

murder is unparalleled even in the bloody history of British rule in India. 172 Indian peasants are going to be hanged while the curtain is hardly down upon the bloody drama of the Mopla Massacre, and while brutal repression has not yet succeeded in quelling the rebellion of the Sikh peasants. The revolt of the colonial masses has attained such dangerous proportions that Imperialism has inaugurated a veritable reign of terror to maintain its position.

Since 1919 India has been a scene of mass murder and brutal repression. Beginning at Amritsar, British Imperialism has gone on making free use of tanks, bombing-planes, machine-guns, and bayonets in order to drown the rebellious people in rivers of blood. The jails of the country contain more than 30,000 men and women arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for taking part in the nationalist movement. 6,689 poor peasants of Malabar (Mophas) are undergoing penal servitude. Five of them have been hanged and 70 suffocated to death. 5,600 Sikh peasants of the Punjab are lying in jail, beaten and maltreated. To add to this inglorious record another 172 men are to be sent to the gallows.

The great majority of these condemned men belong to the poor peasantry which was driven to revolt under the unbearable burden of war taxation and unprecedentedly high prices. The revolt was directed simultaneously against the native landlords and foreign government, both of which jointly suck the blood of the peasantry. The revolt was expressed in the form of huge mass demonstrations under nationalist slogans and direction. These demonstrations were peaceful, since the leaders of the nationalist movement are petty bourgeois pacifists believing in the cult of non-violence. But Imperialism would not suffer even a peaceful demonstration of the unarmed masses. A procession of about 3,000 people was fired upon from the police station of Chauri Chaura which it was passing towards the near-by market in order to picket the sale of foreign cloth. This act of provocation infuriated the peaceful demonstrators who attacked the police station, all the inmates of which were killed in the affray. The casualties on the side of the insurgents was never disclosed; but the result of firing volleys upon a crowd of 3,000 can be easily imagined. The fury quickly spread in the surrounding districts and developed into a dangerous agrarian uprising which was suppressed by military forces rushed to the spot. The number of those perishing at the merciless hand of "law and order" is not known. Upon the suppression of the revolt a considerable number of men were arrested, 228 of whom were sent up for trial under the charge of "murder and arson". The trial has ended by condemning 172 of the accused to death.

The international proletariat engaged in a bitter struggle with Capitalism in every part of the world, must not let this imperialist butchery go unchallenged. The revolt of the toiling masses in the colonial countries is a powerful factor in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship and the inauguration of a new order of society. Imperialism attempts to drown this revolt of the colonial masses in rivers of blood. The proletariat of the imperialist countries cannot remain indifferent. Energetic action must be taken in behalf of our Indian comrades fighting bloody battles against imperialist terror.

Working-men and working-women: Hold protest meetings and demonstrations condemning this act of imperialist butchery and demanding the release of the condemned men. Demand of the II International and the Amsterdam Federation that they call upon their mainstay, the British Labour Party, to save the lives of 172 Indian peasants whose only crime was that they were hungry, and they were so unbearably hungry because they had been forced to contribute too much for the prosecution of the "war for democracy". Demand of the Two and Half International that its backbone, the Independent Labour Party, be asked to rise up to its noble professions of pacifism.

Proletariat of Great Britain: It is your duty to take the lead in this case. Call upon the Labour Party to take Parliamentary action against this bloody deed of British Imperialism. If the reformist leaders will not be moved to action even by such a flagrant violation of every moral and legal code they hold up as standard for others, you must repudiate their leadership and resort to direct action in order to uphold the right of the subject peoples to revolt, and to demonstrate the world-wide solidarity of the toiling masses in their struggle against Capitalism. The wild career of Imperialism gone mad can be only checked under a threat of direct action of the home proletariat.

Down with Imperialism!

Victory to the workers and peasants of India!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International,
The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions

The Communist International to the fighting proletariat of Hungary

The tormented proletariat of Hungary, exploited to the utmost limits of endurance, is still making the attempt, despite all persecutions, to better its living conditions by a wage movement. The unbearable economic and political conditions in Hungary force the workers to resistance. But the bourgeoisie makes short work of the workers' efforts by locking out the workers from the great metal and ammunition factories. More than 100,000 workers have been thrown into the streets. The attempt is now being made to bring the refractory wage slaves to reason by means of the whip of hunger. If this does not succeed very rapidly, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to employ the armed forces of the state, that is, the soldiery of the corrupt Horthy government, against the proletarian masses fighting for a morsel of bread. The brutality with which the Big Bourgeoisie sets to work is evidence of its weakness which is also reflected in the fact that many small undertakings did not obey the lock-out *Uhas* of the industrial magnates. The Hungarian workers know very well that their fight can only be conducted to a successful end if perfect solidarity is preserved amongst the exploited. Therefore those workers who were not yet affected by the strike and lockout, have resolved to hasten to the aid of their struggling brothers, and to down tools as well. This determined and fit measure taken by a class conscious working class meets with resistance on the part of the "prudent" trade union leaders, and it is against their will that the strike has been extended, and solidarity established in the threatened working class.

On behalf of the millions of oppressed and exploited of the whole world, the Communist International expresses its solidarity with the proletariat of Hungary, struggling for its most primitive economic and political rights. In a few weeks, on the 21 of March, we shall celebrate the *third anniversary of the day when the proletarian dictatorship was set up in Hungary*, and the workers of Hungary seized power. The Communist International is fully aware that the memory of the first proletarian state will steel the fighting courage of the Hungarian proletariat. Hold out, class brothers of Hungary.

Long live the solidarity of the fighting proletariat of all countries!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Soviet Russia's Export Plan for 1922-1923

The commission planning state economics, has drawn up the following provisional export plan for the fiscal year 1922-23:

First group. **Agricultural products:**

Corn 10 million puds, flax 2.5 million puds, hemp 1.2 million puds, oil-cake 5 million puds.

Second group. **Products of cattle and poultry raising:**

Undressed leather 10 million pieces, horse-hair 150,000 puds, bristles 100,000 puds, entrails 200,000 puds.

The value of the goods coming under these two groups is estimated at 89.1 million gold roubles.

With regard to the export of wool, the commission came to no final decision. The commission permits the export of certain grades of wool, after the requirements of our industry have been met. The quantity of wool proposed to be exported was valued at 2.25 million gold roubles.

Third group. **Products of hunting, fishing, and of agriculture:**

Skins 15 millions, sugar 1 million puds, spirit (40 per cent) 5000 buckets (1 bucket = 12 1/4 litres), wine 14,700 buckets. The sugar intended for export goes to the East, chiefly to Persia.

Fourth group. **Products of forestry, mining, and fuel industry:**

Timber about 65 million standards, tar products 1.22 million puds. Mining and fuel products to the value of about 20.2 million gold roubles. The amount of ore to be exported has not yet been finally settled.

Naphtha export.

The total amount of naphtha products intended for export in the year 1922-23 has been fixed at 21 million puds, chiefly petroleum (10 million puds) and machine oil (5 million puds). The probable net profit (after deduction of all expenses: customs, etc.) is estimated at 17,160,000 gold roubles.

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To the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

Thousands of your brothers and sisters are languishing in the prisons and dungeons of Capitalism throughout the world. The world bourgeoisie has thrown them into its Bastilles, because they fought in the front ranks against exploitation. In every country in Europe and America, in Africa and Asia, the dungeons of the bourgeoisie are filled with the best of our comrades. Isolated from the active Class Struggle, and delivered over to their tormentors unarmed, our imprisoned brothers are also oppressed by the thought of the fate of their families. The suffering of our imprisoned comrades is frightful. Through its executioners the bourgeoisie vents its cruel revenge upon them. What an immense will power our incarcerated brothers and sisters must summon up to withstand the tortures of prison. They are fighting desperately and many of them succumb. A thousandfold Inquisition is their daily and hourly lot in the bourgeois dungeons. Torn from the active class war and

delivered over to their Inquisitors unarmed, our prisoners are tormented by still another thought, the fate of their families. *Workers of all Countries!*

These are the victims of the proletarian Class Struggle. It is for you and our cause that they have been thrown into prison, for you that they are being persecuted by the hangmen of the bourgeoisie, for you that their families are suffering.

We must help them! We must snatch them from the clutches of the bourgeoisie!

Arise in international protest and demonstrations of solidarity for our imprisoned and persecuted comrades on the 18th of March, the day of the Paris Commune!

This day must be made into a day of warning for the world bourgeoisie and a day of hope and encouragement for all our brothers who are languishing in the prisons.

Central Committee of The International Red Relief.

Marx' Materialist Conception of History

By N. Lenin.

The realization of the inadequacy and one-sidedness of the old materialism convinced Marx of the necessity of bringing social science into accord with the materialist foundation of society. If materialism lays down the general rule that *consciousness* is to be explained by *being*, then the application of materialism to the examination of society demands that *social consciousness* be explained by *social being*. "Technology", says, Marx (chap. I), "reveals the active attitude of Man towards Nature, the immediate productive process of his life, and at the same time, the social relations of his life and the mental conceptions arising therefrom". Marx gives a consistent formulation of the fundamentals of materialism in its application to human society and its history,—in the preface to his book, *Critique of Political Economy*, in the following words:

"In the life of social production, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will and which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these productive relations constitutes the economic structure

of society, the real basis, upon which a legal and political super-structure arises, and which corresponds to definite forms of social consciousness. The methods of production of man's material existence, determine the whole process of social, political, and mental life. It is not the consciousness of human beings which determines their existence; the reverse is the case; their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or, in juridical language, with the relations of property within which they have hitherto functioned. These relations are transformed from forms of development of the productive forces into fetters of production.

"Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense super-structure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of

natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

Just as little as one can judge an individual by what he thinks himself to be, just as little can such a revolutionary epoch be judged by its consciousness, but must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflicts between social productive forces and relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. Broadly conceived, Asiatic, antique, feudal, and modern bourgeois methods of production may be designated as progressive epochs of the economic social development. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production.

The materialist conception of history, or, strictly speaking, the application of materialism to the sphere of social phenomena, has removed two of the main defects of the theory of history as hitherto understood. History has, at best, up to now, considered the ideal motives of the historical activity of human beings, without examining into the cause of these motives, without discovering the objective law behind the development of the system of social relations, without seeking for the root of these relations in the degree of development of material production. Secondly, the theories applied up to now, have overlooked precisely the activity of the great masses of the population, while historical materialism has given us for the first time the possibility of examining, with the precision of natural science, into the social conditions influencing the life of the masses, and into the changes taking place in these conditions. Pre-Marxian "sociology" and history writing achieved, at best, an accumulation of bare facts, and have provided us with nothing more than a representation of some separate phases of the historical process. Marx showed the way to a comprehensive and thorough examination into the process of origination, evolution, and decay of social-economic formations, in that he regarded all contradictory tendencies in their totality, and traced them back to accurately definable conditions of life and production in the various classes of society; he thus eliminated subjectivism, as well as arbitrariness in the choice and interpretation of some "leading ideas", and laid bare the roots of all ideas, without exception, and of all the different tendencies in the state of social productive forces. Human beings make their own history, but Marx was the first to show what determines the motives of human beings, and particularly of the masses of human beings; he was the first to show what the totality of all these conflicts is to human society, what are the objective conditions of the production of material life, forming the basis for every historical activity among human beings, what is the evolutionary law of these conditions. In this way Marx pointed out the way to the scientific study of history as a consistent process, following definite laws through all its multifarious immensity and in all its contradictions.

That in every society the strivings of some members of this society are opposed to the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, that history shows us a struggle between and within peoples and societies, that history is composed of alternating periods of peace and war, revolution and reaction, standstill and rapid advance or decay,—all these facts are well known. Marx gave us the clue which enables us to discover the law underlying this apparent labyrinth and chaos. This clue is the theory of class war. It is only the study of the sum total of the strivings of all the members of a society, or of a group of societies, that can lead to a scientific determination of the results of these strivings. The source of conflicting interests lies, however, in the difference of position and living conditions of the classes into which every society is divided. "The history of all societies up to now has been the history of class war", wrote Marx in 1848 in the Communist Manifest (and Engels added later: "except the history of primeval society"). Free men and slaves, patricians and plebians, barons and serfs, guild citizens and journeymen, in short, oppressors and oppressed have always stood in opposition to one another, have carried on an uninterrupted struggle, at times open, at times concealed; a fight which invariably ended with a revolutionary reformation of the whole society, or with the common decay of both fighting classes. In earlier epochs of history we find almost everywhere a complete stratification of society into various classes, a multitudinous graduation of social positions. In ancient Rome we see patricians, plebians, knights, slaves; in the middle ages,—

feudal lords, vassals, guild citizens, journeymen, serfs; and within almost all of these classes a still further special graduation. The modern bourgeois society which has arisen out of the decay of feudal society has not annulled class antagonisms. It has only replaced the old classes by new ones, created new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, however is, distinguished by having simplified class antagonisms. The whole of society splits up more and more into two large hostile camps, into two large classes directly antagonistic to one another: bourgeoisie and proletariat . . .

Since the great French revolution, European history has revealed in a number of countries, with special clearness, the real fundamental of events, the *Class War*. Even during the epoch of restoration there were a number of French historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers), who could not but designate when forming a generalization on events—*Class War* as the key to French history as a whole. And the latest epoch, the epoch of complete victory of the bourgeoisie, of the parliaments, of extended if not general suffrage, of cheap daily newspapers read by the masses, the epoch of mighty and ever growing labor organizations and employers, unions etc., has shown even more graphically, though often in a very peaceful constitutional form, class war as the motive force underlying events. In a number of historical works, Marx has given us many brilliant and profound examples of materialist historical writing, analyzing the position of each separate class and even of the various groups and strata within the class, and thus demonstrating why and how every struggle of class against class is a political struggle.

POLITICS

An international Conference for combatting the Ruhr Occupation

The committee of 23 of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards appealed to all labor parties, trade unions, shop stewards, and to the Labor Internationals, to convene an international conference for the purpose of consulting on the measures to be taken against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the capitalist offensive, and against the Fascists.

This conference has been convened for March 17., at Cologne, by the joint committee of action of the German and French Communist Parties. In Germany, invitations to the conference have been sent to the German Communist Party, the Independent Socialist Party, the United Socialist Party, and to the German trade union alliance.

The provisional agenda is as follows:

1. The measures of self defence to be adopted by the proletarian parties and trade unions against the Ruhr occupation and the capitalist offensive.
2. The work to be done for combatting Fascism.

The invitation to the above-named organizations was accompanied by the following communication:

Comrades,
The military occupation of the Rhine country, and the economic war now being fought at the expense of the German and French proletariats, threatens to drag the working class into the abyss. The whole working class of Europe is again confronted by the danger of war. Economic life decays, the working class is plunged into poverty. Bands of Fascists are organizing civil war against the working class.

Our French comrades are carrying on an heroic battle against Poincaré's policy. Dozens of our comrades have been thrown into prison. Despite all difficulties they are carrying on an energetic struggle for joint action by the working class, and for delegates to be sent to the international conference.

From Germany, promises to send delegates have already been received from the Communist Party and from the Independent Socialist Party (Ledebour). Up to the present neither the German General Trade Union Federation nor the United Socialist Party have sent any reply to the appeal made by the committee of 23. In this hour of the greatest danger for the working class we address the following question to these organizations:

Are you prepared to send representatives to this conference, as others are doing?

Are you prepared to fight side by side with the international working class, against the Ruhr occupation and against the Fascist danger?

We believe the situation to have become so critical, that the social democratic workers must decide upon joint action by all workers—even if it be against the will of the leaders who have made common cause with the German bourgeoisie.

We call upon the workers of town and country to establish the international class front of the proletariat. Decide

upon your attitude towards the conference, and send your delegates.

Down with the imperialist policy of robbery!

Long live the international solidarity of the exploited!

Lausanne and the Ruhr

By A. Lozovsky.

Is there any connection between the Lausanne conference and the occupation of the Ruhr basin? Without doubt there is. Lausanne was one stage on the road towards the liquidation of the treaty of Sèvres, this offspring of Versailles. Lausanne showed the instability of the "eternal peace" created by the allies. The occupation of the Ruhr valley liquidated the Versailles treaty from another side, and again confirmed the deceptive nature of the new international rights called into existence as consequence of the great war.

But Lausanne and the Ruhr not only prove the instability of European peace, but also the hopeless tangle in which the victorious countries have become involved. What is the real import of the Lausanne conference? That Turkey, contrary to the expectations of the allies, proved herself to be a living force. The revolutionary movement of this peasant country compelled England, the world ruler, to retreat. The questions engaging the Lausanne conference were, the possession of the Dardanelles and the exploitation of the naphtha of Mossul. Naturally, Lord Curzon was in favor of the "internationalization" of the Straits, that is, he would have liked the numerous English warships now defending European civilisation in the Near East to be supplemented by a few French ones, and by one Italian. When this "internationalization" is lit up by naphtha, Lausanne may be seen in its true light. Naphtha does undoubtedly possess the remarkable property of showing things in their true light. At Lausanne, the French were against the English, for the French idea of "internationalization" is a system under which the number of French warships exceeds the number of English. The French would have been inclined to acknowledge England's "rights" in the Near East, if England had left them a "free hand" in the Ruhr question. "A free hand", in the euphemistic language of diplomacy, signifying in the present case,—leaving a clear road for French dominion over Europe. What is the real and actual import of the Ruhr occupation? France, thanks to her victory, has become the country richest in iron ore. Her own rich ore mines, from which before the war, she extracted 19 million tons of ore, have now been supplemented by those of Alsace Lorraine, which produced 21 million tons of iron ore. Germany lost 80% of her iron ore, and the French capitalists gained predominance in iron. Possessed of such quantities of ore, France's coal deficit became greater than ever. Already before the war, France had been importing 20 million tons, and the increased demand for coal brought about by the Versailles treaty could not be covered by the coal from the annexed Saar basin, with its total yearly output of 17 million tons. In addition coke needed for France's blast furnaces is in the Ruhr valley.

At the commencement of the war, when the German bourgeoisie was still hoping for victory, it was decided to annex the French ore, for coal has an irresistible attraction for ore. In the same way when France proved victorious, the annexation of the Ruhr basin was decided on beforehand, for iron exercises an equally great attraction for coal. How came it that this annexation did not take place until four years after the treaty of Versailles? The chief reason was that England could not permit the union of iron and coal, and a second reason was that during this period negotiations were proceeding between the German coal barons and the French iron magnates regarding the peaceful alliance of iron and coal. Both parties to this advantageous undertaking desired to have a majority of the shares; as however, this was impossible, the consequence has been the military occupation of the Ruhr basin. Negotiations have now recommenced between the industrial magnates of both countries, with regard to the division of the shares. And where is England in the meanwhile? England is pursuing the wait and see policy, and will not interfere until the two parties have proved themselves incapable of solving the conflict by themselves. And it will only interfere for the purpose of making sure that neither one party nor the other of the Franco-German coal syndicate will acquire a majority of the shares.

And the proletariat? The proletariats of both countries are opposed to war, and if the 2. International and the Amsterdammers were equally opposed to war, it would be possible to break up the whole coke-naphtha combination. But these gentlemen, who recently, at The Hague, swore solemn oaths, that they would proclaim the international strike in the event of war danger, began to weep lamentably, supplicate the liberator and protector of the peoples, the League of Nations. But who is this mysterious protector of the peoples, this impartial defender of eternal and absolute right? What is this League, at whose

portal the Amsterdam pacifists knock so humbly? Do you want to know what this League of Nations is? Take Poincaré, add to him Lord Curzon and the Czecho-Slovakian Benes, boil up these ingredients with the royal minister and social democrat Branting, stir all well together with a good pinch of Mussolini, and you have the great protector of the rights of nations, known by the name of the League of Nations.

If the international proletariat had no better friends than the Amsterdammers, the 2. International, and the League of Nations, which protects the rights of the peoples with its fleet, then Europe would again be strewn with millions of fresh corpses. But happily the events of the last few years have not been without their effect on humanity; they have caused millions and millions of proletarians to rise against the capitalist system and against its conscious and unconscious defenders. Every fresh conflict opens the eyes of fresh hundreds of thousands of proletarians. That which neither the Comintern nor the Red International of Labor Unions could accomplish, has been effected by Poincaré and Lord Curzon. Lausanne and the Ruhr are stages on the road to the liquidation of not only the Versailles treaty, but of the whole system which gave it birth. Go on as you have begun, you Stinnes, Poincaré, and Curzon. Divide up the world among yourselves, quarrel as to who is to have the greatest number of shares; the revolutionary proletariat will soon find a way of uniting you . . . on the same gallows.

The End of the Versailles Peace Treaty

By Berthelet (Paris).

The *Echo de Paris*, which is as a rule, excellently informed on diplomatic matters, recently referred as follows to the mission of the minister Le Trocquer in London:

"Of course the English minister did not accept the juridical thesis laid down by us in justification of our claim: footnote No. 2 to the armistice of 1918, article 212 of the Versailles treaty, and article 10 of the Rhine country agreement of July 28., 1919. He denies that General Degoutte ever had the right to hold the position of commander in chief over the allied armies, and maintains that in any case the position was forfeited as soon as we put our own special interpretation on § 18 of supplement II of section 8 of the Versailles treaty, and proceeded to occupy the Ruhr without the agreement of London."

Thus England defines her attitude clearly and distinctly. She is of opinion that France has broken the treaty of Versailles.

It may be remarked in the first place: If America from her position of spectator, proclaims that the treaty is impossible of execution; if England openly declares that the treaty has been violated; if France and Belgium continue to further violate it; is it possible to maintain that the treaty still exists at all?

The operations in the Ruhr have torn the treaty to pieces. In Europe there is no other power save open violence.

Secondly it may be remarked: Although England is of the opinion that the treaty has been broken by France and Belgium, she continues to exercise a so-called "benevolent" neutrality towards the governments of Paris and Brussels.

It is impossible for England to express more cynically the fact that respect for treaties is an entirely obsolete conception in the capitalist world.

Capitalists acted in precisely the same way in former times, but they at least kept up appearances.

Thirdly: It is quite impossible for England to look on benevolently while French industry combines the possession of the iron of Lorraine with the control of the Rhenish-Westphalian coal, and thus establishes a hegemony in Europe. Industrial England cannot quietly acquiesce when she is thus pushed aside by her rival France.

England's policy towards France is one of "benevolent" neutrality:

1. because at the present time England is not exposed to competition from Ruhr coal, and is thus able to sell her own coal at continually higher prices;

2. because Franco-Belgian heavy industry is forced to limit its output on account of shortage in smelting coke, whilst the coal and iron industry of England is fully occupied and exporting largely, whereby unemployment in England is greatly alleviated;

3. because the rate of exchange of the pound sterling is rising, without the depreciation of the franc having any unfavorable influence on export;

4. because England's hands are too full with her difficulties in Ireland, Egypt, and India, to permit of her interfering further in European affairs;

5. because the seizure of the Mosul oil-fields has fallen through in consequence of the breaking off of the Lausanne conference;

6. because there is no particular need for urgency, and because the economic disorganization of the Ruhr area does not permit France to lay immediate hands on the Rhenish-Westphalian coal.

Fourthly: England hesitated long as to whether she should keep her occupation troops in France, or should withdraw them.

Finally the English government decided on retaining the troops in France, giving as a motive the desire to hold the Entente together.

The reason why England does not care to break entirely with France is, that it would not be to her own interest to do so under present circumstances.

On the other hand a withdrawal of the troops would give a completely free hand to France and Belgium, and facilitate their operations against Germany, England's future ally.

Further, the presence of British troops provides possibilities for intervention, preventing the union of Lorraine ore with Rhenish coal, under a Franco-Belgian hegemony.

Fifth remark: It may be predicted with certainty that as soon as England perceives any lightening of her present difficulties, she will intervene energetically in order to prevent the industrial domination of France on the continent.

To resurvey the situation: The continued British occupation of Cologne, and the benevolent neutrality of England with respect to France, are mere attitudes by which English imperialism shows consideration for Germany, to be followed later by a policy of breaking with its allies.

The European proletariat must oppose its class solutions to all these capitalist and imperialist combinations.

British Labor and the Ruhr

By J. T. Murphy.

Probably no campaign in British Labor history has demonstrated so clearly the imperialistic training of the British Labor leaders, as the campaign on the Ruhr occupation.

From the moment the French troops advanced into the Ruhr, the Labor protests assumed an anti-French character, not because British labor, the bulwark of the Second International, was against all imperialist adventures, but because it had an eye to British Imperialist interests. Never has there been such a medley of opinions and pronouncements from responsible Labor leaders. But messed up as they may be, everyone rushed to the Union Jack.

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald led the way. He first of all reiterated the demands of the Amsterdam conference of 1921. He stood for reparations, but not quite so much as the French demanded. Let there be a careful estimate of what Germany could pay, both now and in the future, and an adjustment of our demands accordingly. In any case we could not stand for the French aggression and Britain must look after her own interests.

There was not the slightest difference between his pronouncements and the voice of British Liberalism. Indeed, the Manchester Guardian was more radical in its criticism than the Labor leaders.

Then spoke Mr. J. R. Clynes, who first called for the intervention of the American Government. This was supported by Mr. Lloyd George most enthusiastically, and later was taken up by the leaders of the Independent Labor Party, led by Mr. Wallhead, who addressed an appeal to the American president to join in a world conference of governments headed by America.

At the same time they were quite uncertain what to do about the presence of the British troops on the Rhine; some were in favour of their withdrawal, some against. Then the I.L.P. sent a deputation to Germany to feel the pulse of the German democrats. These, we were told, were in favour of the British troops staying there in order to prevent the French annexing the Ruhr. Still uncertain what to do, some pleaded for withdrawal and some were against.

Then Mr. Snowden entered the arena and summed up the Labor policy in the following way: Speaking of France, he spoke not of the people but of the militant leaders of her policy. He had the most profound respect for the people of France and desired to live on terms of co-operation and affection with them. It would be a happy day for France, when the French people threw off the domination of their military leaders and joined with the peoples of the other countries in the great work of European pacification and reconstruction.

Change the words French and France respectively, for German and Germany, and we have exactly what Mr. Lloyd George said a few years ago. But it has been left for the last deputation to the Ruhr, to complete the picture of the intellectual bankruptcy of the English section of the 2nd International. Messrs. Wheatley, Kirkwood, Maxton and Stephen of the I.L.P. report as follows:—

"If France succeeded in capturing and working the Ruhr coalfield, she would become immediately the military monarch of Europe, and, in addition, oust us from the steel markets of the world. The industrial-captains of Britain and the Government they support do not contemplate this prospect with equanimity. So they are not, to put it mildly, enthusiastic supporters of the French policy. If we continue to lecture and embarrass France, the relations between the two countries may become strained.

The only way out of the difficulty is for France, Germany, Britain, Belgium and Italy to internationalize the Ruhr coalfield.

The administration of the coalfield would, of course, be in the hands of an international Board of Directors, who would appoint a managing director and the necessary staff. The coal would be disposed of in the competitive market in the ordinary way, and the dividends earned would be distributed proportionately as Reparations. Germany's dividend would be the political independence and freedom from occupation in the Ruhr, and every other part of Germany, which the scheme would ensure to her. France would have her national safety guaranteed by the international control of the source of German war materials. Britain would be safeguarded against the overwhelming advantages in the world's markets, which a monopoly of the Ruhr coal with the Lorraine ore would give to any nation.

Italy and Belgium would gain in status by sharing in the control. The whole world would benefit by the sense of security and common interest created by such a settlement."

No wonder the *Morning Post*, the die-hard Conservative paper hails the statement as a "frank statement of Labor leaders". . . . No wonder Mr. Baldwin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer can say he can imagine a Labor Government and in that event he would give it the same loyalty as is offered to the Governments formed by other parties except of course the Communist Party.

Apart from the efforts of the C.P., anything in the nature of a call for working class action against the Imperialism of all capitalist countries has been entirely absent. The campaign has taken the form of a rally to Liberalism under the banner of Labor, and poor Liberalism at that.

At every stage they have rejected everything that might lead to an all-in workers conference for fear of exposure by the Communist International. The Hague conference received very little publicity, and the Russian proposals have been completely suppressed by the Labor press. Never has the British labor movement cut so abject a figure. Through the fears of action by the workers it is blind to the real policy of British Imperialism which is confident that French Imperialism will meet its economic and financial Waterloo in the Ruhr and waits for the right moment to jump in and gather the fruits of victory.

This the British Labor leaders will not see, or if they see, they silently acquiesce.

E. C. C. I.

To Comrades

**Cachin, Monmousseau, Treint, Semard,
Jacob, Hueber, Massot, Marrane-Gourde-
aux, Lariqne, Cazals, Ker, Pietri,
Paguereaux.**

Dear friends,

We the undersigned, send you our heartiest fraternal greetings and the expression of our profoundest appreciation of your courageous attitude. The French Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. have saved the honor of the French proletariat through you. Everywhere where your action is known your names are held in highest honor by the elite of the proletariat. We are fully convinced that your trial will prove to be the trial of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents of the 2nd and Amsterdam Internationals.

For the Executive Committee of the Communist International,
*Zinoviev, Trotzky, Radek, Bukharin, Kuusinen, Gramsci, Hörnl,
MacManus, Hula, Schatzkin.*

A Greeting to the Women who are working and fighting all over the World!

The Communist International is aware that its struggles against international capital, and against international counter-revolution, can only be successful in proportion as it succeeds in gaining the great masses of working women for the international revolutionary class war. Women are the greatest sufferers from the effects of the present international capitalist offensive against the world proletariat. Wage reductions, unemployment, are destroying every basis of existence for the working class. Proletarian women must gradually learn that they can only protect themselves against the constant threats of capitalism by taking active part in organizing the resistance of the exploited against their exploiters, and by themselves taking part in the battle. The Communist International, which calls upon the international proletariat to fight against new imperialist wars, against the intention of imperialist robbers to start another world conflagration, does not preach pacifism; on the contrary; it calls upon the women to aid their class comrades with their utmost powers, in the work of organizing the sole war which can be named a holy war by the working masses, the war against the blood-suckers and oppressors of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie must not again be allowed to succeed with the aid of its willing social patriotic agents, in inducing the proletariat to form a working coalition with its most deadly enemies. The Communist International proclaims its fixed determination to fight hand in hand with the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat women in all countries, until communism triumphs.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

THE WHITE TERROR

Proletarian Aid on behalf of the Incarcerated

The Russian proletariat, who initiated the International Red Relief, has already taken up—in part spontaneously—its collecting and relief activity. We have received the following report thereon.

The provincial committee of the Russian communist Party in Vyatka handed over 799 roubles 49 kopeks (1923 issue), on January 17, for the funds of the International Red Relief; this sum had been collected in Vyatka. In a brief communication the provincial committee states that the foundation has been laid for the support of the revolutionists lying captive in the prisons of the capitalist countries, and that the provincial committee of Vyatka will continue to do its utmost in the future to increase this aid.

The provincial committee of Vyatka, is the first of the Soviet Federation to begin the campaign. For this purpose, January 22, the anniversary of "bloody Sunday", was celebrated as relief day for the prisoners incarcerated by the international bourgeoisie. The provincial committee of Vyatka and the provincial trade union council issued an appeal to all district and local committees, to the nuclei, to the provincial departments of the trade unions, and to the employees' committees of the province of Vyatka, pointing out the desirability of organizing "Sundays" in the factories, workshops, and institutions. Where "Sundays" cannot be held, overtime is to be worked, and the proceeds given to the I.R.R. The appeal further states: "It is necessary to arrange meetings, theatrical entertainments, and concerts, on behalf of the captives of the bourgeoisie, and to induce artists to take part in these. The total proceeds are to be paid to the I.R.R."

The Moscow *Gub.Pros.* (provincial council for people's education) has resolved to grant 5 milliard roubles to the International Red Relief, and to issue an appeal to all members of the union for the purpose of carrying out a general collection for the prisoners on a large scale.

The workers in a confectionery factory in Ivanovo Vossnessensk (a large industrial town east of Moscow) have contributed half a day's wages in aid of the imprisoned revolutionists of the West.

The members of the Moscow office of the Ukrainian civil service have sacrificed 565 roubles.

On the suggestion of the communist fraction in the third Soviet house, a day overtime was worked. The sum thus raised was placed at the disposal of the International Red Relief.

The communist fraction belonging to the Lithuanian Dramatic Theatre considers that really effective aid for the political

prisoners can only be carried out by means of continuous support, and has therefore decided to give a monthly contribution to the amount of half the membership fees.

The children of the "Rosa Luxemburg—Karl Liebknecht", children's home, in the Vyatka province, sent a delegation to the Vyatka department of the I.R.R., requesting to be made use of for work in aid of the prisoners in western Europe. The children offered to mend linen for the prisoners, and brought a towel and a silver cup. They asked that these two small presents be sent to the prisoners.

Mussolini's campaign against the Italian Communists

By Karl Radek.

Depressing news come from Italy. The Fascist government is preparing to shatter the communist organizations. Thousands of communists have been arrested in every city. Comrade Amadea Bordiga, the leader of Italian communism, has been arrested; comrade Maffi, the leader of the International Section of the Socialist Party, was arrested on his return from the Congress of the Comintern, although he is a deputy, and as such, enjoys the right of immunity. Mussolini substantiates the arrests of communists with assertions of alleged conspiracies dogging him on all sides. But comrade Maffi could not be guilty of a conspiracy, for however cunning the mechanism of revolution may be, nobody can organize a conspiracy until he has at least crossed the frontier. Maffi's arrest had thus to be justified on other grounds. 30 grams of gold were found in his wife's possession. The reader will ask what these 30 grams of gold mean. Perhaps they are a part of the fighting funds of the Comintern, condensed by the devilish arts of the Moscow conspirators? But it was only the wedding ring of comrade Maffi's wife.

On the day after his victorious seizure of power, Mussolini declared that the Terror exercised by the Fascisti up to that time would now cease. He called upon his organizations to renounce all use of force, and combated the excesses committed by independent Fascisti. Naturally, the Fascisti were very reluctant to obey a leader who wanted to transform them from wolves into lambs. But it is none the less a fact that during the first period of Mussolini's rule the only Fascist atrocities committed were those by individual sections of Fascist bands, against the command of the government; there were no governmental campaigns against communists. Many comrades informed us that, after the Fascisti had seized power, the position of the communists was more favorable than it had been for two years.

But this was merely the honeymoon of the Fascist government. Mussolini needed a pause for breath after seizing power. His first task was to disarm the Fascist divisions, or at least to form them into an organized and legal force, directly dependent on the government and obedient to its commands. Mussolini had promised so much to the Fascisti, that he was bound to fear their desertion if he failed to keep his promises. If he had permitted them to attack the communists at once, he would not have been able to discipline them at the same time. Therefore he took his time about the campaign against the communists. And another consideration influenced him: he was afraid of arousing the resistance of the working masses before his own governmental position was firmly established.

All the bourgeois parties submitted to Mussolini, although he had trodden all parliamentary rights underfoot. They submitted to him, although there are influential bourgeois groups in Italy who do not believe in his program, and who fear that he will so treat the state apparatus and capitalist economics that no good will come of it. The bourgeoisie is convinced that the superfluous zeal of the Fascisti will calm down, that the dictator who is going to save Italy's bourgeoisie will submit to the laws of the bourgeoisie, and that in the end, the working class alone will have to bear the whole burden of the dictatorship. The reformists have submitted too; at first they held fearful speeches in Parliament against Mussolini's dictatorship, and in defence of parliamentarism and democracy, but at the same time the leader of the labor confederation, Baldesi, took up negotiations with Mussolini, and several organs of the Italian Amsterdamers declared that they were free from all prejudice against the Fascist government. Thus a tacit bloc was formed between the reformists and Mussolini. The forces of the revolutionary proletariat are undergoing a process of reformation. Unity is in progress between the Communist Party and the revolutionary elements of Serrati's party. The revolutionary elements occupied with the regrouping were not able to

entrench themselves, and to take up the fight from well-defended positions. Mussolini, who feared the pending consolidation of the revolutionary forces, proceeded to the attack. And now the Fascist organizations are no longer split up, now the Fascist government is destroying the workers' organizations, throwing the editors of the communist papers into prison, and instituting mass proceedings against workers. The Terror has reached such a point that, as Italian comrades report, the workers do not venture to speak aloud in the trams.

The Communist Party of Italy is passing through a period of unheard of difficulties. It is forced to offer sacrifice after sacrifice on the altar of revolutionary class war, but we are certain that the battle will end in the victory of the Communist Party, and not in that of Mussolini. Terror is a mighty weapon against a class whose day is past, and whose economic importance dwindles from day to day in the course of evolution. But the Terror cannot suppress a class without which no production is possible. The Terror cannot suppress a class to which even the Fascist government must turn with the prediction that society can only be saved by the work of this class. Mussolini's Terror rids communism of all lazy and cowardly elements, of all who fight for the cause of communism with words only. But it draws all the real fighters the more closely together, unites all truly revolutionary members of the Italian working class, and creates a Communist Party capable not only of seizing power after the inevitable collapse of Fascism, but of maintaining it.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Straight Line

By Henri Barbusse (Paris).

Many comrades have been so kind as to ask me what I think of the new orientation of the French Communist Party within the International. I should like to reply here to all: *The International is completely in the right.*

The radicalism with which the French Party again raises its head on this occasion, despite the repeated loss of membership consequent on the successive re-formations of the party, bears witness to the great moral strength and proud wisdom of the conscious vanguard of revolution. You may in all tranquility allow the enemy and the false friends of your cause, to assert that you were foolish to thus voluntarily reduce your numbers for the sake of your principles. You may look on in all tranquility whilst you are designated as sectarians by those who regard everyone as a sectarian as soon as he moves from phrases to deeds. What do numbers and figures signify? A great deal, certainly. But the day is approaching when the might of circumstances will accord numbers to those who are in the right, and not to those who are in the wrong.

The great danger threatening Mankind is that it permits itself to be fooled by the farce that is being played upon it, so long as the old errors are clad in new garments. The great danger is the *word play*.

We are living in this epoch of imbecile word making. The republic, its freedom and equality, exist solely on paper and in official phraseology. Now as ever, formulas take the place of ideas, and consequently, also the place of deeds. Nothing is changed; the mighty pulsations of life continue, and the mighty sufferings continue. And this disease, which causes words to be confused with things, has severely injured the political and trade union movement of the proletariat.

And now the hour has come when all those who refuse to accept bourgeois barbarism, and the continuation of every imaginable tyranny, and the opiate of democracy which is far worse than any religion, must put an end, once and for all, to the Age of Words. There must be no more of the declamations and sophistries which dazzle and confuse the vision.

And now you must admit, comrades, that you have been gradually pressed downwards, step by step, towards the verge of this chasm of deceptive and insignificant concessions, and always under the pretext of acting prudently, of discouraging nobody, of "taking realities into account". This impotence has rendered it impossible for the French party to lay down any absolute, clear, and definite lines, which could be grasped and acknowledged by all sincere and honest comrades.

Be men who do not attempt to apply some patent formula at every suitable and unsuitable opportunity; be men who think out what they say down to its last consequence; who do not utter the word "Internationalism" without conceiving a virgin idea, miracle-working and creative; who shake the foundations of the paper facades of official constitutions when they call for "freedom" or "equality". Be men who strike out the parasitic

readings of the laws and statutes, the false meanings which have been grafted onto the laws and have finally distorted them. Be men who are capable of protecting revolutionary logic not only from aberrations, but from the frightful amputations imposed upon it with the cynicism of innocence by the preachers of morality and the disciples of Tolstoy.

Let us gather without reservation around the party, around the scientific centralization, around the structure which gives us a vision of life in the future, whose ramifications reach everywhere, and whose great organizational heart beats in so great, so real, and so new a land. This is by no means synonymous with subordination; on the contrary, it signifies a powerful and determined co-operation and unity.

That the Communist Party has been strengthened by its self-purification is above all incontestably proved by the persecutions to which it alone is exposed. As soon as force is employed against any section of revolutionary opposition, it is an infallible sign that the enemy has awakened to the realization that it is faced by men insensible to narcotic phrases, and constituting a danger to the nefarious existing state of society.

As to myself personally, I was hitherto of the opinion that I did better not to belong to the Party officially, as my independence could perhaps enable me to serve the cause better under certain circumstances. But to-day it seems to me that the weight of arguments of this nature is considerably weakened by the excellent and increased clearness of international communism, and therefore I add myself as another fighter to the ranks of the Party.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Towards Trade Union Unity in France

By Marcel Ollivier (Paris).

One of the main reasons for the present impotence of the French proletariat lies in the extraordinary weakness of its economic organization, which is split up into two hostile camps fighting one another with bitter obstinacy.

Three years ago, at the beginning of 1920, the "Confédération Générale du Travail" (C.G.T. — General Labor Confederation) of France counted about 2,500,000 members. To-day the combined membership of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. (Unitarian General Labor Confederation) is less than 700,000. If we estimate the working population of France at 8-9 millions, there is only one proletarian out of every fourteen organized in a trade union.

These facts suffice to characterize the almost complete state of impotence experienced by the French working class at the present time, as opposed to a splendidly organized bourgeoisie, which has the whole army and complete state apparatus at its disposal.

Not only the political parties, the Socialist and Communist Parties included, but also the trade union alliances: the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. exercise a purely moral influence on the French proletariat. This is revealed in rare cases only as for instance, when the reaction of the capitalist class and of the government disregards or threatens the interests of the working class all too openly. But as soon as such a crisis is over again, the workers fall back at once into their old apathy towards all political or economic problems.

This passivity of the working class is one of the main obstacles in the way of the development of the class war in France. It is therefore the duty of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat — the Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. — to clear this stumbling block from the road with every means at their disposal. The communists must do their utmost to strengthen trade union organization within the working class. It is only by these means that their class consciousness can be aroused and developed. And the effectual execution of this absolutely necessary task is, above all, dependent on the restoration of trade union unity.

The Communists have been propagating this slogan for a long time, and it has again been strongly emphasized by the IV. World Congress of the Communist International. With regard to the C.G.T.U., it has always unequivocally expressed its readiness for trade union unity. The name chosen, "Unitarian General Labor Confederation", is at once a witness to this. But up to now the irreconcilable opposition of the anarchist elements ruling the C.G.T.U. has prevented this longing for unity from becoming more than a mere theoretical formula.

In this sense the step already taken by the C.G.T.U. with regard to the reformist C.G.T., undoubtedly indicates a turning point. On the occasion of the recent C.G.T. congress, the ex-

clusive committee of the C.G.T.U. addressed an appeal to the delegates of this congress, containing:

1. a proposal for the restoration of trade union unity in France, and
2. a proposal for the establishment of a proletarian united front against French Imperialism.

With regard to the restoration of trade union unity the C.G.T.U. proposed the convocation of a joint congress of all trade unions at present affiliated to the two central trade union bodies. This congress was to draw up the national and international program of action of the new C.G.T., and to appoint a new central bureau on the lines to be indicated by this body. The minorities within the re-created C.G.T. were to be subordinate to the will of the majority, but to retain unlimited right of criticism, and opposition. Furthermore, that no single member or single organization be expelled on the pretext of trade union discipline, but that the discipline clause should only be applied in cases of grave breach of duly passed resolutions involving trade union action.

This proposal of the C.G.T.U. called forth very lively debates at the congress of the reformist trade unions. As it was not very well possible to reject it outright, the congress declared itself in favor of the restoration of trade union unity, but announced simultaneously that this restoration could only take place on the principles of the old C.G.T., and would be possible only if commenced from below, that is, it should be first undertaken in "every trade union affiliated to the C.G.T."

These words "affiliated to the C.G.T." were inserted on the motion of Jouhaux, and after a violent conflict between Digat, who stood for trade union unity, and Merrheim, who was opposed to it; the insertion of these words in the congress resolution was tantamount to a rejection of the C.G.T.U. proposal. For the C.G.T.U. had declared from the beginning that the restoration of trade union unity would only be possible on the basis of a newly constituted joint organization.

With regard to the second proposal of the C.G.T.U. regarding a proletarian united front for the struggle against French imperialism in the Ruhr area, this was rejected almost unanimously at the congress of the reformists.

This rejection once more illuminates the full significance of the question of trade union unity. It must be made perfectly clear to the workers, that the reformist trade union leaders do not want to hear anything of the restoration of trade union unity in France, and that they — see the declarations made by Mr. Fimmen, the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International at the recent reformist congress — prefer the division in the trade unions to the danger of losing their leading positions, even though the price they pay is the condemnation of the labor movement to complete impotence.

Trade union unity and alliance at any price! This must be the slogan of all communists to-day!

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Frank Hodges preserves silence

(R.I.L.U.) Comrade Nat Watkins, secretary of the British bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, sent an open letter to Frank Hodges, general secretary of the International Miners' Federation, drawing his attention to the strike of the French and Belgian miners. The letter refers to the leading position occupied by Hodges in the international labor movement, and to his call for international solidarity, uttered on various occasions when the English miners were striking, and asks him why he and his International are now dumb in face of a struggle which is bound, in the end, to exercise an influence on the lives of the English miners as well. Defeats cannot be prevented by an attitude of tacit toleration towards the blackleg labor of the English miners, but only by international action. In conclusion he is called upon to aid in the organization of a united front with the fellow workers of France and Belgium.

Frank Hodges has not replied to this letter. His silence is comprehensible enough in the light of the fact that, thanks to coal shortage from the French and Belgian coal-mines, and in part from the Ruhr pits, the English colliery owners have received large orders, and it can scarcely be demanded of so eminent a leader of the Amsterdam International as Frank Hodges that he should disturb the capitalists of "his country" just when they are profiting by so favorable a state of the market.

OUR PROBLEMS

Trotsky on the negro question

A letter from comrade Trotsky to comrade McKay.

The poet McKay, who represented the revolutionary negroes at the IV. World Congress of the Communist International, requested comrade Trotsky to answer a few questions regarding the struggle for emancipation among the negro race. Comrade Trotsky replies to some of these questions in the letter which we publish below.

Dear Comrade McKay,

1. *What practical steps are to be taken to prevent France from employing black troops on the European continent?*—this is your first question.

The blacks themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened, so that they realize that when they help French Imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

The working class of Europe, and particularly of France and Germany, must realize that their own most vital interests are involved in this work of enlightening the colored race. The day of general resolutions on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, on the equality of all human beings regardless of color, is over. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every 10 negroes who gather around the flag of revolution,—and unite to form a group for practical work among the negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of the resolutions establishing principles, so generously passed by the Second International. A Communist Party confining itself to mere platonic resolutions in this matter, without exerting its utmost energies towards winning the largest possible number of enlightened negroes for its ideas, within the shortest possible time, would not be worthy of the name of Communist Party.

2. There is no doubt whatever that the use of colored troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of German territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of European capital, especially of French and English capital, to raise armed forces outside of Europe, so that Capitalism may have mobilized, armed, and disciplined African or Asiatic troops at its disposal, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is, to the fate of the European working class.

3. There is no doubt whatever that the employment of the economically and culturally backward colonial masses for the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is an exceedingly risky experiment, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capital, or even sooner—the hand of militarism, tears them mechanically from their customary environment, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of different nations, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and revolutionary ideas find rapid access to a consciousness thrown off its balance.

4. Therefore it is of the utmost importance, to-day, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young, self-sacrificing negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the raising of the material and moral level of the great mass of negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the identity of interests and destiny of the negro masses, with those of the masses of the whole world, and in the first place with the destiny of the European working class.

The education of black propagandists is an exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

5. In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the negroes. Combers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of

the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary negroes.

Needless to say, the work is not to be carried on in a spirit of negro chauvinism, which would then merely form a counterpart of white chauvinism,—but in a spirit of solidarity of all exploited without consideration of color.

What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

With communist greetings,

L. Trotsky.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Jim Larkin the Militant

By Alexander Trachtenberg.

On January 17, Governor Smith of New York, set free by Executive pardon James Larkin, the militant leader of the Irish workers. The Governor's act is considered an astute political move in view of the large Irish electorate in New York, among whom the freeing of Larkin was a popular issue. In addition, the demand for amnesty for political prisoners is constantly growing among the workers of the state and the newly elected Governor, already looking toward the next election, is anxious to appear as a progressive among the workers.

In explaining his pardon of Larkin, the Governor appeased his capitalist supporters, by condemning the views of the Irish labor leader which he thought were "abhorrent to American institutions", and flattered with the liberals and the workers by declaring that Larkin's conviction was "a political case, where a man has been punished for the statement of his beliefs, which were not in violation of any existing laws."

On being freed, Larkin's first thought was of the other imprisoned comrades. He said he was given to understand at the prison "that the Governor was releasing all prisoners under the Criminal Anarchy Law, or I would not have accepted a pardon. It is more important that these men and women be released than that I should be."

Larkin was arrested together with other four Communists—Gitlow, Winitzky, Ferguson and Ruthenberg during the raids in November, 1919 and was tried for publishing the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. He acted as his own attorney during the trial, using the court as a tribune to reach the workers with the message of the class struggle and revolutionary Socialism. The picked jury of business men, still under the influence of war hysteria and scared by stories in capitalist newspapers about confiscation of property, should Larkin's ideas triumph, found him guilty of being an Anarchist and opposed to organized government. Larkin's insistence that he was a Marxist and that he stood for organized government proved of no avail. The court sentenced him to serve from 5 to 10 years.

The news of Larkin's imprisonment in America, stirred the workers of Ireland in whose behalf he crossed the ocean. The Transport Workers Union, whose secretary he has been, declared a protest strike on July 21, 1920 demanding his immediate release. They wanted their leader freed and called upon American labor to fight for his liberation.

The largest portion of Larkin's active life is bound up with the struggles of the Irish workers. After leading a strike of shipbuilders in Liverpool in 1905, Larkin was appointed organizer of the National Union of Dock laborers. He soon proved a valuable asset to the union, having gotten in 10 months 45,000 workers to join the union. In 1907 Larkin goes to Ireland to lead a strike of Dock workers in Belfast. From that time Larkin devotes himself to the building of a militant labor movement in Ireland. Dissatisfied with the reactionary policies of the British union to which the Irish dock workers belonged, Larkin forms an independent union of Transport workers based on industrial lines. This union soon becomes the most militant labor organization in Ireland, setting an example to the other unions which were branches of the British Organizations. The reactionary labor leaders, fearing Larkin's influence, cause his arrest on framed-up charges in order to discredit him with the workers. During that imprisonment, as on similar occasions in Ireland, the workers secure his release.

Upon the return of James Connolly, who founded the Marxian Socialist movement in Ireland in 1897, Larkin joins him in carrying revolutionary Socialist propaganda to the broad masses of Irish workers, in order to win them away from the

influences of the reactionaries and nationalists. They organize many labor unions and separate others from the conservative British organizations. This period marks the real beginning of the Irish labor movement. Then came the historic struggle in 1913. The Dublin Transport Workers were locked out in an attempt to destroy their militant organization. For 8 months the struggle lasted with Larkin leading the gallant fight of the workers. The strike attracted the attention of the labor movement the world over. The English and Scottish workers poured in over 1,000,000 dollars to aid the brave Dublin strikers. The battle was drawn, but the workers won the right to belong to the industrial union.

After the strike the Transport workers union sent Larkin on a world tour, partly for a rest and partly to tell the story of their struggle to the workers of other lands, and also to collect funds among Irish emigrants for their organization and the Citizen's Army which they organized to fight British Imperialism. The world war caught Larkin in the United States. He tried to go back to Ireland, but the British Secret Service, with which cooperated the American Department of Justice during the war, kept close watch on Larkin and all his attempts to leave the country were frustrated. In America, Larkin joins the Socialist Party and tours the country on behalf of the struggle in Ireland. Then comes the Easter uprising in 1916 and Connolly is shot by the British court martial for participating in the armed struggle. Larkin is anxious to return to his homeland to continue the work of Connolly, but he is now hounded and watched closer than ever.

After the Russian Revolution broke out, Larkin immediately became one of the enthusiastic adherents and supporters of the Bolshevik program. Similarly when the Left movement in the Socialist Party developed in 1919 Larkin joined it. His conviction and imprisonment came as a result of his affiliation with the Left Wing. The British and American governments, long before that, were seeking for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon him.

Larkin is now going back to Ireland which he has tried to reach for the last 8 years. During his absence great changes took place there. Ireland became a "free" State. The labor movement has fallen largely under the control of old time conservative leaders. The revolutionary vanguard of the Irish workers represented by the CP. of I., a direct descendant of the movement which he and Connolly organized, and the militants in the labor unions are waiting impatiently for him to lead them against the Irish and British bourgeoisie as he so valiantly led them before. The Transport Workers Union which he founded and which now has a membership of about 80,000, even under the present leadership, has kept open his place as Secretary of the union.

Nearly 300,000 workers are now organized in the Irish labor unions. They need Larkin to clean the Augean stables of their organizations and instill a new spirit in the labor movement.

That he will answer the call of the militants in the labor movement, and lend his indomitable spirit and indefatigable energy to the task of lining up Irish labor with the revolutionary workers of the world, is expected by every one who knew him in Ireland and America. Although he has suffered much while a captive of the American plutocracy, and his large frame may not be physically as strong as before, his revolutionary ardor has not abated.

The militants of Ireland, working under the leadership of the Communist International and under the inspiration of the Russian Revolution for the same thing Larkin always believed in and fought for, will find him reporting for duty as soon as he sets foot on Irish soil.

The Communists of the world join with the revolutionists of Ireland in extending to Jim Larkin, freed from an American Bastille, a hearty welcome and bid him take his place among those who are working for the overthrow of capitalism everywhere and for the establishment of the International Workers Republic.

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The Situation in Germany

The Frankfort Conference

By Heinrich Brandler.

The English occupation authorities have forbidden the holding of the International Conference in Cologne. Herr Weissmann, the chief of the detective headquarters of the Ebert Republic has issued orders to raid the conference. M. Poincaré not only holds the participants in the Essen conference as prisoners, but he is organizing the suppression of the French revolutionary trade unions of the CGTU, and of the Communists, who, in spite of persecution are conducting a splendid campaign in preparation for the conference in Frankfort. The rulers are all united in their persecution of the revolutionary working class. The violent quarrels over booty, which are taking place among the international bourgeoisie, threaten to plunge the whole world into a fresh war. But French and German, English and Italian, Czechish and Polish are—in spite of all the differences among themselves, so far as the bourgeoisie of these countries is concerned—united for the persecution of the working class, and in particular—its vanguard, the Communists. The French spy centre works hand in hand with the German political police. That disturbs neither the patriotism of the French nor of the German bourgeoisie.

A better illustration of the class solidarity of the bourgeoisie when dealing with the working class is impossible. This fact must make it clear to the dumbest worker, that the conflicts between the rulers of the various countries, in spite of all patriotic and nationalist phrases, even when the conflict is fought out by military means, are merely concerned with differences arising from capitalist class interests. The French bourgeoisie has more in common with the German bourgeois than with the French worker, and vice versa.

The end for which the French bourgeoisie is fighting is the domination of Europe. The starting point may be the Ruhr occupation which ostensibly is the result of Germany's failure to pay reparations. In France those voices are increasing which desire the policy of expansion—the permanent union of the Rhenish Westphalian coal mines with the French ore mines under French suzerainty. It is in accordance with the nature of capitalism that the German bourgeoisie set itself the same aims in

the world war, and in the event of its victory it would have exercised precisely the same ruthless brutality as does the heavily armed French Imperialism towards the vanquished Germans.

The defensive struggle against French Imperialism can only be victorious if conducted by revolutionary methods, i. e., by the international proletariat, and before all, by the German and French working class. The victory of the French bourgeoisie, like the victory of the German bourgeoisie is equally a victory over the French and German working class. In any case it confirms the rule of the victorious bourgeoisie over the working class of both countries.

This fact renders clear the necessity for revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in France and Germany. Only the victory of the revolutionary working class over the bourgeoisie will put an end to the constant danger of war. Only when the French iron ore areas and the Ruhr coal are taken away from the profit hunting bourgeoisie, and the joint restoration of the devastated areas placed under the care of the Franco-German Soviet Republics, will there be an end to the century long quarrel between the French and German ruling class over the hegemony of Europe.

With this end in view the Frankfort Conference will have the practical task of organizing the forces for realizing these aims. Up to the present, the Amsterdamers, and the Second and 2½ Internationals have not responded to the invitation of the Committee of 23 of the German Shop Stewards. The German social-democratic press has kept up a systematic campaign of silence about this Conference. The reformist ADGB. (General German Trade Union Federation), and the United Social Democracy are pursuing a policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, and are putting up a sham opposition to Stinnes' program. The Cuno government has issued orders not to raise wages—because "prices are falling". During the month of February, the cost of living (absolute necessities) has risen by more than 100%. In spite of the "dollar depreciation", prices are rising constantly. Mass unemployment has already begun.