

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 70

18th August 1922

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

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
The Italian General Strike. By <i>Umberto Terracini</i> . . .	523	In the R. I. L. U.	
Politics		Resolution on the Trade Union Movement in France . . .	528
The London Conference and the World Proletariat.		In Soviet Russia	
By <i>Arthur Rosenberg</i> . . .	524	The New Economic Policy and the Dictatorship of the	
Russia's Peace Negotiations with Japan. By <i>Karl Radek</i> . . .	525	Proletariat. By <i>Karl Radek</i>	528
The International Social Democracy against the Proletariat.		In the Camp of Our Enemies.	
By <i>Marcell Ollivier</i>	526	Social Revolutionary Thieves and Menshevik Receivers.	
The Crisis in Czecho-Slovakia. By <i>Johann Dolezall</i>	526	By <i>Karl Radek</i>	529
Pilsudski's Victory over Democracy. By <i>L. Domski</i>	527		

The Italian General Strike

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

Though gun-shots and the fearful rattle of the machine gun are still heard, we can already look back at the happenings of the last days of severe, heroic struggle. The Italian proletariat has shown that it does not intend to remain passive in the face of the unavoidable civil war, the wite terror, and the worse of reactions. Now, after two years of murder, incendiarism, violence, and destruction, its strongest, proudest defenses have been broken down; its Chambers of Labor, its Consumers' Cooperatives, its Communal Houses, and its labor unions. The bravest fighters of the proletarian parties have been murdered by the thousands; tens of thousands of workers and peasants have been thrown into prison; the Socialist Party has become a disgrace and a jest, that party which was once the expression of the working masses' will to liberation; and a Communist Party which could become its heir to the leadership of the masses is not firmly established yet. But in spite of all this, the Italian worker has been able to form, in a few days, a solid fighting group, and to inflict serious losses upon its enemy.

The *Labor Alliance* had been formed as the united organ of the Italian proletariat, mainly to prepare the defense and the counter-offensive against the Fascisti reaction. However, it was controlled by the reformistic tendencies of the *General Trade Union Federation* and for months attempted to keep a middle course between the demands for a general strike put up by the Communists and the majority of the proletariat, and those of the pacifistic elements which were satisfied to use the menace of action, as opportunistic means in the struggle for power. And so could it happen that in Bologna and Cremona, in Ravenna and Novara, the Fascisti could murder unpunished a great number of workers, and crush the proletariat's last resistance without any change in the ambiguous attitude of the leaders of the Labor Alliance.

But the last ministerial crisis suddenly changed the situation, and the opportunity which the crisis gave to the Social Democrats to develop their plans fully, only resulted in their downfall. The self-humiliation of the Socialists, Turati's visit to the Quirinal, had not been able to protect the workers from the growing reaction. And now it became clear to all Italian workers that only the united mass action of the proletariat would protect them against the growing enslavement. The will of the masses to rise against their oppressors was so powerful as to force their trembling leaders to action. They were forced to prepare the general mobilization of the workers for the protection of their

liberties and their lives. They did not dare yet, however, to conduct the fight courageously as an armed defense against the white guard bands, but masked the purpose of the strike under the cloak of a legal protest against a violation of the state's authority.

The Mistakes in the Conduct of the Strike.

The timidity and incapacity of the leaders was not without influence on the development of the strike. The strike began at a moment when there was no direct cause for it, so that many workers did not understand its immediate purpose. The orders to cease work were not issued simultaneously, so that some towns had not yet received the proclamation of the Chamber of Labor on the 2nd of August, when, in other cities, a bloody fight had been going on for two days already. The *secret committee* created to conduct the strike, well earned its name. It disappeared from sight the very first day the action began, without getting into touch with any of the political or labor organizations which were engaged in the struggle. It was heard of again only when the strike ended. We must add further that the most militant workers, those of Piedmont, Lombardy, Romagna, etc., had just terminated a violent strike against the activities of the local Fascisti. For these reasons, the movement did not at once call forth any decided attitude on the part of the masses. The various sections of the battle front acted singly. While Rome, Milan, Naples, Bari, Trieste, Genoa, and Livorno at once threw themselves into the struggle, Turin, Florence, Bologna and Ancona hesitated for some time. While the railroad workers of some districts left their trains in open stretches, and prevented the transport of troops and Fascisti volunteers by all possible acts of sabotage, those of other districts remained at work in the expectation of an order, which never came. This state of affairs greatly favored the attempts at pacification on the part of the bourgeoisie; they spread unfavorable reports of the strike which confused those masses which had not yet joined the movement. But when reports at last appeared, and the news of bloody clashes spread, the mass uprising was soon in full swing, and the general action of the workers began in all its might.

The United Front During the Strike.

Such a show of strength, was a total surprise to trade union leaders who had become accustomed to the idea of an exhausted, powerless proletariat. The direction of the movement which they had engineered soon passed out of their hands. And here

appeared the tremendous influence which the Communist Party exercised upon the masses. Our Party was not surprised by the action, and had long taken the necessary measures to meet the situation. In that way, the Communist groups controlled the situation which arose; the decided actions of the Communists gained the confidence of the workers who came to regard them as the leaders of the strike. Just as every other event in the economic life of Italy, the general strike immediately assumed the form of civil war. As soon as the announcement of the general strike was made, the Fascisti issued an ultimatum which menaced the workers with the most frightful reprisals should the action of the proletariat not come to an end within 48 hours. At the same time, the orders for mobilization were issued to the *White Army* which prepared to take possession of all the provincial capitals. The whole Italian knew from previous, tragic experience with what hostility these bands proceed with their work. But the night passed without any bloody event; the uprising of the workers had assumed such magnitude that the Fascisti did not dare make any attack upon the capitals.

The Cowardice of the Leaders and the Attack of the Fascisti.

The policy of the general strike showed its efficiency; it crippled the armies of the reaction, and paralyzed them totally. It was then the duty of the Secret *Committees of Action* to enlarge the action begun. But the Socialist and Anarchist leaders of the Labor Alliance, scared by the Fascisti ultimatum, an ultimatum which, as further events proved, they could never have enforced, and incapable of setting any definite and realizable goal for the proletarian action, declared on the 3rd of August, that the strike was at an end. It is characteristic of the intelligence of these leaders, and of their lack of class-consciousness, that they issued the order for the cessation of hostilities through the Minister of the Interior. The official end of the strike marked the beginning of the Fascisti attacks. The most elementary foresight would have sufficed to predict this event. The Communist Party, in an appeal of the 2nd of August, had warned the leaders of the Alliance of the danger of disarming the masses, for this would bring about the bourgeois counter-offensive.

In the afternoon of August 3rd the working masses in most cities of Italy returned to work; and on the same day, the Fascisti proceeded against Ancona, the large Adriatic port; against Parma, the granary of Emilia; against Genoa, the commercial center of Italy; against Milan, the financial capital of the country; and against Livorno, the arsenal on the Tyrrhenian Sea, to destroy these five strongholds of the proletariat.

The Civil War.

The attack began in the night of August 3rd. The plans had been carefully laid out, the aggressors were armed with all the weapons of modern warfare, and protected by the forces of the state against any resistance. Ten thousand men against Ancona, 20,000 against Parma, 15,000 against Milan, 15,000 against Genoa, 5,000 against Livorno, equipped with machine guns, aeroplanes, cavalry, provision and ammunition wagons, artillery, and tanks. The state troops remained a "neutral witness" to the struggle. But the workers rose to the defense, led by the Communist organizations. It was a severe test for the Communist Party; upon it fell the enormous task of preparing, at a moment's notice, the armed resistance of the workers against a better armed reaction. No organization of combat existed in the other parties. It was no question this time of organizing a meeting, or a demonstration, but of preparing for a bloody, armed conflict. The Communists proved themselves equal to their task; and if any more proofs were needed to convince the workers that the Third International alone is willing to undertake the decisive conflict, these heroic days of the first week of August should suffice.

We cannot describe in a limited article all the fights which took place during that week in the cities attacked by the Fascisti. The reading of the bourgeois newspapers, which are naturally interested in disguising the truth and minimizing the workers' resistance, will give us a picture of the fight: city sections enclosed by barricades and trenches; machine guns rattling throughout the day; savage hand-to-hand encounters; conflagrations wildly lighting up the city and the country; the streets covered with dead; mass murder before the firing-squad; trains attacked in full speed; public buildings stormed; children and whole families butchered pitilessly in the houses where they had barricaded themselves; murderous shouts resounding in the street. And in the middle of all this the derisive picture of a state capitulating before the Fascisti bands, arresting the workers and helping the bandits wherever the desperate resistance of the workers forced them to retreat.

Had not the armed state power supported the Fascisti in this conflict (an absurd hypothesis, of course) the proletariat would

probably have won the victory, so great was the courage of our fighters. The lists of the dead and wounded have not yet been made up; we possess only a list of destroyed property, set up by the commander of the Fascisti; the actual number of dead and wounded is unknown. Approximately, the fight cost 200 dead and 5000 wounded, of whom about 50% are Fascisti.

But the workers finally had to retreat under the united pressure of the illegal forces of the reaction and the official forces of the state. Atop the Milan Municipal Building, atop the ruins of the destroyed Avanti and the cooperative buildings of the longshoremen of Genoa and Ancona, atop the Municipal Buildings of Parma and Livorno, the Fascisti are singing their triumphal hymns. For hundreds of kilometers around, the country has been reduced to ruins by the murderous white guards.

On the Eve of New Struggles.

The conflict is over; but in the hearts of the working-class a storm of hatred has been raised; horror and fear among the petty bourgeoisie whose future is also menaced by the Fascisti; despair rules, the despair of the hunted animal, of the miserable, of those who have lost father, children, house. Hunger prowls in those regions where the Fascisti have established their reign of terror for some time to come. The people are ready to renew the struggle for their existence.

Italy has become a battle-field; the whole social organism is cracking; on one side stretches the shadow of Horthy; but on the other the flaming, red dawn is breaking.

The Fight in Parma.

The following description is taken from the reactionary Bologna newspaper *Resto del Corfino*. Therefore, a *reliable* source!...

The revolutionists feverishly built barricades with the stones and the slabs which they tore from the side walks and the road. Men, women and children took part in the criminal work. At the custom house *Victor Emmanuel*, a group of Fascisti coming from the city were shot at from the neighbouring streets. A number of Fascisti went to the street railway station *Viale Melame* to attempt to run the cars. But as they were raising the tricolor, they were fired at from a house from which floated a red flag. From the barricades, men and youths kept up a lively fire against the Fascisti until these forced the revolutionists to retreat, under fire from their pistols.

Shortly after noon, a company of Fascisti parading down the *Via Garibaldi* were fired at from the doorways and windows of the *Via Venti Settembre*.

The shots came in rapid succession. Under a veritable rain of bullets, the Fascisti charged the railroad quarter in the *Piazza Bottego* and destroyed it.

The *Resto del Corfino* adds, that the rebels, armed with machine guns, attacked the Fascisti bivouacking on the square. In the savage fight which ensued, the rebels were forced to retreat. The railroad section was totally destroyed; the shooting lasted undiminished, throughout the night. Towards six in the morning the Fascisti stormed and destroyed the press of the *Piccolo* (a left democratic daily).

During the afternoon, the military commander of the Fascisti posted a proclamation which forbade the issue of proletarian newspapers, and ordered the shops to be reopened, and work resumed at four P. M. During the day, Fascisti from Ferras, Mantua, etc. arrived. Their number in Parma is estimated at 20,000. The operations were led personally by deputies Ferinacci and Terzagli. The Fascisti flag has been raised upon the Municipal Building; the revolutionists have barricaded themselves in the streets of the proletarian sections. The "Black shirted" companies parade the city, with shouldered guns and steel helmets, cheered joyfully by the population."

POLITICS

The London Conference and the World Proletariat

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The London Conference is the most interesting meeting of the Entente since Versailles. While at all former meetings of French and English diplomats the leaders of Entente capital avoided all essential questions, they have now taken a definite stand on the question before them. Poincaré has developed *in toto* the napoleonic program of the post-war French imperialism. With the help of the Continental Blockade, Napoleon I. attempted to form Europe into a unified economic territory and thereby defeat English capitalism. The English

succeeded in drawing the Russian and the German Feudalism to their side, and to defeat France's plan. Poincaré's task today is much lighter than Napoleon's then. The German Feudal state is no longer a European power, and Soviet Russia maintains a purely neutral attitude. It can find no enthusiasm for either the English or the French bankers.

Victory has made of France an industrial power of the first order. France has obtained both the Lotharingian iron mines, and the coal mines of the Saar Valley. The requirements of Luxembourg's and Belgium's steel and iron industries have made these two countries into colonies of France. On the other border of Germany, France controls the mines of Polish Upper Silesia, and the Czecho-Slovakian industries. To fill the gap between Saarbrücken and Kattowitz, to appropriate the rest of Germany's means of production, is the goal of French foreign policy since 1918. Poincaré's London program demands the control of 60% of the stock of the Chemical industry of the Rhine. Poincaré demands further that Germany surrender the former Prussian fiscal coal mines of the Ruhr region. Furthermore, special custom duties should be set up for the Ruhr. We can now picture to ourselves how the occupation of the Ruhr region will take place. They will not send against us Foch's cavalry, his tanks and his aeroplane squadrons, but just a sufficient number of French custom officials, who will peacefully occupy their offices. The German Government is incapable of offering any serious resistance to French militarism. A costly and undiplomatic military occupation is therefore unnecessary. The conquest of Germany will be accomplished by French finance and custom controllers. If France controls the customs of the Ruhr, it can regulate the import and export taxes to its own advantage. Revolver in hand, it can force the Ruhr factory owners to agree to French participation in their industries.

France is using two methods for the conquest of the German chemical industry and the coal mines: either by tyrannical demands upon the German Government, which England naturally opposes, or by direct negotiations with the German capitalists. While Poincaré in London demands a 60% control of the Rhine Chemical Works, negotiations are going on directly between the French and the German chemical industrialists. We hear that an agreement may even have been reached. Besides the electrical industry, it was the chemical industry which before the war, represented the strength of German imperialism. The German aniline kings have done splendidly during the revolution. Last year, they were able to rebuild Oppau at a cost of 400 million marks, and still showed a profit of a half-a-billion. A union of the German chemical industry with the French would demand great sacrifices from the former, but it would secure thereby the political and economic protection which the Wirth Government can no longer furnish it. The same is true of the German steel and iron industry. Stinnes has been trying for a long time to reach an agreement with the French foundries. Already, he is receiving 8 francs for every ton of German reparation coal. France pays him that amount to "purify" the Ruhr coal which it gets. The seizure of a part of German industries by the French need not bring a catastrophe upon German capital. Walther Rathenau contemplated such a union of French and German interests when he signed the Wiesbaden Treaty.

It is natural that the English capitalists should do all in their power to prevent this conquest of Germany. They are now fighting a Franco-German industrial union as they fought Napoleon's Continental Blockade a century ago. But England is weak today; it will have to concede to Poincaré at least a part of his program to prevent the disruption of the Entente.

But besides its industrial imperialism, France has another purpose to accomplish in London. France needs ready cash to prevent the bankruptcy of its finances. That is why Poincaré demands 26% of Germany's export duty. Besides this, he demands the custom receipts. It is characteristic that Lloyd George has agreed to this part of the program, which means the financial plundering of Germany. How the balance can be maintained in the German state budget if this is put through, is another question. Even the moratorium which may be granted, cannot help Germany in its desperate situation. What is the value of the moratorium when the Allies deprive Germany of its greatest source of income any way? Neither can a loan, to be covered by the productive mortgages set up by Poincaré, help the German economic household. The loan would go to pay reparations, and the interest would have to be paid by the German workers.

But the London Conference is a turning-point not only because for the first time, the official purpose of French imperialism has been stated clearly and officially. The London Conference is a mile stone in the political orientation of the proletariat. London proves that an understanding between French and German capitalists is possible. But only at the price of a total destruction of the German economic life, and an

unexampled enslavement of the German proletariat. This is no solution of the world's economic crisis, because this use of force will totally destroy the buying capacity of the German people. It is the political ideology of the reform-Socialists that a peaceful understanding between the capitalists of the world is necessary for the reconstruction of Europe, and therefore, in the interests of the proletariat. London has given the death blow to these illusions.

Russia's Peace Negotiations with Japan

By Karl Radek (Moscow).

The new Japanese Government declared itself willing to clear the Far Eastern coast and begin peace negotiations with Soviet Russia and the Far East Republik. The Soviet Government answered the proposals of the Japanese Government by appointing comrades Joffe and Janson to represent the two Republics at the peace parleys. No place has been fixed yet for the negotiations. It is no question of prestige when we insist that the parleys take place where both delegations will be guaranteed the freest possible communications with their respective governments.

The peace negotiations will put an end to the war between Soviet Russia and Japan. Since the beginning of its war against Siberia in 1918, Japan declared very often that it had no intention to force its will upon the Russian people. As a matter of fact, however, Japan, together with the other capitalistic governments, attempted to destroy that Government which responded best to the interests of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia. At the same time, the thievish Japanese bourgeoisie and the short sighted Japanese military clique were attempting the conquest of East Siberia. They did not understand that this policy could only help the capitalist Great Powers who were trying to isolate the young capitalism of Japan in a circle of enemies, and remove the danger of Japanese competition. If Japan attempted to conquer any portion of Russian territory in Siberia, it would make an enemy of the whole Russian people. The Japanese Government, like all capitalist governments, believed in the ultimate victory of the white troops, and supported them. But a victorious white government would also oppose the Japanese conquerors who would shut it off from the Pacific. The annexation of a part of Siberia would necessarily have led to a war between Soviet Russia and Japan, since Russia could never allow the exploitation of Russian workers and peasants by Japanese capital. Had not Japan come to its senses, its capitalist rivals would have attained their end. A Japan in conflict with the awakening Chinese people and the great Russian people, would be rendered powerless against its enemies.

The Washington Conference had established no peace in the Far East. It had only brought about a truce which did not exclude the preparations for a new war. The Washington Conference reduced the number of dreadnoughts, but the dreadnoughts are no very important weapon in the immense Pacific Ocean. The diplomatic battle for the control of China has not ceased. Japan understands better than any one, the political significance of the war of U-Bei-Fu against Tchansolin. The Washington Conference broke up the Anglo-Japanese alliance; but this has little significance, since, in any acute conflict between America and England, Japan and England could act together, even without a written treaty. But the campaign which Lord Northcliffe began under the slogan "Watch Japan!" proves that English policy is tending to an understanding with the United States against Japan. By its desire to establish peace with Soviet Russia and the Far East Republik, Japan has proven that it is conscious of this danger. If we are not mistaken in this assumption, then the hope of successful peace negotiations is no vain dream.

The radical change in Japan's inner policy strengthens this hope. The Cabinet of Admiral Cato declares that it wishes a reduction of the Army and army expenses. Many Japanese and American circles do not believe in the sincerity of these statements, and insist that the Cato Cabinet is merely trying to gain time. The negotiations with Russian and the Far East Republik will show whether the Japanese are sincere or not. For it is clear that in case Japan does not conclude peace with Russia, it will not be able to reduce its armaments, even if it should evacuate the Amur region. The Japanese people, the Japanese workers, farmers, and the petty-bourgeoisie, who are suffering not only from the rising cost of living, but from a poor rice crop, will follow attentively the negotiations of their Government, since a successful conclusion will largely contribute to lighten their burden.

Soviet Russia is the only country which looks upon all men as equal, whatever their race; it grants to the Japanese on its territory, the same rights as to any other foreigners. While

Soviet Russia does not intend to change any of the laws it has set up for the protection of its workers, it hopes to be able to settle a lasting peace with Japan, that is, if Japan will refrain from any attacks against the Soviet Power. Thereby will peace be secured, at least on one side of the Pacific.

The International Social Democracy Against the Proletariat.

By Marcel Ollivier (Paris).

It is interesting to note with what a touching accord the Social Democratic press of all shades and of all countries received the news of the end of the S.R. trial. From the *Vorwärts* and the *Freiheit* in Berlin, to the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Vienna, the *Peuple* of Brussels, down to the *Populaire* and the *Journal du Peuple* in Paris, it is the same concert of imprecations against the "travesty of Justice" in Moscow, "the Asiatic barbarism" of the Russian Communists, "the infamous trial" etc. Never has the parallel of such a unanimity been witnessed on any question in any way touching the world of labor.

What is the outcry about? It is concerned with a dozen people, proven guilty and convicted of numerous crimes against the Russian Revolution and condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Soviet Republic. And it is in favor of these twelve accused that the Social Democracy of all tongues and tendencies has mobilized its entire propaganda apparatus, to show to the mass of workers the cruelty of the "Muscovite torturers". There is nothing more abject and more repugnant than the hypocrisy of the petty-bourgeois Socialists who have suddenly felt a moral uplift which demands that they should protest against the cruelties of the Russian Bolsheviks, who are guilty of defending themselves against those who wish to strangle them. In the *Paris Populaire*, Sixte-Quenin waxes indignant over the words of Piatakov, the President of the Tribunal, quoted by Boris Souvarine in *Humanité*. "The trial is not an act of Justice, it is an episode of the civil war". Paul Fauré acclaiming the arrival of "his dear comrade, Vandervelde" in Paris in these symbolical words: "Hail to the Defender!" This imbecile has the impudence to couple the name of *Theodor Liebknecht, defender of the enemies of the Russian Revolution* with that of *Karl Liebknecht, the friend of the Russian Bolsheviks, the Man who died for wishing to continue in Germany the work commenced by the Bolsheviks in Russia.*

These dear petty-bourgeois, protest "in the name of humanity" against the death sentences pronounced by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow. But what do they do with their humanity when it is revolutionaries who are condemned to death by the bourgeoisie? *Have these gentlemen protested against the tortures inflicted on the Communists in Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, Spain and Finland by the bourgeoisie of these countries? Have they protested against the imprisonment and assassination of Communists throughout the whole world? Have they protested against the arrests made by the Emergency Courts in Germany which have condemned thousands of workers to death and hard labor? Have they protested against the assassination of Kingisepp or against the condemnation of Dombal?*

As to the protestations of the *Vorwärts* in the "name of humanity which Socialism represents", one is stupefied by so much cynicism and lack of shame. *This was the paper that approved the crimes of a Noske and a Scheidemann, which concealed the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, of Jogisches and Leviné and 15,000 German workers, as well as the jurisdiction of the courts-martial; and it dare prate of humanity!!*

Nothing is more instructive than this rapprochement of the *Populaire* petty-bourgeois and the bloody traitors of the German Social Democracy, Noske and Jean Longuet! This rapprochement is a symbol.

This is nothing to cause surprise. The unity of front realized by the international Social Democracy on the question of the S.R. trial, is no chance happening. The S.R. trial was the trial of the Social Democratic counter revolution against the Russian Revolution, the trial of the bourgeois auxiliaries in the camp of the proletariat. That is why we saw the Social Democrats run immediately to the aid of the accused S.R.'s.

All this was quite natural. The S.R. trial has defined the positions quite clearly. *One the one side: Social Democracy; on the other: The Communist International.* It has shown to the Social Democrats of all shades that they are brothers and that they have only one common enemy,—Communism. The moral unity of the Social Democracy has thus been constituted. As for their organic unity, this is but a question of time. As a matter of fact, it has been announced that the Executive Committee of the Second International at Prague has decided to convoke in October a World Labor Congress comprising the representatives of the

Second International. They have decided to cease all relations with the Communists "because these are totally at variance with the Social Democrats". In view of this Congress, the Second International has decided to postpone its annual congress, which should take place at Hamburg in October.

The most important result of this process of evolution, is the complete disappearance of the independent Social Democracy. This simplifies the task of the Communists to a considerable extent. Up to the present time, two principle obstacles were interposed between the Communists and the capitalists: the so-called Majority Social Democracy and the so-called Independent Social Democracy. In uniting with the majority, the "left" Social Democrats have shown that in reality nothing separates them, and that there was no reason to justify them as an independent group. Hence the preparations for fusion at which we are assisting. With the fusion of these two organizations, which up to the present have remained distinct, the obstacles which prevented a straight fight between Communism and capitalism disappear. There now remains but one "Social Democracy". And as they fraternize and cooperate with the bourgeoisie, they reveal themselves before the working class, that they are nothing more than a petty bourgeois party in disguise. On that day, the fight will be near its end. That is why, we hail the union of the Second and 2½ Internationals as an important stage in the course of the proletarian revolution.

The Crisis in Czecho-Slovakia

By Johann Dolezal (Brünn).

The Czecho-Slovakian Government does not exist by the will of the toiling masses, but by that of the bourgeoisie. Not only because it is wholly controlled by the latter, the government Socialists merely providing a bit of camouflage, but also because the administrative apparatus is completely dominated by the bourgeoisie. This political and social division finds ample expression in the prevailing property relations. The means of production are owned by private interests deriving rich profits from the surplus value created by the working class only in order to use these profits for increasing their wealth on one hand and on the other for intensifying the exploitation of the toiling masses. The natural consequence of this state of affairs are class struggles increasing in intensity in ratio to the width of the social chasm between employers and workers. That the dissatisfaction of the broad masses is increasing goes without saying. This discontent is all the more vehement, as the masses were sorely disappointed in the many promises extended to them after the collapse of the Austrian Monarchy. What has become of socialization? Who heard of any confiscation of the gains of the profiteers? What has happened to the separation of the church from the state? Instead of a fulfillment of all these promises we are witnessing the brutal offensive of capital marching on over ruined lives and famished bodies. Nor has ruin and hunger only overtaken the manual laborers, for capitalism is no whit less aggressive against the brain workers, reducing their wages or throwing them on the street. Meanwhile the profits of the bourgeoisie accumulate at a tremendous speed, private firms and corporations show swollen earnings, banks increase their capital and thus slowly gain the control of the republic's industry. Under the shadow of the growing capitalist tree, reaction is faring well indeed. The clergy and its party are becoming more and more a decisive factor in the government offices, with the leaders of the Social Democracy maintaining profound silence.

The Czech bourgeoisie, with the help of the two Czech social patriotic parties is the dominant power in the state, although part of the population does not look upon them as its spokesmen, for there are other, non-Czech nationalities, in Czecho-Slovakia. Hence it is sheer nonsense to speak of a Czecho-Slovakian national state, and no matter how much certain elements might protest against it,—the fact remains that Czecho-Slovakia, like the Austrian monarchy, consists of a group of nationalities which was not united with the consent of all of them, but fashioned against their will in the National Assembly, after October 28, 1918, on the basis of the national dictatorship of the Czechs. Consequently, all non-Czech nationalities in the republic are in permanent opposition, which in a number of cases, is bordering on a national irredenta. Even the Slovaks who are closely related to the Czechs are favoring extensive separation. This applies to the *Ludovici* (Slovakian People's Party) apart from which there is a strong labor movement in Czecho-Slovakia, in which the Communists have a decisive voice. Even if the Social-Democracy has 50 members in Parliament, their influence in the proletariat is insignificant, because the great majority of workers left them for the C.P. when the split came. The tide of social struggles and the continuous propaganda of our Party is drawing away even those remnants of labor which remained in the Social Democracy after the split. The Czecho-Slovakian Socialists have at no time been a real

workers' party, representing as they do the interests of the *intelligentsia*, the middle classes and various undecided "Socialist" elements. Their influence on the real industrial proletariat is nearly nil. This leaves the Communist Party the most powerful amongst the urban as well as the rural proletariat. At the same time it is the strongest party in the state, proof of which are the results of a number of by-elections in the communities. If we furthermore take into consideration the fact that our Party is a centralized international organization, there can be no disputing the fact that it constitutes a greatly respected political factor in the state. It goes without saying that the Communist Party is in opposition, not for tactical reasons, but on principle, condemning as it does the class institutions of this bourgeois and capitalist state. To repeat: the government of the Czech bourgeoisie and the numerically weak Czech social patriots is opposed by the other half of the population, composed of the Slovaks, all non-Czech nationalities, and the Communist proletariat.

This situation results in a political crisis which crops up in parliament on every possible occasion and is making itself felt throughout the state. Proof of this is the postponement of this year's local elections, because they would have intensified the crisis. If the elections had been held this year, elections for Parliament would surely have become necessary before autumn. The dualism in the political composition of the communities on one hand and of parliament on the other, would have been unbearable. If, in turn, the elections for Parliament would have been held, the present political crisis, would have immediately turned into one threatening the very existence of the state. There can be no doubt that the Czecho-Slovakian Social Democracy would have suffered complete defeat in these elections. The Social Democratic Club of 50 members in Parliament, would have dwindled to about a dozen, while the Communist Party would have gained at least from 45 to 50 seats. In the non-Czech nationalities the extreme nationalist elements would have been strengthened considerably. The Clerical Party and the Separatist Party in Slovakia would also have gained seats. Could such a Parliament produce a government majority? We do not think so; a Czech coalition government as it exists today, is out of question after the overthrow of the Social Democracy. A Czech-German government would suffer shipwreck on the rocks of nationalism in both camps. A Socialist or labor government would, even if we were to count the Czech Social Democrats amongst the Socialists, also be out of question, because the Socialist bloc (Communists, Czecho-Slovakian and German Social Democrats) would be too weak to take over the government, quite apart from the fact that the Communists would never enter such a government.

A crisis in the state would thus be unavoidable. Even a "neutral" government, composed solely of experts, could not carry on against the resistance of the opposition. Quite possibly, the newly elected Parliament would have to be dissolved, but the new elections would be no whit different.

From the bourgeois standpoint there are only two ways out of the dilemma:—to adopt the methods of the neighboring Hungary and force the population to accept reactionary election regulations, or a government without Parliament, supported by a military dictatorship. Any attempt at realizing either of the two alternatives would result in gigantic political conflicts and would revolutionize the entire proletariat.

The political crisis is enhanced by a steadily intensifying economic crisis. The state has taken over 70% of the industry of the Hapsburg monarchy. Its population is only 14 millions, while its production could supply at least 40 millions. If our industry is to run full blast, it must export finished products. This, in turn, results in the desire for new markets. The way to imperialism is barred to us; the markets of the world have already been divided up, and an independent imperialist policy is impossible for the Czech bourgeoisie, the vassal of world capital. Hence it must compete with the neighboring states where, on account of their low rate of exchange, the cost of production is much lower than in Czecho-Slovakia. As it cannot sell its goods, it restricts the output, closes down factories and dismisses the workers and even the government employees. Industry is ruining itself, some of its branches have already been completely destroyed. The result is a tremendous industrial crisis. This situation reacts deeply on the social structure of the state and on the spirit of the workers. The Czecho-Slovakian state is not capable of providing food for its population, while the bourgeoisie is waxing rich and through its wealth dominates the whole democratic bourgeois state. That is the second crisis, undermining the state apparatus and, together with the political crisis, is becoming a chronic source of danger to the capitalist state.

The bourgeoisie is flustered and powerless. Only downright desperation and the help of the Social-Democrats could lead them to believe that to outlaw the Communists would remedy

the evil. These fools delude themselves with the belief that they could thus destroy the Communists and themselves escape destruction. The Communist Party is a necessary instrument of the proletariat in its class struggle, and the Communist idea is alive in the souls of hundreds of thousands of human beings. Fresh persecutions of the Communists in Czecho-Slovakia would not lead to the destruction of Communism, but, on the contrary, to a strengthening of the general opposition and of revolutionary consciousness and finally, to an even greater insecurity of the situation. As our Communist Party is the only party of progress and opposition against the regime in power, any possible misery and martyrdom it would undergo would arouse sympathies even amongst those who are not Communists. Czecho-Slovakia, being a highly industrialized country, is not like Yugoslavia or Esthonia. A fresh attack on the Communist Party would simultaneously be an attack on the whole proletariat and would, as such, provoke extraordinary resistance. Only a fool can believe that Communist labor, deprived of its organization, would join the Social-Democrats. We think that labor would rather negotiate with death itself than with the treacherous Social-Democratic leaders.

So far the rumor of a dissolution of the Communist Party has remained a rumor. The Party must, however, be prepared for all eventualities. The fear of early death of the Social-Democratic phrase-mongers and the terror of the bourgeoisie before the impending catastrophe might prompt them to do anything. They will stop at nothing to paralyze the Communist opposition or altogether rid themselves of it, because they consider it far more dangerous to their interests than the strongest national irredenta. The strangulation is to be a remedy for the crisis of the capitalist state, caused by the bourgeoisie through its class policy and not by labor. There are to be no elections before the number of Communists has been materially reduced.

But even if there are no Communists in Parliament, there will always be Communists in the factories, on the fields, in the offices and in the army. And that is the only thing that matters! The crisis of the bourgeois state is not to be remedied by these means; they will merely prolong the agony. The Czecho-Slovakian Republic of the workers will become an accomplished fact; the Communist Party will live and attain victory!

Pilsudski's Victory and the Defeat of Democracy

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

Korfanty has withdrawn; Pilsudski has finally won his victory. The decision was arrived at when the small Constitutional Club, which is composed of West Galician bourgeois and landlords, and which, with its 16 votes, is the straw on the scale between 200 Right and 200 Left deputies, fell under the threat of Pilsudski's resignation, and drew after it two other small fractions of the Right Centre. The new premier, Professor Novak, is indeed a nonentity, from a political standpoint, but his cabinet is composed of the same ministers that formed the cabinet of Slivinski. Above all, Pilsudski has gotten rid of the two ministers he hated most, Skirmunt and Michalski, who were also in Korfanty's Cabinet. Skirmunt urged an understanding with Soviet Russia, while Michalski, as minister of finance, opposed every increase in military credits. Now, these two "disturbers" have been turned out in the name of democracy.

Pilsudski's victory has cost the country much. The governmental crisis lasted not less than two months. In that period, the Polish mark has fallen to two-thirds of its value; the dollar has climbed in value from 4000 to 6000 Polish marks. What matters it? Democracy has conquered. So claim, at any rate the "Labor Parties" of the Polish *Sejm*, the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and the National Labor Party (N.P.R.).

These remarkable "workers' representatives," are quite seriously convinced that their struggle to obtain unlimited and irresponsible power for the sabre-rattling hero, Pilsudski, was really a fight against reaction. And they are beside themselves with joy, because, in a terrorized Parliament, the will of the majority is trodden underfoot, because it has been shown once more that the decisive power of the land is in the hands of the Belvederian pretorians (Pretorian legions). If the workers dared to render the *Sejm* powerless in this manner, and send the Democrats to the devil, these same famous "Workers' Parties" would yell massacre against the Bolsheviks and Anarchists. But—a leader of warriors, who won his knightly spurs upon the speedy march from Kiev back to Warsaw,—that is another matter!

In this struggle to present monarchical power to their militarist taskmaster, the P.P.S. has not yet noticed how a nice piece of democracy has been stolen from under their noses. The *Peasants' Party*, under the leadership of Vitos, which in its own class interests, has supported Pilsudski against the town bourgeoisie and the nobility, exhausted its brotherhood with the Left, in order to ally itself with the Right on the suffrage question.

The fruit of this illegitimate union is a suffrage act which, under the cloak of universality, equality and proportional representation, is really a partisan law against the national and social minorities. To be sure, the social patriots can evade the consequences of many of these exceptional laws. If, for instance, the electoral zones and the mandates are so distributed that the national election will be prejudiced, and especially if the Jews, through a series of manoeuvres, are reduced to a complete lack of influence, then will the social patriots (whose enthusiasm for national equalization is limited to words only) rejoice that these partisan enactments were passed against their votes. The same applies, with still greater force, to those measures which are directed against the Communist Party. In this case too, the P.P.S. has contented itself with loud protests. It was different with those portions of the electoral law which are directed against the P.P.S. and particularly against the smaller parties. Here the P.P.S. defended its own skin most energetically; if only its attention had not been most unfortunately diverted by the recent struggle for power.

United in this struggle with the Peasants' Party, which was particularly interested in the formation of a government satisfactory to Pilsudski, the P.P.S. made no attempt to secure, in return for its support, concrete concessions with regard to the suffrage law. On the contrary, it felt itself so strongly bound to Pilsudski that it accorded all favors to its adroitly bargaining allies, just to hold them. So that when the suffrage question came up, Vitos' party, was able to let the P.P.S. gently drop, without fear of resistance.

This suffrage act, brought into being by the Right and the Peasants' Party, is simply destructive for the small and scattered parties. This applies particularly to the "Labor Parties" which at present find themselves in a very unfavorable position in Poland. Their voters are in the cities, and the cities are, for the most part, now joined to large country electoral districts, so that, in the proportional vote, the purely urban parties do not even obtain a mandate. The P.P.S. saw only two methods of remedying this awkward situation: 1) the most practicable enlargement of the number of mandatory voters in city districts; and (2) the introduction of a national voters' list for the full utilization of all votes.

The Peasants' Party, not wishing to endanger the Pilsudski bloc, appeared to be quite conciliatory, and prepared to consider the wishes of the P.P.S. and the smaller parties. It played out this comedy step by step. At the first reading of the bill, it voted for the national list and for increasing the number of mandatory votes. At the second reading, it switched about and declared together with the Right parties, that the mandates on the national list should be distributed, not from the remaining unused votes on the list, but from the total count of the votes of each party, that is, from the votes already used. When the "Labor Parties" loudly cried treachery and reaction, the Peasants' Party confidently declared itself ready to vote the necessary increased number of mandatory votes to the P.P.S. and N.P.R. and thus appeased the wrath of the people.

At the third reading the Peasants' Party dropped all pretenses. It refused the increase in mandatory votes, and voted for the proposal of the Right, under which the mandates would be distributed from the national list according to the count of the already gained mandates in the local electoral areas. Therefore, instead of bettering the unjust distribution of electoral areas and mandates, the national list doubles the injustice. This cheap trick quite discomposed the "Labor Parties" and the small Left peasant groups. They started obstructive tactics. But the wily Vitos also knew how to weather this storm. He arranged another conference, and proposed to the obstructionists to yield them four mandates in urban districts. The social patriots once again let themselves be led by the nose, and allowed the division to take place. But when the matter came up in the Sejm, it was found that not less than 30 of Vitos' followers were absent. The motion was lost.

The above sad history teaches us only that the heads of the Peasants' Party are better political hucksters than the social patriots. It also shows that the Mensheviks of all countries, even from the point of view of formal parliamentary democracy, do pretty bad business when they are up against the bourgeois and militarist "democrats".

The Polish social patriots are beginning to realize that they have travelled a bad road, with their support of "democratic" Bonapartism. It is to be hoped that the Sejm elections will show them this still more drastically. And the Polish workers, to whom this "democratic victory" will bring a reactionary Sejm, will again be in a position to be convinced that their own democracy, proletarian democracy, can only be won through real proletarian action.

In the R. I. L. U.

Resolution on the Trade Union Movement in France

Adopted at the meeting of the R.I.L.U. Executive, July 26th, 1922.

The Executive takes cognizance of Comrade Lozovsky's report on the situation in the French trade union movement. It approves fully Comrade Lozovsky's attitude at the St. Etienne Congress, and resolves:

1. The Executive sends its fraternal greetings to the *Confédération Unitaire du Travail* and to the revolutionary French proletariat, and is glad to see that they have succeeded in St. Etienne to rise above dead dogmas and have joined the active body of the Revolution.

2. It demands that Comrade Monmousseau, or some other member of the Executive Committee of the *Confédération Unitaire du Travail* appointed for that purpose, report at the 2nd Congress of the R.I.L.U. on the question of the mutual relations of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

3. The Executive Committee of the C.U.T. is requested to send on time all resolutions and proposals relating to the questions before the Congress.

4. The Executive of the R.I.L.U. is convinced that the Second Congress of Revolutionary Labor Unions will approve the attitude of the Executive and of the Central Committees towards the syndicalist organizations. In general, this attitude is to attempt to draw to the R.I.L.U. all revolutionary workers' organizations; and the Executive therefore repeatedly declared that the relations between syndicalist labor unions and the Socialist parties of a country with a syndicalist movement, must be arranged nationally between the parties concerned.

On the question regarding the reciprocal representation of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, the Executive will give all possibilities to the various parties to present their point of view at the 2nd Congress. The decision will be reached by the 2nd Congress after a thorough discussion of the question.

5. The Executive addresses an urgent appeal to organizations, like that of the construction workers, which maintain an inimical attitude towards the R.I.L.U. and adhere to the Committee for the Defense of Syndicalism. It urges them to preserve the unity of the Labor Federation, and not to let themselves be misled by demagogues working in the interests of the bourgeoisie and trying to create a conflict within the ranks of the revolutionary workers of France at the same time rousing them against the revolutionary workers of Russia and other countries. The Executive appeals to the French workers to join the R.I.L.U. which is ready to receive them with open arms.

We are convinced that the sooner our syndicalist friends give up their fruitless theoretical discussions of the action necessary after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and proceed with the practical struggle against the bourgeoisie, the sooner will all apparent differences disappear.

They will become convinced that there is not a single paragraph or a single line in the resolutions or in the statutes of the Profintern which will prevent them from accomplishing the purpose of the resolution in the way, which they, the French syndicalists, think best fitted to that end.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The New Economic Policy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

By Karl Radek.

The Conference of the C.P.R. which met a few days ago will, without doubt, devote a great part of its time to the report of Comrade Zinoviev, dealing with "the new methods of organization employed by the forces and elements hostile to Soviet Russia". This long title is but a roundabout way of defining the attitude of the proletarian dictatorship towards the political effects of the new economic policy today,—the most important problem before the C.P.R.

The Mensheviks of all shades (from Martov and Dan to Paul Levi) stoutly maintained that, once the economic structure

at home and the situation abroad had compelled the Soviet Power to grant the bourgeoisie economic concessions, political concessions, would, according to all the rules of Marxism, follow in due course. The S.R.'s demand as a matter of course that the Constituent Assembly be convened. The Mensheviks are somewhat more modest; for the time being they do not mention the Assembly but would be satisfied with freedom of movement for the so-called labor parties, meaning the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, in order to enable these "democratic parties" to prepare the road for the advent of a democratic regime, meaning the dictatorship of capitalism. When taking the first step towards the new economic policy, the Communist Party of Russia told these intellectual "diehards" in so many words: my dears, things will never get that far. Existence determines consciousness and economics determine politics. But there are a number of intermediary links between existence and consciousness. The economic basis creates for itself a superstructure corresponding to it. There is no saying, however, when it will do so. In many countries the economic basis of capitalism existed underneath a feudalist superstructure. And even if the new economic policy in Russia were to bring forth a purely capitalist economic basis, that does not mean that this basis would within a short time produce a bourgeois political superstructure. It merely follows that a struggle will ensue between the capitalist economic basis upon which the bourgeoisie rests, and the political regime of the working-class. The outcome of this struggle depends on the development of the international political situation within the next few decades. The question is whether the bourgeoisie will prove victorious in Europe (and thus help the Russian bourgeoisie to attain a victory also) or whether the proletariat will gain the upper hand and thus assist the Russian working-class to build up its economy on a Socialist basis.

The question could be formulated in this way, even if the new economic policy would be merely a restoration of capitalism. But it is not! The free trade inaugurated by the new economic policy will facilitate the development of Russian agriculture, the basis of all industrial evolution. In the large scale industry the new economic policy does not restore the principle of private ownership of the means of production; it merely leases these means, and only in certain branches of industry. The most important branches of industry must remain in the hands of the proletarian state. From this it follows again, that the economic basis of Socialism is being strengthened simultaneously with the restoration of the bourgeoisie. This tends to heighten the prospects of the proletariat to maintain its power, even if the victory of the world proletariat fails to materialize soon. It is just this policy which will produce the preliminary conditions for the real establishment of Socialism in the future. It goes without saying that programmatic declarations of party conferences avail nothing in this struggle, which must be fought to the end by the Soviet Government on the one side, and both Russian and foreign capital on the other. Victory will be ours in this battle, if we understand to defend ourselves against the attempts of foreign capital to compel Soviet Russia to restore capitalism and extort from it a gigantic tribute. Victory, I say, will be ours, if we understand, not in words only, but in deeds as well, to adopt commercial methods; if we can successfully compete with private industry in the struggle for raw material. To repeat: the Marxian principle that politics are determined by economics, far from demanding that the C.P., having inaugurated the new economic policy should renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat, brings home the fact that that dictatorship with the C.P. at its helm must, as heretofore, remain a weapon in the struggle for Socialism.

During the period of intervention and open civil war, when the bourgeoisie bore arms against us, we were compelled not only to suppress it, but to crush it. In order to do this, we had to dismember it economically and destroy its whole economic apparatus, even if we could have used it for our own economic ends. Every store where a bourgeois could have received visitors or could have gotten into communication with his fellow-bourgeois over the telephone, would have provided a stronghold for plotting white guards of all shades and creeds. And although this danger is not yet quite past, it has been considerably minimized. In the period of civil war, and intervention, the whole country was a source of supply for the front; its condition determined the fate of our army. Counter-revolutionary conspiracies are possible (and dangerous) even today, but they could never inflict upon us irreparable losses. Today it is only a question of the bourgeoisie trying to use the economic position it has gained, for gradual political organizations. It follows that we must prevent the bourgeoisie from organizing its forces on the political field, in the same ratio as we give it some breath on the economic field. Under no circumstances, however, must we interfere with the process of economic reconstruction, although that process at times assumes capitalist forms. While in 1919, the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents was quite simple and could be carried on by the Tcheka, it now con-

fronts us with very complicated tasks. The economic process in the country necessitates expert administration which the Communists alone are not capable of providing. For this reason, the publication of non-communist literature, if only dealing with economic matters, must be licensed. There can, however, be no doubt that in the course of development the bourgeoisie will try to concentrate all its ideological forces on that field and establish capitalist propaganda organs with 5 columns of bourgeois political propaganda to every column of abstract and scientific matter. This will be done not only by the Mensheviks in the trade unions, the S.R.'s and the Cadets in the cooperatives, but even by the dyed-in-the-wool Octobrists, in our trusts and other economic institutions. A perusal of the numerous non-Communist organs published lately is rather interesting. All of them carry the announcements of our trusts and of the government bank, thus bearing witness to the methods by which the bourgeois experts in our economic institutions attempt to give material assistance to the various ideological and political groups. Intelligence, quick perception and a sound sense of judgment constitute the necessary experience of the proletarians carrying on the struggle against all these new features. There should be no hasty interference, no wholesale prohibitions. That which is useful must be supported, and that which is harmful, eliminated. Apart from these tasks of the juridical executive or of the state political administration, the former Tcheka, we must launch a vigorous ideological campaign against the new concrete aspects of the bourgeois ideology. As we must compete with private capital in the economic field, we are compelled to compete with it in the ideological domain as well, and not merely rely on the possibility of prohibiting these features. That is just the point; we cannot prohibit everything.

It is to the credit of Comrade Zimoviev that he drew the attention of the Party to these problems which render fresh efforts essential. No time should be lost in concentrating large forces on the new ideological front and in training new intellectual forces for the forthcoming struggles. It will, no doubt, be difficult, and necessitate tremendous efforts, but it will be worth our while, tending as it does to steel the frame of the Party and harden its intellectual forces. *The struggle must be fought on the offensive from the very beginning.* Everything that has so far been done in this direction was to point out the danger and even retreat before it. We must organize our intellectual forces and provide scientific literature together with corresponding militant organs.

This ideological offensive is quite feasible, because even if we were compelled in Russia to call a temporary economic retreat (thus providing our antagonists with occasion to babble about the failure of Communism) the fact remains that, on an international scale, the bourgeoisie is nearing its complete economic and ideological collapse.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Social-Revolutionary Thieves and Menshevik Receivers

By Karl Radek.

Moscow, August 10.

On August 2nd, the *Rote Fahne* made public the principal material derived from the documents seized by the Soviet Government from Kerensky. This material proved that the Social Revolutionary Party had been, during the whole of 1921, in the service of the French and Czecho-Slovakian governments, and with their help, had conducted espionage in Russia and plotted armed uprisings. The *Foreign Delegation of the Social Revolutionary Party* answered this charge in the *Freiheit* of August 4th, with an explanation which shows just how far the shamelessness of these spies of the Entente has gone. The *Foreign Delegation* declares that the *Administrative Centre* whose archives were confiscated by the Soviet Government, *has no connection whatever with the Social Revolutionary Party, and that therefore the Party has no responsibility for its actions. This then, is the explanation of the Foreign Delegation of the S.R. Party, among whom we find the citizens Zenzinov and Tchernov.*

We ask Citizen Zenzinov the following: Have you taken part in the counsels of the Administrative Center, and have you been its agent and carried on negotiations with Benesh in its name? Yes or not? Zenzinov's signature, appearing on the letter dealing with his parley with Benesh, on the matter of financial support from the Czecho-Slovakian government, has been declared genuine by Gotz. The photograph of this letter is found in the officially published documentary collection entitled, *The Work of the S.R.'s Abroad*. The Foreign Delegation, which was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 70

18th August 1922

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

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
The Italian General Strike. By <i>Umberto Terracini</i> . . .	523	In the R. I. L. U.	
Politics		Resolution on the Trade Union Movement in France . . .	528
The London Conference and the World Proletariat.		In Soviet Russia	
By <i>Arthur Rosenberg</i> . . .	524	The New Economic Policy and the Dictatorship of the	
Russia's Peace Negotiations with Japan. By <i>Karl Radek</i> . . .	525	Proletariat. By <i>Karl Radek</i>	528
The International Social Democracy against the Proletariat.		In the Camp of Our Enemies.	
By <i>Marcell Ollivier</i>	526	Social Revolutionary Thieves and Menshevik Receivers.	
The Crisis in Czecho-Slovakia. By <i>Johann Dolezall</i>	526	By <i>Karl Radek</i>	529
Pilsudski's Victory over Democracy. By <i>L. Domski</i>	527		

The Italian General Strike

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

Though gun-shots and the fearful rattle of the machine gun are still heard, we can already look back at the happenings of the last days of severe, heroic struggle. The Italian proletariat has shown that it does not intend to remain passive in the face of the unavoidable civil war, the wite terror, and the worse of reactions. Now, after two years of murder, incendiarism, violence, and destruction, its strongest, proudest defenses have been broken down; its Chambers of Labor, its Consumers' Cooperatives, its Communal Houses, and its labor unions. The bravest fighters of the proletarian parties have been murdered by the thousands; tens of thousands of workers and peasants have been thrown into prison; the Socialist Party has become a disgrace and a jest, that party which was once the expression of the working masses' will to liberation; and a Communist Party which could become its heir to the leadership of the masses is not firmly established yet. But in spite of all this, the Italian worker has been able to form, in a few days, a solid fighting group, and to inflict serious losses upon its enemy.

The *Labor Alliance* had been formed as the united organ of the Italian proletariat, mainly to prepare the defense and the counter-offensive against the Fascisti reaction. However, it was controlled by the reformistic tendencies of the *General Trade Union Federation* and for months attempted to keep a middle course between the demands for a general strike put up by the Communists and the majority of the proletariat, and those of the pacifistic elements which were satisfied to use the menace of action, as opportunistic means in the struggle for power. And so could it happen that in Bologna and Cremona, in Ravenna and Novara, the Fascisti could murder unpunished a great number of workers, and crush the proletariat's last resistance without any change in the ambiguous attitude of the leaders of the Labor Alliance.

But the last ministerial crisis suddenly changed the situation, and the opportunity which the crisis gave to the Social Democrats to develop their plans fully, only resulted in their downfall. The self-humiliation of the Socialists, Turati's visit to the Quirinal, had not been able to protect the workers from the growing reaction. And now it became clear to all Italian workers that only the united mass action of the proletariat would protect them against the growing enslavement. The will of the masses to rise against their oppressors was so powerful as to force their trembling leaders to action. They were forced to prepare the general mobilization of the workers for the protection of their

liberties and their lives. They did not dare yet, however, to conduct the fight courageously as an armed defense against the white guard bands, but masked the purpose of the strike under the cloak of a legal protest against a violation of the state's authority.

The Mistakes in the Conduct of the Strike.

The timidity and incapacity of the leaders was not without influence on the development of the strike. The strike began at a moment when there was no direct cause for it, so that many workers did not understand its immediate purpose. The orders to cease work were not issued simultaneously, so that some towns had not yet received the proclamation of the Chamber of Labor on the 2nd of August, when, in other cities, a bloody fight had been going on for two days already. The *secret committee* created to conduct the strike, well earned its name. It disappeared from sight the very first day the action began, without getting into touch with any of the political or labor organizations which were engaged in the struggle. It was heard of again only when the strike ended. We must add further that the most militant workers, those of Piedmont, Lombardy, Romagna, etc., had just terminated a violent strike against the activities of the local Fascisti. For these reasons, the movement did not at once call forth any decided attitude on the part of the masses. The various sections of the battle front acted singly. While Rome, Milan, Naples, Bari, Trieste, Genoa, and Livorno at once threw themselves into the struggle, Turin, Florence, Bologna and Ancona hesitated for some time. While the railroad workers of some districts left their trains in open stretches, and prevented the transport of troops and Fascisti volunteers by all possible acts of sabotage, those of other districts remained at work in the expectation of an order, which never came. This state of affairs greatly favored the attempts at pacification on the part of the bourgeoisie; they spread unfavorable reports of the strike which confused those masses which had not yet joined the movement. But when reports at last appeared, and the news of bloody clashes spread, the mass uprising was soon in full swing, and the general action of the workers began in all its might.

The United Front During the Strike.

Such a show of strength, was a total surprise to trade union leaders who had become accustomed to the idea of an exhausted, powerless proletariat. The direction of the movement which they had engineered soon passed out of their hands. And here

appeared the tremendous influence which the Communist Party exercised upon the masses. Our Party was not surprised by the action, and had long taken the necessary measures to meet the situation. In that way, the Communist groups controlled the situation which arose; the decided actions of the Communists gained the confidence of the workers who came to regard them as the leaders of the strike. Just as every other event in the economic life of Italy, the general strike immediately assumed the form of civil war. As soon as the announcement of the general strike was made, the Fascisti issued an ultimatum which menaced the workers with the most frightful reprisals should the action of the proletariat not come to an end within 48 hours. At the same time, the orders for mobilization were issued to the *White Army* which prepared to take possession of all the provincial capitals. The whole Italian knew from previous, tragic experience with what hostility these bands proceed with their work. But the night passed without any bloody event; the uprising of the workers had assumed such magnitude that the Fascisti did not dare make any attack upon the capitals.

The Cowardice of the Leaders and the Attack of the Fascisti.

The policy of the general strike showed its efficiency; it crippled the armies of the reaction, and paralyzed them totally. It was then the duty of the Secret *Committees of Action* to enlarge the action begun. But the Socialist and Anarchist leaders of the Labor Alliance, scared by the Fascisti ultimatum, an ultimatum which, as further events proved, they could never have enforced, and incapable of setting any definite and realizable goal for the proletarian action, declared on the 3rd of August, that the strike was at an end. It is characteristic of the intelligence of these leaders, and of their lack of class-consciousness, that they issued the order for the cessation of hostilities through the Minister of the Interior. The official end of the strike marked the beginning of the Fascisti attacks. The most elementary foresight would have sufficed to predict this event. The Communist Party, in an appeal of the 2nd of August, had warned the leaders of the Alliance of the danger of disarming the masses, for this would bring about the bourgeois counter-offensive.

In the afternoon of August 3rd the working masses in most cities of Italy returned to work; and on the same day, the Fascisti proceeded against Ancona, the large Adriatic port; against Parma, the granary of Emilia; against Genoa, the commercial center of Italy; against Milan, the financial capital of the country; and against Livorno, the arsenal on the Tyrrhenian Sea, to destroy these five strongholds of the proletariat.

The Civil War.

The attack began in the night of August 3rd. The plans had been carefully laid out, the aggressors were armed with all the weapons of modern warfare, and protected by the forces of the state against any resistance. Ten thousand men against Ancona, 20,000 against Parma, 15,000 against Milan, 15,000 against Genoa, 5,000 against Livorno, equipped with machine guns, aeroplanes, cavalry, provision and ammunition wagons, artillery, and tanks. The state troops remained a "neutral witness" to the struggle. But the workers rose to the defense, led by the Communist organizations. It was a severe test for the Communist Party; upon it fell the enormous task of preparing, at a moment's notice, the armed resistance of the workers against a better armed reaction. No organization of combat existed in the other parties. It was no question this time of organizing a meeting, or a demonstration, but of preparing for a bloody, armed conflict. The Communists proved themselves equal to their task; and if any more proofs were needed to convince the workers that the Third International alone is willing to undertake the decisive conflict, these heroic days of the first week of August should suffice.

We cannot describe in a limited article all the fights which took place during that week in the cities attacked by the Fascisti. The reading of the bourgeois newspapers, which are naturally interested in disguising the truth and minimizing the workers' resistance, will give us a picture of the fight: city sections enclosed by barricades and trenches; machine guns rattling throughout the day; savage hand-to-hand encounters; conflagrations wildly lighting up the city and the country; the streets covered with dead; mass murder before the firing-squad; trains attacked in full speed; public buildings stormed; children and whole families butchered pitilessly in the houses where they had barricaded themselves; murderous shouts resounding in the street. And in the middle of all this the derisive picture of a state capitulating before the Fascisti bands, arresting the workers and helping the bandits wherever the desperate resistance of the workers forced them to retreat.

Had not the armed state power supported the Fascisti in this conflict (an absurd hypothesis, of course) the proletariat would

probably have won the victory, so great was the courage of our fighters. The lists of the dead and wounded have not yet been made up; we possess only a list of destroyed property, set up by the commander of the Fascisti; the actual number of dead and wounded is unknown. Approximately, the fight cost 200 dead and 5000 wounded, of whom about 50% are Fascisti.

But the workers finally had to retreat under the united pressure of the illegal forces of the reaction and the official forces of the state. Atop the Milan Municipal Building, atop the ruins of the destroyed *Avanti* and the cooperative buildings of the longshoremen of Genoa and Ancona, atop the Municipal Buildings of Parma and Livorno, the Fascisti are singing their triumphal hymns. For hundreds of kilometers around, the country has been reduced to ruins by the murderous white guards.

On the Eve of New Struggles.

The conflict is over; but in the hearts of the working-class a storm of hatred has been raised; horror and fear among the petty bourgeoisie whose future is also menaced by the Fascisti; despair rules, the despair of the hunted animal, of the miserable, of those who have lost father, children, house. Hunger prowls in those regions where the Fascisti have established their reign of terror for some time to come. The people are ready to renew the struggle for their existence.

Italy has become a battle-field; the whole social organism is cracking; on one side stretches the shadow of Horthy; but on the other the flaming, red dawn is breaking.

The Fight in Parma.

The following description is taken from the reactionary Bologna newspaper *Resto del Corfino*. Therefore, a *reliable* source!...

The revolutionists feverishly built barricades with the stones and the slabs which they tore from the side walks and the road. Men, women and children took part in the criminal work. At the custom house *Victor Emmanuel*, a group of Fascisti coming from the city were shot at from the neighbouring streets. A number of Fascisti went to the street railway station *Viale Melame* to attempt to run the cars. But as they were raising the tricolor, they were fired at from a house from which floated a red flag. From the barricades, men and youths kept up a lively fire against the Fascisti until these forced the revolutionists to retreat, under fire from their pistols.

Shortly after noon, a company of Fascisti parading down the *Via Garibaldi* were fired at from the doorways and windows of the *Via Venti Settembre*.

The shots came in rapid succession. Under a veritable rain of bullets, the Fascisti charged the railroad quarter in the *Piazza Bottego* and destroyed it.

The *Resto del Corfino* adds, that the rebels, armed with machine guns, attacked the Fascisti bivouacking on the square. In the savage fight which ensued, the rebels were forced to retreat. The railroad section was totally destroyed; the shooting lasted undiminished, throughout the night. Towards six in the morning the Fascisti stormed and destroyed the press of the *Piccolo* (a left democratic daily).

During the afternoon, the military commander of the Fascisti posted a proclamation which forbade the issue of proletarian newspapers, and ordered the shops to be reopened, and work resumed at four P. M. During the day, Fascisti from Ferras, Mantua, etc. arrived. Their number in Parma is estimated at 20,000. The operations were led personally by deputies *Ferinacci* and *Terzagli*. The Fascisti flag has been raised upon the Municipal Building; the revolutionists have barricaded themselves in the streets of the proletarian sections. The "Black shirted" companies parade the city, with shouldered guns and steel helmets, cheered joyfully by the population."

POLITICS

The London Conference and the World Proletariat

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The London Conference is the most interesting meeting of the Entente since Versailles. While at all former meetings of French and English diplomats the leaders of Entente capital avoided all essential questions, they have now taken a definite stand on the question before them. Poincaré has developed *in toto* the napoleonic program of the post-war French imperialism. With the help of the Continental Blockade, Napoleon I. attempted to form Europe into a unified economic territory and thereby defeat English capitalism. The English

succeeded in drawing the Russian and the German Feudalism to their side, and to defeat France's plan. Poincaré's task today is much lighter than Napoleon's then. The German Feudal state is no longer a European power, and Soviet Russia maintains a purely neutral attitude. It can find no enthusiasm for either the English or the French bankers.

Victory has made of France an industrial power of the first order. France has obtained both the Lotharingian iron mines, and the coal mines of the Saar Valley. The requirements of Luxembourg's and Belgium's steel and iron industries have made these two countries into colonies of France. On the other border of Germany, France controls the mines of Polish Upper Silesia, and the Czecho-Slovakian industries. To fill the gap between Saarbrücken and Kattowitz, to appropriate the rest of Germany's means of production, is the goal of French foreign policy since 1918. Poincaré's London program demands the control of 60% of the stock of the Chemical industry of the Rhine. Poincaré demands further that Germany surrender the former Prussian fiscal coal mines of the Ruhr region. Furthermore, special custom duties should be set up for the Ruhr. We can now picture to ourselves how the occupation of the Ruhr region will take place. They will not send against us Foch's cavalry, his tanks and his aeroplane squadrons, but just a sufficient number of French custom officials, who will peacefully occupy their offices. The German Government is incapable of offering any serious resistance to French militarism. A costly and undiplomatic military occupation is therefore unnecessary. The conquest of Germany will be accomplished by French finance and custom controllers. If France controls the customs of the Ruhr, it can regulate the import and export taxes to its own advantage. Revolver in hand, it can force the Ruhr factory owners to agree to French participation in their industries.

France is using two methods for the conquest of the German chemical industry and the coal mines: either by tyrannical demands upon the German Government, which England naturally opposes, or by direct negotiations with the German capitalists. While Poincaré in London demands a 60% control of the Rhine Chemical Works, negotiations are going on directly between the French and the German chemical industrialists. We hear that an agreement may even have been reached. Besides the electrical industry, it was the chemical industry which before the war, represented the strength of German imperialism. The German aniline kings have done splendidly during the revolution. Last year, they were able to rebuild Oppau at a cost of 400 million marks, and still showed a profit of a half-a-billion. A union of the German chemical industry with the French would demand great sacrifices from the former, but it would secure thereby the political and economic protection which the Wirth Government can no longer furnish it. The same is true of the German steel and iron industry. Stinnes has been trying for a long time to reach an agreement with the French foundries. Already, he is receiving 8 francs for every ton of German reparation coal. France pays him that amount to "purify" the Ruhr coal which it gets. The seizure of a part of German industries by the French need not bring a catastrophe upon German capital. Walther Rathenau contemplated such a union of French and German interests when he signed the Wiesbaden Treaty.

It is natural that the English capitalists should do all in their power to prevent this conquest of Germany. They are now fighting a Franco-German industrial union as they fought Napoleon's Continental Blockade a century ago. But England is weak today; it will have to concede to Poincaré at least a part of his program to prevent the disruption of the Entente.

But besides its industrial imperialism, France has another purpose to accomplish in London. France needs ready cash to prevent the bankruptcy of its finances. That is why Poincaré demands 26% of Germany's export duty. Besides this, he demands the custom receipts. It is characteristic that Lloyd George has agreed to this part of the program, which means the financial plundering of Germany. How the balance can be maintained in the German state budget if this is put through, is another question. Even the moratorium which may be granted, cannot help Germany in its desperate situation. What is the value of the moratorium when the Allies deprive Germany of its greatest source of income any way? Neither can a loan, to be covered by the productive mortgages set up by Poincaré, help the German economic household. The loan would go to pay reparations, and the interest would have to be paid by the German workers.

But the London Conference is a turning-point not only because for the first time, the official purpose of French imperialism has been stated clearly and officially. The London Conference is a mile stone in the political orientation of the proletariat. London proves that an understanding between French and German capitalists is possible. But only at the price of a total destruction of the German economic life, and an

unexampled enslavement of the German proletariat. This is no solution of the world's economic crisis, because this use of force will totally destroy the buying capacity of the German people. It is the political ideology of the reform-Socialists that a peaceful understanding between the capitalists of the world is necessary for the reconstruction of Europe, and therefore, in the interests of the proletariat. London has given the death blow to these illusions.

Russia's Peace Negotiations with Japan

By Karl Radek (Moscow).

The new Japanese Government declared itself willing to clear the Far Eastern coast and begin peace negotiations with Soviet Russia and the Far East Republik. The Soviet Government answered the proposals of the Japanese Government by appointing comrades Joffe and Janson to represent the two Republics at the peace parleys. No place has been fixed yet for the negotiations. It is no question of prestige when we insist that the parleys take place where both delegations will be guaranteed the freest possible communications with their respective governments.

The peace negotiations will put an end to the war between Soviet Russia and Japan. Since the beginning of its war against Siberia in 1918, Japan declared very often that it had no intention to force its will upon the Russian people. As a matter of fact, however, Japan, together with the other capitalistic governments, attempted to destroy that Government which responded best to the interests of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia. At the same time, the thievish Japanese bourgeoisie and the short sighted Japanese military clique were attempting the conquest of East Siberia. They did not understand that this policy could only help the capitalist Great Powers who were trying to isolate the young capitalism of Japan in a circle of enemies, and remove the danger of Japanese competition. If Japan attempted to conquer any portion of Russian territory in Siberia, it would make an enemy of the whole Russian people. The Japanese Government, like all capitalist governments, believed in the ultimate victory of the white troops, and supported them. But a victorious white government would also oppose the Japanese conquerors who would shut it off from the Pacific. The annexation of a part of Siberia would necessarily have led to a war between Soviet Russia and Japan, since Russia could never allow the exploitation of Russian workers and peasants by Japanese capital. Had not Japan come to its senses, its capitalist rivals would have attained their end. A Japan in conflict with the awakening Chinese people and the great Russian people, would be rendered powerless against its enemies.

The Washington Conference had established no peace in the Far East. It had only brought about a truce which did not exclude the preparations for a new war. The Washington Conference reduced the number of dreadnoughts, but the dreadnoughts are no very important weapon in the immense Pacific Ocean. The diplomatic battle for the control of China has not ceased. Japan understands better than any one, the political significance of the war of U-Bei-Fu against Tchansolin. The Washington Conference broke up the Anglo-Japanese alliance; but this has little significance, since, in any acute conflict between America and England, Japan and England could act together, even without a written treaty. But the campaign which Lord Northcliffe began under the slogan "Watch Japan!" proves that English policy is tending to an understanding with the United States against Japan. By its desire to establish peace with Soviet Russia and the Far East Republik, Japan has proven that it is conscious of this danger. If we are not mistaken in this assumption, then the hope of successful peace negotiations is no vain dream.

The radical change in Japan's inner policy strengthens this hope. The Cabinet of Admiral Cato declares that it wishes a reduction of the Army and army expenses. Many Japanese and American circles do not believe in the sincerity of these statements, and insist that the Cato Cabinet is merely trying to gain time. The negotiations with Russian and the Far East Republik will show whether the Japanese are sincere or not. For it is clear that in case Japan does not conclude peace with Russia, it will not be able to reduce its armaments, even if it should evacuate the Amur region. The Japanese people, the Japanese workers, farmers, and the petty-bourgeoisie, who are suffering not only from the rising cost of living, but from a poor rice crop, will follow attentively the negotiations of their Government, since a successful conclusion will largely contribute to lighten their burden.

Soviet Russia is the only country which looks upon all men as equal, whatever their race; it grants to the Japanese on its territory, the same rights as to any other foreigners. While

Soviet Russia does not intend to change any of the laws it has set up for the protection of its workers, it hopes to be able to settle a lasting peace with Japan, that is, if Japan will refrain from any attacks against the Soviet Power. Thereby will peace be secured, at least on one side of the Pacific.

The International Social Democracy Against the Proletariat.

By Marcel Ollivier (Paris).

It is interesting to note with what a touching accord the Social Democratic press of all shades and of all countries received the news of the end of the S.R. trial. From the *Vorwärts* and the *Freiheit* in Berlin, to the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Vienna, the *Peuple* of Brussels, down to the *Populaire* and the *Journal du Peuple* in Paris, it is the same concert of imprecations against the "travesty of Justice" in Moscow, "the Asiatic barbarism" of the Russian Communists, "the infamous trial" etc. Never has the parallel of such a unanimity been witnessed on any question in any way touching the world of labor.

What is the outcry about? It is concerned with a dozen people, proven guilty and convicted of numerous crimes against the Russian Revolution and condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Soviet Republic. And it is in favor of these twelve accused that the Social Democracy of all tongues and tendencies has mobilized its entire propaganda apparatus, to show to the mass of workers the cruelty of the "Muscovite torturers". There is nothing more abject and more repugnant than the hypocrisy of the petty-bourgeois Socialists who have suddenly felt a moral uplift which demands that they should protest against the cruelties of the Russian Bolsheviks, who are guilty of defending themselves against those who wish to strangle them. In the Paris *Populaire*, Sixte-Quenin waxes indignant over the words of Piatakof, the President of the Tribunal, quoted by Boris Souvarine in *Humanité*. "The trial is not an act of Justice, it is an episode of the civil war". Paul Fauré acclaiming the arrival of "his dear comrade, Vandervelde" in Paris in these symbolical words: "Hail to the Defender!" This imbecile has the impudence to couple the name of Theodor Liebknecht, defender of the enemies of the Russian Revolution with that of Karl Liebknecht, the friend of the Russian Bolsheviks, the Man who died for wishing to continue in Germany the work commenced by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

These dear petty-bourgeois, protest "in the name of humanity" against the death sentences pronounced by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow. But what do they do with their humanity when it is revolutionaries who are condemned to death by the bourgeoisie? Have these gentlemen protested against the tortures inflicted on the Communists in Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, Spain and Finland by the bourgeoisie of these countries? Have they protested against the imprisonment and assassination of Communists throughout the whole world? Have they protested against the arrests made by the Emergency Courts in Germany which have condemned thousands of workers to death and hard labor? Have they protested against the assassination of Kingisepp or against the condemnation of Dombal?

As to the protestations of the *Vorwärts* in the "name of humanity which Socialism represents", one is stupefied by so much cynicism and lack of shame. This was the paper that approved the crimes of a Noske and a Scheidemann, which concealed the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, of Jogisches and Leviné and 15,000 German workers, as well as the jurisdiction of the courts-martial; and it dare prate of humanity!!

Nothing is more instructive than this rapprochement of the *Populaire* petty-bourgeois and the bloody traitors of the German Social Democracy, Noske and Jean Longuet! This rapprochement is a symbol.

This is nothing to cause surprise. The unity of front realized by the international Social Democracy on the question of the S.R. trial, is no chance happening. The S.R. trial was the trial of the Social Democratic counter revolution against the Russian Revolution, the trial of the bourgeois auxiliaries in the camp of the proletariat. That is why we saw the Social Democrats run immediately to the aid of the accused S.R.'s.

All this was quite natural. The S.R. trial has defined the positions quite clearly. One the one side: Social Democracy; on the other: The Communist International. It has shown to the Social Democrats of all shades that they are brothers and that they have only one common enemy,—Communism. The moral unity of the Social Democracy has thus been constituted. As for their organic unity, this is but a question of time. As a matter of fact, it has been announced that the Executive Committee of the Second International at Prague has decided to convoke in October a World Labor Congress comprising the representatives of the

Second International. They have decided to cease all relations with the Communists "because these are totally at variance with the Social Democrats". In view of this Congress, the Second International has decided to postpone its annual congress, which should take place at Hamburg in October.

The most important result of this process of evolution, is the complete disappearance of the independent Social Democracy. This simplifies the task of the Communists to a considerable extent. Up to the present time, two principle obstacles were interposed between the Communists and the capitalists: the so-called Majority Social Democracy and the so-called Independent Social Democracy. In uniting with the majority, the "left" Social Democrats have shown that in reality nothing separates them, and that there was no reason to justify them as an independent group. Hence the preparations for fusion at which we are assisting. With the fusion of these two organizations, which up to the present have remained distinct, the obstacles which prevented a straight fight between Communism and capitalism disappear. There now remains but one "Social Democracy". And as they fraternize and cooperate with the bourgeoisie, they reveal themselves before the working class, that they are nothing more than a petty bourgeois party in disguise. On that day, the fight will be near its end. That is why, we hail the union of the Second and 2½ Internationals as an important stage in the course of the proletarian revolution.

The Crisis in Czecho-Slovakia

By Johann Dolezal (Brünn).

The Czecho-Slovakian Government does not exist by the will of the toiling masses, but by that of the bourgeoisie. Not only because it is wholly controlled by the latter, the government Socialists merely providing a bit of camouflage, but also because the administrative apparatus is completely dominated by the bourgeoisie. This political and social division finds ample expression in the prevailing property relations. The means of production are owned by private interests deriving rich profits from the surplus value created by the working class only in order to use these profits for increasing their wealth on one hand and on the other for intensifying the exploitation of the toiling masses. The natural consequence of this state of affairs are class struggles increasing in intensity in ratio to the width of the social chasm between employers and workers. That the dissatisfaction of the broad masses is increasing goes without saying. This discontent is all the more vehement, as the masses were sorely disappointed in the many promises extended to them after the collapse of the Austrian Monarchy. What has become of socialization? Who heard of any confiscation of the gains of the profiteers? What has happened to the separation of the church from the state? Instead of a fulfillment of all these promises we are witnessing the brutal offensive of capital marching on over ruined lives and famished bodies. Nor has ruin and hunger only overtaken the manual laborers, for capitalism is no whit less aggressive against the brain workers, reducing their wages or throwing them on the street. Meanwhile the profits of the bourgeoisie accumulate at a tremendous speed, private firms and corporations show swollen earnings, banks increase their capital and thus slowly gain the control of the republic's industry. Under the shadow of the growing capitalist tree, reaction is faring well indeed. The clergy and its party are becoming more and more a decisive factor in the government offices, with the leaders of the Social Democracy maintaining profound silence.

The Czech bourgeoisie, with the help of the two Czech social patriotic parties is the dominant power in the state, although part of the population does not look upon them as its spokesmen, for there are other, non-Czech nationalities, in Czecho-Slovakia. Hence it is sheer nonsense to speak of a Czecho-Slovakian national state, and no matter how much certain elements might protest against it,—the fact remains that Czecho-Slovakia, like the Austrian monarchy, consists of a group of nationalities which was not united with the consent of all of them, but fashioned against their will in the National Assembly, after October 28, 1918, on the basis of the national dictatorship of the Czechs. Consequently, all non-Czech nationalities in the republic are in permanent opposition, which in a number of cases, is bordering on a national irredenta. Even the Slovaks who are closely related to the Czechs are favoring extensive separation. This applies to the *Ludovici* (Slovakian People's Party) apart from which there is a strong labor movement in Czecho-Slovakia, in which the Communists have a decisive voice. Even if the Social-Democracy has 50 members in Parliament, their influence in the proletariat is insignificant, because the great majority of workers left them for the C.P. when the split came. The tide of social struggles and the continuous propaganda of our Party is drawing away even those remnants of labor which remained in the Social Democracy after the split. The Czecho-Slovakian Socialists have at no time been a real

workers' party, representing as they do the interests of the *intelligentsia*, the middle classes and various undecided "Socialist" elements. Their influence on the real industrial proletariat is nearly nil. This leaves the Communist Party the most powerful amongst the urban as well as the rural proletariat. At the same time it is the strongest party in the state, proof of which are the results of a number of by-elections in the communities. If we furthermore take into consideration the fact that our Party is a centralized international organization, there can be no disputing the fact that it constitutes a greatly respected political factor in the state. It goes without saying that the Communist Party is in opposition, not for tactical reasons, but on principle, condemning as it does the class institutions of this bourgeois and capitalist state. To repeat: the government of the Czech bourgeoisie and the numerically weak Czech social patriots is opposed by the other half of the population, composed of the Slovaks, all non-Czech nationalities, and the Communist proletariat.

This situation results in a political crisis which crops up in parliament on every possible occasion and is making itself felt throughout the state. Proof of this is the postponement of this year's local elections, because they would have intensified the crisis. If the elections had been held this year, elections for Parliament would surely have become necessary before autumn. The dualism in the political composition of the communities on one hand and of parliament on the other, would have been unbearable. If, in turn, the elections for Parliament would have been held, the present political crisis, would have immediately turned into one threatening the very existence of the state. There can be no doubt that the Czecho-Slovakian Social Democracy would have suffered complete defeat in these elections. The Social Democratic Club of 50 members in Parliament, would have dwindled to about a dozen, while the Communist Party would have gained at least from 45 to 50 seats. In the non-Czech nationalities the extreme nationalist elements would have been strengthened considerably. The Clerical Party and the Separatist Party in Slovakia would also have gained seats. Could such a Parliament produce a government majority? We do not think so; a Czech coalition government as it exists today, is out of question after the overthrow of the Social Democracy. A Czech-German government would suffer shipwreck on the rocks of nationalism in both camps. A Socialist or labor government would, even if we were to count the Czech Social Democrats amongst the Socialists, also be out of question, because the Socialist bloc (Communists, Czecho-Slovakian and German Social Democrats) would be too weak to take over the government, quite apart from the fact that the Communists would never enter such a government.

A crisis in the state would thus be unavoidable. Even a "neutral" government, composed solely of experts, could not carry on against the resistance of the opposition. Quite possibly, the newly elected Parliament would have to be dissolved, but the new elections would be no whit different.

From the bourgeois standpoint there are only two ways out of the dilemma:—to adopt the methods of the neighboring Hungary and force the population to accept reactionary election regulations, or a government without Parliament, supported by a military dictatorship. Any attempt at realizing either of the two alternatives would result in gigantic political conflicts and would revolutionize the entire proletariat.

The political crisis is enhanced by a steadily intensifying economic crisis. The state has taken over 70% of the industry of the Hapsburg monarchy. Its population is only 14 millions, while its production could supply at least 40 millions. If our industry is to run full blast, it must export finished products. This, in turn, results in the desire for new markets. The way to imperialism is barred to us; the markets of the world have already been divided up, and an independent imperialist policy is impossible for the Czech bourgeoisie, the vassal of world capital. Hence it must compete with the neighboring states where, on account of their low rate of exchange, the cost of production is much lower than in Czecho-Slovakia. As it cannot sell its goods, it restricts the output, closes down factories and dismisses the workers and even the government employees. Industry is ruining itself, some of its branches have already been completely destroyed. The result is a tremendous industrial crisis. This situation reacts deeply on the social structure of the state and on the spirit of the workers. The Czecho-Slovakian state is not capable of providing food for its population, while the bourgeoisie is waxing rich and through its wealth dominates the whole democratic bourgeois state. That is the second crisis, undermining the state apparatus and, together with the political crisis, is becoming a chronic source of danger to the capitalist state.

The bourgeoisie is flustered and powerless. Only downright desperation and the help of the Social-Democrats could lead them to believe that to outlaw the Communists would remedy

the evil. These fools delude themselves with the belief that they could thus destroy the Communists and themselves escape destruction. The Communist Party is a necessary instrument of the proletariat in its class struggle, and the Communist idea is alive in the souls of hundreds of thousands of human beings. Fresh persecutions of the Communists in Czecho-Slovakia would not lead to the destruction of Communism, but, on the contrary, to a strengthening of the general opposition and of revolutionary consciousness and finally, to an even greater insecurity of the situation. As our Communist Party is the only party of progress and opposition against the regime in power, any possible misery and martyrdom it would undergo would arouse sympathies even amongst those who are not Communists. Czecho-Slovakia, being a highly industrialized country, is not like Yugoslavia or Esthonia. A fresh attack on the Communist Party would simultaneously be an attack on the whole proletariat and would, as such, provoke extraordinary resistance. Only a fool can believe that Communist labor, deprived of its organization, would join the Social-Democrats. We think that labor would rather negotiate with death itself than with the treacherous Social-Democratic leaders.

So far the rumor of a dissolution of the Communist Party has remained a rumor. The Party must, however, be prepared for all eventualities. The fear of early death of the Social-Democratic phrase-mongers and the terror of the bourgeoisie before the impending catastrophe might prompt them to do anything. They will stop at nothing to paralyze the Communist opposition or altogether rid themselves of it, because they consider it far more dangerous to their interests than the strongest national irredenta. The strangulation is to be a remedy for the crisis of the capitalist state, caused by the bourgeoisie through its class policy and not by labor. There are to be no elections before the number of Communists has been materially reduced.

But even if there are no Communists in Parliament, there will always be Communists in the factories, on the fields, in the offices and in the army. And that is the only thing that matters! The crisis of the bourgeois state is not to be remedied by these means; they will merely prolong the agony. The Czecho-Slovakian Republic of the workers will become an accomplished fact; the Communist Party will live and attain victory!

Pilsudski's Victory and the Defeat of Democracy

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

Korfanty has withdrawn; Pilsudski has finally won his victory. The decision was arrived at when the small Constitutional Club, which is composed of West Galician bourgeois and landlords, and which, with its 16 votes, is the straw on the scale between 200 Right and 200 Left deputies, fell under the threat of Pilsudski's resignation, and drew after it two other small fractions of the Right Centre. The new premier, Professor Novak, is indeed a nonentity, from a political standpoint, but his cabinet is composed of the same ministers that formed the cabinet of Sliwinski. Above all, Pilsudski has gotten rid of the two ministers he hated most, Skirmunt and Michalski, who were also in Korfanty's Cabinet. Skirmunt urged an understanding with Soviet Russia, while Michalski, as minister of finance, opposed every increase in military credits. Now, these two "disturbers" have been turned out in the name of democracy.

Pilsudski's victory has cost the country much. The governmental crisis lasted not less than two months. In that period, the Polish mark has fallen to two-thirds of its value; the dollar has climbed in value from 4000 to 6000 Polish marks. What matters it? Democracy has conquered. So claim, at any rate the "Labor Parties" of the Polish *Sejm*, the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and the National Labor Party (N.P.R.).

These remarkable "workers' representatives," are quite seriously convinced that their struggle to obtain unlimited and irresponsible power for the sabre-rattling hero, Pilsudski, was really a fight against reaction. And they are beside themselves with joy, because, in a terrorized Parliament, the will of the majority is trodden underfoot, because it has been shown once more that the decisive power of the land is in the hands of the Belvederian pretorians (Pretorian legions). If the workers dared to render the *Sejm* powerless in this manner, and send the Democrats to the devil, these same famous "Workers' Parties" would yell massacre against the Bolsheviks and Anarchists. But—a leader of warriors, who won his knightly spurs upon the speedy march from Kiev back to Warsaw,—that is another matter!

In this struggle to present monarchical power to their militarist taskmaster, the P.P.S. has not yet noticed how a nice piece of democracy has been stolen from under their noses. The *Peasants' Party*, under the leadership of Vitos, which in its own class interests, has supported Pilsudski against the town bourgeoisie and the nobility, exhausted its brotherhood with the Left, in order to ally itself with the Right on the suffrage question.

The fruit of this illegitimate union is a suffrage act which, under the cloak of universality, equality and proportional representation, is really a partisan law against the national and social minorities. To be sure, the social patriots can evade the consequences of many of these exceptional laws. If, for instance, the electoral zones and the mandates are so distributed that the national election will be prejudiced, and especially if the Jews, through a series of manoeuvres, are reduced to a complete lack of influence, then will the social patriots (whose enthusiasm for national equalization is limited to words only) rejoice that these partisan enactments were passed against their votes. The same applies, with still greater force, to those measures which are directed against the Communist Party. In this case too, the P.P.S. has contented itself with loud protests. It was different with those portions of the electoral law which are directed against the P.P.S. and particularly against the smaller parties. Here the P.P.S. defended its own skin most energetically; if only its attention had not been most unfortunately diverted by the recent struggle for power.

United in this struggle with the Peasants' Party, which was particularly interested in the formation of a government satisfactory to Pilsudski, the P.P.S. made no attempt to secure, in return for its support, concrete concessions with regard to the suffrage law. On the contrary, it felt itself so strongly bound to Pilsudski that it accorded all favors to its adroitly bargaining allies, just to hold them. So that when the suffrage question came up, Vitos' party, was able to let the P.P.S. gently drop, without fear of resistance.

This suffrage act, brought into being by the Right and the Peasants' Party, is simply destructive for the small and scattered parties. This applies particularly to the "Labor Parties" which at present find themselves in a very unfavorable position in Poland. Their voters are in the cities, and the cities are, for the most part, now joined to large country electoral districts, so that, in the proportional vote, the purely urban parties do not even obtain a mandate. The P.P.S. saw only two methods of remedying this awkward situation: 1) the most practicable enlargement of the number of mandatory voters in city districts; and (2) the introduction of a national voters' list for the full utilization of all votes.

The Peasants' Party, not wishing to endanger the Pilsudski bloc, appeared to be quite conciliatory, and prepared to consider the wishes of the P.P.S. and the smaller parties. It played out this comedy step by step. At the first reading of the bill, it voted for the national list and for increasing the number of mandatory votes. At the second reading, it switched about and declared together with the Right parties, that the mandates on the national list should be distributed, not from the remaining unused votes on the list, but from the total count of the votes of each party, that is, from the votes already used. When the "Labor Parties" loudly cried treachery and reaction, the Peasants' Party confidently declared itself ready to vote the necessary increased number of mandatory votes to the P.P.S. and N.P.R. and thus appeased the wrath of the people.

At the third reading the Peasants' Party dropped all pretenses. It refused the increase in mandatory votes, and voted for the proposal of the Right, under which the mandates would be distributed from the national list according to the count of the already gained mandates in the local electoral areas. Therefore, instead of bettering the unjust distribution of electoral areas and mandates, the national list doubles the injustice. This cheap trick quite discomposed the "Labor Parties" and the small Left peasant groups. They started obstructive tactics. But the wily Vitos also knew how to weather this storm. He arranged another conference, and proposed to the obstructionists to yield them four mandates in urban districts. The social patriots once again let themselves be led by the nose, and allowed the division to take place. But when the matter came up in the Sejm, it was found that not less than 30 of Vitos' followers were absent. The motion was lost.

The above sad history teaches us only that the heads of the Peasants' Party are better political hucksters than the social patriots. It also shows that the Mensheviks of all countries, even from the point of view of formal parliamentary democracy, do pretty bad business when they are up against the bourgeois and militarist "democrats".

The Polish social patriots are beginning to realize that they have travelled a bad road, with their support of "democratic" Bonapartism. It is to be hoped that the Sejm elections will show them this still more drastically. And the Polish workers, to whom this "democratic victory" will bring a reactionary Sejm, will again be in a position to be convinced that their own democracy, proletarian democracy, can only be won through real proletarian action.

In the R. I. L. U.

Resolution on the Trade Union Movement in France

Adopted at the meeting of the R.I.L.U. Executive, July 26th, 1922.

The Executive takes cognizance of Comrade Lozovsky's report on the situation in the French trade union movement. It approves fully Comrade Lozovsky's attitude at the St. Etienne Congress, and resolves:

1. The Executive sends its fraternal greetings to the *Confédération Unitaire du Travail* and to the revolutionary French proletariat, and is glad to see that they have succeeded in St. Etienne to rise above dead dogmas and have joined the active body of the Revolution.

2. It demands that Comrade Monmousseau, or some other member of the Executive Committee of the *Confédération Unitaire du Travail* appointed for that purpose, report at the 2nd Congress of the R.I.L.U. on the question of the mutual relations of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

3. The Executive Committee of the C.U.T. is requested to send on time all resolutions and proposals relating to the questions before the Congress.

4. The Executive of the R.I.L.U. is convinced that the Second Congress of Revolutionary Labor Unions will approve the attitude of the Executive and of the Central Committees towards the syndicalist organizations. In general, this attitude is to attempt to draw to the R.I.L.U. all revolutionary workers' organizations; and the Executive therefore repeatedly declared that the relations between syndicalist labor unions and the Socialist parties of a country with a syndicalist movement, must be arranged nationally between the parties concerned.

On the question regarding the reciprocal representation of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, the Executive will give all possibilities to the various parties to present their point of view at the 2nd Congress. The decision will be reached by the 2nd Congress after a thorough discussion of the question.

5. The Executive addresses an urgent appeal to organizations, like that of the construction workers, which maintain an inimical attitude towards the R.I.L.U. and adhere to the Committee for the Defense of Syndicalism. It urges them to preserve the unity of the Labor Federation, and not to let themselves be misled by demagogues working in the interests of the bourgeoisie and trying to create a conflict within the ranks of the revolutionary workers of France at the same time rousing them against the revolutionary workers of Russia and other countries. The Executive appeals to the French workers to join the R.I.L.U. which is ready to receive them with open arms.

We are convinced that the sooner our syndicalist friends give up their fruitless theoretical discussions of the action necessary after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and proceed with the practical struggle against the bourgeoisie, the sooner will all apparent differences disappear.

They will become convinced that there is not a single paragraph or a single line in the resolutions or in the statutes of the Profintern which will prevent them from accomplishing the purpose of the resolution in the way, which they, the French syndicalists, think best fitted to that end.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The New Economic Policy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

By Karl Radek.

The Conference of the C.P.R. which met a few days ago will, without doubt, devote a great part of its time to the report of Comrade Zinoviev, dealing with "the new methods of organization employed by the forces and elements hostile to Soviet Russia". This long title is but a roundabout way of defining the attitude of the proletarian dictatorship towards the political effects of the new economic policy today,—the most important problem before the C.P.R.

The Mensheviks of all shades (from Martov and Dan to Paul Levi) stoutly maintained that, once the economic structure

at home and the situation abroad had compelled the Soviet Power to grant the bourgeoisie economic concessions, political concessions, would, according to all the rules of Marxism, follow in due course. The S.R.'s demand as a matter of course that the Constituent Assembly be convened. The Mensheviks are somewhat more modest; for the time being they do not mention the Assembly but would be satisfied with freedom of movement for the so-called labor parties, meaning the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, in order to enable these "democratic parties" to prepare the road for the advent of a democratic regime, meaning the dictatorship of capitalism. When taking the first step towards the new economic policy, the Communist Party of Russia told these intellectual "diehards" in so many words: my dears, things will never get that far. Existence determines consciousness and economics determine politics. But there are a number of intermediary links between existence and consciousness. The economic basis creates for itself a superstructure corresponding to it. There is no saying, however, when it will do so. In many countries the economic basis of capitalism existed underneath a feudalist superstructure. And even if the new economic policy in Russia were to bring forth a purely capitalist economic basis, that does not mean that this basis would within a short time produce a bourgeois political superstructure. It merely follows that a struggle will ensue between the capitalist economic basis upon which the bourgeoisie rests, and the political regime of the working-class. The outcome of this struggle depends on the development of the international political situation within the next few decades. The question is whether the bourgeoisie will prove victorious in Europe (and thus help the Russian bourgeoisie to attain a victory also) or whether the proletariat will gain the upper hand and thus assist the Russian working-class to build up its economy on a Socialist basis.

The question could be formulated in this way, even if the new economic policy would be merely a restoration of capitalism. But it is not! The free trade inaugurated by the new economic policy will facilitate the development of Russian agriculture, the basis of all industrial evolution. In the large scale industry the new economic policy does not restore the principle of private ownership of the means of production; it merely leases these means, and only in certain branches of industry. The most important branches of industry must remain in the hands of the proletarian state. From this it follows again, that the economic basis of Socialism is being strengthened simultaneously with the restoration of the bourgeoisie. This tends to heighten the prospects of the proletariat to maintain its power, even if the victory of the world proletariat fails to materialize soon. It is just this policy which will produce the preliminary conditions for the real establishment of Socialism in the future. It goes without saying that programmatic declarations of party conferences avail nothing in this struggle, which must be fought to the end by the Soviet Government on the one side, and both Russian and foreign capital on the other. Victory will be ours in this battle, if we understand to defend ourselves against the attempts of foreign capital to compel Soviet Russia to restore capitalism and extort from it a gigantic tribute. Victory, I say, will be ours, if we understand, not in words only, but in deeds as well, to adopt commercial methods; if we can successfully compete with private industry in the struggle for raw material. To repeat: the Marxian principle that politics are determined by economics, far from demanding that the C.P., having inaugurated the new economic policy should renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat, brings home the fact that that dictatorship with the C.P. at its helm must, as heretofore, remain a weapon in the struggle for Socialism.

During the period of intervention and open civil war, when the bourgeoisie bore arms against us, we were compelled not only to suppress it, but to crush it. In order to do this, we had to dismember it economically and destroy its whole economic apparatus, even if we could have used it for our own economic ends. Every store where a bourgeois could have received visitors or could have gotten into communication with his fellow-bourgeois over the telephone, would have provided a stronghold for plotting white guards of all shades and creeds. And although this danger is not yet quite past, it has been considerably minimized. In the period of civil war, and intervention, the whole country was a source of supply for the front; its condition determined the fate of our army. Counter-revolutionary conspiracies are possible (and dangerous) even today, but they could never inflict upon us irreparable losses. Today it is only a question of the bourgeoisie trying to use the economic position it has gained, for gradual political organizations. It follows that we must prevent the bourgeoisie from organizing its forces on the political field, in the same ratio as we give it some breath on the economic field. Under no circumstances, however, must we interfere with the process of economic reconstruction, although that process at times assumes capitalist forms. While in 1919, the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents was quite simple and could be carried on by the Tcheka, it now con-

fronts us with very complicated tasks. The economic process in the country necessitates expert administration which the Communists alone are not capable of providing. For this reason, the publication of non-communist literature, if only dealing with economic matters, must be licensed. There can, however, be no doubt that in the course of development the bourgeoisie will try to concentrate all its ideological forces on that field and establish capitalist propaganda organs with 5 columns of bourgeois political propaganda to every column of abstract and scientific matter. This will be done not only by the Mensheviks in the trade unions, the S.R.'s and the Cadets in the cooperatives, but even by the dyed-in-the-wool Octobrists, in our trusts and other economic institutions. A perusal of the numerous non-Communist organs published lately is rather interesting. All of them carry the announcements of our trusts and of the government bank, thus bearing witness to the methods by which the bourgeois experts in our economic institutions attempt to give material assistance to the various ideological and political groups. Intelligence, quick perception and a sound sense of judgment constitute the necessary experience of the proletarians carrying on the struggle against all these new features. There should be no hasty interference, no wholesale prohibitions. That which is useful must be supported, and that which is harmful, eliminated. Apart from these tasks of the juridical executive or of the state political administration, the former Tcheka, we must launch a vigorous ideological campaign against the new concrete aspects of the bourgeois ideology. As we must compete with private capital in the economic field, we are compelled to compete with it in the ideological domain as well, and not merely rely on the possibility of prohibiting these features. That is just the point; we cannot prohibit everything.

It is to the credit of Comrade Zimoviev that he drew the attention of the Party to these problems which render fresh efforts essential. No time should be lost in concentrating large forces on the new ideological front and in training new intellectual forces for the forthcoming struggles. It will, no doubt, be difficult, and necessitate tremendous efforts, but it will be worth our while, tending as it does to steel the frame of the Party and harden its intellectual forces. *The struggle must be fought on the offensive from the very beginning.* Everything that has so far been done in this direction was to point out the danger and even retreat before it. We must organize our intellectual forces and provide scientific literature together with corresponding militant organs.

This ideological offensive is quite feasible, because even if we were compelled in Russia to call a temporary economic retreat (thus providing our antagonists with occasion to babble about the failure of Communism) the fact remains that, on an international scale, the bourgeoisie is nearing its complete economic and ideological collapse.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Social-Revolutionary Thieves and Menshevik Receivers

By Karl Radek.

Moscow, August 10.

On August 2nd, the *Rote Fahne* made public the principal material derived from the documents seized by the Soviet Government from Kerensky. This material proved that the Social Revolutionary Party had been, during the whole of 1921, in the service of the French and Czecho-Slovakian governments, and with their help, had conducted espionage in Russia and plotted armed uprisings. The *Foreign Delegation of the Social Revolutionary Party* answered this charge in the *Freiheit* of August 4th, with an explanation which shows just how far the shamelessness of these spies of the Entente has gone. The *Foreign Delegation* declares that the *Administrative Centre* whose archives were confiscated by the Soviet Government, *has no connection whatever with the Social Revolutionary Party, and that therefore the Party has no responsibility for its actions. This then, is the explanation of the Foreign Delegation of the S.R. Party, among whom we find the citizens Zenzinov and Tchernov.*

We ask Citizen Zenzinov the following: Have you taken part in the counsels of the Administrative Center, and have you been its agent and carried on negotiations with Benesh in its name? Yes or not? Zenzinov's signature, appearing on the letter dealing with his parley with Benesh, on the matter of financial support from the Czecho-Slovakian government, has been declared genuine by Gotz. The photograph of this letter is found in the officially published documentary collection entitled, *The Work of the S.R.'s Abroad*. The Foreign Delegation, which was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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