

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 57 [35]

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 23rd August 1923

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## Two Lines of English Policy

By *Non-Diplomat*.

The speech delivered by the English Prime Minister, Baldwin, at Glasgow, throws a bright light on the vacillation of English foreign policy, not only in relation to Soviet Russia, but in relation to the whole of Europe. In this speech Baldwin stated that Soviet Russia offers a gigantic market which is alone capable of assuring the prospects of German export, and of thus rendering it possible for Germany to pay the reparations. The political line of this speech is directly opposed to Lord Curzon's political line. We assume that the English ministers do not think out their speeches to their logical conclusion. They think empirically, and act from case to case; and yet, although they are lacking in political consistency, and possess no properly thought out program, still their political steps have an inner meaning, which it is imperative to consider if we are to find our way through the maze of English politics.

What is the real import of Curzon's policy? Let us first establish a few facts which will enable us to judge this policy correctly. The most important of these facts are as follows: 1. Lord Curzon sabotaged every attempt made by Lloyd George to come to a final understanding with Russia, and to restore normal relations; 2. Lord Curzon renounced Lloyd George's hostile policy to Turkey, came to an agreement with Turkey, and is endeavoring to draw Turkey in the wake of English politics, at the expense of Russian interests, as in the case of the Dardanelles; 3. Lord Curzon refuses to discuss Near Eastern and Central Asiatic questions with Soviet Russia, and tries to deal with Russia in the East as a non-existent power; 4. Lord Curzon made an attempt to force a rupture with Soviet Russia, to have been followed by the organization of interventionist forces against the workers' republic; 5. at the same time, Lord Curzon has been striving for agreement with France, for the attainment of which aim he has abandoned Germany to France's mercies.

What do these facts signify? These facts represent Lord Curzon's attempt to return to the policy of Beaconsfield, the

policy of weakening Russia and isolating her from Turkey. The variation introduced by Curzon into Beaconsfield's policy consists of the circumstance that this eastern combination is associated with the abandonment of the reconstruction of Central Europe. For in seeking to prevent the economic reconstruction of Russia, he condemns Germany, which is cut off from all economic access to the West and is therefore dependent for the restoration of its economic powers on participation in the development of the Russian economy, to ruin. Curzon thus alters Beaconsfield's policy because he sees no possibility of resisting French imperialism, this being more powerful than English imperialism at the present moment from the military standpoint. Curzon flees from Europe, and stakes all on the development of the English colonies, above all of India, and in the conquest of Mesopotamia with its oil springs. While pursuing such a policy as this, he naturally regards Soviet Russia as the principal enemy, since she aspires to strengthen the position of the Eastern peoples.

Wherein lies the difference between Curzon and Baldwin?

Let us once more consider the facts. Baldwin, having got into power, is opposing Curzon's design of a rupture with Russia. He proceeds to assume the initiative in the Ruhr question and attempts to interfere in the Franco-German quarrel, in order to prevent the final dismemberment of Germany and her subjection to French imperialism. He is, of course, not strong enough to break with France. But he hopes, by his interference, to succeed in saving Germany from dismemberment, and in rendering her subject to English as well as French imperialism. He wants Germany to recover and to pay reparations. But, thanks to the protectionist policy of America and France, and thanks to the strengthening of this policy in England (in practice, not in theory), Germany is cut off from the Western markets; the English capitalists fear Germany's appearance in the these markets (Lloyd George recently admitted openly that German competition in the West would put English industry in a difficult

position), and Baldwin seeks to find a way out of the blind alley by trying to assist Germany's penetration of Russian markets. Thanks to this (so Baldwin hopes), Germany will pay the reparations and then continue to improve her economic position. And this would mean a general strengthening of Germany, for an improvement in her industry would be attended by a general strengthening of the state and also by the restoration of Germany's military power. England would then find, in Germany, a European ally against France. But the economic strengthening of Russia through her cooperation with Germany would help to establish Russia's political position. In this way, Baldwin's latest idea signifies the attempt to form an anti-French chain: London—Berlin—Moscow.

Behind the ideas involved in the practical steps taken by Curzon on the one hand, and Baldwin on the other, stand the interests of two different groups of English capitalists. Baldwin is supported by commercial and industrial capital, which does not want to lose the European markets, and which is of the opinion that the markets of the British Empire are insufficient, and that even the Chinese and South American markets, a bone of contention among the English, American, and Japanese capitalists, cannot compensate for the loss of the markets of Europe. Curzon, on the other hand, is the representative of the policy of the *rentiers* of the large landowners, and, in part, of the industrialists who work for the colonies. These groups have been joined by those representatives of the commercial world who are anxious to overthrow the monopoly of foreign trade possessed by the Russian government, and by those representatives of industrial capital who do not want to work in Russia on the terms offered by the Soviet Government, but seek, with Curzon's support, to practise extortion.

We do not propose here to give an account of Soviet Russia's counter measures. We can only tell Lord Curzon that the time will not always be favourable for his ultimatums, and that the East is not populated by Pashas only. And we may remind the Prime Minister that, up the present, not only has Curzon not had any determinative influence upon Russia, but Baldwin has not had any either. Russia does not intend to put her markets at the disposal of any country whatever. The Russian market will only absorb foreign goods in large quantities when the powers with capital at their disposal abandon the financial blockade of Russia. And, finally, Russia will not renounce the reconstruction of her own industry. So far, then, as Russia's general relations to the great powers are concerned, she makes it a condition of rapprochement that the rights and liberties won in the October Revolution are recognized, and that she herself is recognized as a great power, existing and possessing influence everywhere where the interests of the Russian people are at stake.

Russia has ceased to be an object of the politics of the Allies, or of any one of the Allies. This is a fact which must be continually borne in mind, despite the concessions and love of peace of the Soviet Government. It does not suffice for Lord Curzon to obliterate Russia, she must first be willing to be obliterated; it does not suffice for Mr. Baldwin to assign to Russia a rôle in his international combination which suits his purpose, she must first be willing to play this rôle.

## POLITICS

### Poland's Foreign Policy

By Karl Radek.

When Sikorski's and Pilsudsky's government gave place to the Witos government, the Soviet press considered the change to be favorable from the standpoint of Russo-Polish relations. The Pilsudsky-Sikorski government was a government of the petty bourgeoisie; the Witos government is a government of the big bourgeoisie. From the point of view of Polish internal politics, it signifies increased reaction, increased capitalist tendencies.

Whilst the petty bourgeois government pursued a candidly adventurous policy with respect to foreign affairs, it might have been expected that a government of the Polish bourgeoisie would be better capable of calculating, and would thus adopt a quieter and more business-like policy in relation to Soviet Russia. We welcomed the possibility of such a change in the interests alike of the masses of the Polish people and of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia assumes that the Polish masses will themselves take up the struggle against the reactionary tendencies of the national democratic gentlemen and the big farmers party. Soviet Russia is of the opinion that the first prere-

quisite for the economic and political development of both the Russian and Polish peoples is, above all peace.

A few days ago the Polish Prime Minister, Mr. Witos, made a speech at Tarnov, of such a nature that our conviction, that the Polish government had abandoned its adventurous policy, was considerably shaken. Mr. Witos declared that his government renounces all idea of extending the Polish frontiers towards the West, but does not renounce the intention of such expansion towards the East. This sort of talk is very unusual, and it is no wonder that the Polish press does not know what to say regarding it, and resorts to the childish method of publishing assurances that the exact wording of Mr. Witos' speech will soon be published, without his "slips of the tongue". We are fully convinced that these "slips" will then no longer exist, for when anything is crossed out on paper, it is invariably regarded as having ceased to exist in reality.

Unfortunately it is only in government offices that the opinion prevails that what does not exist on paper does not exist at all. Such miracles do not happen in politics. An ever-increasing degree of esteem is being won, in European science, by the teachings of the Viennese professor Freud on psycho-analysis, according to which even our dreams, and our accidental slips and errors are only a bringing to light of something which already existed in the realm of the unconscious. Professor Freud's thesis is destined to play an important role. Its application to ethnology, to folk songs, to religion, to the history of literature, signifies a much greater turning point in our knowledge of human beings than Professor Freud's adherents are themselves aware. But however it may be with the Freud thesis (some comrades are mistakenly combatting it as an idealist science), nobody will want to assert that Prime Ministers appear on public platforms for the purpose of narrating their accidental dreams, or of damaging their own states by the commission of errors. As the German writer Fritz Reuter says: "What has been said has been said." Mr. Witos' words cannot be erased by a stroke of the pen on the part of the Polish censor, but only by clear and unequivocal action on the part of the Polish government.

And the Polish government has weighty reasons for showing that, even if Mr. Witos permits himself to dream in public, it has nothing in common with these dreams. The international and internal position of Poland does not permit Poland the luxury of embittering her relations with Russia. What is Poland's position with respect to the West? She is the puppet of French imperialism. French imperialism demands from Poland that she hold herself in readiness to take part against Germany should events in the Ruhr become more acute. But although French imperialism demands that Poland constantly increase her armaments, it gives Poland no money, being itself in the greatest pecuniary embarrassment. Poland's financial bankruptcy becomes more and more apparent under Witos' government. It may be retarded if Poland is successful in exercising such an heroic pressure on France that she manages to extract a few hundred million francs. This would, however, form no final solution. The main cause of Poland's financial crisis is the fact that the large landowners, capitalists, and big farmers, do not want to pay any taxes. And they have not taken over power with the idea of shearing themselves. Relations between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia are exceedingly strained. It would be ridiculous to assume that this is merely a question of a struggle for Javoshina, a quarrel not worth a pfennig. The real object of the struggle is to gain influence over the area of the one-time Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Czecho-Slovakia is smaller than Poland, but economically stronger, and does not want to bind herself to Poland, the more so that she fears the Francophile policy of Poland. The interests of Czecho-Slovakia do not oppose those of Germany; but it is a contradiction of the Polish situation that Poland, although 70% of her export is to Germany, a fact binding German and Polish economics, is chained to France, and forced to adapt herself to French wishes. The game being played by Poland and Hungary not only strains the relations between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, but also between Poland and Roumania and Yugoslavia. Despite all the endeavors made by Marshall Foch, and the solemn reception accorded the king of Roumania in Warsaw, Poland did not take part in the conference of the Little Entente at Sinaia.

And Poland's position in the East? The Baltic agrarian countries have never felt much affection for landowning Poland. They have only been bound to Poland in proportion to their fear of Soviet Russia. But with every day they understand more clearly that Soviet Russia has no thought of exterminating them. They are important to Soviet Russia as a transit country on the road to the West. But this does not mean that Russia has to destroy their independence; were this the case, then all the other states connected with the world's economics would have to

try and swallow one another. Many decades ago, Antwerp was one of the most important ports for German export; but even imperialist Germany did not strive to seize upon it. If the recognition of this fact has led the Baltic states to cool off towards Poland, the danger of a war with Soviet Russia on account of Mr. Witos' public reveries is even less calculated to re-establish the shaken Polish-Baltic relations. Under these circumstances, the slightest indication of an intention, on the part of Witos' government, of continuing Pilsudsky's old policy, would nip in the bud any wish felt by the Soviet government to establish firm and friendly relations with Poland — even at the cost of economic sacrifices —, for the Soviet government possesses sufficient common sense not to go hunting chimeras. If Poland does not repudiate Pilsudsky's policy, then Russo-Polish relations will be fighting relations. Soviet Russia is anxious to avoid this. But if peaceful relations are to be realized, then both sides must strive earnestly for peace.

We hope that the Polish government will be really able to prove that Mr. Witos is only suffering from the after-pains of the Pilsudsky epoch. If there are not sufficient mineral waters in Poland to cure Mr. Witos' indigestion, the Soviet government will be pleased to forward a waggon-load in the name of peace, as Mr. Witos is obviously in need of some such course of treatment.

### The Debut of the Stresemann Government

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

That which was still most decisively and resolutely denied on Thursday and Friday of last week by the whole of the bourgeois parties, and by the would-be statesmen among the social-democratic politicians, became a living reality by Sunday afternoon under the irresistibly growing pressure of the masses of the proletariat mobilized by the Communist Party and the National Committee of the German Factory Councils: The Cuno government, the government of "discountable signatures", which has completed the ruin of Germany's finances, systematically planned the collapse of the resistance in the Ruhr, plunged the entire nation, but especially the toiling masses, the hand and brain workers, and the middle classes, into a painful and chaotic process of dissolution, and made every preparation for the bloody crushing of rebellious hunger by means of systematically encouraged Fascist bands, was compelled to withdraw reluctantly from the scene of its criminal activity.

This was accomplished by the magnificent mass pressure of the German C.P. All over the country the working masses took up the "passive resistance", in many districts the comprehensive general strike broke out, and in numerous places self-defence against the attacks of police and Fascists led to bloody fights, with all their changing fortune of victory and defeat. Everywhere the cry was heard: "Down with the Cuno government—give us the workers' government!", drowning the lesser cries of the daily misery suffered by the broad masses of the workers. And this cry became so loud, so powerful, that all must bow before it—bourgeoisie and social democracy alike. Cuno was thrown abruptly overboard, and Dr. Gustav Stresemann crept, with crushed and diffident mien, and with little trace of the self-confidence expected of a captain, upon the bridge of the rudderless ship of state tossing on the stormy seas. Dr. Stresemann has long fancied himself as the heroic saviour of the country, and he has now his opportunity.

At the same time a number of other discarded or career hunting state pilots crept on board, having experienced the "twilight-of-the-gods" feeling, and had palpitation of the heart in face of the storm which had risen among the masses. These were the gentlemen of the social democratic party, who have been waiting since the November days for the moment when they could again put their powers and capabilities at the service of the reconstruction of Stinnes capitalism. The elementary pressure exercised by the working masses aroused to revolutionary movement just suited their book, for it enabled them to disregard the violent opposition within the party to their wishes and aspirations. In view of the alternatives pressed upon them with elementary force: either coalition with the capitalist blood-suckers and executioners of the German nation, or the taking up of arms for the establishment and maintenance of a government of the workers, they vacillated no longer; with flags flying they marched off into the camp of Stinnes, to throw themselves as the last reserve of capitalism against the rising flood of the approaching proletarian revolution.

Thus the Stresemann cabinet, the cabinet which is "built upon the broadest parliamentary basis of any since the foundation of the republic", came into being. And thus the Reichs-

tag fraction of the German social democracy, with only 45 opposing votes, declared itself in favor of undertaking a counter-revolutionary and White Guard activity in the struggle against the hand and brain workers threatened with mass death by starvation, and against the middle classes being drawn into the whirlpool of ruin. Thus the united front of the masses of the proletariat, which had closed its ranks for energetic defence and courageous attack, was—if not stabbed from behind, for the power of the saboteurs did not suffice for this—at least thrown into confusion, shaken, and exposed to the danger of disintegration from within. And to have recognized this danger with a penetrating glance, to have courageously resisted it, and to have led the armies of revolutionary fighters, at the height of the combat, with calm determination from the smoking battle-field to protected reserve positions—this must ever be remembered to the honor of the German C.P. and the National Committee of Factory Councils. It is a brilliant testimonial to their qualities of leadership, and to the mobility and manoeuvring capacity already attained by the broad masses of the workers. And finally, it is the surest pledge of the speedy victory of the German revolution.

For the Stresemann government signifies the last fortified position of capitalist class rule. It is the last straw grasped by capital in an attempt to save, under the cloak of bourgeois "democracy", what is still to be saved. And the nature of the troops chosen to occupy this last position, elements who fancy it possible to paralyze the formation of the proletarian fighting front by lies about a harmony of interests and of souls between exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, is sufficient to guarantee to us that their desperate manoeuvre will be in vain.

Such fine company is dangerous! Those who enter into relations with big capital are corrupted and devoured by it! This previous experience will presently be once more confirmed by the fate of German social democracy. Its ranks were already wavering in consequence of its weak and spineless pseudo-opposition to the Cuno cabinet. The decision reached by the big guns of the party, to enter into a formal defensive and offensive alliance with the Stinnes party in order to crush the inevitable social revolution in Germany, has already, as may be seen from the proceedings of meetings of party functionaries in Greater Berlin, from the proclamations of various party bodies, and despite the cowardly attempts of the parliamentary opposition fraction to restrain the party membership, set the rotten beams of the social democratic party on fire; however skilful the attempts at extinguishing the flames, the collapse of the building cannot be long delayed.

To this must be added the inevitable failure of Stresemann's policy, which is bound to become obvious to the most limited intelligence within a few weeks. Faced with the alternatives: capitalist attempts at reconstruction or social revolution, the social democrats have decided in favor of Stinnes and against the working class. The consequences will soon become evident. The big capitalists' interests can only be preserved at the expense of the increasing misery and impoverishment of the proletariat and of the decaying middle class. And this process will be carried out the more rapidly because the mass pressure of recent days must now necessarily slacken for the moment. It was only under this mass pressure, and in their fear of revolution, that the social democracy and the bourgeoisie declared their readiness at length to call upon capital to bear its share of state burdens. But a change has already come over the repentant sinner mood in which this declaration was made. It is perfectly wonderful to see the complete agreement (this can only be the result of uniform governmental instructions) with which the general strike of the working masses, to nothing other than which the coalition government of Stresemann-Hilferding-Robert Schmidt is due, is being represented by the aid of every artifice of mendacity as a ridiculous, insignificant and lamentably unsuccessful putsch on the part of the communists. In plain language, this means that the masses and their misery are of no importance whatever, that the criminal economic methods of the Ebert republic and the predatory policy of big capital are to be continued at the expense of the masses, that an "understanding" with Poincaré is to be reached, which signifies capitulation to French imperialism and surrender of the Ruhr to the exploitation of Franco-German heavy industry, and that any attempt at resistance on the part of the proletarian masses, starved and tortured in a thousand ways, is to be crushed with bloody violence. Should there still be anyone who doubts this, it is to be hoped that his eyes will be opened by the brutally cynical and provocative announcement made by the new Chancellor Stresemann, and demonstratively approved by all governmental parties from the social democracy to the German People's Party, and even by the new "opposition" of the German nationalist and pan-German parties. Stresemann declares that

his government will protect the Stinnes-Ebert republic and its constitution at all costs, that it possesses the forces enabling it to do so, and has the intention of employing these forces ruthlessly against the workers rendered rebellious by starvation.

This is clear and unequivocal. We are pleased at this straight-forward language. Despite the fog of oratory that surrounds it, it shows the workers what they have to expect. The "increase of production" which is demanded, and the warnings against exaggerated demands on the part of the workers, signify to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear: Abolition of the eight hour day, unpaid overtime, permanent starvation of the proletariat, and bloody Noske treatment for all who venture to defend themselves.

The Factory Councils of Berlin resolved unanimously yesterday that they would break off the struggle for the moment. In full strength and unanimity, with reinforced consciousness of power and will to fight, the working masses return to the factories. They know that the position which they have conquered on this occasion is not broad enough to enable them to make a victorious advance against the combined forces of Fascism, big capital, and reformism. Accordingly they return to their work for the time being, there to complete their preparations, to recruit their fighting groups from those fellow-workers who have not yet lost their last illusions about the bombastic promises made by the social democratic leaders, but whose faith in these illusions is bound to be dispelled under the pressure of the inevitable developments of the coming weeks. And at the moment when the bankruptcy of the new Stinnes-Stresemann government becomes apparent, when the last reserves of the capitalist system are scattered, dispersed and swept away, the workers will reappear on the field of battle, like a giant refreshed, and will demolish the robber burg of German capitalism, brushing aside the reformist quacks of trade union bureaucracy and social democracy who are today "triumphing" with false paths and trembling knees over the defeat of the communists. For the world belongs to communism, in spite of all!

## The Future of the Rhineland

The aims of France's policy, as pursued by her most influential statesmen and soldiers.

By Franz Dahlem (Berlin).

The great war was fought for the conquest of new fields for exploitation and new markets, for the purpose of defeating competitors and imposing favorable economic treaties. The central powers lost the war. It is not they who are now exploiting—as they intended it should be—the natural resources and man power of a Rhineland-Westphalia and Lorraine-Belgium that lie beneath their sway. The matter is entirely reversed. The Entente was victorious. And it is now reaping the harvest of its success. France's share of the spoils of war lies for the most part in Europe; it is now proceeding to fetch this, and to secure her title to it.

The reasons why France is anxious to annex the Rhineland and why she is occupying the Ruhr at the present time, have been described in so many communist articles and writings, that every worker taking an interest in the subject is already well informed upon it. In the age of capitalism, at a time when the political and military measures taken by bourgeois states in relation to one another are as a rule solely the expression of the economic expansion of their national capital, it is only a waste of time to imitate the bourgeoisie in weighing the question, as to whether the French are actuated more by political than by economic motives in making the attempt to separate the most valuable and flourishing part of Germany from the body of the state. When the Comité des Forges lays its hand on Rhineland-Westphalia, it is only natural that this conquest be politically secured; that the French government intervene and the army advance—for that is why they are there.

Here it is merely intended to show, with the aid of some data and statements made by the leading men of France, the general line being taken by French Rhineland policy; we shall not here enter into the question as to how far the influence of Anglo-French antagonisms has modified this line, or is further likely to modify it.

At the end of the year 1915 the French ministry set itself the following war aim in the West:

"France claims Alsace-Lorraine with the frontiers of 1792, the Saar district, and also demands the formation of an independent German state on the left bank of the Rhine, as a buffer state between France and Prussia."

On February 14, 1917, the following agreement was reached between the government of Czarist Russia and the Poincaré government, in return for the cession of Constantinople to Russia:

"1. Alsace-Lorraine is to be restored to France.  
2. The frontiers are to be extended to at least the limits of the former dukedom of Lorraine (thus approximately to the line Trief-Ka'serslautern. *Ed.*), are to be drawn in accordance with the judgement of the French government, as required by strategic necessities, and are to include the whole iron area and the whole Saar district as French territory.

3. The remaining districts lying on the left bank of the Rhine, outside of the French districts, are to be converted into an independent and neutral state, and are to be occupied by French troops until the enemy states have completely fulfilled all the conditions and pledges contained in the peace treaty."

These arrangements were upset by revolutionary Russia.

General Foch, the commander-in-chief of the allied troops, held tenaciously to the above agreement at the conferences which preceded the conclusion of the Versailles peace treaty. It suffices to cite the following from his memoranda of November 17, 1918, and January 10, 1919, at the peace conferences:

"Compared with the 64 to 75 millions of Germans living in Germany on the other side of the Rhine and in the surrounding states, the numbers of the population on the left bank of the Rhine are only as follows: Belgium 7,800,000, Luxemburg 260,000, Alsace-Lorraine 1,900,000, France 39,600,000, a total of 49,560,000. If we add to these 5,400,000 on the left bank of the Rhine, we obtain a total of 54,960,000.

As this total by no means reaches the number of the German masses, it follows that there can be no neutral states on the left bank of the Rhine. The population on this bank must be in a position to take up arms against the German danger when this arises. Neutrality is a chimera, even from the standpoint of defence, for it must be an armed neutrality, and must be combined with the action of the neighbouring powers.

This state organization must lead to the adoption of an anti-German attitude on the part of this population, a political attitude which can become military at a given moment. Thus the men capable of bearing arms must be organized, in times of peace, in numbers proportional to those of the population, as troops adapted to fight against Germany in case of war.

Besides this military necessity, such an arrangement must be accompanied by the following measures: 1. Germany must be absolutely prohibited from any military access to, or any political propaganda in, the country left of the Rhine; this country may even be protected by means of a neutral zone on the right bank. 2. The military occupation of the left bank of the Rhine is to be secured by the forces of the allies. 3. The left bank of the Rhine is to have its necessary markets secured by participation in a joint customs' regime with the other western states."

At the peace conference the standpoint of Clemenceau-Tardieu with regard to the western frontiers of Germany was, in view of the Anglo-American opposition, finally formulated as follows:

"1. In the general interests of peace, and in order to secure the execution of the fundamental clauses of the League of Nations, the western frontier of Germany is drawn on the Rhine. In consequence of this Germany renounces all sovereignty over, and all customs' connection with, the territory of the former Empire lying on the left bank of the Rhine.

3. The territories on the left bank of the Rhine (with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine) are to be constituted as one or more independent states, under the protection of the League of Nations."

After first rejecting the separation of the Rhineland from Germany, both Wilson and Lloyd George gave way. On April 20, 1919, the latter declared to Clemenceau that he was in agreement with an occupation for a period of 15 years, and that this occupation, should Germany not meet her obligations, could be prolonged, or renewed after evacuation.

The decisive French ministerial council, which accepted the peace treaty in the form handed to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau on May 7, was held on April 25, 1919. In this decisive session, the Prime Minister, Clemenceau, addressed the following remarks to the President, Poincaré:

## After the Sinaja Conference

By Georg (Vienna).

The actual tenor of the conference held by the Little Entente at Sinaja is only percolating gradually into publicity. Contradictory reports are received from various sources, and demonstrate the violently antagonistic interests within the so-called "Little Entente."

Not even the agenda of the conference is reported with any degree of unanimity. Czecho-Slovakia, for instance, denied for days that there was any debate on the admission of Poland into the Little Entente, or on the Russian question. The agenda included: Hungary's loan application, the recognition of the Bulgarian putsch government, the entry of Poland and Greece into the Little Entente, the attitude to be adopted to Soviet Russia, to the German reparations question and, finally, to the Lausanne peace treaty.

In the Hungarian question an application was submitted to the conference by the Horthy government, with the object of obtaining the abolition of the "general security right", so that it might be possible to obtain a foreign loan. The reparations commission, under pressure from Czecho-Slovakia and France, had declined this petition. Horthy found, however, a warm advocate in England, which is doubtless anxious to win over Hungary, as it did Roumania, for its own purposes within the Little Entente. The conference decided to accord benevolent treatment to the Hungarian petition on condition that the Horthy government agrees to offer corresponding "political and economic guarantees", and to submit to certain strict measures of control, still kept secret, to be exercised by the Little Entente. The "Times" gives us in plain words what is really the gist of the matter: Hungary's request is "to be treated the same as Austria's", is to be granted on receipt of corresponding guarantees.

The Horthy press discusses the resolutions passed at Sinaja with obvious uneasiness. It may, however, be plainly seen that the Horthy government, driven into a corner, is inclined to hand over the country to foreign capital "on the Austrian model", if only the foreign bourgeoisie will help it to maintain its rule of blood. In this Horthy reckons — and not wrongly — on the special patronage of England and her Roumanian vassal. The publication of the plans of the Horthy government has already had serious consequences in Hungary. The right Fascist circles have parted company with the government, and are trying to make use of the wage strike movement just beginning among the organized Christian workers to establish a Fascist putsch government, which would carry on a policy of belligerent adventure against the Little Entente. The Horthy government, in assuming a firm attitude with regard to these Fascist circles, wants to prove its solvency, and is probably anxious at the same time to pave the way for that great coalition with the social democracy which is to aid it in thrusting the whole burden of the impending "restoration" crisis upon the workers, small peasants and officials.

The question of the Hungarian loan has still another connection with the social democracy: By means of this loan the Horthy government is to be saved from complete bankruptcy. At the Hamburg Congress the social democrats resolved to oppose the Horthy government, and to exercise pressure on their governments to withdraw all support from this administration. But now that Czech social democrats are in the government, they approve of the loan scheme, and reject the reminders addressed to them by the Hungarian social democratic emigrants with regard to the Hamburg resolutions. Czech social democracy is prepared to lend Horthy active support.

England and her Roumanian vassal had also a finger in the pie when the Bulgarian question was dealt with. The conference agreed upon a "waiting attitude", although the hostility shown by Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia to the new Bulgarian government is evident.

The question as to whether Poland should enter the Little Entente revealed the imperialist antagonisms with special clearness. Roumania is bound to Poland by a military agreement directed against Russia, and demands that Poland be admitted. But the Czecho-Polish antagonisms are too great to allow of a common policy. Poland demands, as a preliminary condition to entry into the Little Entente, the recognition of its present frontiers, and at the same time, the guaranteeing of all treaties which secure Poland's state independence. Czecho-Slovakia is the less inclined to agree to this in that it itself is laying claim to East Galicia, which has been annexed by Poland. Besides this, Czecho-Slovakian industrial in-

"M. President, you are much younger than I. In 15 years I shall be here no longer; in 15 years Germany will not have fulfilled all the clauses of the agreement; and in 15 years, should you do me the honor to visit my grave, I am fully convinced that what you will have to tell me will be: "We are on the Rhine, and intend to remain there."

Poincaré, as Premier, is continuing his policy with obstinate tenacity. The Ruhr action proves that imperialist France is now determined to present accomplished facts to the world. At the Versailles peace conference France's annexation policy was supported by the alleged necessity of securing France from fresh attacks on the part of Germany, but since then the Comité des Forges, the French military authorities, and the French statesmen, have been using much plainer language. It suffices to give 2 examples of this.

A draft drawn up in 1919 by the former commander-in-chief of the Rhine army, General Mangin, on the occupation of Düsseldorf and Duisburg, concludes as follows:

"It is possible to disorganize the steel industry, dyes (bye-products) and agriculture (manures). There can be no question of killing industry and agriculture. The working population demands nothing more than to work for us, provided that it can get something to eat and is paid (!). Destruction of industry—social danger—risings—without profit to France. Article 270. Only the convention of Rhenish notabilities (cooperative and economic) could state what services German industry can perform for France in the occupied territory. These delegations will become the germ of the special representation of the special interests of the country."

M. Adrien Dariac, the chairman of the French finance commission, spoke even more clearly in his secret report to Poincaré on May 28, 1922:

"Could France not consider the exchange of German coke suitable for smelting, and French ore, for the purpose of joint exploitation, upon a basis on which real industrial cooperation would be possible? We cannot demand of Germany that she pay immense sums for 35 years, if, on the other hand, we are afraid to see her industries develop in a manner enabling her to pay her debts.

But as soon as we have gained a footing on the right bank of the Rhine, and have 45 million tons of ore at our disposal annually, we shall be in a position to play a decisive rôle in the German iron industry, for we can demand control of its production as an equivalent.

The first act of our autonomy policy is the financial organization of the Rhineland: the drawing of our customs boundaries—closed to the East against Germany, open to the West to France in order to avoid the danger of economic strangulation arising from a double state wall and its attendant limitation of exchange of goods; further, a budget separate from that of the republic, and the substitution of the unhealthy mark by sound currency.

The second act is the substitution of the Prussian officials by Rhenish ones.

The third act is the expansion of the authoritative powers of the High Commission and the convention of an elected corporation.

These are doubtless far-reaching plans, but ones which would be fully justified if carried out judiciously and with a capacity for differentiation, and in proportion to the extent to which Germany avoids fulfilling her obligations. A far-sighted policy could accomplish by means of skilful diplomacy—adding one link after another to its chain of actions—the gradual separation of a free (!) Rhineland from Germany, under the military protection of France and Belgium."

This is the policy of imperialist France, and its accomplishment is being tenaciously striven for. No bourgeois government in Germany can put a stop to this work of destruction. It is only the proletariat, only the proletarian revolution, which can liberate the powers, and create for Soviet Germany the allies, that can save the Rhineland and the entire country from colonial slavery. It was the spectre of Bolshevism which restrained Clemenceau, Poincaré, etc., from realizing the French war aims in 1919. The aid of the cowardly November democrats in Germany made it possible to "banish" this spectre for a time. But today the working class of Germany, and, outside this class, broad circles of the petty bourgeoisie, recognize that Bolshevism, that Communism, is the one way out. It alone can save, not merely the German nation, but the possibility of existence of the German people.

terests would not permit that country to take sides unreservedly with Poland and Roumania in the case of a Polish-Russian or Roumanian-Russian conflict.

These antagonisms led to the Russian question also being debated at the conference. Social and economic conditions are compelling Czechoslovakia, despite the counter revolutionary attitude of its statesmen, to take no aggressive steps against Soviet Russia. Therefore Czechoslovakia does not want to guarantee either the Polish-Russian or the Roumanian-Russian frontier (Roumanian annexation of Bessarabia).

The entry of Greece into the Little Entente was discussed in relation to the Lausanne peace. As is well known, Yugoslavia did not sign this peace treaty. The relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey are pretty strained. Yugoslavia would be glad to have the support of Greece against Bulgaria, Italy and Turkey. These attempts at rapprochement were again shipwrecked by the internal disunion of the Little Entente.

This disunity is further aggravated by the Anglo-French reparations crisis. England has created for itself points of support against France in Roumania, Croatia, Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary. The "attitude" adopted by the Little Entente to the reparations question cannot consist of anything more than a temporary patching up of these antagonisms.

The conference has disclosed the Little Entente as a pillar supporting the bloodiest Central European counter-revolution (Horthy, Bulgaria), but has demonstrated at the same time the internal disintegration of this capitalist alliance.

## The Social Basis of the Present Bulgarian Government

From the organ published in Sofia by our Bulgarian comrades, the *Selsky Vestnik* of July 19.

The Prime Minister Zankov laid down the main lines of the program of the new government in his speech. It is necessary that the workers and peasants should understand what classes and social strata are supporting the new government, so that they may better judge what they have to expect from the new government. For the policy of a government is not determined by this or that minister, but by the social forces behind the minister. The government is constituted as follows:

The five bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are each represented by one minister (People's Party, liberals, democrats, radicals, and socialists). Besides these there are five ministers calling themselves "non-partizan": three officers and two professors, members of the "National Unity" league. The three old bourgeois parties—the People's Party, the liberals, and the democrats—represent the interests of the rich class in the cities, the capitalists—factory owners, wholesale dealers, and speculators. Many war profiteers belong to these parties, people who have become enormously rich during the war through all kinds of undertakings and enterprises. These parties have also many members among the higher officials who have enriched themselves at the expense of the state. In their ranks are also many landowners, large farmers, agricultural exploiters and village usurers. These three parties originated out of six older ones. The People's Party recently amalgamated with the Zankov Party, and the National Liberal Party came into existence by the fusion of the parties of Radoslavov, Stambulov and Tontshev. The old parties changed their names because they believed that the people would then forget their crimes and deeds of violence. These parties ruled the Bulgarian people for forty years. They are responsible for the tyrannical brutality of Stambulov's government, 1887 to 1894; for the rule of violence exercised by the People's party, 1894 to 1898; for Radoslavov's flogging system, 1899 until 1900; and for the brutal regime of Stambulov's adherents from 1903 to 1907. These parties plunged the Bulgarian people into two bloody wars, murdered 200,000 of Bulgaria's sons, and brought two catastrophes upon the country. The strongest supports of the government are thus the old parties of the big bourgeoisie and the rural exploiters.

The second support of the government is the petty bourgeois parties—the radicals and the socialists. The members of these parties are artisans, petty officials, peasants, and teachers, and a few tradesmen. The power and influence of these parties is but slight. They afford little substantial support to the government. They have only been taken into the government in order to give it a thin veneer of radicalism and thus to deceive the workers and poor peasants.

The third support of the government is the league of "National Unity", which was formed in Stambulov's time as

a secret organization for the overthrow of the agrarian government. There are many active and reserve officers among the members of this association, as well as professors, young intellectuals, engineers, barristers, etc. The "National Unity" league includes among its members officers of high rank, belonging to the rich bourgeoisie in respect of their social position, and thus sympathizing with the old bourgeois parties. But it also counts among its members many active and reserve officers from the middle class and poorer people. These officers joined the league animated by an "ideal", that of "saving" the working people. But now they are beginning to separate from the working people, from whom they sprang, and to stand behind the bourgeois parties.

It will be seen from the above that the present government is supported for the most part by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals. It is consequently its special care to strengthen national capital, and to use every endeavor to maintain the capitalist social order. The great majority of the working people, the city workers, and the poor peasants, have therefore no share in this government, and can expect no improvement in their lot from it.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### A Revolt of Farmers and Workers in the United States

By John Pepper (New York).

Magnus Johnson, the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party, was elected in Minnesota with a big majority against Governor Preus, who was the official candidate of the Republican Party and the Government.

It is a tremendous defeat for the Republican Party, the party in power, it is a tremendous defeat for its entire administration. This side of the problem is clear to everybody. But the problem has another side to it. The Farmer-Labor Party ticket has been elected. The victory is won, but we must bring up most emphatically the question: *are the farmers and workers the real victors in Minnesota?*

We answer the question immediately.

First of all, there is no doubt that the powerful Republican Party of the most powerful capitalists and the mightiest capitalist government of the world, has received a slap in the face which could be heard throughout the United States. Second, it is clear that the masses of farmers and workers made up the forces which have defeated the government. Third, it is nevertheless just as true that the real victors on the political battlefield of Minnesota were not the masses of exploited farmers and workers, but the confused, half-baked politicians of the lower middle class and well-to-do farmers.

A short analysis of the Minnesota elections will provide ample proof for this statement.

#### Class Divisions and Conflicts in Minnesota.

The election campaign of Minnesota was carried on under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party. But, in reality, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not a party of workers and exploited farmers. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not a national organization, but only a state party. It was never affiliated with the old Farmer-Labor Party which died publicly at the July 3rd Convention in Chicago, and it protested that it had nothing to do with the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party which was born at the July 3rd Convention of Chicago. The Farmer Labor Party of Minnesota is a bloc of two organizations—the Non-Partisan League of Farmers and the Non-Partisan League of Workers. Minnesota does not belong to the industrial centers of the United States, so that the workers in this alliance play second fiddle to the farmers. The political victory in Minnesota does not depend on big cities and big factories, but on the tens of thousands living in isolated farms, small towns and villages. Furthermore, the masses in the only big centers, the twin cities St. Paul-Minneapolis, unlike Chicago or Pittsburgh, are dominated by a lower middle class psychology, rather than by a proletarian psychology. The democratic illusion, the absolute belief in the cure-all patent medicine of democracy is still unbroken in Minnesota. The class-conflicts have not developed sharply up to recently in Minnesota.

The after-war period has brought about a great change. The gigantic economic crisis of 1920 was the turning point.

The overwhelming power of the trusts, railroads and banks had driven all classes into rebellion against the capitalists. The workers revolted at first against unemployment, then against the Daugherty injunction (the railroad workers are especially strong in Minnesota). The wheat-growing farmers were at first driven into despair and then into revolt by the growing prices of industrial products, the rising freight rates, mortgage and tenantry, and falling wheat prices. The small business men, who had for a long time suffered from trusts, were driven into rebellion because the bankruptcy of the farmers meant the bankruptcy of their customers. And, finally, even the small town bankers and small manufacturers joined the camp of discontented elements because the pressure of the great trusts and finance capital of Chicago and New York upon them became more unbearable from day to day.

#### Not a Class-Movement, but a People's Revolt.

The play which has been enacted before our eyes in Minnesota proves to be a very interesting spectacle. It is not only a movement of exploited farmers and workers, but it is a general, all-inclusive movement of all classes of society against a handful of capitalists and trust magnates—the worker and small manufacturer, the consumer and small business man, the poor tenant farmer, as well as the well-to-do farmer, make up this movement. It is a real people's movement against capitalism. It is not a movement of one class against another, but of a number of classes against finance capital.

The Minnesota upheaval is a general people's movement. That is its strong side, and also its weak side. It is its strong side because that is the very reason that it could win so quickly against the powerful Republican Party, and the still more powerful government. But it is its weak side because, not being a real class movement, it is dominated by the ideology of a narrow-minded lower middle class and its program is a mixture of saying nothing commonplaces and quack remedies. It is self-evident that Magnus Johnson was the suitable candidate for this movement—this farmer-politician with a strong voice and weak political outlook. He has declared that his program is: a bloc of workers, farmers and legitimate business against trusts, railroad companies and big banks. He declared further that in the question of internal politics he will follow La Follette, and in questions of foreign policy he will follow Brockhart.

#### Classes and Political Parties.

And Magnus Johnson has performed the miracle of uniting on July 15 the masses of workers, small business men and farmers against the capitalists. The alliance of workers, lower middle class, and farmers was so powerful that it broke through all old party lines. Senator La Follette, the radical Republican, supported Johnson as much as did Senator Wheeler, the radical Democrat; and, on the other hand, Governor Preus, was supported not only by all conservative Republicans and by the Government, but quite openly by all conservative Democrats. The class situation is truly mirrored in the political situation in this way: First, the Democratic Party has disappeared entirely. Its candidate received only a few thousand votes. The radical Democrats voted for Johnson, the conservative Democrats for Preus. The Republican Party was also split. Its lower middle class adherents organized the Progressive Republican League and agitated for Johnson. The most remarkable thing in the elections was that Governor Preus and his campaign workers did not support with a single word the late President Harding and his administration, that the local Republican leaders directly begged Harding for God's sake not to support them. Not a single national figure of the Republican Party dared to speak during the entire election campaign in Minnesota. The campaign workers of Preus were either silent on the political issues of the government, or spoke against them. Governor Preus did not choose to mention the World Court and he had to speak against the high tariff of the Republicans. The Republican administration was defeated by the Republican Party of Minnesota before it was defeated by the masses of Minnesota, through their defeat of the Republicans of Minnesota.

#### Farmer-Labor Party, but NOT a Party of Farmers and Workers.

We repeat, the defeat of the Republican administration is complete. The Minnesota Republicans could only enter into the battle by not identifying themselves openly with the Republican Party on a national scale. Magnus Johnson won under the name of Farmer-Labor Party, but the program which won is an alliance between workers, farmers and legitimate business interests. It is a still-born program. The workers and exploited

tenant and mortgage farmers have no interests in common with small manufacturers, petty business men and well-to-do farmers. The interest of the workers and exploited farmers has not won a victory in the elections of July 15. The workers and exploited farmers went with the greatest enthusiasm into the struggle and did not realize that the official program of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is made only in the interest of the small businessmen and well-to-do farmers, and not in the interest of the workers and exploited farmers. The workers have an interest in nationalization of factories, mines and railroads. But the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota fought for the regulation of big business, which means making competition with the trusts possible for the small business men. The exploited, bankrupt farmers need, immediately, at least a five years moratorium of all their debts, and legislation which puts an end to tenantry and decides that the land belongs to the users. But the so-called Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota fought for more credit for the farmers already suffocating with too much credit, for more credit which makes it possible for the well-to-do farmers to industrialize their farming and bring final ruin for the poor farmers.

The masses of workers and exploited farmers of Minnesota have fought a remarkable fight against their arch-enemy, against capital, and have defeated the capitalists and their capitalist government. They won, through their masses, their organization and their enthusiasm, but they are not the victors. Their victory was confiscated by their leaders, by the politicians of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, who represent only the interests of the small business men and well-to-do farmers.

#### The Workers Party and the Minnesota Elections.

The Workers Party supported Magnus Johnson at the elections. They instructed their members to vote for him. Why? Have we perhaps shared the illusions of the laboring masses of Minnesota as regards the real character of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota? Did the Central Executive of the Workers Party not know, one day before the elections, that which we write about it now, one day after the elections. Of course, we had no illusions as to the lower middle class character of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, and the shilly-shally program of Magnus Johnson and Shipstead. But in spite of all that, and consciously, we gave the instructions to our party members to vote for the Farmer-Labor Party ticket.

Why? What were our motives?

We had two deciding motives. First, the whole working class and the whole mass of exploited farmers in Minnesota have arisen as one man for Magnus Johnson and for the so-called Farmer-Labor Party. And not only in Minnesota, but in the whole of the United States the campaign of Johnson was considered as the cause of the working class. Not only the official American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and the Socialist Party, but the whole rank and file of the trade union movement had endorsed his candidature.

Second, the masses felt with good instinct that the enemy who must be defeated in these elections was capital and the capitalist government.

The Workers Party could not stay away from a fight in which the whole working class participated, even if these masses had lower middle class illusions, and even if they stood under petty bourgeois leadership. And the Workers Party could stay away still less from a fight where the struggle was clearly directed against the capitalist government.

The Farmer-Labor Party ticket won. The workers and poor farmers think that they have won. Now begins the important task for the Workers Party. The members of the Workers' Party in Minnesota must go to the workers and exploited farmers and tell them that we have voted for Magnus Johnson because he was candidate of the laboring masses and we Communists are part of the laboring masses. And we have voted for him because we wanted to strike a powerful blow at the capitalist government. But Magnus Johnson is not the man of the workers and exploited farmers. He will never represent the interests of the laboring masses, and with his program it is impossible to help the workers and exploited farmers. It was right to vote against the Republicans and Democrats because these two parties are dominated by the interests of big business. But the so-called Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota is also no party of workers and exploited farmers. It is dominated by the interests of small business. We must call upon the trade unions and farmer organizations to join the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party which is really a class-party of workers and exploited farmers.

The Communists must understand that the Minnesota elections are of very great national importance. First, the elec-

tions show that in spite of the so-called prosperity, the dissatisfaction of farmers and workers is continually growing. Second, they show that the old parties are disintegrating. Third, the "people's movement" of third party against capitalist parties is growing in significance. Fourth, and most important, we must set up against the watered people's movement or third party, the class party of workers and exploited farmers—the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The development in the immediate future will proceed much more quickly than in the past. Years were needed before the workers and farmers became convinced that the Republicans and Democrats did not wish to help them. Months will suffice to show them that La Follette and Johnson cannot help them. They know already that Harding was their enemy. Experience will show them that La Follette and Johnson are not their friends.

## E. C. C. I.

### Against the White Guard Regime in Finland

To the Workers of all Countries.

Comrades,

The mad and ferocious assault of the Finnish Government on the legal mass party of the workers should command the utmost attention of the international working class.

The reigning counter-revolution of Finland, which came to power five years ago by the aid of the armed forces of the Kaiser, can no longer assert its domination without tearing into shreds its own counter-revolutionary constitution. Seldom since the year 1918 have the Finnish butchers of the working class dared to avow in the open their inability to maintain their new-fangled "White-State". After the unparalleled mass butcheries of the working class practiced by the Finnish rulers at that time, it was their boast that at least for the next 50 years no independent Labor Movement would raise its head in Finland. Yet already two years afterwards a split occurred in the social-democracy led by the lackeys of the counter-revolution, and an independent mass party of the proletarian class struggle was founded. The ruling clique immediately vented its wrath upon the inaugural congress of the Party and threw the leaders into goal. This challenge was met by the Finnish working class with such a wholesale joining of the new Party, that in a few months the membership by far exceeded that of the social-democratic party protected by the White Terror. In face of such wholesale desertion of the rank and file, the social-democratic leaders became seized with a panic. They offered to the Government their assured backing in the legal suppression of the Workers' Party. This backing meant a good deal to the bourgeois center and to the wealthy peasantry; besides, it was much to their interest, in view of the credits sought abroad, to lend to their class struggle the appearance of something in the nature of bourgeois "law and order". Thus an embittered struggle ensued between the White Front and the Red, a struggle, on the one hand, about the "right" of the counter-revolution to strangle the proletarian class struggle by the instrument of capitalist law, and, on the other hand, about the right of the proletariat to make use of capitalist law for the purpose of carrying on its class struggle.

The achievements of the Finnish Workers' Party in the struggle were great indeed. In the first elections it obtained 125,000 votes, gaining 27 seats from the social-democrats, in spite of the Governmental terror during the elections. During the Finnish White Guard attack in Russian Karelia, the Party succeeded by its courageous stand in raising irresistible popular indignation against the persistent anti-Soviet war plans of the ruling clique, although the whole Executive and many other officials of the Party were imprisoned and indicted for "high treason". It won the overwhelming majority of the organized trade union workers of the entire country, as well as a majority of the women's and youth proletarian organizations, for the out-and-out class struggle. The social-democracy proved equally powerless with the counter-revolutionary capitalist constitution in stemming the rising tide of the Workers' Party. The superior courts of White Finland have improvised in recent years a complete code of new and unheard of articles dealing with "high treason": not only the solidarity of principles with the Communist International, but even the very idea of the proletarian united front was declared by the Superior Court of Abo as treasonable. The legal practices of the political police were supplemented by systematic illegal practice of the most inhuman inquisition and the most brutal provocation.

But all this was in vain! The White Guard exploiting class of Finland are becoming increasingly restless, and not without reason. They are in close relations with the Ludendorffs of Germany, and consequently are well aware of the gloomy prospects which threaten the capitalist reaction in Central Europe. The Finnish bourgeoisie has too much of the workers' blood on its conscience to be able to wait calmly for the outcome of the revolutionary ferment in Central Europe. It has therefore decided to take the offensive and to deal a violent and mortal blow once again to its threatening class enemy. It can no longer afford to wear the mask of "law and order", therefore it tramples underfoot the fundamental laws of its own Parliament in order to imprison the valiant Workers' Party faction, as it also arrogantly casts aside the fundamental laws guaranteeing "freedom of the press and of association", in order to strangle the mouthpiece of the Workers' Party, and to smash its organizations. It throws into the already overcrowded political prisons of Finland the best elements of the Workers' Party throughout the country.

Comrades! The Finnish Workers' Party already at its inaugural congress declared its solidarity with the Communist International. This "high treason" to the predatory interests of the domination of the Finnish White Guards is now cited in an official communiqué as the reason for the annihilation of the Workers' Party, and this is accompanied by the deliberately false allegation that this Party is "an organ of the Russian Communist Party and of the Third International". Organizationally the Finnish Workers' Party is not a section of the Comintern, and still less of course a section of the Russian Communist Party. It was not even a Communist Party, for its ranks contained as many independent socialists as communists. To be sure, this Party was honestly in sympathy with us, and for this reason our illegal section in that country had no grounds on which to take a hostile attitude towards the activity of the Workers' Party. As a result of the annihilation of the legal party of the Finnish working class, it is now becoming obviously necessary for the illegal Communist Party of Finland to take into its own hands the direct political guidance of the proletarian class struggle in that country. The Communist International is now doing a thing which it never did before: it calls upon the militant working class of Finland to rally wholly and solely to the revolutionary standard of the Communist Party!

At the same time the Communist International calls upon the revolutionary workers of all countries to condemn the White Guard regime of Finland and to denounce in no uncertain voice the barbaric persecutions practiced by the butchers of the Finnish working class.

Comrades! Give vent to your indignation! Bring it home to President Stolberg and his satellites that their knavish tricks will meet with the due vengeance of the international working class. Let the representatives of the Finnish Government everywhere be made to realize that they are condemned as agents of a criminal association!!

Give your right hand of fellowship to your valiant comrades in Finland! Make the Finnish workers realize that they are not alone in their fight; that they are supported by millions of comrades in arms until the final victory over capitalist oppression!

*Down with the ruling butchers of the working class in Finland!*

*Long live the Proletarian Revolution!*

The E. C. of the Communist International.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Session of the Central Committee of the CP. of Germany

By Heinrich Brandler.

This session of the Central Committee was a demonstration, in all its discussions and resolutions, of the growth and increasing consolidation of the German CP.

As representative of this power, the session was able to formulate clear resolutions on the points of the agenda after a brief and concentrated discussion. The opposition shown at this Central Committee meeting was merely an echo of personal discord. There were no serious antagonisms. The Party is united and agreed. This fact was perhaps best formulated by the spokeswoman of the opposition, Comrade Ruth Fischer. For she formulates the facts, as seen from the standpoint of the oppo-

sition, as follows: "The Party, in view of the rising tide of activity among the masses, has, since the Party Congress in Leipzig, developed in the direction of the wishes of the opposition. The danger of opportunism and degeneration is not yet past, but has been reduced to a minimum". We of the Party majority have less occasion than anyone else to start a quarrel as to "who was in the right". For us the fact is decisive that the dangerous strain in Party relations is removed. That nine of the comrades belonging to the opposition abstained from voting at the division on the political situation, but did not move any amendments, may be taken, according to the declarations made by the opposition comrades themselves, as being merely a protest against Comrade Brandler's firm handling of the opposition. With this attitude the opposition abandons its rôle as such, and has reached a stage of personal feeling involving no further danger to the Party.

All the other resolutions were accepted unanimously. This fact expresses the unity of the Party.

In view of the dangerous situation, this unity is indeed an imperative necessity. The Central Committee heard with approval the report on the Enlarged Executive Session. The letter of the Executive to the Central Committee went unchallenged. The opposition expressly declared itself in agreement with this letter. The differences on the Saxon question were thereby settled. The opposition was against the support of a left radical government in Saxony by our Party. After this question had been settled by the decision of the Comintern Executive at the conciliation conference, it was still feared by the opposition that our comrades in Saxony would not succeed in separating themselves in good time from the inadequate Zeigner government. The Party in Saxony was, as a matter of fact, not very successful at first, when the Zeigner government showed its weakness in the question of the recall of the Leipzig police president, Fleissner, who had ordered workers to be fired on, in drawing a sharp and clear line between itself and the government. And the disgrace attaching to Ehrhardt's flight, for which the cowardice of the Zeigner government is to blame, has up to now not been sufficiently exposed by our Saxon comrades. The fact that the Zeigner government has employed security police against workers fighting for higher wages, because the workers compelled the employers to pay wages in some degree adequate, has, however, made it extremely easy for the Party to draw the necessary dividing line between itself and the government. The not entirely unfounded misgivings of the opposition have therefore been rendered superfluous by the actual course of events. It was, however, made perfectly evident, at the Central Committee session, that opportunist vacillations had never for a moment been the cause of the weak attitude adopted by our Saxon comrades, but that this was solely to be attributed to a certain sluggishness in the capacity for adaptation of the Party. The Central Committee adopted an unequivocal attitude with regard to Saxon policy. Differences do not exist any longer on this score.

The Central Committee also plainly expressed its view of the failure of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. It condemns the attitude of our Bulgarian comrades, and calls upon them to return to a communist policy with all speed and without reserve.

The resolution on German Fascism attempts a characterization of Fascism, and formulates the tasks incumbent on the CP. of Germany for combatting the Fascist movement. These tasks are of a twofold nature. To combat the menace of Fascist bands financed, armed, and led by industrial, agrarian, and finance capital, the resolution demands the organization of defence, above all the increased formation of defence units in the factories. Besides thus combatting Fascism with its own weapons, the resolution draws attention to the necessity of carrying on the ideological struggle for the support of the petty bourgeois and small peasants.

The resolution on the political situation formulates quite openly the strategy of the revolutionary defensive struggle. The CP. of Germany openly develops its program of struggle, thus differing from the bankrupt social democracy and trade union bureaucracy, which veil their inactivity behind the foolish phrase that the plans of defence must not be betrayed to the adversary. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is not one which can be prepared and executed in secret conclave. The sole means of victory for the working class is the mobilization of the broadest masses of the toiling population, and this cannot be achieved by secret meetings and secret plans. The political resolution is based on the incontestable fact that the twice revealed bankruptcy of German bourgeois politics has greatly aggravated the class antagonisms, and that these will be fought out by the mediums of civil war.

The resolution draws from this premise the conclusion that the working class, in view of the preparations of the bourgeoisie

for civil war, is obliged to make similar preparations itself, if it is not to suffer defeat. Only one means is left of preventing civil war: the fighting alliance of the CP., USP. of Germany and the trade unions, for the overthrow of the bourgeois government and the establishment of the workers' and peasants' government. As the trade union bureaucrats and the United Social-Democratic Party leaders sabotage this alliance, the working masses, led by the CP. of Germany, must fight without and against these traitors. The attempt being made by finance, industrial, and agrarian capital to use the petty bourgeoisie, grown rebellious through the bankruptcy of the petty bourgeois policy, for the purpose of crushing the proletariat, sets the CP. of Germany the task of overcoming as rapidly as possible the split in the working class brought about by the policy of the USP. leaders, and of creating a proletarian united front capable of opposing these armed bands by the resolute defence of the proletariat.

And, on the other hand, the fact that the large bourgeoisie has succeeded in capturing the petty bourgeoisie for its own projects again sets the German CP. the task of depriving the large bourgeoisie of the leadership of the 9-11 millions of the German middle class.

To win over the petty bourgeois strata to active cooperation, or at least to benevolent neutrality, in the proletarian class struggle, is no mere tactical manoeuvre, but absolutely necessary strategy. It is no alliance with Fascism, but an alliance against Fascism. The petty bourgeoisie, which lives economically between the two classes, and is unable to realize its old class ideals (for the days of the "golden middle class" are over for ever), can now only fight either with the bourgeoisie or with the proletariat. If it fights in the camp of the bourgeoisie, it not only accelerates its decay as an antiquated class, as a relic of feudalism within the capitalist economic order, it accelerates at the same time the annihilation of the physical existence of the petty bourgeois. If it fights in the camp of the proletariat, it participates, it is true, in the work of sweeping away the petty bourgeoisie as an antiquated relic of past times, but it helps to save the physical existence of the actual members of the middle class as members of the working population, and bring about their economic and political emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

The slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, the slogan of the seizure of real values, the slogan of the disarming of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat, and the slogan of alliance with Soviet Russia—these are the slogans which signify the emancipation of the middle class, while they are at the same time the fighting slogans of the proletariat for its own liberation.

The Central Committee, in unanimously issuing these plain slogans, and in discussing ways and means by which the Party may realize them through increased energy and work, has adequately fulfilled its task.

## Antoine Ker

(The Road to Communism.)

By Karl Radek.

I knew Comrade Ker but little, and am therefore not in a position to compile his biography. And I do not possess sufficient personal recollections of him to justify me in writing about him. But that which I have had the opportunity of learning about him has given me an illustration of the general development of a communist who came to us from the ranks of the intelligentsia; and who had to fight obstinately against many prejudices hindering him from becoming a complete communist. And thus the thoughts which have passed through my mind when observing Comrade Ker may give me a right to speak a few words at his grave.

When Comrade Ker, at the end of the war—he served in the army and thus did not participate in the struggle of ideas during the war—had worked his way through to communism, he belonged to the left wing of the party. He was in favor of separation from the reformists, and for affiliation to the Comintern. He cooperated with the comrades of the Left until the outbreak of the sharp conflict between these comrades and Frossard and the Right. Our friends of the Left felt themselves bitterly disappointed in him at this time, and regarded him as a deserter.

When Ker came to Moscow to the IV. Congress, I had a detailed conversation with him. I had made a deliberate effort to get into conversation with him, for I had read some of his works dealing with international politics, and these had aroused my attention by their knowledge of the subject treated. The Communist International is still a very young organization, and

the majority of the leaders of the Communist Parties of the West are still but young people. The socialist parties of the past have had at their disposal but an extremely small number of members really familiar with any special sphere of social life. The majority of party organizers and journalists have been nourished by general ideas. People possessing special knowledge have generally belonged to the camp of the reformists, and we have had scarcely any in our camp. In the socialist party of France those who possessed special concrete knowledge were, besides Jaurès, Compère Morel (of the agrarian question), Albert Thomas (of the history of the labor movement and social legislation), and Rappoport (of the general history of socialism, and of French socialism in particular). Of these, Rappoport was the only one to join us. Thus Comrade Ker, who showed concrete interest for international politics, was, in my eyes, a person whose retention for our Party appeared to be of great importance.

In reply to my question whether he did not observe that Frossard was merely accepting the resolutions of the Comintern in order to sabotage them, Ker replied: "If I were convinced of that, I should not go with Frossard. But it seems to me that Frossard, who is a competent organizer, is sufficiently intimately associated with the labor movement in France to be the better judge of the difficulties to be encountered in pursuing the lines laid down by the Comintern in a petty bourgeois anarchist country. He is no traitor, but a *cunctator*." I asked Ker if he held such "postponement" to be possible. "No", replied Ker, "but I fear that without Frossard, without his intelligence and without his organizing ability, we shall not be able to realize our aims even gradually. We shall merely remain a closed circle of pure communists. This is the reason that induced me to leave the Left, in order to avert the danger of Frossard's expulsion."

On the evening of the same day upon which this conversation took place, an extraordinarily dramatic scene occurred in the French commission of the congress. Comrade Trotzky was speaking of the circumstance that the Party had not yet broken with the decadent past of the French Labor movement, a past in which members given responsible posts by the Party still maintained connection with the bourgeoisie by contributing to bourgeois newspapers, and at times even by membership of freemasons' lodges. "I am informed", said Comrade Trotzky, "that some of the leading comrades are still members of freemasons' lodges. When Serrati, at the II. Congress, made the demand that the 21 conditions be supplemented by another one breaking with freemasonry, it appeared to us as if he were joking, as if he were suggesting something similar to withdrawal from some order of Jesuits." "I do not know", continued Trotzky, "if it is true that the secretary of the party, and leading members of the parliamentary fraction, are members of freemasons' lodges, as we are informed."

These words took effect like the lash of a whip. Trotzky stood erect amidst the French comrades. Ker turned pale and let his head sink. For a moment an oppressive silence reigned. Then Ker's quiet voice was heard: "With regard to me, Comrade Trotzky, you are correctly informed". Trotzky turned brusquely to the worker from Frossard's fraction seated at his left. He laid his hand on his shoulder and addressed him in sharp and cutting sentences: "Do you know what freemasons are? Do you know that they are an organization of bourgeois career hunters, who govern the economic and political life of France, and deceive the workers with the aid of democratic phrases, in the interests of plutocracy? And a proletarian like you permits it that the secretary of the party belongs to a freemasons' lodge?" Ker rose to his feet: "Up to now there has been no resolution forbidding membership of a freemasons' lodge. I have continued my membership out of laziness, but shall give it up if the Party demands it". The session was closed.

The next day I called up Comrade Trotzky on the telephone, in order to consult him as to what course it would be best to take with regard to the address to be delivered by Ker on the Versailles Peace. After the accident of the day before, could he make the speech? Trotzky replied: "It is the first time in my life that I found myself compelled to fire at any one from such close quarters. If he is cured, he must not be given up for lost; but it seems to me that, for the moment, he must be crossed off the list of speakers." We informed Comrade Cachin. Ker agreed without objection. On returning to France afterwards, and after withdrawing from the Party Secretariat and the *Humanité*, he did not, however, follow Frossard and desert us, but remained in the Party. We were now certain that Ker could be kept for the Party. He had recognized the justice of our standpoint, and grasped the fact that he who intends to be a communist must break off every link with the past, every bond

with the bourgeois world. He bore with resignation his temporary isolation and removal from a leading position. His behavior proved him to be a true champion of communism. Eight days before his death I received from him a work on the "Comité des Forges", the organization of the French heavy industry. This work appears in the next number of the *Communist International*, now being printed. I wrote him a letter requesting him to contribute regularly to this periodical. I do not know if the letter reached him.

The Communist International, and the Communist Party of France, lose in Ker a valuable and excellent worker. He was the more faithful and valuable fighter for having won his membership card after a severe internal struggle, and by a victory over inner doubts. Only that which has been won by struggle is durable. Ker's powers are how lost to the Party. May his example be an encouragement to the many who have not yet been able to bring themselves to break with the past, to conquer all half-heartedness and join our ranks without reserve. Ker's case forms but a brief episode in the story of the great difficulties of the young Communist movement. We do not hew our Communist Parties out of granite just taken from the earth, but we form them out of elements bequeathed to us by the labor movements of the past, and have to carry out the difficult task of remoulding old material. And we find remnants of the old ideas not only among the intellectuals who have joined the communists, but in the working class itself. These difficulties can only be overcome by obstinate and determined struggle, in which it must never be forgotten that there is still much valuable material which may be utilized for the construction of a new society, and that none of this must be thrown away.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Marching Forwards

By R. Schüller (Moscow).

After ten days conference, the IV. Bureau Session of the Y.C.I. (Enlarged Executive) has now ended. It has dealt with the political situation and the tasks of the Y.C.I., the struggle against war danger and militarism, factory nuclei work, the combatting of Fascism, work among the rural youth, the program, trade union work, educational work, and the proletarian sport movement. Ed.

The IV. Bureau Session of the Y.C.I. is a clear proof of the progress made by the Y.C.I. during the past year. The time is past when the slogan "mass organization" was still an object of theoretical principle under discussion in the Y.C.I., and its practical application accompanied by internal crises. Now a great living world organization is at work, one which has already made a long stride forward on the road to the conquest of the masses of working youth for communism, and is today bending all its energies to complete this task. The time of 1921/22 is past, when the depression in the ranks of the working class reached its climax, and was expressed among the youth by a wide-spread indifference to all political struggle, and by a considerable growth of social democratic influence and of the social democratic youth organizations. The influence exercised by the social democratic youth organizations on the unorganized youth is beginning to diminish in the most important countries, and despite, or rather on account of, the Hamburg amalgamation, these organizations suffer greatly from increasing antagonisms and acute disagreements between the ever more numerous adherents of the united front and the ever more reactionary right. But the Young Communist International, despite the heavy blows dealt by the reaction in cooperation with the social democracy, is today sounder and stronger than ever, its influence on the masses of working youth increases steadily, and the number of its organizations multiply.

The basis of our activity as Young Communist Leagues is the most active participation in all the questions and struggles of the working class, under the leadership of the CP's and the CI, and we do not simply endeavor to support the struggle of the CP's but at the same time formulate the slogans of the working class struggle in a manner specially adapted to the requirements of the working youth, so as to induce the masses of the latter to take part as active champions in the cause of the whole proletariat. (Thus, for instance, the united front slogan has taken the form, not only of supporting the formation of the united front of the whole working class, but also of a struggle for the united front between young and adult workers against capital, and for the united front of the working youth itself inside the whole proletariat.) This political activity has been much improved and

vitalized during the period just past, especially since the III. Congress. The participation in the struggle and in party life has become much greater everywhere. "Youth is the salt of the party" is a saying which we now hear on all sides. Where the lines laid down by the CI have been discussed, and the majority of the party has taken sides against the CI, as in Norway and Sweden, there the YCI may regard its sections with justifiable pride, for these have stood for the CI. with unwavering loyalty.

The struggle against war danger and Fascism, and for the united front, for which the III. Congress of the YCI. appealed, found its expression in various successful enterprises. The anti-military work in the Ruhr district was carried out with success. An effectual international propaganda campaign was conducted against war danger and Fascism. The united front tactics, indefatigably applied in connection with the Ruhr occupation and the Hamburg Congress, have resulted in important successes among the social democratic youth.

It hardly requires to be said that political activity again formed the chief business of the Bureau Session, whose work may be regarded as a continuation of that of the Enlarged Executive of the CI. in its application to youth. The YCI. is now faced with the task of carrying its political activity further, and of rendering it more concrete. The mighty masses of proletarian and peasant youth must also be won for the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, and brought into the YCI's. The support given the party, and cooperation in its work, must be increased. It is unnecessary to emphasize the fact that the YCI. and the YCL's belong everywhere to the most faithful champions of the Communist International, and will so continue, refusing to be led astray by any differences with or agitation against the CI., and maintaining their right to stand for the CI. wherever its initiatives are discussed. The fight against militarism and war danger is being based more and more on careful anti-military work in the army and among the masses of workers and peasants, and on international cooperation, and was debated accordingly. Fascism, especially in its effects on youth, was exhaustively dealt with, and the forms of combatting it, as well as the methods of participation of working youth and YCL's in the struggle against it, were laid down from every point of view—political, propagandist, educational, and with reference to defence organizations of the working youth. Even the blows previously dealt us by the reaction have proved useful, and the dissolution and persecution of our organizations will not find us so unprepared in the future. The struggle for the united front will continue to be one of the main objects of our activity, although, after the shameful Hamburg Congress, we are now obliged to carry on this work above all among the masses, in local organizations, in the workshops and factories, in the trade unions, and in the country.

Our political activity has increased our influence of late on the masses of working youth, but in future we must strengthen and improve our work in this direction, if it is to strike firm roots.

The chief importance of the Bureau Session lies in the fact that it dealt with this question in a practical and detailed way, and issued concrete directions to the Leagues for actual work.

The greatest store is thus to be set today on the energetic execution of the resolutions passed by the III. Congress of the YCI., which demand the strengthening of mass work by the creation of factory nuclei and the reorganization of the YCL's on this principle. At the present stage of our work, this question has become a leading one for the YCL's, and it is only its correct and energetic solution which will enable us to continue on the road to a mass organization, and to combine all our efforts—political, economic, educational and propagandist—into a mass work closely bound up with the life and labor of the working classes. In Germany, where the resolutions passed by the III. Congress with regard to the formation of factory nuclei and the reorganization of the Leagues were energetically applied, and where we have already 160 nuclei with 300 members, we can report great and even wonderful success. For instance, 6000 new members were gained within 7 months (20%). The Bureau Session told the other Leagues that it was time for them to follow the German example.

At the same time, the Bureau Session dealt with the equally urgent necessity of strengthening and systematically organizing the work in the trade unions, in the whole sphere of the economic struggle, and in the domain of education. The first of these tasks have been forced into the background since the Congress, by the necessity of concentrating our main forces on the fight against war danger and militarism, against Fascism, and against the persecutions of the reaction, as well as on the position in the different parties. The last of these tasks, owing to our defective powers and almost complete lack of material for

communist youth education, still counts among our weakest points. On the three questions the Bureau Session, after thorough discussion, passed detailed resolutions and directions which will result in a marked improvement of our work in these departments.

For the first time at an international conference of the YCI. the question of work among the rural youth was concretely discussed. A large amount of material and experience has already been got together with regard to this still new line of work, so that the Bureau Session was in a position to draw up a list of actual economic and cultural demands for the rural youth, thus giving us a basis for our propaganda and the possibility of mobilizing the youth of the villages to aid us in the struggle for the workers' and peasants' government. It was entirely in keeping with the spirit of practical mass work that the Bureau Session of the YCI. should also have dealt with the workers' gymnastic and sport movement.

Thus the YCI., conjointly with the CI., has drawn up comprehensive plans for its tasks of the near future, and has at the same time given us a certain basis for the fulfilment of these tasks in a series of resolutions worthy of the attention of the whole communist movement.

We have also a guarantee for their fulfilment in the international organization of the CYI., which is becoming steadily stronger, larger, and more active in its capacity of a world organization. The youthful communists everywhere are to be counted among the most enthusiastic champions of the Communist International as a World Party, and among the staunchest opponents of all federal and decentralizing tendencies, for their own laborious work in the YCI. has brought them the certain knowledge that today a Workers' International is either a World Party or it is nothing.

## Review of the Young Guard of the German Proletariat

By Käthe Pohl (Gotha).

The national conference of the Communist Children's Groups held its session at Gotha at a time when the very existence of the German working class is threatened both by unbridled exploitation and by the armaments of the reaction. 250 girls and boys from every part of Germany met together here, in order to discuss the misery of the children of the working people, the school struggle, the communist children's press, and the entire work of the communist children's groups. The conference was conducted by a presidium of three boys and three girls. With the exception of the report of the central, all the speeches on the questions on the agenda were made by children. The independence, and the political and organizational schooling of the children, were here clearly apparent. The conference was a true reflex of the present situation of the working class, of its revolutionary maturity and readiness to fight. The majority of the children were under-nourished, cleanly but poorly clad. But revolutionary determination and fighting courage characterized their speeches. The address and the discussion on the school struggle again showed that the German bourgeois republic, and the socialist governments of Saxony and Thuringia, have not even succeeded in protecting the children in the schools from punishment by flogging, or from monarchist infection. Although flogging is prohibited, it goes on energetically in Saxony and Thuringia. The proletarian children have to protect themselves physically and mentally against the black-white-red hercs and their blows. This fact has created a revolutionary situation in the German primary schools. The children have to carry on a class struggle in its most involved form. Punishment by thrashing, the monarchist and nationalist propaganda in the schools, the dirty work of the police which the children selling the *Young Comrade* have to put up with—all this plays in the lives of the children the same rôle which the antisocialist law once played in the lives of the adult workers, and which misery and reactionary provocation are playing today. The school struggle requires from the children a large amount of courage, physical strength, and mental development. It is characteristic that, during the discussion on the press, a twelve year old boy from South Bavaria moved that the *Young Comrade* should publish the truth about Charles and Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and other nationalist hercs, so that the children might have at their disposal incontestable evidence of the monarchism of the teachers. Various speakers in the debate stated with much satisfaction that the teachers are frequently unable to controvert the children's arguments, and break off the discussion on some pretext. The main task of the Communist Party—the winning over of the masses—is held by the children to be their most

important duty. "We must get at the children in the Christian schools" said the children, "for these, more than any others, are being deliberately stultified". The children are also fully aware of the tremendous significance of the Ruhr conflict for the whole working class. When the presidium stated that no children had been able to come to the conference from the Ruhr area on account of the closing of the frontier by the occupation authorities, and that the proletarian children's home for the Ruhr children, supported by the Russian cooperatives, is standing empty at present for the same reason, the children moved that the question of "Ruhr occupation and the attitude to be taken towards it by the children of the working people" should be placed on the agenda. The resolution of protest against French imperialism was unanimously adopted, the children emphasizing their determination to continue the fight, together with all the other proletarian children in the world, for the emancipation of the working class.

The conference was followed by a children's demonstration in Gotha. The banners carried by the children bore the inscriptions: "Down with Fascism!", "Long live Communism!", "Success to the RSFSR!" A great poster depicted the Children's Home presented by the Russian cooperatives. On this was the inscription: "Who gives us Children's Homes? Only a Workers' Government!"

The review held at Gotha of the youngest of the proletarians has demonstrated that the German working class may take up the struggle for power with every confidence. The coming proletarian generation is ready and able to consolidate this power, to develop it, and to create a new and free workers' Germany.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Invitation to a Russian and International Conference of Agricultural Workers

To the Agricultural Workers' Unions of All Countries.

Dear Comrades,

In connection with the opening of the agricultural and home industries exhibition, to be held from August 15 to October 15, 1923, the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers, which is taking active part in the first great exhibition of agriculture and forestry, is convening a conference of the agricultural workers' unions of the Socialist Soviet Republics, to meet at Moscow on September 20, 1923.

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers avails itself of this opportunity of addressing itself to the unions of agricultural workers of all countries, and proposes that these should send their delegates to the forthcoming agricultural workers' conference; participation in this conference will enable the delegates to become more closely acquainted with the situation of agriculture in Soviet Russia, as well as with the position of the Russian agricultural and forest workers.

The Russian agricultural workers—who have been prevented for some years, by the imperialist war and the subsequent blockade, from maintaining contact with their colleagues—invite representatives of all countries to this conference in the hope that in this manner the foundation may be laid for a rapprochement between the agricultural workers of Russia and of other countries, leading to union for the joint struggle for the betterment of their economic position.

The Central Committee, in the hope that the unions of agricultural workers will accept the invitation, requests that replies regarding attendance at the conference be sent in as soon as possible, to the following address: Moscow, Solianka 12, Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers, Room 323. The names of the delegates should be stated. The C.C. of the Russian union will then take the necessary steps to obtain the passport visas permitting entry into Russia.

The same information should also be sent to the foreign bureaus of the Principal Exhibition Committee of the All-Russian Agricultural and Home Industries Exhibition, in the various countries, or to the Central Foreign Bureau of the Principal Exhibition Committee at Berlin, Lindenstrasse 20.

We shall shortly publish the agenda of the conference.

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers.

### To All Revolutionary Unions and Revolutionary Minorities of Unions of Agricultural and Forest Workers in Every Land.

The International Conference of revolutionary agricultural and forest workers, convened for April 15, 1923, has been postponed for various reasons until September 25 of this year.

The agenda of this International Conference is as follows:

1. Report of the international propaganda committee. (Speaker: Comrade Tschirkov, Russia.)
2. The struggle against Fascism. (Speaker: Comrade Lozovsky, general secretary of the Profintern.)
3. Wages and the economic struggle of the agricultural and forest laborers. (Speaker: Comrade Unfried, Germany.)
4. Social insurance of agricultural and forest workers in relation to unemployment. (Speaker from Czechoslovakia.)
5. The agrarian question and the mutual relations of the peasantry. (A speaker from Russia, and comrade Ray, Germany.)
6. The organizational question. (Speaker: Comrade Anzelovitch, Russia.)
7. Election of the international propaganda committee.
8. Election of the international propaganda committee.
8. Miscellaneous.

It is perhaps necessary to substantiate the long felt need for the convening of this International Conference. It is rendered especially necessary by the fact that the conferences of the revolutionary agricultural and forest workers, held during the I. and II. Congresses, were too inadequately prepared to be able to solve every question of particular interest to the agricultural and forest workers of all countries.

International Propaganda Committee of the revolutionary agricultural and forest workers calls upon the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary minorities in the unions of agricultural and forest workers, to send delegates to the conference, who must arrive in Moscow not later than September 24, 1923. The delegates are requested to supply themselves with all information bearing on the position of the agricultural and forest labor movement in their states. It is highly desirable that different items on the agenda of the International Conference be subjected to a preliminary discussion in the various organizations.

Delegates who are to make reports to the conference should not arrive in Moscow later than September 20.

With regard to difficulties which those delegated to the conference might meet, the International Propaganda Committee, in agreement with the Red International of Labor Unions, proposes that applications be made for support (financial) to the organization of the delegates' own country which is affiliated to the Profintern. The Profintern has already issued the necessary directions in this connection.

The International Propaganda Committee expresses the hope that all revolutionary organizations of agricultural and forest workers will fully recognize the importance of this conference, and will send their delegates to it.

The International Propaganda Committee requests that this invitation be answered immediately to the following address: Moscow, Solianka 12, Dvoretz Truda (Workers' Palace), Room No. 323.

The International Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Agricultural and Forest Workers.

### The Strike of the Building Workers in Rome

By Rossi.

While D'Arragona, Colombino, Buoizzi, and the other great leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (CGL) are negotiating with Mussolini for the purpose of finding some method of cooperating with the Fascist regime, Mussolini shows them how he conceives this cooperation in actual practice, and particularly how he intends to keep the promise which he made to d'Arragona with respect to trade union liberty. For while the historic meeting between the heads of Italian counter-revolution and the representatives of the largest organizations of the Italian proletariat was being held, the building workers had just entered upon a strike. The conversation between Mussolini and d'Arragona, as the latter assured an editor of the *Corriere della Sera*, was extremely cordial. We have no doubt of it. But the gentlemen participating in the audience can scarcely have mentioned the strike of the building workers, that would certainly not have been good form; or are we mistaken in assuming this?

This strike is a perfect example of Mussolini's labor policy. (The last wages struggle of the Trieste metal workers

might be used as an equally good example, for during this the communist *Lavoratore* was forbidden to write a word about the strike and when it did not keep strictly to this prohibition, it was suppressed by the government.)

The Rome building workers have been negotiating for some time with their employers. But the latter, who are naturally suffering from swelled head since governmental power has been in the hands of the Fascisti, have obstinately refused to come to terms, and have expressed their determination to reach a final decision in December, which is the most unfavorable time for the building workers; the committee therefore convened a meeting in the Chamber of Labor, so that the building workers might adopt a definite attitude to the situation thus created. This meeting was to have taken place on July 23. But what did the police do? They shut off all the streets leading to the Chamber of Labor, and thus prevented the meeting. Under such circumstances it was not possible for the committee, thus deprived of the possibility of maintaining contact with the workers, to carry on the negotiations in a normal manner, and it gave the only correct answer to these tyrannical measures by proclaiming a strike. 20,000 building workers answered the call on the first day. But now the building workers, though they were on strike from purely trade union and economic motives, were at once subjected to the most savage persecution. Within a few days hundreds of strikers had been arrested, partly on account of "unauthorized" distribution of handbills, partly for having called upon other workers to stop away from work, and partly under suspicion of "further inciting" the movement—all of which actions are crimes for which, as the government organ *Popolo d'Italia* announces, those arrested will have to answer before a court of justice. Besides this, the police received orders to seek out all striking building workers in Rome not belonging to that city, and to send these back to their native places; a task which the police have carried out with great zeal. This is, however, a particularly severe measure, as the greater part of the workers thus banished from Rome are refugees, many of them forbidden on pain of death, by their local Fascisti, to return to their homes, or at least prevented from obtaining work there by the black list.

But despite all this the strike is being kept up, and is even spreading. On the fourth day of the strike the trench diggers and building carters joined the strike.

The strike committee demands the following terms before terminating the strike: Release of the arrested workers; permission for the strikers to assemble at the headquarters of their organization, in three divisions if need be; or, should this not be possible, a definite undertaking on the part of the employers to prolong the tariff agreements until March of next year. Besides this, the strike committee expresses its readiness to negotiate concerning a reduction of wages every time that the costs of living are really reduced (although the employers are actually not in the least entitled to demand such a reduction, as they have made their agreements with their employees for the whole season on the basis of the present wages.)

The employers will not, however, hear anything of these moderate demands, and have placed the settlement of the whole affair in the hands of the Fascist extraordinary plenipotentiary for Latium, Farinacci—the faith of the employers in Fascism is characteristic.

Under these circumstances the strike continues up to the present hour, in token of the new trade union liberty promised by Mussolini to the workers.

## ECONOMICS

### Moscow Communal Economy

By M. I. Rogow.

(Vice-chairman of the Moscow Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Council.)

During the period of transition to the New Economic Policy, economic administration is doubtless dependent on an economic system in which some branches of communal work, especially the laying on of water and gas, sewerage, etc., are carried on at a deficit owing to the limited powers of payment of the population.

The principle of payment for value received is followed with a certain consistency in the new economic policy, but it must not be forgotten that the working population enjoys facilities in the domain of this principle such as no other workers in the world possess.

It is entirely false to assume that the communal undertakings have been de-communalized and put in the hands of pri-

vate persons. Out of all the undertakings belonging to the Moscow Soviet at the present time, only the smallest barber's shops and two or three bathing establishments have been let, on the condition that on the expiration of the lease the undertakings are to be returned to the Moscow Soviet free of charge, and after having been fully restored. All the remaining enterprises, such as the electric tramways, gas, water, slaughter houses, parks, larger public baths, larger hairdressing saloons, all schools, all hospitals, all larger buildings etc., are under the immediate control of the separate departments of the Moscow Soviet.

The Moscow Soviet returns to the former house-owners the right of possession of their houses, but only of small houses of no more than five flats.

A total of 27,096 sites is registered in Moscow, and of these a very great number are occupied by factory undertakings, workshops, bakeries, state offices, schools established by the department for public education, and hospitals, infirmaries, and sanatoriums controlled by the health department. About 3,000 sites are in the hands of self-governing tenants' cooperatives, and about 2,000 houses belong to workers' and employees' communities. The tenants' cooperatives and the lease-holders undertake to place 10% of the total utilizable dwelling space at the disposal of the Moscow Soviet, which uses this for workmen's dwellings.

In the suburbs only the smallest houses, containing three to five flats, are de-communalized. Larger houses are leased only in cases where no tenants' cooperative has been formed, and when the houses are in need of considerable repairs.

There are 1686 sites in Moscow not yet built on. In order to encourage building, these sites are leased on advantageous and lengthy terms, and with unlimited rights of utilization.

For wooden buildings the maximum length of lease is 20 years, for brick houses 49 years. At the present time about 150 buildings are in course of construction. Further applications for building concessions are being continually received.

During the course of the financial year 1922-23 building enterprises to the total value of 25 million gold roubles have been carried out by various persons and authorities. Besides this, the work of building workmen's dwellings near the factories has begun.

Coming to the different branches of communal economy, let us begin by considering the tramways. The tramways have worked under very unfavorable circumstances during the past year. After the outbreak of the war and its subsequent effects, the activity of the tramways diminished. In the year 1921 an improvement set in. The erection and equipment of central workshops, and the laying down of lines, were commenced. In the course of the year 1921-22 a factory was established for making the most important parts, the rails, the posts, and the points.

The periodical repairs to the cars are made in the repair works; during the year 1922, 190 motor trams and 98 trailer trams were repaired.

With respect to the use of the tramway, the cars run daily were:

in 1914	863 cars,
in 1920	202 cars,
in 1921	282 cars,
in 1922	435 cars,
in 1923	478 cars.

Persons carried:

in 1914	282,115,649 persons,
in 1920	23,639,655 persons,
in 1921	27,596,628 persons,
in 1922	150,126,462 persons,
in 1923	234,350,000 persons.

Since the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the population has increased. (In the year 1915 the number of inhabitants was 1,983,716, in the year 1920 it was 1,027,336, and in the year 1923 1,542,876.) As the number of inhabitants in the economic year 1923-1924 will be double that of the census of 1923, it is probable that the number of passengers will increase correspondingly.

In the year 1923 the construction of 26 versts of railway lines in the workers' quarters was included in the program of production. The work has already been commenced.

The financial position of the tramways is better than that of the other branches of communal economy. Out of the total communal revenues, amounting to 22,893,890 gold roubles, 17,755,057 are contributed by the tramways alone.

The workmen and clerks receive about 3 millions tickets monthly, at reduced prices.

Another undertaking of considerable importance for the population is the laying on of water. In 1922 the water works were faced with the task of supplying Moscow with water; this task has been adequately fulfilled. The water pressure has

increased from 24% sashin in 1921 to 34% above the level of the Moscow river. The average amount of water supplied daily was as follows (1 bucket = about 16 litres):

in 1920 12,184,000 buckets,  
in 1921 12,836,000 buckets,  
in 1922 13,300,000 buckets,  
in 1923 13,500,000 buckets.

Of this consumption about 8 buckets thus fall to each inhabitant daily at the present time.

During the present building season fresh work is being commenced on the electrification enterprises, on the equipment of the stations of Rubov, Mitishensk, and Oldenburg, and further on the laying down of 4200 sashin of street water piping in the workmen's quarters in the suburbs.

200,000 preference coupons are issued to the workers for the payment of the water and sewerage fees.

The appended table shows in what degree sewerage work is being completed in Moscow:

Waste water carried away daily:

in 1921 7,477,000 buckets,  
in 1922 7,940,000 buckets,  
in 1923 9,118,000 buckets.

Pumped out:

in 1921 5,081,200 buckets,  
in 1922 5,523,000 buckets,  
in 1923 5,696,000 buckets.

The amount of water used for the irrigation of the Lublin fields was 5,032,000 buckets in 1922, in 1923 5,813,000. The irrigation of the fields at Luberetz was carried out in 1922 with 2,215,000 buckets, in the year 1923 with 3,118,000.

Among the most important new works projected for the year 1923 may be mentioned: the main pumping station, the increase of irrigated fields at Luberetz, and the refuse destroying plant in the Presna district.

The productivity of the gasworks also increases every year, as may be gathered from the following table. The production has been as follows:

in 1920 117,435,000 cubic feet,  
in 1921 172,620,000 cubic feet,  
in 1922 250,000,000 cubic feet,  
in 1923 350,000,000 cubic feet.

854 sites, mainly in resident quarters of working people, have been sewered.

The output of the electric stations almost equalized that of prewar times.

The latest plan provides for making the rent of workers dependent on the amount of their wages. The minimum monthly rent is fixed at 10 gold copeks per square fathom, but may not exceed 1 gold rouble even for the most highly qualified workman, whilst non-workers pay 5 to 10 gold roubles per square fathom.

A few words must be said of the schools and hospitals. These have suffered much during the eight years of war. At the present time they are being energetically repaired, and their interior fittings renovated. Instruction is gratis, and in the year 1922-1923 the schools were able to accommodate all the children. The number of children now learning is greater than before the war. Treatment in the hospitals is also free.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### A Proletarian Concession

By Leonid.

The argument that private capitalist initiative is alone capable of running an undertaking at a profit, is one which is used not only by the capitalists in Germany, etc. For years capitalists from all lands have pilgrimaged to Russia to offer the same argument in favor of their being granted concessions by the Soviet government for important undertakings. But a serious competitor made its appearance a short time ago, one which threatens to refute this argument completely: the International Workers' Relief. No shares in this enterprise are sold on the Berlin or New York Exchange. It is not backed up by any mighty banking combine or industrial undertaking, as is generally the case with all foreign concessionaires. There is not a single capitalist on the board of control of this competitor. And yet it has proved that it can work at a profit.

The I.W.R. ("International Workers' Relief", in Russian "Meshrabpom") has proved its ability to work at a profit by its Russian fishery enterprises. A special enactment issued by the Council for Labor and Defence, and an agreement made with the chief administration of the Russian fishing industry, has given the I.W.R., in the form of a concession, a district on the

Caspian Sea at the mouth of the Volga, extending over 77 versta and populated by 7000 inhabitants—mostly fishermen and their families. Twice a year—in spring and in autumn—immense shoals of herring and "vobla" (a fish which formed the main, and sometimes the sole source of nourishment of blockaded Russia during the years of civil war) visit these waters. On April 15, 1923, the I.W.R. took over a number of fishing undertakings and three establishments for curing and canning the fish. Other enterprises are to be restarted. During the spring catch, the I.W.R. has employed a total of 679 wage workers in its Astrachan district, 529 of these being occupied in the actual work of curing the fish. Besides this, there are 1250 independent fishermen working for the I.W.R., selling their fish to it at fixed prices. The net profits of the Astrachan fishery enterprises belonging to the I.W.R. were estimated at 215,844 roubles for the year 1923.

Work was begun 5 days after the undertakings had been officially taken over. The conditions were unfavorable. Much valuable time was lost through the concession area not being transferred to the I.W.R. until navigation had been opened. High winds disturbed the work of catching the fish. The organization so hastily set up did not always work perfectly. Relations with the state institutions were not yet sufficiently regulated. And despite all this—success. A total amount of 235,000 pud of fish was caught. 67% of the task of production was thereby fulfilled.

The real work of organization is now beginning. The most important task to be performed by the I.W.R. in Astrachan in the near future is that of improving its organization, and making technical progress. As is the case everywhere in Russian industry, the equipment of the Astrachan fisheries is very primitive. The I.W.R. must introduce here West European methods and technical improvements. The primitive methods hitherto employed for transporting and preparing the fish must be substituted by mechanical ones. Rafts and narrow-gauge railways must be built; modern devices for cleaning the fish must be introduced.

Comrade Krassin, at one time employed as an engineer with the firm of Siemens & Schuckert in Berlin, recently wrote in the *Pravda* that the methods of Rockefeller and Siemens should be employed for building up Russian economy. The I.W.R. must base the whole of its activity in Russia on this principle if it is to maintain its position. During the next few years the I.W.R. in Russia will have to fight a fierce competitive struggle against the foreign capitalist concessionaires. It will only emerge victorious from this struggle if it opposes to Rockefeller and Siemens the technics of Rockefeller and Siemens themselves.

## POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

### A Declaration of Russian Anarchists

We, Russian anarcho-communists and anarcho-syndicalists, took an active part in the October revolution, we worked hand in hand with the Bolsheviks both in the preparatory period before the October revolution and after the breaking out of the struggle for the Soviet power. Together with the Bolsheviks, we bore the whole burden of work in all the struggles against imperialist intervention, and in the daily conflicts with bourgeois monarchist and pseudo-socialist counter-revolution. Many are the anarchists who have fallen in the Titanic struggles of the Russian proletariat, and the writers of this declaration represent only one inconsiderable group out of all the anarchist comrades who took active part in the civil war, on the side of the Soviets.

Although we have worked side by side with the Bolsheviks, we have up to the present not considered that our purposes would be promoted by our uniting with the Bolsheviks in one party. We have believed that the outbreak of the anarchist world revolution, by which the work of emancipating the proletariat and the whole of humanity is to be completed after the transitional period of state socialism, was close at hand. We have waited and hoped for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in all the capitalist countries of Europe and America, as we have recognized this dictatorship to be an inevitable historical stage on the road to the attainment of a society maintained without force.

But for six years already the Russian working class has borne the burden of an unequal and heroic struggle against the capitalist coalition, and has borne it alone. It alone in the whole of Europe defies the attacks of imperialism, and draws its strength from the firm conviction that the outbreak of the world revolution is close at hand. But the Russian proletariat has only been able to maintain these revolutionary positions by means of its dictatorship. And therefore it does not let the

power slip from its hands; it cannot abandon this power to the bourgeoisie, but, at the same time, it cannot proceed to the organization of a society maintained without force until the workers of other countries have overthrown the power of capital in their own lands.

We know very well that the West European proletariat is carrying on a severe and obstinate struggle against its bourgeoisie, which has become particularly aggressive since the European war; but we regret to note that its final victory is still very far off. The last few years have witnessed a considerable strengthening of capitalist reaction in all countries: in the course of the class struggle the bourgeoisie has succeeded in assuming the initiative, in passing from the defensive to an open offensive against the working class, and in creating a new and dangerous weapon, Fascism, in the struggle against the international revolutionary movement. The Italian proletariat is crushed to the earth. Black reaction, having suppressed the workers' republics in Bavaria and Hungary, has established in these countries the dictatorship of the landowners and capitalists. It has already shed much blood among the German, Polish, Austrian, and other workers, and now, without releasing its pressure on the proletariat, it is proceeding to the attack upon agrarian democracy. The Bulgarian upheaval is a Fascist signal for shattering the peasantry, which had made in Bulgaria a first attempt at playing the rôle of an independent political power.

The waves of reaction rise ever higher, and in many countries an extraordinarily threatening situation has developed. The labor organizations are being destroyed, every strike movement is ruthlessly suppressed, while lockouts drive tens of thousands of workmen's families to death by starvation. The bourgeoisie is determined to nip in the bud every attempt of the working class at organization, to disperse the labor movement entirely, to put an end completely to its existence as an independent power, and to degrade the workers, as regards rights and liberties, to the conditions obtaining in the days of slavery.

Under these circumstances it is not the right time to speak of an anarchist revolution. The proletariat must first occupy the positions of defence, must repulse the capitalist offensive by joint efforts, secure its defensive positions, and then proceed to the attack, in order to seize state power everywhere with the aid of the working peasantry, as was done in Russia. It is only by the dictatorship of the proletariat that we can rid ourselves of the power of capital, for only thus can we destroy militarism and organize production and distribution on new lines. It is only after the final victory, and after the suppression of all attempts at restoration on the part of the bourgeoisie, that we can venture to speak at all of the supersession of the state and of force. Those who doubt the rightness of this course, and who yet cannot point out any other more effective course, are actually setting aside direct action and the organization of victory in favor of an activity within a closed circle, an enforced passivity, and impracticable illusions, all this being veiled by revolutionary phraseology. When international anarchism is in such a state of weakness and confusion, the bourgeois organization shaken by the war acquires new strength.

At this period, when the bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth and attacks us with all its might, being ready at a moment's notice to launch against us the powers of its army and fleet, tanks and poison gases, police and church, yellow press and yellow trade unions—at such a period we too are faced with the duty of forging the best weapons, and of sweeping all useless lumber out of our revolutionary arsenal. At such a time it is absolutely inadmissible tactics for the anarchists to propagate the idea of federalism, which disintegrates the forces of the working class, to offer criticism of the Red Army and designate it as an aggressive imperialist power, or defend the pseudo-socialist Russian counter-revolution which strives for the restoration of the capitalist order. It is an especially grave error to preserve remnants of individualism leading to the denial of the usefulness of the proletarian dictatorship during a period of historical transition, as if this period of actual struggle could be passed through in any other way.

We shall make our position clear in the appended theses, and show that we have adopted this position after an objective study of the international situation, of the historical rôle played by anarchism in the world revolution, and of the tremendous experience gained in the October revolution.

The anarchists must be entirely free from all doctrinaire bias; they must not cling to any obsolete forms, they must recognize that the October revolution incorporated the best traditions of the First International, and that the leader of the October revolution, the Communist Party, had long before separated itself from the social democrats. The Communist Party, basing itself upon revolutionary Marxist theory, assimilated

everything which is not outstripped by the theory of stateless socialism. The Communist Party has clearly established its attitude towards the state; it has not hesitated to carry the banner of social revolution into a backward agrarian country; it has made a clean sweep of the petty bourgeois ideas of democracy and parliamentarism; and during the five years in which it has led the revolution in a great country, it has provided the most striking proof of the correctness of the anarchist idea of the right of an active minority, as a historical factor, to the initiative.

We fully recognize that anarcho-syndicalism has played a great part in the revolutionizing of the international labor movement, and that its influence has been enormous in every sphere of socialist thought; but at the same time we are of the opinion that it is time for the anarcho-syndicalists to grasp the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship. The recognition of this necessity on the part of the anarcho-syndicalists would signify a turning point in the anarcho-syndicalist movement, and would gradually remove the barriers between communism and anarcho-syndicalism. We call upon our anarchist comrades not to scatter the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries, to unite with the communists around the sole revolutionary organs of direct mass action, the Comintern and the Profintern, to create a firm base for the struggle against the capitalist offensive, and, finally, to come to the aid of the Russian Revolution. The dangers of fresh interventions, and of new attempts on the part of bourgeois democracy and feudalism to seize state power again in Russia, are not yet at an end. Our comrades must understand that the Russian pseudo-socialists of various shades are in reality working in the interests of the counter-revolution, and that, should their efforts be crowned with success, then Italian Fascism will be child's play in comparison with the terrible reaction which will precipitate itself against the working class of Europe from the East.

We are firmly convinced that the final victory of labor over capital, throughout the world, is unattainable without the support of the working class of the overwhelming majority of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the East.

The October revolution alone proved capable of bringing about the awakening of the East and the birth of national colonial revolutions of liberation. We call upon all sincere revolutionists to separate themselves definitely and finally from the secret imperialist policy pursued by the majority of the socialist parties, and by the yellow trade unions cooperating with them. If they will actively support the Comintern, the Profintern, and the Russian Revolution, then the class-conscious proletariat will so much the sooner be able to break the chains of colonial slavery, and then the day of complete victory for liberty and socialism will be near for the whole world. We call upon our anarchist comrades to accord our theses their careful attention, for these contain a brief summary of the views to which we have come during 6 years of work under the fire of the greatest revolutions. We have written them down in the full consciousness of our duty and responsibility with respect to the proletariat struggling in the toils of world reaction.

There are moments when a revision of program and tactics, and a reevaluation of various values, are such an imperative necessity for every revolutionist, that only pusillanimity or sectarian narrowness can prevent anarchist comrades from making these changes.

We call upon our comrades to estimate the full extent of the danger involved in the capitalist attack now everywhere beginning, to take into consideration the experience gained during the Russian Revolution, and, in view of all this, to subject the methods of attacking capitalist society to a revision, so that an end may be made to the division of revolutionary forces. We are firmly convinced that there is no other road to this goal than close affiliation to the Comintern and the Profintern.

## Theses

### I.

#### Estimation of Anarchist Theory and Practice.

We maintain that anarchist thought has invariably striven to combine ideas which exclude one another. The all-human morality of Godwin and Tolstoy, the aristocratic individualism of Stirner, and the class struggle of Bakunin and Kropotkin, cannot be brought together in one scientific discipline. It is thanks to this characteristic of theoretical anarchism that the anarchists have not attained success of world importance during their half century of activity.

The lack of unity in the anarchist thought process paralyses the will of the collective will, prevents any collective action, and destroys the organizational principle of anarchism. This is the reason why anarchism has not been able to bring



about any revolutionary action of world significance. During our epoch, in which the preliminary blows of the social revolution are being struck, and which forms the moment of transition from capitalism to socialism, the incapacity of anarchism to solve the most important tasks of revolution has become particularly apparent.

For these reasons (namely, incapacity to solve the most important tasks of revolution, and lack of unity in thought and action) the anarchist movement has fallen into decay all over the world. It has let the initiative in the social revolution slip from its hand; the initiative has passed into the hands of those parties standing for direct mass action and for immediate seizure of power by the proletariat.

## II.

### *Estimation of the Rôle of the Anarchists in the Revolution.*

In the period of social revolutions the organized minority of the proletariat (that is, the revolutionary socialist parties) constantly strives to assume the leadership, and it fights for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. Such a rôle owes its origin to the entire dynamics of proletarian revolutionary practice. The anarchists, having rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle for state power, have thereby cut themselves off from the historical development of the revolution, and their whole practice comes to naught at the decisive moment of struggle between labor and capital.

The suppositions and aims of the workers' revolution command the proletariat, that is, its organized minority, to assume the leadership of the whole of the functions of the social life of the people, especially the control of the functions of production and distribution, and of national defence. The anarchists, having declined power, or even a provisional dictatorship, find themselves in opposition to the tasks of revolution.

At times of popular insurrection, the anarchists have endeavored to broaden and deepen the revolutionary element, substantiating this endeavor by their abstract formula that "the spirit of destruction is the spirit of creation". For half a century the anarchist groups have been engaged in preparatory agitational and propaganda work, without forming for themselves any clear idea about the day after the revolution.

The experience gained in the Russian revolution has, however, shown conclusively that no victory can be won by destruction alone. Victory can only be won by that organized power which knows how to possess itself of the revolutionary element and to convert it into an organized force. If the revolution itself is not built upon a firm foundation, it inevitably falls a victim to the counter-revolution.

At the moment when the popular element breaks out, and the masses fall upon all the state and social institutions of the old order, at this moment the organized revolutionary minority must direct its forces in the opposite direction, and must transform the elementary destructive forces into forces for the construction and organization of the new order.

The anarchists, in pursuance of their destructive activity, proceed, like the masses, from the standpoint of the causality of the revolution. The masses, like the anarchists, are elementary forces of revolution endeavoring to remove the causes of the revolution, and limit their efforts to the annihilation of the old order. But revolution has other aims besides removing its causes. The organized minority has of course to look backwards at the causes, but it must direct equal attention forwards, to the ultimate goal. The diagnosis of the period must be correctly made. But a narrow rationalism must not be imparted to the revolution. The first necessity is a powerful organization, one which can dominate the revolutionary element by its determined will, find its way through the chaos, and lead the revolutionary protest; it must be able to defend itself against the blows dealt by the right, and not succumb to the sentimental extortion policy of the left.

## III.

### *Estimation of Our Epoch.*

Our epoch is based on the competition of two great forces: private capital and collective labor. Large capital is in the hands of a limited group of persons, and is in a position to employ labor power to any greater or lesser extent it considers desirable in any branch of production, or to reduce production or enlarge it on a grand scale. Private capital finds a deadly competitor in the form of social collective labor, which is able to control production and develop it on a hitherto unheard of scale.

This economic basis also gives rise to the political peculiarity of the epoch, characterized by an extreme aggravation of the struggle between private capital and collective labor. The states of the present period are no longer able to strike a balance between capital and labor. The whole of the forces of the

state apparatus are forced to take one side or the other under their protection. In the near future the monarchist and democratic systems of the world will have to abandon their position to a one-sided class dictatorship: either the dictatorship of labor or the dictatorship of capital—this is the inevitable course of events. We have to choose between the Fascist and the Communist International. There is no third course today. The adversaries of the communists, whatever phraseology they may adopt, will be logically obliged to take their places in the ranks of the Facists sooner or later. The Russian counter-revolutionists of every tendency are very well aware of this, and await the intervention of the hired armies of capital, although all of them do not express their hopes openly.

The characteristic of our epoch is that the organized class armies are standing on the threshold of the last decisive battle. All intermediate forces must take either one side or the other; otherwise they will be swept from the battle-field as useless social lumber.

## IV.

### *The Communist International.*

We maintain that the socialist currents affiliated to the III. International are striving towards the highest forms of free socialism and the highest form of socialist life. We see that the ideas pursued by the Comintern are in agreement with the best traditions of the socialist idea and of socialist creative work.

At the same time we observe that the anarchists have let the initiative of social revolution slip through their fingers. The inner incompetence of their principle of organization, the lack of the elementary basis for the organization of revolutionary action on a mass scale, and, on the other hand, the Utopian attempt to combine contradictory social thought processes in one system, all this has brought the Anarchist movement to a dead end. In consequence, the initiative of the social revolution of our times has actually passed into the hands of the Comintern.

We have been witnesses of the radical socialist creative work accomplished by the Russian communists, especially when their hands and actions were set free, when, for one reason or another, the pressure of European reaction was obliged to grant the Russian revolution a pause for breath. Despite the enforced compromises of the communist Party, we have not the slightest reason to doubt its revolutionary socialist radicalism. We have no doubt whatever that bourgeois democracy and socialist reformism are completely foreign to the communist Party.

We regard the Russian Revolution as an entirely new phenomenon in the historical revolutionary practice of the world proletariat. We are convinced from actual experience that the progress and success of the Russian Revolution depend on the success of revolution throughout the world. We are also convinced that world reaction paralyzes the progress of the Russian Revolution. But while the Kremlin has changed the conditions, the European proletariat, led by the anti-communist parties, stands inactively aside.

Apart from many errors and apparent contradictions, apart from the really unexpected events encountered by the Russian Revolution, we cannot feel the slightest doubt as to its decisive significance for the emancipation of the world proletariat. The proletariat must become acquainted with the Russian Revolution as a fresh argument, as a new world power for the realization of the socialist ideal.

Thus the C. P. of Russia came into power in virtue of the new revolutionary order of things. In this unparalleled social revolution the rôle of organizer fell to the Russian C. P.—a rôle to which the communists, as the vanguard of the working class, could not and should not renounce their claim. We hold the totality of their scientific experience and the totality of their practice to be an organically necessary stage and synthesis in the history of the proletarian struggle.

Moscow, June 14, 1923.

### Signatures:

I. M. Heizmann, D. Hoppner (Aserkovitch, Shak), N. N. Michailovsky, A. E. Wingogradova, I. Simonovitch, A. P. Lepin, I. I. Vasilchag (Shidlovsky), E. Tinocitskaja, N. Belkovsky (Maruga), Rotenberg (Jelich).

## Correction

In Number 54 of the *International Press Correspondence*, in an article entitled "Twelve Hours a Day in American Industry", a mistake occurred on page 278 which the author, Comrade I. Amter, asks us to correct. The passage in question reads: "The average weekly wage in the iron and steel industry in April was S. 272.61."

America is not a Soviet Republic yet! The passage should have read: "The average weekly wage in the iron and steel industry in April was S. 27.61."