

**Frankfort Conference Reports**

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

**- INTERNATIONAL -  
PRESS  
CORRESPONDENCE**

Vol. 3 No. 11

22nd March 1923

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

**CONTENTS**

- Karl Radek: Lenin. (On the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the C.P.R.).*
- The E.C. of the Communist International to the C.P. of Russia. on its 25th Anniversary.
- The Francfort Conference (Special Inprekorr Report).
- Politics**
  - Karl Radek: Soviet Russia and the German Proletariat.*
  - P. V. Couturier: "The Morale of the Troops is excellent!"*
  - K. Becker: The Ruhr Proletariat holds its Council of War.*
  - J. T. W. Newbold: The Anglo-American Alliance.*
- The Class Struggle.**
  - Paul Frölich: What the Revolution cost us.*
- E.C.C.I.**
  - To the Francfort International Conference.
- To the I.W.W. in Chicago.
- To the Chinese Railway Workers.
- Fascism**
  - Fight Fascism.
- In the International**
  - The Congress of the Egyptian C.P.
- The Labor Movement**
  - I. Amter: Proletarian Forces in the United States.*
- Relief for Russia**
  - The Bourgeois Press acknowledges the work of the I.W.R.
- The White Terror**
  - Desidor: In Horthy Hungary.*
  - Hawkin: In Lithuania.*

**HOOVER WAR  
COLLECTION**

**Lenin**

**(On the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the C. P. R.)**

By *Karl Radek.*

Like everything else in nature, Lenin was born, has developed, has grown. When Vladimir Ilyitch once observed me glancing through a collection of his articles written in the year 1903, which had just been published, a sly smile crossed his face, and he remarked with a laugh: "It is very interesting to read what stupid fellows we were!" But I do not here intend to compare the shape of Lenin's skull at the age of 10, 20, or 30, with the skull of that man who presided over the sessions of the Central Committee of the Party or the Council of Peoples' Commissars. Here it is not a question of Lenin as leader, but as a living human being. P. B. Axelrod, one of the fathers of Menshevism, who hates Lenin from the bottom of his soul—Axelrod's case is an excellent example of how love can change to hate—related, in one of the philippics with which he sought to convince me of the harmfulness of Bolshevism in general and of Lenin in particular, how Lenin went abroad for the first time, and how he went walking and bathing with him. "I felt at that time", said Axelrod, "that here was a man who would become the leader of the Russian Revolution. Not only was he an educated Marxist—there were many of these—but he knew what he wanted to do and how it was to be done. There was something of the smell of Russian earth about him." Pavel Borisovitch Axelrod is a bad politician, he does not smell of the earth. He is one who reasons at home in his own study, and the whole tragedy of his life consists of the fact that at a time when there was no labor movement in Russia, he thought out the lines upon which such a labor movement should develop,

and when it developed on different lines, he was frightfully offended, and to-day, he continues to roar with rage, at the disobedient child. But people often observe in others, that which is lacking in themselves, and Axelrod's words with regard to Lenin grasp with unsurpassable acuteness precisely those characteristics which make Lenin a leader.

It is impossible to be a leader of the working class without knowing the whole history of the class. The leaders of the labor movement must know the history of the labor movement; without this knowledge there can be no leader, just as nowadays there can be no great general who could be victorious with the least expenditure of force unless he knew the history of strategy. The history of strategy is not a collection of recipes as to how to win a war, for a situation once described never repeats itself. But the mind of the General becomes practised in strategy by its express study; this study renders him elastic in war, permits him to observe the dangers and possibilities which the empirically trained general cannot see. The history of the labor movement does not tell us what to do, but it makes it possible to compare our position with situations which have already been experienced by our class, so that in various decisive moments we are enabled to see our path clearly, and to recognize approaching danger.

But we cannot get to know the history of the labor movement properly without being thoroughly acquainted with the history of capitalism, with its mechanism in all its economic and political phenomena. Lenin knows the history of capitalism as do but few of Marx's pupils. It is no mere knowledge of the

written word—here comrade Riazanov could give him five points start—but he has thought out Marx's theory as no one else has done. Let us for instance take the small pamphlet which he wrote at the time of our conflict with the trade union movement; in it he calls Bukharin a syndicalist, an eclectic, and a great sinner in numerous other respects. This polemical pamphlet contains a few lines devoted to the differences between dialectics and eclectics, lines which are not cited in any collection of articles on historical materialism, but which say more about it than whole chapters from much longer books. Lenin has independently grasped and thought out the theory of historical materialism as no one else has been able to do, for the reason that he has studied it with the same object in view by which Marx was actuated when creating the theory.

Lenin entered the movement as the embodiment of the *Will to Revolution*, and he studied Marxism, the evolution of capitalism, and the evolution of socialism, from the point of view of their revolutionary significance. Plekhanov was a revolutionist too, but he was not possessed by the *Will to Revolution*, and despite his great importance as a teacher of the Russian Revolution, he could only teach its algebra and not its arithmetic. Here in lies the point of transition from Lenin the theorist to Lenin the politician.

Lenin combined Marxism with the general working class strategy, but at the same time he applied it concretely to that strategic task involving the fate of the Russian working class. It may be said that at the Army Staff Academy he studied not only Clausewitz, Moltke, and their like, but he studied at the same time, as no one else in Russia, the territory of the future Russian proletarian war. Herein lies the whole of Lenin's genius: in his utmost intensity of intimate contact with his field of activity.

I must take some other opportunity of debating why so great a mind as that of Rosa Luxemburg was not capable of understanding the correctness of Lenin's principles on the origin of Bolshevism; I can only outline the fact. Rosa Luxemburg did not grasp concretely the economic and political difference between the fighting conditions of the Russian proletariat and those of the proletariat of Western Europe. Therefore she inclined to Menshevism in the year 1904. Menshevism, regarded historically, was the policy of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, and of those strata of the proletariat most closely related to the petty bourgeoisie. Regarded methodologically, Menshevism was an attempt at transferring the tactics of the West European labor movement to Russia. If we read an article by Axelrod or Martov on the independence of development in the working class, "which has to learn to stand on its own feet," it appears exceedingly plausible and striking to anyone who has grown-up in the Western European labor movement. I remember very well that when I became acquainted with Russian social democratic polemics during the first revolution, but was not yet familiar with concrete Russian actuality, I could not comprehend how anybody could deny such elementary truths. This magnificent plan lacked nothing except the pre-requisites for the application of its tactics, and today it is historically proved that all the speeches delivered by the Mensheviks on the "independence of the labor movement" were in reality only speeches on the necessity of the Russian labor movement subordinating itself to the Russian bourgeoisie.

To-day it is most interesting to read the controversy on the famous first paragraph of the Party Statutes, the paragraph which led to the split of the Social Democratic Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. At that time Lenin's demand, that only the members of illegal organizations were to be counted as party members, appeared highly sectarian. But what was the real point in question? Lenin sought to prevent the confused ideas of certain intellectuals from determining the policy of the labor party. Before the first revolution, any malcontent of a physician or lawyer who happened to have read Marx styled himself a social democrat, although at bottom he was only a liberal. Even when they entered an illegal organization, even when they had broken with their petty-bourgeois way of living, history shows many intellectuals to have remained liberals at the bottom of their souls. But the limitation of the Party to such persons as were willing to face the dangers of belonging to an illegal organization, had undoubtedly the advantage of lessening the danger of bourgeois ascendancy in the labor party, and permitted the revolutionary ray emanating from the working class to penetrate the party organizations, however much filled with intellectual elements. But in order to be able to grasp this, in order to be even prepared to split the Party on this account, it was necessary to be as closely bound up with Russian realities as was Lenin, in his capacity of Russian Marxist and Russian revolutionist. And if this was not fully clear to many a good Marxist in the years 1903 and 1904, it became clear enough

from the moment when Axelrod began to mix up the class struggle of the proletariat against the Russian bourgeoisie with the famous *agrarian campaign*, that is, with the appearance of workers at liberal banquets for the double purpose of: getting to know the bourgeoisie, and of becoming filled with hate against the capitalist class which, as is well known, had never seen the working class except at the banquet; moreover, the capitalists were to be thus educated into a comprehension of the necessity of furthering general national interests.

Lenin's way of knowing Russian actuality is another point in which he differs from all others who have stretched out their hands towards the sceptre of leadership over the Russian proletariat. Not only does he know Russian actuality, he sees and feels it as well. At every turning point in the history of the Party, and especially at the moment when we seized power, and the fate of 150 million people hung on the decisions of the Party, I have always been amazed at Lenin's store of what the English call "common sense". It may be remarked that when we are speaking of a human being of whom we are convinced that his like will not recur for a century, it is but a poor compliment to praise his common sense. But it is just in this that his greatness as a politician lies. When Lenin has to decide on an important question, he does not think of abstract historical categories, he does not think of ground rents, of surplus values, of absolutism or liberalism. He thinks of Sobakevitch, of Gessen, of Sydor from the Tver Province, of the Putilov worker, of the policeman on the street, and he thinks of the effect of the measure on the *Mujik* Sydor and on the workman Onufria, as bearers of the revolution.

And I shall never forget my talk with Ilyitch before the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace. Every argument which we brought up against the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk rebounded from him like peas from a wall. He employed the simplest argument: A war cannot be conducted by a party of good revolutionists who, having seized their own bourgeoisie by the throat, is not capable of closing a bargain with the German bourgeoisie. The *mujik* must carry on the war. "But don't you see that the *Mujik* voted against the war?", Lenin asked me. "Excuse me, when and how did he vote against it?" "He voted with his feet, he is running away from the front". And for him that settled the matter. That we would not be able to agree with German imperialism, this Lenin knew as well as everybody else, but when he spoke in favor of the Brest pause for breath, he did not conceal from the masses for a single moment the sufferings which were bound to follow. But it was no worse than the immediate breakdown of the Russian Revolution; it gave us a shadow of hope, a pause for breath, if only for a few months, and this was the decisive moment. It was necessary that the *Mujik* should touch with his hands the earth which the revolution had given him; it was necessary that he be confronted with the danger of losing this earth, for then he would defend it.

Let us take another example. It was at the time of our defeat in the Polish war, when negotiations were taken up at Riga. At that time I went abroad, and before leaving I paid Ilyitch a visit, in order to speak with him on the differences of opinion which had arisen between us on the relations to the trade unions. Just as Lenin held the *Mujik* from the Riazan Province before his mental vision when deciding on the Brest peace, knowing that this *Mujik* was the decisive personality in the drama of war, in the same manner he placed himself in the position of the plain workman as soon as it was a question of transition from civil war to economic reconstruction, for without this plain workman no economic reconstruction is possible. How did he put the question to himself? The Party meetings discussed the role played by the trade unions in political economy; there were controversies on syndicalism and eclecticism. But what Lenin saw was the victimized workman, enduring unheard of and indescribable sufferings, and now called upon to reconstitute political economy. That the economic reconstruction was an imperative necessity, that we had to assemble all our forces, and that we had the right to call upon the working class to take part in the work, all this appeared incontestable to him, but it was a question whether we should begin with this at once, whether we should withdraw thousands of our best comrades from the army, where they had accustomed themselves to commanding, and send them back into the factories at once. Nothing would be produced by pursuing such tactics. "They must have a rest, they are very tired." Such was Lenin's decisive argument. He saw before him the real Russian worker, as he was in the winter of 1921, and he felt what was possible and what impossible.

Marx, in the introduction to his *Critique of Political Economy*, states that history only sets itself such tasks as it can

fulfil. This means, in other words, that only he who grasps what tasks are historically capable of fulfilment at a given moment, and who does not fight for the desired, but for the possible can become the instrument of history. Lenin's greatness lies in the fact that he never permits himself to be blinded to a reality when it is in process of transformation, by any preconceived formula, and that he has the courage to throw yesterday's formula overboard as soon as it disturbs his grasp of this reality. Before our seizure of power, we issued, as revolutionary internationalists, the slogan of the peoples' peace against the governments' peace. And suddenly we found ourselves in the position of a Workers' Government, surrounded by peoples that had not yet succeeded in overthrowing their capitalist governments. "How can we conclude a peace with the Hohenzollern government?" was a question put by many comrades. Lenin answered mischievously: "You are worse than hens. A hen cannot make up its mind to step over a circle drawn around it with chalk. But it can at least justify itself by the assertion that this circle was drawn by a strange hand. But we have drawn up our formula with our own hands, and now you see the formula only, and not the reality. Our formula of peace to be concluded by the peoples, had for its object the awakening of the masses against the military and capitalist government. Now you want us to go to ruin, and to let the capitalist governments carry off the victory in the name of our revolutionary formula."

Lenin's greatness lies in his aiming at goals arising out of realities. In this reality he sees a powerful steed which will carry him to his goal, and he trusts himself to it. But he never abandons himself to his dreams. This is not all. His genius contains another trait: After he has set himself a certain goal, he seeks for the means leading to this goal through reality; he is not content with having fixed his aim, he thinks out concretely and completely everything necessary for the attainment of that aim. He does not merely work out a plan of campaign, but the whole organization of the campaign at the same time. Our organizers, who are organizers only, have often laughed at Lenin as an organizer. Anyone seeing how Ilyitch works at home, in his room, or at the Council of Peoples, Commissars, might think it impossible to find a worse organizer. Not only has he no staff of secretaries to prepare his material, but up to now he has never even learnt to dictate to a stenographer, and gazes at the pen he is writing with, something like a Mujek from the Don district gazes at the first motor-car he sees. But show us in the whole Party one single individual capable of realizing within decades this central idea on the reform of our bureaucratic apparatus, although this reform is inevitable if we do not want the Mujik, indignant against officialdom, to begin to howl. We all know our bureaucratic apparatus, we all cry out against the scandalous state of affairs named by comrade Steklov (chief editor of the *Izvestia*), with all the delicacy of a semi-official organ: "slight defects of Soviet mechanism". But which one of the party leaders puts himself the question: The new economic policy has created a fresh basis for an alliance between proletariat and peasantry; how are we to prevent bureaucracy from destroying this alliance? But the great politician of the Russian proletariat, prevented by his illness from going through his daily routine, thought of the central question of state organization, and worked out the plan of the struggle for decades in advance. But this is only the preliminary draft, details are dependent on the confirmation of experience. But the more attention we devote to this superficial draft, the more plainly we see that in Lenin's personality the great politician and the great political organizer are combined.

How all this happened to be combined in him, God only knows. (Comrade Stefanov and the Commission for combatting religion will kindly excuse). History has her own apparatus for distilling brandy, and no Tcheka can detect her. The German bourgeoisie could not manage to unite Germany, and somewhere, on a small landed estate grange, history set one of her machines in action, and with the aid of God or the devil, that is, by molecular work, she created *Bismarck*, who then fulfilled the task. If we read his first reports, if we follow his policy step for step, we are obliged to ask ourselves how it was possible for a landowner to possess such an understanding for the whole of European actuality.

The same thought arises every time we think over the history of our Party, the history of the revolution, and Ilyitsch. For 15 years we looked on while this man was fighting over every

comma in the resolutions, against every . . . ism invented during the last 25 years, from *Khvoztism* to *Empiriocretism*. For Lenin every such ism has always been the embodiment of some real enemy, existing either in outside classes or in the working class, but in any case in reality. These isms were the feelers of reality, and he absorbed the whole of this reality into himself, studied it, thought it out, until the finished miracle appeared, and the under-ground man proved himself the most earthly man of Russian reality. History offers no second example of such a transition from subterranean revolutionist to Statesman. This combination of the characteristics of a leading theorist, politician, and organizer, has made Lenin the leader of the Russian Revolution. And that this leader should be the only one universally recognized as leader, the human touch was required, the quality which has made Lenin the beloved hero of the Russian Revolution.

He himself tries to convince us that man requires absolute truth, with is an untruth in Ibsen's individualistic formulation. For many people the truth is deadly; it is deadly even for many classes. If the bourgeoisie were to grasp the truth about itself, and were permeated with this truth, it would be defeated already, for who can go on fighting when the truth of history tells him that he is not only condemned to death, but that his corpse will be thrown into the sewer? The bourgeoisie is blind and dumb to its fate. But a revolutionary class needs the truth, for truth is the knowledge of reality. And it is not possible to dominate this reality without knowing it. We form one part of this reality: the working class, the Communist Party. And it is only if we are able to judge of our power and our weakness that we can judge of the measures to be taken to ensure final victory. Lenin tells the proletariat the truth, and the truth only, however depressing it may be. When workers hear him speaking, they know that there is not a single phrase in all his speech. He helps us to inform ourselves on reality. At one time I was living at Davos with a Bolshevik workman dying of consumptive. At that time the right of self-determination of nationalities was being debated, and we Polish communists were opposed to Lenin's views. The comrade of whom I speak, after having read my theses against Lenin, said: "What you have written is perfectly convincing to me, but whenever I have been opposed to Ilyitch, it has always turned out afterwards that I was wrong." This is how the leading party functionaries think, and this is the reason of Lenin's authority in the Party; but the workers do not think so. They do not feel bound to Lenin because he has been in the right a thousand times, but because, if he has once been in the wrong, if a mistake has been committed under his leadership, he admitted openly: "We have made a mistake, and therefore we have been defeated here; this mistake must be made good in such and such manner". Many have asked him why he speaks so openly of mistakes made. I do not know why Lenin does it, but the results of this course of action may be plainly seen. The workman is much too enlightened to believe in redeeming saviours any longer. When Lenin speaks of his mistakes, he hides nothing, he leads the worker into his own laboratory of thought, he makes it possible for the worker to take part in forming the final decision, and the workers see in him the leader who represents their laboratory, the embodiment of their class struggle. A great class, itself needing absolute truth, loves with its whole heart a leader who is himself a truth-loving human being, one who tells the truth about himself. From such a leader the worker can bear any truth, even the hardest. Human beings have faith in themselves only when they conceal nothing, when they know everything about themselves, even the most unfavorable possibilities, and yet feel that they can say: In spite of everything . . . Lenin helps the working class to a full knowledge of every decaying and decomposing element of its own existence, and yet enables it to say in the end: I am His Majesty the Proletariat, the future ruler and creator of life. This is another factor in Lenin's greatness.

On this day of the 25th anniversary of the Party which not only bears the responsibility for the destiny of the sixth part of the globe, but which is at the same time the main lever of proletarian victory, the Russian Communists, and every revolutionist among the proletariats of every country, are filled with the thought and the wish that this Moses, who has led the slaves from the land of bondage, may pass with us into the promised land.

# International Press Correspondence

Vol. 3

Supplement to No. 28

22nd March 1923

## The International Frankfurt Conference to the Workers of the World

The Ruhr Wars has been going on for more than two months. Victims are falling daily. The economic life of France and Germany has suffered incurable wounds which have increased the cost of living; unemployment and the misery of the proletariat.

The longer the Ruhr War is protracted, the nearer approaches the danger that the economic war in the Ruhr basin will turn into a new and frightful war. In France, as well as in Germany, a section of the bourgeoisie is consciously pursuing this aim. Another section of the bourgeoisie, haunted by the spectre of proletarian revolution which a new war inevitably involves, seeks to postpone the armed conflict and to effect a temporary capitalist settlement.

Workers! Such a capitalist understanding cannot bring real and lasting peace. It would merely mean a breathing space, a pause for the further preparation of a new war; and this capitalist understanding is to be effected at the expense of the workers. Higher taxes, the abolition of the eight hour day, wage reductions, abolition of all social legislation—that is the program of capitalist "understanding", that is the Stinnes program, that is the line of rapprochement between Poincaré and Stinnes.

The danger of war is still more intensified by the rise of bloodthirsty Fascism. Fascism aims at the destruction of all labor organizations and the ruthless enslavement of all workers.

Workers! In the struggle against the Ruhr War and the threatening war danger, the leaders of the Social Democracy and of the reformist Trade Unions have failed us miserably. The lavish promises of the Hague Conference to declare the General Strike against the threatening war danger, have not been fulfilled. It was not even attempted to combat war and the Ruhr occupation. All requests and appeals of the Communist Party, the revolutionary Trade Unions and Shop Stewards, to organize an international proletarian fighting front, were absolutely disregarded by the leaders of the Amsterdam, London and Vienna Internationals. As in the World War, so now, these leaders make peace with the bourgeoisie.

The only ones who fought at the head of the working masses, were the Communists, the revolutionary Trade Unions and Shop Stewards, who were also joined by Social Democratic, Independent and Non-Partisan workers, as well as by the Communist and revolutionary proletarian Youth. These militant elements organized the international unity of the working class not in words alone but in deeds, unscared by the prisons of the bourgeoisie; they carried on revolutionary propaganda among the occupation troops and mobilized the broad proletarian masses.

Workers of All Countries! The Frankfurt International Conference which unites all proletarian forces, which has led a real struggle against the Ruhr crime,—calls upon you to carry forth this struggle more intensively and extensively.

In order to co-ordinate this struggle, and to draw ever greater working masses and labor organizations around the already existing nucleus of the international proletarian fighting front, and to make possible a *World Labor Congress*,—the Frankfurt Conference appoints a Committee of Action.

Workers! Unite under the leadership of the *International Committee of Action*; erase all national and party frontiers, and combat the threatening war danger.

In order to bring about the evacuation of the Ruhr basin as well as of all other occupied German territory by the imperialist robbers,

in order to liquidate the Versailles robber treaty,  
in order to beat back the intensified capitalist offensive against your very existence—you must increase the revolutionary propaganda among the troops which are misled and misused by Imperialism.

You must force the bourgeoisie to liberate all proletarian militants languishing in its prisons!

Create *International Control Committees* which are to control and prevent all transportation of ammunition!

In order to intensify and unify the defensive struggle, the Frankfurt Conference sets the week of April 15-22, 1923, for an *International Propaganda Week*.

Organize mass demonstrations everywhere!  
Workers of France and Belgium, of the Big and Little Entente!

Let your answer to the arrest of your revolutionary leaders and to the brutal persecution by your governments be: **Fight!** Intensify the struggle on all fronts where you are opposed by the bourgeoisie or the bourgeois State. Yours is the important task of abolishing the Versailles robber treaty. Shoulder to shoulder with your German proletarian brothers, enlighten your brothers in uniform and tell them not to allow themselves to be misused against your German class comrades.

Away with taxation of the propertyless! Away with the wage tax! Away with Poincaré-la-Ruhr! Down with the pirates of the Comité des Forges!

German Workers! The per cent patriots who have sworn a thousand times that there shall be no negotiations with Poincaré until the Ruhr district is evacuated, are already calmly and cynically preparing the way for an understanding with him, while at the same time they outwardly excite the national hatred to its highest pitch. They are prepared to concur in the occupation of the Ruhr district for an indefinite time, if only French capital will share with them the proceeds derived from the colony of Germany.

Workers of the Ruhr and of the rest of Germany! Continue your struggle against Poincaré with the greatest possible energy! If sacrifices must be made in order to compel the robbers to depart, the German bourgeoisie shall bring them. No Cuno government, no great or little coalition will carry this out. Only a *Revolutionary Workers' Government* can do this. This is the only way to secure real peace, to secure your existence and the existence of Germany. The reparations crisis has arisen through the collapse of capitalism. It can only be finally settled through the abolition of capitalism!

The revolutionary German workers want peace. They are prepared to annul the Versailles peace by the international proletarian struggle, to purchase peace by means of the severest material sacrifices at the expense of the bourgeoisie, in order to gain time for consolidating the forces of the working class.

The alliance with Soviet Russia will enormously strengthen the power of a German revolutionary Workers' Government and be a further guarantee of peace; it will also secure the defence of the workers' state if international capital should refuse to give peace to a revolutionary Germany!

Working men and women of all countries! The conference finally calls upon you to put up a bold front against Fascism. There where it organizes itself in order to seize power set up the most widespread counter-propaganda by word and writing but do not be satisfied with this. At the same time create your workers' organizations which shall destroy it in its beginnings. There where Fascism is triumphant, as in Italy, unite your efforts internationally in order to overthrow it. To the dust with the Fascist monster!

Youthful workers! You, who will be the first victims of the imperialist war should be specially active in the proletarian struggle against war and Fascism, should be the most enthusiastic fighters!

War against imperialist war!  
Down with the Versailles robber treaty!  
Down with Fascism!  
Long live the proletarian united front in all countries transcending all party divisions!

Frankfurt, March 18, 1923.

The International Conference at Frankfurt-on-Main.

# The E. C. of the Communist International to the C. P. of Russia, on its 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

Comrades,

We greet and congratulate you, with revolutionary jubilation, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of your party. After the founding of the Second International, the labor movement of Germany took the lead in the international labor movement, but in the years 1904-05 the Russian working class stepped forward for the first time as a revolutionary force in the labor movement of the world. At that time you Bolsheviks were already heading the great mass movements, the workers' councils arising out of elementary forces, and the revolutionary general strike. For years you had been carrying on an intensified activity for the formation of a really revolutionary labor party. By combatting the Mensheviks in the then Russian social democratic party, and in their newspaper, the *Spark*, you saved the main body of the Party from sinking into the morass of opportunism and reformism to which the parties and trade unions of the Second International fell victims. From the very beginning you set the Party its true task of being a vanguard of the proletarian revolutionary movement, and at that time you were already its real vanguard. In the other countries ten or more years had to pass before the real rôle of the Party was clearly grasped.

When the imperialist war broke out, and the leading parties of the Second International in the different countries betrayed the cause of the working class, your party stood the test of fidelity. The Bolsheviks held aloft the flag of proletarian revolution in the Duma and in the army. Lenin's slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war pierced through all the fronts like a flash of lightning. This was the creative word which introduced a new era of international proletarian class war. It kindled an inextinguishable fire in the breasts of the bravest and most devoted champions of proletarian revolution in every country.

After criminal Czarism had been swept away by an elemental outbreak of popular hate, and was replaced by the provisional government of the bourgeoisie, served by the Mensheviks, your party at once opposed to this government the organized front of the revolutionary proletariat. At first this front was weak, but it speedily became firm. A fulcrum was created for it by the workers' and soldiers' councils, the formation of which was zealously aided by your Party, and in which you took energetic part against the parties of capitalist democracy. By adopting a right attitude towards capitalist democracy, your Party saved the Russian revolution at this juncture.

Under your leadership the Russian revolution of the year 1917 became a *great* revolution. At precisely the right moment, just as the majority of the workers and soldiers had gone over to your side, you resolutely raised the banner of rebellion, and seized power. Courageously you announced your watchword of socialist revolution. You proclaimed the expropriation of the factories, the landed estates, and all other property used for exploitive purposes. The work of demolition which the bourgeois revolution should have carried out, but failed to do, was completed by you. You clearly grasped that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a necessary premise for carrying through the social revolution. You perceived that the concrete fundamental form of this dictatorship, its state apparatus, should be a Soviet organization of the working class, functioning under the immediate leadership of the Communist Party. And thus you began to form this organization. The task was gigantic, the conscious forces at your disposal but few. Ruin threatened the proletarian dictatorship from all sides. But you accomplished the task of concentrating the forces you had on the most urgent problem of the time. Your Party was the backbone of the Soviet power, you remained steadfast through all the tests and trials of war, of famine, of danger of dissolution.

The model combination of striking power and adaptability in your party is due, in the first place, to the correct development of democratic centralism in your Party organization, and in the second place to the constant intensity of your Party activity. The constant activity of Party members forms the foundation for firm organic Party discipline, and the activity of the Party leaders again forms the basis of their great authority. Your Party leadership has always been rendered particularly strong by its incorruptible self-criticism, by its merciless attitude towards all revolutionary phrases. A keen instinct for the practical has always aided your leaders immediately to go to the heart of every politically important question. And above all, your Party has been able to become what it now is, because it has combined proletarian

class war with Marxism. In the actual practice of the great proletarian revolution, your Party has raised the leadership of the class war from the level of a mere blind attack, or of a mere undefined striving, to that of a real strategy. It has consciously outlined the most important forms of this strategy, the methods of offense and defense, of temporary retreat, of united, open and underground combats, on several simultaneous fronts, against inner and outer enemies, against open and secret enemies by means of force and diplomacy, with the aid of organization, of the press, and of state power. It has even evolved methods of combatting unconscious enemies, whether within its own ranks or outside of them; but at the same time it has magnificently evolved the methods by which friends and allies are made and gathered together for the proletarian revolution. In one word: *It has evolved the art of victory.*

Russian comrades! Your Party is also the founder of the Communist International and is the leading Party in it. The influence of your Party on the international revolutionary labor movement is great and valuable, and has proved especially so during the last four or five years. In the whole of Europe there is not a single country in which the influence of your Party has not furthered, either directly or indirectly, the birth and development of the communist movement and parties; and even in other far distant parts of the world your influence has secured a firm footing. The Communist International has to thank the Russian comrades for its best slogans, for the best instructions and advice. The experience and insight of the Russian comrades have originated the best resolutions passed by the Comintern, and ensured their victory everywhere. The leadership of the Russian comrades in the Communist International is our pride. Under Czarism, European reaction repeated the same mistake which it committed after 1848, when the counter-revolutionary governments of Germany and France hunted the most efficient leaders of the proletarian revolutionary movement from one country to another, and drove them into an exile giving them the best possibility of appropriating the wide and many-sided insight and experience so necessary to them later as leaders of the international movement. Without this hard and many-sided school of political exile, even the Russian Party would not have been able to give our International the competent leaders which it has given it. The Communist International is profoundly conscious of the value of the leadership performed by the Russian members of its Executive during the whole period of its existence, and of the competent advice given by the central committee of the Russian Communist Party, of the excellence of the work done by the delegation and by many other members of the Russian Party in the work of the Comintern.

Comrades! As a special sign of gratitude for the imperishable and valuable work done by your Party, and by the chairman of your central committee, comrade Lenin, for the international labor movement, the Executive, as undersigned below, has decided to appoint comrade Lenin as honorable president, and to propose to the coming world congress that it permanently ratify this resolution. The executive has at the same time resolved to publish, in the course of this year, in the leading European languages, a complete work efficiently setting forth the activity and experiences of the Russian Communist Party, and at the same time to begin publishing a series of workers' reading books, containing imperishable and valuable extracts from the works of Russian Marxists.

Dear Russian comrades, you have been pathfinders on an hitherto unknown road. And what a long stretch of road you have covered in this quarter of a century! The spark you struck has kindled a world conflagration. Your little party has become the vanguard of the proletarian world revolution. Under conditions of the utmost difficulty, under circumstances in which one single great error on your part might have proved fatal for both the Russian and international movements, you carried forward the flag of proletarian revolution with all honor. Your Party is the most important instrument of historical progress, not only in Russia, but all the world over. Hand in hand with you, the revolutionary workers of all countries will fight to the end. Under your leadership the Communist International will conquer the world.

Long live our great leader, the Communist Party of Russia!  
Long live our victorious International.

Hœrnle (Germany), Neurath (Czecho-Slovakia), Duret (France), Gramsci (Italy), Gennari (Italy), Kolarov (Bulgaria), Mac Manus (England), Kostcheva (Poland), Stirner (South America), Kuusinen (Finland), Schuler (Youth International).

# The Frankfort Conference

(Special In press Report)

By Peter Steiger.

## Preliminary notes.

Today, on the eve of the 75th anniversary of the German revolution of 1848, the International Conference convened by the Committee of 23 of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards was opened in Citizens' Hall in Frankfort.

A great red flag waves before the house in the proletarian Berger street. Proletarians from all countries gather together in a hall of proletarian bareness and simplicity. German railwaymen and miners sit side by side with representatives of the French, English, Italian, Polish, Czech, Belgian, and Dutch proletarians. Communists sit in friendly conference with members of the German Socialist and Independent Socialist parties, and with syndicalists. The conference is opened—and we may take this as a characteristic symptom, despite the sabotage of the German Socialist Party—by a member of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, the chairman of the National Committee of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards—*Friege*.

He speaks to the following effect: The war which has been taken up afresh by the imperialists, their invasion of the Ruhr territory, demand imperatively that the international working class take up its self-defense. We have been silent too long. The workers must put an end to their enslavement by international capital. They must pass from passivity to activity!

After this inauguration, the conference resolves to send a telegram expressing the heartiest revolutionary sympathy to the communist leaders imprisoned by Poincaré: comrades Cachin, Monmousseau, and Jacquemotte.

The Conference elects to the presidium, among others, the representative of the III. International, comrade Kolarov, the delegate sent by the Red International of Labor Unions, comrade Lozovsky, and the representative of the German C.P., comrade Clara Zetkin.

When Clara Zetkin, who has served the revolution for so many years, moves through the ranks of the delegates, the audience of workers greets her with enthusiasm and esteem.

With these harmonious preliminary chords the international Conference begins its work. It is faced with gigantic difficulties.

The task which the Frankfort world conference has set itself is to organize the inevitable struggle on national and international lines. It defies all attempts at sabotage on the part of the reformists, and works in the full consciousness of fulfilling its revolutionary mission at a time when new wars are threatened.

## Opening day.

Frankfort, 17. March 1923.

The congress was opened by the chairman of the National Committee of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards, *Friege* (United Social Democratic Party of Germany).

On the suggestion of the *Committee of Action of the Communist Parties of France and Germany*, it was decided to elect a presidium of 11 members, comprising representatives of: The National Committee of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards, the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions, the Communist Youth International, the Communist Party of France, the C.G.T.U. of France, the Communist Party of Germany, the C.P. of England, the C.P. of Italy, and the Social Democratic fractions.

On the suggestion of the representative of the All-Russian Trade Union Alliance, *Ivanov*, the following letter of greeting was sent to comrades Monmousseau, Cachin, Jacquemotte, and others imprisoned by the French and Belgian bourgeoisie:

"The International Conference considers it its class duty to send fraternal greetings, on its opening day, to all of you who are incarcerated in French and Belgian prisons. You have protested courageously against the predatory raid made by a savage imperialism on the peaceful inhabitants of the Ruhr area. You have not permitted yourselves to be fooled by the insolently lying phrases of the bourgeoisie, as if France and Belgium had the right to tread underfoot the disarmed German people. You have defied the howling of the whole bourgeois nationalist pack, and have proudly carried forward the flag of the Communist and Red Labor Union Internationals. You have fulfilled your class duty towards the revolutionary proletariat. You have saved the honor of the French and Belgian working class. It is not by such adventures, not by bloody conflicts, that the workers of the world will be saved, but solely by the complete overthrow of that system which permits the administrators of

the money-bags to stake the lives of millions. We proletarians of all countries, gathered at this International Conference, feel the closeness of the tie that binds us to you of the French and Belgian working class, and the frontiers and the prison walls lying between us. The war intoxication is vanishing, the working class of France and Belgium is beginning to awaken, to take up action. Your bourgeoisie already sees itself confronted by the spectre of social revolution, and throws itself upon those who are merely expressing in a conscious form that which is fermenting in the whole mass. It hopes to exterminate the germ of revolution by imposing silence on its spokesmen and standard bearers. The bourgeoisie will soon see that it is impossible to annihilate the working class, or to imprison it wholesale—even with the aid of the reformists.

The prisons will never be able to suppress the struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

We greet you, revolutionary trade unionists, communists, and youthful champions of the proletarian revolution in France and Belgium!"

\*

The following agenda was decided upon:

1. The situation in France.
2. The situation in Germany.
3. The predatory raid of the French in the Ruhr, and the impending danger of war.
4. The struggle against the international Fascist reaction.

March 18.

Comrade Kolarov, Bulgaria (Comintern):

"Comrades, I am commissioned to remit to you the revolutionary greetings of the E.C. of the C.I. The E.C. of the C.I. has responded to the appeal made by the Committee of 23, and has not contented itself with approaching the London and Amsterdam Internationals with an appeal; it has also called upon all organizations affiliated to the III. International to send delegates to this conference. This conference meets at a moment when the danger of fresh war is hanging over Europe. It is true that the capitalist governments have a presentiment of the consequences of a new war: *The Social Revolution!* But they are no longer capable of controlling the forces they have unchained. We may even say that war has already begun in the Ruhr district. The proletariat of the Rhine country and Westphalia is aroused, and with it the proletariats of all European states. The working class does not want a capitalist war. But it does not suffice for it merely not to want it. In 1914 the peoples of Europe did not want a world war either, and were none the less driven into the bloody massacre.

*We must renounce a fresh war impossible.*

we must overthrow the powers which are preparing this war.

In February of this year a conference met at the Hague, convened by the Amsterdam and London Internationals, and having for its object the adoption of measures against war. A resolution was there passed for preventing a new war by an international general strike. But now that the armies of French imperialism have marched into the Ruhr, now that French and Belgian workers are again forced into uniform for the purpose of taking up arms against their class comrades,

*now these "Internationals" fail us as miserably as they did in 1914.*

Now as then they have shown themselves incompetent of leading the struggle against the danger of war, and now as then the reason is that they will not lead the masses into a conflict against their own and the international bourgeoisie. The reformists in Germany are standing side by side with the German bourgeoisie, as in 1914, for the "defence of the Fatherland", which is still the Fatherland of the bourgeoisie.

After the Ruhr occupation the Comintern and Profintern appealed to the reformist Internationals to join them in common defensive action. The London and Amsterdam leaders did not even deem it necessary to reply. But the masses are beginning to understand the slogans of the Comintern.

Just before the Ruhr occupation we had the first example of the solidarity existing between the German and French proletarian vanguards. The French bourgeoisie grasped the Essen danger at once. The champions of the French proletariat, the leaders of the French C.P. and the C.G.T.U., were thrown into prison. The work begun in Essen was carried on by the German Shop Stewards.

*This conference is a landmark in the development of the international proletarian United Front.*

We are proud to see in this hall representatives of Social Democratic groups from different countries. This signifies the beginning of clarification with the Social Democratic strata. And this is the beginning of the victory of the idea of revolutionary class struggle. This conference must forge the weapons which will place the proletariats of all countries in a position to break down capitalist class rule, and thus to put an end to all imperialist conflicts once and for all. Long live international proletarian solidarity! Long live ruthless international class war! Long live the Revolutionary International!"

The next speaker was

**Comrade Lozovsky:**

The Red International of Labor Unions sends fraternal greetings and good wishes to this congress, and hopes that this meeting will not alone demonstrate against the danger of war, but will also find means of fighting its causes. When the 2 1/2% and Amsterdam Internationals convened a so-called peace conference at the Hague three months ago, we of the small Russian delegation said that it was futile to convene a peace conference; what we want is a *class struggle conference*, we do not want pacifism. It is not by pacifism that we defeat the bourgeoisie; of this, experience has given us ample proof. Scarcely three weeks after the Hague conference Poincaré invaded the Ruhr. He showed that he was not in the least alarmed at all the threats of the international reformists.

The proletariat must form a revolutionary bloc if it wants to fight effectually and successfully against imperialism.

The Russian comrades, who carried on the conflict against their bourgeoisie under the most difficult circumstances, are aware that at the present time there are broad strata of the international working class still in a state of indifference. We must find ways and means for rousing these great masses of working people in all countries.

The bloc of exploiters must be opposed by a determined bloc of all exploited and proletarian masses. This is the aim we have set ourselves at this conference.

What do we understand under *United Front*, and on what basis do we want to form the united front of the workers of all countries? Today we do not demand that the broad masses of social democratic workers, and those workers who are not yet our followers, should unite on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All we ask is that a united front be formed on the basis of the demands formulated by the Social Democratic organizations themselves. We ask that they convert into reality, together with us, that which they are always pretending to the masses. Thus the Frankfurt conference must appeal to the workers of all countries to form the

*United Front on the basis of the class struggle.*

We know very well that the reformist leaders will oppose this, but we know equally well that the class consciousness of the workers is awakening, and that they are beginning to realize the necessity of united action against capitalism.

When Fimmen proposed, at the Hague, that the *general strike* be proclaimed if war should threaten, we said: "Do not promise what you cannot fulfil. In the first place you are not agreed among yourselves, and in the second place you are so bound up with your bourgeoisie that you will not be able to keep your promise when the time comes." Unfortunately for the proletariat, our prediction has proved true. What has the exploited working class of the world to hope from such an International? Such an International cannot fight, and never will be able to fight. Despite the sufferings involved for the working class, particularly in Germany, by the Ruhr occupation, it has had at least one good effect: *The international proletariat realizes that reformist methods cannot help the working class.*

Our conference must and will do good work if we confine ourselves to the practical, and do not only pass good resolutions, but at the same time prepare for real and systematic action rendering it possible for us to unite the international working class in one fighting front against the international bourgeoisie."

**Comrade Schatzkin, representative of the Communist Youth International.**

The Communist Youth International, and the Communist Youth of Russia do not bring you mere resolutions, do not come empty handed. We are already able to report on practical and successful work against war and against Fascism. We fulfil by our deeds that which was bequeathed to us by our murdered leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, for whose death to vengeance has as yet been taken. . . In the occupied territory

our youthful comrades distribute leaflets in the French and German languages. They are carrying on successful propaganda amongst the French and Belgian soldiery! We are now distributing a

*leaflet in the Moorish language,*

as a means of finding a way to our black brothers in uniform. Many of our comrades in the occupied territory have been arrested and sentenced for their activity. Between the 11. and 18. of March we carried on an international fighting week against war and Fascism, the effectiveness of which is proved by the reports of arrests of Communist Youth comrades in all countries.

Our leading comrades have been thrown into prison in Spain, in France, and in Belgium. In the Ruhr area two comrades were yesterday sentenced to 6 months imprisonment by the French court martial.

The dead bodies of our Italian comrades, and the numerous conflicts between German Youth comrades and the National Socialist bands, bear witness to our fight against Fascism.

Soviet Russia has been, remains, and will continue to remain, the firmest proletarian pillar of revolution. Our workers, peasants, Red Army, and fleet, all want peace. But the bourgeoisie must not forget that the Red Army and Fleet are completely at the disposal of the international proletariat.

**Comrade Newbold (C.P. of Great Britain).**

"I had hoped to come over here with a larger delegation, but for a revolutionist it is not easy to get from England to the continent. The gentlemen of the Labor Party and of the 2 1/2 International say that they could not come. But they could not because they did not want to. For the reformists shrink from coming in contact with the communists in any way. They prefer a united front with the capitalists. This week the Labor Party voted in Parliament for the convention of an inter-parliamentary conference on the Ruhr question, at which the Parliaments of Great Britain, France, and Belgium should meet. That is, representatives of the capitalists and labor representatives of the victorious countries only.

It would be useless for me to give you any hope of help from the Labor Party, or from the mighty British trade unions, of which the great mass of English workers are still members.

The Labor Party is already anticipating the day when it will be in the government, and thus it prefers the sympathy of the bourgeoisie to the sympathy of the working masses of Europe.

If England does not venture to take action at the moment against France's advance, it is because she fears the great army and numerous air fleet of France. But ere long, we shall be confronted by the task of defending ourselves from a war between the imperialisms of France and England. We must therefore be prepared for a danger which is much more serious than the occupation of the Ruhr and Rhine areas, for the danger that Europe, that the whole world, will be plunged into an imperialist carnage compared with which that of 1914 was nothing. It is our task to prepare the workers of Germany to overthrow their bourgeoisie, and to place the great industrial powers of the Rhine and Ruhr areas in the hands of the German revolution. We must arm ourselves for resistance against the International of Capital, which may very easily arise as soon as the Ruhr adventure is over. This temporary conflict will be followed by the next great war, unless capitalist rule in Germany, in France, in Italy, and even in England, where the revolutionary movement is still weak, is first overthrown.

**A representative from India**

brought the greetings of the working millions of India: The might of imperialism which oppresses the European states is supported by the exploitation of the working masses in the colonial countries, and for this reason the exploited colonial peoples must join the workers of Europe in the common work of overthrowing their common enemy. The colonies are not only the economic reserves of Imperialism, but military ones as well. Just as France is now sending black soldiers into the Ruhr area, in the same manner millions of Indian peasants will be forced to fight against French Imperialism. Imperialism must be shattered all over the world by the united action of the European working masses and of the colonial peoples.

**Max Thiele (Social Democrat)**

remitted a resolution which had been passed unanimously at a meeting held by the workshops of the Frankfurt Eastern Railway.

**Comrade Marius, representative of the French C.P.**

We bring you not only the fraternal greetings of the C.P. of France and of the C.G.T.U.; the French proletariat has

proved that it has more than mere greetings and words, that it can fulfil in actual deeds the promises made in Essen. Our comrades have been imprisoned because the bourgeoisie comprehends that the Communist Party and the Unitarian Trade Union Federation are powers whose destiny it is to overthrow the rule of French Imperialism.

The workers of Germany and France will not march against one another again. The workers of France and Germany will rise in unity against the bourgeois front.

In this conflict French capitalism is not concerned with saving its native country, the question in hand is the fact that Loucheur wants 60%. As soon as an understanding has been reached between the groups of capitalists,

*the Ruhr area will be reduced to a colony, the Ruhr workers to colonial slaves.*

The French reformists have not even replied to our appeal for a joint struggle; and in the same manner we see the German Trade Union Alliance, which with its 8 millions of organized workers could easily overthrow Cuno's government, placing itself on the side of the German capitalist government. The workers must follow the red flag of communism only, and then they will shatter the power of the capitalists in France and Germany.

**Comrade Lansing (Holland):**

brought greetings from the revolutionary trade unions of Holland. Holland, a country of 6½ million inhabitants, holds 35 millions in subjection in its colonies. When the great world war comes, the Dutch colonies will be one of the bones of contention, and then the Dutch workers will be utilized to defend the colonial interests of the Dutch bourgeoisie. Arming has been going on for this purpose since the "peace" of 1918. The Dutch workers must also take up the struggle against the new world war. It was a Dutch revolutionist who proposed the general strike against war as early as the Brussels congress in 1888. But the Social Democrats called him a mad fool. We have nothing to expect from these people.

The longer their resolutions are, the shorter their deeds. It is of no use to us to pass magnificent resolutions in the evening and then to continue to manufacture the arms for capitalist war the next day. We must refuse to work in the barracks and workshops, and work in the interests of the proletarian world community only.

**Grothe**

spoke on behalf of the National Committee of the German Shop Stewards:

We are glad to be able to ascertain that a great section of the social democratic workers, and the workers in the trade unions, are on our side, even though they have not had the power to induce their leaders to appear here. In face of the sabotage with which the reformist leaders neutralize the struggles of the workers, the masses of workers are taking to self-aid, and lend their support to the shop steward movement. Comrade Grothe read extracts from the *Vorwärts*, in which it is stated that in view of the present situation the United German Socialist Party sees itself more than ever induced to refuse any co-operation with the communists.

Comrade Grothe expressed in warm terms the gratitude of the German working class for the active aid sent by the Russian proletariat to the Ruhr workers. He closed with an appeal for determined combat against German and international capital.

**Comrade Marianski (Poland)**

greeted the congress on behalf of the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party of Poland.

A Franco-German war would signify a war of Poland against Germany, and further a war of Poland against Soviet Russia. Poland is a vassal of France. Its policy is dictated by the French capitalists. After the occupation of the Ruhr, we took up the struggle against the war danger with increased energy. The reformists of Poland opposed us bitterly. We shall continue the struggle, and shrink from no sacrifice in carrying out the resolutions of this congress.

A representative of the striking miners in the Saar area reported that all attempts made by French mining capital to strangle the strike, which has now lasted 7 weeks, are in vain. This struggle is being carried on in an exemplary manner, and will not end until wages and conditions of living have been attained which are worthy of human beings. The Saar workers look to the congress to lay down lines for their activity.

*(to be continued)*

## POLITICS

### Soviet Russia and the German Proletariat.

*By Karl Radek.*

With money collected by the Russian workers, the All-Russian Trade Union Council has bought half a million puds of bread, and has sent this to the workers of the Ruhr basin.

The perusal of this piece of news awakens sad recollections.

It was in October 1918 that Lenin, on the occasion of the Soviet congress, suddenly rose to his feet and appealed to the congress to exert every possible endeavor to collect a special Reserve Bread Fund for the support of the coming German revolution. Deeply moved, the congress passed Lenin's motion. Every participant in the congress realized that the coming German revolution would release Soviet Russia from the noose of the Brest-Litovsk peace, but would at the same time confront the Russian proletariat with fresh and gigantic tasks. All realized that international capital would try to starve out the German revolution, and that Soviet Russia would have to feed the German workers. But the Russian workers shouldered this difficult task joyfully, for they knew that the alliance with the great German proletariat would give us the possibility of accelerating the economic rehabilitation of Russia, that it would strengthen the power of international revolution a thousandfold.

But it was not only the Congress that enthusiastically accepted Lenin's proposal. It was taken up by the broadest strata of the proletariat. I recollect, as clearly as if it were today, a meeting held in a Moscow factory after we had received the news of the Austrian revolution. It was evident that this would be followed by the German revolution. I spoke of the wide prospects thus opened before us, and of the great burdens which would be imposed on us at the same time. At that time the life led by the workers of Moscow was very hard, and yet, when I declared that the Russian proletariat would share its last piece of bread with the German workers, the whole meeting rose to its feet and applauded enthusiastically. An old working woman stood up, her face and hands bearing the unmistakable stamp of years of heroic toil and unheard of suffering. She gazed at me in an almost religious ecstasy. It could be read in her face that she had probably gone hungry to bed more than once, or even hundreds of times she had perhaps seen her children starving; and yet, without complaint, she took an inward oath to starve further, and to bring an offering for the joint victory of the Russian and German proletariats.

The night came when our radio station caught up the clumsy radio of some German warship, beginning with the following words: "To-day we buried the first victims of the German revolution. May they be the last." The storm of the German revolution raged. The Kaiser fled. The republic was proclaimed, and workers' and soldiers' councils were founded all over Germany. The Berlin Council appointed a government of Peoples' Commissars, headed by Scheidemann, Ebert, Haase, and Dittmann. For four days we exerted ourselves to the utmost, by cable and radio, to open communication with the Berlin Soviet government. Apart from the tasks attendant on the continuance of the struggle, it was imperatively necessary for us to negotiate with them regarding the most immediate tasks, and above all on the actions of the imperial officers in Minsk and Riga, their blood baths and their arming of the bourgeoisie. It was clear that Scheidemann and Haase, however cowardly they might be as politicians, must certainly grasp the fact that if a wall of armed bourgeoisie were erected between Germany and Soviet Russia, this would not only mean the arming of our enemies, but of theirs also, for the bourgeoisie of the one-time Russian border districts would not throw in their lot with a vanquished Germany, but with the victorious Entente. But it was impossible to establish any connection with Berlin. During this time the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decided to despatch the first consignment of bread to Germany, in order by this symbol to show the workers of Germany that the Russian workers were stretching out their hands to join them in a common struggle. On November 15. or 16., we succeeded in getting a message through to Berlin. At one end of the apparatus there stood the leader of the German Independent Socialist Party, who only a year before had helped us, at the Stockholm conference, to work out a plan against the world war; and at the other end there were comrade Tchitcherin and I. When I informed Haase of the bread consignment, the apparatus gave the cool reply: The German government is very grateful to the All-Russian Central



Executive Committee for the fraternal solidarity, but has received the assurance from Wilson that America will supply Germany adequately with food. He therefore begs that that the bread be used for feeding the starving in Russia. I gazed upon the black letters of the rolling ribbon, but what I saw was the face of the working woman who had stretched out her hand towards the German proletariat, but who now met no outstretched hand in reply.

The whole press of the Independents and followers of Scheidemann declared an alliance with Soviet Russia to be an empty delusion. The Soviet republic would go to pieces. And even if it did not, such an alliance, after four years of war, would only signify further famines, and fresh wars. Germany must submit to Entente capital, and Wilson will give her peace and bread. And she submitted. Despite the resolutions passed by the Berlin workers' and soldiers' councils, the delegation sent by us to the congress of the German workers' Soviets was arrested near Vilna, with the connivance of the government led by Ebert and Haase.

And when German officers belonging to Falkenheim's military staff surrounded our carriage, and forced us to turn back at the mouths of machine guns, they incited the soldiers against us, and shouted: "The Bolsheviks are going to Berlin to plunge us into a fresh war." When I then proceeded illegally to Berlin, in order to take part in the conference founding the German Communist Party, I saw posters all over the city: "The Bolsheviks want a fresh war!"

Relying on the backwardness of the masses, the social democracy prepared to capitulate before world capital. When defending this policy, Haase referred to the pause-for-breath policy pursued by the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk. But here he overlooked one small point. At the first German trade union congress, the Scheidemann-Haase government succeeded in having a resolution passed on the convocation of a constitutional assembly, that is, on the surrender of power to the bourgeoisie. Soviet Russia accepted the sacrifice of Brest-Litovsk in order to gain time to organize the working masses of Russia, and to organize Russia's defence. When we signed the Brest peace, the peoples' commissar for foreign affairs, Trotzky, gave over the diplomatic leadership to comrade Tchitcherin, and turned to the great task of organizing the Red Army. But after the German social democracy had capitulated before Entente capital, it abandoned power to the German bourgeoisie in the hope that the allies would dictate better conditions of peace if Germany were ruled by the bourgeoisie. And to ensure this bourgeoisie, the strong man of German social democracy, Noske, was appointed minister of war. He placed himself at the head of the German white guard officers, organized a white army, and subjugated and disarmed the German proletariat within a year.

The German proletariat can now sum up the results. We in Russia starve as the German proletariat starves. We had to fight for three years longer, the working masses of Russia have borne unending sufferings. It is possible that even to-day their standard of living is no better than that of the German workers. But only go into a factory in Germany, and then into one in Moscow, and compare the atmospheres. In Berlin the main trend of feeling prevailing is that of the complete hopelessness of the situation, but here with us every worker is confident that the worst is over, that we are beginning to make strides forward. The gentlemen of the social democratic party are triumphing over the so-called retreat of our new economic policy, but God grant that when five years have passed they may have as many means of production in their hands, so many mediums towards the development of a new life, as we have under our new economic policy. It is not long since the bourgeois statistician, Kuczinsky, wrote: Never before has capitalism ruled so insolently in Germany, never has it wasted the capital of the nation as it is doing now, never before has it created such a hopeless situation. We have fought; after four years of imperial war we took upon ourselves the burden of three years of civil war; we fought, clad in rags; we lacked not only anaesthetics for operations on wounded soldiers, we had not even enough beds in the war hospitals. But Russia is not being converted into a colony. Our forces will grow from year to year. Germany is not fighting in the Ruhr for her independence, but merely for the sake of becoming an Anglo-American instead of a French colony.

We hear the lamentations of the suffering German proletariat. And we, who passed through this same purgatory of starvation yesterday, are to-day gathering together our forces to come to the aid of the German proletariat wherever we can. The Russian proletarian passes on his morsel of bread to help his German brother. But he cannot save him. The German proletariat can only be saved by the German proletariat itself; it has faith in its own powers, if it will arise and take upon

itself the heavy burden of responsibility for its own fate and the fate of its nation, now groaning under the additional burden of occupation by foreign military forces; if it will set itself the task of emancipating itself and its country from the yoke of the foreign and German capitalists, who are not only no longer capable of upholding any idea of human progress or even of independence for their own country, but are only capable of seeking for a yoke which cuts less deeply into the living flesh than the French one.

Had the German proletariat made common cause with the Russian in 1918, it would have suffered much, but Europe would have looked very different to-day. The German proletariat has suffered for the sake of capital, for the reconstruction of bourgeois economics, and its severest sufferings are yet to come if it does not shake off the fetters of the bourgeoisie. When the German proletariat starves, it cannot even console itself with the thought that the bourgeoisie will treat it as well as it would a beast of burden. The prospect in store—the restoration of colonial capitalism—will be realized across the bodies of the proletariat. But on the day when it resolves to unite with the Russian proletariat, on that day a fresh page in history will be turned. The German proletariat will then play that great rôle which fell from its trembling hands in 1919.

We cannot tell when this day will come, but come it will.

## "The morale of the troops is excellent!"

By Vaillant-Couturier.

The letter appearing below took about four weeks to reach us from field post section 122; it gives further instructive information regarding the actual state of mind obtaining among the Ruhr occupation troops.

A copy of this letter was also sent to M. Oberle, who earns his living by dishing out his "wit" in the *Petit Parisien*, and who as one-time participator in the war, has probably been of the opinion that in the Ruhr area everything is in the very best order in the most beautiful and friendly army in the world.

The joys of dwelling in the Ruhr area.

As the *Petit Parisien* has not published the document sent to it, we do so here:

January 29th, 1923.

168. I.-R. 9. Comp.  
Field post section 122

M. Oberle.

Dear Sir,

After having read the *Petit Parisien* (we can obtain no other newspapers here) of January 27, I have the honor of replying to you regarding the sentiments which you assume in the soldiers occupying the Ruhr area.

You assert that:

1. The occupation of the Ruhr involves nothing disagreeable.
  - a) We sleep on straw.
  - b) We are plagued by innumerable lice.
  - c) We cannot wash ourselves, or only very insufficiently.
  - d) We change our field post section very frequently, and are thus often 6, 8 and 10 days without any news from our relations, who may very easily be ill in the meantime.
  - e) No leave is granted.
  - f) There is a muster three times a day.
  - g) The troops are kept in constant readiness for alarms.
  - h) We have to stand sentry for 4 to 6 hours a day, exposed to the full severity of the weather.
  - i) On march days we have to cover 25 to 30 kilometres daily with scarcely any food whatever. The food is uneatable, because it is cooked in old camp kettles which have not been in use for a long time, and are dirty and rusty inside.
  - k) Provisioning is extremely bad, in consequence of the railway strike occasioned by our occupation.
- l) As an illustration I append the menu of our yesterday's dinner:

$\frac{1}{10}$  of a loaf of black military bread,

$\frac{1}{3}$  of a tin of corn beef.

$\frac{1}{4}$  l. wine (but such wine!).

m) We are in constant danger of having a bullet through us from the German nationalists, who are engaged in justified self-defence.

n) We may be placed in the position of having to fire upon a crowd of innocent, unfortunate and unarmed workers, with a threat of 3 to 10 years imprisonment if we refuse.

o) Most of the boys and girls are terrified at the sight of us; they run away as soon as they see us. Even the most courageous girls make a wide detour to avoid us. For the Ger-

man bourgeois press—your accomplice—denounces us to them as tyrants.

1) We get newspapers 2 to 3 times a week.

2. "Seeing the country and the people". When we are marching along a road in close ranks, with knapsacks on our backs, and when the sole spectacle offered us is that of an officer pulling our comrades brutally to their feet again when they fall from exhaustion, there is nothing attractive whatever about this, at most it is highly instructive.

3. "Learning the German language" is made extremely difficult for us, as you must admit, since we are held in a constant state of readiness for alarms, and are incited to the utmost distrust of the inhabitants.

4. You say that we should "force the Boche to obedience?" I do not understand you. Ah, perhaps you are speaking of the Germans? In this case kindly note that he has not yet given way on one single point.

5. The pay of the occupation soldier is 75 centimes a day. At the present rate of exchange 27,900 marks monthly. But a two pound white loaf costs 1,050 marks, assuming one is to be had at all, for that is not such an easy matter.

#### Class fraternity.

This letter contains so much bitterness, despair, and outraged human feeling, that it must stir all who read it to their profoundest depths. We may add that the writer, who sent us a copy through his father is not a member of the Communist Party. It is a genuine "field post letter", written without any feeling of hate against the "enemy", but calculated to make the ears of the guilty in both countries tingle considerably. We receive hundreds of such letters. Parents lay them daily on our editor's desk, and add their indignation to that of their sons, whether officers or privates. And if these were the circumstances a month ago, the description is more applicable today. The position of the troops in the Ruhr district becomes daily more untenable and dangerous.

This is one, and not the least trifling aspect of the collapse evidenced by Mr. Bonar Law.

We do not rely on the government to bring about any sort of improvement in the situation for which it is wholly responsible.

We rely simply and solely on our German communist comrades. It is only these comrades, whom the imbecile nationalist press of France fancies it can draw into its sphere of influence, who can improve the position of their comrades in uniform, the French soldiers. They must give our soldiers the moral stimulus of which they are so greatly in need. They must show them that they are at home wherever their class comrades are. They must find ways and means of ameliorating the life forced upon our brothers in uniform by the German and French nationalists. The French soldiers in the Ruhr area and the German workers have one common enemy: the magnates of heavy industry and the *Comité des Forges* (Iron Works' Committee), represented on one side by the Cuno government and on the other by their factotum, Poincaré.

## The Ruhr Proletariat holds its Council of War

By Karl Becker (Berlin).

On March 11, a congress was held in Essen (that metropolis of the industrial area, for the dominion of which French heavy industry is now wrestling with German capital), by the Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards. It was no small gathering that assembled here. While the first Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards' congress comprised about 240 delegates, at this second congress there were present 669 delegates, representing every description of party and trade union tendency. And it was no mere demonstration congress, but a congress of serious discussion as to the measures to be taken in the struggle against French imperialism and German capitalism. Serious and practical resolutions were passed on this point. The congress was in fact a *Council of War* of the Rhenish-Westphalian proletariat.

In the present turmoil of German nationalist agitation, and of French imperialist strivings to win over the workers, this congress is an event of the greatest significance. Let us consider what it means: in this area, where the conditions for class war are at present most unfavorable, the working class has succeeded in making its second shop stewards' congress almost three times as extensive as the first one held before the Ruhr occupation, and this—despite the sabotage of the Social Democratic Party and the trade union leaders. In Germany, the shop stewards' movement is beginning to be a really powerful factor against the sabotage of the class war by the German General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) and the German Social Democratic Party, and the day is not distant when it will be able to lead the masses into battle against the influence of reformist

sabotage. To the international proletariat, whom the official policy of the A.D.G.B. and of the German Social Democratic Party can only throw into despair, the German shop steward movement is a sign that, despite everything, the masses of the German proletariat are again gathering on the basis of revolutionary class war.

The international significance of the Rhenish-Westphalian congress was fittingly expressed in the opening speech of welcome by a representative of the revolutionary trade unions and of the Communist Party of France. Despite the greatest danger, despite the mad agitation carried on in the Ruhr area by French militarism against French communists, the revolutionary organizations of France did not permit themselves to be intimidated, but sent a representative to Essen. When the French comrade, securely guarded by a proletarian defence corps mounted the speakers' platform, the enthusiasm was tremendous, the audience rising to its feet and singing the International. The mere fact of the presence of a French colleague made a great impression on the representatives from the workshops, for this was indeed a living testimony of international solidarity in the proletarian class struggle.

The resolutions of the congress are characterized by a confident assurance of victory, marked at the same time by a sober appreciation of the situation. The Shop Stewards Congress could not resolve upon the proclamation of the general strike. After detailed discussion, there was perfect agreement on this point. In spite of the great success which is just now being gained for the revolutionary labor movement in Germany, the influence of the reformist party and trade union leaders is still so great that the general strike could be sabotaged. But the Congress felt itself powerful enough to decide on a number of measures on the immediate mobilization of the masses for extensive action. The most important resolutions passed are as follows: first, the immediate formation of proletarian self-defence organizations in all workshops in the Rhine country and Westphalia, and secondly, the immediate formation of committees of action in all localities, large and small, so that the masses may first be organized for the struggle against usury and capitalist starvation politics. The National Committee of the Shop Stewards, elected by the Congress, was instructed to begin immediate energetic agitation for a general strike against German capitalism and French imperialism. It was decided to reply with strikes to any French attacks on the working class, or to interference in production.

The proceedings of the Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards' Congress prove that gigantic strides are being made towards rallying the proletariat on the common ground of revolutionary class war.

That this Congress has proved of such importance also greatly enhances the significance of the Frankfurt international Conference, convened by the same *Committee of 23* which leads the shop steward movement in Rhenish-Westphalia. May the international conference be the preliminary to the mobilization of the proletariat for the revolutionary class struggle the world over.

## The Anglo-American Alliance

By J. T. Walton Newbold.

The Ruhr, and to a lesser degree, the Near East have for some months been absorbing practically the entire attention of all those interested in world politics. Yet, at this very time, there has been taking place an enormously important orientation of forces in an entirely different quarter.

When the government of Lloyd George went out of office, it appeared as if the relations of Britain and the United States promised little peace for the near future. Lloyd George may be said to have been the spokesman and agent of the nationalist tendencies in British politics. He was the agent of the industrialists, and as such, he stood for a militant British assertiveness in the councils of the world. The policy for which he and his colleagues spoke was for a survival of the economic phase which had passed some time, prior to his resignation. The new forces, or rather the old forces which had regained economic power as a result of the long continued trade crisis, were those of the bankers and financiers. They had, gradually succeeded in undermining the economic power and political influence of the industrialists who had raised Lloyd George to the head of the coalition. Lloyd George, had he remained at the head of the government would probably have led Britain into a war with France, either indirectly in the East or directly in the West. He would not have been prepared to make the apparent submission to the United States with the same good grace as the government of Bonar Law and Stanley Baldwin, has done. He was associated in the mind of America with hostile oil interests in Mexico, the West Indies and Mosul. He was similarly committed to interests in the financial world hostile to the domination of Chicago and New-York.

The government of Bonar Law, while not by any means likely to yield at all points to the United States conservatives, has already taken a line which is calculated to bring the United States and Britain into alliance, though it would be difficult to say whether this policy only commenced with the entry of Bonar Law into the office. It would seem that for some time previously there had been unofficial approaches to America, made through banking and commercial magnates, and which may have had the tacit approval of the more conservative element in the Lloyd George government. During the year 1922, and especially during the latter half of it, the question which assumed the greatest importance for the government was not the Near East, but the question of arriving at a settlement with the United States Government on the matter of the debt owed to it. Coming events cast their shadows before and we can take it that the Geddes Committee on economy in public services, was appointed with a view to arriving at such a reduction of government expenditures as would make possible the payment of interest and sinking fund on the American debt. The recommendations of this committee have by no means been entirely followed out, but the money saved is certainly about equal to that required for the immediate charges on the debt to America. It is not always the more spectacular aspects of state policy which are worthy of our notice. The adventures of Great Britain in the East were nothing like so vital an interest to our governing class as some people imagine. They were in fact rather a last effort of an obsolete phase of imperialism.

All important as the question of oil is for the British Admiralty the question of finances appears even more important in the minds of the government as a whole. While the war had greatly enriched the manufacturers, ship-owners and certain other profiteering interests, their position had been undermined during the two years of depreciation by those other and older economic interests whose capital values, relatively depreciated during the war, had rapidly appreciated during the last two years. In this country at any rate, the whole banking fraternity and the mercantile houses in the City of London have recovered the position they occupied in the national economy prior to 1914, but which they lost for a while during the war. They have, a natural predilection for friendly relations with the United States. British investments in South America are somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,000,000,000 pounds and that these, like holdings in Canada, Mexico and the West Indies would be endangered by any complications with America. We can understand how strongly their influence works for the achievement of an entente between the two English-speaking peoples. Sentiment may appear to be a link which binds these peoples together, but in reality it is a class bias an economic community of interest.

Turning now to America, we find that there also, as a result of the terrible industrial depression, the big industrialists have come once more under the domination of those financiers of Wall Street, from whose control they had managed to slip during the war period.

The Wilson Administrations from 1913 to 1921 were a visible political expression of an effort at emancipation from Wall Street, vigorously attempted, and for a time successfully carried out by American industrialists. That is to say, with the building up of huge fortunes as a result of the expansion of American industry, to meet the demands of the war-years, American big business became more self-reliant, more self-assertive and more nationalist in character, and for a time revolted successfully against the big houses of Wall Street, whose power in American finance was built not so much upon American production as upon the service which they rendered to European capital, seeking to exploit the expanding agriculture, industry and trade of the United States. The greatest achievement of the Wilson Administration was undoubtedly the setting up of the Federal Reserve Bank which sought to give American business men a financial service at home, guaranteed and controlled by the American Government. Just before America's entry into the war, the big corporation of business men and financiers connected with Rockefeller and the Chicago Produce Trade, thought to cultivate an American export and carrying trade and an American economic expansion which expressed itself sometimes in terms of decided imperialism. With the entry of America into the war, these interests sought to build up a great mercantile marine, built at the expense of, and constructed by the State and intended to provide American exporters and importers with transport under the American rather than a foreign flag. From 1917 to 1921, numerous corporations were founded and efforts made to foster American trade and influence throughout the American Continent and the Far East. Not only that, but efforts were also made to gain a financial footing within the British Empire primarily in Canada, but also in South Africa and India.

This was the inevitable corollary of the acquisition by the American capitalists of British holdings in American securities, followed as it was by extensive loans, to the British Government and the Allies. It seemed, until last year, that America intended to assert herself as a great world power in active opposition, not only in finance, but in trade and politics, to Great Britain. The same phenomenon of militant industrialism which expressed itself through Lloyd George and the coalition Government, appeared also in America. The failure, however, of the gigantic promotions of the industrialists and the Trust Companies, for the purpose of developing export trade, and the calamitous failure of the American Mercantile Marine, built and promoted by the United States Shipping Board, together with the added inability of Europe to do business with America, have, in America, brought in the same liquidation of bloated industrialism which we have witnessed in this country. The great financial houses of Wall Street, have once more come into their own and resumed their sway in the world of economics. Not only that, but the farmers of the Middle West, unable to sell their produce in any of American or European markets, have also fallen back into the clutches of these same bankers.

Thus, while the Republican Party came into power in 1921 with a tremendous majority, to carry into practice this policy of splendid isolation and strident Americanism, the logic of events has compelled President Harding to bring his party into the service of its traditional task-masters and paymasters, the bankers of Wall Street in general and J. P. Morgan in particular.

The house of Morgan has been a concern for the active promotion of Anglo-American friendship and co-operation. During the War it was a buying agent for the British Government; it sold immense quantities of securities for the British Government which that government had taken over from its subjects; it acted as a loan agent for all transactions, the cumulative result of which is now seen in the stupendous debt of the British Government to America. In every scene and on every occasion, J. P. Morgan and Company have been the faithful friends and close collaborators of the British governing class.

While Americans have a very considerable influence in Paris and have certainly been behind the electrical industry and behind Loucheur, they are not likely for a single moment to be in sympathy with the policy of the French militarists and petty bourgeoisie which is responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr. They have no more use for French national assertiveness than for the national assertiveness of any other foreign imperialism. In fact, it is doubtful whether Morgan and Company favour imperialism at all. They are essentially the agents of the international bond-holding interests that are a force likely to favour the regime of the League of Nations which, there is reason to believe, has its active though secret aid at every turn. They also, like Bonar Law, desire tranquility. Tranquility, is, of course, just what merchant bankers and bond holders want.

While it would seem at first sight that the Americans have driven a hard bargain with the British Government in the matter of the funding of the debt, it is now evident that the British have not done so badly. The Americans have quietly dropped the Shipping Subsidy Bill, which was causing intense anxiety to British shipowners and which, had it been proceeded with, would without question have resulted in the bankruptcy of British shipping or, at an early date, war between this country and America.

This abandonment of State guarantee for the American shipping industry means, in effect, the actual abandonment of the attempt to build up a great American mercantile marine, for it is quite realized that without such governmental assistance it is impossible for the United States ship-owners to hold their own against the more firmly established and infinitely more experienced British ship-owners. Here again we see the influence of this great house which, while controlling the International Mercantile Company and its great subsidiary lines, the White Star, the Red Star and others, sails them under the Union Jack as British ships.

On top of all this, we have the proposal on the part of the American President, that America, while not entering the League of Nations, shall appoint its judges upon the International Court established in the League.

This coming together of the American and the British financial oligarchy and the harmonious relations being established between the respective executive committees, are phenomena which deserve our most earnest attention. What is coming into existence is an alliance of bondholders, and alliance of creditors and an alliance of international owners of abstract property. The American Government and the British government will come together as agents of the mortgage-holders of the Continent. They both desire and will see that they get, tranquillity, however drastic the measures of repression which may be necessary. Together, they

will guarantee the supremacy of the League of Nations, together they will formulate a code of laws to govern the hopeless millions who, for the next eighty to a hundred years, shall have one duty, and one duty only—to toil ceaselessly to pay off a debt incurred in order to make the world "safe for democracy".

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### What the revolution cost us

By Paul Frölich.

"It was not by its immediate tragi-comic conquests that revolutionary progress made its advance, but the reverse: by the creation of a determined and mighty counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent, in combatting whom, the insurrectory party matured into a really revolutionary party."

Marx wrote this in his "Class struggles", with reference to the February revolution in France. It can also be applied as the final verdict on the epoch of German revolution which we have passed through since November 1918. Our conquests were but small, and they have melted like snow in summer. The German proletariat has fought battles worthy of comparison with those of Paris in 1848 and 1871, and has forced the bourgeoisie to mobilize all its powers, to lay bare all its baseness, treachery, revengefulness, and cruelty, in order to retain its mastery. And because the bourgeoisie has been forced to gather the whole of its class forces against the proletariat, the question of power is at present the main subject of debate in every single combat in Germany. It is for this reason that both sides hesitate to strike the blow which must be decisive. But the very fact that our bourgeoisie to-day is obliged to pursue a catastrophic policy, which robs it of all inner homogeneity and consciousness of power, imparts to us the confidence that we in Germany are now coming to the conflicts in which we shall overcome the powers opposed to us, in which the forces and consciousness of power of the proletariat grow with its victorious progress.

It is only when, like Marx, we conceive the revolutionary struggle as one of life and death between the two classes, as a struggle in which the dying class is putting forth its last forces, that we can grasp the revolutionary advances made in Germany during the last five years.

And what have we paid for this historical progress? The German proletariat has offered unheard of human sacrifices on the altar of revolution, has shed its blood unsparingly. The first to lead the procession of victims was the brave sailor Reichpietsch, with his comrades, who began the revolutionizing of the fleet in 1917, and were shot in accordance with martial law. These were followed by those who fell in the November risings. The enemy capitulated without fighting, and there were but few victims more. It was as if the working class was given a warning, by means of these losses and sacrifices, not to abandon themselves to too great illusions as to what had really been accomplished, and what the future would bring. For one month later, on December 6, 1918, counter-revolution raised its head under the leadership of Ebert, Scheidemann, Haase, etc. The republic showed its bourgeois teeth, cast the dead bodies of the proletariat into the streets. And now blow followed blow. The bloody Christmas brought one more victory for the Red sailors. This victory was submerged in the horrors of the days of January, when the German proletariat lost hundreds of its best, and among them: Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The provocations leading to the January struggles had been a *va banque* game for Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, and their like. They utilized their victory for the systematic creation of a counter-revolutionary power. The volunteer corps and the self-defence unions were formed, who tore the body of the proletariat to pieces. The Spartacists were hunted down like wild animals. Prices were set upon their heads. The events of March 1919 carried devastation into the proletariat, and among the remaining Red soldiers in Berlin. These were the days of Noske's murderous commands—the command costing the lives of the 32 sailors, and uncounted others. Leo Yogisches, the organizer of the revolution, was murdered. "Law and order" raged in Brunswick and Bremen, in Central Germany and in the Ruhr, in Baden and on the Baltic. In Bavaria, on the first of May, the day of fraternization among the peoples, the red flags were saturated with workers' blood at the orders of the social democrats. Murder raged far into the summer.

The "republic with the freest democracy in the world" had no other guarantee for its constitution than martial law. Machine guns were brought into use wherever there was a strike. Noske was the trump card played by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Noske, the man with the low and brutal forehead, the

clumsy fists. A series of separate acts of murder followed the great campaign against the working class, and these again formed the preliminary to the bloody inauguration of the shop stewards' law in January 1920.

During this period fifteen thousand proletarians were left dead on the field. Noske himself boasted of this success of his bloody work. Then came the mass carnage of the Kapp putsch, in which the soldiery, the blood-thirsty Baltic forces, and the monarchist strudents, were let loose upon the workers who had just saved the republic. In the Ruhr area, Pommerania, Thuringia, Halle, and Saxony, the soil was soaked with the blood of the workers. A period now followed in which the economic struggles of the workers were suppressed by force, a period culminating in the massacre of March 1921 in Central Germany, provoked with cunning calculation by the social democrat Severing. "The first day must be bloody!" This was the command issued by him to the leaders of the White Guards, and this command they executed like faithful vassals.

Who can count the victims who fell in all these battles? The German proletariat has left an army of revolutionary champions on the battle ground. Almost every town has its sacred graves, adorned with red ribbons.

The wounds were followed by fetters, the White Terror by white justice. Courts martial, courts of military law, peoples' courts, special courts—they rained down their verdicts like machine guns their bullets. Sentence of death against the heroic Levine and many of his comrades. Condemnations to penal servitude for many thousands. The cruelties practised in the prisons, systematically sapping the vitality of the revolutionists, have been beyond description. Who counts the years which have been spent, and which are still being spent, by the proletarians behind the prison walls? Who appreciates the sufferings here borne in silence? Who estimates the numbers of broken lives, the wasted energies? And who thinks of the starving hundreds and thousands of women and children whom bullet or prison has robbed of husband and father—of the starvation which even the grateful gifts of the workers have not been able to banish?

The voice of the victims of the revolution cries out from the graves and the prisons: Proletarian, how are you rewarding our courage? Will you help our loved ones, and thereby show us that you have not forgotten us and our great cause, that you are ready to help yourself?

## E. C. C. I.

### To the Frankfort International Conference

Workers, Comrades!

When the Executive of the Communist International received the invitation to the International Conference at Frankfort, sent out by the Rhenish Shop Stewards' Council to all labor organizations, it did not hesitate a moment in accepting this invitation. The Communist International places its whole influence at the disposal of that section of the German proletariat which is conscious of its international tasks. A special delegation of the Communist International will communicate our views regarding all the burning questions connected with the Ruhr occupation, to your conference.

The Executive, however, regards it as particularly necessary to declare once again before the whole organized working class, that the Second and Amsterdam Internationals have again failed in and have openly neglected their elementary duty. All the resolutions which were recently passed by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals during their peace conference at the Hague have become mere scraps of paper. One of the most prominent leaders of the Amsterdam International, Edo Fimmen, openly declared, that no one thought of carrying out these decisions. Edo Fimmen attempted to cast the responsibility for this upon the proletariat by declaring that the international working class was divided and helpless.

This is the same method that was employed by the social chauvinists at the beginning of the war in 1914. Then, as now, it was also attempted to throw the responsibility for the vacillating and treacherous conduct of the leaders upon the working masses. Yes, the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are indeed helpless, precisely because they will not fulfil their duty. The working class is divided and helpless, because the Amsterdam International has split it and thereby rendered it helpless. **■**

the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals were prepared to form the United Front with the Communists, the working class would be in a far more powerful position. *Once again we propose to the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals that they form the United Front with the Communists.* We are ready to negotiate with the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, although the recent events have but served to confirm our estimate of them. *The chief enemy at the present moment is French Imperialism.* The German working class can successfully combat this imperialism, only when it overcomes its own, the German bourgeoisie, sets up a Revolutionary Workers' Government and thereby binds itself most intimately with the international working class, and in the first place with Soviet Russia and the French proletariat.

The Communist International is prepared to do everything in order to create a real United Front with the workers belonging to the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. Should, however, the leaders of the social democratic organizations once more succeed in preventing the united front, then the Communist International will proceed at the head of the fighting portion of the German and French working classes.

*Only the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions have done their duty hitherto. Only the German and French Communist Parties have, under the leadership of the Communist International, mapped out their common line of advance and begun the united fight. It is only the Communists who have fulfilled their international duty in the fight against French imperialism and have, in the interests of the international proletariat, been thrown into the prisons of M. Poincaré.*

The fact alone, that the two great communist parties, the German and the French, have acted jointly at such a critical moment, is a great political event for the working class of the whole world.

International conferences are, for us communists, no parades, no mere demonstrations. Our most pressing need is, a real serious co-ordination of the every day struggles of the various sections of the international working class. The political life of to-day is internationalized to an unprecedented extent. At a moment when even the bourgeois reaction finds it necessary to proceed on an international scale, how much more urgent is it for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to do so! The workers must learn not only to pass joint resolutions, but to act in common, to co-ordinate their methods of fighting, and to prepare for the general struggle.

The Frankfurt Conference will constitute an important event on the road of preparation for the inevitably victorious proletarian revolution. The class-conscious workers of the various countries must work doggedly, ruthlessly and with inexhaustible energy to bring about a real co-ordination of their struggles.

The Executive of the Communist International send its warmest fraternal greetings to the sorely tried working class of the Ruhr district, to the fighting section of the French proletariat, as well as to the proletarian vanguard of the whole world.

We call to you:

Down with French Imperialism!

Down with the German bourgeoisie!

Long live the Revolutionary Workers' Government in Germany and France.

Moscow, 16th of March 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## To the IWW. in Chicago

The Comintern congratulates the members of your organization upon their bravery in the struggle against capitalism, and against the persecutions by the government on the Pacific coast.

The persecutions in Portland and Sacramento, and the general arrests in St. Pedro and California, are an honor to the militant members of the IWW.

We welcome the appeal issued by the IWW, calling upon all workers to join in forming a united front.

The Comintern has frequently appealed to all the workers of all countries to join forces in a common fight against capitalism.

The united front of all class organizations of the American working class, against every description of exploitation and persecution, must be formed. It is with the greatest satisfaction that we observe the great efforts being made by the Workers' Party for the attainment of this aim.

Fraternal greetings to all the revolutionary workers languishing in American prisons.

Long live the unity and class solidarity of the American working class.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## To the Chinese Railway Workers

Comrades. Chinese railway workers!

The E.C. of the Communist III. International has received the news of your heroic struggle against the military servants of English, Japanese, and American capital, and sends you greetings, fully convinced that from now onwards you will never again let the red flag of the workers fall from your hands.

Railway comrades! By your struggle and your sacrifices during the last strike you have become a part of that section of the world proletariat which is fighting against the exploiters all over the world.

It is true that you are in the minority, and that you are waging an unequal fight against the imperialists and their Chinese agents, the Dudsunes. But ever increasing masses of the Chinese workers will join you. The slogans of your last strike—the right to hold meetings, the right of combination—and your determined defense of these slogans, are ample proof that you have actually entered the ranks of the organized international proletariat.

You have commenced this struggle in the right way. It is only by winning the right to organize your forces that you can continue the fight for the emancipation of the Chinese proletariat, and for the emancipation of the Chinese people from the foreign Imperialists and their servants, the Chinese feudal lords.

The young Communist Party of China supports you in your efforts. This Party is now being cruelly persecuted by those same militarists who shot down your comrades in Kankoi and near Peking. This has brought you into close relationship with the Chinese Communist Party, and the experiences gained in your struggle will teach you that your way is the way of this Party, which not only defends the rights of the railwaymen, but of the whole working class. When you co-operate with the Communist Party of China, you close the fighting ranks of the Communist International, the leader in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat all over the world.

Long live the Chinese proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, March 3., 1923.

## FASCISM

### Fight Fascism!

To the workers of all countries!

A new Horthy Hungary has arisen in Italy. From day to day and from week to week the murderous terrorism of Mussolini's government continues to increase, to follow its aim of completely enslaving the proletariat. The most unheard of deeds of horror are committed daily at the behest of the Italian government.

In its own interests, the international proletariat cannot look quietly on while the Italian labor movement is being annihilated. A suggestion made by the IV. Congress of the Communist International has therefore led to the formation of a Provisional Committee, under the chairmanship of comrade Clara Zetkin, for the purpose of carrying on the fight against Fascism on an international basis, and aiding the victims of Fascism.

The committee appeals to the international proletariat to organize defensive action against the Fascist regime of murder, and relief action for the victims among the brave Italian working class. It will be the task of all proletarian organizations, regardless of political tendency, to fulfil this international duty as a point of honor.

The provisional committee, at the same time, appeals to the executives of the London and Vienna Internationals, as well as to the executive of the Amsterdam trade union inter-

national and the international organization of syndicalists; to join the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions, and the Communist Youth International, in forming the final committee for combatting Fascism. Workers of all countries, demand of your organizations that they take part in the proceedings of the undersigned provisional committee.

Special national committees will conduct the work, in every country, of collecting in aid of the Italian labor organizations. Working men and women, show your international solidarity! Think of Horthy Hungary! Here the most bestial Terror raged, and the international proletariat failed to step in and prevent it. You must make sure that the Italian proletariat does not share the fate of the Hungarian. The brutal subjugation of the Italian proletariat would be inevitably followed by an enormous increase of Fascist reaction in every country. You are threatened, one and all, by the Fascist outlook of your bourgeoisie. Therefore up and fight against Fascism, by propaganda, by international collections, and by political defensive action.

The Provisional International Committee for Combatting Fascism.

*Clara Zetkin, (Chairman).*

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Congress of the Egyptian CP.

Cairo. February.

The ex-socialist party, which had already applied for admittance to the Communist International, unanimously accepted the 21 conditions at its recently held congress, and definitely joined the CI. By this step, the Egyptian proletariat has constituted its revolutionary class party and the Egyptian people is confronted with some of the most important tasks of its history, for it has not only to fight for its national independence, but at the same time for its emancipation from the yoke of European and native imperialism. The Egyptian government took advantage of the martial law proclaimed in our country, and hand in hand with the English military authorities declared our party to be outlawed; it attempted to prevent the constitution of our party as a Communist Party, and now prevents our legal existence and the publication of our own legal newspaper.

All in vain! The government had even prohibited the congress. But the Egyptian comrades held it despite the prohibitions of the government and the threats of the Anglo-Egyptian police.

The congress was held secretly out in the country, in Upper Egypt, in the open air, beneath the free sun and sky, while the "Fellahs" were toiling all around in the fields. The congress thus received so to speak, a symbolic consecration. In the brightest sunshine the group of men who had gathered together inaugurated the party, the party whose task it is to restore freedom to the millions of Egyptian peasants oppressed by feudal serfdom.

Representatives of various sections were present. Several Europeans, Greeks, Italians, and Russians, mingled with the natives.

After comrades N.s opening speech, the party secretary read and explained the 21 points.

Comrades Ariel, representatives of the Communist International, then rose to speak.

The representative of the Comintern.

Comrade Ariel greeted the congress on behalf of the Comintern, and in the name of the Italian CP.

He then proceeded to point out that by the acceptance of the 21 conditions, and by the alteration of the name, the congress definitely made the Egyptian party into a section of the Communist International.

He showed the importance of the Egyptian CP. in the International. The International will grant its utmost moral and material support to the Egyptian CP. In order to be able to enter the International, the party has freed itself from all the opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements in its ranks. The Party has now to gather together all the revolutionists scattered over the Nile valley, to organize them, and transform them into good and disciplined communists.

The Party is young. As yet it is unknown to the masses. It is therefore necessary that the Party claim a share in Egyptian political life and that it makes its power and initiative felt in directing the course of events. The Party must draw the attention of the "Fellahs", and of the hand and brain workers, to its activity.

How will the Egyptian CP. realize the slogan: "Go to the masses".

1. by trade union activity;
2. by a suitable agrarian program, taking into account the requirements of the peasants, so that the millions of "Fellahs", who form the main labor and revolutionary force of Egypt, may be gathered beneath the flag of the Egyptian CP.;
3. by extensive propaganda, among the masses, for a program demanding absolute national independence from English domination. The Egyptian CP. will issue the slogan of the revolutionary united front against English imperialism, and this slogan will enable the Party to gather together every national force among the people of Egypt.

Comrade Ariel then explained in detail the three points forming the fundamental basis for the activity of the Egyptian CP.: the trade union movement, the agrarian question, and the question of national independence.

With regard to the last of the three points, comrade Ariel examined the phases of the Egyptian national movement, and demonstrated the "waft" to be a fundamentally capitalist and conservative party, founded by the upper strata of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Despite all appearance, Zagui's party will not be able to give Egypt real political independence, for the reason that the common interests between Egyptian and English capitalism, and the dependence of Egyptian capitalism on English high finance, fetter any actual realization of independence. Saad's party, which was forced further to the Extreme Left by the pressure of the revolutionary population of Egypt, is now seeking the possibility of a permanent understanding between Egypt and England. This party has always been anxious for such an understanding, and its leading men have themselves declared that they recognize England's predominant interests in Egypt.

The Egyptian CP., however, is sincerely and earnestly opposed to any compromise with English imperialism against which it is fighting. And it will not fail to reveal the truth about any deceptive plan of independence which the "Waft" attempts to force upon the people of Egypt.

Comrade Ariel showed with the utmost clearness that Egypt can only be freed by a revolution, a revolution at one and the same time political, economic, and social. National independence and emancipation of the proletariat are closely bound up with one another.

Comrade Ariel then gave a general survey of the European and world situations, and pointed out the tasks awaiting the peoples of the East in their struggle against capitalism.

In conclusion, he expressed his full confidence that the young CP. of Egypt, and every individual comrade, will always be found in the front ranks of the fighting Egyptian proletariat, beneath the flag of the Communist International.

After comrade Ariel's speech, the congress enthusiastically accepted the 21 conditions without any opposition whatever, and resolved on altering the name of the old party.

#### The Party program.

Comrade O. gave the report on the Party program, and submitted this to the central committee of the congress.

The task of the Party is the emancipation of Egypt and the Soudan, and the union of these two countries, so that the two united peoples may secure for themselves the natural wealth of their country, and fight in union against their native and foreign oppressors and exploiters.

With regard to the Suez Canal, the Egyptian CP. will demand its nationalization, not because the realization of this demand would be of any immediate advantage to the working class, but because it could strike a death blow at the whole of England's imperialist plans.

One of the main activities of the Party consists of communist penetration into the trade-unions.

Cancellation of public debts, abolition of capitulations, introduction of compulsory education, sex equality, separation of church and state—these are the other main points of the Party program.

For freeing the agricultural proletariat, the Egyptian CP. will not only endeavor to have the communist theories realized, but will stand for the following immediate demands:

1. Annulment of the debts of the poor Fellahs;
2. Abolition of taxation of the small-holding Fellahs;
3. Expropriation of large landowners, and distribution of the land among the Fellahs; formation of communist agricultural cooperative societies;
4. Formation of banks upon a cooperative basis, for supporting the poor Fellahs.

### The resolution.

The congress unanimously accepted the following: The 4. congress of the Communist Party of Egypt resolves:

1. after having accepted the 21. conditions of the 3. International, to adopt the name of the "Communist Party of Egypt, section of the Communist International", in place of the old name of "Socialist Party".
2. to express the solidarity of the Egyptian CP. with Soviet Russia in its struggle against world capitalism;
3. and to inform the brother parties of all countries regarding the resolutions."

After this resolution had been passed, the congress closed with the singing of the "International".

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Proletarian Forces in the United States

By Israel Amler

Our analysis of the political forces in the United States, we did not lay any stress on the political power of the working class. This is due to the fact that the working-class of America is not an organized power, either economically or politically. This does not mean that the workers do not exert any influence what ever. On the contrary, in many sections they are a factor to be reckoned with. But the American worker is possessed of little class consciousness, and is swayed by emotion of a light nature. The *Labor Movement, both politically and economically, in America is still in the making.*

The backwardness of the American working-class is most evident in the frivolity with which an American worker casts his vote on election day, looks at the paper the next day for the results, rejoices if "his" party has won and swears if it has lost. And whether it has won or lost, he forgets the whole procedure till a new election day comes round and warns him that he must vote again.

In 1916, the American workers voted overwhelmingly for Wilson, being assured that the good man would "keep us out of war". He spoke so sincerely and so frankly, man to man, that the American worker believed him. And within two or three months, the same president was talking of war. A revolutionist understands what caused the change. He understands that *capital could best use an "anti-imperialist" to lead the way into the imperialist crusade!* But the workers did not see—and easily succumbed to the subtle propaganda that filled the press at the expense of the Allies and of the pro-Ally confederates in the United States.

So after voting against war, the American worker went into war. He was ready to make the "most supreme" sacrifice. He was ready to shoot down any one who still retained a spark of reason. When the war was over, he was ready to work harder than ever to aid in the reconstruction of the world. When in 1919, the steel workers went on strike against the inhuman conditions that they had to work under and when the railroad workers threatened strike, President Wilson, whom the American workers had voted for, did not hesitate to send his favorite General Leonhard Wood with United States troops to shoot respect for capitalism into their bodies.

And when the workers, for this reason, but more particularly because after getting us into war,—about which we were wildly enthusiastic, once we were in—Wilson insisted upon keeping us in Europe, in the League of Nations—when for these various reasons, the workers turned out Wilson and put in Harding, they were confronted with the same problem. Harding, who promised to keep us out of Europe, allowed more than 8,000,000 jobless men and women to take care of themselves, declaring that he would not "look with pleasure upon any unemployment scheme that would touch the public treasury"—at a time when he was recommending a subsidy of \$500,000,000 for the railroad magnates. He sent his troops against the miners in Mingo County, West Virginia. In 1922, he sent them against the miners and textile workers and shopmen. But most of all he allowed a prohibition amendment to be ratified—and the American worker rebelled. So in 1922, the American workers aided the American farmer, who had his own reasons in turning down the candidates of the Republican Party, of which Harding is the leader. And the day after election, the American worker went back to his work, convinced that he had performed a

public duty, and satisfied that he had helped to "save" the country.

These are but manifestations of the backwardness of the American working-class.

This backwardness is due to the influence of two elements: the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the yellow leaders of the Socialist Party.

The American Labor movement should be one of the most militant and revolutionary in the world. The objective conditions—the development of capitalism, the concentration of wealth, the terroristic methods applied by the employing classes—all of these factors should have produced a revolutionary working-class standing side by side with European workers in their struggle against capitalism. But on the contrary, the American workers are isolated from the international movement. The political concept of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, is that the American working man and woman is the equal of any other citizen. The American worker must not degrade himself by forming a party of workers. In politics, he is not a worker—he is a citizen, with rights "equal to Rockefeller's" as it is so aptly expressed. Gompers' method is to select the party, and the candidate that offers or promises to do most for labor, and to promote his election with the aid of the whole A.F. of L. machinery. In 1906, Gompers succeeded in having the A.F. of L. accept his "Non-partisan policy" as he called the above-mentioned method. This policy has been confirmed from year to year. And yet Gompers has no victories to score. All he can report at sessions of the Executive Council of the A.F. of L., is that *congress is paying little respect to the wishes of the working-class.* 1920, 1921, the same report and the same complaint—and yet in 1922 Gompers advocated the same policy.

In 1922, when the workers were embittered against the administration because it deprived them of their beer, because of no help in unemployment, and particularly by the issuing of the Daugherty injunction—in 1922, Gompers, who is a Democrat, selected *anti-administration* men, whose election was sure because of this very fact. And when election was over, he demonstrated the merit of the A.F. of L. "non-partisan political" policy, by the election of a large number of candidates approved by the A.F. of L. He did not state that the 3,000,000 organized in the A.F. of L. had no influence among the unorganized workers. He did not state that the farmers were indifferent to the attitude of the A.F. of L. He did not state that, as a whole, where the farmers had their own political organization, Gompers refused to cooperate with them.

Nor did he narrate the amusing case of the election of the Senator from Ohio. The A.F. of L. supported Senator Pomerence; the Railroad Brotherhood, which is an independent labor organization, supported Simon Fess. The A.F. of L. praised Pomerence as the friend of labor; the Railroad Brotherhood called on the workers to vote for Fess, assailing Pomerence. Fess was elected—which proved the greater influence and greater eloquence of the Brotherhood speakers and press. But what was the difference? Neither one can represent the workers. Neither one will be responsible to the workers. The workers have elected a capitalist to represent working-class interests. This is the policy of the A.F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods, which are among the aristocrats of American labor and therefore very conservative.

The Socialist Party has pursued an analogous policy for about the same length of time. When the S.P. split away from the Socialist Labor Party on the question of unionism, and when in 1905 the I.W.W. was organized, slowly and surely, the revolutionists of the American movement began to isolate themselves from the masses. The I.W.W. as a politico-industrial movement, at least preserved a proper concept of the revolutionary movement—regarding it not as a matter of securing votes on election day, but as a daily struggle of the masses against exploitation and for the securing of power. (But we will not enter here into a discussion of the incorrectness of their idea of the nature of the State as later developed.) In 1912, the S.P. passed a resolution against sabotage in industry. This was a repudiation of the I.W.W. and a confession of cowardice. The S.P. leadership was greatly in the hands of professionals, journalists, lawyers, dentists etc., who had no understanding of the labor movement, except in theory. This rejection of the I.W.W. meant the loss of a powerful revolutionary body of men and led to the further degeneration and disintegration of the S.P., which more and more lost contact with the labor movement.

In 1919, as a result of the enthusiasm aroused by the Russian Revolution, the time appeared to demand action. The proletarians within the S.P., called for a new orientation. They demanded on the basis of the experiences of the Russian Revo-

lution, that the S.P. conduct its propaganda not merely for securing votes on election day, but for a mass movement that, one day, would have to use other means, in order to free the working-class and place it in power.

In 1919, the steel workers and railroad workers were on strike. The American Government, the most powerful at the time in the world, was fully armed, and showed no mercy in crushing strikes. A struggle against that government did not quite appeal to the leaders of the S.P., Hillquit, Berger, Gerber and their satellites. They expelled the big mass of the trouble-makers, and peace reigned in the S.P.

Thus the S.P., too, is responsible for the fact that the American worker has not been organized as a body to exercise an influence 365 days of the year, to bring pressure to bear by means of his organizations and thus count as a factor in the daily struggles of the working class, from which result the political struggles, which culminate in a final combat for the control of the State.

Since 1919, the S.P. has degenerated still more. It modified its constitution to satisfy the scruples of the capitalist class. It took everything out of its program that smacked of revolution. It became "respectable". It no longer combatted the A.F. of L. leaders—on the contrary, it has catered to them. Hillquit speaks at the A.F. of L. convention—he has no terrors for conservative workmen. Schlesinger, former president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who was supposed to be a Socialist, was sent as delegate to the British Labor Congress, as a reward for his malicious, violent attack on Soviet Russia! The brothers are united in an effort to keep the American workers from a clear understanding of the necessity of having a political party of their own, and of making this party a party of every-day action! Just as the capitalists are organized for activity in every phase of economic and political life.

All of the American labor movement does not live under the spell of Gompers, Hillquit and Co. In the A.F. of L. and especially owing to the influence of the Communists, there has developed a strong progressive left wing, and in the independent unions there are radical and progressive forces that recognize the necessity of the workers acting in political life independently. This has led to the idea of an Independent Labor Party, to be composed of the workers and working farmers.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### The Bourgeois Press acknowledges the work of the I. W. R.

In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of February 25., Herr Georg Cleinov, in one of a series of articles entitled "Wanderings in Russia" describes under the heading: "A tractor farm", the work of the American tractor unit sent to Russia last year by the I.W.R. This tractor unit, which has taken up work on the Toykino estate near Perm, and whose energetic aid has also been recognized by comrade Lenin in a special communication to its leaders, owes its equipment to the self-sacrificing efforts of American communists and workers. Herr Cleinov is wrong in his assertion that the tractor unit was not equipped by the American communists, but by the American tractor firm of Gaze for advertising purposes. At the same time Herr Cleinov is obliged to admit that the workers have done excellent work under the most difficult circumstances. The following is an extract from his report:

"We must admit that the engineers and technicians of the two American firms have accomplished really excellent work under the most difficult conditions. The numerous Russian organizations taking an interest in Toykino have not in any way diminished the difficulties. If we drive up the mountain from Bolshaya Isosovskaya, the road leads through hundreds of acres of ploughed land, shimmering with the young corn; three months ago there was nothing here but the wild steppe. As far as the eye can see, the steppe-like soil is all ploughed: about 40 acres! This work was done within scarcely eight weeks with the aid of 24 tractors, although the third supplied by Gaze proved useless. 30 versts of road had first been constructed. On the bare height swept by the rough autumn winds, a dozen white tents for the foreigners may be seen; beyond these a like number of large brown ones for the auxiliary workers, (some of whom are Italian communists), for the Russians as kitchens and for stabling the cows, goats, and horses. In the centre of this bivouac there is a smithy, with extensions enabling fittings to be executed, and this is a centre of industrious activity."

This acknowledgement of the work carried out by the I.W.R. forced as it were from a critical bourgeois journalist of hostile tendency, is a striking proof that the I.W.R. is supporting with ability and success the development of production in Russia.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### In Horthy Hungary

By Desider (Budapest).

70,000 prisoners, more than 10,000 executions, 20,000 to 25,000 workers and intellectuals forced into exile: these are the official figures of the Hungarian counter-revolution. This much the murderers themselves admit. This much is to be gathered from the book recently published by one of the head inquisitors of the Hungarian White Terror, Vary, Horthy's chief attorney general. Terrible, eloquent figures! The question arises: how much greater must be the real number of workers murdered and imprisoned in the name of "order" and of the "cross", when the executioners are forced to admit such figures as these? The vandals of counter-revolution, alas, have demanded many more victims than these. These figures only speak of those victims who have been condemned and executed by legal or semi-legal authorities; they do not mention those workers who have been murdered by the "indignant population", or by Horthy's "best officers". In a country numbering scarcely 8 million inhabitants, the class vengeance of the bourgeoisie demands this enormous number of victims, although the two revolutions were almost without bloodshed. During the Soviet republic not more than 131 persons were executed, and most of these were counter-revolutionists who took part in public rebellions against the proletarian state.

Almost four years have passed since the troops of Czech and Roumanian imperialism strangled the Hungarian proletarian revolution, and ever since this time Hungarian counter-revolution has continued to demand fresh victims. After the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship, a social democratic government was formed of trade union leaders, and this utilized its five days of rule not only to give the factories back to the capitalists, to turn the proletariat out of the houses requisitioned from the bourgeoisie, to disarm the workers, and to arm a bourgeoisie thirsting for revenge — but also to proclaim the slogan: "those guilty (of the proletarian revolution) are to be punished". It is a historical fact that the White Terror was set going by the social democrats. Theirs alone is the blame that so many of our best comrades fell into the hands of the executioners. On their heads is the blood of the two most self-sacrificing champions of the Hungarian proletariat: Otto Korvin and Eugen Lászlo. Fools that they are! They themselves have not escaped the claws of the wild beasts of counter-revolution which they have let loose. The murder of the communist Korvin was followed by the despicably brutal murder of the social democrat Somogyi. The slogan for "punishing those guilty of the dictatorship" was taken up by the scum of the bourgeoisie with the greatest joy. The commands issued by the second counter-revolutionary government were still more severe: Anyone under suspicion of being a communist is to be arrested. And the prisons were filled with uncounted thousands of workers. Death sentences were fabricated with express speed by extraordinary courts of justice. Sentences of imprisonment for many thousands of years were passed. Horthy, the commander-in-chief of the counter-revolutionary troops, took it upon himself to dispense with formalities. He gave his officers the right to murder defenceless workers. And for those upon whom not even the bloody judges of counter-revolution could pass sentence, that is, those who had done absolutely nothing, the "Hungarian Siberia" was created, the camp for the interned at Zalaegerszeg. After awaiting their trial for years, these unhappy creatures, whose sole guilt in the eyes of the bourgeoisie lies in their being workers at all, are interned in this camp.

There are thousands of workers languishing here in this "Hungarian Siberia" for no definite crime, many of them with their wives and children, hungry and in rags. The conditions prevailing in this hell are shown by the following: The starving interned prisoners killed the hunting dog belonging to the camp commander, and ate it. A few weeks ago the prisoners endeavored to put an end to their torments by setting the camp barracks on fire. But in vain. Nothing but the active solidarity of the international proletariat can tear down the wire fencing enclosing this Hungarian Siberia.

In this same camp, soldiers who entered the Red Army, to fight for Russia, when they were prisoners of war are being allowed to starve. These can hope for no mercy. They com-



mitted an unpardonable crime against the bourgeoisie: with weapons in their hands they aided the Russian proletariat in its fight for life.

A parliamentary commission visited the "Hungarian Siberia" a few days ago. When the deputies reached the barracks occupied by the one-time Russian prisoners of war, the officer accompanying the commission observed: "Former Russian Red Army soldiers, for the most part dangerous communists". To this the social democratic deputy Pickler remarked: "If that is the case, have them brought before a court martial and hung!"

Yes, these are points on which Noske's foster brothers, Pickler and Payer and their like, are in full agreement with Horthy. For the communists: gaol, prisoners' camps, and the rope.

Counter-revolution has been raging in Hungary for four years. For four years, the communists have been carrying on a heroic guerilla war against Horthy and his social democratic flunkies. But these thousands of communists are being thrown into prison in vain — the "Hungarian Siberia" will meet the same fate as the Russian Siberia.

## In the Clutches of the Lithuanian Bourgeoisie

By *Hawkin* (Kovno).

In the prison at Kovno there are 70 to 80 political prisoners, of whom only 40 % are under sentence, while the rest are still awaiting trial. The overwhelming majority of them have to wait for two years before being brought to trial. Protests from political quarters on this state of affairs have not yielded any positive result up till now. The attorney general invariably makes the same reply: the Lithuanian government is not organized yet, and therefore the delay is unavoidable.

The cells containing political prisoners are over-crowded. The cells intended for the common use of five persons have to accommodate 8 to 20 men; the cells for one person — 3 to 4. Besides this, the cells are kept locked the whole day, with the result that 70 to 80 % of the political prisoners suffer from bronchitis, and

30 % are tuberculous. The food is most inferior: one and a half pounds of black bread are given per day, but the bread is generally not properly baked, and is difficult of digestion. Black coffee without sugar is given twice daily, and once daily there is a soup made of turnip-tops, rotten potatoes, beetroots, flour, and water. Thanks to this diet, and to the confinement of the cells, the prison is a perfect hotbed of infection; during the winter of 1922 typhus in its most varied forms raged in the prison. The whole of our comrades were attacked by it; 18 % died, and half of the prisoners were twice attacked by the disease. The prison hospital was constantly overcrowded, the patients lay three and four in one bed. Patients whose temperature was still 37.5 centigrade were sent back to their cells. The prison management undertook no steps whatever to put an end to the epidemic, and it was only by means of a three days' hunger strike that the prisoners succeeded in getting the cells disinfected. The prison rules are severe. Anyone approaching a window is shot. The governor of the prison flogs the political prisoners. Thus comrade Vugman was struck during the hunger strike. When the representative of the RSFSR raised protest against this, the governor of the prison attempted to justify himself by saying he had been excited. Unfortunately, the prison management is only too liable to fits of nervous excitement. Our comrades are only allowed to see their relations for five to ten minutes, while the prisoners belonging to the Polish military organization are allowed half an hour or longer. Despite all this, this prison is a kind of respite for our comrades, for when they fall into the prosecutor's hands, they are beaten unmercifully. In December 1922, for instance, the Kovno worker Vaitshunas was arrested. His name figured in the labor list as candidate for the Sejm. After he had been called upon to admit that he belonged to the Lithuanian Communist Party, his teeth were knocked out, and his eyes seriously injured.

Regular and organized relief on the part of the Red Cross has been recently observable, but the relief distributed is still entirely insufficient. The Red Cross distributes to each prisoner, for three days: 3 lbs of black bread, about ¼ lb of lard, ¼ lb of sugar, 1/32 to 1/24 lb of tobacco, and a herring. Most of the comrades are in need of foot wear and under wear, linen and warm underclothing. The prisoners are wretchedly provided with newspapers. At one time they received newspapers every two months, but how none whatever are sent to them.