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International Propaganda Week

May 1st

The Communist International — To the workers of all countries!

A mighty demonstration of proletarian unity, the expression of the growing class-consciousness of the working class, a declaration of war upon bourgeois society: this is what the creators of the May celebration intended it to be. And it was that originally. In the year 1890 the bourgeoisie awaited the 1st of May with lamentations and gnashing of teeth as if in expectation of judgement day. But today, in the countries where reformism is highly developed, the bourgeoisie merely smiles condescendingly and maliciously at the May demonstration. For the reformists have done their utmost to convert the 1st of May into a bourgeois holiday, to degrade the May celebration to a kind of fair. Every class-conscious worker must protest against this defilement of the workers' holiday. The celebration of the 1st of May must be a clear expression of the will to unity which at present dominates every stratum of the proletariat; of the reawakening will to fight, even in the countries of the White Terror, in Hungary, in Italy, in Yugoslavia.

This yearning for unity will soon be realized. The capitalists of all countries are taking care of this though much against their will. The bourgeoisie cannot restore the old "normal" conditions of pre-war capitalism. Hence it is making a desperate effort to create a stronger and more powerful capitalism. With commanding gestures it declares: Peace! Work! But its actual deeds work senseless destruction. It organizes war and civil war. A new millennium of capitalism is to arise, and this is to be accomplished by transforming the proletariat into a class of helots, a herd of working cattle. The capitalist offensive seeks to reduce the workers' standard of living to a far lower level than that of pre-war times.

The reformist parties, in open and in masked-coalitions, have done their best to facilitate the attainment of the despicable aims of the bourgeoisie. But they have proved too weak. So the bourgeoisie drops them and stakes its all on Fascism. Fascism merely signifies the continuation of the social patriotic policy with other, sharper means. That which the social demo-

cratic leaders tried in vain to press out of the workers, by every art of deceitful persuasion, is now to be forced from them by violence—by the subjugation of the working class to working and living conditions unparalleled in the history of capitalism. Fascism—that is, the final capitalist offensive against the proletariat—reveals the real countenance of bourgeois democracy to the workers for the first time, that democracy from which the reformists expect all salvation, for they feel themselves too weak—as Mr. Edo Fimmen, chief of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, recently admitted—to fight for their salvation themselves. The whole working class, to the last worker, must be called upon to take part in the struggle against Fascism.

The united front of the exploiters must be confronted with the united front of the proletariat!

When the communists first issued the slogan of the united front, the great mass of non-communist workers adopted a waiting attitude. To-day, the will to unity, the readiness to fight, is awakening everywhere in the proletariat. May the spokesmen of reformism continue to preach a policy of tranquility, of civil peace, of coalition; they are no longer able to smother the will to the united front in the proletariat, their followers no longer follow them tamely, their word is no longer law for the movement of the masses. The wage movements, the strikes, the demonstrations in the Saar area, in Belgium, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Horthy-Hungary, and in other countries, show that ever-broader strata of the proletariat are taking up independent action. The united front will become a fact, but this will not be due to the insight of the opportunist leaders, but to the infallible instinct of the masses.

The workers are refusing to believe any longer that they are best off when they live "in peace" with the bourgeoisie. The policy of civil peace has brought nothing but lower wages, higher prices, longer working hours, part-time work, unemployment, degradation, oppression. To this the ever increasing war danger must now be added. To be sure, the bourgeoisie and

peace. Not from motives of humanity or of naive pacifism, but from the greatest motive of all, profit making. But it cannot make peace. It made the attempt at Versailles; and since then it has been tinkering about on its peace structure, full of care and anxiety, but all in vain, so that it now finds itself obliged to speak of the "remains of the Versailles peace" and to console itself by regarding this peace as an event of historical significance. The antagonisms already existing between the imperialist powers are becoming more and more acute every day. War has become the normal condition of bourgeois society, as the recent events in the Ruhr area again exemplify. The proletariat alone can give permanent peace to the world; a proletariat which is fully conscious of its task, and is determinedly ready to fight and sacrifice.

The struggle against Fascism and war, and for the united front, signifies at the same time support for Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia is a thorn in the flesh of bourgeois society; it is fully aware that the mere existence of the Bolshevik state implies the constant threat of a world revolution, and therefore it hates this state as intensely as it loved counter-revolutionary Tzarist Russia. Hence it reviles, slanders, and persecutes Soviet Russia. And therefore it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to throw themselves unreservedly on the side of Soviet Russia. United with their Russian brothers, they will overthrow capitalism.

Workers, demonstrate against Fascism on the 1st of May, against the danger of war — for the united front of the proletariat, for Soviet Russia!

The world revolution is approaching—despite everything. The fury of Fascism, the predatory invasion of the Ruhr, the cynical treachery of the Second International—all this will not save the bourgeoisie.

Long live the world revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live communism!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The new phase of the French Communist Party

By L. Trotzky.

Imperialist France is to-day the ruling power on the European continent. This circumstance alone imparts immense importance to the French proletariat and its party. European revolution will be decisively and unalterably victorious only after it has mastered France. The victory of the proletariat on the European continent will almost automatically seal the fate of English capital. And finally revolutionary Europe, strengthened by the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa, who will immediately add their forces to those of Europe, will be in a position to speak many a convincing word to the capitalist oligarchy of America. Thus the French working class is in possession of the master-key to the European situation, and to a great extent to the world situation.

The Communist International has a very high estimate of the historical role of the French Party, and has therefore followed its internal affairs with the closest attention. In the course of its history, the French working class has been far more often deceived than any other proletariat. For this reason the French Communist Party must be the more strict and severe with itself. Great success has recently been attained in this respect, success which may in a certain sense be designated as decisive.

During the last two years of inner fractional struggles, of secessions and expulsions, the French proletariat cut its real revolutionary teeth, and with these teeth it will have to bite through the iron of a mighty military state. The successes won along these lines, and at present still preparatory, are in a sense expressed in Frossard's secession from the French Communist Party, and in the admittance of Monatte and Barbusse.

Frossard, formerly general secretary of the Party, and to a certain extent at least, the inspirer of its official policy, headed that wing of its parliamentary past which made the attempt to adapt itself to the determined turn to the left made by the proletarian vanguard. Frossard possesses a certain mental mobility and elasticity, inventiveness and eloquence—valuable characteristics, and useful to everyone, including revolutionists, but of self-sufficient significance for the parliamentary politician—and engaged in all seriousness that with the aid of

these assets he would be able to steer till the end of time between the Communist International and its enemies, that he would be able to assume all the authority of communism in his relations to the workers, and at the same time warn the working class against the "exaggerations" of Moscow. But when Frossard opposed his diplomatic improvisations—masterpieces of ambiguity and subtlety—to the straight line of Communist International principles, he was bound to stray from the path at the first step. The attitude adopted by this man can best be characterized by the fact that a few hours before his secession he did not himself know whether he would travel to Moscow, in order to participate in the leadership of the Communist International as a member of the Executive, or whether he would go over into the camp of the enemies of the Communist International.

But Frossard's individual peculiarities must not blind us to the typical in his whole mentality and action. In Italy we had to undergo the much discussed conflict with comrade Serrati, who placed himself and his fraction outside of the Communist International for a long time. The extraordinarily stormy character of Italy's political development forced the Maximalist fraction, with its leaders, back to the side of the Communist International. We trust that the union will be successful, and more permanent than before. In Germany we had the classic episode of Paul Levi, who, beginning by raising protest against the undoubtedly faulty tactics pursued by the German CP. in March 1921, proved within a few weeks, that he had only been on the lookout for a suitable pretext for crossing over into the camp of the enemies of proletarian revolution. We have experienced similar phenomena, in a less clear and complete form, in the Czechoslovakian, Norwegian, and other Parties.

At first glance it is particularly astonishing to note that in all these conflicts the seceders or vacillators are headed by the most eminent "leaders", that is, by such persons who have stood at least externally as leaders of the movement "for Moscow" and "for the Third International". Until September 1919, Serrati was the incontestable leader of the Italian party. Paul Levi was the chairman of the German CP.; his imitator Friesland was general secretary of the same party; Frossard was the general secretary of the French party, and so forth. This repetition shows that it is not accident which rules here, but law. And the explanation of this law is after all not so very difficult. In countries with a highly developed capitalism, possessing old social democratic traditions, even the formation of a Communist Party signifies a rupture with a wide stratum of reformist, nationalist, and parliamentary traditions of the past. But the upper stratum of socialists, with great names, great authority, etc., clung fast to the past with their deepest roots. Even those social democrats who in pre-war times, or during the war, belonged to the extreme left of the party, and were therefore in opposition to the official course of the party, were in their overwhelming majority political prisoners of social democracy, and their opposition to the Scheidemann and Renaudel tendency was merely that of speakers and writers, formal, literary, but not of a revolutionary and active character.

After the war, an irresistible movement towards the left began among the masses, a tendency to settle accounts with the bourgeoisie; and then the social democratic opposition believed that its day had come, that the masses intended to justify its criticism and follow its instructions. The position and policy of these gentlemen of the opposition remind us strongly of the position and policy of the moderate liberals in times of revolution: The liberals have always regarded the first awakening of the people as a proof of their own power, of the correctness of their policy. But by the second day they observe with horror that the masses, at least their revolutionary section, do not make any fine differentiations between the lords of yesterday and those who formed the moderate opposition to these lords. At this point the liberals throw themselves into the arms of reaction.

The fact that it was possible for the undecided leaders of the social democratic opposition to place themselves at the head of the Communist Party is explained by the circumstance that the really revolutionary section of the working class was unable, for a period of some months, to find and train new leaders. And it must be admitted as a fact that during its first years the Communist International had many sections headed by leaders who were either revolutionary, but insufficiently experienced and inadequately tenacious, or who were merely semi-revolutionary and eternally vacillating, but yet possessed considerable authority and political aptitude. This has been, and is still today—although in this respect there is a very great improvement—the source of the internal difficulties, strife, and conflicts within the Communist International. The semi-centrist leaders have always had the greatest fear of forfeiting legality decorated with formal radicalism. Hence they created the screen of "national autonomy", which they placed between themselves

and the revolutionary formulation of political questions, between them and the methods involving actual preparations for a rising of the proletariat.

But the affinities between the policies of Levi, Frossard, and others of their views, demonstrates that we are not confronted here by peculiarities inherent in any national situation—these must naturally be accorded the most careful consideration—but by a completely international tendency in the spirit of *left centrism*, which is prepared to adopt the external ritual of the Communist International, to swallow 21 and more conditions without a grimace, but all on the sole condition that everything go on exactly as before. Frossard is the perfect representative of this type. That he and his followers have left the Party is therefore a most significant sign of the creation of a really revolutionary French proletarian party.

Although Frossard himself, as we have seen, is by no means a unique national phenomenon, still, the reasons that enabled him to deceive himself and others for so long, are none the less to be found in the peculiarities of the French political situation. Victorious France was able to pass through the critical post-war years without any great political upheaval, and differed in this from vanquished Germany, and even from half-vanquished Italy. And although the fundamental tendencies leading the country to a revolutionary catastrophe were the same in France as in Germany or Italy, they have been much less acutely expressed in France, much milder and veiled in form. The formation of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard has for this reason been correspondingly slow in France, at any rate, until a few months ago. For a time it seemed as if the old socialist party was gradually developing along communist lines, after throwing all openly reformistic ballast overboard at Tours. But in reality there were many at Tours who held the opinions of Renaudel and Longuet, and parted from these with "heavy hearts", hoping by this sacrifice to purchase the right of holding a leading position in the Communist Party, which would then refrain, out of gratitude, from interfering with their old habits. In consequence of the slowness and conservatism of political life in France since the war, even the left wing of the Party, as represented by the Committee of the Third International within the Socialist Party, was distinguished by political insecurity and heterogeneity, and it was precisely this fact—which was not sufficiently clear to all comrades—that restrained the International for a time from taking energetic steps against the policy of Frossard and Co.

As early as 1921, and during the first half of 1922, this group furnished cause enough for a direct rupture. But at that time such a rupture would have been incomprehensible to many party comrades, the schism would have taken place along a somewhat accidental line, and the International would have found in the left fraction an extremely variegated group, requiring much internal purging. The first necessity was to give the left elements the possibility of clearly grasping their tasks, of becoming firmly consolidated ideologically, and of gathering the best part of the Party around them; it was not until this ideological and educational preparatory work had been accomplished that the International could proceed on a large scale to energetic organizational and "surgical" measures. The left wing was faced with severe political tests before it had the opportunity of preparing itself for them. In Italy the moment of schism in the Socialist Party was not determined by any tactical considerations, but by the ghastly capitulation of the leading elements of the party during the events of September 1919. In France the moment of schism, of rupture with the left centrists, depended to a large extent on the Communist International. But in any case there were some comrades, above all in the French party itself, who endeavored to hasten events, in the opinion that the tactics pursued by the Executive in the French question were too indeterminate, altogether too patient, even erroneous. Without considering whether necessary steps were omitted in questions of detail or not (probably they were), the phase of French party life now concluded permits us to maintain with the fullest conviction that the tactics of the Executive have been fundamentally correct, not only with regard to methods, but also with regard to tempo, which has corresponded to the inner rhythm of development in the proletarian vanguard of France. It is thanks to just this complete harmony, that our French Party, after a severe and profound crisis, and after the expulsion of essentially foreign elements, has been able to retain the overwhelming majority of its members, the whole Party apparatus, and the central organ ("Humanité"), — which is of incomparably greater importance in France than in any other country. It must be remarked that the French Party and the International have to thank comrade Cachin for much in this respect. There have been misunderstandings between him and the International, but in the decisive

moment he took up his post unfalteringly in the revolutionary camp.

The surgical operation undertaken by the fourth congress was a very severe one, and appeared to many comrades to be altogether too risky; it was a question of a final and irrevocable simultaneous rupture between the Party and bourgeois public opinion and its most equivocal institutions: Free-masonry, the League of Human Rights, the radical press, etc. When all these surgical operations were approaching their successful end, the still vacillating Frossard looked about him, and saw that he had nothing in common with this party. And the same door, which served as a means of exit for Frossard, for the free-masons and human righters, has also been the door through which two others have entered the Party: Monatte and Barbusse.

Monatte's admittance is as far from a mere personal episode, as Frossard's exit. During and after the war Monatte represented the traditions of revolutionary syndicalism in its prime, and stood for them more clearly and irrevocably than anyone else: Mistrust of "politics" and "party" formed the most important part of these traditions. This mistrust had an adequate historical basis. During all these years Monatte was the sincere friend of the Russian Revolution, and never vacillated, even at the most critical moments.

But he maintained an attitude of extreme distrust towards the French Communist Party, and remained outside of it. It was only when the Party proved by actual deeds that it does not shrink from the severest measures, if these are required to secure its proletarian membership and its revolutionary character, that Monatte applied for admission into the Party. This was more than a personal "gesture". It means that the Party has broken down the wall of distrust which separated it from a large section of revolutionary workers. It is highly probable that there will still be internal strife among the various elements composing the Party, but from now onwards the genuinely proletarian character of the Party is secured, and with it, its revolutionary future.

Barbusse's entry bears a more individual character. Barbusse does not stand for any revolutionary traditions of pre-war times. Barbusse is the most perfect embodiment of the indignant conscience of the war generation. As president of the *Revolutionary Union of War Veterans*, Barbusse kept up his independence from the Communist Party until recently, and thus mirrored the profoundly revolutionary but unexpressed indignation existing among the masses of workers and peasants of the post-war period. As soon as political relations had cleared up, and the declaimers of pacifism and the dilettantes of revolution had returned to their old bourgeois camps, Barbusse appeared at the door of the Party, and cried: "Here I am!". By this he proves that there is no other spiritual outlet for all that is left of thought, sincerity, and indignation, in the war generation, than the Communist Party. Beneath the lyrical reticence of his letter to the "Humanité" the genuine revolutionary passion may be felt. We congratulate the French Party upon this conquest!

Scarcely had Frossard and his followers crossed the threshold, when the events connected with the Ruhr occupation put the Party to severe political tests. And the Party proved that now, freed from elements essentially strange to it, it is greater and stronger than ever before. The repressions which it has had to endure have only served to render its moral unity the firmer.

Naturally the greatest difficulties are still ahead. But there is one thing which we can say with the fullest conviction: *In France a real Communist Party is living and breathing, fighting and growing.*

Extraordinary party conference of the Czech C. P.

During the Easter holidays an extraordinary party conference of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party was held, in Prague, attended by over one thousand delegates. This conference had set itself the task of resolving on the attitude to be adopted towards the law for the protection of the republic, and of laying down the general lines for the future work of the Party. We give the following extracts from the manifesto issued by the Party Conference to the working people of every nationality within the Czechoslovakian republic:

"On every side violent attacks are being made by capitalism and the bourgeoisie on the positions won by the working class at the moment of its greatest power, — at the end of the great war. The so-called Security Law represents the culmination of this uninterrupted offensive against the proletarian masses. The working class, already socially enslaved, is now to be gradually enslaved as well. Every right of free speech

holding meetings, is to be abolished, and the whole state apparatus is to be placed at the service of this regime of persecution.

Openly, before all the workers of the republic, we accuse the representatives of the two Czech socialist parties of having placed themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie. It is solely due to their support that it has been possible for this anti-labor and anti-socialist law to come into force. But the government socialists should take care to fall into no error! This law for the "protection of the republic" is not directed against communists only, but against all workers regardless of party, and against all principles of freedom of thought and of progress, for in the end, the ruling class makes no differentiations between proletarians who are offering resistance to the rule of capital. It persecutes them all alike, with the same cruelty. It is only the betrayers of class war who meet with pardon and protection.

We protest against this law for "the protection of the republic". We will continue to pursue the same course of action as heretofore; we will continue our efforts to arouse the proletariat to class consciousness, to enlighten it as to its revolutionary mission, to lead its daily struggles, and to prepare and organize it for the decisive battle against capitalism. In all this we shall decide on our own tactics; we shall not permit ourselves to be provoked, or to be lured into those paths where the money-bag government of this state would be so glad to see us.

If the republic is in danger, this danger does not come from our side, not from the Left. No, it is the bourgeois elements, the exploiters of the working people, the speculators, usurers, and bank magnates, who are thrusting the republic to the brink of the abyss. The CP. will use every means to prevent the destruction of the republic by these elements, and will prove a competent protector.

Workers and small-holders, regardless of political tendencies! The bourgeoisie is threatening us all! It not only deprives us of bread, it is already beginning to undermine the revolutionary foundation on which the Czecho-Slovakian republic is built. The situation is one of unusual gravity, and we appeal to you all, workers of town and country: Unite! Create the proletarian united front for defence and attack! Workers of all parties and all nationalities, stretch out hands to one another! If you are united, reaction will beat its wings in vain against your resistance.

Away with the rule of that coalition which plunges the masses of the workers into misery, and endangers the life of the republic. Oppose this coalition with the bourgeoisie by the demand for the union of the labor parties of every nationality, and by the demand for a workers' government! This workers' government will write on its waving banner the demand of the whole working class for a socialist republic!

The Workers' Party of America

By Israel Amter.

The history of the revolutionary movement of America is a story of inner conflicts, of persecution by the Government and constant struggles to gain contact with the working class and organize it for the fight against the capitalist class and for control of State power.

When, in December 1921, the Workers' Party was formed out of the Communists who withdrew or were expelled from the Socialist Party in 1919, and other Left elements that remained in the S.P. for a longer period, the Communists eagerly entered the Workers' Party, using it as an instrument to carry out the instructions of the Communist International to penetrate the masses.

The Communists lacked experience in this kind of work. What they had learned in the Socialist Party and the I.W.W. did not avail them much. Here was a party whose function was not merely to propagate a new idea and carry on an election campaign to secure the election of Socialist candidates, but a party that was to enter into the daily struggles of the workers. A party that regarded the trade unions as among the most powerful weapons that the workers possess and therefore as organizations that they, as Communists, must enter and seek to revolutionize.

But a year of experience has taught the Workers' Party how to manoeuvre in the unions, how to conduct Communist work in the multifarious organizations of every description that exist in America, owing to the composition of the population. The many nationalities in the United States have created their social clubs, sick and death benefit organizations, cooperatives, singing societies etc., which are the centers of life among these nationalities. These organizations have grown into tremendous bodies, exercising great influence. The Communists have conducted their work within these organizations with splendid results, as may be noted in the relief work for Soviet Russia, for the defense of the W.P. members arrested in the Michigan raid in August.

This work has been done despite the reaction that reigned in the country. But this reaction affected not only the Communists and the militants in the trade unions. The conservative workers have felt the arm of the law, the club of the policeman and the revolver of the private guard. The vicious attack on the working class of America through the Daugherty injunction opened the eyes even of Samuel Gompers, who declared that the railroad kings did not need an attorney, for the "Attorney General of the United States is acting as their attorney". This also demonstrated to the workers that their open and bitterest enemy is the capitalist government. The result was open opposition to the administration, and the defeat of the Republican Party at the last elections.

True, this was not a conscious revolt against the capitalist system. The workers of America are still far from class-consciousness. Despite his intemperate attacks on the government and his denunciation of the capitalist regime, Samuel Gompers was able to return to his general eulogy of things as they are, and to the usual appeal for harmony between labor and capital, without the workers recognizing the treachery of his ways.

But a growing instinctive solidarity of the workers, brought the Communists close to the trade union movement. The Communists pointed out the reasons why they, the Communists, had been and were being attacked, and that the militant workers were being attacked for the same reason—for conducting a fight against the greedy capitalists. The result has been greater sympathy between the Communists and rank and file of the labor movement.

The last convention of the Workers' Party served to settle two questions: the conflict within the Party, and the determination of the work among the masses. In view of the agenda that the Executive Committee presented to the Convention, it was realized that the Workers' Party was to become the leader in most of the revolutionary work that a Communist Party has to perform. It was seen that it was only a question of time and circumstance as to when the Workers' Party would be the sole revolutionary organization within the country. Thus was settled the internal struggle. The deliberations of the convention showed that the party had become a unit.

December 25, 1922 was the beginning of a new era in the revolutionary movement of America. Although the 50 delegates present represented a party weak in membership—about 20,000—they were inspired with a fervor to do the important work that confronted the Party.

The Party adopted a Communist Program. Although the Party had called itself a communist party, the program of the year before was most unsatisfactory. It was an attempt to create a document that would express communist doctrine and yet protect the young party from molestation if not suppression, by the authorities. The Program of this year is fully in keeping with the requirements of the Communist International, and contains a keen analysis of American "democracy", the greatest fraud in any country of the world. It is a realistic document and deals with the problems confronting the workers.

The Communist International recognizes but one section in any country. The Workers' Party of America is that section in America. The Workers' Party left no doubt in the mind of friend or foe as to its relation to the C.I. Its program states clearly: "The leadership in the international struggle which inspires hope in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country, is the leadership of the Communist International. The Workers' Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International, and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International!"

This was a program that could not but weld together all the revolutionary groups in the country. The Executive Committee of the Workers' Party had sent delegates to the IV Congress, who were recognized by the Communist International. The WP was taking its place among the communist parties of the world.

But the convention realized that only practical work to transform ideologically and organize the militant, revolutionary and radical workers, would be of any use to the revolutionary movement.

The violent attitude of the United States government in the recent strikes had fully revealed the necessity of the Workers of America acting independently on the political field. The question of the Labor Party was an urgent one. Although a few of the delegates and some of the membership of the Party could not understand the role of the WP in the Labor Party, it was pointed out clearly that the very creation of the Labor party is a vital one for the WP. The Labor Party will be a most

fruitful field for the propaganda of the WP. The WP will form the left wing of the Labor Party, and within the Labor Party will carry on its work for revolutionizing it.

The convention emphasized the necessity of permeating the trade unions with Communist ideas. The trade unions of America are to a great extent under reactionary leadership. Not only are the leaders men of no perspective, but like all reactionaries, they are bureaucrats who seek power but refuse to lead the workers into the struggle against the capitalists, because it means suffering. The fight for control of the trade unions is on. The Workers' Party endorses the principles of the Red International of Labor Unions and cooperates very closely with the Trade Union Educational League.

The formation of the left wing in the trade unions, and the fight for the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, depend upon the ability of the WP membership. Despite all impediments, the Communists have acquired great influence in the unions and today are the most intrepid and far-sighted leaders that the American movement has.

The difficulty of the Party's work in the unions is increased manifold by the polyglot membership of the Party. Of the nearly 20,000 members, only 1,500 to 2,000 are English-speaking. All the others speak and understand English to a greater or lesser extent, but work chiefly among workers of their own language. When it is realized that the Party has members speaking 18 languages, most of whom are organized in federations of their specific language; and that trade union meetings are conducted primarily in English, one appreciates the difficulties that the Party has to overcome. In addition, the entrance fee in some unions is quite high; in others, the "books are closed" which means that the union will not accept any more members in order to have job control, i.e. a monopoly of the work.

The overwhelming majority of the United Mine Workers are foreign-born; this is also true of the workers in the needle trades, the packing industry and steel industry. There are masses of foreign-born workers, organized and unorganized, in the transport industry. The task of the Communists will consist in organizing the foreign-born in close cooperation with the American-born and naturalized elements and thus create a united front of the working class.

Already the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, the Farmer Labor Party, and the Trade Union Educational League have consented to cooperate with the Workers' Party. The leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have given their approval. There is no doubt that, either from above or from below, through the rank and file of the trade union movement, there will be created a widespread movement among the alien population of the United States.

The Communists have taken a realistic view of the problems before them. The workers are beginning to understand that the Communists are also workers, and that they are being attacked because of their militancy and courage. These two qualities are highly rated in America. As unflinching fighters, the Communists will push into the front rank and strike terror to the hearts of Samuel Gompers and his crew.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Tasks of the Russian Communist Party

The 12th Party Convention on April 15, 1923.

By G. Zinoviev.

I.

"What is the new economic policy of the Bolsheviks—evolution or tactics? Thus has the question been formulated by the followers of the party of the "Smena Vekh" (that section of the bourgeois emigrants which has aided the Soviet government of late years from national motives. Ed.)

The enemy tells the class truth by pointing out the danger threatening us. The enemy endeavors to render the danger inevitable. Therefore the greatest attention must be devoted to the question: Who will be the actual victor?"

Lenin.

The words of comrade Lenin are particularly applicable at the present juncture, when we are approaching the 12th Party conference of the CPR, and when our Party must once again sum up the progress made during another year.

Who will be the victor? This is one of those questions which will not be decided in one or two years. He who laughs last laughs the longest—and we communists are fully convinced that by means of the Nep we shall arrive at the complete victory of socialism. Our enemies and "friendly enemies" (the "Smena Vekh" party) differ from us only in that they believe the Nep to be steering us towards the complete victory of capitalism.

This question will not be decided within one year. At least ten years will probably be required. But the direction in which it is tending can be already ascertained. In this respect the past year is of great significance.

Oh! The followers of the "Smena Vekh" by no means desire the abolition of the proletarian dictatorship.

"It is not a question of abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, but of its transformation into a workers' state, in which organized labor will maintain political and economic ascendancy to the fullest extent." Thus wrote S. Lukyanov, of the "Smena Vekh" lately.

Not at all, gentlemen of the "Smena Vekh": Pardon me, we old-fashioned Marxians will not only refrain from transposing the "guide-posts" (literally translated, "Smena Vekh" means: the transposition of the guide-posts. Ed.). Give us at least ten years more—in view of the international situation we shall scarcely be able to manage with less —, and we shall leave the dictatorship of the proletariat behind. But until the Soviet power has been victorious and is firmly established in at least two or three countries of decisive importance—at present capitalist, we shall not enter into any discussion with you as to a "milder" formula of "the predominance of organized labor!" . . .

What does this mean? The degeneration of the dictatorship in its earlier sense, or the birth of democracy in new, more effective, and more living forms?

This question, put by Leshnev in the Moscow periodical *Rossiya*, is rousing great interest, although it has not yet shown its political face unequivocally.

And Leshnev replies: "I think that both will be the case, simultaneously and in juxtaposition. . . . We can well imagine that beneath the prickly outer shell of the dictatorship a real democracy might stretch its limbs and arise to life —. The will of the impersonal and passive majority then becomes a sovereign command for the competent active minority."

Anyone who has hitherto held the opinion that the "competent active minority" has any independent interests, differing from the interests of the majority of the workers, has not understood one iota of the essential character of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Naturally, he is now likely to rub his eyes, look around, and discover such Americas as . . . "we are now witnessing the birth of a new democracy, not pleasing externally, but firmly constituted", or that "the fundamentals of the new social and political order will consist of the combination, the synthesis, of two views of life: the dictatorship, and the right of the people . . ." (Leshnev, *Rossiya* No. 4.)

What is the real import of the epoch? What does the new economic policy really signify?—an "evolution" that is, a social alteration of the proletarian dictatorship, or a line of "tactics", that is, a great strategic manoeuvre made by the working class of the first victorious revolutionary country, which is waiting for the arrival of international reinforcements, and filling up its ranks with the peasants of its own country? History will speak the last word on this question—and according to our calculation, in about ten years. But even today it is not too optimistic to say that important symptoms show that it will be decided in our favor, that is, in favor of international Communism.

Let us observe the estimate formed by the working class on the new economic policy.

When our new economic policy first appeared, all our enemies shouted that the new economic policy would perhaps revive commercial relations and in a certain sense contribute to increasing production, but would, on the other hand, lead to a worsening of the position of the working class; they predicted increase of wealth and luxury for a small minority on the one hand, increase of misery and hatred of Soviet rule on the other.

It is not long since we read in an anonymous organ, that the "new economic policy increases the internal disorganization of the working class", that "the re-arrangement of state undertakings on a commercial basis, the unfettered exchange of commodities, enhances the likelihood of the workers being infected by the psychology of producers of goods".

It has been, and is still being predicted, that the new economic policy will alienate the workers from us, and will result in an "aberration in the direction of the peasantry" and then in "degeneration".

What can we learn from the past year in this respect? Our Party is not only not losing the sympathies of the working

masses, but during the past year our Party captured the broadest strata of the proletariat for the second time. The new economic policy has not damaged the material position of the workers, but on the contrary, has improved it. Real wages have considerably increased. There is not a single branch of industry in which the workers are not living on a much better scale than a year ago. The country is stretching its stiffened limbs. We all have the feeling that we are living in a convalescent country. The plainest workman knows that the worst is already over, that not only the civil war is over, but also the famine and epidemics. The question of bread, of the food ration, is no longer the one burning question in the dwellings of the workers.

Agriculture is reviving. Large industry is beginning to develop. On the whole, the right economic methods for the present transition have been found. Every worker knows this.

Political interest is again awakening among the broad masses. The masses have been enriched by the most valuable experience of the revolution. They see that our Party has been in the right, that it alone has pointed out the right path. In many places sympathy with our Party is more firmly established than even in the year 1917. Even those classes of workers who vacillated at the acutest point of our difficulties in 1920-1921, even those classes of peasant and semi-peasant masses who were hostile to the Soviet power in 1920-1921, those classes which made it appear doubtful whether we were really backed up by the majority of productive workers—even these classes are being gradually convinced of the correctness of the path we pursue.

The country is returning to sound health. Economics are gradually reviving. The standard of living among the workers is also improving, with painful slowness, but uncontestedly improving.

Have we paid dearly for all this? Yes, indeed we have! Four years of civil war, following on four years of imperialist war, have cost our country much. The revolution demanded enormous sacrifices. But every event taking place on the international field of battle—from the large or small economic strike, to the events in the Ruhr—serves, to give our Russian workers an object lesson in the fact that our way, the way of civil war and proletarian dictatorship, proves in the end the cheapest, most economical, and most effectual way.

The lowest strata of the proletariat feel as never before the inner truth of our Party. Every election demonstrates this. Every mass campaign, gives unshakable proofs of it. The authority of the trade unions under the leadership of our Party has grown extraordinarily during this year. The position of the communist nuclei in the factories and workshops is incomparably better than two or even one year ago. The mutual relations between members of the Party and non-partisan workers have improved enormously. The communist has regained his authority over the non-partisan masses.

When our Party is reproached with regarding the "maintenance of power as an object in itself"; when demands are made that our Party do away with the "communist monopoly of responsible positions"; when it is urged that "it is necessary to secure for all non-partisans and especially for non-partisan intelligentsia and skilled workers a really broad and unhindered access to all Soviet offices" (these are the main watchwords of the above named anonymous organ which presents the Menshevik idea under a banner of the "left")—then our Party can reply to all this liquidatory wisdom by pointing out the trend of opinion among the masses. The whole wisdom contained in the watchwords here adduced has no other significance than to preach the liquidation of the dictatorship of the Party and with it that of the proletariat. For after 5 years of revolution after the mighty illustrations given us by the civil war in Russia, it is only Kautsky's disciples who do not grasp that the dictatorship of the Party is only the outward form, only the function of class dictatorship.

At the 12th Party conference the question of our state industry, and of agriculture will be discussed in detail. These are the questions of questions! The economic problems—on these depends the final decision as to "who will be the victor". Shall we hold our own in state industry, improve it, and be able to

*) The following small but exceedingly instructive incident is of value: Before the day on which the Party celebrated its 25th anniversary, the following spontaneous movement arose among the non-partisan workers of Petrograd. They contributed one hour's wages and arranged special collections in the workshops (with great success) in order to be able to present the Communist Party with flags on the anniversary day. This movement extended to dozens of factories. Anyone knowing the fine political feeling of the Petrograd workers will not doubt that this is a symptom of the greatest significance.

sell cheap goods to the villages? And shall we on the other hand be able to help the villages to improve their economics, and to sell sufficient of their products to enable them to purchase the products of town industry? We approach the final decision on this question.

At our last party conference comrade Lenin did not speak simply on the alliance with the peasantry, as is frequently stated. He spoke on the alliance with agrarian economics, which is not the same thing. An alliance between state town industry and agrarian economics is what we need. And we shall obtain it too. The preparatory work being done by the plenum of the Central Committee in this direction, and the unanimous decisions which it will submit to the Party congress, give us every guarantee—that in this question, the congress will come to the right decisions.

The national question is of no less importance, and the Party is again devoting attention to this. In the national question Bolshevism has created a complete school. When Bolshevism, long before the revolution, and also after October, defended with an outspokenness unknown, the slogan of the right of self-determination of all oppressed nations until complete separation from the central state, our antagonists cried out that this slogan signified the ruin of Russia. There was a considerable number of sincere revolutionists who were also unable to grasp the meaning of this slogan. But in the national question, as in all others, Bolshevism followed its own path, and proved by deeds that this consistent and ultimately proletarian statement of the question, is the sole one capable of winning the confidence of the tens of millions belonging to those nationalities formerly oppressed by Great Russian Tsarism, and Great Russian "democracy". The gigantic experiences gained during the four years of civil war, proved with incontestable clarity the rightness of the Bolshevik standpoint in the national question. It may be safely maintained that the defeats suffered by Denikin, Koltchak, Yudenitch, and the earlier defeats of Gutchkov, Milyukov, and Kerensky, are to be greatly attributed to their chauvinism in the national question.

The masses of the people are with us. The workers have the same faith in the Party as they had in 1917. A change in our favor is observable among the broad strata of the student youth. We have won the masses for the second time. And this because the proletarian dictatorship has established itself firmly on its fundamental positions, and has proceeded with the broadest working masses along that path of proletarian realism which consists of allying the socialist industry of the city with the agrarian economics of the village.

II.

All revolutionary parties which have gone under up to now, have failed to recognize themselves, to see where power lay; we, however, shall not go under, for we are not afraid to speak of our weaknesses, or to learn how to overcome them. Lenin.

Now, on the eve of the 12th party conference, let us take a glance at the inner situation of the Party. Above all, we must understand clearly that Petrograd is not the Party, nor Moscow, nor Ivanovo-Vosnessensk. There is no doubt as to the leading role played by these most important labor centres, but still they do not form the whole Party.

The following figures, based on the All-Russian Party census which was taken, and supplemented by other data, give us an idea of the condition of the Party at this 12th Party conference.

The Party consists (in round numbers) of 32,000 nuclei; of these only 14,000 are town nuclei. The Party possesses 410,000 members, of which 260,000 are in the towns. The number of candidates is 117,000; 50,000 in the towns. (We omit here the numbers of the Youth League, although this organization is of gigantic importance for the future of our Party.) Each 1000 members of the C.P.R. comprises on an average, 444 workers, 267 peasants, 222 clerks, and 67 without ascertainable vocation. The percentage of workers among the members of the Party has risen slightly, approximately from 41 to 44. If we add together the number of workers, and the number of clerks and other Party members who have only had elementary school education, or no schooling whatever, our Party statistics yield a percentage of 67 proletarian elements.

Out of the 400,000—or more members of the Party, there are only 10,000 who were members of the Party before 1917. This is the core, the old guard, of the Party. In 1917 35,000 members joined the Party. The main mass of our present members entered the Party in 1919 (108,000) and in 1920 (122,000). The Party has 23,000 members who were formerly members of other parties (S.R., Mensheviks, anarchists, etc.).

Out of the total number of working class members, there is only a comparatively small number occupied directly in production. Up to January 1922 the percentage of communist workers doing direct manual work was only 11.6 per cent, in Moscow itself only 8.9%.

It is true that today the situation is incomparably better. The demobilisation, the upward tendency of industry, and the general improvement in working conditions, has greatly raised the percentage of Party members engaged in manual labor.

The great majority of communist workers are occupied in civil service work. And this is naturally unavoidable in a country where the working class rules the state. That which we now see in Russia is, in a certain sense, the process of reproduction of the "class" of professional revolutionists of whom comrade Lenin spoke. Thousands and thousands of the best workers, trained by the Party, are now at the head of economics and of the whole state, fulfilling the rôle of vocational revolutionists. It is much to be desired that the Party succeed in keeping bureaucracy and other evils away from this class, and in exterminating these evils where they have already found their way in.

The analysis of the social stratification of the candidates waiting for admission to the Party is of particular importance. According to the figures yielded by the All-Russian Party census, the 112,774 candidates are to be classified under the following categories: factory nuclei 6,932, transport workers' nuclei 4,294, peasant nuclei 51,763, military nuclei 27,728, Soviet nuclei 13,881, miscellaneous 8,146. Even in the Moscow organization 17.4% candidates fall to the workers' nuclei, 23.6% to the Soviet nuclei, 26.4% to the military nuclei, 28.7% to the educational establishments, 3.9% to the transport nuclei. There are of course, in the large organizations in Moscow Petrograd etc., besides the candidates, a large number of what are known as "individuals", that is, non-partisan workers who are employed for individual propaganda, who attend the political school belonging to the Party nuclei, etc. In Moscow there are about 6,000 of these "individuals", and the organization has chosen 1,840 persons for purposes of systematic connection with them. The attendance of non-partisan workers at Party meetings assumes an ever-growing mass character. For instance, meetings held between September 1922 till January 1923, in the largest proletarian quarter of Moscow, were attended by:

Members of the C.P.R.	Non-partisan
59%	41%

This phenomenon is general. The connections between the non-partisan workers and our organizations increase in a great variety of forms.

The percentage of workers who are members of the Party increases gradually. But still the present social composition of the Party cannot be regarded as ideal. The social composition is ultimately one of the most important guarantees that the Party does not deviate from its historic path. During the next two or three years we must at all costs attain a great and absolute ascendancy of workers in the Party. The Party is in possession of power. It is unavoidable that foreign elements will endeavor to intrude themselves into the Party for some years. And since this is the case the regulation of the social composition of the Party, by means of extensive manoeuvring measures, is of the utmost importance. It is highly probable that at every Party congress we shall have to take extensive measures towards such a regulation. From the above it may plainly be seen that the 12th Party congress will have to pass two resolutions, to the following effects:

1. The admission to the Party of those candidates who do not belong to the class of industrial workers is to be prevented, at least for the coming year.

2. Various measures are to be taken towards facilitating the admission of purely industrial workers into the Party; for instance from the ranks of the so-called "individuals", the constant attenders of Party meetings, the attenders of the political schools conducted by the Party nuclei, etc.

This still inadequate proletarian representation in the Party is one of the dangers of the present day. But this does not exhaust the difficulties which confront the Party in the period of the new economic policy.

Let us for instance take the question of the rôle played by the communist "economists". There is no doubt whatever but that in the new—economic—stage now reached by the revolution, that wing of the Party which can be comprised under the name of "economists" plays a part of the utmost importance, in many respects a decisive part. The success of the whole depends on their work, and on their willingness to learn business methods. They, the functionaries of the trusts, the

factory managers, co-operative leaders, "Red business people", in a word, the "chiefs", have been commissioned by the Party to carry out the work which today is of leading importance; it is nothing more or less than the fate of industry and of the alliance of industry with agrarian economics. It is a matter of course that this great task can only be carried out successfully when this most important troop of functionaries receives complete support on all sides from the Party.

But it must not be forgotten that it is precisely this wing of the Party (the economists) which, by the very nature of its work, is brought nearest to the bourgeois camp; this wing is obliged to come most in contact with the bourgeoisie, with bourgeois tradespeople, in a word, with the bourgeois aspect of the new economic policy. Those "warners" are entirely wrong when they predict that many of our communist economists, having learned the art of trading, will forget how to be communists. These people are wrong when they announce that a rupture is inevitable between the communist functionaries of the trusts, who draw comparatively high salaries, and the poor communists whose families are starving on the Volga. Perhaps this might be the case if no Party existed, a Party endeavoring to reduce inequality to a minimum by a whole system of measures. But there is a danger, and it is impossible not to see it.

The plan for the reorganization of the central organs of the Party, and of the state organs, proposed by comrade Lenin, is one of those great ideas of comrade Lenin's which, taking us by surprise at first, require time before we fully realise their comprehensiveness. Apart from the significance of this plan for the improvement of the whole state apparatus, it also offers a solution of the problem named above. The central Control Commission, as proposed by comrade Lenin, can and must—find a practical means of overcoming all difficulties arising out of the position of the economists receiving salaries above the average. The Party cannot and will not take the place of the state and economic organs; it attaches the greatest importance to a strict division of work, as decided upon by the first Party conference; but the leadership of the state and economic organs must remain in its hands at any price. But in order to lead in actual fact, and not merely in words, the Party must above all possess the possibility of re-examining, controlling, appointing, and discharging. And this aim can be best fulfilled by a re-organized and broadly based central Control Commission.

One of the most important tasks, one whose significance we still underestimate, is the increase of educational work in the Party. No-one will deny that we have accomplished much in this direction in the course of the year lying between the 11th and 12th party conferences. But we must fully recognize that all we have done up to now is merely a modest beginning, a drop in the ocean. The activity of the Youth League, by which fresh masses of workers are continually brought into the Party, is indeed of eminent importance. We do not always take into account the fact that a new generation has sprung up before our eyes amidst the confusion of events of the last few years, and that much depends on this new generation. The ordinary Party member has attained a position in which he is able to think of increasing his knowledge. He has considerably changed his attitude towards newspapers, books, Marxist circles, and lectures. The task of raising the standard of culture in the whole mass of Party members is equally important as the task of improving state industry. The success of the Party's educational work is one of the most weighty factors for combatting the degeneration of the Party, and for overcoming the dangers of the new economic policy. Every member of the Party must really understand the tasks of communism. Not until then shall we be really able to laugh at the so-called menaces of the new economic policy.

When every member of the Party is able to understand the new economic policy, to recognize its negative aspect, to realize its full significance as a great strategic manoeuvre, then the victory is already half won. But we must not conceal our shortcomings, we must openly admit that by no means do all the members of the Party possess a complete comprehension of the new economic policy.

Last but not least is the question of the connections to be maintained with the communist workers of those countries where they do not form the governmental party, but the revolutionary opposition.

It is superfluous to mention that our Party is permeated with a feeling of international solidarity for every section of revolutionary workers fighting against the international bourgeoisie. Our Party is incontestably one of the leading parties of the Communist International. But the tie binding us must become closer, must be felt daily. The C.P.R. has held it, and still holds it, to be its greatest honor and happiness to support the various divisions of the international army of communist

workers in every possible way. But these divisions increase in strength with every year, and now it is their turn to lend their support in many ways to our Party, to the first Party to seize power, and now defending communism under the conditions imposed by the new economic policy. The struggle of the workers is now becoming internationalized as never before. Every question of foreign politics, and even of home politics, in our Soviet republic, is closely bound up with the interests of the communist workers of all countries. And vice versa. When we are two years older, then it will be plainly evident that every great political step taken by the Soviet republic is indissolubly bound up with the practical daily interests of the communist workers of the most important countries of Europe.

To sum up, the period of the new economic policy is one of difficult transition. Dangers exist. Comrade Lenin spoke openly of these dangers at the 11th party conference. The Party will not conceal them.

The immediate tasks of the Party are:

1. To systematically improve the social composition of the Party and to guard our organizations from the intrusion of petty bourgeois elements who run with the crowd.
2. To support the communist economists with the whole authority and apparatus of the Party, by appointing the best of our members for economic work. At the same time to adopt a number of measures for protecting the economic wing of our Party from the danger of degenerating in consequence of the bourgeois aspect of the new economic policy.
3. To devote a hundredfold more attention to the educational work of the Party, and to the enlightenment of the ordinary Party members.
4. To bring about a closer and permanent alliance with the communist workers of all countries.

POLITICS

A Fresh Victory for French Imperialism

By A. Lozovsky.

The French generals have won a new and brilliant victory; they have fired upon unarmed workmen in Essen, and have covered French arms with unfading glory. As is already well known, it is the glory of the French generals to despatch rebellious proletarians to the next world. After the victory over the French workers at Le Havre, where three men were killed, this same soldiery institutes a new bloody orgy in the occupied territory of Germany.

When the occupation troops of the French so-called republic first invaded the industrial heart of Germany, they began their work with an insolent demagoguery. The scribes and agents of the French security police occupied themselves by drawing up manifestos and proclamations, painting those abominable exploiters, Stinnes and Krupp, in the blackest colors. This summons to fight against the Stinnes dictatorship sounded particularly piquant from the lips of these scoundrels and brigands of the pen and press. These hirelings of the French exchange and French heavy industrial magnates accompanied their anti-Stinnes campaign by descriptions of the noble feelings moving the French republic, which dreams of nothing else but how it could emancipate the oppressed German worker. The third republic is always "emancipating" somebody from something. It has even "emancipated" Germany from her mercantile marine, from Silesia, from Alsace-Lorraine, and from several tens of milliards! It has also shown anxiety to "emancipate" Russia from the Soviet power. Although it has not succeeded in doing this, the attempts at emancipation are none the less inscribed in letters of blood in the history of the Russian revolution. After the generals had spread their snares in vain before the eyes of the German workers, and had convinced themselves that the Ruhr proletariat is not to be lured onto thin ice by plausible speeches, they began to show their fangs and to embark on the execution of their "mission of emancipation".

Even before this last bloody encounter the main contingent of the murdered has been supplied by the workers. The proletariat of the Ruhr area, hostile to its own bourgeoisie, is equally unwilling to be exploited by the French conquerors. The profound dissatisfaction felt by the working masses against the impudent occupants increases from day to day. The Ruhr proletariat knows very well that it is faced with a difficult struggle, for it has to fight on two battle-fronts, against its own political feeling of French bourgeoisie. While the French bour-

geoisie has been anxious to gain the support of the Ruhr proletariat in its combat with Stinnes and Krupp, the latter, with the aid of social democracy, have been endeavoring to urge the working masses into the national front, into combined action against French capital. But the two capitalist combatants have now been obliged to admit that the Ruhr proletariat does not intend to serve as a tool for either one clique or the other. This situation is further complicated by the nationalist agitation and provocation being carried on by the German Fascists. This was the ground on which the last battle in Essen was fought, this combat which marks a fresh glorious page in the history of French "victories". This victory of French arms over the peaceful population once more brings us imperatively up against the question of the international struggle against imperialism. We are fully in agreement with the organ of the English Fabians and liberals, the *New Statesman*, when it writes that the "mad dog of Europe—imperialist France—should be put on the chain". But we are not agreed with these pale-pink English social-liberals in thinking there is only one mad dog in Europe. If one dog is to be put on the chain, then all the other imperialist dogs in Europe, including those of England and Germany, must be accorded the same treatment.

M. Poincaré seeks to secure his rule in the Ruhr area with the blood of German workers. The German nationalists utilize the dead bodies of the Essen proletariat to forge for themselves a weapon for the defence of their class privileges. But they will both break their necks in the Ruhr. We have every reason to hope that the Ruhr will be the common grave of the French and the German bourgeoisies, for the patience of the French and German workers has reached its limits. The day is near when the workers of these countries will turn upon the French and German bourgeoisies and give them the knock-out blow.

It is only thus that the Ruhr conflict can and will be solved.

The social democrats and reparations

By R. Albert.

The war has added a new and most important precept to the credo of socialism—the dogma of reparations. Germany has to pay reparations for the devastation caused by her armies in the years 1914-1918. This is the opinion of the French Socialist Party, of the English Labor Party, of the Belgian Labor Party, and of Mr. Turati. It is further—admirable internationalism—the opinion of many excellent neutral socialists, as citizen Troelstra (Holland), and citizen Branting (Sweden). The Versailles treaty serves as a supplement to the fundamental documents of socialism; a circumstance which must cause a certain amount of pleasure to old Clemenceau. In itself it is quite plausible that those who have done the damage should pay for it. And is socialism not the embodiment of all the justice in the world? But the point is that somewhat more attention should be accorded to the question of who is to blame for the war.

Imperialist Germany wanted the war; this is an established fact. It wanted Briey and new colonies, it wanted to sweep English competition out of the way. But M. Delcassé wanted the war as well; he was working to "pen in" Germany. Mr. Sazonov in Petersburg wanted the Dardenelles, and on the 29. January 1913, Mr. Poincaré communicated with Izvolsky, expressing his joy that he had become president of the republic, as this would enable him to "prepare public opinion for France's participation in a war which may arise out of the Balkan conflict".

Mr. Mussolini was also willing, for cash down, to agree to the intervention which cost Italy some hundred thousand dead and the devastation of a part of Venice. And among socialists perfect clearness should prevail on the fact that, the capitalist system, having reached a stage in its development leading to the division of the world among a few great powers, made the war inevitable, and that every power was anxious for the war in the degree in which it felt itself strong enough to be victorious and to rob the vanquished.

The ten million victims slaughtered in the great war, and the six millions of the civilian population who succumbed to the sufferings caused by the war, belonged mostly to the poor population. Almost all the civilian victims were poor people, for the rich did not need to eat war bread, and had means of protecting themselves in other respects. Who were the sufferers in the

*) Secret telegram from Izvolsky to Sazonov on a conversation with Poincaré.

devastated areas of France, Belgium, and Serbia? The poor. For it was only the rich that could withdraw to the Riviera. And who were ruined afterwards? The poor. But the rich had long placed their gains in a secure place. From a socialist standpoint there is therefore only one possible solution of the reparations problem:

The poor, the workers, have paid for the war with their blood and with their bodies. But the rich on both sides of the trenches wanted the war, and have enriched themselves through the war. Socialism therefore knows only one kind of reparation: The reparations due by the rich to the poor, by the capitalists to the workers.

"But what about the destruction of Ypres, the destruction of Reims, of Louvain and Arras?" We may tranquilly allow the Philistine, from the corner of the coffee-house in which he reads his "Petit Parisien", to put this question. If the Cologne cathedral had lain within the range of the French cannon, it would have shared the fate of Reims cathedral. Foch would have behaved in Germany precisely as Hindenburg did in France. The present occupation of the Ruhr area, in times of peace, is bloodier than the occupation of Belgium in times of war. The French troops have shot down 13 unarmed workmen in Essen. In Bucr they shot seven Germans; the total of Germans killed since the invasion is over one hundred. It has been often enough proved that the troops of Entente imperialism are fully capable of destroying the treasures of civilization, and of converting the lands they invade into desert places. In 1900 Peking was occupied by European troops representing all the nations of Europe, and these troops looted the famous summer palace and set it on fire. In 1910 we experienced the atrocious bombardment of Casablanca, an act revolting even to the French officers commissioned to carry out this job. What cruelties were committed by the Italians in Tripolis in 1912. And when the noble Greeks retreated before the Turks in Asia Minor last year, they left nothing behind them but the smoking ashes of the villages and the corpses of the slaughtered women.

But another question presses itself upon our attention. What right have the victims of imperialist war in Belgium and Northern France to demand more consideration than the other war victims? Do the socialists of the Second International demand of France to pay reparations for the restoration of Syria and Cilicia? Do they demand that Greece make good the damage done in Asia Minor? That England pay compensation to the families of the unhappy victims murdered by the British police in Ireland? Or that England pay compensation to the families of the Hindus who were shot down in Amritsar?

The explanation might be offered that it is of greater importance, first to restore the countries with the highest standard of economics and culture. But there is another great country in Europe, which has probably suffered more at the hands of Entente Imperialism than Northern France or Belgium suffered in the course of the war: the land of Turgeniev, of Dostoyevsky, of Tolstoy, of Gorky, of Mechnikov, was blocked and starved for four long years. English aeroplanes bombarded Petersburg, French cannon shot at Odessa, Polish pioneers exploded the waterworks of Kiev. The English occupied the petroleum springs of Baku, the Czecho-Slovakians devastated Siberia, the Japanese lay waste to the Far East, the English stole the Baltic fleet, the French the Black Sea fleet; the Entente interventions have devastated the Ukraine, the Ural, Siberia, the Caucasus, and the extreme north of Russia. And why was all this done? Because the Russian people wanted to found a socialist republic. But the high priests of socialism took no interest whatever. It has never occurred to Vandervelde, Blum, Macdonald, or Modigliani, to lay a sacred claim for reparations in favor of the Russia of the workers and peasants. For these socialists know nothing of socialism beyond its bare name, and this they prostitute in the courts of all kings, in all ministerial ante-chambers and in the newspapers bought up by the millionaires of war industry; the sole tenet which they really represent is that of unlimited enslavement to capitalism!

The Amsterdamers and the Ruhr War

Edo Fimmen's journey to Warsaw.

On March 12, the bureau of the Amsterdam Trade Union International announced that "the bureau is in receipt of serious news on the possibility of immediate war between Russia and Poland". What steps do the Amsterdamers take? Mr. Edo Fimmen leaves promptly for Warsaw; whether with the blessings of the bureau—as in the case of his German trip—or without it, we do not know. In any case it would seem as if Mr. Fimmen's anti-military and anti-imperialist propaganda is regarded in

Amsterdam exclusively as an export commodity—for up to now we have never heard anything of such propaganda in the domains of M. L. Jouhaux or Mr. J. H. Thomas.

Thus Edo Fimmen travels to Warsaw, probably with the intention of warding off the impending war between Poland and Soviet Russia. We can report but little on his activity among the Warsaw workers. All we know is that he dined with the P.P.S. leaders, and was received by the prime minister, General Sikorski. Can we doubt but that the eloquent Fimmen has so thoroughly converted the brave general to his views, that all danger of a war between Poland and Soviet Russia has now vanished?

But Fimmen's arrival has had another effect in Poland. There the International of the nationalists is represented by one of its most remarkable varieties: by the P.P.S. people. At the present time the P.P.S. is playing—in Parliament, in its press, and in the trade unions under its leadership—its customary rôle of lickspittle to the flunkies of their lords. The Polish bourgeoisie utilizes the support of M. Poincaré's Ruhr adventure to such advantage, that it has forced from him the recognition of the annexation of the White Ruthenian and Ukrainian districts; but the P.P.S. supports the Ruhr war "morally" as "necessary" for the collection of the reparation debts; they stir up feeling against the Soviets which dare to entangle France in their "intrigues", and grant to Sikorski unlimited amounts of money pressed from the blood of the workers—all "for the fatherland".

Some time ago the Amsterdam International sent pacifist posters: "War against war", for distribution in Poland. The chairman of the Amsterdam trade union, Zulavski, declined to have the poster distributed, describing it as "not suited to the times". A few weeks passed, when these gentlemen learned that the Amsterdam revisor—Mr. Edo Fimmen—was coming. And lo and behold! The anti-militarist poster was promptly stuck on the house-walls of Warsaw. And the police of General Sikorski, and of the supreme police commissioner Anuz—as good friends of the P.P.S.—placidly tolerated the "incitement to rebellion" of these posters, though any communist would have received several years hard labor if he had done the same. Is it not in the interests of General Sikorski, and of the P.P.S., to give the worthy Fimmen tangible proof of how peace-loving—indeed, how anti-militaristic—the Polish lamb feels towards the blood-thirsty Soviet wolf? At such a price it may be possible to avoid a second such "revolutionary stroke" as that committed by the Amsterdam Trade Union International in 1920, when it denounced the Polish lamb as agent of counter-revolutionary French imperialism to the workers of western Europe.

The whole incident is a political gamble with workers' interests. But for the working class it is a matter of deadly earnest if their vital interests are made the plaything of any politician who chooses to call himself a "leader". Hence you must know, you gentlemen of Amsterdam, that if a serious danger of war between Poland and Soviet Russia really does exist, then it must be combated seriously. You of Amsterdam will then have to show your colors, whether you are on the side of the first workers' government, or on that of the vassals of French imperialism!

But you, honest workers, who are still full of faith in your Amsterdam leaders, but who are anxious above all that there be no fresh war for imperialism—you must force your leaders to give straightforward answers to these important questions. You must force them, to form a united proletarian front against imperialist war, for the overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

On the 23rd of March the Amsterdam International reported on the last guest performance of the "workers' delegates" Jouhaux, Oudegeest, and Backlund, held on the 9th of February in the disarmament commission of the League of Nations. A delayed report, an old story, but still eternally new for the international working class.

On the 9th of February, the so-called temporary mixed commission of the League of Nations consulted on Lord Robert Cecil's draft of a treaty to be concluded among the states, and to pave the way for a reduction of armaments. "There was a danger"—is the exact wording of the report of the International Trade Union Federation—"in consideration of the unfavorable attitude adopted by Viviani and Schanzer with regard to Cecil's draft, that the whole treaty draft would simply vanish into oblivion". This statement in itself speaks volumes to those who are aware that the crafty representative of Albion intended nothing more with his draft, than a temporary alleviation, by means of a "disarmament agreement", of the danger threatening Great Britain from the French side, of French superiority in aerial armaments. But for the working class the attitude adopted by the "workers' delegates" Jouhaux, Oudegeest, and Backlund is of still greater importance. In the words of the ITUF:

"The active interference of the labor delegates saved it from this fate, for they pointed out that the prestige of the League of Nations would be considerably damaged in the eyes of the masses if Cecil's draft were not dealt with by it thoroughly. They were therefore expressly in favor of placing the draft in the hands of a special commission."

That is to say, the Amsterdam labor leaders are at present playing the part of the dog who hastens to save a drowning man. But in this case it is not even a drowning living man, it is a corpse which Mesers Jouhaux and Oudegeest want to save from oblivion, ingloriousness, and contempt! These gentlemen are performing the work of the humblest servants of the bourgeoisie, for they are attempting to save the "prestige" of the League of Nations among the working class by aiding an alleged disarmament draft to be dealt with by the League of Nations at all! The "prestige" of the League of Nations has already reached such a vanishing point among the working masses that even the social-democratic Zürich *Volksrecht* was obliged to come to the conclusion, on the occasion of the Franco-Swiss frontier conflict that: "With this France gives a striking proof not only to Switzerland, but to the whole world, of what is the real position of 'right' and 'democracy' in the world since 1918, and of what a ridiculous bugbear, this League of Nations, is rendered by the attitude it assumes."

But at the moment when Poincaré invades the Ruhr area with 200,000 soldiers. Jouhaux and his colleagues find the situation favorable for a "moral disarmament"; they appeal to the League of Nations for the purpose of rendering this possible, and utter never a sound on the piratical deeds of their Poincaré!

Another attempt, prompted by the same spirit as the endeavor to save Cecil's biased "pacifist" disarmament draft from the attacks of Viviani and Schanzer, was that made by Jouhaux at the session held on February 12, where he declared that "the work done by the temporary mixed commission for the limitation of armaments can be of no practical value if not accompanied by a moral disarmament; the present situation in Europe is favorable for co-operation, and for the realization of moral disarmament. Hence it is the duty of the League of Nations to seek for ways and means rendering this moral disarmament possible". A protocol was made of this declaration of M. Jouhaux, "so that the Council of the League of Nations may take due note of it, and may make suitable use of it", in the names of the "organized workers of almost every country". But what have the 24 millions of organized workers of "almost every country" to say, when persons adopting such an attitude insolently claim to be their representatives in the Commission of the League of Nations in this matter of blowing disarmament bubbles? It is their class duty to call out to these "leaders":

Enough of bubble-blowing, enough of deceit! What we want is class war!

We however, appeal to all workers, regardless of political opinion or party affiliation: Workers, think of the attitude taken up by Jouhaux, Oudegeest, and other Amsterdamers, at the Paris "disarmament" commission in February! Ask all your fellow-workers and class comrades what they prefer: co-operation with the world bourgeoisie, including the hypocritical lying, deceitful co-operation in all sorts of commissions appointed by that corpse the League of Nations;

or
ruthless class war in an international united front with the class conscious proletariats of all countries, in accordance with the lines laid down by the Frankfurt Conference; against Poincaré and Cuno, against Loucheur and Stinnes, against international imperialism and militarism!

The Saar proletariat under French imperialism

By Walter Gebelein (Saarbrücken).

Ever since the Saar area was separated from Germany by the Versailles treaty, and subjected to the rule of the imperialist League of Nations, it has been the stamping ground of the robber-knights of France, quite apart from the times when it has been beneath the rule of the Prussian reactionary industrial barons.

When the governmental commission look over the administration it, first stretched out its feelers. Through the artificial introduction of dual currency, it attempted to undermine the unity of the proletariat. At first it was comparatively easy to influence the working class of the Saar district, which for the most part has had no political or trade union training. The government commission introduced the much more advantageous franc wages for the state undertakings, and was thus able to distract the broad masses from the economic struggle. It is solely due to

this circumstance that it was possible to deal the working class such a series of heavy blows later on. The laws and regulations issued by the German government for the subjugation of the working class, proved an excellent aid to the Commission. Any laws which did not happen to suit the Commission were simply annulled, or modified according to instructions from the Paris annexationists. The laws and regulations of the Government Commission differ from those of monarchist despotism, solely in their greater brutality. The League of Nations trustees have revealed their intention of placing the Saar proletariat completely beneath the knout of French imperialism. This Government Commission, which apparently has inexhaustible reserves of money, drawn from the wage tax pressed out of the workers, from the French state treasury, and from the French Comité des Forges, maintains an extensive apparatus in readiness for the intended annexation of the Saar district. All organs subordinate to the Commission work in the same direction. Journalists, party and trade union functionaries, who endeavor in any way to run counter to this body, or even to criticize it, are deported unless they possess the rights of natives, or are threatened with severe punishment by means of cunning regulations. The misdeeds of the Commission, and of those backing it up, are most carefully concealed.

It was only natural that the workers of the Saar speedily began an energetic struggle against the executive organ of the imperialists of Geneva and Paris. While the Saar social patriots immediately went over to the side of the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party appeared on the field as the consistent leader of the whole proletariat of the Saar country. The Amsterdamers attempted to sabotage every united struggle, and to draw the working class over with them into the camp of the bourgeoisie. But though the national united front tactics were partly successful, every blow dealt by the government served to rouse the class consciousness of the Saar proletariat.

Those in power then endeavored to gradually reduce the Saar workers to complete silence by the aid of a special spy service, by the prohibition of communist meetings, and confiscation of printed matter. But these repressive measures only served to consolidate the working class still more.

For this reason not even the latest misdeed of the Saar government caused any surprise among the working class. On the 7th of March, Governor Rault issued a so-called emergency decree for the "maintenance of order and security" in the Saar district; one of its sections reads as follows:

"... a punishment of imprisonment up to 5 years, or of penal servitude, or of a fine up to 10,000 francs, as well as expulsion from the country, is imposed upon anyone:

Who expresses contempt for the peace treaty of Versailles publicly, or at a meeting; who slanders or condemns the members of the League of Nations, the signatories of the Versailles treaty, or the members of the government commission, its officials and institutions; who incites the different sections of the population to antagonism against one another; or who proclaims the same through organizations, announcements, etc.

Further punishable are: Utterances of threats, or of proclamations calculated to influence the free casting of votes at the plebiscite of 1935.

Meetings, processions, and demonstrations may be prohibited, if there is reason to believe that their object is one of the punishable acts above mentioned. Societies and associations may be dissolved if their debates are of the above import.

Printed periodicals, when these are daily papers, may be suspended for a period up to 4 weeks; if they are not daily publications, for a period up to 6 months, if guilty of the above punishable acts.

The five members of the special court of justice are appointed annually by the president of the Government Commission. The decision of the court of justice is final, and the cases are not to be passed on to the ordinary courts of justice."

This government, which draws its authority from the Versailles treaty, thus utterly disregards all the regulations referring to the Saar area which are contained in this treaty. It is characteristic for this code of penal regulations that the Government Commission draws attention, in its announcement, to the similar monstrosity existing in Germany. And it is indeed true that the Saar Commission, as representative of the western imperialist and capitalist interests for the enslavement of the proletariat, could scarcely have found more worthy allies in silencing the revolutionary workers than in the republican authorities maintaining "law and order" in Germany.

Immediately after this decree came into force, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the organ of the German Communist Party in the Saar area, was suspended for 2 weeks.

The German bourgeoisie, with an insolence which defies comparison, now utters loud protests against these "emergency

regulations" issued by the Government Commission, although the German bourgeoisie, conjointly with the social patriots, has issued the same penal regulations in the German republic. In parliament, that unique distortion of bourgeois parliamentarism, the social democrats are raising a lamentable howl, reaching even to the seats of their extreme right; and having combined this with lukewarm protests, their national duty is performed. "The government will take good care not to take any protests from the German Saar bourgeoisie very seriously, for this bourgeoisie does excellent business with the Comité des Forges. And the social democrats? Their confused mutterings about the damage being done to the Teutonic spirit, and so forth, merely cause the rulers, the pupils of the German imperialists, to pass on to the next point of the agenda."

The Military Revolution and the Present Situation in Greece

By Pierre Halkos (Athens).

The tremendous defeat suffered by the Greek army in Asia Minor greatly increased the indignation and disaffection of public opinion against the government of Gunaris, Strato, and Co., which was elected in November 1920, and known here under the name of the "Old Parties".

This defeat was the main cause of the loss of reputation of the "Old Parties", the former government coalition. Its overthrow, after a military coup d'état, resulted mainly from the foreign policy pursued by Greece under Gunaris' ministry. This policy was purely adventurist, and chained Greece to the chariot of English imperialism. It cost the Greek people irredeemable losses, and led the country into a blind alley of financial embarrassment and crushing public debts.

Thus, on November 11, 1920, the Greek people, having overthrown the warlike Veniselos, voted for the "United Anti-Veniselos Parties". It believed that these parties would really keep their electoral promises of pursuing a peace policy.

The results of the November election were of a pacifist character, and proclaimed the wish of the Greek people to put an end to the campaign in Asia Minor. It was only the communists who had hitherto, on the occasion of the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek army under Veniselos' government, sharply protested against this measure as a mad and militant adventure, solely in the interests of the English.

It is only natural that the aversion of the communists to the Asia Minor adventure, and the growing sympathy for communism in the army and among the petty bourgeoisie, should have caused the Gunaris government to institute an unheard of terror against the functionaries of the Communist Party. The period of Gunaris' government was one of actual White Terror. For twenty-two months the working class, and especially the communists, suffered the most frightful persecutions, conducted with a severity utterly out of proportion to the forces possessed by their movement. The leaders of the "General Labor Confederation", of the Communist Party, the editorial staff of its central organ *Risopastis*, and many workers and communists in the provinces, were repeatedly arrested and thrown into prison.

All this brought the Old Parties into great disfavor. The defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor created a pretext for their overthrow. The ensuing confusion was utilized by the Veniselos party, to seize the state power by means of a military coup without encountering any resistance. For the "Old Parties" had no compact forces at their disposal, upon which they could really rely, and which could offer any resistance to the Veniselos party. The overthrow of the "Old Parties" was most clearly expressed in the deposition of King Constantine.

The revolution, or, more exactly expressed, the military movement, does not comprise any vital forces. It only aims at the attainment of some greater political reforms. It has naturally established itself as a military dictatorship, ruling exclusively according to Veniselos' orders without any program whatever, and aiming at one object: the organization of a well prepared army, capable of carrying on war with nationalist Turkey, and of promoting the imperialist aims of the Greek bourgeoisie at the given moment. The only real revolutionary deed accomplished by the military revolution was the execution of the former ministers of the "Old Parties" and of General Hatjianestis. But these executions had the effect of further arousing the passions and hatred existing between the different parties.

The working class itself remained perfectly indifferent in the face of the revolution, for its wishes have not been expressed in any way. But on the other hand the working masses are demanding a general calling to account, and the condemnation of all those bourgeois statesmen responsible for the campaign

in Asia Minor. And to the Greek workers Veniselos appears no less guilty than Gunaris and the others. Both have pursued precisely the same policy, that of defending English interests at the cost of the blood and sweat of the Greek people. Public opinion, apart from the workers and especially the communists, showed symptoms of relief when the revolutionary proceedings took place. But as time goes on the population is becoming more and more disappointed. For the Veniselos party, which pulls the wires behind the scenes, is a bourgeois party par excellence, and resists with all its strength any attempt at a comprehensive social and financial policy in favor of the petty bourgeoisie which forms the main part of the population of the country.

The approaching elections to the Greek parliament are already beginning to stir public life. The "Old Parties" are fighting under the leadership of the former military staff general Metaxas, a well known monarchist, representing a petty bourgeois reform program. He however will not succeed in winning over the petty-bourgeois masses. Neither does the Veniselos party find any acclamation in the great masses of the people and in the chief provinces. In addition to this, it is threatened with inner decay. Its leader, Veniselos, absolutely refuses to return to political life. But without his leadership the party will fall to pieces, and within a short time, will form three or four small groups, the largest of which will be the democratic group which has drawn up a social reform program, but its attitude to foreign politics is chauvinist.

It is probable that the election will bring to the surface a number of hitherto unknown and not particularly suitable elements. In this case the present political situation will continue.

The Communist Party is re-organizing, and re-establishing its forces. From every side we receive news that the reservingists, a considerable section of the petty bourgeoisie and of the poorer classes of the population, are beginning to sympathize with communism and to gather around its banner. And even though the prevailing electoral system is not favorable to minorities, it is still to be hoped that in a number of provinces, as Thessaly and Macedonia, where there is a fairly strong working class, a number of parliamentary seats will be won. The great sympathy enjoyed by the Party among the exsoldiers and peasantry will greatly contribute to this. In any case, both great bourgeois parties, that of Veniselos and that of the royalists, will not obtain a majority in the coming parliament. For not only the workers and peasants, but also the masses of the population outside of them, are full of distrust against these parties, which are responsible for the catastrophe in Asia Minor, and have proved themselves to be the henchmen of English imperialism.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

For the international united front of the miners

The miners' delegates at the Frankfurt Conference to the Amsterdam Miners' International and its affiliated organizations.

The miners' delegates at the international conference in Frankfurt, representing Russia, France, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Saar district, and Lorraine, having examined in detail into the economic situation of Europe, find that the occupation of the Ruhr area by French imperialists is only an accompanying phenomenon of the general capitalist offensive now raging with increasing acuteness in all countries. The Ruhr area, with its 600,000 workers occupied in the mines, is the most important mining district in Europe. Hence, it is to be placed under the rule of the united bayonets of France and Germany, in order that capitalist economics might continue to function at the expense of the working class.

There is no industry which has had to suffer so acutely from the consequences of the Versailles treaty and the Spaa agreement as the mining industry. The Spaa agreement has been used in every country as a pretext for lengthening working hours and lowering wages. At the present time the miners are the slaves of the mining capitalists, and the only right they have is to increase the gains of the colliery owners and to continue to starve. The German and the French capitalists, who are already stretching out their feelers towards negotiations again for smoothing out the Ruhr conflict, will not be in a position to guarantee a living wage to the miners. All that they can do is to lengthen the miners' path of misery. However the Ruhr conflict may end; for the miner it signifies one tremendous danger in any case, acuter exploitation, and loss of the last vestige of revolutionary conquests.

The colliery capitalists are already arming in every country. In Belgium, in France, in the Saar

Lorraine, in Czecho-Slovakia, conflicts are arising which show very plainly what mining capital is aiming at. The obstinate endeavors being made in France and England to lengthen the miners' working hours, and at the same time not to increase their wages, are part of the same scheme pursued by the mine owners in Czecho-Slovakia:—abolition of the 46 hours week for miners. The defensive struggles of the workers break out spontaneously. The miners are by no means inclined to abandon their positions without a struggle. But without a united defensive front of the miners of all countries, these struggles are bound to result in defeat.

In Germany the colliery magnates are also feverishly active. In Upper Silesia, armed Fascisti are placed in the collieries. The same is being done in the Ruhr area. Instead of raising wages, the colliery owners give notice of reductions, and of the abolition of the shop stewards.

The miners present at the International Frankfurt Conference regret that in this hour of greatest danger the Amsterdam Miners' International sent no representatives to this conference. None the less, the miners present recognize the urgent necessity of creating an international united front of the whole mining proletariat, and commission the undersigned to apply once more to the Amsterdam Miners' International, and to the national unions affiliated to it, and to submit the following proposal to them:

That the secretariat of the Miners' International at once appoint representatives, who will meet together with the undersigned and consult on the mining situation, in order that ways and means of combatting the threatening danger may be found.

The miners represented at the Frankfurt conference hope that the Amsterdam Miners' International, and the national organizations affiliated with it, will not reject the fraternal hand once more stretched out to them, but that the universal will to put an end to the despotism of the mining lords will be felt everywhere.

The Labor Movement in Polish Upper Silesia

226,000 workers are occupied in the Kattowitz district, for the most part in the mines. Only about 40% of the workers are organized in trade unions. The reason why the workers forsake the trade unions are: 1. Lack of class consciousness, 2. Deception and betrayal on the part of the leaders, 3. The plebiscite hubbub and its consequences.

The following trade unions exist here: 1. The Polish trade union federation (Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polski) under the leadership of the Polish National Labor Party, 2. Polish central union (Centralny Związek Zawodowy Polski) under the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party, 3. German free trade unions under Scheidemann leadership, 4. German Christian trade unions, 5. Polish Christian trade unions, 6. Union, 7. Free Union (Volny Związek), composed of the opposition excluded from the CZZP. The order in which we have enumerated these various trade union organizations is the order of their strength. The two last named trade union organizations—the Union and the Free Union—are under our leadership, or at least under our influence, but have only a few members.

We have united these, and are working conjointly with them for the united front—chiefly by outside pressure. We also possess our fractions in the other trade unions—the best developed being in the Polish central unions. But these latter are exerting themselves to have our comrades expelled. We have a weak opposition in the trade unions belonging to the German socialist party. The national Polish trade unions are least accessible to our influence.

Our trade union organizations are not admitted to the negotiations with the capitalists. The Union and the Free Union, as communist organizations, are subjected to unceasing Terror. In spite of this we make our decisions with regard to every important question of the wage movement and the capitalist offensive, and we see to it that the workers are kept informed on the attitude we adopt; we continue to submit our resolutions, though we know their destination to be the waste paper basket.

We expect that our work will have wider fields opened to it in the near future, thanks to the circumstance that the two trade union organizations influenced by us have now joined forces.

In the resolution passed by the unity conference of these organizations on February 18, the following account of our present conditions was given:

Here in Poland, and in Upper Silesia, the capitalist offensive is to be observed in a form similar to that in every part of the world. Above all, wages have in no way risen in proportion

to the present day high prices, and, should wages continue to remain behind, the broad masses of the proletariat will be plunged into poverty and misery. Youthful workers and women are exploited and abused in the most unheard of manner, and their wages do not suffice to cover even a quarter of their most urgent daily needs. The capitalists tread the rights of the workers underfoot, resort to every trickery, provoke the proletariat, sabotage the shop stewards by arbitrary regulations and prohibition of meetings. The present doles doom invalids and widows to death from starvation; after these have exhausted their powers in the service of capitalism, they are cast onto the street to beg. On the one hand we see unemployment, on the other the introduction of the seventh shift, the abolition of the eight hour day, and the resultant increase of unemployment. The capitalists combine with the government and the Sejm to sabotage the insurance laws which have been created as a result of the pressure of the workers. The aim of the capitalists is to crush the working class, to deprive it of all fighting power.

Basing its decisions on this state of affairs the unity conference resolved that the workers of Upper Silesia must oppose a united proletarian front to the attacks of the capitalists. The first and most important step is of course to gather together all revolutionary and communist forces. The resolution therefore contains the following:

"We delegates of the Union, and of the Volny Związek, resolve that these two organizations join to form one united body, and entrust the newly elected committee with the immediate task of approaching the other organizations in Polish Upper Silesia, with the object of amalgamating the whole of these organizations into one united organization. Should the separate labor unions not agree to amalgamation, then at least those organizations who see their salvation in unity can be amalgamated. The general lines to be laid down for the amalgamation are: Acceptance of the class struggle on broad lines; broad-minded tolerance and democracy for all members, free criticism and conception of the tactics and tasks of the trade unions, admittance of members to the committee of each organization in proportion to the number of members.

Should the amalgamation action not succeed, owing to opposition on the part of the leaders of other organizations, the committee shall then propagate the idea of amalgamation among the broad masses, and, on the other hand, defend the interests of the workers, organize all workers not yet organized, and form the united front against the capitalist offensive."

We hope, as already stated above, that the amalgamation will enable us to carry on our work on a broader basis in the future.

FASCISM

The martyrdom of the Italian proletarian women

By S. S. (Fiume).

In 20th century Italy we relive scenes of the middle ages. In Milan and Venice pyres have been raised, and the works of Marx, of Nietzsche, and all socialist literature, burnt.

A book of 400 pages has been published by the Italian Socialist Party, describing the atrocities committed by the Fascist bands from the time of the founding of Fascist unions until the time of their violent seizure of power. We give here only a few extracts from this work.

The name of the village of *Grosseto* will be ever remembered by the proletariat as a scene of bloody deeds. The Fascisti sent punitive expeditions to Grosseto. Men, women, and children, were beaten and killed, even those who belonged to no proletarian revolutionary party. One of the most barbaric deeds shall be recorded here: The two brothers *Bartolelli* were mortally wounded in the presence of their mother. For seven hours the mother wiped the blood from their wounds. The unhappy woman of the proletariat, who possessed no other riches than her children, raised her wounded son from the earth. She pressed him to her heart. He opened his eyes, but this was his last look. The Fascisti struck him again on the head, and his blood flowed into the lap of his unhappy mother.

Fia (near Parma): Here even children were beaten by the Fascisti. They forced their way into a house and violated a pregnant woman whom they found there, holding a revolver before her face. There were a number of violations. A pregnant woman was thrown from the second story.

Tivoli: A young girl, *Geltrude*, was plunged several times in the Tevere, and then left lying unconscious on the ground.

Milan: A conflict took place during a communist meeting, and 4 dead and 35 wounded were left lying on the ground. The 19 year old *Teresa Galli* was among the dead.

The episodes here described are only a fraction of all the atrocities committed. And all this happens before Mussolini's government. Although capital punishment is not yet legally introduced, thousands of proletarians have already fallen victims to Fascism. The Italian proletarian women now realize what a fateful tragedy Mussolini's victory is. And the proletarian women of the other countries should take this as a warning that the women of the working class should not sit at home inactive. So long as the bourgeoisie still lives, so long as the Fascisti are not exterminated, it is the sacred duty of every proletarian woman to take part in the fight against Fascism. They must participate in the proletarian self-defence formations, they must teach their children to hate the bourgeois class. For it is only this hate that can render the proletarian capable of breaking the power of the bourgeoisie!

IN THE R. I. L. U.

RILU. to the IWW.

Telegram.

Red International of Labor Unions has observed heroic struggle of Industrial Workers of the World against savage persecution by agents of American Capitalism in San Pedro and Los Angeles. Congratulates members of IWW., Marine Transport Workers and International Longshoremen's Association of joint fight carried on in Portland. Red international of Labor Unions expresses solidarity and support of millions revolutionary labor unionists affiliated with it for courageous and steadfast stand of IWW. members against attacks of Californian Capitalism. The RILU. trusts they will receive undivided support of all revolutionary elements in American labor movement in their struggle. We are sure the tried and dauntless revolutionists in militant minority of American Federation of Labor and in Workers' Party will rally to their aid. With revolutionary greetings
Lozovsky.

THE COLONIES

Egypt, the Key to the British World Empire

By Ariel.

The acute crisis through which European capitalism is passing is felt throughout the orient. While in Europe the capitalist system of economics is in a state of complete dissolution, and the separate bourgeoisies are preparing fresh military enterprises which will increase the extent of the collapse, colonial capitalism in the orient sees its foundations threatened by the awakening of the subjugated peoples. The colonial imperial powers are threatened everywhere by two strong revolutionary forces, which, to a great extent, work together—the movement for national independence and the action of the native workers. The vast masses of workers and peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, starved by foreign capitalism and native feudalism alike, are marching forward on the road to emancipation. The path which they have to follow is strewn with the victims of a merciless reaction. The fight which they have to carry on on two battle-fronts—against the foreign intruders and against the brutal native bourgeoisie—is beset with difficulties. But the workers and peasants of the East are entering determinedly into the ranks of the anti-capitalist fighting front, under the leadership of the Communist International, and allied with their brothers, the workers of Europe. The shining example set by the Russian proletariat, the first to shake off the yoke of slavery, is ever before them, and the aid afforded by Soviet Russia to Turkey, and to the oppressed peoples of the East, has caused every sympathy to be given, and all hopes to be set, on Russia.

Since 1919, English imperialism and the Egyptian people have been fighting an obstinate battle in Egypt. This struggle is of great importance, first, on account of the determination with which the whole Egyptian people is fighting for its emancipation, and secondly because the geographical position of Egypt, and the importance of the Suez canal render this the most sensitive spot of the British world empire. Egypt controls the maritime route to India, it is the central point where Africa and Asia meet, it is the strategic stronghold of English imperialism in North Africa and Syria; at the same time it is England's military basis in the Eastern Mediterranean against Turkey,

and the great cotton supplier for the textile industry of Manchester;—Egypt is the key to that empire on which the sun never sets. The emancipation of Egypt would be a stab in the heart of the British empire. The whole system of British imperialism would be shaken, and one pillar of world capitalism would be overthrown. For this reason, the struggle being conducted by the Egyptian people for its emancipation is one of immense significance for the international proletariat. The revolution which is to overthrow London must go by way of India and Egypt.

What can give national independence to the Egyptians? Nothing but the proletarian revolution of the great productive masses of the Egyptian people, a revolution at once political and social, will be able to secure the real independence of the country. Any other independence would be disappointment or delusion.

The *Wafd el Masri* movement, under the leadership of Saad Taglul, does not, in reality, aim at fighting England—despite the people's enthusiasm for this movement, and despite the English persecution of Saad—it only seeks to make a compromise. This party is led by rich bourgeois elements and is the organization of the large land-owners and Egyptian capitalists. These, on the one hand, are the competitors of English banking and commercial capital, but on the other hand, their own class interests prevent them from desiring a complete break with England. What they are striving for is an independence with England's agreement. This is shown by Saad's proposals, and the repeated declarations that England's special rights at the Suez canal and in the Soudan are to be recognized. This moderate movement was first forced to the left by the Egyptian people at its great demonstrations in 1919—1920, which were dispersed by English cannon and machine guns. At the same time England's clumsy policy of persecuting Saad converted him into a popular figure. But in its fight for national independence, the Egyptian people will find itself faced by its class enemies; not only by the court, by King Fuad, and by the higher bureaucracy, but also by the large bourgeoisie, for whom the problem of national independence consists of its desire to possess a monopoly in the exploitation of the Egyptian working masses. What allies has the Egyptian people in its struggle against English oppression, except Soviet Russia, and the international proletariat gathered around the flag of the III. International? The struggle of the Egyptian people for independence is an expressly anti-capitalist struggle. All the banks in Egypt, except the small Masri bank, are foreign banks, in which English capital dominates. The cotton market is ruled by English financiers, behind whom there stand the textile industrial undertakings of Lancashire. The state finances are under the control of the English financial advisor. And a great part of the cultivated land in Egypt and the Soudan is burdened with mortgages held by foreign banks.

The left wing of the nationalists (*Hish el Watani*), which is composed of petty bourgeois elements, and stands for the complete independence of Egypt, believes that it can carry on the struggle against England on a national basis alone, by exploiting the antagonism of the various imperialisms. But these are childish ideas. The various European states are inclined to let Egyptian nationalism take part in the imperialist game on condition that Egyptian nationalism will not make any serious stir, and does not threaten the status quo. The Egyptian nationalists had proof of this during the revolutionary movement of 1920. Scarcely had the revolt become threatening in character, when the European colonies in Alexandria demanded English intervention. It is to the common interest of all colonial imperialisms, French, Italian or English, to stand by one another against the national claims of oppressed peoples. The antagonisms existing in the international politics of England, Italy, and France, do not prevent these states from forming a united front against the populations of Syria and Egypt, when these demand national independence. In Egypt, the French, Italian, and Greek capitalists gather round the dominant English imperialism, to protect their privileges, and to suppress any Egyptian revolts. The English bayonet protects international capitalism and native feudalism in their exploitation of 40 millions of workers and fellahs, and there is only one way of combatting this effectively: an alliance of the Egyptian workers with the petty bourgeoisie. This alliance would clear the parasites of international capital, and the native exploiters, out of Egypt at one blow. Every other solution exhibiting a national program is merely deception, an attempt on the part of the Egyptian bourgeoisie to blind the proletariat. Under the mask of a false independence, the attempt is being made to sabotage the real efforts of the proletariat toward national freedom, to throw obstacles in the way of the proletarian struggle for economic emancipation, and to keep the working masses more secure than ever to the yoke of the native and foreign imperialisms.

The Labor Movement in Palestine

By Avigdor.

The roots of the Palestinian labor movement lie almost entirely outside of the native population. The great economic and political backwardness of the country, and the state rule of old Turkey, have prevented the development of the native city proletariat, which has been living under those patriarchal conditions which render it so difficult for any kind of people's movement to develop. We must remember that Palestine was only drawn into the sphere of capitalist influence after the war, and that the social stratification of its population is only beginning. Nevertheless, Palestine already possesses its miniature labor unions and labor parties, but these already reflect all the various trends, and especially all the various passions, prevailing in the labor movement in the countries of Europe today. The Palestine movement comprises exclusively the Jewish workers who have immigrated during the last 15 to 20 years. The national colonial character of this immigration has naturally been a barrier to the growth of trade unions on strictly class principles, and the Jewish socialists who emigrated to Palestine found themselves in immediate conflict with the native workers. The labor of the immigrants met no natural demand in the labor market of the country, and was entirely dependent on the philanthropic activity of the Jewish colonizing society and on the national funds. The agrarian undertakings founded by these societies were also unable to provide work for all the fresh immigrants, and it was of course inevitable that these unions should demand work from the Jewish colonists enjoying the protection of these same societies, while these employed cheaper Arabian labor.

The public works commenced after the war under the English protectorate created an increased demand for labor, and made it possible for more Jewish workers to immigrate. These brought a new spirit into the labor movement of Palestine. Above all, the dividing wall between the Arab and the Jewish worker collapsed, and although no close relations have as yet been attained between them, a way to these closer relations must be found. At the beginning of 1919 two labor parties were founded in Palestine: a Zionist party "The Union of Labor", formed out of the elements of the old Poale Zion Party and the non-partisan organizations, and a revolutionary international party: "The Party of Socialist Workers". Though this latter party was very weak, still it succeeded in developing energetic agitation for the internationalization of the trade unions, for the class standpoint, and for an active struggle against English imperialism and Jewish chauvinism. This agitation did not fail to achieve results. The Party won over a large number of local trade union organizations, and its influence was almost entirely decisive at the founding of the first organizations of the railway and road workers of Palestine. The Party is endeavoring to induce the Arab workers to join these unions, but has not yet been successful. The Arab worker sees in the Jew not only a competitor, but a gendarm. On the other hand, the European national bourgeoisie and the English administration at once formed a correct estimate of the agitation of our young Party. The first attempt to nip the movement in the bud was made in November 1920, after the celebration of November 7. Some comrades were arrested, their club closed, and all written matter confiscated. The Party was however, able to recover rapidly from this first blow. As early as December it participated in the joint conference of the trade unions, and won two seats on the committee of the newly founded labor confederation. But it was only natural that the Party could not remain long in this organization. Its conservative and bureaucratic character forced the Party to leave it. But even independent work met with many obstacles. The so-called "Zionist Communists" immigrating from Poland and Russia speedily exceeded the old group of comrades in numbers, and changed the original character of the party. They succeeded in having the name of the party changed to "Jewish Communist Party". The program was altered as well. The ensuing fraction struggles undermined the fighting capacity of the party, while in the meanwhile the yellow trade unions were developing without hindrance. Fresh immigrants could only obtain work when they became members of the yellow organizations. The yellows agitated indirectly against the Communists. On May 1, 1921 the Communists arranged a demonstration, which was attacked by the members of the yellow organizations. The native population, in whom an inclination to pogroms had long been encouraged by the French and English provocateurs, and by their own nationalists, and who did not grasp the import of the demonstration, threw themselves upon the demonstrators, and proceeded to a general pogrom against the Jews. About 200 persons were murdered or wounded, the whole blame for which Zionists and English alike hasten to cast upon the Communists. The active Jewish world, expelled from the country, the others were forced to work illegally. Work did not cease. Our

comrades soon succeeded in again making their way into some of the trade unions. But the inner contradictions also became more acute. The categorical demand made by the CI, that the Party break with the international union of Poale Zion, finally separated the two camps which had already existed. The split took place in September of last year, and led to the founding of two organizations of equal weakness. One of these, the Communist Party, gained by the schism the advantage of being freed from all petty-bourgeois elements, and having its path thus cleared for forming the nucleus of the future revolutionary organization of the Palestine proletariat.

In Palestine there are 15,000 organized workers; 4500 of these are members of the agricultural laborers' union, there are approximately the same number in the unskilled laborers' union, and the remainder distributed among various smaller trade unions. The alliance of these trade unions, the confederation mentioned above, is a section of the Amsterdam International. Until recently, this organization was opposed to the admittance of Arab workers. The leaders were, however, induced to make concessions, on the one hand by the pogroms, on the other by the revolutionary dissatisfaction of many members at these tactics, and finally, by the danger of the establishment of independent Arab trade unions. According to the theses published in the weekly organ of the confederation, national sections are to be formed within the trade unions, and these are to be subordinate to the directions of the Jewish central organizations. Thus the first step, however diffident, towards a coming together of Arab and European class comrades has been taken. The great public works which are projected, where Jewish and Arab labor will work under the same conditions, create the necessary basis for this mutual approach.

The revolutionary events are rapidly developing the class consciousness of the native workers. We can see this in the example furnished by the workers of Egypt and India, who have left their petty-bourgeois leaders and taken up the class war. Palestine, and its neighbors Syria and Mesopotamia, cannot form an exception. The resistance of the Amsterdamers can and will be broken, as soon as the first international union is formed.

Political Prisoners in India

By Evelyn-Roy.

At the moment of writing there are between 20,000 to 25,000 political prisoners in Indian jails, undergoing sentences of from three months to three years for their activities in the Nationalist movement of Non-Violent Non-Cooperation against the British-Indian Government. Exaggerated estimates by the nationalists themselves place this estimate as high as forty thousand, and it is possible that during the high water mark of repression, in the past eight months, this figure was not incorrect, but the consensus of opinion is that 25,000 prisoners still lie incarcerated on various charges arising out of the campaign of passive resistance initiated in 1920 by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

In addition to this number, there are various outstanding personalities, leaders of the movement such as Mr. Gandhi himself, who have been sentenced to longer and more severe prison-terms. Six years is the average sentence for those singled out for such exemplary punishment.

Class War Prisoners.

In addition to the political prisoners there are thousands of workers and peasants lying in jail under ordinary criminal charges, for taking part in various forms of direct action, such as strikes, riots etc., either in connection with the nationalist movement, or in their own campaign for the improvement of their miserable working and living conditions. The number of these cannot be estimated even roughly, but they run well into the thousands, even by taking only a few of the most prominent judgments of the past few years. For example, the agrarian revolt of the Moplahs of Malabar, Southern India, which lasted eight months, ended in the hanging of five leaders and the sentencing of 6,689 participants to various long terms of imprisonment. Seventy Moplahs died of suffocation while being transported in a railway van from one prison to another. Another of the recent prominent cases of agrarian unrest in the United Provinces, which led to the riot of Chauri Chaura by a mob of 5,000 villagers against a local police station, resulted in the arrest of 227 peasants, 172 of whom have in the month of January been condemned to death. Six died in jail of alleged ill-treatment. The sensational passive resistance campaign of the Akali Sikhs, an agrarian people of the province of the Punjab in Northern India, led to the arrest of 5,603 on technical charges of trespass and theft, all of whom have been given various sentences of from six months to two years.

Both agrarian and industrial workers lying under prison sentence are subjected to the ordinary jail-rules applied to criminal convicts, and only in the case of the arrested nationalists, coming mostly from the middle-class, is some exceptional treatment beginning to be made and their status as political prisoners recognized, owing to the pressure of educated Indian opinion, which has forced the Government to make some concession in this respect.

Apart from being forced to perform prison labor, political and class war prisoners are subjected to special forms of corporal punishment and torture for infringement of prison rules, or offending the sensibilities of the warders. Flogging is permitted under jail rules and frequently indulged in as one of the ordinary forms of punishment, inflicted at the will of the warder, for such trivial offences as refusing to stand up when ordered, or refusing to stand at attention when ordered. Cases of illness and death due to illness brought on by conditions and treatment meted out in jail are common.

What is needed to Remedy conditions.

In addition to other means for the relief of prisoners, the following measures should be adopted:

Organization of an All-India Political and Class War Prisoners' Bureau with sub-bureau in each province and important city, divided into three main branches or functions:

- Legal
- Publicity
- Welfare and Relief
- Financial

The legal department should provide the assistance of expert lawyers for all political and class-war prisoners, to defend cases and protect the rights of prisoners before and after conviction. It should also agitate for the recognition of the full legal status of such prisoners and their right to exceptional treatment from the ordinary criminal prison rules.

The Publicity Department should keep the public informed of prison conditions, treatment of prisoners, the conduct of cases, judgments passed and every detail of prison life. This department should function, not only nationally, but internationally, in order that the peculiar brutalities of Indian prison life should become as notorious as was that of the Russian Czarist regime. It should also agitate for funds to conduct the general work of the Bureau.

The Welfare and Relief Department would supplement the labors of the two foregoing, by providing food, clothing, medical aid, books and other prison-necessities and comforts where such are allowed, as well as to arrange for visits, letters, help to stricken families and to bring to the notice of the other departments of the Bureau the general condition of prisoners and cases of ill-treatment and abuse.

The Financial Department would collect funds for the carrying on of the above work, to be amplified from time to time as conditions demand.

Conclusion.

Since the Indian struggle at the present time and for some time to come, is predominantly national in character, the organization of a joint Bureau for Political and Class-War prisoners becomes imperative, and the nationalist movement must at the same time be made to shoulder the responsibility of the agrarian and proletarian movement which it constantly calls upon to militate in the nationalist cause. The reason is doubly imperative, since the Indian proletariat is too poor, oppressed and illiterate to take the initiative in any steps for self-defense that require a nation-wide scope and organizing power. The trade-unions can be relied upon to a certain extent, but only to the extent that these are sympathetic towards and working with the nationalist cause. All other labor organizations bear too much of the official government stamp to be relied upon for any sincere and effective work in the organization of a class-war prisoners' relief.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

The International Workers' Relief

By A. Eiduck.

When the International Workers' Relief entered into our struggle against famine, it was difficult to judge beforehand how great the help of this ally would be to us. The aid given was twofold: moral and material. The moral support lay in the fact that the IWR has helped us more than any other

organization to disperse the bourgeois distrust with regard to our famine. The IWR was able to convince that the famine was no "Bolshevist fairy tale", but a frightful fact. And with regard to material aid, this has been extraordinarily great. It suffices to say that up to the liquidation of our famine, we received a total of about 3½ million dollars in money and in goods through this organization. During the famine relief period this organization cared continuously for over 200,000 persons; here it must be emphasized that the food ration provided by the IWR was a full ration equal to three rations of the bourgeois organizations, and even to five rations of the ARA-payok. Even at this time the IWR foresaw the future, and was able to predict the consequences of the famine. It began to combine philanthropic aid with economic relief. Just two instances: In Tzaritzyn there was scarcely any hope of reviving the fishing industry; the fishing population, numbering about 8,000 persons, were condemned to death by starvation. They had neither food nor fishing implements. The IWR gave them both, and thus saved about 20,000 persons, including the families, from certain death. The result is that these fishing undertakings have yielded 50,000 pud, and at the last catch, thanks to the co-operation of the IWR, 90,000 pud. These restored and improved fishery undertakings will now be given back to the local authorities. The famine raged with especial severity in the province of Kazan. There was neither food nor cattle, the agricultural implements were worn out. Here again the IWR came to the rescue. It took over the management of three Soviet farms with about 1500 dessyatines of arable land. Three tractors and other new machines were sent.

The IWR also supplied tractors on credit. Thus for instance, the rural district Lenin, in the Orenburg Province, was supplied with two tractors on two years credit. Another tractor was placed at the disposal of the committee for combatting the effects of the famine, in Samara, on the same conditions. In the Crimea two completely destroyed factories for manufacturing articles from glass and bone, were taken over. Thanks to a gift sent by the French proletariat, both of these factories were completely restored, supplied with raw material for six months, and placed in the hands of the chemical workers' trade union. In Perm the aid rendered was on an even larger scale. Here 850 dessyatines of land were prepared with the aid of tractors, and sown with own seed. 500 dessyatines of land were ploughed for the coming spring, and further 300 dessyatines, belonging to peasants possessing no horses, were worked over. The work was done here by 22 tractors presented by the American proletariat. In Moscow the IWR also took over a shoe factory, and restored it completely, with new machines — a gift from the German proletariat.

Fairly good crops were expected in Russia. The central committee for famine relief was reorganized into a central committee for combatting the consequences of the famine. At the conference held by the IWR in Berlin in July, it was resolved that the work of the IWR in Russia should now be carried on on the same lines as that of the above-named committee for combatting the effects of the famine; in other words, it was resolved to concentrate all efforts on the restoration of economic life. This demanded fresh and great expenditures, and it was decided, with the agreement of our government, to issue the *First International Workers' Loan*, to the value of 1 million dollars, guaranteed by the Russian government, term ten years. The campaign is managed by the central committee of the IWR in Berlin.

The IWR did not completely abandon purely philanthropic aid. It was for instance decided to undertake the feeding of 20,000 children, victims of the famine period; 14,000 of these are already being provided for. It must also be observed that the care of these children by the IWR also includes their education. For this purpose schools and workshops have been erected, where the children are instructed in various crafts.

When we discussed this question at the July conference in Berlin, the prospects of floating this loan appeared more favorable to us than they were in reality. The reason for this is the industrial and financial crisis which envelops Europe more and more, — especially Germany. No slight rôle is also played by the political events, as for instance, the predatory raid of the French in the Ruhr area. The realization of the loan has therefore been slow, and in Europe we shall only succeed in placing one half of the loan by May. North and South America must take it upon themselves to subscribe the remaining 500,000 dollars.

But this delay in realization need give rise to no uneasiness. We have the proofs that our loan is being taken the greatest sympathy everywhere — by the workers of the Third

of the proletariat, — the co-operatives, trade unions and other labor organizations.

The enormous field of work covered by the Workers' Relief is thus obvious. And the prospects opened out to us by the activity of the IWR are also clear.

We must remember that through the IWR we can obtain not only 1 million dollars for economic relief, but literally hundreds of millions. There are 39 different countries and nations represented in the organization of the IWR. All these countries and nations, taken together, will be able to command milliards of workers' dollars. At the present time they are placing their savings in bourgeois banks, but when we are in a position to prove that we are able to successfully invest workers' capital in Russian undertakings, then there is no doubt that the international proletariat will give the preference to our land of the worker, and will rather entrust its capital to us than to the banking houses owned by the oppressors of the workers. We must prove that the foreign proletarian organizations investing their money in Russia are not only performing a good deed towards the starving, but that they are at the same time investing securely. For this reason all circles of our party, and our economists, must accord the maximum of their attention to the work being done by the International Workers' Relief, and support it everywhere to the utmost of their ability.

THE WHITE TERROR

Three Citadels of Roumanian Counter-Revolution

As we have received this letter directly from this frightful dungeon, we cannot endanger the security of the writer by giving his name. Ed.

The Kishinev prison.

The Kishinev prison is a structure erected in the style of a medieval castle. It is surrounded on all sides by corner turrets, has an inner courtyard in the middle, and an outer courtyard bounded by an outer wall. The stone cells of the dungeon lie beneath the turrets. Streams of water run down the walls of the secret subterranean dungeons. The history of the erection of the Kishinev prison contains the suicides of three builders. This prison is a solidly built and expensive structure. It is said that when it was completed, Alexander II stood on the top step, and after asking in surprise: "Is that all", he added, that for the sum expended, it would have been possible to build a marble palace.

Each one of the three stories bears a different name. The prisoners pass their lives in narrow cells, behind high windows and heavy doors; once a day they walk round the inner courtyard for 45 minutes; their lives are regulated precisely to the stroke of the clock. Since the trial of the "1908", when 79 prisoners were delivered into this prison at one time, the court of inquiry has continued to supply the prison with new guests. At the present time over 100 persons are imprisoned here. Six to seven prisoners are confined in cells intended for two to three men.

"Shilava."

Shilava, the 13th fort of the Bukarest fortress, is a building lying half way below the level of the ground, and has been adapted for use as a military prison. Many subterranean passages have been filled or cemented up. Here the comrades were imprisoned who were arrested when the communist group was unexpectedly attacked. The constant contemptuous treatment and tortures forced 15 of the prisoners to a fortnight's hunger strike. One of these unhappy men became insane. After this the projectile shed was transformed into a dungeon, into which the prisoners in irons were thrown. Although the fortress is so strongly built, and the political prisoners are guarded by special double sentries, 11 men escaped in one night. As the fugitives encountered a walled up exit in the corridor, they had to remove the panels from three partition walls, which brought them into the second part of the fortress; here they sawed through the bars, and left the prison five paces away from the sentry. This appeared perfectly incredible, and nobody in Bukarest would believe it. This fortress,

which had always held its prisoners as secure as if they were in a vault, had not proved strong enough to hold the Bolsheviks. The escape aroused the more alarm and sensation among the bourgeoisie in that the assassination in the senate followed three days later. The prison management naturally took vengeance on the remaining prisoners. Three hunger strikes took place within four weeks. As the prisoners refused to work, the commander now forced them to resort to starvation. After a time two other prisoners lost their reason. The communists who were involved in the notorious trial of the "270" will never forget the time spent on remand, awaiting trial, with its hunger strikes, reprisals, attempts at flight, machine guns, and chains. This prison is so notorious that its name is used to frighten children in Roumania. And in Bessarabia this gaol is represented as a bloodthirsty monster, continually demanding fresh sacrifices for the triumph of plutocracy.

The "Türgu" window

is a penal institution in the Moldau district. In Roumania there are three penal servitude gaols, the "Türgu window", the Aknele-Mare, and the invalid prison of Sslanik. The Türgu window lies at a distance of one and a half kilometres from the salt mines, where salt is brought to the surface from a depth of 170 metres. By means of money, and sufficient servility to the gaolers, the prisoners can obtain many privileges: wine, better food, and other things. The ordinary prison food in itself is so bad that even pigs reject it. Mamaliga (maize flour porridge), two onions, and unpeeled potatoes once daily, this is the scanty prison ration. When the maize porridge is given out the recipients have to hold their noses. After the second party of Bessarabians had been delivered into the prison, the rottenness of the food led to a mutiny. The prisoners threw themselves upon the warders, and made themselves masters of the prison. Three days later there was an investigation, followed by a slight amelioration of the shameful regime. The warden of the prison was even arrested, but very soon released. The old brutal methods were speedily restored. The cruelties of the gaolers have been so unbearable at times, that some of the convicts have been driven to murder the most ruthless scoundrels among the prison officials. The rage of the prisoners was so great, that the murdered warders were cut to pieces and thrown into the officers' quarters.

The convicts have to work for eight hours daily in the salt mines. Fatal accidents and fits of maniacal frenzy are by no means rare here. The political prisoners have to live under the same conditions as the criminals. It is true that the law contains a paragraph providing different treatment for the political prisoners . . . but only on paper. The management discovers everything with the aid of its well organized system of denunciation. If trouble is scented among the "unreliable" prisoners, the management first tries to draw them over to its side, or to silence them with a warning. Discontented or disobedient prisoners are thrown into irons and sent to Doftana for a few months. Here there is a house of correction. Solitary confinement, wrist and ankle irons, bread and water once in two days—this is the "order" prevailing in this prison. Prisoners released from this place look as if they had passed through a severe illness. But many never return at all.

NOTICES

The International Propaganda Week Extended

The International Committee of Action has decided to extend the *International Propaganda Week* from April 15. to May 1st. This will give all the labor organizations in every country, an opportunity to crown their propaganda for the decisions of the Frankfort Conference, with the 1st of May celebration. The I. C. of A. asks all organizations so to arrange the meeting campaign, as to have most of the factory and trade union meetings held in the week of April 15.—22., and the mass meetings and demonstrations in the week following.

Secretariat of the International Committee of Action.