

INTERNATIONAL

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 15

13th Feb. 1923

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

CONTENTS

The Latest Coup of Italian Fascism. By <i>G. Aquila</i>	115	In the International	
Politics		The Situation in the French C.P.	
Danger in Delay. By <i>I. Steklov</i>	116	By <i>A. Dunois</i>	120
Part II of Salvation. By <i>V. Stern</i>	117	The Convention of the German C.P. to the C.P.F. and the	
(C.P.F.) International Mass Action against War	118	Revolutionary Trade Unions	122
Economics		The White Terror	
Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter		An Amnesty Campaign in Finland	122
of 1922. By <i>E Varga</i>	119		

The Latest Coup of Italian Fascism

By *G. Aquila* (Rome).

Wholesale Arrests in Italy.

During the night of February 4-5, hundreds of Communists, Maximalists and Anarchists were arrested in all parts of Italy. Among these are included nearly all the members of the Communist Party of Italy; those Maximalists whom the Police were able to seize and who were in favor of fusion with the Communists, and some leading comrades of the Railwaymen's Union. In Rome, Perugia, Alessandria, Turin, Genoa, Ascoli, Bologna, Naples, Aquila, Venice, Florence, etc., the Police arrested all Communists, Maximalists and Anarchists whom they were able to lay hands on. In the little province of Ascoli alone, 297 workers were arrested. These are only the first and probably still incomplete reports. From the character of these arrests, one can with certainty conclude, that the next few hours will bring further reports of arrests in the remaining towns and villages.

Mussolini therefore considers the favorable moment to have arrived for proceeding against the revolutionary working class and its class organizations in a systematic or "legal" manner, in contradistinction to the "punitive" expeditions of the Fascist bands, which always lacked any comprehensive and regular plan, and whose "unlawful" acts of arson and murder often caused inconvenience even to Mussolini. In the meanwhile Mussolini himself is conscious of the absolute illegality of these mass arrests, and in an official "communication" he attempts to justify these on the ground of an appeal of the Communist International. The appeal in question is one which the Communist International recently issued, entitled: "Fight against Italian Fascism—To the Workers and Peasants of all Countries".

"On the basis of this document"—says the official report—"all those arrested will be handed over to the judicial authorities on the charge of *conspiracy against the security of the state.*"

A paltry and miserable pretext! The appeal cited, was not issued by the Italian Communists, but by the Communist International itself. It bears the signatures of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions.

But it is quite beside the point whether Mussolini's pretext is a more or less clever one or a palpably absurd one, as in this case. The true reason is one which he cannot admit, but which we must none the less know.

The essential idea of Fascism, not only in Italy but in all capitalist countries alike, is as follows: the bourgeoisie can no longer set up by so-called "democratic" means, its economy,

which has been shaken to its foundations by the war and the consequences of the war; it therefore attempts by means of open terror to beat the proletariat into shouldering the burdens of reconstruction.

Mussolini was not able to take this step immediately after seizing power. He was at first obliged to overcome the danger which threatened him from his own Fascist bands, who wished to set up a sort of military dictatorship which would have enabled them to plunder the country, not sparing (at a later phase) the bourgeoisie. It was in order to offset this danger that strong emphasis was laid on "absolute legality and constitutionalism", the "universal validity of the law", indeed, Mussolini even spoke of pursuing a "labor policy". All this was necessary, partly to curb the Fascist bands, and partly to hold back the workers from an immediate and spontaneous counter-action which would have evoked an increased activity of the Fascist bands and materially and morally strengthened their position as against Mussolini.

To the Italian communists however, it was always clear that as soon as this danger was passed, the government of Mussolini would attack the working class with a hundredfold fury in order to break its resistance.

In the middle of January, Mussolini succeeded in solving the first problem by creating the Fascist "Militia for National Safety": he had assured an easy "existence" to the 110,000 Fascisti. Thus he brought them under his discipline with comparatively little difficulty. The attacks upon the working class could therefore not be allowed to wait much longer. The more so as various circumstances rendered it necessary to expedite matters. In the first place there was the discontent of the broad masses, which in the last few weeks, under the pressure of the government's "economic policy", was continually assuming a more serious form.

The economic problem to be immediately solved by Mussolini fell into two parts: to restore the state finances, and to give special advantages to the bourgeoisie at the expense of the state finances. The most important points of this program which he has so far realized are the following:

a) Up to the end of December, 14,000 railway workers were discharged; the ministerial council decided on a further dismissal of 36,000 railway workers from the 15. January; the eight-hour day for the railway workers has been abolished. These measures were adopted to render the railways "profitable" and then to hand them over to private capitalists;

thousand part-time workers. The crisis becomes more acute from day to day, and is utilized by the employers for *reducing* wages to the utmost, for depriving workers of their rights, and for "ridding" undertakings of elements inconvenient to the employers.

But everything comes to an end, even the shabby credit advances made to Austria. In accordance with the original plans for a "sound economic basis", it had been calculated that the advances would last until the New Year. It was then intended to raise 130 million gold crowns before April, 50 millions by means of an internal gold loan, and 80 million crowns in foreign intermediate loans. By April the "large" foreign credits were to have arrived. But the internal gold loan ended in a *disastrous fiasco*, despite the usurious conditions offered to subscribers. It was only possible to find small subscribers. Large ones probably know of better, and above all more secure, investments for their money. But with regard to the foreign intermediate credits, M. Avenol, who had undertaken the task of "working" for them abroad, returned *without having accomplished his errand*. As the foreign capitalists are thus not even inclined to grant the small intermediate credits, *we can imagine what poor prospects the large credits have of being found by April*. It is no wonder that the whole capitalist and social democratic press is in the lowest possible spirits. *The unheard-of deception practised on the Austrian proletariat, with the help of the social democracy, is shouting on the house-tops*, and the culprits are beginning to shake in their shoes. It is true, certainly, that the surety states have met their "obligations" fairly well. They only bound themselves to pass guarantee laws in Parliament before January 1, 1923. On December 31, the law was passed in France. Italy managed to settle the matter in time by a decree issued by Mussolini. But of what use are all these guarantees if *no private capitalists are to be found who are willing to lend Austria anything on these guarantees*.

The government is naturally still making frantic attempts to conceal the bankruptcy of its entire policy. During the last week of the old year it even had a "victory" to report. The government does not find the powers which it has been authorized to exercise sufficient, and simply takes it upon itself to extend these. It issued customs regulations of far-reaching effect without even consulting the enlarged cabinet council, the only body competent to deal with the question. The social democrats hastened to the scene of battle. They demanded that the national council be convened, and then tranquilly permitted themselves to be out-voted. The national council "ascertained" that there had been no breach of the constitution, and the government has thus won greater freedom of action than ever.

But even this "victory" does not alter the fact that there is no more money. The Geneva pact prohibits the government from employing the bank-note printing press, as it was intended to put all power into the hands of the general commissioner. The government has none the less resorted to bank-note printing by round-about methods, and probably with the permission of the higher authorities. The credits had not been completely expended during the last few months, and the government deposited them with the Austro-Hungarian bank, receiving bank-notes for them. *Now the government is employing these same credit residues for the same purpose for a second time*. But it is not applying to the new note bank, but to private banks which lend money on these credits, and which obtain the paper money required for this purpose by having it printed and supplied by the bank of issue. Thus the paper money in circulation increases to a frightful extent from week to week, although "the state is having no more notes printed for itself". In the third week of December the increase amounted to 140 milliards, and the increase in the last week of the year 1922 is said to have been 200 milliards. This signifies that the bank-notes in circulation have *already exceeded the fourth billion*. To all this must be added that it is extremely difficult to realize one of these credit residues. The credit residues consist of 48 million French francs, 86 million lire, and 81 million Czech crowns. The government is also making similar use of 15½ million gold crowns from the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian bank.

The prospects of obtaining credits are naturally much damaged by the break-down of the Paris conference. Here we again had opportunity of observing that the Communist International again judged rightly when it emphasized, in its appeal against Geneva, that an experiment was being made with Austria, and that it was *intended to try the same experiment on Germany*. The dangers involved for the peace of the world in such a common colonization of these countries, also emphasized in the appeal, could be plainly seen at Paris. Austria will be the bone of contention in the impending imperialist conflicts. Seipel's journey to Buda-Pest therefore, is of much significance; its political character, at first denied, is now openly admitted.

The conclusion drawn by the *Arbeiter Zeitung* from all the experiences of the past year is that at *next year's autumn election more votes must be given to the social democrats!* There is all the more reason for the communists to continue and increase their unwearied endeavors towards the establishment of a united fighting front.

International Mass Action against War

Against the Threats of War.

The Central Bureau of the C.G.T.U., and the Executive Committee of the French Communist Party, sent on January 24., the following telegrams to Mr. Fimmen, secretary of the International Trade Union Federation in Amsterdam:

"The C.G.T.U. supports the proposals of the Red International of Labor Unions with regard to a common action for the prevention of the danger of war.

For the Central Bureau: Dudilleux."

"For Tom Shaw and Fritz Adler. The Communist Party of France requests you most urgently, to consider the proposal of the Communist International with regard to the speediest possible organization of a joint action of all labor organizations against the occupation of the Ruhr.

We urgently ask that you agree to take up immediate negotiations with the Communist International, and declare that we do not regard the term, 31st. January, already fixed for the action, to be unalterable.

For the Executive Committee: Louis Sellier, Tommasi."

The situation becomes worse from day to day, the threats of war become increasingly acute.

The conflicting imperialisms are being roused to an ever-increasing pitch of excitement, thus increasing the dangers threatening the working class. Poincaré-la-Guerre, the agent of the Iron Works Committee, has, by his mad policy, provoked an alarming revival of Pan-German nationalism.

The German capitalists are endeavoring to utilize the military occupation of the Ruhr area, and the various petty quarrels incidental to it, for the purpose of deceiving the workers as to their real interests, and they are being partially successful in re-establishing the "civil peace" of August 1914, that peace between capital and labor which is identical with our Union sacrée" (sacred unity).

The German communists are carrying on ruthless war against the German capitalists. In the midst of unchained chauvinist passions, they are endeavoring to show the workers that the protection of their own interests lies in resistance to capitalist conspiracies.

They are telling the workers that they must assemble their forces, and carry on the struggle in the closest possible contact with the workers of all countries.

It is the duty of the French workers to exert all their energies in the same struggle.

The capitalist newspapers have never ceased leading the working class astray.

First they treated the occupation of the Ruhr as an operation easy of execution, requiring nothing more than the sending of a few engineers.

But facts have speedily exposed these lies, and from day to day the real character of the Ruhr occupation, and its disastrous consequences, become more apparent.

As the operation is being carried out for the benefit of the French iron magnates, it is bound to be disastrous for the workers; it is bound to involve fresh wage reductions, and to facilitate the attack on the eight hour day.

The international complications which it has caused with all our allies of yesterday: England, America, and Italy, signify constant danger of war.

The protests of the workers have increased to such an extent, that the French government can no longer be in any doubt as to the real opinion of the working class on the occupation of the Ruhr.

But there is still a very great deal to be done, if the criminal designs of the bourgeoisie are to be thwarted.

The Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions have submitted a proposal to the International Trade Union Federation in Amsterdam, suggesting joint action in the form of a general strike, as resolved upon by the Amsterdam International itself.

The C.G.T.U. and the Communist Party of France, support this proposal at the moment when the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation, meets the representatives of the Second

International and the Vienna Working Union for the purpose of settling upon the necessary action to be taken.

They are of the opinion that the workers will only be able to protect themselves against the danger of war, by uniting all their forces into one bloc, and by carrying on a determined and united struggle. The proposal of proclaiming the strike for the 31st of January serves to accentuate the necessity for action and its extreme urgency. But we are of course prepared to consider any other date in the immediate future, should this appear more suitable.

Our sole aim is to awaken the conscience of all workers in view of the events of essential importance now taking place, and to discover the form of fighting by which alone the workers can be saved.

Down with war!

Down with imperialism!

Long live international solidarity and the international struggle of the workers!

ECONOMICS

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter of 1922

By E. Varga.

Germany as object of imperialist policy

The United States did not participate in the proceedings of the Paris Entente conference. But the hundredfold rumors in the German newspapers, that the United States would interfere in the course of the reparation negotiations, that they would protest against France's proceedings, that they would grant Germany an extensive loan, all this has not been substantiated by any actual fact. It may be that official steps have been taken, but up to now there has been no actual interference on the part of the United States. But this by no means signifies that the United States take no interest in the problem, it only signifies that they do not consider the right moment for interference to have arrived.

If we examine Germany's position, and the part it plays in imperialist politics, we can draw the following conclusions:

In consequence of the war, and of the severe peace conditions, Germany has fallen into such an economic condition that she cannot continue to exist as an independent power. The debasement of Germany from an independent state to a colony is being worked out, not only by the control of German finances provided by both the English and French plans but by the fact that German capital is passing more and more into foreign hands from month to month.

The question now is: If Germany cannot remain an independent power — in what imperial state is she to be incorporated?

Apart from distant Japan, there are three imperialist systems whose rulers could make the attempt of bringing Germany within their range of power.

1. *France* has the advantage of immediate neighbourhood, of the economic necessity of combining German coal with French iron ore; she possesses the necessary military forces, and the necessary allies: Belgium, Poland, and the countries of the Little Entente, enabling her to keep Germany in subjection. Since the victory of Fascism, Italy also inclines more to the French imperialist system than to the English. Germany's reparation obligations give France a legal hold over Germany, a pretext for colonizing her by force.

But imperialist France feels herself too weak to draw the whole of Germany within her sphere of power. The population of France stagnates; within a few decades the population of Germany within her present boundaries will be double that of France, and as the numerical and economic forces of France scarcely suffice to maintain even the existing French imperialist system, France cannot venture to colonize Germany as a whole. As may be seen from the eternal repetition of the demand for productive pledges, French policy aims at separating from Germany, those areas most important for France's economy, the district on the left bank of the Rhine and the Ruhr valley, thus creating the necessary coal basis for the French heavy industry, and at ruling the rest of Germany politically and further partitioning her if possible. The separation of the Upper Silesian industrial area, and the allotment of this to Poland, was already one stage on the road to the diminution of Germany and the destruction of her economic foundations.

2. *The United States.* In the course of the past year the bourgeoisie of the United States has often proclaimed its willingness to play the role of saviour to Germany. The first assumption for the granting of this aid would be that France agree to a reduction of the reparation payments, and in particular abstain from applying force for the purpose of preventing Germany from gaining economic strength in the future. In this case the bourgeoisie of the United States would be prepared to put large sums at Germany's disposal in the form of loans, to help Germany out of the reparations dilemma.

The import of this procedure on America's part would be: To incorporate Germany into the imperialist system of America; for there can be no doubt that America's financial terms for placing Germany on a sound basis would not be any easier than the reparation payments and control measures proposed by England. The United States certainly possess sufficient economic power to transform the whole of Germany into their colony. Not only do they possess the required capital, but they are the sole country in the world who can venture on such a step. Germany is a country whose dense population can only be maintained by industrial work. The United States is the only country in the world suffering from a lack of industrial workers even under normal conditions of the market. It is the sole country able to feed the German industrial proletariat, and can do this, not by having raw materials transformed into finished articles in America itself by the aid of foreign immigrants, but by having the work done in Germany itself by German workers earning about one fifth — expressed in dollars — of the wages earned by the American workmen.

It is erroneous to suppose that the bourgeoisie of the United States, when deliberating on the reparation question, or possibly interfering, is moved by any sympathy for Germany, or by any anxiety for the future of European civilization or similar ideas. The sole question is, how to get the capable workers of Germany to work for the United States at the lowest possible price, and how best to obtain a firm political footing in Europe.

3. *England.* It would be just as difficult to incorporate Germany into the British imperialist system as into the French. England has not enough capital to reconstruct the whole of Germany's economics. And what is still more important: England is herself an industrial country, and is faced, and will a long time to come be faced, with very great difficulties in selling her own products in the world's markets, and obtaining bread for her masses of industrial workers. But the reconstruction of Germany involves increased industrial production, and increased export of German goods abroad. For Germany can only pay interest on foreign capital invested in Germany by exporting industrial products, or by carrying on an active shipping business.

For England the colonization of Germany would thus merely signify an increase of the difficulties under which England is already laboring at the present time with her 1½ millions of unemployed. As England is thus unable to colonize by herself, she has the choice of helping either France or America to do so. The English proposals in the reparations question clearly show that they have been drawn up with the intention of giving the United States the possibility, and of making the way as easy as possible for Germany to solve the reparations question by large loans, to crowd France out of Germany, and to convert Germany into a part of the American imperialist system. The antagonism of interests between England and France is so strong that it completely pushes into the background the Anglo-American antagonisms. It may be confidently asserted that the continental-French-imperialist system is being confronted by a more and more united Anglo-American, Anglo-Saxon world market system.

Recent events prove that France feels herself strong enough at the present moment, to defy the Anglo-Saxon opponent. She knows very well the weaknesses of the English imperial world system in the East; she knows very well that modern war techniques would deprive England to a great extent of the advantages of her insular position in the event of a war between France and England. We are thus of the opinion that an armed conflict is not likely between the two systems on the reparations question — at least not within the immediate future. England and America appear to be lying in wait until the increasingly hopeless condition of French finances, and the acute depreciation of the franc — this latter probably rendered more acute by English and American franc purchases — convince France that she is not able to subjugate Germany without outside help.

The United States and Europe

In our reports we have frequently emphasized that the fate of European capitalism is greatly dependent on the question whether the United States will decide in favor of a pro-European

or an anti-European policy. Expressed in other words: whether the United States will try to find the markets required for the extension of its flourishing economic life, and especially for its extensive capital export, in the non-European parts of the world, above all in South America, in Asia, and in the English settlement colonies, or if they will prefer to attempt to support and save European capitalism by active interference.

The differences of opinion in the United States have not disappeared during the past quarter of a year. Although much has been said and written on interference in Europe, nothing has actually been done. On the contrary, the acceptance and coming into force of the high protective tariff shows that at the moment the anti-European tendency of American politics is stronger than the pro-European. The favorable state of the American market has doubtless strengthened the anti-European tendency during the last few months, for the American capitalists take this as a proof that American economics can flourish in spite of the ruin of Europe. This opinion is clearly voiced in the November report of the National City Bank, which states:

"Up to now facts appear to support the opinion that Europe will be obliged to buy from us at least as much foodstuff as before the war, and the revival of business during the past year, in spite of the great strike, further supports the opinion that this country can attain a high degree of prosperity even if Europe can find no way out of the confusion."

Despite this, the conflict of opinion upon this question is by no means at an end. All American economic journals continue to occupy themselves in detail with the European question. The "American Academy of Political and Social Science", has for instance devoted 2 numbers of its annals this year to the European question.

The question being one of great importance, we shall repeat the main data of its development.

As a general rule it is assumed that the foreign trade of the United States does not exceed 10 per cent of the total trade. It would thus appear that foreign trade is of no great general importance for the United States. But there are a number of branches of production which export a much greater percentage of their product. For instance, before the war 67 per cent of the cotton was exported.

It must further be emphasized that the constant running expenses of a plant form a great part of its total outlay, and that these are for the most part independent of the amount of the output, so that even a small reduction in production, resultant on lack of selling markets, may suffice to render an undertaking unprofitable. The president of the American Steel Trust, J. A. Farrel, when making an application to the foreign trade office 1 or 2 years ago, wrote to the following effect:

"In every business there is a certain part of the production, roughly estimated at 20 per cent, which cannot remain unsold if the first 80 per cent of sales are to be profitable. If the last 20 per cent are left out, the whole transaction ceases to yield a profit."

From this viewpoint the export trade of America is of much greater importance than the average six figure of 10 per cent might lead one to suppose. And it is from this viewpoint that the situation in Europe is regarded.

When judging the European situation, an important point for America is the difference in prices caused by the depreciation of monetary standards. The *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, for November 1922, reduces the prices of various European countries to dollars. The prices for 1913 being taken at 100, the wholesale price index for the most important states, at the end of October 1922, shows the following development:

in the United States	165
Great Britain	148
France	112
Italy	130
Germany	79

This means that the United States, reckoning in dollars, could buy all goods in Germany at half the price paid in the United States. And although the higher freight rates, the export import duties, would have to be added, still it appears probable that the increase of imports into America from Europe is caused in part by these price conditions.

The European question is, now as ever, of the greatest importance to the farmer. It is true that the new tariff protects the farmers of the United States against agricultural products from Canada and Argentina. The price of agricultural products in the United States is thus regulated by the possibilities of finding markets in Europe. The American farmer is thus

*) This, in our opinion, is one of chief causes why Germany is actually becoming impoverished at the present time, in spite of the full employment of all existing labor.

extremely anxious that Europe remain capable of buying his products. For although the amount of wheat and cotton consumed in the United States themselves has increased with the increased industrialization of the country, and the time may come when the export of wheat and cotton from the United States will entirely cease, the farmers are still dependent on export to Europe for the sale of a great part of their other products. And despite the increase in the prices of food which took place in 1921, the farmers are still in a very difficult position, as we shall see in our next section.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Situation in the French Communist Party

By Amédée Dunois (Paris).

Is the Communist International now at the end of its trials in France? Many of us who did not even venture to think this eight days ago, now venture to hope it. To be sure the crisis still continues, but it has already lost much of its violence. And it is above all a good sign for the convalescence of the party that Frossard's secession, instead of sharpening the internal disturbances, has by no means caused the confusion which our enemies had hoped for.

The crisis continues. But who could have believed that the decisions of the 4. world congress, relating to the French question, would cause so little resistance or schism in the party itself? From what we know of our centrists — I am not speaking of the masses, but only of the leaders — it is a very good thing that their counter-mines were not more powerful, and that it took so long before they exploded.

The crisis is not of recent origin. If we wanted to write its history, we should have to go back to the period immediately following the 3. world congress. Indeed, a thorough investigation into its causes would oblige us to look even further back into the past, to the party conference at Tours. Our research would show us the following: First, that the two tendencies which united at Tours against reformism have never become so completely fused with one another as to lose their distinguishing characteristics, and secondly, that the elements composing the committee of the 3. International, originally forming the party Left, were far too lacking in homogeneity not to be condemned to divisions within a very short time.

The crisis came to an outbreak at the party conference at Marseilles at the end of December 1921. This outbreak was distinguished by three facts:

1. The non-election of comrade Souvarine to the new Executive Committee, this following on a violent campaign ostensibly carried on against him personally, but in reality against the ideas represented by him, the ideas of the International itself.

2. The election to leadership of a number of persons who were communists only in name, and who have since withdrawn from the party, either voluntarily or on compulsion: *Barabaut, Verfeuil, Jules Blanc, Ferdinand Faure, Pioch, Brodel*, etc.

3. The immediate resignation from office of four of the newly elected executive members: *Loriot, Tréint, Vaillant-Couturier, and Dunois*, as a protest against the election methods which had been employed, and as a protest against the out-voting of Souvarine and against the offensive return of the party Right.

From this time onwards there was war within the party. The party factions were revived. On the one side the Left, which (in its best elements at least) incorporated the true spirit of the International, and placed the International before everything else. On the other side the elements of the Right, the hyper-radicals, and the councillors of confusion, in short, all those who inclined, more or less openly, to setting up the party in opposition to the International, as if it were possible to oppose a fraction to the whole, and to divide the indivisible!

The main fight was fought around the question of the United Front. While the Left from the very first accepted the tactics proposed by the International, the right, centre and extreme left rejected these tactics decisively, and attempted to make them appear ridiculous in the eyes of the workers. The Executive of the CI, which followed the course of the conflict with anxious attention, speedily recognized that this antagonism to the united front, in the case of the majority of its leaders, concealed a growing antagonism to the International itself.

Twice the International tried to adjust the crisis along peaceful lines, for it feared the effects. Already in February some of the representatives of the majority were invited to

Moscow, for the purpose of discussing in detail with the International the organizational and tactical questions dividing them from the left. The representatives of the majority went to Moscow, and there undertook to submit to the resolutions passed. But unfortunately their actions were not in accordance with their promises, so that the crisis was not cured, but became acuter than ever.

Immediate action was necessary. The first was the expulsion of Henri Fabre, the second the summoning of Frossard to Moscow. In the course of a renewed session of the Enlarged Executive, in June, the French question was thoroughly debated in a plenary sitting, and a long resolution finally passed, and signed by Frossard. This resolution contained the well known slogan which would have put an end to the crisis. This parole consisted of the union of the party centre with the left, against the right.

At this time we were justified in hoping that everything would now fall into its proper course, and that the union of centre and left for the welfare of the party would become actual fact.

But nothing of all this occurred. Frossard, who possesses a clear head but an easily affected heart, a keen understanding, but a weak will, declared at first that he would be no French Serrati. But who can build on Frossard's words? Three months later he had no other object in life than evasion and denial of his promises. Has Frossard really been a second Serrati? Not at all, he has merely been a second Levi! Frossard has undoubtedly been the most guilty of the leaders of the party executive, the greatest culprit of all. The failure of the Paris party conference in October was desired, thought out and contrived by him. It was solely his fault that this party conference went to pieces, after four days of dreary debates, with an open breach between the two main factions, whose union would have saved the whole situation. This was his fault alone, for he neither organized nor led the conference, but left it to anarchy.

But was this break with the left anything else, for the party centre, than the break with the International already intended?

Much could be said on this sorry episode. The task is much facilitated by the judgment pronounced on the October party conference, first by the delegates of the International and then by the International itself. It is the centre, the centre alone, which is "responsible for the breach which has occurred". It is true that the centre quitted the party conference as material vicar, and took over the sole leadership of the party, but morally it left the conference as the vanquished, for it left it discredited.

To us it was perfectly clear that in the centre, and especially among its leaders, there were many who actually desired a breach with the International, who had not submitted to the most moderate decision of the delegates of the Executive in the party committee, and would just as little submit to the supreme decision of the International itself at the world congress.

The resignation from office of a number of editors of the *Humanité*, and of some party functionaries, appeared regrettable to many comrades at the time; as perhaps did also many of the publications of the *Bulletin Communiste*. But both proceedings were fully justified in view of the existing urgent and serious danger arising for the party from the breach of faith of the centrist leaders. It was necessary to strike quickly and energetically. And this the left did, even at the risk of not being immediately understood by the masses.

Thus six weeks passed. While the world conference was holding its sessions in Moscow, in Paris the struggle against the split in the party was being organized. For what could be the ultimate result of the rebellion against the International if not a split? The left, led by a committee of seven which held consultations almost daily, increased its announcements, corrections, warnings, proclamations, and appeals. It presently published a weekly periodical for purposes of fighting and information, the *Cahiers Communistes* (Communist Pamphlets). It caused resolutions to be passed all over the country, expressing unqualified fidelity to the III. International. The party centre appeared to regard this lively public activity of the left with perfect passivity; it seemed as if the centre had ceased to exist.

But the centre had its plan. At this moment the centre was composed of Frossard alone, for Cachin, Ker, and Renault, were in Moscow. And Frossard had a plan, well thought out and prepared. This consisted of having the resolutions of the 4. world congress, of whatever nature, rejected by the party leadership as "dangerous and impracticable", summoning the French party to resistance against the International. Frossard was well aware that in France, nationalist feelings are never appealed to in vain. To be sure the left would rage, protest, and threaten. But that would not matter much. The left could be condemned to impotence by being deprived of all inner and

outer means of propaganda and expression, or, if necessary, by being expelled from the party. And as regards Moscow—the centre was prepared to meet action from this side with perfect calmness! Moscow would certainly suspend the French section. And this was precisely what Frossard wanted: He wanted to regain his own freedom of action, and then later, when he had his own party and his own newspaper, and felt himself sufficiently powerful, he would "re-enter" the International on his own terms, not on those of the International. Frossard actually cherished the fantastic dream of one day imposing his own conditions on the International! The confidential friends of the clever General Secretary of the Party had been long familiar with these plans.

But even the most carefully prepared intrigues do not always succeed, and that conceived by Frossard was destined to a miserable collapse. The affiliation of the C.G.T.U. (Unitarian General Labor Confederation) to the Red International of Labor Unions was a severe and bitter disappointment to Frossard and his followers. The *Humanité* devoted merely a few obscure lines on its third page to this event which was of so great importance to the labor movement! The extreme moderation of the 4. world congress was also a great disappointment to our conspirators, who had certainly not expected so much consideration and forbearance.

At this moment Frossard wrote a strange and disquieting article, in which he reserved to himself the right of complete liberty of action with regard to the award of the International the right of saying yes or no, of submitting or defying, and this although he himself had applied for the award to be given.

In the *Humanité*, and in the party, the campaign of schism was energetically carried on. For a whole week, from December 9. till 16. everything was hanging fire.

But despite this the rupture was not accomplished. At the last moment Frossard thought better of it and submitted. He had not only the left against him, but even the masses of the party centre, who are faithful followers of the International and the Russian revolution. The powerful opposition of Louis Sellier, Cachin, Ker, and Renault, all leaders of the centre, completely crushed his intrigues. In the party sitting of December 16. Frossard was the first to sign the agenda submitted by Sellier, expressing unconditional recognition of the decisions of the 4. world congress. This saved the unity of the party. The danger of a rupture again vanished abruptly.

All that remained to be done was to carry out the resolutions passed. While Frossard prepared for the journey to Moscow, where he was to take up his position as delegate to the Executive, the party executive adopted measures for the immediate execution of the decisions relating to the resignation of the communists from the free-masonic lodges and the *League for Human Rights*. The editors who had resigned from the *Humanité* were re-instated. But this re-instatement involved dismissals, which were arranged for by a commission especially appointed for the purpose. This commission selected for dismissal, in the first place, those editors of the leading newspaper who had most contributed to the split adventure. The editors thus discharged set up a deafening uproar of recriminations, which was benevolently echoed in the bourgeois and reformist press. Indeed, they did even more. They uttered such violent threats against Frossard, their accomplice and clique-leader of yesterday, that he saw no other way of escape but to resign from the party: "The fox was caught in the trap!" This is the state of affairs at present. The "refractory" elements have founded a so-called "Communist Defence Committee", which is trying to gather together all oppositional elements, all the weak spirits, the seekers for vengeance, would-be politicians and legal tricksters. In a few days this committee will have its own newspaper, the *Egalité* (Equality), which is to be the organ of an alleged united communist party, which party must however be first founded. We have nothing to fear from either this newspaper or this party, and merely look quietly on at the impotent agitation of a group whose credit is already exhausted.

Under the leadership of Louis Sellier, the party central has energetically combatted these despicable intrigues. The unruly elements who most compromised the party have been expelled, the rest have been appealed to to cease to support the instigators. At the same moment the persecutions of the Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. set in: About ten comrades were thrown into prison. House searches were made in the *Humanité*. As these arbitrary measures do not happen spontaneously, but have been long expected, every single worker will be able to recognize without any difficulty that Frossard, Pioch, Torres, etc., have only left the party in order to place their valuable persons in safety before it was too late. Discretion always has been the better part of valour!

The sitting of the National Council (central committee), which was held recently, will vanquish those enemies of the International who had insinuated themselves into the party. It will clear the party of the unsound and dishonest elements which have tried to lead it on the wrong path. It will complete the work began at Tours. It will correct the errors and mistakes of the party conference of Marseilles, and wipe out the last traces of the Paris party conference.

The Convention of the German C. P. to the C. P. F. and the Revolutionary Trade Unions

The party convention of the German Communist Party expresses its deep feeling of satisfaction and appreciation to the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions of France. Against the tricolor, which no longer leads the way to revolution, but covers the greed for power and profit of the imperialist bourgeoisie, they have raised the glorious banner of the Communist International, the symbol of the revolutionary solidarity of all the exploited and oppressed.

The party conference hails with great satisfaction the fact that the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions have joined hands in the common fight against imperialism, against the bourgeoisie. The leaders and the masses of the revolutionary vanguard of the French proletariat have proved themselves worthy of the historical task of the hour. Above the clanking of the sabre now being wielded by Poincaré in the Ruhr and the shouts of the confused and excited masses: "to Berlin! to Berlin!", is heard the cry of the revolutionary vanguard: "Hands off the Ruhr! Down with the Versailles treaty of robbery and dishonor! No war of imperial robbery!"

Some of the best leaders of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade unions in the republic of the French bourgeoisie, have gone cheerfully to prison, with heads unbowed, for proclaiming, by actual deeds, their proletarian solidarity, their fidelity to the working class of Germany and their firm bond of brotherhood with Germany's revolutionary vanguard. Growing masses of the working people, following the communist slogans and examples, are throwing themselves against the chauvinist flood, despite Millerand's spies and myrmidons, his political and legal lackeys, the slanders of the bloc press, the insults and maltreatments in the streets. All these demonstrations of solidarity with the German proletariat involve the more danger and honor, in that Renaudel, Faure, Jouhaux, and their like have again shamefully deserted the cause of the world proletariat and of socialism. At The Hague they swore solemn oaths, as leaders of the reformist internationals of London, Vienna, and Amsterdam, to put a stop to threatened war by calling the general strike. But now that Poincaré's policy of the mailed fist, serving the ends of imperialist greed, has rekindled the danger of a world conflagration, they have nothing but high-sounding words, and not the smallest deed.

The party conference of the German Communist Party is proud of its comrades, its brothers' in France, the true heirs and descendants of those glorious and immortal fighters of the Commune who, amid the jubilation of the Paris workers, broke down the Vendôme column, the symbol of the bourgeois wars of conquest, of enslavement and exploitation of the peoples, of the trampling underfoot of their national right by the capitalist class and its sword bearers. The party conference sends fraternal greetings to those imprisoned and persecuted. It thanks them, and all sharing their clear spirit and bold will, for their brave attack on French imperialism, which shows to the proletariat of Germany and of all capitalist states, that their most dangerous enemy is in their own country.

Imperialism, mad for conquest, wishes to divide the world among the Capitalist classes of various states and groups of states for purposes of exploitation. It can only be subjugated if the proletariat of each separate state overcomes the bourgeoisie within its own frontiers. In defeating Poincaré on the Seine, the communists and revolutionary trade unions defeat him in the Ruhr as well, and strengthen the power with which the German proletariat may be enabled to conquer the great coal barons and financial magnates of the German bourgeois republic.

The Communist Party will continue to lead the fight against the German bourgeoisie with the greatest determination and energy. It will summon the proletarian masses to this struggle and will lead the way into battle, in solidarity with the proletarian masses of France and of the whole world, fraternally united with them, for the purpose of casting the burden and cost of the last imperialist war onto the shoulders of those who originated the war and profited, by it. United

fraternally with them for the restoration of the areas devastated by the war, but united as free creative workers, and not as the profit producing slaves of capitalism on this or that side of the Rhine, of the English Channel, or of the ocean.

Long live the revolutionary fighters against the iron barons of France and the mining lords of Germany!

Long live the fight against the imperialist war danger!

Long live the international united front of the proletariat for the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie!

Long live the world revolution!

THE WHITE TERROR

An Amnesty Campaign in Finland

A joint action of Communists and Social Democrats against reaction.

Helsingfors, January 25, 1923.

The class war which raged in Finland in the year 1918 has been heard of all over the world. But its immediate results, the shameful White Terror which still continues to rule, even to-day, are little known.

The revolution of the year 1918 was crushed by the aid of German troops. Ninety thousand workers were driven into concentration camps. Three months after the defeat of the revolution there were still 72,589 workers, among these 4,575 women, languishing in the prisons. According to statistics given by the central of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, 18,788 workers, including hundreds of women, were executed or murdered (outside of actual fighting), and without any trial whatever. About 45,000 more died in the concentration camps of starvation or disease, while innumerable others were simply tortured to death. All labor organizations were suppressed and their property confiscated. Thus reigned the White Terror in Finland in 1918 and the years following.

Not quite a full year passed since the brutal strangulation of the revolution, when the workers began once more to rebuild their organizations. But one immediate result of the revolution was a split of the workers into two fractions on the question of the tactics to be adopted in the class war; these two fractions struggled for domination within the Social Democratic Party. The social democrats, for the time being, maintained the majority, and thus ruled the party. The Communists, or rather the elements believing in the principles and tactics of communism, left the party or were expelled from it. In May 1920 they founded the Socialist Labor Party of Finland. Parallel and simultaneously with their fight against the bourgeoisie, these two parties carried on violent struggles against each other. This naturally signified a weakening of the fight against the common enemy, reaction.

From the first moment of coming into existence, the Socialist Labor Party suffered frightfully under the brutal attacks of the ruling classes and of the government. Its founders were condemned to many years of imprisonment and penal servitude. The whole central leadership of the party is confined behind prison doors, and many hundreds of party members with them. More than a year ago the Finnish court of justice pronounced the party illegal, its members unprotected against summary punishment. But despite this declaration of war, the party has not ceased to work openly. Last summer it even took part in the general election to Parliament, gaining 27 seats out of the 200 of the national diet. The social democrats won 53 seats.

Although 5 years have passed since the Finnish revolution, there are still more than a thousand workers languishing in the various penal institutions of the country. The workers have never ceased to fight for the liberation of the victims of the revolution. But the struggle for the liberation of all political prisoners has hitherto been much hindered by the lack of unity in the working class. For over a year the Socialist Labor Party has been striving for joint action against the oppressors. Last September it addressed an appeal to the Social Democratic Party asking the latter to join in a common united front to fight for a general amnesty. After numerous negotiations between the centrals of both parties, an understanding was finally come to as to a joint action for amnesty. This understanding was expressed on January 17. of this year in a jointly signed manifesto summoning the members of both parties, as also the whole working class, to a combined fight and demonstrations in the week from January 28. to February 4, when the liberation of all political prisoners, without exception, is to be demanded.

The signing of this manifesto is the first step on the road to a united front of the Finnish working class, and to its united struggle against the bourgeoisie.