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The Murder of Victor Kingisepp.

In Esthonia one of the most prominent fighters for working-class emancipation, Comrade Victor Kingisepp, has been shot. The "democratic" government followed the example of the Social Democrats of the earlier government who in the year 1920 caused 26 Communists to be shot.

Comrade Kingisepp when a mere youth already shared in the revolutionary movement in 1905 in his native home on the island of Oesel, in the illegal revolutionary groups among the students and later on in the workers' organizations of Petrograd and Reval. He carried on an unrelenting struggle at a time when over the whole of Russia the dull heavy clouds of reaction, the gallows and rifles proclaimed the victory of Czarism over the revolution.

A fearless fighter he never allowed the flag of revolution to fall from his hand, even at the last moment. He worked underground in his native Esthonia, in Russia and in the distant Caucasus. He organized the workers, peasants and soldiers, and in the year 1912 published the newspaper *Lutch* (The Beam) giving it a Bolshevik tendency. He experienced the victory and the triumph of the Revolution in Russia, but did not remain in the revolutionary country. Instead, he hastened to his native Esthonia where the working-class groaned under the yoke of the notorious Constituent Assembly. Enriched by his former experiences he carried on illegal work there for three years under the most difficult conditions as leader of the revolutionary labor movement. He refused even for a minute to forsake his dangerous position. Unweariedly he continued to publish pamphlets and newspapers. Every need and requirement of the labor movement met with a response from him.

Following the example of other capitalist countries facing the abyss, little Esthonia also sought to suppress all concerted action by the working-class. When preparations for the 1st of May were in progress arrests began in this connection on the 28th April. Even then Kingisepp

regarded it as impossible to leave Esthonia; from his hidden retreat he maintained the direction of the preparations for carrying out this year's May Day demonstration which was to be of great importance.

He was arrested. The Government which had gotten a devoted fighter into its hands, was consumed with the desire to settle its accounts with him. It did so quickly and basely. The Soviet Russian Legation, which received information of Comrade Kingisepp's arrest, at once inquired the reason for this from the Esthonia Government. They reassured the Legation with the statement that Comrade Kingisepp was in no danger. A few hours later, however, he was summarily shot!

Comrades! Proletarians of all countries!

The martyr's death of Comrade Victor Kingisepp is an outstanding example of how the bourgeoisie is fighting the working-class. Comrade Kingisepp was accused of but one "crime"—fighting for the emancipation of the working-class. This was sufficient to condemn him to death.

Will this murder disturb the consciences of Vandervelde, Martov and Adler, who were so greatly alarmed over the judicial proceedings against the murderers of the leaders of the working-class in Russia?

Comrades! The capitalist world seeks to save itself from the inevitable overthrow, by means of shooting the revolutionary leaders, it forgets, however, that though these leaders perish, their ideas are growing and spreading among the masses. *The death of this fighter does not check the fight.* On the contrary, it will but go on the more vigorously. Nor will the death of Comrade Kingisepp be without consequences. The workers of Esthonia and of the whole world will cherish the name of this fighter in their memory and will brand the Esthonian executioners and their masters with everlasting shame.

The answer to this criminal and shameful murder must be the joining of the proletariat in the united front for a restless struggle to the end.

Honor, fame and reverence to the fallen fighter!
On to the common fight, you the survivors!
Death to Capitalism!

The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The National Council of the German Communist Party on the United Front

by Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

The adversaries of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD.) have for a year prophesied its rapid disappearance, or at least its reduction to an entirely unimportant group. The scurrilous attacks of the Social Democratic Party, which speaks of the "putrefying, stinking corpse of the KPD.," were joined in by the adherents of the former Communist Working Union (KAG.), grouped round Levi and Friesland, who left what they described as the "putschist sect", the KPD., and joined the great "revolutionary" party, the Independent Socialist Party of Germany (USPD.). In the meantime the USPD. has entered upon a crisis which has led to lively conflicts in the press and in the meetings of this party. The so called decadent KPD. has however able to score one success after the other. Its influence has considerably increased amongst the working masses and the number of its adherents has greatly increased in the elections of trade union officials and to the Shop Committees.

The last session of the National Council of the Communist Party of Germany took place on May 14th and 15th during these victories. Throughout the debates there was no evidence of any internal party conflicts. But on the other hand the discussions turned upon the tasks which the Communist Party of Germany has to fulfil both politically and in regard to organization. Even the question of the tactics of the united front which is still being theoretically discussed in some of the foreign parties, was not debated as a principle. The German Party has no need to ask itself whether these tactics are Communist and successful or not; for the German Party has been able to win the above-mentioned victories thanks to the application of these tactics. Of course, all tactics can be wrongly applied and it is natural that some organizations sometimes have done so. The National Council discussed these blunders openly, not with the intention of repudiating these tactics and abandoning them but to apply them the more thoroughly and consistently in view of our experiences hitherto. The National Council therefore considered it its duty fraternally to ask the foreign parties, in particular the French and Italian Parties to abandon all objections to the united front still existing in these parties in order to establish the united action of all sections of the Communist International, not only on the ground of discipline but on account of tried and proved practical experience.

Having in mind apparently the objections of Lenin that the decisions of the Berlin Conference were paid for too dearly, four comrades wanted to express, instead of unqualified approval of the conduct of the Communist Delegation at the recent conference, only their approval of the general line of conduct of the Delegation. The National Committee with 42 votes against 4 expressed its agreement with the Delegation. The resolution on the tactics of the united front and the demand for the Workers' World Congress was unanimously adopted with the exception of three not voting. It must be pointed out, however, that in Germany no objections at all have been raised against the conduct of the delegation at the Berlin Conference, even among the district organizations represented by these three comrades. For the German Party the tactics of the united front are no empty phrase but a living issue clothed with flesh and blood. Also the demand for the calling of a Workers' World Congress is for the German Party no mere organization question. The German party is fighting step by step against the other workers' organizations for the will and consciousness of the non-Communist workers. The KPD. appeals to all workers to fight against the increasing prices, against the taxes which will have to be increased in consequence of the Reparations Note of the Entente, and against the capitalist attack on the eight-hour day. The necessity for this struggle is apparent to the workers and they therefore urge their own organizations to come to an understanding with the Communists for joint action. The German Majority Socialist Party (SPD.) is still able—as a result of its increased campaign of calumny against the Communists—to avoid collaboration with them and the struggle against the employers and the Coalition Government. The USPD., however, which up to recently frustrated all common action with the Communists, has in many places under the pressure of its own members been compelled to enter into relations with the KPD. The demand for the convening of the Workers' World Congress now finds vigorous support among many organizations of the SPD.

How little the tactics of the united front are tending to make our party more complaisant toward of the SPD. and the

USPD. is shown by the situation in Saxony. Here the Communist Party has for a considerable period supported a Right Socialist and Independent Government. The increasing will of the masses to take up the struggle against the bourgeoisie and to resist the ever increasing impoverishment of the working population enables our party to submit to this Socialist Government certain conditions which will as a consequence lead to the intensification of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. In the event of the Socialist Government in Saxony refusing the amnesty, the demilitarisation of the police force, the abolition of the "Technical Emergency Aid" (official strike breakers) and the submission of all legislative bills to the trade unions and the Shop Committees—our fraction will overthrow the Socialist Government, force a dissolution of the Diet and conduct the election campaign under the slogan of the proletarian united front in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for a workers' government. The National Council expressly approved this policy of the section of Saxony and promised the whole-hearted support of the party to our Saxon comrades.

In the survey of the political situation, the National Council mentioned the Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo. The opposition of the SPD. and the USPD. leaders to of this Treaty is caused by their fear that the Communists will be strengthened as a result and that a rapprochement towards the proletarian Russian State and an estrangement from the capitalist Entente will take place. The National Council stated in a resolution that the German Government from similar motives will also not be disposed to carry out the Russo-German Treaty honestly. The National Council therefore demanded that the German Coalition Government not resume in any form the policy of a "peaceful" blockade against Soviet Russia. The National Council expresses its opinion that a treaty concluded in the interest of the working population of Germany as well as of Russia will only be really carried out by a German Workers' Government.

The best means for the Communists to obtain a footing among the working class both politically and in organization is through propaganda in the factories and trade unions. The National Council has therefore reaffirmed its former decisions according to which it is the duty of every Communist to work in the trade union organizations. The party is decidedly against any split and against any propaganda in favor of leaving the trade unions. The trade union officials who as a consequence of their friendly policy toward the employers, attempt by all means to prevent the revolutionizing of the trade unions, are responsible for the resignations and splits. But in this respect also our party has won new successes as a result of its persevering work. In spite of the expulsion of the most active Communists, the influence of the Communists in the trade unions is increasing.

The deliberations of the National Council were governed by the idea of the establishment of the united front in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and recognition that the political successes of the Communist Party of Germany must be consolidated and strengthened by intensive organization. The National Council therefore made the the discussion of the organizing tasks of the Party a special point of the agenda. It laid down the principle that the door must be open to every worker desirous of entering the party; in order to make impossible any future departure by the party from its root principles, which it has up to now been successful in preventing in its struggle with the Levi group, the party will continue the most intensive educational work amongst the old and new members.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In Italy.

by Luigi Repposi (Rome).

The employers' offensive continues unbroken. Fascism is giving the workers no rest; they are day after day in all the provinces murdered by the White Guards; the jails are overcrowded and infinite suffering has become the lot of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is utilizing the situation to reduce wages; the battle against the eight hour day has broken out all along the line. In Alessandria, Milan, Cremona and Brescia the bricklayers are getting ready for defense. We were treated to the sad spectacle of seeing the leaders of the Italian Building Trades Union raising no objection to the employers' proposition that during the summer months the workers should work nine hours. The rank and file, however, refused to consider the proposal. This so enraged Quaglino and the rest of the Social

Democratic leaders that they deserted the strikers who were thus heavily handicapped in their attempt at conducting the strike themselves.

The national wage agreement of the metal workers is about to terminate. Their organization is apparently little inclined to take up the struggle while the employers have already decided to extend the agreement "with due regard to actual conditions".

Reduced to simple words, all this means that wage reductions are continuing and that the best comrades are to be exposed to hunger and want because they will nowhere be admitted to work. The futility and the danger of thus cringing to the employers is clearly exemplified in the case of the Fiat Works in Turin, where after the dismissal of all Communists, the Socialists agreed to everything the administration proposed. Having thus prepared the ground, the Fiat Company assumed the offensive and refused to pay the high cost of living bonus to its workers who earlier in the year had already suffered wage reductions. The would-be Socialists, however, are still steadfastly denying the necessity of a general struggle against the bourgeois offensive.

All trades have repeatedly felt the attacks of the employers who, not content with what they have gained, are massing for fresh attacks which will be facilitated by the passivity of the Social Democratic leaders of the greater proletarian organizations.

None the less, the masses are beginning to perceive the necessity of a general strike and a number of Chambers of Labor in important industrial centres have called upon the National Committee of the "Alliance of Labor" to declare the general strike immediately.

May 1st was throughout Italy celebrated with great mass demonstrations. Huge proletarian meetings were held even in the provinces hit hardest by the White Terror. Our speakers in Emilia and Venezia, where the Fascisti and the police had mobilized all their forces, spoke to thousands of proletarians who greeted them with bursts of applause. The workers in Bologna, Molinella, Imola, Padua, etc., held numerous meetings, protected by Communist action squads, under the noses of the Fascisti and the King's Guards who were drawn up with fixed bayonets. In Mantua where fear of unforeseen incidents caused the Social Democrats to stay at home, a number of Communist workers led by Comrade Azzario invaded the Chamber of Labor and opened a meeting with their leader as speaker. At the meeting in Rome which was attended by 50,000 persons, Comrades Repossi and Rappoport (of the French Communist Party) spoke for the Communists. Numerous clashes between proletarians and the state forces or the White Guards took place throughout the country. Ten dead and a number of wounded were the proletarian casualties on this 1st of May on which day the Italian proletariat manifested its militant spirit.

Let us hope that this spirit is not again extinguished by the Social Democrats who would thus render the bourgeoisie the best service. The Communists will be on guard, ready to meet any new attempt at betrayal!

IN THE COLONIES

Northern Africa and Communism.

by Paul Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

Some time before M. Millerand undertook his voyage (a very unpopular one) to Northern Africa, I had the opportunity of visiting the strongest positions of French imperialism. I shall here treat of Tunis and Algeria.

Since the Congress of Tours the Communist Party has done considerable work in these regions, but owing to the lock of a colonial policy defined according to various regions, out-worn electoral customs, the ignorance maintained by the "civilizer" among the native masses, and the mutual bad blood that exists among the different races, the progress of our propaganda in North Africa has met with quite a few obstacles.

The economic power of colonial capitalism is based wholly upon the expropriation of the land belonging to the poor peasantry for the benefit of a minority of rich colonists and of a few native chiefs. It gathers its moral power from the competition of wages which is provoked and developed by vast colonization.

Its industrial field is marked by stagnation, for the simple reason that according to the oldest traditions, the colonies are considered as the sources of raw materials and as the consumers of manufactured articles. At the present moment, Communist propaganda in North Africa promises to loom in importance, because of the recent military law which provides for 250,000 native recruits for the purpose of maintaining "law and order",

(so says Mr. André Lefèvre, former Minister of War), that is to say for the purpose of safeguarding capitalist disorder.

The French, like every colonization system, reposes mainly upon land and mineral grabs.

As far as the natives are concerned, colonization has appropriated the land which always belonged to the native tribes in common. By the aid of the *cantonement* system, through the use of exchange, expropriation and usury, (always in virtue of the "right of might") French imperialism has imposed the French code of individualism upon a people accustomed to primitive communism. Through political corruption, the largest beneficiaries have acquired unshakable positions. It is in this wise that the former co-owners of the land in common, who only gathered its fruits by cultivating it, were gradually chased from the rich valleys into the mountainous regions, from where they were in turn compelled by hunger to descend and hire themselves out to the exploiters.

This expropriation affected not only the natives. Agrarian concentration in North Africa grew with an acceleration that threatened to destroy small-scale colonization completely. Out of 1200 Alsatian families that immigrated into Algeria, only 300 were still living on colonization land, 25 years later. This example is only one of hundreds.

The new villages created today by means of insufficient land-allotments only serve to pave the way to a large-scale agrarian capitalism.

It is not a rare case to see little communities, consisting of 40 to 50 families, falling prey to two or three large landowners. The poor colonist, who is unable to compete with the rich one, is compelled to borrow from his rich neighbor or from the "Loan Association". He is thus at the latter's mercy.

In this manner the large corporations, like the *Compagnie Algérienne*, today possess thousands upon thousands of acres of land, which they exploit through their managers, who are often the former proprietors of the land in question, Europeans and natives.

But this concentration, which in itself prepares large fields for Communist exploitation, does not proceed without leaving its mark upon the native masses of Algeria and Tunis, where general misery as well as unemployment is growing daily.

Because the colony necessarily causes competition between the European workers, the natives and convict labor, it is always assured of large profits and is apparently secure. Thus the wages of the European worker always tend to shrink to the minimum wages of the native workers, and those of the native tend to shrink still lower and to approach the wages of the convicts.

Moreover, because of the difference in wages it causes, colonization develops hatred between the various nationalities; a Spaniard is being paid less than an Italian; and Italian workers less than Frenchmen, etc. It has the same effect upon the Mohammedan tribes themselves; it turns the Arab against the Kabyl, the Kabyl against the Moroccan, the Tunisian against the Algerian, etc.

The average wage received by an Algerian native today, in 4 frs., whereas before the war it was a little less than 2 frs. Moreover it must be taken into consideration that the wages of an agricultural worker are usually below this average wage. The wages of the farm-workers vary from 1.50 fr. to 5 fr. At the same time, however, wheat, which is the basic food of the native, has jumped from 20 francs to 75, 100 and sometimes even to 150 francs per quintal. Thus famine has become chronic in Northern Africa.

During the winter of 1920-1921, and the following spring there were 3,000,000 famine sufferers in Algeria out of a total population of 5,000,000 natives.

Having no labor shortage, and considering the multiplication of the native element as a peril, the colonial administration did nothing serious to fight off the famine; even the distribution of grains was nothing more than a subject for speculation by the administrators. The moral and spiritual misery of the natives in Algeria even surpasses in horror that of the Tunisians. The native, who is looked upon as a beast of burden, beaten, robbed, and even killed at the least provocation sees and feels himself deprived by imperialistic civilization of all means of acquiring an education.

The "education" of the Arab is really nothing more than the organized will of the colonizers to destroy the soul of the race. The French schools can hardly take care of 35,000 out of the 720,000 native children of school age. The hygienic conditions, the school equipment and the lodgings of the teachers are miserable, and everything points to systematic sabotage employed by the colonizers in the field of native education, which according to law is supposed to be "obligatory". It is really not necessary that the Arab "declass" himself. He is a beast of burden, and must remain a beast of burden. Even the military

profession, i. e., the conscription of natives into the army is considered a great danger by the rich colonists, who are uneasy over anything that may free those whom they are to "civilize", from their prejudices and feudal customs. The only blessing these "civilizers" bring to the native is the development of drunkenness.

The native is governed by means of the fist and the whip. "Without the whip the Arab is worthless", say the colonizers. And they prove their point. Very often they find among the Arabian nobility some very willing collaborators to whom they are attached by common interests. Thus the native and the European capitalists join hands in order to exploit the poor peasants.

In answer to the mere mention of *justice* towards the native, the rich colonists declare that they are in danger of "being stabbed in the back".

What therefore, is the reaction of the masses to such a regime?

It varies in the various regions and according to the degree of oppression.

I have not been able to visit Morocco, but it seems that the Moroccan native, who is active, industrious, intelligent, being the victim of a comparatively recent conquest, will very soon react against the tyranny of colonization.

Recent events in Tunis show the growth of agitation in that region. The Communist and Liberal movements of Tunis make the French colonists very uneasy, and the only thing they can do at present is to attempt an "alliance" with the Liberals against the Communists, that is, if at any time the Liberals are willing to enter into this bargain. The popularity of Soviet Russia, and the successful propaganda carried on by our comrade Louzon- which grew in the eyes of the native masses because of his arrest, would seem to justify our big hopes in the future of Tunis.

As for Algeria, although the movement is already strong enough among the French proletariat (which consists of skilled workers, functionaries and poor colonists or agricultural workers), it has yet far to go among the native masses.

In spite of threats, numerous groups of Arabs have *dared* to come to various of our meetings to hear the exposition of our doctrines. It was a novelty here, a fact which is in itself significant.

But in order to bring about action among these scarred and tortured proletarians, who have no technicians, and who are driven by their misery to fanaticism, it is necessary to gain their confidence. On every occasion the French Communists should defend the native peasants and workers against their exploiters and governors, educate them and arouse them to a consciousness of the modern world and win them over by their devotion. The Algerian nationalist movement which is based upon the popularity of Emir Khalad, deserves all of our attention, wherever it is not dominated by the spirit of aristocracy.

These are briefly the conditions of life under French imperialism in North Africa, which is one of its mighty strongholds. Only the victorious revolution in Europe can liberate it, and effect the development of the natural treasures of this country, which are now being exploited anarchically for the benefit of a few.

COMMUNIST YOUTH

Karl Liebknecht Day in China.

China! When we heard this word in our childhood, we imagined a fantastic country; the land of the mandarins and temples, of the hundred thousand gods and the millions of people, of gigantic towns on the plains and the rivers; the land of the calm philosopher Kon-fu-tse and of great wars and conquerors — a strange, mysterious world. Well, much of this romance has disappeared today. When we report of China now, we speak of capitalist revolution and a petty bourgeois republic, of English-American-Japanese imperialism, of mines and railway concessions, of child labor, and of the struggle of the juvenile proletariat. A gigantic transformation is going on in the oldest country of the world, a mighty struggle of two worlds. And nothing can prove as impressively the power of this transformation and at the same time the immense force of Communism as a short report of the South Chinese newspapers on the Liebknecht-Luxemburg Day of the Young Communist International in China.

The press of Southern China reported:

"On January 15th the Young Socialist League as a "Marxian Club" and the "Mutual Aid" called a memorial meeting for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Canton in the hall of the Kwang-si Guild (the guilds in China

are workers' and artisans' corporations similar to those existing in the Middle Ages). The meeting was attended by 400 workers; half of whom were sailors on strike and 500 were vineyard peasants. The meeting expressed its veneration for the murdered comrades, whose pictures adorned the walls of the hall. After the meeting the workers commenced a parade through the streets. Many thousands of leaflets with the title "To the Youth on Liebknecht Day" were distributed among the masses. In spite of stormy and rainy weather the demonstration took place with great enthusiasm."

In explanation we must add that the Communist Party of China and the Young Socialist League, although working illegally, were formerly more Marxian Clubs. The vanguard of the Chinese proletariat has been recently engaged in its first great mass action, the Hong-Kong seamen's strike. This strike was supported by sympathy strikes of the Chinese sailors on the rivers, the transport workers and others; a total of 500,000 workers were on strike. Moreover, the workers expressed their sympathy with the strikers by boycotting all goods transported by scabs, by demonstrations and, furthermore, by financial assistance of the part of the trade-unions.

The Liebknecht Day of 1922 was the first public appearance of our young Chinese comrades, and the first Liebknecht anniversary celebration in China. Under the leadership of the Young Communist International demonstrations also took place in Peking and Shanghai on January 15th.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

The Second International Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions.

To all organisations affiliated to the R.T.U.I.

Dear Comrades:—

The Central Council of the R.T.U.I. has decided to convoke the Second Congress at the end of October 1922. The Executive Bureau has fixed the date of the Congress as October 25th and the place as Moscow. According to the decision of the First Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions (see Constitution, Article 4) representation is distributed as follows:—

Every National Trade Union Federation having less than 10,000 members receives one consultative voice at the Congress; national organizations having from 10,000 to 25,000 members send one delegate with a deciding vote; from 25,000 to 100,000—two delegates with a deciding vote; from 100,000 to 250,000—four delegates with a deciding vote; from 250,000 to 500,000—six delegates and for each additional 500,000 members one additional delegate with a deciding vote. International revolutionary class trade or industrial organizations have two deciding votes each. Minorities organized by countries have the same representation, but all the organizations of a given country affiliated to the Red Trade Union International form a single delegation within which the votes are divided in proportion to the membership of the respective organizations. Organized minorities and fractions have representation at the Congress only in case the National Trade Union Federation of that country is not affiliated to the Red Trade Union International.

It is thus seen that the number of votes depends in general upon the number of organized workers. Naturally the number of delegates may be more or less than the number indicated in the Constitution, if necessary, but this does not alter the number of votes.

The Executive Bureau has drafted the following preliminary agenda:—

- 1—Report of the Executive Bureau.
- 2—The tasks of the revolutionary trade unions and the united labor front.
- 3—The Comintern and the Profintern.
- 4—Organisation problems.
- 5—The position of trade unions in colonial countries.

The Executive Bureau requests all organizations affiliated to the Profintern to commence to submit amendments and additions to the agenda and, beginning with August, to send in their concrete propositions. It is understood that the final agenda will be drawn up by the Congress itself.

Yours fraternally,
for the Executive Bureau.

A. Lozovsky, Secretary General.