

conditions that they had to work under and when the railroad workers threatened strike, President Wilson, whom the American workers had voted for, did not hesitate to send his favorite General Leonhard Wood with United States troops to shoot respect for capitalism into their bodies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1919, as a result of the enthusiasm aroused by the Russian Revolution, the time appeared to demand action. The proletarians within the S.P., called for a new orientation. They demanded on the basis of the experiences of the Russian Revolution, that the S.P. conduct its propaganda not merely for securing votes on election day, but for a mass movement that, one day, would have to use other means, in order to free the working-class and place it in power.

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

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

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

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

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In the heart of civilized Europe

By Karl Radek.

In Buer two French officers were murdered by persons unknown. The French occupation troops replied to this by shooting two German workmen, and by issuing the following decree:

1. Any act of violence committed against a member of the French occupation will be punished by the shooting of the mayor at present under arrest, and by other punitive measures to be decided upon.
2. From today on (March 12), from 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the public must use the middle of the street only. The population is forbidden to put hands in pockets; the arms must be so held that the palms of the hands are visible.
3. From today on, only those persons are allowed in the streets, between 7.30 in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning, who are provided with a special night pass.
4. By 10 o'clock in the evening all lights must be out.
5. Any assembly of persons in the street, and any assembly whatever, even during the day, will be dispersed by force of arms.
6. The inhabitants are strictly prohibited from possessing weapons. Anyone found with a weapon in his possession will be brought at once before the court martial.

This declaration issued by the French troops of occupation tells more than any article about the conditions prevailing in the Ruhr area. The French, who in the beginning of their invasion attempted to play the role of friend to the German working class, have found themselves obliged by the course of events to imitate the German imperialist troops in the Ukraine under similar circumstances. They are obliged to force the population into submission with their weapons, and where they encounter the passive resistance of the population, they let themselves be provoked into the most bestial and savage, and at the same time the most idiotic, deeds of violence. It suffices to mention that when the French occupied the People's House at Herne, a building erected from the savings of the workers for the purpose of affording a meeting place for the Herne proletariat, they set the whole furnishings of the house on fire, ruined the central heating plant, and left the house filthier than a pig-stye. And this was done by the sons of this civilized nation. All this is inevitable. If the masses of soldiers are to be kept under arms at all, if they are to be at all used for such rapacious raids the officers are obliged to instil fear against every imaginable attack, and distrust and hate against the immediate surroundings. The soldier becomes exhausted by his unceasing exertions. It is not possible to keep him under military dis-

cipline; play must be given to his savage instincts; plunder and murder must be made of personal interest to him. These are the tactics of the French officers.

In order to attain his goal, M. Poincaré decided to prolong his stay in the Ruhr area, and not to quit until his demands are fulfilled. We do not know how long M. Poincaré will have to keep his troops in the Ruhr area, but there is every sign that the time will be long enough to disintegrate the French army. We do not know if Poincaré will succeed in extracting coal from the Ruhr basin and money from the steel safes of the German bourgeoisie. But there is no doubt whatever that what he will obtain from the Ruhr area will be the disintegration of the French army. The French soldier, whether peasant or workman, is an honest human being, just as the masses of the people in every country are honest. It is true that when in a state of fear, and in an atmosphere of outlawry, he can become bestial, as is the case with every mass of soldiery whose path is not illuminated by a great idea. But the French soldier will not be able to suppress his doubts and indignation at the crime for long; he is beginning to reflect as to why it is being committed. At the moment in which he gives himself a reply to this question, the rule of the French Bloc National begins to totter, and perhaps the rule of the French bourgeoisie with it.

But until then we are witnesses, in this fifth year of peace in democratic Europe, of the most savage dictatorship of the bayonet, attempting to dominate one of the industrially most developed parts of the world. How much was written by the French bourgeois press on the impotence of force, so long as it was a question of predicting the collapse of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. But the Russian proletarian dictatorship was not impotent, for the wielders of this dictatorship, the masses of workers and peasants, were fighting for their own cause, and were actuated by the profoundest faith in the justice of their cause. The dictatorship in Russia was and is supported by the working strata of the population. The object of this dictatorship was the class of exploiters. In the Ruhr-area dictatorship of the bayonet has been introduced, but these bayonets are in the hands of workers and peasants who will presently discover that they are fighting for somebody else's cause, for the cause of the capitalists who do not want to pay any taxes. In the end, Poincaré's dictatorship will prove powerless for creating even a peace of piracy. But on the other hand it will become the source of the profoundest revolutionary upheaval. It will not only lead to the overthrow of the French Bourgeoisie but also of the German and the world bourgeoisie.

Even though Poincaré's occupation troops may throw factory managers into prison, as well as workers, still, the matter will be settled tomorrow, in one way or another, by a bargain struck between French and German capitalists,—and the whole burden of the dictatorship will be thrust onto the working class. The disclosure of the conspiracy in Bavaria proved that the nationalist circles of the Right, this German Vendée, were ready to come to an understanding with the French troops on the separation of Bavaria from Germany, on its union with the Roman Catholic-Tyrol, and on the creation of a state in which the revolutionary rebellion was to be exterminated. The official circles of the German Right naturally disown these Bavarian traitors. But this is merely external. Count Reventlow's organ, the *Reichswart* is not the petty publication of irresponsible nationalist circles. For decades Count Reventlow has been the leading publicist of German imperialism. Even today he is one of General Ludendorff's advisors. What attitude does he adopt in this periodical? Count Reventlow declares that under present circumstances all talk of war with France is absurd. Resistance will only be possible after all rebellion has been suppressed within Germany itself, and all Jewish and revolutionary elements have been annihilated. Count Reventlow is thus preaching the policy of a pause for breath with regard to French imperialism, with the idea of utilizing the recess for a bloody settlement with the revolutionary elements in Germany. Count Reventlow is preaching that which is being done by the Bavarian traitors. And this is again something inevitable. German counter-revolution is truly unable to fight on two fronts at the same time. It must either renounce its counter-revolutionary character in the name of nationalism, or renounce its nationalism, for the moment, in the name of its counter-revolutionary character. Propaganda by word and deed. Chattering with French imperialism for the subjugation of the German working class, under the protection of the French bayonet. These are guide-posts on the road of even the most consistent representatives of German counter-revolution.

The Frankfort Conference

(Conclusion)

Frankfort, March 18.

The second day of the congress.

Telegrams of greeting were received by the Congress from the shop stewards and factory meetings of the largest works in Essen, Bochum, Dortmund, Mannheim, Hamburg, Bremen, Königsberg, Chemnitz, Leipzig, Frankfort, Berlin etc. All these asked the congress to formulate the lines of combat against French and German capitalism, and stated confidently: *Rely on us!*

The following foreign organizations had sent letters and telegrams of greeting: The General Trade Union Alliance of Bulgaria, the Central Trade Union Association of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of Roumania, the Glasgow Trade Union Council and a mass meeting in Glasgow, the Trade Union Alliance of Czechoslovakia, and other organizations.

The secretary of the International Miners' Federation, *Frank Hodges*, sent a letter stating that he could not take part in the congress because it was not convened by the Amsterdam International.

The first speaker was a representative of the C.G.T.U., who spoke on the first point on the agenda:

Report on the situation in France.

"Until 1914 the French Trade Union Federation appeared to be filled with revolutionary spirit. It was in July 1914 that the French proletariat experienced its first bitter disappointment. Leaders like *Jouhaux*, who had just sworn faithfulness to the cause of the proletariat at the grave of our unforgettable *Jaures*, now formed a coalition with the bourgeoisie. But even at that time a courageous opposition made itself felt, which proclaimed *class war against war*. But this oppositional group contained men like *Merrheim*, who did not follow us on the road to revolution after the war, when a clear division was made between the two camps of Reformism and Revolution. These men did not grasp the change of situation brought about by the great war. Although the revolutionary majority in the trade unions made extensive concessions to the reformist minority, the latter brought about the split, by which we were obliged to found the revolutionary C.G.T.U. outside of the CGT."

The speaker then described the frightful financial situation of France, which naturally signifies inevitable economic ruin. "The national debt now amounts to 10,000 francs per head

And it is this that is breaking up the ranks of German nationalism, splitting it up into two groups corresponding to its two fundamentals: capitalist and feudal nationalists are advancing against the working class under a foreign yoke; but sooner or later the proletarianized petty-bourgeois elements of nationalism will realize that in reality they can only defend the cause of German national independence from within the ranks of the German proletariat. And on the other hand,—the German proletariat, in face of the alliance between French bayonets and Fascist black-jacks, will be forced to realize that they can defend neither themselves nor the country except by opposing force against force, by a determined and consistent struggle.

Mr. Lloyd George, who became a prophet after ceasing to be a minister, has written an article on how the French are carrying out the Versailles peace. In this article he describes the complete helplessness of the international bourgeoisie. He points out that the Ruhr adventure has overthrown the shaky balance of Europe, that it has rendered all antagonisms more acute. He shows that, in the whole of bourgeois France there is not a single individual capable of making up his mind to liquidate the crime initiated by Poincaré. He points out that the English government was not able to do anything to prevent this crime. We ask, what will be the inevitable result of this complete impotence of the world bourgeoisie with regard to the impending catastrophe, whose approach the bourgeoisie sees, but cannot prevent? The answer is extremely simple. Nobody can tell how long the death agonies of capitalist Europe may last. But one thing we do know—if the bourgeoisie is not able to prevent the catastrophe, it will be prevented by that class which can live without the bourgeoisie, and which does not intend to be engulfed in the catastrophe. Today or tomorrow this class will take the salvation of humanity into its hands. And the wretched dictator, the dictator without brains, the dictator who is only capable of destroying the European bourgeoisie, will be compelled to abdicate in favor of the dictator who has learnt by suffering what he has to do.

of the population, and there is no prospect of wiping out this debt so long as Poincaré's policy drives France from one adventure into another. The French government, which does not venture to call upon the war lords to pay up, throws itself with full violence on the working class. A 10% wage tax is to cure the wretched financial conditions. But the working class protests against this by great spontaneous strike movements, as at Le Havre. The C.G.T.U. and the C.P.F. formed a Committee of Action against the predatory raid into the Ruhr area. This committee has distributed the Essen manifesto among the whole working class; this manifesto is read in every iron works, and is the starting point for a mighty action among the working masses. The success of our work is best proved by the fact that 13 of our comrades have been thrown into prison. We have fulfilled our duty towards the International, and shall continue to do so.

In France the resistance against Poincaré's government is growing from day to day. This is evidenced by the great miners' strike, in which the Red Miners' Union effectively utilized the favorable situation created by the coal shortage and the high price of English coal. In this strike the Amsterdam leaders again proved yellow. They declined to recognize the united front; but the masses grasped our slogans, and our Union has emerged from this struggle with a membership increased by thousands. On this 18. March, the day of the Commune, the day on which the whole French proletariat thinks of its bold champions, massacred in thousands against the wall of Pere Lachaise, we are proud to represent here the proletariat of France. We shall not tolerate another 1914, we shall sabotage the mobilization and declare a general strike. We appeal to the German proletariat, whose revolutionary spirit we have here seen, to join us in preparing for the revolutionary mass strike against war. In the face of all obstacles and dangers, we must lead the revolution to victory."

Comrade Brandler: The situation in Germany:

Today we see in Germany, as a result of the social democratic policy, the complete collapse of capitalist "reconstruction", the collapse of finance, of food provision, and of production. The country has a floating debt of 4½ billion marks. While the enormously high prices render the food problem more and more acute for the proletariat, the agrarians gather in huge profits. Although the dollar is falling, the prices continue to rise.

The capitalist offensive becomes daily more aggressive. The results of the policy pursued since the collapse are, a lower living standard of the proletariat, expropriation of the lower bourgeoisie. The whole structure of German society has been thrown into utter confusion, and many members of the intellectual and military classes have not only been forced into the ranks of the proletariat, but even far below it. It is precisely these elements which supply the foundation of Fascism.

The German bourgeoisie refuses to raise by taxation even those amounts required to maintain its own state apparatus. 90% of all taxes are raised from the wages of workers, clerks, and officials, and only 10% of these direct taxes are collected from the bourgeoisie. The German bourgeoisie uses every possible medium for its enrichment, even undisguised high treason, as recently proved by the *Baden Aniline Co's* deal.

Our first task is to mobilize the proletariat. In the year 1918 we demanded an alliance with the sole proletarian state,—Soviet Russia. At that time the social democratic lack of faith in the revolutionary power of the proletariat was so great that the social democrats declared such an alliance to be useless, for within 3 months Czarism would be ruling Russia again.

They went begging to the Entente bourgeoisie, and fell upon their knees before it.

And yet all the then existing Entente governments have vanished; the Soviet government is the only one remaining, and it stands more firmly than ever. The French proletariat will not rebel for a Cuno or Stinnes government. But if the proletariat had the power in its lands, then the French proletarians in uniform would have acted precisely as they did in Archangel when they were called upon to fight against the Soviet government.

The French imperialists are now striving for precisely the same aims as those striven for by the Germans in the war.

On the one side we see decay and ruin in the reactionary ranks, and on the other side the growing revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

Comrade Newbold of the English C. P. described the situation in Great Britain: there is no probability of an effective intervention on the part of the masses of British workers at the present juncture. After two years of unprecedented unemployment, there are still 400,000 registered unemployed. The trade unions are weakened, and the employers utilize every strike for the purpose of drawing cheap labor from the army of unemployed. This, of course, is no excuse for the hypocritical tactics of trade union leaders of the description of Frank Hodges, who do not think at all of revolutionary action conjointly with the workers of other countries.

The old Conservative Party, accustomed to rule, and infernally cunning, has brought about the union between England and America, under Bonar Law's leadership. France, on the other hand, is comparatively isolated. So long as capitalist society continues to exist, British imperialism will never renounce its ambition of world domination. It merely waits for its chance. The British workers are dissatisfied. Their class consciousness is awakening. For the first time in history millions of votes were cast for the Labor Party. But this signifies no more than the millions of votes for German social democracy in 1914. British imperialism is declining. But at the present time the great mass of British workers still think imperialistically; they consider themselves members of a ruling class, and for this reason we cannot promise anything for the C.P. of England which we are not in a position to fulfil.

Declaration of the Social Democratic Fraction.

The social democratic fraction declares to the International Conference:

With the occupation of the Ruhr the imperialists of France and Belgium have committed an act of war involving a frightful danger for the proletariats of Germany, France, and Belgium. The occupation of the Ruhr is a blow in the face of the German working class. But at the same time it implies the most terrible consequences for the proletariat of France and Belgium.

The Ruhr occupation signifies the danger of a fresh international slaughter. Should, however, an understanding be reached between Poincaré and Loucheur on the one side and Cuno and Stinnes on the other, it will be solely at the expense of the proletariat on both banks of the Rhine. The exploited of both countries will be alike the victims of a war or of an understanding between the capitalists of France and Germany.

The Ruhr occupation has supplied fresh nourishment to Chauvinism in France and Germany. Under the cloak of national defence the Fascists are arming. And in both countries the weapons are directed against the proletariat. A new war is to be provoked, so that the workers may be the more easily enslaved.

In this situation it is absolutely imperative that the working class form a

national and international united front,

for carrying on the struggle against the victorious imperialists, against the war danger conjured up by the occupation of the Ruhr, and against Fascism in every country. It is only if the working class acts in determined unison that it can emerge victorious from this fight.

We therefore demand that the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, and the General Trade Union Alliance, put an end to all coalition with the German bourgeoisie, and take up the struggle for the Workers' Government.

The German bourgeoisie shares the blame for the war and the occupation of the Ruhr.

The alliance with the bourgeoisie must be replaced by the alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, with the Independent Socialist Party and Communist Party of Germany.

It is only by taking up the struggle against the German bourgeoisie that we shall be able to establish a united fighting front together with the working classes of France, Belgium, England, and all other countries.

This struggle must bring us side by side with

Soviet Russia, the first and only proletarian state in the world.

We demand of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals that they enter all the organizations affiliated to them into this international class struggle. The present situation is as pregnant with danger as that of the summer preceding the great war.

We do not want another 1914.

We therefore demand of the international labor organizations: war against war! The social democratic fraction declares to the International Conference that it will do its utmost to further this demand within the Social Democratic Party and the independent Trade Unions.

The working class, if united with the bourgeoisie, is condemned to inevitable ruin. But our own national and international united fighting front renders us unconquerable, and will gain for us peace and liberty.

Long live the united international fighting front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie of the whole world!

Ernst Friege. Barnewald. Erdmann. Flammiger. Appel. Albert.

Declaration of the Independent Social Democratic Fraction.

The invasion of French imperialism into the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial area, combined with the steady increase of the Fascist danger, makes it imperative for all proletarian forces to be mobilized for a determined defensive struggle. This defensive struggle can only be victorious if based on the united action of the international proletariat. The lust for robbery and power actuating international capitalism and imperialism must be opposed by the united front of the international working class, ready for action, and established on the firm foundation of purposeful and positive class war.

In consideration of the present dangerous and threatening situation, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany is willing to put all tactical party differences in the background for the moment, in order that it may co-operate in the formation of this united front. It regrets and condemns the anti-labor attitude adopted by the leaders of the London and Amsterdam Trade Union Internationals, and of the General German Trade Union Federation and the United Social Democratic Party, whose non-participation in the Frankfort congress demonstrates an attitude hostile to unity. The Independent Social Democratic Party regards the combatting and defeat of this disastrous revisionist and nationalist policy as the first need of the hour, in order that the French and German proletariats, and the proletariats of the whole world, may be steeled for the struggle against all militarist and imperialist dangers, and for the victory over international capital, in order that the road be cleared for Socialism.

H. Fuchs

(Secretary of the national committee of the shop stewards of Mecklenburg.)

E. Walther

(Representative of the Party Committee.)

The rapacious invasion of French imperialism in the Ruhr area, and the danger of a fresh war.

I.

The International Conference now being held in Frankfort, convened on the initiative of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards, and attended by delegates from the most important European countries and the united workers of various tendencies:

social democrats, independents, syndicalists, communists, and revolutionary trade unionists, is induced by the situation created by the occupation of the Ruhr to pass the following resolution:

1. The fight against the occupation must be carried on with increased energy, nationally and internationally, especially in Germany, France, and Belgium. Our slogan must be:

Out of the occupied territory!

2. The annulment of all international robber-treaties, especially of the treaty of Versailles, must be striven for by means of a struggle organized and executed in every country with the utmost energy.

3. The carrying out of this struggle involves systematic propaganda work in the army in general and among the troops of the occupied territory in particular. The most important task of the coming period is the work of enlightenment among the white and colored soldiers.

4. Systematic work must be done towards fraternizing the slaves of labor hounded against each other by the hostile bourgeoisie, towards awakening brotherly solidarity between the working class and the troops in the occupied territory. The French, Belgian, and English soldiers must have it proved to them by actual deeds that the German workers adopt an irreconcilable attitude towards the ruling classes of Germany and France alike.

5. The necessary restoration of the devastated regions is to be carried out at the expense of the ruling classes of all countries, under the control of proletarian organizations, until such time as the problem of restoration is solved by the general socialist order.

6. Propaganda work must be intensified among the youth, the women, and war victims of all countries. The revolutionary youth organizations, whose work has already been attended with much success, as well as the revolutionary women's organizations must be induced to take a more active part in the fight being conducted by the whole proletariat against war, imperialism, and Fascism.

7. Visits to the Ruhr area must be organized, from representatives of works and trade unions of all countries, and especially of France, Belgium, and England, so that these representatives may have the opportunity of getting to know the real position of the workers in the occupied territory, who are borne down by the double yoke of home and foreign exploitation.

8. Franco-Russo-German fraternities must be formed among the workers of the most important industrial groups, especially among the railwaymen, miners, and metal workers. The task of these fraternities should be to execute joint acts of solidarity, and to lend aid for the co-ordination of international actions organized by the Committee of Action.

9. Control Committees must be formed, nationally and internationally, from among the workers of those branches of industry engaged in the manufacture and transport of the means of war (workers in ammunition factories, aeroplane works, chemical works, mining, sea-faring, railroads, and transport service). These Control Committees must have headquarters on the frontiers, at railway junctions, and in the most important ports.

10. Special conferences must be immediately organized, of representatives of the shop steward councils and trade unions of Germany, France, Belgium, and the occupied territory—especially from Paris, Brussels, Rhenish-Westphalia, and Berlin—for the discussion of all questions relating to the situation of the working class in the occupied territory, and for consulting on the most suitable measures of joint militant action.

11. An International Protest Week against the Ruhr occupation must be carried out in all countries from 15.—22. April. These manifestations and demonstrations must be extended into mighty protests against the rapacious treaty of Versailles, against the war danger, and against Fascism. The labor organizations of every political trend, and especially the great non-partisan masses of workers, are to be called upon to take part in these demonstrations.

12. During this week the ex-parliamentary campaign against war danger and Ruhr occupation must be supported in the parliaments and municipal representations of all countries.

13. During this international protest week the fight must be taken up everywhere against the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie. The creation of the proletarian united front, and the organization of an international strike in the case of diplomatic and warlike complications, can only be carried through victoriously by means of constant, persevering, and inexorable fighting against all the measures taken by the capitalist offensive.

14. The International Conference elects from its midst delegations commissioned to negotiate with the Amsterdam and Second Internationals, the Vienna Working Union, and the workers' organizations of the different countries, on the organization of this protest week, and on the formation of a proletarian united front for the struggle against Fascism, war danger, and the Ver-

sailles treaty. These delegations are to be composed of followers of the various parties represented at the conference.

15. The conference elects an International Committee of Action, composed of 21 members, representing all the political and economic organizations present at the conference. Should political or trade union organizations not yet represented at the conference, join the international fighting front later, they will be enabled to send delegates to this International Committee of Action.

16. The International Committee of Action, in its capacity of ex-party organ, is commissioned to initiate fraternal relations with the labor organizations of all tendencies. Where the heads of the national and international organizations refuse to cooperate with the committee, the latter is commissioned to appeal directly to the masses, the shop stewards, and the local organizations.

17. The International Committee of Action is commissioned to mobilize all political and economic organizations of the workers for the struggle against international imperialism. For this purpose the International Committee of Action is to enter into negotiations with all labor organizations regarding the convening of an International Labor World Congress to combat war, imperialism, and Fascism.

18. The conference commissions the International Committee of Action to create a fund for establishing the international united fighting front. All workers are to organize collections for this Fighting Fund, and to deliver up the amounts collected to the International Committee of Action.

As the occupation of the Ruhr area is a result of the Franco-Anglo-German conflict for hegemony, the revolutionary workers of these countries are faced with a number of special tasks.

In France,

where the Communist Party and the Unitarian Labor Confederation have been carrying on a violent struggle against their imperialist bourgeoisie, this struggle must be intensified. "Down with the Versailles peace treaty!" "Out of Germany!" these must be the slogans cast abroad at all meetings held among the broad masses. Agitation and propaganda are to be supplemented by demonstrations, and the struggle concentrated on the following points:

Fight against high prices; against the wage tax; against the exploitation of the colonies; for their emancipation; against the use of the army and of colored troops, especially in social conflicts between capital and labor; for the imposition of all taxation on the propertied classes; for the abolition of standing armies; for the free expression of opinion among officials; for the arming of the proletariat.

The united front tactics, which have already achieved good results in France, must be continued by the political party and the revolutionary trade unions alike. As the shop steward movement is just coming into existence in France, it is necessary to begin with a campaign for convening a congress of representatives from all factories, at first in districts and later on a national scale, for the purpose of discussing the question of unity of the trade unions and the danger of war.

In Germany,

the revolutionary working class must wage war at two fronts. The first aim is:

To throw Poincaré out, with the aid of the international action of the working class.

Today the situation is different from that of 1914; today the working class is determined to defeat the external enemy, and to solve the conflict in the interests of the proletariat. At the same time it represents the interests of the broadest non-proletarian masses. While the bourgeoisie paralyzes the defence against the Ruhr occupation by its readiness to come to an understanding with the French bourgeoisie, and to join it in exploiting the workers, the working class is mobilizing, and organizing the revolutionary fighting staff against French imperialism.

In order to check the imperialist plans of the French bourgeoisie, in order to create the firmest solidarity in the international working class, it is imperative to unfold a mass struggle for the overthrow of the Cuno government and the establishment of a revolutionary labor movement.

While the Social Democratic Party and trade union leaders subordinate the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie, while they support the Cuno government by every possible means, it must be the task of the revolutionary workers to mobilize the forces of the working class, especially outside of the Ruhr area, for the struggle against the Cuno government.

This can only be done by opposing everywhere a united revolutionary proletarian fighting front to the capitalist offensive

against wages and working hours, and to the bands of murderous Fascists paid by heavy industry. The work being done by the shop stewards and control committees, towards the reduction of prices and towards obtaining control of production, the formation of proletarian self-defence units against Fascist reaction, must be continued and extended.

The tax-dodging practised by the propertied class must be combated by the seizure of real values by a Workers' Government. The working class refuses to raise the means for the sham defense being carried on by the German bourgeoisie while negotiating with the French bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary working class of Germany opposes every fresh capitalist war; it will ten times rather throw the riches of the German bourgeoisie, pressed out of the German working class, into the jaws of bloodthirsty French imperialism, in order to win a respite for the development of proletarian power, than sacrifice the bodies of the German proletariat for a capitalist war. Should this attempt at maintaining peace be shipwrecked on French imperialist greed for land, should the powerful support and enthusiasm called forth internationally by a revolutionary Workers' Government in Germany not cause the then weakened Entente imperialism to abandon its attack on the German Workers' Government, then, a revolutionary war of defence carried on by the German and Russian Red Armies, allied to the revolutionary working class in the Entente countries, will be able to conquer this counter-revolutionary imperialism.

England.

The revolutionary workers of Great Britain are faced with the task of winning over the British Labor Party and the trade unions for a decisive action against the occupation of territory in Germany, and against the danger of renewed war. A comprehensive campaign must be carried out in the press, in Parliament, in the municipalities, by every means of publication, for the purpose of enlightening the English working class on the situation in the Ruhr area, and on the pirate policy of the English bourgeoisie in Ireland, in the Near and Far East, and especially in Turkey, India, and Egypt. The working class is to be organized for the struggle against this policy now being pursued by the ruling class.

It is necessary that the revolutionary proletariat in the army and navy conduct extensive propaganda against the bourgeois policy, and for the proletarian class struggle.

The mass unemployment, the capitalist offensive in England, the attempts to lengthen working hours and reduce wages, the casting of the whole burden of taxation on the working class, the housing problem — all this must be made the subject of a broadly planned propaganda for the establishment of the proletariat united front against bourgeois class rule and bourgeois reaction.

In Italy,

where the Fascist Bacchanalia continues, and where Fascism has reduced the working masses to their present condition of enslavement in order to be the more easily able to plunge them into fresh wars, the most urgent task is the concentration of the whole of the revolutionary forces of the country; further, the restoration of the proletarian mass organizations, and the mobilization of the working people in town and country, regardless of party.

There must be a determined fight to restore the liberty of the press, of assembly, of organization; for the liberation of the political prisoners, for securing housing for the workers without increased rents, against reductions in wages, against the arbitrary dismissal of workers and officials for political reasons, for the imposition of all taxation upon the bourgeoisie, for the adherence to the lease agreements and for the complete retention of the eight hour day. Legal, semi-legal, and illegal activity must be carried on energetically in the army and in the Fascist organizations.

This work of organization, this concentration of all proletarian forces in the struggle for the defence of the life interests of the working masses, when supported by the solidarity of the international proletariat, will create the necessary power for the overthrow of the Fascist regime.

In Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, where the governments are under the immediate influence of French imperialism, and which France is anxious to convert into a corridor through which she can find immediate access to the frontiers of Soviet Russia, and divide up German territory, we must concentrate our whole propaganda on the slogans: "Down with the French Exchange and its flunkys!" "Down with all those who promise to give the blood of the workers for French gold!" In these countries, the immediate neighbours of Soviet Russia, particular emphasis must be laid on the readiness of the workers of these states to stand on the side of Soviet Russia in

the case of war. The work of revolutionary organization in these countries must be conducted in the closest contact with the revolutionary workers of France and Germany. The agitation and propaganda must be closely bound up with the propaganda and action against unemployment, high prices, taxation, political suppression, etc.

The Russian working class, which has proved its international solidarity in the Ruhr crisis by great demonstrations, collections of money, and consignments of corn, will support the German and French working class determinedly in all struggles against exploitation. The revolutionary Workers' Governments will meet with the unqualified support of the Russian working class, and with a readiness to enter into a fighting alliance for the establishment and security of the rule of the working class, with the aid of every means obtainable. The alliance of the Russian Soviet power with the victorious workers' governments of Western Europe will render the rule of the working class unconquerable.

Resolution on the struggle against Fascism.

An additional task is imposed on the working class, that of fighting the victorious Fascism of Italy, and the Fascism being organized all over the world. It must overcome Fascism politically, and organize effective means of self-defence against Fascist violence. For this purpose the following measures must be adopted:

1. The labor parties and labor organizations of every tendency must form a special body in all countries, for leading the struggle against Fascism. The duties of this body are as follows:

a) Compilation of facts on the Fascist movement in their own countries.

b) Systematic enlightenment of the working class regarding the hostile class character of the Fascist movement, by means of newspaper articles, pamphlets, posters, meetings, etc.

c) Organization of self-defence among the working class by means of enrolling and arming self defense troops. Organization of workers' control committees for preventing the transport of Fascist bands or of their weapons. Ruthless crushing of all Fascist attempts to terrorize the workers and to hinder the expression of their class will.

d) Inclusion of all workers, of whatever party, in this struggle. Appeal to all labor parties, trade unions, and all proletarian mass organizations, to join in defence against Fascism.

e) Combatting of Fascism in the Parliaments and all public corporations.

f) Devotion of special attention to anti-Fascist enlightenment among the working youth, from whose ranks the Fascists enlist most of their recruits. The revolutionary youth organizations should take part in the activity of all the proletarian organizations of self-defence.

2. The forces of Fascism are organized internationally. It is therefore imperative that the fight against Fascism be also organized internationally. For this purpose an international workers' committee must be formed. Besides forming a medium for exchange of experiences, this committee will above all be entrusted with the organization of the international struggle, to be conducted chiefly against Italian Fascism. Leading factors for the struggle are:

a) an international campaign of enlightenment by means of newspapers, pamphlets, pictures, mass meetings, etc., showing the absolutely anti-labor character of Italian Fascist rule, and the systematic destruction of all labor organizations and institutions by Fascism;

b) the organization of international mass meetings and demonstrations against Fascism, against the representatives of the Italian Fascist state abroad, etc.;

c) utilization of the parliaments; appeals to the parliaments, especially to their labor fractions, and to the international labor organizations, to send commissions to Italy to examine into the situation of the working class;

d) struggle for the immediate liberation of all imprisoned revolutionary proletarian fighters;

e) material and moral support for the persecuted working class of Italy, by means of collecting money, finding homes for the refugees, aiding their work abroad, etc. The International Red Relief must be further developed to this end. The worker's co-operatives are to be appealed to for help;

f) the international committee of action is commissioned to consider all the possibilities of a moral, political, and material boycott of the Italian government;

g) the conference commissions the international committee of action to put itself into communication with the Provisional International Committee for Combating Fascism, and with the organizations which have been formed by it, for the purpose of establishing a permanent committee.

It is imperative to hammer into the mind of the workers that the fate of the Italian working class will be their fate, unless they prevent Fascism from being recruited from the less class conscious elements, and that they can only prevent this by energetic revolutionary struggle against the ruling class. The labor organizations must therefore make an energetic and determined attack against capital, for the protection of the broad masses of the working people against exploitation, oppression, and usury. They must oppose the pseudo-revolutionary demagogic watchwords of Fascism by an efficiently organized mass struggle. Further, they must crush with all their force the first attempts at Fascist organization in their own countries.

On the suggestion of comrade Clara Zetkin, it was unanimously decided to send the following telegram to the comrades imprisoned in Italy:

"The International Conference at Frankfurt sends the warmest fraternal greetings, and the warmest liberation greetings, to comrades Bordiga and Serrati, and to all communist, socialist, and revolutionary workers whom the terror of Fascist dictatorship has banished behind prison walls, or persecutes at home and abroad. The conference regards it as the sacred duty of all class conscious workers to fight, in faithful solidarity with the suffering Italian proletariat, with all energy, for the liberation of the imprisoned, and for the suppression of Fascism."
Clara Zetkin.

The motion proposed by the Polish delegation, that the Committee of Action should make an appeal to the Polish workers employed in the Ruhr and in France, asking these to remember their class duty and not to permit themselves to be used as tools of the bourgeoisie, was passed unanimously.

POLITICS

The Bulgarian Miners' Union and the Ruhr Occupation

On February 11, the Bulgarian miners held large meetings for discussing the occupation of the Ruhr area, and the danger arising therefrom for all miners. When one of the speakers announced that the secretariat of the International Miners Union, at whose head stands the famous Hodges, had rejected the twelve hours protest strike against the Ruhr occupation and war danger, proposed by the seven revolutionary miners' unions, among them being the Bulgarian miners' union, thousands of voices raised the cry: "Down with the traitors". At one of the meetings, held at the large Pernik colliery, the following resolution was passed:

The miners of Bulgaria regard the Ruhr occupation by the French imperialists not only as a preliminary to a new bloody war, but at the same time as an attack on the rights of the miners, especially on the rights and liberties of the thousands of miners of the Ruhr area. A great part of the blame for the present sufferings of the Ruhr proletariat, and for the disastrous results of the occupation of the Ruhr area for the whole German and French proletariat, lies at the door of the German bourgeoisie and its greedy capitalist policy.

The responsibility for the crime committed by French imperialism and German capitalism is also shared by the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union federation, who facilitated the occupation with the aid of their leaders in France, Bulgaria, Germany, England, and other countries. The Amsterdam International refused to entertain the proposal made by the Profintern, to carry out an international proletarian action against the deeds of violence committed by French imperialism. In the same manner the International Secretariat of the Miners' Union rejected the suggestion made by the unions affiliated to the Profintern, for the organization of a general protest strike for defending our brothers in the Ruhr.

The leaders of the German Miners' Union omitted to take any step whatever which could rescue the workers of the Ruhr district from the clutches of the capitalists, Stinnes, Thyssen, and the reactionary Cuno government.

The Bulgarian miners while, exposing the treachery of these leaders, send their greetings to all the miners of the Ruhr area who have declared themselves ready to fight against French imperialism and German capitalism alike. They send greetings to the shop stewards of the Thyssen collieries, who withdrew their representatives from the commission for the liberation of the colliery barons and directors. They declare their revolutionary solidarity with the decisions passed by the shop stewards' congress of the Ruhr mines, and most warmly welcome the defensive

action commenced by the French workers against the attack of the French imperialists. They extend their hands in all brotherliness to the miners of the Ruhr and of all countries, and call upon them to join in the common and united struggle, under the leadership of the Profintern, for the overthrow of capital, and for the establishment of peace and fraternity among the working peoples by the aid of workers' councils and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The slogans of the Bulgarian miners are: "Long live the international solidarity of the miners! Long live the united front of the proletariat of all countries!"

Let us win the Army for Communism

By Maurice Laporte (Paris).

Motto: We can make no revolution without the army.
Karl Liebknecht.

It is a fact that without the army there is no certainty of victory. To win the young soldiers for Communism is to strike a deadly blow at Capitalism.

They are fools who hope for a "short peaceful" revolution, a social transformation without profound and mighty upheavals. In the battles of today victory falls to the one who has the best weapons at his disposal, and knows best how to use them. There are no pleasant surprise attacks as in 1848, no taking of town halls or chamber buildings by a boldly executed coup; now there is nothing but the barricade, and behind it the rifle, the machine gun, even the cannon. Two great armies oppose one another, determined to fight: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. And we again emphasize that only the complete defeat of the one can render the victory of the other possible. It is in our hands to choose and to conquer.

We are often told: "If you defend the Red Army, you are not really anti-militarists". Naturally those who oppose militarism are solely the elements who take every opportunity of emphasizing their will to peace, who groan and sigh whenever events appear to make war inevitable.

And these pacifists have never been so numerous as now, during the present period of confusion and threats of fresh war. Let us take a closer glance at the reasons adduced by these stay-at-home humanitarians.

Bourgeoisie and Pacifism.

For the bourgeoisie, pacifism is just as effective a means to an end as religion, native country, justice, universal franchise, — it is another medium for lulling the proletariat to sleep. In the name of pacifism, and with the full support of the social democrats, the bourgeoisie condemns our thesis of the class struggle, which imposes on the oppressed of all countries the right and the duty to emancipate themselves by means of revolutionary force, that is, by means of war itself. Just as the bourgeoisie has its election agents, so also it has its special assistants whose task it is to sing the praises of the benefits conferred on the world by the League of Nations, to extol the idea of the rights of the peoples, of general and simultaneous disarmament, although all these things are absolutely incompatible with the present state of society which is based upon oppression and domination.

When the pacifists reproach us with having insufficient anti-military ardour, they are mightily mistaken.

Our chief concern is not that an army is a mere assembly of human beings accustomed to discipline and obedience. For us the social rôle played by the army is of much greater importance. Today it is a platitude to say that the army is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class. But platitude or not, the constant repetition of this assertion does not in the least detract from its significance. The point of main interest for us is: in whose behalf is this instrument being used?

At the present time the army supports the capitalist state. In the communist society, and during transition to this state of society, the whole army will be at the service of the revolution, at the disposal of the proletariat, which, after it has seized power, will inevitably have to take up arms against world reaction. For the triumph of communism in one country will not lead automatically to world revolution.

We must not forget the profound meaning contained in Lenin's words: "Until we have disarmed the bourgeoisie everywhere, we cannot throw away our guns".

National Defence?

Those pacifists who condemn war as such, are the same who do not reject the idea of national defence. For these opponents of war there exists a profound solidarity which closely unites the exploiters and exploited of one and the same country during war.

Events, which have little respect for pacifists, sometimes make war unavoidable, and when such a moment arrives, we shall witness a complete collapse in the camp of the humanitarians. Then we shall hear nothing more of peace between the peoples, or of disarmament. Then nothing will be spoken of but war. National defence comes before all else:

It is thus easily understood why we so bitterly combat the lies of pacifism.

We must now be quite clear in our minds in what manner we must work in order to convert the army to our views.

Practical Anti-militarism.

In theory and in practice alike, the army is directed much less against neighbouring capitalist nations than against ourselves. Thus we have to win at least the majority of this army over to our side, if we want to take up the struggle with a fair prospect of success.

We have 736,000 soldiers for the protection of national honor; of these 250,000 are at present in the Ruhr and Saar districts, 85,000 in Morocco, 8,000 in Constantinople, and 35,000 in Syria and the East. All this apart from Algeria, Tunis, Menel, etc. Of course this is all very little indeed, so little that the 1921 class is being kept on service, and in a few weeks will probably be joined by the 1923 class. It is easily possible that still further categories will be called up. And in addition to this there is the fleet, the tanks, the air service, etc.

How can we oppose this? Is there any question of opposition at all? No. Our immediate task consists in working within the army itself, of winning the sympathies of its finest and most class conscious elements. The Communist Youth does not by any means conceal from itself the difficulties presented by this task. But it is resolved to defy them. Here on the threshold of our great anti-militarist campaign we turn to the delicate problem of practical agitation.

Ways and Means.

The first part of our plan includes leaflets, posters, bills, pamphlets, daily papers, etc. No opportunity is to be missed for spreading our literature as widely as possible in the meetings held by the young recruits, and in the conferences and peoples' meetings.

For the second part of our plan we only need to turn to the carefully worked out program of the 3. World Congress of the Communist Youth International.

We shall co-operate closely with our comrades in the army for the improvement of their conditions.

We shall start a campaign for the express purpose of improving the food in the ambulance service, of regulating the granting of leave, suppressing courts martial and penal companies, granting of civil rights to soldiers, etc.

By means of our leaflets, our bills, and our special organ: "Le Caserne" (The Barracks), we shall arouse the interest of the soldiers in our struggles. We shall establish permanent and regular relations between the army and the working class. We shall unceasingly remind the soldiers that they are sons of the people, and that they must remember this at all times and places.

If we wish to cite examples of what has already been done, we only need to name two: that of the strike at Havre, and more especially that of the more recent and important affair at Bochum, where the "Tommys" despite all the threats of their officers, refused to tear down the posters stuck up by the Communist Youth.

All circumstances favor the anti-militarist action which we are about to take up. The Communist Party must not forget that anti-militarism is not a special task which only falls to the Youth, but is a duty imposed on the whole party.

The provincial press, and the functionaries in all local groups and districts, must support our action to the utmost of their power.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

To all who have Children or who love Children!

By Maxim Gorky.

Today we must help the 2 million Russian children, the orphans living amid the ruins of the world war and in the famine districts. At the time when the famine threatened to strangle Russia, I sent an appeal, a cry throughout the wilderness of Europe; my call was not in vain. And now I appeal for Russia once more. I call upon all who love children, or who have children themselves, to participate in the *International School Week*, April 15-21, of this year which is being carried out by the *International Workers' Relief* conjointly with the pacifist-humanitarian

bourgeois organizations. The children living in the homes maintained by the International Workers' Relief are to be given the possibility of developing into free, new human beings, and to this end books and mediums of instruction are to be collected, and, if possible, money and clothing. I am fully confident that the solidarity of the peoples will triumphantly overcome the dark night of cruel disunity!

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A great Marxian Party

By N. Bukharin.

For 5 years the Russian proletariat has maintained its power. And even the opponents of the proletariat have to admit that this power is securely established. It is a power rooted deeply in the Russian soil; it transforms the Russian people; it leads with an iron hand millions of human beings along a stony and thorny path, crossed by barbed wire and exposed to the fire of the enemy; it leads them through the steppes of hunger to the glorious victory of united humanity. How has this miracle been accomplished, despite the impotent rage of bourgeois mediocrity?

Undoubtedly the first factor which is to "blame" is the historical circumstances under which the toil-stained battalions of labor have advanced with mighty strides. History has created extraordinarily favorable circumstances for the success of the Russian working class: an autocracy whose devilish organization was shattered by the war, a weak bourgeoisie not yet capable of wielding the weapon of imperialism, and stupid enough to have undermined the power of Czarism during the war. Mighty masses of peasantry not yet awakened to patriotism, filled with passionate hate against their land-owning lords, and longing to possess the land they tilled. These are the circumstances which rendered the victory of the proletariat possible, which enabled it to unfold its young wings and soar aloft.

But there was yet another cause. The existence of an iron cohort absolutely devoted to the revolution; the existence of a party, unexampled in the whole history of great class struggles. This party had passed through the hard school of illegal action, its class will had been developed in the stress of conflict, it had won and trained its comrades in suffering and deprivation. The very hardness of the school evolved admirable workers, whose task it is to transform and conquer the world. In order to gain a clear idea of how this party has been formed, let us cast a glance at the main features of its development.

First a few words regarding the general staff. Our opponents do not deny that we have excellent leaders. One of the greatest ideologists of the German bourgeoisie, one of the present masters of German thought, Count Kayserling, states in his book: "Economics, Politics, Wisdom", that the power of Soviet Russia can only be explained by the superiority of its statesmen, who far surpass the statesmen of all bourgeois countries. The exaggeration is obvious. This alone is not decisive. But it is nevertheless incontestable that the fact explains much. What is the truth in this respect? The main point is the careful choice of leaders, a choice ensuring a combination of competence, cohesion, and absolute unity of will. With this watchword the leadership of the party was formed. In this respect the party owes much to Lenin. That which narrow-minded opportunists call anti-democracy, mania for conspiracy, or personal dictatorship, is in reality one of the most important principles of the organization. The selection of a group of persons possessing absolute unity of thought, and filled with the same revolutionary flame, this was the first pre-requisite for successful action. And this pre-requisite was fulfilled by merciless combat against any deviation from orthodox Bolshevism. This utter rejection of compromise, this constant self-purging, welded the leading group so firmly together that no power on earth could divide it.

The most important elements of the party grouped themselves around these leaders. The strict discipline of Bolshevism, its iron cohesion, its uncompromising spirit, even during the period of joint work with the Mensheviks, its absolute unity of viewpoint, and its perfect centralization, — these have invariably been the characteristic features of our party. The comrades were blindly devoted to the party. "Party patriotism", the passionate enthusiasm of struggle against all other groups, whether in the workshop, public meeting, or prison, converted our party into a sort of revolutionary religious order. For this reason Bolshevism aroused the abhorrence of all liberals, of all reformists, of all tolerant, vacillating, and weak-minded elements.

The party demanded real work among the masses from all its members, whatever the conditions and difficulties. It was precisely in this regard that our first differences with the Mensheviks arose. In order to carry out our purpose we formed fighting units. These were not composed of line speakers, sympathizing intellectuals, or migratory creatures here to-day and there to-morrow, but of men ready to give their all for the revolution, for the fight, and for the party; ready to face imprisonment and to fight at the barricades, to bear every deprivation and suffer constant persecution. Thus the second concentric circle was formed around our party, its fundamental proletarian working staff. But our party has never been narrowed or limited within any sectarian confines. It must be energetically emphasized that the party has never considered itself to be an aim in itself; it has invariably regarded itself as an instrument for the formation of the mind of the masses, for gathering together and leading the masses. The whole art of political dialectics consists in possessing firm and coherent formations, but not in being a sect, manoeuvring in mere emptiness; in being a really mobile fighting power, capable of setting in action the mighty apparatus of the whole class, the whole of the working masses. The history of our party, especially during the years of revolution, shows how closely it has followed the tendencies in the masses. Who was the most active revolutionist in the army under the old system, constantly in danger of being martyred or killed by the officers? It was the Bolshevik. Who was the most unwearying agitator and organizer? It was the Bolshevik. He missed no opportunity of influencing the masses. In the imperial Duma and in the trade union, in the workers' meeting and in the workers' club, in the Sunday school and in the factory canteen, the Bolshevik was to be found everywhere; the Bolshevik penetrated into every corner, so that a contemporary writer said of him that he "functioned energetically". He has never failed to "function energetically", this Bolshevik.

We must further draw attention to some peculiarities in the policy of the party, to which is largely due the great success attained by the CPR. In the first place comes the firm Marxian foundation of the party. Martov was not wrong when he explained the continuance of the proletarian dictatorship, after the crisis in the spring of 1921, by the remark: "The Bolshevik Party has at least gone through the Marxian school". This is true. The party has studied Marxism thoroughly. The theoretical pre-determination of events, the analysis of class relations, that calculation "in millions" which Lenin has so aptly described as being the essence of politics; all this is in the highest degree characteristic of the leaders of our party. At the same time another peculiarity must be specially emphasized, applicable to our leader Lenin. In our hands, Marxism has never become a dead dogma. It is always a practical instrument, it is not a word but a spirit, it is no scholasticism and no Talmudism, but the actual spirit of Marxian dialectics as a practical working weapon. We possess Marxian training, but no Marxian prejudices. We have an admirable instrument, and it is under our control, not the reverse. And this living revolutionary Marxism is really capable of working miracles.

This explains the extraordinary tactical elasticity of the party. Political errors almost invariably arise from the application of methods which are eminently suitable under certain circumstances, but are harmful under others. The inability to grasp a concrete situation is the cause of the majority of political mistakes. And it is precisely in this grasp of a concrete situation that our party excels. The party has understood how to exercise the utmost patience in dealing with the errors and naivete of the masses. We only need to recall the days following the February Revolution, when we had patiently to make clear so much, and had to proceed so carefully in drawing the masses over to our side. But the party has not only shown its capacity for patience, but for bold, determined, and unexampled rapid action. The days of the October revolution were ample proof of this. At that time history confronted the party with a whirlwind. There was nothing for it but to plunge into a whirlpool, and to emerge from it on the crest of a gigantic wave. The slightest false move would have been fatal. What was required was unlimited boldness, obstinacy and determination; the party plunged into the vortex, and emerged with power in its hands.

The party has proved itself capable of adapting its course to the need of the hour. Nothing can be more instructive than its policy in this respect. If we remember how the Russian communist party utilized the support of the social revolutionary party, and how rapidly it steered its own ship, and the ship of state, out of the waters of war communism into those of the new economic policy, these two examples suffice to show the tactical elasticity of the party, which combines absolute realism with a clear consciousness of the final goal to which it is steadily proceeding.

It is not possible for the working class, under the rule of capitalism, to so educate itself as to be capable of undertaking the leadership of society. Under the rule of capitalism the working class is enslaved and oppressed. In order to rise, it must break down the capitalist shell which envelops society. It cannot train its forces prove its powers of organization and undertake the leadership of society, until the period of the dictatorship. During this period the working class develops its real nature, the slave is transformed into creator and lord. This gigantic work is one demanding the utmost exertions on the part of the masses and their vanguard. Our Russian Communist Party may well be proud of what it has accomplished. It has created its generals and its soldiers, its administrative and governmental forces, its nuclei for mental culture and economic construction. Its younger generation enters right into the gigantic laboratory of the Soviet state. After the frightful civil war, and the famine, the great Red Land advances triumphantly, and its trumpet of victory calls upon the workers of the whole world, the slaves in the colonies, the coolies, to take up the final struggle against capital. The innumerable army of the exploited is headed by a mighty troop, seamed with scars, their standards riddled with bullets and torn with bayonet thrusts. This is the troop which leads the advance, the guide and helper of all the others — it is the Communist Party of Russia, the iron cohort of the proletarian revolution.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A Letter from the General Federation of Labor of Japan

(Tokio, January 1923.)

Dear Comrades,

Never in the history of the Japanese Labor movement have the workers faced a more outrageous crime from the bourgeois class. Never have we faced a more bitter struggle. The jingo government of General Kaio is about to pass three new class laws which had been prepared in secrecy but are expected to be introduced in the new Diet in which workers have not a single voice.

The first Bill is the "Trade Union Bill". It clearly aims at smashing all existing militant labor organizations and at converting them into mere pillars of the capitalist system.

The second is the "Bill of Arbitration of Small Tenant Disputes", the object of which is to deliver the poor peasants over to the avaricious land owners.

The third and most repressive Bill is the "Anti-Radical-Social-Movement-Bill". It needs no saying that the Bill aims at depriving the labor movement of its active champions as well as at cutting off all international connections between the Japanese and other proletariats.

Against this bitter assault of the ruling class, we, the Japanese trade unionists, are determined to fight to the last; we formed a strong united front, building up the *Joint Trade Union Committee* which comprises more than thirty militant unions throughout the country.

Fellow workers and comrades of the world. You must support your struggling Japanese brothers if they are not to fall victims to the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie. Rise in solidarity with us, and fight against our common enemy.

Down with the White Terror!

Long live proletarian international solidarity!

Secretary of the General Federation of Labor of Japan,

K. Matsuoka.

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POLITICS

Soviet Russia and the League of Nations

By J. Steklov.

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

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

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

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

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