French worker, and vice versa.

The end for which the French bourgeoisie is fighting is the domination of Europe. The starting point may be the Ruhr occupation which ostensibly is the result of Germany's failure to pay reparations. In France those voices are increasing which desire the policy of expansion—the permanent union of the Rhenish Westphalian coal mines with the French ore mines under French suzerainty. It is in accordance with the nature of capitalism that the German bourgeoisie set itself the same aims in the world war, and in the event of its victory it would have exercised precisely the same ruthless brutality as does the heavily armed French Imperialism towards the vanquished Germans.

The defensive struggle against French Imperialism can only be victorious if conducted by revolutionary methods, i. e., by the international proletariat, and before all, by the German and French working class. The victory of the French bourgeoisie, like the victory of the German bourgeoisie is equally a victory over the French and German working class. In any case it confirms the rule of the victorious bourgeoisie over the working class of both countries.

This fact renders clear the necessity for revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in France and Germany. Only the victory of the revolutionary working class over the bourgeoisie will put an end to the constant danger of war. Only when the French iron ore areas and the Ruhr coal are

taken away from the profit hunting bourgeoisie, and the joint restoration of the devastated areas placed under the care of the Franco-German Soviet Republics, will there be an end to the century long quarrel between the French and German ruling class over the hegemony of Europe.

With this end in view the Frankfort Conference will have the practical task of organizing the forces for realizing these aims. Up to the present, the Amsterdamers, and the Second and 2½ Internationals have not responded to the invitation of the *Committee of 23 of the German Shop Stewards*. The German social-democratic press has kept up a systematic campaign of silence about this Conference. The reformist ADGB (General German Trade Union Federation), and the United Social Democracy are pursuing a policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, and are putting up a sham opposition to Stinnes' program. The Cuno government has issued orders not to raise wages—because "prices are falling". During the month of February, the cost of living (absolute necessities) has risen by more than 100%. In spite of the "dollar depreciation", prices are rising constantly. Mass unemployment has already begun.

The trade union leaders are satisfied with "protests"; the social-democratic fraction—with Parliamentary decrees. Both of them fear the organization of the masses for the defensive struggle, as does the devil—holy water.

In the meanwhile, the German bourgeoisie is taking advantage of the Ruhr occupation, to kill two birds with one stone. By means of its nationalistic uproar it hopes to get a larger share in the Franco-German or International Iron and Coal Trust, and within its *Vaterland*, it hopes to be able to crush the rebelling working class, by a combination of National Guard, Military Police, and Fascist bands.

The social-democratic Minister Severing, also confines himself to "protests" against the activities of the National Guard, and his glorious United Social Democratic Party of Germany maintains a sepulchral silence in face of the most far-reaching preparations to enact another blood-bath against the proletariat, as did Noske before the Kapp-putsch (until he and Ebert, together with the entire social-democratic government, had to flee.)

The German Ebert Republic will meet its death in the Ruhr conflict, if it fails to win over the working-class and to displace the present bourgeois government with a *Workers' Government*, capable of shifting the crushing burdens from the proletariat on to the bourgeoisie, of dealing a death blow to the Fascist bands, and of transforming the Bourgeois State of 1918 into a Socialist State.

The sabotage of the social democratic and trade union leaders, retards the process and protracts the misery of the German and the international proletariat. Already we hear the rebellious voice of the social-democratic masses against the policy of their leaders. In *Saxony*, the social-democratic workers rejected the coalition with the bourgeoisie (which was officially demanded of them), and have pronounced themselves in favor of cooperating with the C. P. In *Thuringia* and in *Berlin*, social-democratic workers go hand in hand with the Communists—against the decisions of their own party leaders, and form Defense Units against Fascism.

The French invasion has not yet precipitated the catastrophic collapse. We are still in the midst of a protracted crisis. But the workers are beginning to stir. The intensified activity of the Fascisti is rousing them to a determined defensive struggle.

It will therefore be the task of the *International Conference* at Frankfort to organize and reinforce the awakened national and international forces. Thanks to the sabotage of the Second and 2½ Internationals, the Frankfort International Conference may not as yet be in a position to flash the signal for the attack,—but it can none the less accomplish a great deal in mobilizing and developing the fighting forces. This work done, the way will be clear to take up the struggle, *with*, otherwise *without*, and if necessary *against*, the helpers of the bourgeoisie from the Second and 2½ Internationals.

POLITICS

On to the International Conference on March 17th!

To all organizations affiliated with the Communist and Red Labor Union Internationals!

Dear Comrades,

The shop stewards of Rhenish Westphalia are convening an international conference for March, 18, the anniversary of the Paris Commune. The task of this conference will be to

unite all revolutionary and honest elements of the working class to

combat the danger of a fresh war,

and the imperialist war threatened by the mobilization in Poland, and by the war preparations in Czecho-Slovakia. The shameful attack made by the French bourgeoisie on the peaceful population, the greedy and egoistic policy of the German magnates, the savage greed of the industrial and financial sharks of England, the appetite of the American money-bags and of their worthy partners in Japan, are thrusting the working masses of all countries into an abyss of filth and blood. The sole class fighting consciously and consistently against imperialist war is the proletariat. But its final word is yet to be spoken; it must now step forward and stamp out the germ of imperialist greed of the ruling classes:

All labor parties and trade union federations are invited to this conference, whose task it will be to organize a united front against the new international war. The occupation of the Ruhr, undertaken at the behest of French heavy industry, must be as decisively warded off as every other imperialist action.

The Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions request all organizations to take active part in the coming conference, and to enlighten the working masses of their countries regarding the great significance of the coming international conference.

The conference held in Essen on the eve of the Ruhr occupation was the first practical step towards an international struggle. This first step must be followed by further ones, a practical struggle must be organized against the mutual annihilation of the peoples.

The Second and Amsterdam Internationals, as well as all the organizations affiliated to them, are invited to this conference. We hope that the masses of workers belonging to these organizations will know how to force their leaders to take part in this international conference, whose task it is to save the working masses from the danger of a fresh war.

Moscow, March 3, 1923.

Committee of Action of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The German National Committee of Shop Stewards on the International Conference against the occupation of the Ruhr.

The national committee of the shop stewards of Germany makes an appeal to the shop stewards, and to the workers of Germany organized politically and in trade unions. The following is an extract from the appeal:

The committee of 23 belonging to the Rhenish-Westphalian shop steward council has convened an international conference for the 17th of March 1923, with the object of taking up the fight against the new bloodbath threatened by international capital. All international labor organizations and unions are called upon to take part.

The invitation to take part in the conference has been accepted by the following organizations:

1. The Red International of Labor Unions.
 2. III. (Communist) International.
 3. The Communist Parties of France, England, Belgium, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Germany.
 4. The Socialist Working Union (2½), the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Poland, and the Social Democratic parties of the Border States.
 5. The Committee of Action of the Communist Parties of France and Germany.
 6. The Miners' Trade Unions of Yorkshire (England), the English dockers and engineers, the Red trade unionists of France, the revolutionary trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia, the Polish Trade Union Opposition, the Italian oppositional trade union fractions.
 7. The national committee of the German Shop Stewards.
- On the other hand, the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the Second International, and the Social Democratic parties and trade unions of France, England, Belgium, and Germany have sent no direct reply as yet. In so far as the

notices and articles, conference and other public speeches of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the United German Social Democratic Party, and the German Trade Union Alliance, are decisive for judging the attitude of these organizations, they do not intend to participate in the conference.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International resolved, before the occupation of the Ruhr, to reply to any warlike measures and threats of war danger, from whatever side they might come, with the general strike. The Amsterdam International, in whose ranks the overwhelming majority of the Western European proletariat is organized, has not even made the slightest attempt to organize or to agitate for a general strike.

Millions of workers and their families may perish; unemployment, want, and misery may drive them to desperation, millions of proletarians may again tear each other to pieces on the battle field in the interests of capital,—this does not concern these labor leaders. For them the main point is, and remains, united front with capital. Workers, class comrades!

Will you tolerate this? Will you continue to look quietly on while your chosen leaders abandon the class interests of the proletariat?

Demand of your leaders:

The united front of the international proletariat.

An international Conference for combatting the Ruhr Occupation

The committee of 23 of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards appealed to all labor parties, trade unions, shop stewards, and to the Labor Internationals, to convene an international conference for the purpose of consulting on the measures to be taken against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the capitalist offensive, and against the Fascisti.

This conference has been convened for March 17., at Cologne, by the joint committee of action of the German and French Communist Parties. In Germany, invitations to the conference have been sent to the German Communist Party, the Independent Socialist Party, the United Socialist Party, and to the German trade union alliance.

The provisional agenda is as follows:

1. The measures of self defence to be adopted by the proletarian parties and trade unions against the Ruhr occupation and the capitalist offensive.
2. The work to be done for combatting Fascismo.

The invitation to the above-named organizations was accompanied by the following communication:

Comrades,

The military occupation of the Rhine country, and the economic war now being fought at the expense of the German and French proletariats, threatens to drag the working class into the abyss. The whole working class of Europe is again confronted by the danger of war. Economic life decays, the working class is plunged into poverty. Bands of Fascisti are organizing civil war against the working class.

Our French comrades are carrying on an heroic battle against Poincaré's policy. Dozens of our comrades have been thrown into prison. Despite all difficulties they are carrying on an energetic struggle for joint action by the working class, and for delegates to be sent to the international conference.

From Germany, promises to send delegates have already been received from the Communist Party and from the Independent Socialist Party (Ledebour). Up to the present neither the German General Trade Union Federation nor the United Socialist Party have sent any reply to the appeal made by the committee of 23. In this hour of the greatest danger for the working class we address the following question to these organizations:

Are you prepared to send representatives to this conference, as others are doing?

Are you prepared to fight side by side with the international working class, against the Ruhr occupation and against the Fascist danger?

We believe the situation to have become so critical, that the social democratic workers must decide upon joint action by all workers—even if it be against the will of the leaders who have made common cause with the German bourgeoisie.

We call upon the workers of town and country to establish the international class front of the proletariat. Decide upon your attitude towards the conference, and send your delegates.

Down with the imperialist policy of robbery!

Long live the international solidarity of the exploited!

The Patriotism of the German Chemical Industry

By Karl Radek.

The fourth number of the Russian periodical "War and Peace", appearing in Berlin, contains an excellent article on the book written by the English major Victor Lefevre, published simultaneously in English and French under the title of "The Riddle of the Rhine". The book gives a general survey of the rôle played by the chemical industry during the recent world war, and predicts that in the next war a decisive rôle will be played by the manufacture of poisonous gases and explosives. The writer studies the existing relations of power in the sphere of war chemistry, and arrives at the conclusion that the mighty chemical industry of Germany affords her the possibility of restoring a great part of her military power in the future.

The German press has treated this book as a piece of anti-German propaganda. But we find in it the views seriously held in English and French military circles. As a proof of this we may mention the fact that French spies have long been endeavoring to learn the German secrets for the manufacture of synthetic ammonia and nitrogen. The records of the German courts of justice show a large number of cases in which engineers have been brought to trial on the charge of having sold quite unimportant information to French spies, and have been severely punished. The indictment brought against them has generally been that of high treason.

And now, at the very moment when the whole German bourgeoisie, and the whole press, is calling upon the German people, and of course upon the German working masses in particular, to be ready to sacrifice themselves in order to give French imperialism the answer it deserves, at the very moment when the German bourgeoisie demands the absurdest forms of boycott, not only against French capitalism, but against every individual Frenchman living in Germany, at this very moment, the German proletariat learns that one of Germany's greatest chemical works, the Baden Aniline and Soda Factory at Ludwigshafen, has made an agreement with the French government, and has sold to it for 5 million gold francs the secrets which might, under certain circumstances, have represented the mightiest weapon of Germany against French imperialism.

On February 6., the French government demanded the ratification of this agreement from the French Parliament. The reporter of the Chamber, Leboucq, declared that in France there was a shortage of one half the nitrogen required for the manufacture of explosives, about 110,000 tons. He pointed out that as early as 1919 negotiations had been entered into with the Baden Aniline and Soda Factory, and that these works had undertaken to aid France in the building and equipment of a great factory in the environs of Toulouse, for the manufacture of the chemical weapons required by the French republic for the next war. The works at Toulouse were to be superintended by German engineers. The Baden Aniline Factory delivers over all secrets of manufacture to the French government against payment of a sum of 5 millions of francs, and a 2 to 4% share of the profits of the new works. The new factory is to have from the commencement, a daily output of 100 tons of ammonia. The works are to be property of the state, which is to possess 250,000 of the 300,000 shares to be issued. For obvious reasons the bourgeois press of Germany has preserved a strict conspiracy of silence with regard to this matter. When it was dragged forth into the light of day by the communist press, the German patriots of chemical capital hastened to assure the working masses that there was no need for them to excite themselves over the affair, indignation was superfluous, and moreover, much too late, for the Fatherland had long since been betrayed and sold, in the year 1919! We are not aware that when the crime of high treason has been proved against anyone, he can save himself from the gallows by pointing out that his crime was committed three years ago. But the fact remains that the agreement in question was not ratified by the French government until February 6., and that the great German patriots of the chemical industry did not annul this contract, not even after the occupation of the Ruhr area.

Stinnes, Thyssen, and Co. call upon the German workers to demonstrate against French imperialism, because the latter claims 51% of the shares of the Franco-German coal and iron trust now being formed. The bourgeois press of Germany preaches an anti-French crusade, and calls upon the starving German workers to fight for 51% for Herr Stinnes. The first consequences arising from the German plutocratic struggle for predominance within the Franco-German iron and coal syndicate are again to be paid for by the German workers. Between the 10th and 24th of January, the prices for the barest necessities

of iron rose by 63%; this is admitted by the official statistics, which never give the whole truth. Between January 27. and February 2., that is, within a single week, prices again rose by another 68%. The coal barons doubled the prices of their coal deliveries, and in the period between January 1. and February 1., the price of iron actually rose by 375%. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the workers' wages remained, very far behind these increases.

And this is the moment chosen by the magnates of the German chemical industry to bargain with the deadly enemy of the German people, to strike a bargain for the sale of valuable weapons, and to sell these to the enemy for 5 million gold francs! Thus the German bourgeoisie demonstrates, in the most cynical manner, that when it cries out: The Fatherland is in danger! it is only thinking of the danger threatening its money bags. If it succeeds in coming to an understanding with French imperialism, on favorable or unfavorable conditions, then it shouts with equal enthusiasm: Long live high treason! But if it finds that the "hereditary enemy" is not giving it enough, it is only offering it 29 instead of 30 pieces of silver, again it shrieks at the top of its voice: Long live national resistance at the expense of the German working class!

It would be wrong to draw from all this the conclusion that the German workers should abandon their struggle against French imperialism. On the contrary, this struggle is a part of their own class war. But it may be seen from the above that the German bourgeoisie is not the organizer of national defence, but, on the contrary, is prepared to betray its fatherland any moment for a sufficient price. Only Germany's proletariat can save her from the unhappy fate of the colonies, from imperialist exploitation. And for this reason the German proletariat must make a final break with the bourgeoisie, and must act as a class, consciously taking its own fate, and the fate of the whole nation, into its own hands.

Lausanne and the Ruhr

By A. Lozovsky.

Is there any connection between the Lausanne conference and the occupation of the Ruhr basin? Without doubt there is. Lausanne was one stage on the road towards the liquidation of the treaty of Sevres, this offspring of Versailles. Lausanne showed the instability of the "eternal peace" created by the allies. The occupation of the Ruhr valley liquidated the Versailles treaty from another side, and again confirmed the deceptive nature of the new international rights called into existence as consequence of the great war.

But Lausanne and the Ruhr not only prove the instability of European peace, but also the hopeless tangle in which the victorious countries have become involved. What is the real import of the Lausanne conference? That Turkey, contrary to the expectations of the allies, proved herself to be a living force. The revolutionary movement of this peasant country compelled England, the world ruler, to retreat. The questions engaging the Lausanne conference were, the possession of the Dardanelles and the exploitation of the naphtha of Mossul. Naturally, Lord Curzon was in favor of the "internationalization" of the Straits, that is, he would have liked the numerous English warships now defending European civilisation in the Near East to be supplemented by a few French ones, and by one Italian. When this "internationalization" is lit up by naphtha, Lausanne may be seen in its true light. Naphtha does undoubtedly possess the remarkable property of showing things in their true light. At Lausanne, the French were against the English, for the French idea of "internationalization" is a system under which the number of French warships exceeds the number of English. The French would have been inclined to acknowledge England's "rights" in the Near East, if England had left them a "free hand" in the Ruhr question. "A free hand", in the euphemistic language of diplomacy, signifying in the present case, leaving a clear road for French dominion over Europe. What is the real and actual import of the Ruhr occupation? France, thanks to her victory, has become the country richest in iron ore. Her own rich ore mines, from which before the war, she extracted 19 million tons of ore, have now been supplemented by those of Alsace Lorraine, which produced 21 million tons of iron ore. Germany lost 80% of her iron ore, and the French capitalists gained predominance in iron. Possessed of such quantities of ore, France's coal deficit became greater than ever. Already before the war, France had been importing 20 million tons, and the increased demand for coal brought about by the Versailles treaty could not be covered by the coal from the annexed Saar basin, with its total yearly output of 17 million tons. In addition, the coke needed for France's blast furnaces is in the Ruhr valley.

At the commencement of the war, when the German bourgeoisie was still hoping for victory, it was decided to annex the French ore, for coal has an irresistible attraction for ore. In the same way when France proved victorious, the annexation of the Ruhr basin was decided on beforehand, for iron exercises an equally great attraction for coal. How came it that this annexation did not take place until four years after the treaty of Versailles? The chief reason was that England could not permit the union of iron and coal, and a second reason was that during this period negotiations were proceeding between the German coal barons and the French iron magnates regarding the peaceful alliance of iron and coal. Both parties to this advantageous undertaking desired to have a majority of the shares; as however, this was impossible, the consequence has been the military occupation of the Ruhr basin. Negotiations have now recommenced between the industrial magnates of both countries, with regard to the division of the shares. And where is England in the meanwhile? England is pursuing the wait and see policy, and will not interfere until the two parties have proved themselves incapable of solving the conflict by themselves. And it will only interfere for the purpose of making sure that neither one party nor the other of the Franco-German coal syndicate will acquire a majority of the shares.

And the proletariat? The proletariats of both countries are opposed to war, and if the 2. International and the Amsterdammers were equally opposed to war, it would be possible to break up the whole coke-naphtha combination. But these gentlemen, who recently, at The Hague, swore solemn oaths, that they would proclaim the international strike in the event of war danger, began to weep lamentably, supplicate the liberator and protector of the peoples, the League of Nations. But who is this mysterious protector of the peoples, this impartial defender of eternal and absolute right? What is this League, at whose portal the Amsterdam pacifists knock so humbly? Do you want to know what this League of Nations is? Take Poincaré, add to him Lord Curzon and the Czecho-Slovakian Benes, boil up these ingredients with the royal minister and social democrat Branting, stir all well together with a good pinch of Mussolini, and you have the great protector of the rights of nations, known by the name of the League of Nations.

If the international proletariat had no better friends than the Amsterdammers, the 2. International, and the League of Nations, which protects the rights of the peoples with its fleet, then Europe would again be strewn with millions of fresh corpses. But happily the events of the last few years have not been without their effect on humanity; they have caused millions and millions of proletarians to rise against the capitalist system and against its conscious and unconscious defenders. Every fresh conflict opens the eyes of fresh hundreds of thousands of proletarians. That which neither the Comintern nor the Red International of Labor Unions could accomplish, has been effected by Poincaré and Lord Curzon. Lausanne and the Ruhr are stages on the road to the liquidation of not only the Versailles treaty, but of the whole system which gave it birth. Go on as you have begun, you Stinnes, Poincaré, and Curzon. Divide up the world among yourselves, quarrel as to who is to have the greatest number of shares; the revolutionary proletariat will soon find a way of uniting you . . . on the same gallows.

The End of the Versailles Peace Treaty

By Bertreint (Paris).

The *Echo de Paris*, which is as a rule, excellently informed on diplomatic matters, recently referred as follows to the mission of the minister Le Trocquer in London:

"Of course the English minister did not accept the juridical thesis laid down by us in justification of our claim: footnote No. 2 to the armistice of 1918, article 212 of the Versailles treaty, and article 10 of the Rhine country agreement of July 28, 1919. He denies that General Degoutte ever had the right to hold the position of commander in chief over the allied armies, and maintains that in any case the position was forfeited as soon as we put our own special interpretation on § 18 of supplement II of section 8 of the Versailles treaty, and proceeded to occupy the Ruhr without the agreement of London."

Thus England defines her attitude clearly and distinctly. She is of opinion that France has broken the treaty of Versailles. It may be remarked in the first place: If America from her position of spectator, proclaims that the treaty is impossible of execution; if England openly declares that the treaty has been violated; if France and Belgium continue to further violate it; is it possible to maintain that the treaty still exists at all?

The operations in the Ruhr have torn the treaty to pieces. In Europe there is no other power save open violence.

Secondly it may be remarked: Although England is of the opinion that the treaty has been broken by France and Belgium, she continues to exercise a so-called "benevolent" neutrality towards the governments of Paris and Brussels.

It is impossible for England to express more cynically the fact that respect for treaties is an entirely obsolete conception in the capitalist world.

Capitalists acted in precisely the same way in former times, but they at least kept up appearances.

Thirdly: It is quite impossible for England to look on benevolently while French industry combines the possession of the iron of Lorraine with the control of the Rhenish-Westphalian coal, and thus establishes a hegemony in Europe. Industrial England cannot quietly acquiesce when she is thus pushed aside by her rival France.

England's policy towards France is one of "benevolent" neutrality:

1. because at the present time England is not exposed to competition from Ruhr coal, and is thus able to sell her own coal at continually higher prices;

2. because Franco-Belgian heavy industry is forced to limit its output on account of shortage in smelting coke, whilst the coal and iron industry of England is fully occupied and exporting largely, whereby unemployment in England is greatly alleviated;

3. because the rate of exchange of the pound sterling is rising, without the depreciation of the franc having any unfavorable influence on export;

4. because England's hands are too full with her difficulties in Ireland, Egypt, and India, to permit of her interfering further in European affairs;

5. because the seizure of the Mosul oil-fields has fallen through in consequence of the breaking off of the Lausanne conference;

6. because there is no particular need for urgency, and because the economic disorganization of the Ruhr area does not permit France to lay immediate hands on the Rhenish-Westphalian coal.

Fourthly: England hesitated long as to whether she should keep her occupation troops in France, or should withdraw them.

Finally the English government decided on retaining the troops in France, giving as a motive the desire to hold the Entente together.

The reason why England does not care to break entirely with France is, that it would not be to her own interest to do so under present circumstances.

On the other hand a withdrawal of the troops would give a completely free hand to France and Belgium, and facilitate their operations against Germany, England's future ally.

Further, the presence of British troops provides possibilities for intervention, preventing the union of Lorraine ore with Rhenish coal, under a Franco-Belgian hegemony.

Fifth remark: It may be predicted with certainty that as soon as England perceives any lightening of her present difficulties, she will intervene energetically in order to prevent the industrial domination of France on the continent.

To resurvey the situation: The continued British occupation of Cologne, and the benevolent neutrality of England with respect to France, are mere attitudes by which English imperialism shows consideration for Germany, to be followed later by a policy of breaking with its allies.

The European proletariat must oppose its class solutions to all these capitalist and imperialist combinations.

British Labor and the Ruhr

By J. T. Murphy.

Probably no campaign in British Labor history has demonstrated so clearly the imperialistic training of the British Labor leaders, as the campaign on the Ruhr occupation.

From the moment the French troops advanced into the Ruhr, the Labor protests assumed an anti-French character, not because British labor, the bulwark of the Second International, was against all imperialist adventures, but because it had an eye to British Imperialist interests. Never has there been such a medley of opinions and pronouncements from responsible Labor leaders. But messed up as they may be, everyone rushed to the Union Jack.

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald led the way. He first of all reiterated the demands of the Amsterdam conference of 1921. He stood for reparations, but not quite so much as the French demanded. Let there be a careful estimate of what Germany

could pay, both now and in the future, and an adjustment of our demands accordingly. In any case we could not stand for the French aggression and Britain must look after her own interests.

There was not the slightest difference between his pronouncements and the voice of British Liberalism. Indeed, the Manchester Guardian was more radical in its criticism than the Labor leaders.

Then spoke Mr. J. R. Clynes, who first called for the intervention of the American Government. This was supported by Mr. Lloyd George most enthusiastically, and later was taken up by the leaders of the Independent Labor Party, led by Mr. Wallhead, who addressed an appeal to the American president to join in a world conference of governments headed by America.

At the same time they were quite uncertain what to do about the presence of the British troops on the Rhine; some were in favour of their withdrawal, some against. Then the I.L.P. sent a deputation to Germany to feel the pulse of the German democrats. These, we were told, were in favour of the British troops staying there in order to prevent the French annexing the Ruhr. Still uncertain what to do, some pleaded for withdrawal and some were against.

Then Mr. Snowden entered the arena and summed up the Labor policy in the following way: Speaking of France, he spoke not of the people but of the militant leaders of her policy. He had the most profound respect for the people of France and desired to live on terms of co-operation and affection with them. It would be a happy day for France, when the French people threw off the domination of their military leaders and joined with the peoples of the other countries in the great work of European pacification and reconstruction.

Change the words French and France respectively, for German and Germany, and we have exactly what Mr. Lloyd George said a few years ago. But it has been left for the last deputation to the Ruhr, to complete the picture of the intellectual bankruptcy of the English section of the 2nd International. Messrs. Wheatley, Kirkwood, Maxton and Stephen of the I.L.P. report as follows:—

"If France succeeded in capturing and working the Ruhr coalfield, she would become immediately the military monarch of Europe, and, in addition, oust us from the steel markets of the world. The industrial captains of Britain and the Government they support do not contemplate this prospect with equanimity. So they are not, to put it mildly, enthusiastic supporters of the French policy. If we continue to lecture and embarrass France, the relations between the two countries may become strained.

The only way out of the difficulty is for France, Germany, Britain, Belgium and Italy to internationalize the Ruhr coalfield.

The administration of the coalfield would, of course, be in the hands of an international Board of Directors, who would appoint a managing director and the necessary staff. The coal would be disposed of in the competitive market in the ordinary way, and the dividends earned would be distributed proportionately as Reparations. Germany's dividend would be the political independence and freedom from occupation in any Ruhr, and every other part of Germany, which the scheme would ensure to her. France would have her national safety guaranteed by the international control of the source of German war materials. Britain would be safeguarded against the overwhelming advantages in the world's markets, which a monopoly of the Ruhr coal with the Lorraine ore would give to any nation.

Italy and Belgium would gain in status by sharing in the control. The whole world would benefit by the sense of security and common interest created by such a settlement."

No wonder the *Morning Post*, the die-hard Conservative paper hails the statement as a "frank statement of Labor leaders". No wonder Mr. Baldwin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer can say he can imagine a Labor Government and in that event he would give it the same loyalty as is offered to the Governments formed by other parties . . . except of course the Communist Party.

Apart from the efforts of the C.P., anything in the nature of a call for working class action against the Imperialism of all capitalist countries has been entirely absent. The campaign has taken the form of a rally to Liberalism under the banner of Labor, and poor Liberalism at that.

At every stage they have rejected everything that might lead to an all-in workers conference for fear of exposure by the Communist International. The Hague conference received very little publicity, and the Russian proposals have been completely

suppressed by the Labor press. Never has the British labor movement cut so abject a figure. Through the fears of action by the workers it is blind to the real policy of British Imperialism which is confident that French Imperialism will meet its economic and financial Waterloo in the Ruhr and waits for the right moment to jump in and gather the fruits of victory.

This the British Labor leaders will not see, or if they see, they silently acquiesce.

Political Progress in the United States

By Israel Amter.

The political life of the United States is passing through a remarkable development. Although from the very establishment of the republic the capitalists, the big landowners and manufacturers have understood how to guide the affairs of the country—to their own interests, even though they made some superficial concessions to "democracy"—groups are forming representing other interests and made up of men determined to fight.

The country has been trained to an understanding of the "necessity" of politicians and statesmen changing their position—"according to circumstances". From Wilson's "keeping us out of war" to his getting us in up to our necks; from his visit to Versailles where he intended to put the United States into the League of Nations; from his defeat by the Republicans who despised American interference in European affairs, to the gradual relinquishing of this position by staunch Republicans who are demanding American intervention—because "conditions have changed etc., etc."—through these stages of shifting, of duplicity and capitalist manoeuvring, the American people has got used to any position that the government happens to take.

But as already stated, there are groups forming that look to their own self-interests. The most remarkable of these groups is the Farmer group. The position of the American farmer is very bad. In the decade from 1910 to 1920, the farm mortgage debt increased from about \$726,000,000 to more than \$4,000,000,000. During this period the World War took place, which brought prosperity to the country, but left the farmer out in the cold. During the war, prices presumably were regulated, but the farmer received little of the higher prices that the people had to pay. The speculators made tremendous profits, while the farmers' debts piled up.

During and since the war, the railroads have demanded higher freight rates. This put a further obstacle in the way of the farmers. The war demanded high production—and the farmers did their share. After the war when "deflation" set in, when Europe was unable to buy and when a general state of uncertainty arose, the production dropped to less than half of that of the war period. The unemployment of 1921 almost drove the farmers to bankruptcy. Industrial production reached one of the lowest levels in the modern history of America. The farmers were hard hit. Their sons left the farms to seek some occupation in the city. The crop of 1921 could not be disposed of even in 1922.

During this period when the farmers were making frantic efforts to maintain themselves, the government declared itself in no position to help them. There was plenty of money for the emergency fleet, which cost the government more than three billion dollars and which it sold last year for a little more than \$300,000,000! There was \$500,000,000 for the railroads; there was promise of a substantial subsidy for the shipping interests. But the government could not help the farmers, although they were advising the unemployed and the returned soldiers to "go back to the land".

In 1915 there was organized the *Non-Partisan-League*, an organization of farmers, looking to the protection of their interests. They recognized that by pooling their interests, in marketing, storing, banking, they would be able to better their condition and exert pressure on the railroads and on the market. Immediately, Wall Street began a violent campaign against them. Their first stronghold was the state of North Dakota, which they captured and in which they established their own granaries, their own banks and marketing facilities. But Wall Street was mightier. One bank after the other had to close. An insidious campaign of slander was conducted against them, so that they lost political control and only succeeded this year in electing a United States senator.

But the thought of the organization could not be throttled so easily. The *Non-Partisan League* has spread. Today it has tremendous influence among the farmers in Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, Washington, Iowa. There is a group of men in the Senate and House who were elected by farmers and

act as their representatives. There is another group who were elected by farmers and workers. They belong to both the Republican and Democratic Party, one to the Farmer Labor Party. This group is composed of about 12 men, among the most resolute and intelligent in the Senate—fighters who will go the limit and obstruct if they cannot attain their ends any other way.

Wilson's defeat in 1920 was the most overwhelming that America has witnessed. Harding's plurality of more than 7,000,000, declared beyond any suspicion that the country wanted no more of Wilson. His policy and double-dealing were condemned, and Harding, "honest" Harding, who would not take us into Europe, was put into office. (Not that that made any difference to Wall Street, which keeps up this marionette show for the delight of the stupid populace.) But Wilson, the man of the "New Freedom", who pretended to realize the viciousness of the system and wanted to see "fair play", had proved to be a tyrant. At the behest of Wall Street, he sent troops against the striking steel workers in 1919, he threatened the coal miners in 1920. Harding, the overwhelming choice of the "people" could do no such thing. In 1921, Harding utterly disregarded the eight to ten millions unemployed, offering no help, but merely appealing to the employers to aid them. In 1922, when more than a million coal miners, railroad workers and textile workers went out on strike, he found no better method of satisfying their demands than that employed by his predecessor—at the behest of Wall Street. Lead and prison was their reward. The brutality of Attorney General Daugherty, who threatened the life of organized labor by his infamous injunction, put the cap on the ability of the Harding administration.

Floundering in international policy; open sponsorship of big capital (ship subsidy); contempt for the needs of the ex-soldiers, who demanded a bonus; disregard for the demands of the farmers; a threat to destroy organized labor. In 1922, the Republican Party lost the 7,000,000 votes that it gained in 1920.

But most of all has been the lesson taught to the working-class and to the farmers of America. Namely, that there is no difference between the representation of the Republican and the Democratic parties. The candidates are selected by Wall Street and must carry out Wall Street's orders. For no politician can live in America unless he is backed by Wall Street or by conscious, organized groups representing certain class interests.

The next Congress offers a more friendly appearance. Yet no revolutionary is blinded by such appearances. He knows very well that although the voters manifested a natural reaction to the brutality and disregard that the Harding administration has shown to the needs of the workers and farmers, the repudiation of Harding does not mean a conscious political expression of a new direction in American affairs. For the moment, greater liberalism is being manifested. A number of well-meaning progressives have been elected to the Senate and House. A number of progressive or liberal governors of both parties have been elected in several States. There will be a pause in the violent terrorization of the working class. By the passage of several Farmers' Subsidy bills, the administration will endeavour to regain the favor and support of the farmers. *American capitalism sits firmly in the saddle and can afford this luxury!*

It is quite natural that in 1921 the farmers should have been inclined to support intervention in Europe; and again in 1922. They could not dispose of their products and realized that, until Europe was rehabilitated, there would be no stable market for American agricultural produce. The high cost of American industrial products and the prices which were raised still more by the enactment of the new tariff bill, aroused the antagonism of the farmers. Hence they looked to interference in the broken-down affairs of Europe. They were especially interested in a revival of the buying power of Germany—one of their biggest customers for wheat and cotton. In return they would expect German industrial products at the lower price at which Germany could produce them.

American manufacturers, on the other hand, were against intervention. They fear the competition of Germany. They have constantly pointed out that American workers must agree to work longer hours and accept lower wages, if America is successfully to compete with Germany. But the American workman is not ready to accept any such terms. There has arisen a so-called scarcity of labor. The "normalcy" of 1,500,000 unemployed has been attained, and several industries are in want of more "hands", particularly the steel and automobile industries. The former wants cheap, unskilled labor, willing to toil 42 hours a day, 7 days a week, at 25 cents an hour—a pauper's wage in the United States!

American bankers, again, did not take a definite stand for some time. It was hard to say whether French Imperialism

would gain the upper hand in Europe or not. The trip of Clémenceau to America did not help to win sympathy. The leading press did its best to support his enthusiastic sabre-rattling speeches, but all to no avail. France had not yet ratified the Washington Disarmament Conference decisions. France was conducting an extensive military crusade. She was expending a large part of her budget for military purposes and, in addition, was helping to equip the Polish army. Furthermore, France was engaging in every kind of military adventure, which would prevent her from paying her debt and, at the same time, possibly lead to a collision with American Imperialism.

Perhaps one of the most emphatic indications of American capitalist opposition to France was due to the conduct of France in the Angora matter. American imperialists are extremely interested in the oil fields of Mosul and of Mesopotamia. It is bad enough to have to negotiate with one government—Great Britain—without having the extra task of dickering with another far more militant government. France was disturbing enough, without interfering with the direct interests of America!

Hence there gradually evolved a tendency among American financiers to intervene in European affairs—on the side of Germany. Not that there was any excess of love for Germany, but there was a need of *checkmating France and French ambitions*.

But all of this challenged the stand of the Republican Party, which was against any interference in European affairs. Life, however, is stronger than all resolutions. Borah, who wanted nothing to do with Europe, introduced a motion calling on the president to convene an international economic conference, to settle the huge financial difficulties burdening the governments of Europe. President Harding declared that the time was not yet ripe, *and that other steps were being taken to arrange matters*. Since that time, the British debt matter has been arranged. Great Britain and the United States may now work hand in hand, although it is difficult to determine how the British government is going to raise the interest on the debt! Time has passed, and the Ruhr question has become the most urgent in the world. Again Borah calls on the President to convene an international economic conference. Report now has it that two American interests are intervening most effectively in the Ruhr affair, one on either side of the question. Harriman, Kuhn, Loeb and Co.—i.e., Standard Oil—are helping to “stabilize” the German mark by advancing \$100,000,000 to the Reichsbank; while J. P. Morgan, Schneider-Creusot and the Credit Lyonnais are supporting the French government in an effort to “stabilize” the franc. The prize is, of course, the Ruhr industrial district.

American financial interests are settling the Ruhr question among themselves—and the U.S. Government will merely have the privilege of confirming their decision. This is as should be in a Class State!

So America will come out of its benign state of “beautiful isolation”, as Wilson wished—and for which he was decisively defeated; as Harding did not wish it—and for which he was decisively elected.

The American worker has been little interested in European politics. Despite the fact that 38 million Americans (or one third of the population), are of foreign stock—the American worker has had troubles enough of his own without bothering about Europe. Distance and remoteness from international relations have fostered this indifference. The war woke him up—and he was glad to take an oath that America would have to stay out of European affairs. Europe meant war for him—and it means war to him today.

He will now have to get used to the idea of war, for American finance has decided to invest in Europe. Out of this internationalism of capitalism, the American worker will imbibe an international solidarity of the working-class which is still to be created, to be sure, but of which he is completely ignorant. Until he has learned this, he will not see the snare of the capitalist “democracy” with which America is blessed; nor will he perceive the might of the international proletariat in putting an end to this game of International Imperialism.

THE WHITE TERROR

To the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

Thousands of your brothers and sisters are languishing in the prisons and dungeons of Capitalism throughout the world. The world bourgeoisie has thrown them into its Bastilles, because they fought in the front ranks against exploitation. In every

country in Europe and America, in Africa and Asia, the dungeons of the bourgeoisie are filled with the best of our comrades. Isolated from the active Class Struggle, and delivered over to their tormentors unarmed, our imprisoned brothers are also oppressed by the thought of the fate of their families. The suffering of our imprisoned comrades is frightful. Through its executioners the bourgeoisie vents its cruel revenge upon them. What an immense will power our incarcerated brothers and sisters must summon up to withstand the tortures of prison. They are fighting desperately and many of them succumb. A thousandfold Inquisition is their daily and hourly lot in the bourgeois dungeons. Torn from the active class war and delivered over to their Inquisitors unarmed, our prisoners re-tormented by still another thought, the fate of their families,

Workers of all Countries!

These are the victims of the proletarian Class Struggle. It is for you and our cause that they have been thrown into prison, for you that they are being persecuted by the hangmen of the bourgeoisie, for you that their families are suffering.

We must help them! We must snatch them from the clutches of the bourgeoisie!

Arise in international protest and demonstrations of solidarity for our imprisoned and persecuted comrades *on the 18th of March*, the day of the Paris Commune!

This day must be made into a day of warning for the world bourgeoisie and a day of hope and encouragement for all our brothers who are languishing in the prisons.

Central Committee of The International Red Relief.

Proletarian Aid on behalf of the Incarcerated

The Russian proletariat, who initiated the International Red Relief, has already taken up—in part spontaneously—its collecting and relief activity. We have received the following report thereon.

The provincial committee of the Russian communist Party in Vyatka handed over 799 roubles 49 kopeks (1923 issue), on January 17, for the funds of the International Red Relief; this sum had been collected in Vyatka. In a brief communication the provincial committee states that the foundation has been laid for the support of the revolutionists lying captive in the prisons of the capitalist countries, and that the provincial committee of Vyatka will continue to do its utmost in the future to increase this aid.

The provincial committee of Vyatka, is the first of the Soviet Federation to begin the campaign. For this purpose, January 22, the anniversary of “bloody Sunday”, was celebrated as relief day for the prisoners incarcerated by the international bourgeoisie. The provincial committee of Vyatka and the provincial trade union council issued an appeal to all district and local committees, to the nuclei, to the provincial departments of the trade unions, and to the employees’ committees of the province of Vyatka, pointing out the desirability of organizing “Sundays” in the factories, workshops, and institutions. Where “Sundays” cannot be held, overtime is to be worked, and the proceeds given to the I.R.R. The appeal further states: “It is necessary to arrange meetings, theatrical entertainments, and concerts, on behalf of the captives of the bourgeoisie, and to induce artists to take part in these. The total proceeds are to be paid to the I.R.R.”

The Moscow *Gub.Pro.s.* (provincial council for people’s education) has resolved to grant 5 milliard roubles to the International Red Relief, and to issue an appeal to all members of the union for the purpose of carrying out a general collection for the prisoners on a large scale.

The workers in a confectionery factory in Ivanovo Vossensk (a large industrial town east of Moscow) have contributed half a day’s wages in aid of the imprisoned revolutionists of the West.

The members of the Moscow office of the Ukrainian civil service have sacrificed 565 roubles.

On the suggestion of the communist fraction in the third Soviet house, a day overtime was worked. The sum thus raised was placed at the disposal of the International Red Relief.

The communist fraction belonging to the Lithuanian Dramatic Theatre considers that really effective aid for the political prisoners can only be carried out by means of continuous support, and has therefore decided to give a monthly contribution to the amount of half the membership fees.

The children of the "Rosa Luxemburg—Karl Liebknecht", children's home, in the Vyatka province, sent a delegation to the Vyatka department of the I.R.R., requesting to be made use of for work in aid of the prisoners in western Europe. The children offered to mend linen for the prisoners, and brought a towel and a silver cup. They asked that these two small presents be sent to the prisoners.

40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF KARL MARX

Marx' Materialist Conception of History

By N Lenin.

The realization of the inadequacy and one-sidedness of the old materialism convinced Marx of the necessity of bringing social science into accord with the materialist foundation of society. If materialism lays down the general rule that *consciousness* is to be explained by *being*, then the application of materialism to the examination of society demands that *social consciousness* be explained by *social being*. "Technology", says, Marx (chap. I), "reveals the active attitude of Man towards Nature, the immediate productive process of his life, and at the same time, the social relations of his life and the mental conceptions arising therefrom" Marx gives a consistent formulation of the fundamentals of materialism in its application to human society and its history,—in the preface to his book, *Critique of Political Economy*, in the following words:

"In the life of social production, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will and which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these productive relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis, upon which a legal and political super-structure arises, and which corresponds to definite forms of social consciousness. The methods of production of man's material existence, determine the whole process of social, political, and mental life. It is not the consciousness of human beings which determines their existence; the reverse is the case; their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or, in juridical language, with the relations of property within which they have hitherto functioned. These relations are transformed from forms of development of the productive forces into fetters of production.

"Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense super-structure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

Just as little as one can judge an individual by what he thinks himself to be, just as little can such a revolutionary epoch be judged by its consciousness, but must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflicts between social productive forces and relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. Broadly conceived, Asiatic, antique, feudal, and modern bourgeois methods of production may be designated as progressive epochs of the economic social development. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production".

The materialist conception of history, or, strictly speaking, the application of materialism to the sphere of social phenomena, has removed two of the main defects of the theory of history as hitherto understood. History has, at best, up to now, considered the ideal motives of the historical activity of human beings, without examining into the cause of these motives, without discovering the objective law behind the development of the system

of social relations, without seeking for the root of these relations—the degree of development of material production. Secondly, the theories applied up to now, have overlooked precisely the activity of the great masses of the population, while historical materialism has given us for the first time the possibility of examining, with the precision of natural science, into the social conditions influencing the life of the masses, and into the changes taking place in these conditions. Pre-Marxian "sociology" and history writing achieved, at best, an accumulation of bare facts, and have provided us with nothing more than a representation of some separate phases of the historical process. Marx showed the way to a comprehensive and thorough examination into the process of origination, evolution, and decay of social-economic formations, in that he regarded all contradictory tendencies in their totality, and traced them back to accurately definable conditions of life and production in the various classes of society; he thus eliminated subjectivism, as well as arbitrariness in the choice and interpretation of some "leading ideas", and laid bare the roots of all ideas, without exception, and of all the different tendencies in the state of social productive forces. Human beings make their own history, but Marx was the first to show what determines the motives of human beings, and particularly of the masses of human beings; he was the first to show what the totality of all these conflicts is to human society, what are the objective conditions of the production of material life, forming the basis for every historical activity among human beings, what is the evolutionary law of these conditions. In this way Marx pointed out the way to the scientific study of history as a consistent process, following definite laws through all its multifarious immensity and in all its contradictions.

That in every society the strivings of some members of this society are opposed to the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, that history shows us a struggle between and within peoples and societies, that history is composed of alternating periods of peace and war, revolution and reaction, standstill and rapid advance or decay,—all these facts are well known. Marx gave us the clue which enables us to discover the law underlying this apparent labyrinth and chaos. This clue is the theory of class war. It is only the study of the sum total of the strivings of all the members of a society, or of a group of societies, that can lead to a scientific determination of the results of these strivings. The source of conflicting interests lies, however, in the difference of position and living conditions of the classes into which every society is divided. "The history of all societies up to now has been the history of class war", wrote Marx in 1848 in the Communist Manifest (and Engels added later: "except the history of primeval society"). Free men and slaves, patricians and plebians, barons and serfs, guild citizens and journeymen, in short, oppressors and oppressed have always stood in opposition to one another, have carried on an uninterrupted struggle, at times open, at times concealed; a fight which invariably ended with a revolutionary reformation of the whole society, or with the common decay of both fighting classes. In earlier epochs of history we find almost everywhere a complete stratification of society into various classes, a multitudinous gradation of social positions. In ancient Rome we see patricians, plebians, knights, slaves; in the middle ages,—feudal lords, vassals, guild citizens, journeymen, serfs; and within almost all of these classes a still further special gradation. The modern bourgeois society which has arisen out of the decay of feudal society has not annulled class antagonisms. It has only replaced the old classes by new ones, created new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, however is, distinguished by having simplified class antagonisms. The whole of society splits up more and more into two large hostile camps, into two large classes directly antagonistic to one another: bourgeoisie and proletariat . . .

Since the great French revolution, European history has revealed in a number of countries, with special clearness, the real fundamental of events, the *Class War*. Even during the epoch of restoration there were a number of French historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers), who could not but designate—when forming a generalization on events—*Class War* as the key to French history as a whole. And the latest epoch, the epoch of complete victory of the bourgeoisie, of the parliaments, of extended if not general suffrage, of cheap daily newspapers read by the masses, the epoch of mighty and ever growing labor organizations and employers, unions etc., has shown even more graphically, though often in a very peaceful constitutional form; class war as the motive force underlying events. In a number of historical works, Marx has given us many brilliant and profound examples of materialist historical writing, analyzing the position of each separate class and even of the various groups and strata within the class, and thus demonstrating why and how every struggle of class against class is a political struggle.

FASCISM

To the Executive Committees of all Sections of the Communist International!

Dear Comrades.

The Executives of the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions and the Communist Youth International have decided, to launch an extensive international campaign against Fascism.

An *International Fighting Fund* must be created in every country, for the purpose of combatting Fascism by word, pen and deed. In the first place, efficient support should be given to the Italian labor organizations.

The statute for the collection and administration of the *International Fighting Fund* against Fascism, has already been published in No. 16 of the *English International Press Correspondence*, (Feb. 15, 1923).

The International Committee for the administration of the *Fighting Fund* and for the organization of the international campaign against Fascism, has been provisionally established in Berlin. Comrade *Klara Zetkin* is chairman of said committee.

The Provisional International Committee has addressed an open letter to the Executives of all the international proletarian organizations, with the request that they join in the struggle against Fascism. We recommend that you request every proletarian organization in your respective country to participate in the creation of National Committees. In any case, you must *at once* create Provisional National Committees (according to the decisions of the Comintern and R.I.L.U.) which are to organize the necessary money collections.

Needless to say, the anti-Fascist campaign is not to confine itself to collections. The National Committees should *at once* take up the fight against Fascism,—in the press, in meetings, in the factories and trade unions. They are to be in constant touch with the International Committee and report to it on their activities.

As soon as the Provisional International Committee will have overcome the first technical difficulties, it will send detailed instructions and plans to the various National Committees, on the organization of the fight against Fascism.

We request you to get to work without delay.

With Communist greetings.

The Provisional International Committee for Combatting Fascism.

Klara Zetkin (Chairman).

Circular of the Communist Party of Italy

To the Communist Parties of all Countries!
To the Italian Communist groups abroad!
To all Italian Communist refugees!

The latest wave of persecution by the Italian Fascist government which has caused many thousands of communists and also the greater portion of the local party leaders to be thrust into prison, has evoked a noticeable response from the masses of the international proletariat. We hereby wish to notify all our comrades abroad and the Italian political refugees that our party has preserved its central organizations uninjured and is thereby enabled to order its ranks.

We appeal to the Executives of our European and American brother parties to support our political refugees, in so far as they are shown to be not "professional refugees", to supervise as well as to control their communist activity and to induce them to enter the respective section of the communist international, where they are residing.

The Communist Party of Italy also desires that among its members who, in consequence of the severe political persecution, are compelled to leave the country, no spying or *agent provocateur* elements creep in who abuse the solidarity of labor with the help of the name of the party or of the Communist International.

The Executive of the Communist Party of Italy wishes to state, that it decidedly condemns all individual initiative on the part of Italian or other comrades for the support of refugee Italian workers, or of those who are still in the trenches of the class war in Italy. It is of the opinion that the whole initiative for relief should be in the hands of the Executives of the brother parties; over the monies they collect as well as their distribution

for the support of the refugees, the fight of the Communist Party of Italy against Fascism and of the victims of Fascism in Italy itself. The Executive of the Communist Party of Italy has made arrangements with the Executive of the Communist Party of Germany for the latter to gather in the monies remitted by the brother parties in Europe and America, therefore requests all communist parties to get into touch with the Communist Party of Germany which will receive all the funds collected for the use of the Communist Party of Italy.

The Executive of the Communist Party of Italy requests all brother parties to publish this appeal in their press and to make the appropriate comments thereon.

March 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Italy.

The great Fascist Offensive against the Italian proletariat

By U. T. (Rome).

The great anti-communist offensive has passed its apex; the mass arrests have not yet ceased, but the average number of daily arrests no longer amounts to thousands. The prisons are so crowded that they cannot accommodate another guest. On the other hand, despite three weeks of continuous arrests, house searches, and deeds of violence, the government has not yet succeeded in discovering the very slightest proof of "the great Bolshevik conspiracy", and even in the bourgeois camp sceptic voices may be discerned as to the existence of a plot. Here and there it is already being pointed out that the arrest of over 8000 citizens, not for any demonstrable offence or at the behest of the legal authorities, but at the commands of the police, is quite disproportionate to the charges brought up against them. Even bourgeois circles are beginning to observe the very slight respect in which the life, property, and liberty of the individual are held, especially on the part of the new "National Militia", which are but an ill disguised replica of the former bands of black shirt robbers. And much surprise is expressed that, after two years of murder of workers and destruction of the labor movement, and after four months of "active work" on the part of the dictatorship, there still exist thousands of communists conspiring against the state.

The legal authorities have now taken up the matter; for the "Fascist revolution" has not yet altered the legislative apparatus to such an extent that political opponents can be sentenced by the police (but we expect that this will be the case presently). In the hands of the legal authorities it became immediately apparent that Mussolini has acted with incredible irresponsibility; many hundreds of communists have had to be set free again.

But no comrade occupying any office in the Party, of however slight importance, has been set free; this reveals the goal of the government; having recognized that it is impossible to exterminate the class consciousness so firmly rooted in the workers, it is now applying every imaginable means to prevent the workers from uniting and organizing a powerful fighting instrument, a Communist Party.

When the arrested communists are released, the authorities demand their signature to a promise never again to take active part in party politics or trade union work.

The Fascist government is accompanying this great anti-communist offensive with another action, not so conspicuous, but more despicable; it deprives the workers and employees who are hostile to it of their means of livelihood. Thus the railway authorities discharged fifty communist, socialist, and anarchist railwaymen, without notice or compensation, with the official declaration that these were leaders of the Red railwaymen's union.

Similar measures are being taken by all public authorities with regard to those of their employees who have been victims of the mass arrests of the last few days, and this, before the legal authorities have given any verdict regarding actual guilt. As there are a considerable number of followers of the Communist Party among the Civil Service employees, hundreds of workers have thus been thrown on the streets during the last few days. And some women teachers, who have been counted among the most active Party members for years, have been obliged to give up their positions.

The Fascist dictatorship is doing its utmost to break the resistance of the Italian proletariat by means of prison and starvation, and to destroy the Communist Party down to the very roots. But it will never attain this object. It is true that the Communist Party was condemned to a few days of inactivity, after the severe blows dealt it in the first days of February, but

now it has so far recovered that it has been able to resume its political and organizational activities. And the masses of workers let no opportunity pass of showing upon what ideals they set their hopes. The behavior of the Trieste workers is especially worthy of admiration; they have succeeded in publishing the *Lavoratore* daily for three weeks, although all the editors had been arrested. Here plain workmen have suddenly sprung into the places of editors and newspaper administrators. Two episodes of the last few days show how entirely erroneous is the idea—especially prevalent abroad—that the Fascisti have the general sympathy of the population on their side.

On the 18. February, eleven of those arrested in Venice were released again. Among them were four railwaymen. From the prison they proceeded all together straight to the station; on their arrival they were received by a warm demonstration of sympathy, by workers of all parties, and by many non-partisans.

Last week, in Turin, the factory commission was elected for the Scat undertaking. The Fascisti prevented other lists than their own from being sent in, and the Red trade unions therefore took no part in the election. The result was as follows: 800 electors out of 1200 took part in the election; 500 gave in blanks, 100 gave in Fascist ballots scribbled with accusations against the Fascisti, and only 200 really voted for the Fascisti.

The Italian workers are thus offering resistance against the offensive taken up by their enemies. Robbed of freedom to hold meetings, of free press and speech, bleeding from fresh wounds every day, abandoned as spoil to its hereditary enemies, the Italian proletariat groans beneath the heavy yoke, but it clings to its faith, and does not permit itself to be robbed of its class consciousness. Whenever the workers have an opportunity of expressing their true sentiments, they demonstrate unequivocally that they feel nothing but hatred and contempt for Fascismo.

The Italian workers are offering an admirable resistance in the waiting position into which they have been pressed back; if they are to be enabled to take their places in the foremost ranks again, they need the active solidarity of the international proletariat.

Italian Fascisti in Germany

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

It has been known for a long time that the Italian Fascisti maintain close relations, not only with Russian monarchists and Hungarian White Guards, but also with German counter-revolutionists. In 1922 Mussolini made a personal journey to Berlin in order to consult with Wulle and others of the German Nationalists.

Now it turns out that the connections between German and Italian reaction extend far beyond a mere "community of ideas". The Italian Fascisti have formed regular fighting organizations in the German republic.

As early as the end of September 1922, a "Fascist union" was officially founded at a secret session in Berlin; this is affiliated to the Fascist party of Italy, and was entrusted with special missions in Germany. Its object is the organization of Italians residing in Germany ("tradespeople, manufacturers, nationally minded workers, students, newspaper correspondents, etc."). It receives the active help of the diplomatic representatives of Italy, and of the arch-reactionary Italian officers attached to the various Entente missions in Germany. A confidential circular calls upon all "reliable Italians" to found Italian Fascist unions and Fascist groups in every part of Germany.

After Mussolini's *coup d'etat*, the Italian Fascisti in Germany extended their sphere of operations. They now receive ample funds from the Italian government. On the evening of January 19, 1923, a further secret meeting of the Fascist society took place. This session was participated in, amongst others, by the following Italian murderers of workmen: captain Corrado Gustosa, captain Chiaffredo Mastrella, Alessandro Mosca, Engineer Luigi Sordi, Dr. Giuseppe Zeni. Gustosa was elected political secretary of the Fascist Union in Germany, and Zeni as organizational secretary. At this meeting mentioned a circular from Mussolini addressed: "To the Italians abroad", was read amidst enthusiastic applause. This circular, which is highly interesting as showing the plans of international counter-revolution, contains the following words:

"Italy does not cease to exist at her frontiers. (!) Italy is everywhere where there are Italians. The Fascist national party appeals to the Italians scattered all over the world, and steadfastly loving their native country, to assemble their forces for the greatness of Italy, and immediately to establish fighting unions everywhere."

In this circular the "tasks of the Fascisti abroad" are further explained. The affairs of foreign countries are not to

be interfered with: "Every country deals with its communists as it thinks best." The Fascisti would only make themselves unpopular if they "carried civil war into the countries granting us their hospitality". But at the same time every band of Fascisti is called upon to "combat communism and all other harmful phenomena".

Further information on Fascist plans is offered by another circular issued by the Berlin Fascist society. This circular is in our possession. It lays down the following main lines:

"To add to the greatness of Italy."

"To gather all Italians together, to form them into a bloc."

"To correct the ideas being spread abroad with regard to Fascism. To carry on Italian propaganda."

"To take interest in all economic, financial, and political (!) phenomena in the land of residence."

In order to carry out this program, the last point of which is of special importance, various service bureaus are formed on precisely the same pattern as the German secret societies—unlimited funds being at their disposal; these are as follows:

Service Bureau I: Support service. This department works with the great corruption funds, finances the founding of further unions, induces a friendly attitude by the German bourgeois press towards Italian Fascism, and spreads its influence.

Service Bureau II: Propaganda. The propaganda service of the Italian Fascisti consists of the closest co-operation with German counter-revolution. They are for instance well connected with the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger*. Their working program also intends to include: "denial of false news, enlightenment, publication of appeals and pamphlets, meetings, exhibitions, etc." The Fascist Professor Lombardo is shortly giving a series of lectures to German students, on the "new era in Italy".

The "Technical Department".

Service Bureau III: Technical department. Service bureau III of the Italian Fascist society in Berlin occupies itself mainly with political spying. It "ascertains" the whereabouts of the revolutionary refugees living in Germany, and delivers them over to the murderous Italian "justice" with the aid of the German police. The Berlin political police ought to make a domiciliary visit to this wonderful "technical department", and ascertain in how far traffic in arms is being carried on, and what relations the department maintains with the prohibited German secret societies.

The ambassadors of the conspirators.

A few weeks ago a Fascist meeting was held in the Rheingold hotel, under the cloak of the "Italian Philanthropic Society", and attended by the Italian ambassador in Berlin. This gentleman, Count Bosdari, a confidant of Mussolini's, is involved in more than one obscure transaction. On February 9, he sent the Berlin Fascist society a letter expressing his "great joy" at the founding of the society, and went on to say: "I am convinced of your keen patriotism, and shall be happy to grant your enterprise the very greatest possible support." Thus the Italian ambassador in Germany abuses his diplomatic immunity for organizing Italian murderers in the German republic. What has the government of the German republic to say to this? Will it put a stop to Count Bosdari's proceedings?

The Fascisti have also founded their first organizations outside of Berlin. In Hamburg, the general consul Giacchi is working in co-operation with the Hamburg German Nationalists. His assistant is the Fascist Jesuit priest Don Mozzicarella, who was living in Germany already before the war. These people held a meeting in Hamburg a short time ago. In Cologne the Fascist confidence man is a certain Dr. Pertille, "Royal Italian Emigration Councillor". He spies among the Italian workers in the Ruhr area. The Italian general consul Mayoni stationed in Munich is closely connected with the Bavarian government, and these relations have only been somewhat troubled by the Ruhr events. Mayoni has held frequent consultations with Hitler and other leading national socialists.

The Fascisti are now quite openly publishing a newspaper in Berlin, with government money. This paper is called the "Gagliardetto" (The Banner). It is published by the "Leonardo Publishing Co., 49 Lützow St., Berlin W35". This periodical which bears on its front page the symbol of the Fascisti, an axe with rods, conducts the wildest nationalist reactionary propaganda. It lauds the part played by Italy in the great war, and extols the anti-German irredentists. The persecutions of communists in Italy are described in detail under the headline: "Energetic suppressive action on the part of the government, against the underground agitation of the Bolsheviki in Italy". Besides this, the decisions of the "Great Council" of the Fascisti are published regularly and their execution recommended. The

paper reports on a "Meeting of Italian patriots" which took place in the Teachers' Club House under the chairmanship of a Signor Biagi.

These few facts suffice to show how closely the network of international reaction is woven. The thousandfold murderers and executioners of the Italian proletariat dare, active and organized, to put in an appearance in Berlin. They form "German service bureaus" in the German republic. The ambassador Bosdari participates in this organization of conspirators. Consular officials co-operate with the German national unions endeavoring to overthrow the republic.

What has Herr Severing to say to this? When does he intend to prohibit Fascist unions in Germany? When does he intend to confiscate their reptile newspaper? When does he intend to arrest those spies and murderers working with Entente money, Corrado, Gustosa, Zeni, and their companions, and to expel them from the country?

The German workers will have to interfere in this matter. They will reply to the meetings and demonstrations of the Italian Fascisti as they reply to the provocations of Wulle and of Cudgel-Kunze. They will not tolerate the appearance in their midst of the murderers of their Italian brothers.

Mussolini's campaign against the Italian Communists

By Karl Radek.

Depressing news come from Italy. The Fascist government is preparing to shatter the communist organizations. Thousands of communists have been arrested in every city. Comrade Amadea Bordiga, the leader of Italian communism, has been arrested; comrade Maffi, the leader of the Internationalist Section of the Socialist Party, was arrested on his return from the Congress of the Comintern, although he is a deputy, and as such, enjoys the right of immunity. Mussolini substantiates the arrests of communists with assertions of alleged conspiracies dogging him on all sides. But comrade Maffi could not be guilty of a conspiracy, for however cunning the mechanism of revolution may be, nobody can organize a conspiracy until he has at least crossed the frontier. Maffi's arrest had thus to be justified on other grounds. 30 grams of gold were found in his wife's possession. The reader will ask what these 30 grams of gold mean. Perhaps they are a part of the fighting funds of the Comintern, condensed by the devilish arts of the Moscow conspirators? But it was only the wedding ring of comrade Maffi's wife.

On the day after his victorious seizure of power, Mussolini declared that the Terror exercised by the Fascisti up to that time would now cease. He called upon his organizations to renounce all use of force, and combatted the excesses committed by independent Fascisti. Naturally, the Fascisti were very reluctant to obey a leader who wanted to transform them from wolves into lambs. But it is none the less a fact that during the first period of Mussolini's rule the only Fascist atrocities committed were those by individual sections of Fascist bands, against the command of the government; there were no governmental campaigns against communists. Many comrades informed us that, after the Fascisti had seized power, the position of the communists was more favorable than it had been for two years.

But this was merely the honeymoon of the Fascist government. Mussolini needed a pause for breath after seizing power. His first task was to disarm the Fascist divisions, or at least to form them into an organized and legal force, directly dependent on the government and obedient to its commands. Mussolini had promised so much to the Fascisti, that he was bound to fear their desertion if he failed to keep his promises. If he had permitted them to attack the communists at once, he would not have been able to discipline them at the same time. Therefore he took his time about the campaign against the communists. And another consideration influenced him: he was afraid of arousing the resistance of the working masses before his own governmental position was firmly established.

All the bourgeois parties submitted to Mussolini, although he had trodden all parliamentary rights underfoot. They submitted to him, although there are influential bourgeois groups in Italy who do not believe in his program, and who fear that he will so treat the state apparatus and capitalist economics that no good will come of it. The bourgeoisie is convinced that the superfluous zeal of the Fascisti will calm down, that the dictator who is going to save Italy's bourgeoisie will submit to the laws of the bourgeoisie, and that in the end, the working class alone will have to bear the whole burden of the dictatorship. The reformists have submitted too; at first they held tearful

speeches in Parliament against Mussolini's dictatorship, and in defence of parliamentarism and democracy, but at the same time the leader of the labor confederation, Baldesi, took up negotiations with Mussolini, and several organs of the Italian Amsterdammers declared that they were free from all prejudice against the Fascist government. Thus a tacit bloc was formed between the reformists and Mussolini. The forces of the revolutionary proletariat are undergoing a process of reformation. Unity is in progress between the Communist Party and the revolutionary elements of Serrati's party. The revolutionary elements occupied with the regrouping were not able to entrench themselves, and to take up the fight from well-defended positions. Mussolini, who feared the pending consolidation of the revolutionary forces, proceeded to the attack. And now the Fascist organizations are no longer split up, now the Fascist government is destroying the workers' organizations, throwing the editors of the communist papers into prison, and instituting mass proceedings against workers. The Terror has reached such a point that, as Italian comrades report, the workers do not venture to speak aloud in the trams.

The Communist Party of Italy is passing through a period of unheard of difficulties. It is forced to offer sacrifice after sacrifice on the altar of revolutionary class war, but we are certain that the battle will end in the victory of the Communist Party, and not in that of Mussolini. Terror is a mighty weapon against a class whose day is past, and whose economic importance dwindles from day to day in the course of evolution. But the Terror cannot suppress a class without which no production is possible. The Terror cannot suppress a class to which even the Fascist government must turn with the prediction that society can only be saved by the work of this class. Mussolini's Terror rids communism of all lazy and cowardly elements, of all who fight for the cause of communism with words only. But it draws all the real fighters the more closely together, unites all truly revolutionary members of the Italian working class, and creates a Communist Party capable not only of seizing power after the inevitable collapse of Fascism, but of maintaining it.

A letter from Comrade Serrati to his wife

With reference to the arrest of comrade Serrati, the *Avanti* publishes the appended letter, written by comrade Serrati from Lugano on February 7, 1923, to his wife. Now that every one knows that he—after carefully preparing for his journey, as was his duty—crossed the frontier shortly after writing this letter, for the purpose of fulfilling his revolutionary duties at home, it is unnecessary to comment on those parts of the letter (which might have fallen into the hands of Mussolini's myrmidons) in which he speaks of it being more "advantageous" for him to remain abroad at present.

The letter follows:

"My dearest Rina,

I arrived here two days ago, and after having visited the old friends, I was just about to start for Italy when I saw what had been the fate of those comrades who were naive enough to cross the frontier without further thought. I believe it will be more advantageous for me to wait a while. The balloon of the magnificently arranged "plot" may burst presently, and it is possible that we may be able to breathe more freely again in Italy—perhaps sooner than we hope. In that case I should return. For the moment it appears to me more advisable to remain a "free bird", particularly because there is no need to give the one who is so anxious to see me behind locks and bars again, (Mussolini. Ed.) that satisfaction.

From abroad I shall be able to work better for the party and for the paper than from "inside";—it seems to me that the shadow of S. Vittore (S. Vittore is the name of the prison in Milan. Ed.) does not promise much to one who has already passed his fiftieth year.

The old friends received me most heartily. Even in these bitter days we had to smile at the irony of history. We remembered the days of 1898, when the exiles of the reactionary Bava Beccaris and Pelloux assembled here in Lugano, as now the exiles of Fascismo. We thought of the episodes of our exile of 20 and less than 20 years ago, when the present leader of our persecutors was among the exiles . . .

How conditions change in the course of time! The present-day leaders of counter-revolution were at that time the most zealous Reds! I was nothing to them. Here on the shores of the lake, beneath the chestnut trees, we held long consultations with Mussolini, with Rossi, with Rossoni, and other "patriots", on the revolution which was to come some day. And it was

certainly not the Fascist revolution which we talked about at that time.

I walk again, along the shores of the same lake, unchanged and unchangeable in my convictions and loyalty. But these others have become privy councillors and ministers of the king, and persecute those who were, once their comrades. I am carrying on the fight, to-day as yesterday, for my ideals, even in exile. They have reached the lowest depths. But I am borne up by such a profound feeling of inner satisfaction, of exultant pride, that the power which they have attained, and the ambition which they have stilled, cannot hope to compare with it . . .

Within a few days I shall write you what I intend to do. I only ask you to feel quite at ease about me, take care of yourself, and do not be troubled. You will see that the day of our justification will come, you will see that the proletariat will be exalted . . .

kindest remembrances to all who take an interest in me.
Menotti".

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Straight Line

By Henri Barbusse (Paris).

Many comrades have been so kind as to ask me what I think of the new orientation of the French Communist Party within the International. I should like to reply here to all: *The International is completely in the right.*

The radicalism with which the French Party again raises its head on this occasion, despite the repeated loss of membership consequent on the successive re-formations of the party, bears witness to the great moral strength and proud wisdom of the conscious vanguard of revolution. You may in all tranquility allow the enemy and the false friends of your cause, to assert that you were foolish to thus voluntarily reduce your numbers for the sake of your principles. You may look on in all tranquility whilst you are designated as sectarians by those who regard everyone as a sectarian as soon as he moves from phrases to deeds. What do numbers and figures signify? A great deal, certainly. But the day is approaching when the might of circumstances will accord numbers to those who are in the right, and not to those who are in the wrong.

The great danger threatening Mankind is that it permits itself to be fooled by the farce that is being played upon it, so long as the old errors are clad in new garments. The great danger is the *word play*.

We are living in this epoch of imbecile word making. The republic, its freedom and equality, exist solely on paper and in official phraseology. Now as ever, formulas take the place of ideas, and consequently, also the place of deeds. Nothing is changed; the mighty pulsations of life continue, and the mighty sufferings continue. And this disease, which causes words to be confused with things, has severely injured the political and trade union movement of the proletariat.

And now the hour has come when all those who refuse to accept bourgeois barbarism, and the continuation of every imaginable tyranny, and the opiate of democracy which is far worse than any religion, must put an end, once and for all, to the Age of Words. There must be no more of the declamations and sophistries which dazzle and confuse the vision.

And now you must admit, comrades, that you have been gradually pressed downwards, step by step, towards the verge of this chasm of deceptive and insignificant concessions, and always under the pretext of acting prudently, of discouraging nobody, of "taking realities into account". This impotence has rendered it impossible for the French party to lay down any absolute, clear, and definite lines, which could be grasped and acknowledged by all sincere and honest comrades.

Be men who do not attempt to apply some patent formula at every suitable and unsuitable opportunity; be men who think out what they say down to its last consequence; who do not utter the word "Internationalism" without conceiving a virgin idea, miracle-working and creative; who shake the foundations of the paper facades of official constitutions when they call for "freedom" or "equality". Be men who strike out the parasitic readings of the laws and statutes, the false meanings which have been grafted onto the laws and have finally distorted them. Be men who are capable of protecting revolutionary logic not only from aberrations, but from the frightful amputations imposed upon it with the cynicism of innocence by the preachers of morality and the disciples of Tolstoy.

Let us gather without reservation around the party, around the scientific centralization, around the structure which gives us a vision of life in the future, whose ramifications reach everywhere, and whose great organizational heart beats in so great, so real, and so new a land. This is by no means synonymous with subordination; on the contrary, it signifies a powerful and determined co-operation and unity.

That the Communist Party has been strengthened by its self-purification is above all incontestably proved by the persecutions to which it alone is exposed. As soon as force is employed against any section of revolutionary opposition, it is an infallible sign that the enemy has awakened to the realization that it is faced by men insensible to narcotic phrases, and constituting a danger to the nefarious existing state of society.

As to myself personally, I was hitherto of the opinion that I did better not to belong to the Party officially, as my independence could perhaps enable me to serve the cause better under certain circumstances. But to-day it seems to me that the weight of arguments of this nature is considerably weakened by the excellent and increased clearness of international communism, and therefore I add myself as another fighter to the ranks of the Party.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Towards Trade Union Unity in France

By Marcel Ollivier (Paris).

One of the main reasons for the present impotence of the French proletariat lies in the extraordinary weakness of its economic organization, which is split up into two hostile camps fighting one another with bitter obstinacy.

Three years ago, at the beginning of 1920, the "Confédération Générale du Travail" (C.G.T. — General Labor Confederation) of France counted about 2,500,000 members. To-day the combined membership of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. (Unitarian General Labor Confederation) is less than 700,000. If we estimate the working population of France at 8—9 millions, there is only one proletarian out of every fourteen organized in a trade union.

These facts suffice to characterize the almost complete state of impotence experienced by the French working class at the present time, as opposed to a splendidly organized bourgeoisie, which has the whole army and complete state apparatus at its disposal.

Not only the political parties, the Socialist and Communist Parties included, but also the trade union alliances: the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. exercise a purely moral influence on the French proletariat. This is revealed in rare cases only as for instance, when the reaction of the capitalist class and of the government disregards or threatens the interests of the working class all too openly. But as soon as such a crisis is over again, the workers fall back at once into their old apathy towards all political or economic problems.

This passivity of the working class is one of the main obstacles in the way of the development of the class war in France. It is therefore the duty of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat — the Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. — to clear this stumbling block from the road with every means at their disposal. The communists must do their utmost to strengthen trade union organization within the working class. It is only by these means that their class consciousness can be aroused and developed. And the effectual execution of this absolutely necessary task is, above all, dependent on the restoration of trade union unity.

The Communists have been propagating this slogan for a long time, and it has again been strongly emphasized, by the IV. World Congress of the Communist International. With regard to the C.G.T.U., it has always unequivocally expressed its readiness for trade union unity. The name chosen, "Unitarian General Labor Confederation", is at once a witness to this. But up to now the irreconcilable opposition of the anarchist elements ruling the C.G.T.U. has prevented this longing for unity from becoming more than a mere theoretical formula.

In this sense the step already taken by the C.G.T.U. with regard to the reformist C.G.T., undoubtedly indicates a turning point. On the occasion of the recent C.G.T. congress, the executive committee of the C.G.T.U. addressed an appeal to the delegates of this congress, containing:

1. a proposal for the restoration of trade union unity in France, and
2. a proposal for the establishment of a proletarian united front against French Imperialism.

With regard to the restoration of trade union unity the C.G.T.U. proposed the convocation of a joint congress of all trade unions at present affiliated to the two central trade union bodies. This congress was to draw up the national and international program of action of the new C.G.T., and to appoint a new central bureau on the lines to be indicated by this body. The minorities within the re-created C.G.T. were to be subordinate to the will of the majority, but to retain unlimited right of criticism, and opposition. Furthermore, that no single member or single organization be expelled on the pretext of trade union discipline, but that the discipline clause should only be applied in cases of grave breach of duly passed resolutions involving trade union action.

This proposal of the C.G.T.U. called forth very lively debates at the congress of the reformist trade unions. As it was not very well possible to reject it outright, the congress declared itself in favor of the restoration of trade union unity, but announced simultaneously that this restoration could only take place on the principles of the old C.G.T., and would be possible only if commenced from below, that is, it should be first undertaken in "every trade union affiliated to the C.G.T."

These words "affiliated to the C.G.T." were inserted on the motion of Jouhaux, and after a violent conflict between Digat, who stood for trade union unity, and Merrheim, who was opposed to it; the insertion of these words in the congress resolution was tantamount to a rejection of the C.G.T.U. proposal. For the C.G.T.U. had declared from the beginning that the restoration of trade union unity would only be possible on the basis of a newly constituted joint organization.

With regard to the second proposal of the C.G.T.U. regarding a proletarian united front for the struggle against French imperialism in the Ruhr area, this was rejected almost unanimously at the congress of the reformists.

This rejection once more illuminates the full significance of the question of trade union unity. It must be made perfectly clear to the workers, that the reformist trade union leaders do not want to hear anything of the restoration of trade union unity in France, and that they — see the declarations made by Mr. Fimmen, the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International at the recent reformist congress — prefer the division in the trade unions to the danger of losing their leading positions, even though the price they pay is the condemnation of the labor movement to complete impotence.

Trade union unity and alliance at any price! This must be the slogan of all communists to-day!

Frank Hodges preserves silence

(R.I.L.U.) Comrade Nat Watkins, secretary of the British bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, sent an open letter to Frank Hodges, general secretary of the International Miners' Federation, drawing his attention to the strike of the French and Belgian miners. The letter refers to the leading position occupied by Hodges in the international labor movement, and to his call for international solidarity, uttered on various occasions when the English miners were striking, and asks him why he and his International are now dumb in face of a struggle which is bound, in the end, to exercise an influence on the lives of the English miners as well. Defeats cannot be prevented by an attitude of tacit toleration towards the blackleg labor of the English miners, but only by international action. In conclusion he is called upon to aid in the organization of a united front with the fellow workers of France and Belgium.

Frank Hodges has not replied to this letter. His silence is comprehensible enough in the light of the fact that, thanks to coal shortage from the French and Belgian coal-mines, and in part from the Ruhr pits, the English colliery owners have received large orders, and it can scarcely be demanded of so eminent a leader of the Amsterdam International as Frank Hodges that he should disturb the capitalists of "his country" just when they are profiting by so favorable a state of the market.

The Lessons of the Last Miners' Strike.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

The strike of the French miners which ended on February 21, raises the question of how far the struggles of the miners have any possibility of success when conducted on national lines.

All great strike movements among the miners during the last few years have in the main failed. Either the strike collapsed as a result of betrayal on the part of the reformist leaders, or it has been defeated by the forces at the disposal of the capitalist state. The workers have only in a very few cases attained a partial success. And only then when the circumstances were particularly favorable. This latter was the case in the American miners' strike, and in the strike of the French miners. But all other fights have been lost, and were bound to be lost under the circumstance in which they took place.

Two currents are struggling against one another in the trade union movement: the one in favor of working unity with the bourgeoisie, and the other opposed to this—the revolutionary current. Nearly all the miners' unions are in the hands of leaders who support working unity. These leaders are of the opinion that the class interests of the proletariat should be subordinated to the general interests of the state, that is, to the needs of the capitalist state. Since the revolution, every strike undertaken by the German miners has been systematically wrecked by the trade union bureaucracy, and this trade union bureaucracy has invariably explained to the workers that state necessity demanded the abandonment of the strike. This was the case in Czecho-Slovakia, and in Poland. We can still clearly remember the utterance of J. H. Thomas, the chairman of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and leader of the English railwaymen's union: it was thanks to the command issued by him to break off the last miners' strike in England, that the fall of the English governing power, was prevented. The Frenchman Bartuel was one of the most zealous advocates of the dictates of the Spa agreement, which forces the German miners not only to toil for the German capitalist, but to permit himself to be robbed at the same time for the benefit of French imperialists. The revolutionary section of the workers however, is of the opinion that every endeavor must be directed to defend the interests of the workers as a class. The interests of the workers unlike the interests of the bourgeoisie, do not clash on any national frontier. The workers of all countries have one common interest, the bourgeoisies have opposing interests. When revolutionary workers stand for a ruthless struggle for the defence of workers' interests, they, at the same time, stand for the international action of the proletariat against capitalism and its attendant dangers.

The coal agreement made at Spa threw great numbers of English miners out of work, and rendered the French and Belgian miners incapable of detending their wages and working conditions with any prospect of success. The low wages of the German miners are to blame for the low wages and misery of the miners in all other countries. The reformist miners leaders know this very well. It can scarcely be assumed that they are too stupid to see it. But their relations with their national bourgeoisie are much closer than their relations with the international proletariat, and with the collective interests of the working class.

This is again plainly illustrated by the miners' strike in France. In the first place the French capitalists had created adverse conditions for obtaining coal supplies, in both areas, by the occupation of the Ruhr. Germany is cut off from the Ruhr coal. Transport to France is prevented by the counter-action of the German railwaymen, who have stopped work on the railroads of the occupied territory. For the first time for many years the French miners had the opportunity of utilizing the embarrassment of the French capitalists for the purpose of gaining better wages and working conditions. The revolutionary miners utilized the situation, but the reformist leaders demanded blackleg service from their followers. They could not permit a wage strike of the miners to hinder the imperialist adventure of the French capitalists. Thus Bartuel and his friends have deprived the French workers of the success of their wage struggle, and have sided with Poincaré.

The case was exactly the same in Czecho-Slovakia. The miners, long suffering from capitalist attacks, during the last few weeks, attempted to fight for better wages. But as Czecho-Slovakia has friendly relations with France, the reformist leaders of the Czecho-Slovakian miners thought fit to oppose the fight of the Czech miners. In England the miners' leaders also seized the opportunity of rendering their ruling class a service. The struggle in the Ruhr area and the strike of the French miners gave the English colliery owners the chance of doing good business. Now they were able to sell coal to the Germans and French. This favorable state of their market was utilized by the English bourgeoisie, who doubled the price of coal. The English colliery owners triumphantly announced that, thanks to this state of affairs, the number of English unemployed had sunk by 125,000. The English reformist leaders share the

joys of their bourgeoisie so fully, that Mr. Hodges replied to the demand made by the revolutionary miners of various countries, for the organization of a joint action against Poincaré's imperialist policy, with the answer that the situation was not suitable for starting such a movement. And indeed, why should the chairman of the miners' international trouble about proletarian measures for international fighting, so long as the English bourgeoisie is doing good business, and few crumbs from its full table fall to its lackeys.

In England the rise in the price of coal is accompanied by a rise in food prices, and it will not be long before the English miners will have to fight to have their wages adjusted to the higher prices. If Poincaré is victorious in the Ruhr, enormous quantities of cheap German coal will speedily appear on the French market, and it will be impossible for the French miners to defend their working conditions against the capitalists. Should the Ruhr conflict end with the victory of Poincaré, the Czech miners will also be forced into a precarious position. Should the German bourgeoisie come to an understanding with the French in the Ruhr, it will not be long before the English miners will be again, out of work. The German bourgeoisie utilizes the Ruhr conflict to lengthen the working hours of the German miners. When once these worsened working conditions have been introduced, then it is a matter of indifference whether Poincaré or Cuno is the victor, for the bad working conditions imposed on the German miners will have a decisive influence on the working conditions of the miners in other parts of the world. Instead of the miners of Europe mutually supporting each other by joint action for the defence of their class interests, and thus striking a severe blow at their class enemy, they have, under their reformist leaders, done precisely the contrary. The most favorable moment for joint action is again missed. The hand outstretched by the revolutionary worker for the formation of a united front is scornfully rejected. Hodges refuses any alliance, that is, with the working class, but not with the English bourgeoisie. Bartuel, who organized the blackleg action of the reformists in France, has not only thereby helped French mining capital out of a critical situation, he has at the same time weakened the labor organizations, and rendered hundreds and thousands of workers incapable of fighting.

But the behaviour of the German reformists during this period has been the most idiotic of all. They are desirous that the English and French labor leaders, especially the miners' leaders, help them to ward off the attack of French imperialism. At the same time they are in such a state of senseless rage against workers holding communist views, that they attack the fighting communists in the most despicable manner and do not desire the victory of the revolutionary miners of France, but the victory of the reformist Bartuel, the ally of Poincaré. Is it to be wondered, under such circumstances, that the workers are reduced to impotency and the Stinnes of every country triumph?

The French miners' strike has once more demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of reformism. The cowardly and bourgeois-coalition attitude of the reformist leaders can serve nobody but the capitalists, nobody but the national bourgeoisie of each country. The breakdown of economics, and of the labor movement, is bound to become continually worse under such circumstances, unless the revolutionary workers succeed in completely overthrowing the whole wretched reformist policy. The mining strike in France has opened the eyes of many thousands of pit slaves. They have recognized the dangers of reformism, and are turning to the revolutionary trade union organizations of the C.G.T.U. The example set by the French combatants has had a stimulating effect upon the Belgian miners. The resistance of the Belgian coal miners against their employers is growing; these miners are no longer listening to the hoarse shouting of the Belgian reformists, who maintain that the unrest among the Belgian miners is solely the result of communist agitation. The revolutionary miners must utilize the unrest obtaining among the miners of every country. They must show their fellow-miners that only by joint action can they hope for success, that they must no longer permit themselves to be exploited by their reformist leaders for the benefit of their national bourgeoisie, but they must all stand together in one common front for the ruthless defence of their class interests. Fresh conflicts are arising all round; it must be our work to prepare ourselves thoroughly for the fight, that it may end in a victory over the capitalists and reformists.

OUR PROBLEMS

Trotsky on the negro question

A letter from comrade Trotsky to comrade McKay.

The poet McKay, who represented the revolutionary negroes at the IV. World Congress of the Communist International, requested comrade Trotsky to answer a few questions regarding the struggle for emancipation among the negro race. Comrade Trotsky replies to some of these questions in the letter which we publish below.

Dear Comrade McKay,

1. *What practical steps are to be taken to prevent France from employing black troops on the European continent?—this is your first question.*

The blacks themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened, so that they realize that when they help French Imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

The working class of Europe, and particularly of France and Germany, must realize that their own most vital interests are involved in this work of enlightening the colored race. The day of general resolutions on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, on the equality of all human beings regardless of color, is over. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every 10 negroes who gather around the flag of revolution, and unite to form a group for practical work among the negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of the resolutions establishing principles, so generously passed by the Second International. A Communist Party confining itself to mere platonic resolutions in this matter, without exerting its utmost energies towards winning the largest possible number of enlightened negroes for its ideas, within the shortest possible time, would not be worthy of the name of Communist Party.

2. *There is no doubt whatever that the use of colored troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of German territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of European capital, especially of French and English capital, to raise armed forces outside of Europe, so that Capitalism may have mobilized, armed, and disciplined African or Asiatic troops at its disposal, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is, to the fate of the European working class.*

3. *There is no doubt whatever that the employment of the economically and culturally backward colonial masses for the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is an exceedingly risky experiment, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capital, or even sooner—the hand of militarism, tears them mechanically from their customary environment, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of different nations, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and revolutionary ideas find rapid access to a consciousness thrown off its balance.*

4. *Therefore it is of the utmost importance, to-day, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young, self-sacrificing negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the raising of the material and moral level of the great mass of negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the identity of interests and destiny of the negro masses, with those of the masses of the whole world, and in the first place with the destiny of the European working class.*

The education of black propagandists is an exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

5. *In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored*

workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary negroes.

Needless to say, the work is not to be carried on in a spirit of negro chauvinism, which would then merely form a counterpart of white chauvinism,—but in a spirit of solidarity of all exploited without consideration of color.

What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

With communist greetings,

L. Trotzky.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Jim Larkin the Militant

By Alexander Trachtenberg.

On January 17., Governor Smith of New York, set free by Executive pardon James Larkin, the militant leader of the Irish workers. The Governor's act is considered an astute political move in view of the large Irish electorate in New York, among whom the freeing of Larkin was a popular issue. In addition, the demand for amnesty for political prisoners is constantly growing among the workers of the state and the newly elected Governor, already looking toward the next election, is anxious to appear as a progressive among the workers.

In explaining his pardon of Larkin, the Governor appeased his capitalist supporters, by condemning the views of the Irish labor leader which he thought were "abhorrent to American institutions", and flattered with the liberals and the workers by declaring that Larkin's conviction was "a political case, where a man has been punished for the statement of his beliefs, which were not in violation of any existing laws."

On being freed, Larkin's first thought was of the other imprisoned comrades. He said he was given to understand at the prison "that the Governor was releasing all prisoners under the Criminal Anarchy Law, or I would not have accepted a pardon. It is more important that these men and women be released than that I should be."

Larkin was arrested together with other four Communists—Gitlow, Winitzky, Ferguson and Ruthenberg during the raids in November, 1919 and was tried for publishing the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. He acted as his own attorney during the trial, using the court as a tribune to reach the workers with the message of the class struggle and revolutionary Socialism. The picked jury of business men, still under the influence of war hysteria and scared by stories in capitalist newspapers about confiscation of property, should Larkin's ideas triumph, found him guilty of being an Anarchist and opposed to organized government. Larkin's insistence that he was a Marxist and that he stood for organized government proved of no avail. The court sentenced him to serve from 5 to 10 years.

The news of Larkin's imprisonment in America, stirred the workers of Ireland in whose behalf he crossed the ocean. The Transport Workers Union, whose secretary he has been, declared a protest strike on July 21, 1920 demanding his immediate release. They wanted their leader freed and called upon American labor to fight for his liberation.

The largest portion of Larkin's active life is bound up with the struggles of the Irish workers. After leading a strike of shipbuilders in Liverpool in 1905, Larkin was appointed organizer of the National Union of Dock laborers. He soon proved a valuable asset to the union, having gotten in 10 months 45,000 workers to join the union. In 1907 Larkin goes to Ireland to lead a strike of Dock workers in Belfast. From that time Larkin devotes himself to the building of a militant labor movement in Ireland. Dissatisfied with the reactionary policies of the British union to which the Irish dock workers belonged, Larkin forms an independent union of Transport workers based on industrial lines. This union soon becomes the most militant labor organization in Ireland, setting an example to the other unions which were

branches of the British Organizations. The reactionary labor leaders, fearing Larkin's influence, cause his arrest on framed-up charges in order to discredit him with the workers. During his imprisonment, as on similar occasions in Ireland, the workers secure his release.

Upon the return of James Connolly, who founded the Marxian Socialist movement in Ireland in 1897, Larkin joins him in carrying revolutionary Socialist propaganda to the broad masses of Irish workers in order to win them away from the influences of the reactionaries and nationalists. They organize many labor unions and separate others from the conservative British organizations. This period marks the real beginning of the Irish labor movement. Then came the historic struggle in 1913. The Dublin Transport Workers were locked out in an attempt to destroy their militant organization. For 8 months the struggle lasted with Larkin leading the gallant fight of the workers. The strike attracted the attention of the labor movement the world over. The English and Scottish workers poured in over 1,000,000 dollars to aid the brave Dublin strikers. The battle was drawn, but the workers won the right to belong to the industrial union.

After the strike the Transport workers union sent Larkin on a world tour, partly for a rest and partly to tell the story of their struggle to the workers of other lands, and also to collect funds among Irish emigrants for their organization and the Citizen's Army which they organized to fight British Imperialism. The world war caught Larkin in the United States. He tried to go back to Ireland, but the British Secret Service, which cooperated the American Department of Justice during the war, kept close watch on Larkin and all his attempts to leave the country were frustrated. In America, Larkin joins the Socialist Party and tours the country on behalf of the struggle in Ireland. Then comes the Easter uprising in 1916 and Connolly is shot by the British court martial for participating in the armed struggle. Larkin is anxious to return to his homeland to continue the work of Connolly, but he is now hounded and watched closer than ever.

After the Russian Revolution broke out, Larkin immediately became one of the enthusiastic adherents and supporters of the Bolshevik program. Similarly when the Left movement in the Socialist Party developed in 1919 Larkin joined it. His conviction and imprisonment came as a result of his affiliation with the Left Wing. The British and American governments, long before that, were seeking for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon him.

Larkin is now going back to Ireland which he has tried to reach for the last 8 years. During his absence great changes took place there. Ireland became a "free" State. The labor movement has fallen largely under the control of old time conservative leaders. The revolutionary vanguard of the Irish workers represented by the CP. of I., a direct descendant of the movement which he and Connolly organized, and the militants in the labor unions are waiting impatiently for him to lead them against the Irish and British bourgeoisie as he so valiantly led them before. The Transport Workers Union which he founded and which now has a membership of about 80,000, even under the present leadership, has kept open his place as Secretary of the union.

Nearly 300,000 workers are now organized in the Irish labor unions. They need Larkin to clean the Augean stables of their organizations and instill a new spirit in the labor movement.

That he will answer the call of the militants in the labor movement, and lend his indomitable spirit and indefatigable energy to the task of lining up Irish labor with the revolutionary workers of the world, is expected by every one who knew him in Ireland and America. Although he has suffered much while a captive of the American plutocracy, and his large frame may not be physically as strong as before, his revolutionary ardor has not abated.

The militants of Ireland, working under the leadership of the Communist International and under the inspiration of the Russian Revolution for the same thing Larkin always believed in and fought for, will find him reporting for duty as soon as he sets foot on Irish soil.

The Communists of the world join with the revolutionists of Ireland in extending to Jim Larkin, freed from an American Bastille, a hearty welcome and bid him take his place among those who are working for the overthrow of capitalism everywhere and for the establishment of the International Workers Republic.

APPEALS

Open Letter

To the International Secretariat of Printers at Berne and to the Printers' Unions of Germany and Italy

Fellow Workers!

At the International Congress of Printers held in 1921, at Vienna, you considered the question of the *freedom of press*, passing a resolution which in part read as follows: "*Freedom of press must not be used as a means for the oppression, enslavement and persecution of workers*", and, further on, that the Printers' Unions will fight such abuse of the freedom of press "*by all means at their disposal*".

We did not take part in the discussion of this question at the Congress, but we were always ready to support this part of the Vienna resolution in deed as well as in word. The moment has arrived when this decision has to be carried out in practice. In Italy the Fascist reaction ruthlessly attacked the labor organizations, suppressing every free revolutionary voice with frantic cruelty. The hands of the Italian printers help to spread slander, calumnies and insinuations against the working class and to call upon the scum of society to destroy the labor organizations and turn them over to the mercy of the Italian reactionaries. We see the same picture in Bavaria. In the "free" German Republic, the Bavarian National Socialists are closing down the revolutionary labor press, and again, by the hand of the German printers, in the columns of their newspapers and through hundreds of thousands of leaflets, carry on propaganda for the destruction of the labor organizations, for wage reductions and increased exploitation of the working masses. The frenzy of the reaction in these and in a number of other countries has gone beyond all limits and, it would seem, the moment for energetic resistance, the time for carrying out the Vienna resolution, is ripe. Still, we have as yet heard of no protest on the part either of the International Secretariat, or the Italian or German Printers' Unions. We have as yet heard of no calls on the part of the leaders of these organizations, for resistance. Not only did the Executive, of these organizations not call upon the printers to refuse printing the Fascist reactionary white guard newspapers and pamphlets, but their voice has never been raised in the defence of the persecuted labor press . . .

We therefore ask you, when you intend to commence executing your resolution? And if you have not the courage to carry it out, to say so openly. Millions of persecuted workers, hundreds of suppressed labor papers wait for your answer. We, the undersigned unions and minorities of printers, are ready at any time to take up the struggle for the freedom of the labor press together with you, and to prevent our class enemies from using our own hands for our enslavement. We demand an immediate reply to this letter. The eyes of millions of workers throughout the world are turned towards us, printers, who are in possession of the mighty weapon against reckless Fascism. The Printers' Unions of Italy and Germany must demand that their members refuse to set type and print obviously white guard literature and to publish the literature of the reactionaries, until that time when the revolutionary labor papers will again be enabled to appear freely.

We are awaiting determined, organized, revolutionary action, and not rhetorical polemics.

The French Federation of Printers (C. G. T. U.).

The All-Russian Union of Printers.

The Bulgarian Union of Printers.

The Opposition of the German Printers' Union:

"The Graphic Bloc",

E. C. C. I.

To Comrades

Cachin, Monmousseau, Treint, Semard, Jacob, Hueber, Massot, Marrane-Gourdeaux, Lartigue, Cazals, Ker, Pietri, Paguereaux.

Dear friends,

We the undersigned, send you our heartiest fraternal greetings and the expression of our profoundest appreciation of your courageous attitude. The French Communist Party and the C.C.T.U. have saved the honor of the French proletariat through you. Everywhere where your action is known your names are held in highest honor by the elite of the proletariat. We are fully convinced that your trial will prove to be the trial of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents of the 2nd and Amsterdam Internationals.

For the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
Zinoviev, Trotzky, Radek, Bukharin, Khusinew, Gramsci, Hörnle, MacManus, Hula, Schatzkin.

A Greeting to the Women who are working and fighting all over the World!

The Communist International is aware that its struggles against international capital, and against international counter-revolution, can only be successful in proportion as it succeeds in gaining the great masses of working women for the international revolutionary class war. Women are the greatest sufferers from the effects of the present international capitalist offensive against the world proletariat. Wage reductions, unemployment, are destroying every basis of existence for the working class. Proletarian women must gradually learn that they can only protect themselves against the constant threats of capitalism by taking active part in organizing the resistance of the exploited against their exploiters, and by themselves taking part in the battle. The Communist International, which calls upon the international proletariat to fight against new imperialist wars, against the intention of imperialist robbers to start another world conflagration, does not preach pacifism; on the contrary; it calls upon the women to aid their class comrades with their utmost powers, in the work of organizing the sole war which can be named a holy war by the working masses, the war against the blood-suckers and oppressors of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie must not again be allowed to succeed with the aid of its willing social patriotic agents, in inducing the proletariat to form a working coalition with its most deadly enemies. The Communist International proclaims its fixed determination to fight hand in hand with the revolutionary organizations of the proletarian women in all countries, until communism triumphs.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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