

still advocating the policy of defensive at any price and of keeping intact the republican army and retaining the acquisitions of democracy. Even these insignificant successes of the revolution can be retained and strengthened only by the workers taking action on their behalf.

Julius Deutsch, the Austrian *Noske without arms* has in a truly classical manner confessed the betrayal of the Social Democrats to all the world. The Social Democrats have during the war supported imperialism with a view to creating the necessary pre-requisites for a retention of Hapsburg rule; they have in a later period perfected and increased the militia, not in order to support the proletariat, but to suppress it and proclaim an empire of the bourgeoisie, the republic of the aristocracy of money bags.

While all the talk was going on about socialising the industries, the sorry remains of these plans were buried with the leasing of the Willersdorfer ammunition factories to a newly founded private concern, the bourgeoisie prepared for a counter-attack. While the Social Democrats were holding the masses back by pointing to the proletarian army, the bourgeoisie formed an army of its own. The policy of reformism has proved a complete failure.

Both camps are under arms and facing each other. Economic facts have proved to be a stronger argument than the democratic illusions of the Social-Democratic leaders. The policy of the Second International, the policy of capitalist economic reconstruction is being made palatable to the masses by seasoning it with the democratic common places of peace between the classes and social pacifism and with incoherent formulae on the keeping up of the class struggle. The unification of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International under the leadership of the old *Social Democratic demagogues* and under the banner of *Centrist ideology* is taking place. The internal collapse of the Second International is certain to engulf and bury under its ruins the deserters from Social Imperialism.

The Communist Labour Party of Germany Against the Communist International.

In consequence of the debates in the second and third world's congress of the Communist International the interest in the Communist Labour Party of Germany is greater in foreign countries than corresponds to the importance of that party. In autumn 1919 the KAP. separated from the KPD. (Spartacus Union), because it wanted to make a principle of anti-parliamentarism and rejected the principle of work in the trade-unions. These anarchist and syndicalist tendencies of the KAP. have increased in the course of its development. In all other political questions the KAP. was subject to the greatest vacillations. It overcame the national bolshevism of Laufenberg and Wolfheim pretty quickly; both these KAP.-leaders in Hamburg were expelled from the KAP. The absolute denial of any political action was only temporarily accepted by the members of the KAP. The two leaders of this revolutionary movement, Pfemfert and Ruhle, were likewise expelled from the KAP. With the exception of its adherence to anti-parliamentarism and the rejection of co-operation in trade-unions the KAP. has not been able to develop a clear political programme. In practice it vacillated between open insurrection and pure passivity. Their form of organisation was decided upon with the object of gathering a small member of "pure" communists.

Sometimes the KAP. wished to get as many workers as unions the KAP. has not been able to develop a clear political programme and taking them in only on condition, that they formally acknowledged the dictatorship of the people. Their conduct towards Russia was contradictory and vacillating. The primary inclination to adopt the forms of organisation in Russia (soviet system) to meet the situation in capitalist Germany and to imitate the revolutionary methods of the Russian workers and peasants without regard to the standard of the revolutionary development in Germany has given way to a conscious rejection of the "Russian Eastern European Methods" for the revolution of the world. Thus we find instead of the blind enthusiasm of former times (Jung's booklet on Russia) an antibolshevik standpoint. This standpoint was most obviously marked in the refusal to assist in the action for relief of famine in Russia, on the grounds that Russia was a middle-class, counterrevolutionary state.

At the last congress (Parteitag) of the KAP. in the middle of September in Berlin, the secession of the KAP. from the Communist International was decided upon. The KAP. belonged to

the C.I. as a sympathising member. The request of the third world's congress of the C.I. that the KAP. should submit to all resolutions of the International and should amalgamate with the KPD. was unanimously rejected in this meeting. It may be noted however that the organisation of the KAP. in Dresden (East-Saxony), which next to the Berlin organisation is the most important in Germany, had already previously severed their connection with the KAP. and could therefore not take part in the congress. The congress of the KAP. resolved further to take preliminary measures for the foundation of a new worker's International. The KAP. hopes to find adherents in the ranks of the syndicalists abroad and to take up the war against the C.I. on an international scale.

The KAP. is extraordinarily weak in numbers. After its dissension from the Spartacus Union it comprised about 40-50 000 members the greater part of whom has gradually joined the KPD. again. Last winter the number of members was still estimated at 8000 members. To-day they do not count more than 2-3000 members, who principally belong to the Berlin organisation. In all other towns the KPD. possesses only a few members in most cases only confidential agents, who, however, carry on a very active agitation.

APPEALS

To the Workers of the United States, issued by the Executive Committee of the C. I.

The famine raging through the Volga districts of Russia has called forth the sympathies of all honest workers throughout the world. The Communist International has called upon the workers of the world irrespective of creed and party to organise relief for the famine-stricken districts in Soviet Russia. To this end the workers of Europe are forming central committees, composed of representatives of all parties, trade-unions, workers co-operatives etc. etc. Today the Communist International is especially appealing to you, workers of America. Organise a non-partisan relief committee for the hungry in Russia. Let the American workers render independent assistance to their famishing Russian fellow workers and give up one day's wages on behalf of the hungry in Russia. Thus Russia can be helped. All gifts in money or in kind must be sent by the workers' representatives to the Soviet Government directly. Organise everywhere and immediately committees for the relief the hungry in Russia! Do not lag behind the workers of Europe!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

We request all sympathisers to give publicity to this appeal.

To all Communist Parties.

A supplement to our appeal and our instruction on the famine problem.

The Little Bureau of the Communist International has adopted the following resolution:

"A number of bourgeois governments, which at the beginning were at least in words willing to help Soviet Russia, are now commencing to express intensions of intervention. In connection with this are the vacillations of the various groups and parties of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International. The Executive insists that we propose to these groups and parties to collaborate in the organisation of the relief action. One condition must always be made, however: The relief action must under no circumstances be carried out by any bourgeois government whatsoever but by a special inter-partisan committee, which is to be appointed by all proletarian parties."

(signed)

The president of the Executive.

A. Zinovieff.

The members of the Little Bureau of the Executive: Souvarine, Gennari, Heckert, Bela Kun, Radek, Bucharin.

Having at our disposal an abundance of material and especially theoretical articles, this issue of the I. P. C. contains more material than will be the case with the further issues.

English Edition.

For information of Editors of the Communist press

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

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

The International Press Correspondence proposes to give a true picture of the political and economic situation prevailing in the various countries; it proposes to describe the important events of the proletarian class struggle and the stand and progress of our movement; it will furthermore publish all communications of the C. I. which are destined for the public. Prominent comrades in all countries, who are working in close collaboration with their respective Parties will contribute to the Correspondence. Through furnishing correct knowledge of the situation in the individual countries and through the international collaboration at this work it is intended to weld the various parties together and facilitate co-operation between them.

Editorial Board.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The International Situation and the Task before the Working Class.

by Karl Radek.

A few months ago much was said in the press about an improvement in the international situation alleged to have taken place or, at any rate about to begin. Germany had accepted the Allied ultimatum and signs of an improvement of the world's economic situation could apparently be discerned everywhere. But appearances are deceiving, for, in reality, neither the economic nor the political situation of the world has improved. This is exemplified by the settlement of the Upper Silesian question which has thrown a glaring light upon the contrast between England and France. The Allies are incapable of reaching an agreement which would at least resemble a compromise among themselves. Hence they have postponed the settlement in order to avoid a rupture, and the collapse of the *Entente cordiale*. Hardly has this matter been disposed of, however, when the contrast between them again becomes apparent. The atmosphere created by the question of how to divide the first billion paid by Germany prompted Gustav Hervé to write as follows in his "Victoire": "The number of Frenchman glad of any difficulties arising for England in any part of the world is steadily increasing. A Conference of all powers interested in the Pacific problem is shortly to meet at Washington. When the intention of holding this conference first became known, the trumpet of peace was sounded once again, and much was said about an improvement of relations between Great Britain, the United States and Japan. Nobody knows what that conference will lead to and if an agreement will be reached, which after all would but be a makeshift. But it is generally known that the powers concerned are increasing naval armaments. In the Near East England employs her Greek mercenaries for a bitter struggle against Turkey. The aim of this struggle is the final dismemberment of Turkey, the safeguarding of the fruits of the English victory in Mesopotamia, and a flanking movement against Soviet Russia from the East. If England proves victorious, her victory will go far in streng-

thening her position in Asia Minor in regard to France and, in the second place, be a source of fresh conflicts. But that would not be the only result of an English victory — such a victory would prompt the Mohammedan world, which is undergoing a period of deep unrest to place its faith in Soviet Russia. If Turkey maintains herself and compels England to have regard to her vital interests, the English prestige in the Mohammedan world will suffer considerably. All peoples suffering under the yoke of English imperialism will see that liberation from that yoke is not to be counted as an impossibility!!"

So far Gustav Hervé.

Germany's compliance with the Allied demands gave rise to the opinion that the world had settled down to business and was consolidating. But at this very moment the economic development of Germany found expression in a tremendous increase of prices, in a phantastic program of taxes, and in a rapid decline of her currency on the foreign markets. The revolvershots at Erzberger and the subsequent spontaneous proletarian movement signalise the approach of civil war in Germany. Capital and landed interests alike, intending to place the burden upon the shoulders of proletariat and petty bourgeoisie, are preparing for battle. Currents of unrest are running through the proletarian masses. From the far-away Volga news of 20 millions beings in the grip of death and famine are coming in continuously. But the capitalist world, which during the war stolidly and consciously sent millions to their doom, only talks of helping the famine stricken and meanwhile considers how the tears of the tortured peasant children along the Volga would be coined into gold. Under the humanitarian relief cloak England is endeavouring to compel Soviet Russia to grant her in return for a loan a monopoly for the whole of Russia. France attempts to stir up conflicts between Roumania and Poland on one hand and Soviet Russia on the other; this conflict could be made to result in open war or in an improvement of the situation, according to whether Soviet Russia acknowledges the debts of Tzarism or not.

Meanwhile the world economic crisis goes on. Forces capable of solving the capitalist chaos are not discernible. Profiteers and imperialist adventurers are flourishing upon the ruins of the old capitalist world, which have as yet not been removed by the proletariat, because it has hitherto not proved capable of building up a new world. So profiteers and adventurers go on merrily and increase the chaos and the sufferings of the masses. The result of it all is a bitter struggle of the various capitalist cliques against each other, a struggle which so far has not resulted in open conflict, because the powers that be have not quite overcome the effects of the terror, which gripped hold of their hearts at the sight of the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary risings in Central Europe. The capitalists pour oil on the conflicts, which contain the germ of fresh wars and new revolutions. The proletariat has not made up its mind to call a halt to the mad dance, which the capitalist world is dancing on the battle-fields around the Golden Calf. But by its impotence to bring order into the chaos, Capitalism involuntarily teaches the proletariat that it must pay with blood and tears for its irresolution and take up, for better or worse, the struggle for a new system. It is not sufficient, however, to draw from all this the conclusion that the capitalists are busily undermining the ground for a proletarian revolution and — to let it go at that. We must try and learn what the proletarians should do in a situation such as this. This question can only be answered if one first of all states from whence the impetus for the forthcoming phases of revolutionary development will originate. Seen from the prole-

tarian view-point there are two points around which the attention of the world proletariat should be centered: Russia and Germany. Soviet Russia will during the next months have to withstand a great amount of pressure both from within and without; she will be face to face with perhaps military attacks. The world proletariat must assist Russia in her struggle. It must, in the first place, increase its pressure upon its governments, in order to prevent them from taking advantage of the famine; and thus form a wall around Soviet Russia; it must, in the second place, strain all its energies in the work for independent relief of the Russian proletariat. No matter how poor they themselves are, the proletarians of the West can give up a day's wage on behalf of their Russian brothers, who time and again have shed their blood for the sake of the international proletariat. The relief action will constitute a test of strength for the Communist Parties, and for the spirit of class solidarity of the international proletariat. The action on behalf of Russia is a defensive action on the part of the international proletariat, which must try its utmost to hold its important Russian position. Simultaneously it seems that the international proletariat will soon be in a position where it can make a few steps forward. It is impossible to foretell development and result of the autumn and winter struggles, which Germany is approaching. But there can be no doubt whatsoever that every step forward of the German proletarians is a step towards the world revolution, that every position they gain, will also be gained for the world revolution. If in the course of the next months the white guards will be disarmed and organs are created to undertake the control of production, it would indeed be an enormous step toward the battle between international capitalism and the international proletariat. The proletarians of the Allied countries must, however, not remain sympathising bystanders in that struggle for there is no doubt the Allied governments will not tolerate disarming of the white guards, no matter what they say and have said to the contrary, and will support the German government in its attempts at keeping "law and order". If the German proletarians try to repel the assault of capitalism, which is looming on the horizon in the form of fantastic taxes and create organs for the control of production, they will shake the very foundations of the peace of Versailles. The Allies, and especially France, will not be satisfied with the role of spectator in the forthcoming struggles over taxes and wages in Germany; they will declare their solidarity with the taxation programme of the German Government, which is but their faithful business manager. The proletarians in the Allied countries, and especially those in France, should know that in the course of the next months the policy of their government will become pronouncedly counter-revolutionary and therefore theirs must become actively revolutionary. The Communist Parties in the Allied countries must already now rouse the proletariat and utilise their whole apparatus in preparing for the forthcoming struggle. The press of French capitalism will say that the Communist International is demanding of the workers of the Allied countries to fight on behalf of Germany and Russia. Every proletarian in these countries must clearly comprehend that the preservation of Russia and the attempt to prevent the Allies from interfering in the struggle of the German Proletariat are a matter of life or death to the proletariat in the Allied countries. If the German proletariat should be degraded into still heavier servitude, it will become not only a means whereby the wages in other countries will be reduced, but a mercenary of a new German imperialism as well, an imperialism that will grow out of the soil prepared by German capitalism.

We are approaching new, and great struggles. The capitalist world is a volcano. The Communist International has at its congress given out the watchword: "To the masses, into the masses, with the masses!" We must prepare these masses, mentally and organisationally as well, for the coming struggles. The capitalist world has not been able so far to unite in one phalanx. That is the great chance of the international proletariat — if it can achieve a single, united phalanx.

The Greek Defeat and its Results.

by Ergatrin.

Having deposed the dictator Venizelos, the Greeks voted for the return of King Constantine who accordingly set out for the shores of Greece after an exile lasting nearly four years. The result of the election, at which 95 percent of the voters declared themselves in favour of "Tino's" return, astonished the whole of Europe. Are the Greeks in deed so faithful to their king or must we seek for other reasons? What prospects lay before the people of Greece under Venizelos' domination and what hopes were they building upon in the return of their king? He, who has not seen Greece under Venizelos' regime and who knows

nothing of the sinister game played by that statesman, is not in a position to understand his dangerous game and what it would ultimately have led to. In spite of his public declarations in favour of monarchy Venizelos knew but one aim, to depose the king and reign supreme in Greece which would become a pawn on England's chess board. He laboured at the bidding of Lloyd George, who knows the value of Greece's geographical position. Greece should be a watch-dog over the Dardanelles, which she must have, in order to be master in the Black Sea, which mastery is essential for a thorough exploitation of Russia's mineral wealth. Further, Greece was to protect the railroad to Bagdad in Asia Minor. After the collapse of Turkey England stood in need of a country which would become her willing slave in her attempts at suppressing Communism, which was gaining a foothold in Asia and which would furthermore be able to protect her interests in India. By playing upon the vanity of Venizelos England succeeded. But what has become of Greece? Apart from the tens of thousands who have suffered the loss of a dear relative fallen on the battlefield within these nine years, the country is experiencing the fate of a vassal. Until a year ago the Greeks were not allowed to export their wares, unless they could show the signature of a British officer, which could only be obtained by a division of profits with these gentlemen.

England herself assisted the country in order to deceive the population with the result that during Venizelos' regime expenditures and the issue of paper money were nearly equalled by revenue. In the end the people discovered the game between England and Venizelos and in spite of the power of the latter, who organised the elections, they recalled the king with a majority of 95 percent. The Greek people simply did not perceive in the person of the king a crowned head, but an angel of peace. In Luzerne, where he lived during his exile, king Constantine declared to representatives of the foreign press, that his return would mean peace with and within Greece. He went on to speak of his love and estimation for the Jewish people who had suffered so sadly under Venizelos' rule, and how he appreciated all political parties. His hypocrisy has not been in vain. Venizelos was deposed and Constantine enabled to carry on his policy.

Nothing whatsoever has been changed. Shortly after the king's return persecutions of the Jews took place. The minister Gounaris expressed his regrets which, however, does not help the Jews who provide the best intellectual elements and are a healthy and industrious people and as such of great benefit to Greece. The Jews are, however, not the only ones, who have to suffer under "Tino's" rule, for the communists are not spared either. Some of them are missing, others are languishing in gaol and many have been assassinated. Constantine's foreign policy remained as of old. He flirted with England and did her bidding in the Near East. And we are to-day face to face with an utter failure of that policy. The eternal denial and a rigid censorship intended to fool the world, neither succeed in mitigating nor solving the internal difficulties nor in mitigating the intolerable situation in Asia Minor. The failure of the Greek campaign has been brought about by two factors, which involuntarily benefit the proletarian class. The first of these is the internal unrest in Greece and the second the French policy. Concerning the first, we see the Greek working class, from the railwaymen down to the lowest categories of workers, becoming rebellious and going out on strike. All of them are however immediately punished for this by being called under the colours. The peasants on their part refuse to give up even a third of their crops to the landlords, from whom they have rented their lands. The Communist Party supports this movement.

France concludes secret treaties with Kemal Pasha, whom she assists in his attempt at blocking England's road to the Near East. The Greek army is hanging in the air, so to speak. Munition transports and fresh contingents have to travel far to the battle line. In spite of this, however, the Greeks were a few weeks ago celebrating their victory of Angora, from which city they were only 50 kilometres distant. It can be assumed that the Turks have for strategic reasons allowed the troops of Constantine to advance into the country and take up a wider and wider front because in doing this they were compelled to leave their bases far behind. To-day we see the Greeks retreat across the Saharia river, leaving behind munitions, trucks and thousands of soldiers; they are still being pushed back towards the West. The positions at Sare-Keui and Kerghis-Keui, situated east and west respectively from Eski-Shekir, have been taken by the Turks. That means that the Greek front is narrowing daily and in its retreat is getting out of touch with the line of communication and with the bases.

The Greek campaign and subsequent defeat represent for the tolling masses a victory over English capital. The Greek defeat means for England the loss of her policeman against the anti-British movement in the Near East, a fact which constitutes a decided menace for her colonial policy.

Recent Events in China.

By Vladimir Sibiriakoff-Moscow.

After a comparatively long period of quiet, a wide-spread and important movement is now setting in in China. A short while ago despatches from the Chube province reported serious disturbances, which took the form of excesses against foreigners. Chinese troops as well as the civil population have taken part in the movement. These disorders caused the British Ambassador in China to issue a statement declaring that Great Britain would be forced to take upon itself the protection of its subjects. Almost simultaneously numerous reports came in of uprisings in the northern districts of Sche-tze, where Tian-Solin, in accordance with the decisions of the Tientsin conference, had established his own military administration.

After overcoming many difficulties, the Peking government is preparing for the conflict with the South, where the federative tendencies are continually increasing in influence and have united several provinces together. The watchword: "A Union of autonomous provinces" is at the present time extraordinarily popular in southern China. Such a union is gradually being formed. At present, this federation comprises the following provinces: Tunan, Kiau-Chou, Chunan, Tian-tsi, Tschet-sian and Gouandoun, the total population of which is approximately equal to that of Soviet Russia. If one were to add the population of Szechuan province, the total would constitute the majority of China's inhabitants; a fact which is of very great significance.

In order to combat the federalistic tendencies in the South, Peking employs the method of inciting the southern provinces against each other. Certain positive results have been obtained, which were fully utilized to strengthen and centralize the Peking government. During the past year this method was applied with especial success against Canton, where, though the efforts of the well-known Chinese revolutionary Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, a "military Government" has been established with the object of freeing China from the grip of the militarised North and of uniting all the Chinese provinces. Faithful adherents of the militarist North were sent against it and gained temporary successes, seriously damaging Canton.

However, according to the latest dispatches, the position of the Canton army has materially improved. It has gained several victories, and an division of the Yuan-tse army with General Chun-yan at its head, has had to surrender to General Tsien-Chu-Ming, the commander of the Canton army.

At the same time successes were being obtained on other fronts against the Peking forces.

During these disastrous campaigns the names of various liberal leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie, such as General Ubelu, again came into prominence. Peking has in consequence been compelled to seriously occupy itself with the situation. And all the more is this the case since the question of China's participation in the Washington Conference, where China's fate is to be decided, was under discussion.

Who will represent China at the Washington Conference?

The Japanese press, which endeavours to influence public opinion in favour of the robber interests of Japan, states that China has no government enjoying the confidence of its people, and so forth. On the other hand the Japanese diplomats are attempting to control China through its northern militarist groups, in order to assure a meek pliant delegation, entirely under the influence of the Japanese diplomats.

Strengthened by its recent successes, Canton, in the name of south China, demands the sending of a united delegation, that has the confidence of the entire Chinese people, to the Washington Conference. On the other side, Japan, considering the above mentioned disturbances in the North is seeking to exert pressure on Peking, through Tientsin (governor of three provinces in Manchuria) to force a complete break with the South, even in the question of representation at the Washington Conference. The near future will no doubt indicate in what degree the Japanese diplomats will succeed in this scheme.

The question arises; is it at all advantageous under these circumstances for China to take part in the Washington Conference? In our opinion it would be more correct, in view of the conditions at present developing in China, to entirely abstain from participation in the Washington Conference, especially, since the Russian Soviet Republic and the Republic of the Far East, China's nearest and natural neighbours and friends, will not be represented at this conference. Only together with them will it be possible for China to maintain her independence against the imperialistic designs of the Entente.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The General Strike in Northern France.

By Tommasi (Paris).

The day the Armistice was signed proved the beginning of a serious situation for the proletariat of the Northern provinces of France, a situation of which the present unrest is but the logical result.

Review of the past.

Neither Roubaix nor Tourcoing, the centre of the present struggle, have during the war been under shell-fire. Both towns were within the German lines and though the fighting line was not far away, the factories in them remained intact. The owners of these factories were all that time doing business with the enemy who paid them well, while the labourers were forcibly mobilised for the German work-batalions where they nearly died of hunger.

A number of cotton mills, however, were pillaged and their machinery carried off by the Germans. The owners of these mills were on the average paid 2½ million francs each within one year by the French government as reparations, while the workers had to be satisfied with 132 francs each with which they were expected to repair their damaged belongings. Glorious times indeed followed the day, on which the Armistice was signed. Business prospered and the workers demanded nothing but work.

The employers believed it a favourable time for the re-establishing of the pre-war rates. Accordingly an agreement on the question of wages was reached in the presence of a representative of the government in June 1919.

Disastrous results.

The basis of the agreement mentioned before were the following two points:

1. Wages are calculated for ten hours instead of eight. This calculation is based upon the minimum wage in 1914 which accordingly must have come down by 2,4 points since that time.

2. Relations between employers and employees will in future be regulated by arrangements arrived at between the secretary of the employers federation and the secretaries of the trade-unions.

The two concessions were blunders on the part of the workers. Firstly, because an index-figure was accepted, which did not correspond to the needs of the workers. Secondly, because henceforward a single employer could no longer be made to submit to certain demands but the whole of them had to be faced, if anywhere a strike became necessary. These arrangements afterwards enabled the employers to use Roubaix against Tourcoing and Halluin successively.

The strike in the textile industries in 1920.

The agreement was carried out in Roubaix and its environs without any difficulties. The same cannot be said of Tourcoing and Halluin. Here the cost of living increased day by day. In February the trade-unions endeavoured to gain an increase of wages which would correspond to the increase in the cost of living. They conclusively proved, that 152 francs a week would be needed by a worker and his family for a bare sustenance of life, and maintained that accordingly the pre-war average should be multiplied by four. The employers declined to discuss these demands. This refusal resulted in a general strike of the textile workers. A commission convened within less than 48 hours estimated the minimum wage of a worker with family at 165 francs a week and thus justified the action of the trade-unions in calling a strike. After much negotiating a compromise was finally reached—As a result of an award by the Minister for Labour that under present circumstances wages must not be lowered, new negotiations were commenced in 1920.

The present strike.

Then came the economic crisis, and the employers, not slow in taking advantage of the unemployment, started an offensive and all at once wages were reduced by 20 centimes an hour. They attempted to sweeten this little pill with comments and soothing arguments, but it was of no avail; the workers stubbornly declined to swallow it and on August 16th called the general strike.

For eight weeks the strike has gone on normally; quiet reigns everywhere, and law and order are duly respected. Tens of thousands of workers without a penny to their name are stolidly facing a handful of employers who own millions and also know how to use them to their advantage.

For five weeks day after day endeavours were made to bring about a public discussion. But the wish of the worker to negotiate was time and again met by the stubbornness of the employers.

On September 8th the employer's committee made public that under no circumstances would they enter into negotiations, no matter who should propose them. In answer to this provocation all organised workers struck on the 12th.

The movement is spreading, but otherwise remains as quiet as before. A fact which even the government cannot but admit. An admission, however, which does not prevent it from holding troops and tanks in readiness for what might possibly happen as the result of their provocative behaviour and the diplomatic moves of the employers committee. Tank Nr. 509 which during the War has become famous, is among those held in readiness. Will its crew become famous also in a battle with workers?

The workers sent representatives to M. Briand asking him to try and bring about negotiations between representatives of employers and employees.

The employers committee though strictly adhering to the policy adopted on September 8th out of deference to M. Briand consented to meet representatives of the workers. This meeting took place on September 20th and as was to be expected resulted in negotiations being broken off. M. Briand did not dare to take up an attitude of his own; he was satisfied with declaring in the name of the government that the preliminary conditions declared by each of the parties as imperative for a peaceable solution had for the time being proved unacceptable. The employers would nevertheless be goodnatured enough to be satisfied with a reduction of 10 centimes an hour, though after the lapse of a few weeks another reduction of 10 centimes an hour would have to take place.

Confronted with a shamelessness like that, nothing else was to be done but break off negotiations. For what should one live on?

Once again the futility of the policy of social reconciliation and the hypocrisy of the collaboration of the classes have become apparent. We have entered the third phase of the class-struggle. Shortly we shall see what direction those responsible for the movement will take, now that it has conclusively been proved that the policy of social reconciliation is nothing but an illusion which together with a number of other things belong on the rubbish-heap of the past.

The employers seem to be ready for anything, because they believe the present hour a favourable one for the final defeat of the proletariat. The government in the employ of capital is opposed by a proletariat which is apparently fully aware of what would happen to-morrow if to-day it submits, a proletariat which seems to be determined to defend itself at all costs. The stake is indeed great. All workers must keep in readiness to support their brothers in the North with all their might. A defeat of the workers in the North would at the same time be a heavy blow at the entire French proletariat.

Lockout of 20000 workers in the Chemical Industry of Germany.

By Walcher (Berlin).

The continuous fall of the German mark results in a increase of prices and in a subsequent decline of the standard of life of the German proletariat, which for a long time has been one of the poorest paid in the world. Hence the situation of the German proletariat is little by little becoming unbearable. The employers, who exploit the low rate of the mark for extensive dumping of their wares on foreign markets stubbornly refuse to pay the workers even a decent living wage.

German labour being intensively exploited, has to be satisfied with wages which are not enough for a bare sustenance of life. Among them are the workers employed in the chemical industry. The workers of the dye-works in Leverkusen, in the neighbourhood of Cologne, only last spring by a long strike tried to improve their miserable situation. They have, however, been defeated by strongly concentrated capital, a defeat for which the trade-union bureaucracy was in a large degree responsible. In their attempt at supporting the employers, the trade-union bureaucrats even went as far as to forbid the workers of other factories to take up collections on behalf of their fellow workers out on strike, who naturally were receiving no financial assistance whatsoever from the trade-unions.

The employers made the best of this situation. The workers employed in the Leuna works in the Halle district, were last March forced to accept rules and regulations closely resembling those in vogue in the times of slavery. The owners of other

factories employed every means in their efforts to increase the exploitation of labour. That in doing this no attempt was made to safeguard the workers' lives or to secure their existence has been conclusively proved to the world by the terrible catastrophe of Oppau.

This tragic catastrophe caused especially those workers, who do not know if some day they will not suffer a similar fate to revolt indignantly against such a state of affairs. One of the minions of the employers in Höchst a. M., a former colonel in the imperial army cynically told the workers that proletarian lives do not count with the employers, if an increase of profits is at stake. Think of those workers — daily and hourly exposed to like dangers, negotiating for weeks with the administration for a small increase of wages and who time and again are fed with promises. Finally certain insignificant concessions are granted only in order that they may be broken. Think of this and you will readily see that it does not need communist agitation to make them declare that their patience is exhausted.

The workers of Höchst demanded that the former colonel be dismissed. This the administration granted with the intention of transferring the faithful servant to some other part of the works. The workers did not tolerate this, however, and once more requested his actual dismissal; and though this demand was finally agreed to, the indignation of the workers showed no signs of abatement. An increase of wages, which had been promised them and which was to take effect on September 1st had so far not been forthcoming. Accordingly the workers elected a commission to negotiate with the administration concerning the realisation of their demands. At first this proved of no avail. Then the president of the county council (Landrat) and two councillors of Höchst intervened and after much discussion an agreement was reached.

Out of a fund amounting to 12 million marks, kept in reserve by the administration for purposes such as this, every married worker was to receive 1200 marks for himself and 150 mark for every child, while single workers were to be paid 500 marks each. The administration shortly after scattered broadcast the lie that it could not abide by the agreement, because it had been blackmailed into accepting it, which lie was to cover the fact that the promise was broken at the bidding of the Employers' Federation. Even the press of the bourgeoisie could not but refute that pretext. The workers struck because they were not paid the increase due to them. A lockout constituted the sole answer of the employers, who were joined in this brutal step by a number of neighbouring factory administrations, where the workers had come forward with their demands. Thus 20 000 workers were locked out in and around Höchst a. M.

The bourgeois press stated that the movement is being led by Communists. The truth is that the workers are fighting their battle without the trade-union bureaucracy, a thing not greatly to be wondered at, if one recalls the attitude of those gentlemen in Leverkusen. The workers are determined to take up the struggle on a wide front and not give in unless their just demands have been unreservedly granted.

Everything as before the War.

The International Congress of Textile Workers.

By T. Tommasi-Paris.

An international congress of the textile workers unions took place in Paris from the 19th to the 22nd of September. One hundred delegates represented the textile workers' organizations of the world. Seventy-five of these were from England and Germany alone. Everything moved as in the days of Legion; not only were the German and English trade-union bureaucrats present in large numbers but the old conservative spirit of authority prevailed stronger than ever.

Such Conferences do not give the impression of representatives of the working class coming together to make whole again a body so severely mutilated by the war. One gains rather the impression of "Nationalists" meeting to measure swords for the glory of their national policy.

But like their teachers and masters, the government diplomats, our nationalists from the English and German textile industry were soon able to come to an agreement on the basis of the counter-revolution.

The Russian Textile Workers' Union, a union of great importance, had sought admission to the congress. They had not dared to refuse them, but nothing was done to facilitate the entry of the Russian delegates into France.

Since our Russian comrades were faced by almost insuperable obstacles, they gave comrade Jacob, of the textile union of Troyes, full power to represent them at the congress. The man-

date of comrade Jacob was in every respect sufficient. Nevertheless its validity was contested by the English and German delegates, under the pretext that the Russian trade-unions must be represented by Russians. That was a very neat evasion, since it was impossible for the Russians to surmount the barbed wire barricade at the frontier.

However, a commission was appointed to examine credentials. What was this able to accomplish? The all-powerful opinion of Amsterdam won the day and the credentials of Jacob were not recognized. As a token of protest he thereupon left the congress.

That is these people's conception of internationalism — the same folk who feign to be purple with anger when one accidentally takes the liberty of doubting their "revolutionary convictions".

Whatever they may say about it, they are hitched to the wagon of the present ruling class — just because of their lack of principle, which is the basis of all their dealings.

Only a few months ago the International Congress of Transport Workers in Geneva, crawling in the dust before Albert Thomas and the International Labor Bureau maligned our friend Murphy, the representative of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade-Union International. Today it is the chauvinists of the textile industry that refuse to recognize the credentials of a truly revolutionary trade-union.

And that is merely the petty cowardice of the bureaucrats, trembling for their peace and solicitous for the maintenance of their position as "diplomats" of the working-class.

In France these methods are beginning to undergo a deplorable collapse. Will those who yesterday were enemies of the general strike accept it today? Tomorrow the workers will pass them by and they will remain far behind the masses they have all too long deceived. These masses, finally clear-sighted, will drop the motto of the bureaucracy, "social peace". They will seize the revolutionary weapons, the wielding of which the Russian proletariat has taught them.

The latest disavowal of the spirit of revolution by the bureaucrats is of no importance. It is only a slight additional debit in their account; it will not retard the certain march of the proletariat of the world on the path of communist struggle.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

On the situation in the German Party.

Under the title: "The situation in the Party", Comrade Clara Zetkin has published a long article in the Berlin "Rote Fahne", from which we reprint the following passages:

"The foundation of the 'Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft' is, consciously or unconsciously the beginning of an attempt to split or to overrun the Communist Party. It is by no means a weapon for its renovation or strengthening. The defects, faults, weaknesses or mistakes of the party are no justification, no positive program for the forming of a new party. They are a warning, a command of duty to remain in the party, in order to support and hasten its political and organic ripening and tempering. Such support can only be given in work and struggle together with it and not in work and struggle against it. The situation both within and without the Communist Party is so rich in tasks and responsibilities that every dispersal and weakening of the party's strength is in its effect worse than an inconceivably great political miscalculation. And not only is it a crime against the German Communist Party but much more against the German proletariat, against the international Communist movement, the proletariat of the world.

"The Communist Party must therefore not take a position of 'benevolent neutrality' with regard to this rump organization. It must pick up the gauntlet that has been thrown in its face. It must combat with the greatest sharpness and decision even the most insignificant attempt to recruit adherents for the 'Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft'....

"The struggle against the 'Levi fraction' alone does not protect the party from the evil effects of this fraction formation. The most effective means of struggle against it is the activity, the police of the party. Increased activity in all fields, in every problem a far-sighted and certain policy, in order to collect the proletarian masses and those being proletarianized, to fill them with energy, knowledge and readiness for sacrifice for their historical mission, for the revolution — that is our task and if it is accomplished the 'Levi fraction' will have the ground for its development cut from under its feet. Then it will remain a 'Party infinitesimal', isolated from the masses like the KAPD. The organized, exploiting class has begun the general offensive with

the object of increasing the pressure on the proletariat. It is using the bourgeois republic for increased taxation and for anti-working class laws. The Entente is preparing for a military attack on Soviet Russia. The situation cries for the united front of the proletariat, demands a bold policy and a daring communist leadership. Only in close connection with the working proletarian masses will the Communist Party be able to attain this leadership. Its ship must set forth on the high sea of revolutionary mass struggle. It must neither be dashed and shattered to pieces on the rocks of anarchistic, revolutionary-romanticism nor run aground on the sand-banks of compromise. The Party has a good compass, the decisions of the Communist World Congress. What does it matter if a few of the crew desert? What difference does it make if more adversaries and more difficulties threaten? The party's course is clear, it goes straight-forward against the enemy. We have only one motto: Full speed ahead!"

Communism in Belgium.

The first phase of the development of communism in Belgium is at an end. From the original small groups of adherents to communism and from the revolutionary opposition in the Belgian labour-party have arisen the two Communist Parties of Belgium that were united on the 4th of September of this year at the Congress in Brussels. This is now the Belgian section of the IIIrd International.

Hardly any of the countries that took part in the World War have been so directly and gravely affected by it than Belgium. But the times of war passed and the Belgians had the satisfaction of deliverance from foreign yoke and moreover received material assistance.

These are the principal causes why the Belgian working classes do not look more closely and energetically into this question. Nevertheless these peculiar circumstances disappear more and more and the consequences of the war impress also Belgian political and economic life more and more.

The C.P.B. is just like the great majority of the sections of the IIIrd International; a product of the opinions and circumstances, ripened by the development since 1914, whilst in the neighbouring Netherlands the Communist Party originates from the time of the formation of the Russian and Bulgarian bolshevik parties. In spite of the similarity of the C.P.B. with the Communist Parties of the large neighbouring countries in regard to origin and growth, nevertheless the conditions under which the Belgian comrades carry on their struggle with their class adversaries is essentially different from that of other countries. The peculiarity of the Belgian labour-party is that, it does not rely on its own political organisations but that almost all members of the C.P.B. are at the same members of the Belgian Labour-Party. The B.L.P. is a federation of all workers organized in trade-unions led by groups of delegates from the trade-unions and confederations as well as from the representatives in Parliament. In the larger towns inside this party there exist political groups called "Workers Leagues", which have about 12-13 000 members throughout the country, whilst the so-called Belgian "Labour-Party" comprises about 700 000 members. Our comrades are almost all among these as members of the trade-unions. To get a picture of the size of our party under these circumstances it is necessary to compare the 100 000 members of the present C.P.B. with the 13 000 members of the "Workers Leagues" in the Labour Party. As to numbers the young Communist party comprises about 7% of the politically organized workers, whereas their influence on the working classes organized in trade-unions is undoubtedly much larger in proportion to their numbers. Proofs of these facts may be seen in the recent movements in the Charleroi Basin, at the congress of the railway-men, of the post and telegraphic workers, in the textile workers movement in Verviers, in the Communist leadership of the Central Unions of Employees, and at the Brussels Confederation of the teachers organisations.

The peculiar form of the Belgian labour-party and the traditional want of clearness in its attitude concerning the importance and the character of a political party has caused a somewhat sectional point of view among the older members of the now united communist parties. Under these circumstances one would have thought that the atmosphere would have been favourable for the crystallisation of the Communist movement in Belgium outside of the B.L.P. and in opposition to its social chauvinism. But as a matter of fact the "discontented" of the B.L.P. gathered around the weekly paper of the opposition, "L'Exploité", founded and led by the chairman of the Central Union of Employees, Jaquemotte, as an organ for revolutionary socialism. The active part of this opposition developed fairly quickly in the direction

of communism and half a year ago severed itself from the B.L.P. and from the undecided part of the opposition and constituted itself as the Communist Party of Belgium. That part of the opposition remaining in the B.L.P. at first easily allowed itself to be dominated by opportunism, in its endeavour to establish the opposition on as broad a basis as possible.

Both parties were represented on the IIIrd World Congress in Moscow. There a resolution was adopted which after some discussion was accepted later by the Unity Congress in Belgium. By the union there have been brought together different forces whose representatives attribute partly an excessive and partly an insufficient importance to certain aspects of the class-struggle. It is very satisfactory that these forces neutralize each other and that both of them have shown themselves capable of development. Two Comrades, van Overstraten and Nessler, are the present chairmen of the party and they encourage one to hope besides that the best will be made of the different forces.

The C.P.B. is generally speaking in the favourable situation of being able to reflect the revolutionary development of the Belgian proletariat; this is not the case with every Communist Party. It will have to develop itself very quickly, in order to keep this position, which is its greatest duty.

To this end it must shake off a strong tendency to anti-parliamentarism and must recognise the necessity of making the best of parliament in a revolutionary manner. It must in its own ranks overcome opportunism, that allows itself to be deluded by sham-successes. It must in its own ranks deepen Communist understanding, it must be a strict disciplinarian, it must interest all comrades in party-work, in order to strengthen the collective will and fight against particularism.

The young party has before it great and difficult tasks: the elections for parliament on the 23th of Oktober, the ferment in the Belgian Labour-Party, the capture of the trade-unions for communism, the development of propaganda among the great masses of workers in the districts, where Flemish is spoken etc. The development of the press, the creation of at least one French daily paper must be accomplished at all costs.

Organisation and Press of the Communist Party of Germany.

H. E. For some time after the unity conference in December 1920, in which unity was achieved between the K. P. D. (Spartakusbund) and the left wing of the Independents, it was impossible to ascertain the exact strength of the new Communist Party. During the first month one was satisfied for the most part with exaggerated guesses. Though a majority of the Independent workers had decided for the Communist International, the organisation apparatus in most of the important districts remained under the control of the old Independent Party.

After the March action, which disclosed not only the political weaknesses of the K. P. D. but the administrative as well, the Party energetically proceeded to build up its organisation. A careful census of the members on the basis of fees paid in and accounted for, was undertaken for the recent party convention at Jena.

According to this census, the party has to-day 361 000 members. The most important districts are: Berlin-Brandenburg (26 000 members), Erzgebirge-Chemnitz, Saxony (24 000 members), Halle-Merseburg (66 000 members), Thuringia (23 000 members), Wasserkante-Hamburg (40 000 members), Rhineland-Westphalia (53 000 members).

The number of subscribers to the Communist press is about 230 000. That the number of subscribers is less than that of party members, provides an argument for the view that the Party press is taking too little account of the needs of the masses. Of late the press has striven however to rid itself of its old character by detailed discussions of labour problems. On the 1st of July the Party owned 33 dailies, eleven of which are only reprints with a different head. The Party owns a printing plant in eleven localities and will within a short time own another four. The Party organisation is divided into 23 districts, everyone of which elect at their district conferences a district administration and committee which bodies have to settle the current political and organisational matters. Branches are organised in groups of ten. In most of the districts these groups perform the work of collecting the fees and new subscribers to the papers, of the distributing of hand-bills, of the observation of the counter-revolutionary enemy etc. etc. In spite of a rigid centralisation, the party work rests upon the broad basis of the entire membership. All functionaries and those performing salaried work come up periodically for reelection by party meetings and district conferences.

OUR PROBLEMS

On Cleansing the Party.

By N. Lenin.

The purification of the Communist party is apparently developing into a most serious and enormously important task.

There are localities where they are cleaning the party, supported in the main by the experience and the directions of the non-party workers, whose commands are being taken as a guide and where the party is being adapted to be the representative of the non-party proletarian masses. That is the most important and most valuable thing! If we should actually be able to cleanse the Party from top to bottom "without regard for personalities", it would without doubt be a giant success for the revolution.

For in the future the successes of the revolution cannot be of the same nature as in the past. Unavoidably they alter their character in the transition from the military to the productive front, and in view of the new economic policy and of present conditions, which require the raising of labor's productivity and the strengthening of labor discipline as matters of the first importance. In such a period the inner improvements that are not showy, that do not immediately strike the eye, that are not visible at first glance became the chief successes of the revolution. The improvement of the organization and production of labor involves a struggle against the disintegrating influence of the petty-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois-anarchistic elements in the party and in the proletariat. For the realization of this progress it is necessary that the party be cleansed of the elements that isolate themselves from the masses, not to speak of those who, in the eyes of the masses, bring discredit upon the party. Of course, we must not follow all the tendencies of the masses, since very often and especially in the years of extraordinary weariness and exhaustion, after their great sufferings and burdens, the masses are subject to slight attacks of moodiness that have nothing correct in them.

The advice and hints, however, of the non-party proletarian masses and in many cases the non-party peasant masses are of the greatest value for the discovery of the careerists, the "commissarized" and "bureaucratized" elements. With the greatest sensitiveness the working masses find out the difference between sincere, devoted communists and those who inspire with disgust a man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, who has no privileges and no "way to the mighty".

The purification of the party with the advice of the non-party workers is an achievement, which will yield us the most valuable results.

It will make the party a much stronger advance-guard of its class, than it was, an advance-guard that will be more closely bound to its class and better qualified to lead it through all difficulties and dangers to victory.

As a special task in the process of party cleansing, I should like to refer to the ejection of former Mensheviks. In my opinion, the Mensheviks that entered the party after the beginning of 1918 should be admitted only to the extent of one per cent of the party membership and even then only under a double and triple control of each individual admitted. Why? Because the Mensheviks, as a tendency, have manifested two chief characteristics in the period 1918-1921: firstly, a skilful accommodation to the prevailing current among the workers; and secondly, an even more clever, open and convinced service to the White Guards through an attitude that, while apparently supporting us in deeds, in fact supported the White Guards. Both characteristics ensue from the entire history of Menshevism:

Let us but remember Axelrod's "Labor Congress", and the attitude of the Mensheviks toward the Cadets and the monarchy in word and deed. The Mensheviks adapt themselves to the Russian Communist Party, not only and even not so much because of any Machiavellian intentions, although the Mensheviks insofar as bourgeois diplomacy is concerned, have already shown themselves firstclass masters in this field in 1903; but because of their "adaptability". Every opportunist possesses great adaptability (but not all adaptability is opportunism!) and the Mensheviks as opportunists adapt themselves to the prevailing tendencies among the workers "on principle", as it were, and, like the whitening of the hare in winter, assume a protective colouring suitable to their environment. This characteristic of the Mensheviks must be comprehended and taken into consideration. This means, however, that the party must be cleansed of 99 per cent of

those Mensheviks, who after 1918, have joined the Russian Communist Party, that is, at a moment when the position of the Bolsheviks, at first stable, became doubtful.

We must cleanse the party of the swindlers, of the bureaucrats, of the insincere and unsteadfast communists, and of the Mensheviks, who have changed their color but who at heart still remain Mensheviks.

Moscow, "Pravda", September 21, 1921.

The Relation of the Brainworkers to Communism.

There may be some comrades who think it unimportant or even useless to appeal especially to government employees and clerical workers during a propaganda week of the Communist International. Such comrades point to the conservatism and the stubborn sectarian spirit, to the indifference and untrustworthiness in matters pertaining to politics and trade-unions, and to the petty ambitiousness, prevailing among these groups of employees. They try to give weight to their opinion by saying that the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by the working class itself. Others point to the untrustworthiness and sabotage of the government employees and clerical workers in Russia and even demand that these categories of workers be not admitted to membership of the Party. All those advocating a policy of that description harbour an honest but purposeless hatred against everyone generally referred to as an intellectual.

Which, then, is the right road to follow? First of all we must ascertain whether or not the brainworkers belong to the bourgeoisie proper, i. e. to those exploiters of the working class, who for their own purposes use the surplus created by the proletariat. Only an insignificant number of the government employees and clerical workers, the majority of whom belong to the upper category, is possessed of wealth, by heritage or marriage, and thus share in the benefits of exploitation. Amongst these are to be counted managers and superintendents, etc., etc. who share in the profits and draw exceptionally high salaries. The majority of the new middle-class so-called has grown and is growing with the development of industry and, in so far as its economic situation is concerned, there is little or no difference between it and the working class. In is a well known fact that the standard of living of the majority of the government employees and office workers is even below that of certain elements of the manual labourers. The lack of organisation and, where organisations exist, the lack of militant spirit in them are the reasons for a continuous decline in the living standard of the great majority of brainworkers. The economic security formerly enjoyed by government employees and office workers is gradually disappearing, the extensive economic crisis having affected them as badly as, and at times even worse than, the manual labourers. If one but goes to the offices in the various cities, where the meagre pittance for the unemployed are handed out, one will find among these unemployed an exceptionally large percentage of office workers. While acting in the capacity of counsel and advisor to government employees and as a parliamentarian while in Germany, I found occasion to become acquainted with the wretchedness prevailing amongst the families of unemployed office workers. As a rule, they suffer more than the manual workers, because many of them never expected that the economic crisis would also affect them and had no opportunity of saving money. All of them are proletarians in the true sense of the word.

The objection is sometimes raised that the relationship between the bosses and the office workers differs from that of the bosses and the manual workers. It must be admitted that during the earlier phases in the development of industry a certain harmony of interests between the employer and his office employees existed. Excepting a few cases, however, this harmony has disappeared, and now the relations between office workers and the employer are the same as the relations between the manual labourers and the employer. The relations between the employer and the clerical employees are in many cases even more strained than those of the manual employees to the employer. The times when preparatory training, a position in society, long time contracts, the spirit of fellowship and other things played an important part are to-day but things of the past. This contention was proved by the deputy Heine in a speech in the Reichstag as early as 1907, although at that time all government employees and clerical workers still believed in the fairy tale entitled "the harmony of interests".

It is understood that in social-political matters the legislative activities of a class state can be nothing but poor, miserable patchwork. The state, the representative and protector of the capitalist class, is versed in all the tricks of deceiving the brainworkers by reformist measures as to their true position. Clerical workers were not even permitted to share in the benefits accruing from the struggles of the working class (shortening of working hours, rest on Sundays etc., etc.), exceptions having been made to their disadvantage. It is an undisputed fact that, as a rule, state and employer display unprecedented contempt for their employees and adopt very harsh measures against them, if they threaten to become unruly. The employers take for granted the ethical duty of government and clerical workers to form the elements of balance in society and will under no circumstances whatsoever permit them to shift the balance, no matter how miserable their situation may become. Thus, so-called educated men and women are charged with the "ethical" task of keeping up the social balance and at the same time must be satisfied with a meagre crust, the whole of this being commonly called "living according to one's social stratum". Humble petitions and begging letters are no longer effective.

The situation of government employees who seemingly are assured of a secure existence, really does not differ from that of the office workers. The remuneration drawn by the majority of them is so small as to place them among the lowest paid part of the proletariat; only very few of them are drawing salaries enabling them to provide a decent standard of life for their families. The masters have always encouraged the sectarian spirit prevailing among the government employees and thus made it impossible for them to unite and exert the force of their numbers. Even the smallest attempt at improving their situation has always been ruthlessly suppressed by the class state, with the willing assistance of the would-be socialists.

One has only to mention the notorious patent-right and the infamous clause regarding competition, and we see the contempt of bourgeois society for those who work for it with their brains. Here we are face to face with an exploitation and a theft of intellectual property which place the employees at the mercy of their employers.

We see, then, that the economic situation of the government employees and of the office workers is far from being favourable and that an intensification of the crisis tends to make matters worse for them. Great numbers of them are engulfed by the wave of deterioration and doomed to misery. If one but goes to the industrial centres and to the metropolis and compares the statistical figures compiled by a number of physicians and looks into the children's homes and schools, a terrible picture will unroll itself: a great many children of government and clerical workers are undernourished.

The government employees and the office workers are the pillars of yellow federations and always side with the bourgeois reactionaries? Yes, quite right. But we are not only concerned with their present political position and their state of mind, it is their position in the process of production we are most interested in. Though the class state has, by means of its schools and other institutions, clouded the brains of the majority of its employees, it is not to be denied that the occurrences of recent years have left an impression upon many of them. Some of those engulfed by the wave of new thoughts have found their way back as soon as reaction was given a fresh lease of life; of these many went to the other extreme. He who knows these people does not wonder at that; he looks upon it as the result of decades of mental inertia and of the utter absence of political and organisational training and, finally, of the ingrained habit of an "obedient, irremotable and ambitious servant". This want of self-reliance and firmness of character is often repulsive to class conscious workers. The petty ambitiousness manifesting itself when the waves of revolutionary sentiment go high fills every proletarian with disgust. That is the reason why many comrades warn against government employees and office workers.

Can we allow ourselves to be against them? I say, no! If it is an undisputed fact that the great majority of government employees and office workers economically belong to the proletariat, if, furthermore, we know the causes of their lack of political conviction and organisational training and have ascertained the relations obtaining between employer and employees, we must endeavour to understand the results and, accordingly, change our attitude. We have for decades waged a war against the inertia of the broad masses (a struggle which even to-day absorbs a great part of our work and energy) and will as surely struggle with the weakness and the inertia of this part of the proletariat as well.

Look at Russia! There can be no doubt that matters would have progressed more favourably, if at the beginning a modest percentage at least of the intellectuals had consciously sided with the Bolsheviks. If that had been the case, many a blunder and many a set-back would have been avoided; economic reconstruction would doubtlessly have been furthered considerably, especially in a country lacking the category of highly skilled workers who could have formed the communicating element between the prominent leaders and the broad masses; much of the economic structure could have been preserved for the proletarian state. The state of affairs in which the intellectuals to-day are drawing exceptionally high salaries, is by no means healthy, even though it is necessary in order to make use of the intellectuals for the purposes of the proletarian state.

In Western Europe we must do everything in order to win for us, a part of the intellectuals, previous to the revolution. This we think imperative because of the highly developed technique and of the vastness of the various domains of economics, and in spite of the fact that we have no lack of highly skilled workers. Already, the beginnings have been made; economic pressure has guided quite a few intellectuals to our ranks. Let us as quickly as possible expel obvious place hunters from the parties, let us employ cautiousness against every intellectual, but let us not forget the one outstanding fact: we cannot miss that part of the proletariat in transforming the economic structure.

We must always consider this fact in our agitation and propaganda and adopt our tactics accordingly. Although success will not be visible immediately, we should not allow ourselves to forget the effects of the propaganda. Even if it proves impossible to win the majority of government and office workers as active fighters for our ranks, there still remains the possibility — and experience teaches us that it is possible — of filling them with distrust against their mode of thinking. Thereafter they will cease to be active enemies and become neutralised. When considering the intellectuals and the part they are to play in the revolution, I divide them into the following four groups: active Communists, sympathisers, non-partisans and active counter-revolutionaries. The greater the number of non-partisans, the better are the chances for getting rid of the active counter-revolutionaries, during and after the revolution.

When, in the years past, the bourgeoisie fought for its freedom, the students were the first to render assistance. To-day, this class, with the exception of a insignificant few, sympathisers with us, is the shock-troop of reaction. Colleges and universities have become bulwarks of the White Terror. The sons of the bourgeoisie prove their class consciousness by deeds against proletarians. The great majority of employees, seeking a way out, but resenting the employment of force, herd with the would-be socialists and push them, always willing to conclude compromises, more and more into the bourgeois mire.

Hence, it is our task to tear a gap in this wall of inertia and to set forth the necessity and the exalting feeling for struggle. It is our task, furthermore, to make government employees and office workers see that they can extricate themselves from the fangs of the exploiters only by means of a decisive class struggle. We must make it quite clear to them that the final liberation is not possible without the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and that only the Communist Party, the most militant and class conscious party, can lead this struggle and realise Socialism.

Comrades, approach the intellectual proletarians! Rally to work!

A. Mayer,

Member of the Executive Committee of the
RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

NOTICES OF EXECUTIVE

The Transformation of the publication, „Communist International“.

The publication „Communist International“, which up to the present in addition to its principal mission served as a guide to the Communist parties in theoretical, political, tactical and organizing questions, has had to devote considerable

space to the reports of the various parties and to the communications and appeals of the Executive. It will shortly undergo a substantial transformation. By the issue of a special bulletin of the Executive as well as by the publication of the „International Press Correspondence“, the „Communist International“ will be relieved from the necessity of publishing reports, manifestos and other material. Its sphere will thereby be diminished and it will be able to devote itself entirely to those fields of activity, to which, up to the present, it has been only able to devote a part of its attention. Discussion on the international interdependence of the revolutionary movement and of political tendencies will occupy a large amount of space, in order to establish a uniformity of principle in the international Communist movement in a greater degree than has been possible up to now. The publication will in the future contain the following separate sections, each of which will be conducted by its own editor.

I. The Theoretical Section will contain articles on Marxist theory whereby the propagandist needs of the various parties as well as their opponents will be considered. Moreover the questions of Marxist sociology, new developments in the domain of political science and the theory of the state, new forms of imperialist evolution, the problems of mass and class, of the various layers of the proletariat, and so forth will be treated. Editor-Bucharin.

II. The Section on World Politics will print reports on the world political situation and in periodical reviews will sketch the current outlines of the political world picture. The Anglo-American, the American-Japanese and the Franco-German relations as well as the events in the Little Entente and the questions of the Near and Far East will be handled in detail according to the changing conditions of the times. Editor-Radek.

III. Section on World Economics. This will print general articles in concise and clear political summaries. Furthermore, all economic problems of the day of greater political importance will be examined. Editor-Varga.

IV. Strategy and Tactics of the Communist Movement. Under this heading there will be published articles discussing the problems raised at the III. Congress and the concrete tactical issues of the several parties. The tactical questions of the trade-union and cooperative movements in their relation to the party will likewise be treated. Editor Zinovieff.

V. The Organization Section will publish papers on the relation between tactics and organization, on the problems of legal and illegal organization, methods of party work, as well as descriptions and criticisms of the organization of each individual party in relation to the general organization problems. Editor-Bela Kun.

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The „Communist International“ will also print bibliographical sketches, tributes to the dead, and will contain numerous illustrations and caricatures. The periodical will appear regularly once every month and will contain in only 160 pages a mass of material that can be easily mastered by an enlightened worker.

The systematic classification and specialisation of the extensive political and economic material available, its arrangement according to a uniform plan will in the future make the „Communist International“, an even more important organ for the international communist movement than in the past.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Franco-Polish Imperialism.

Charles Rappoport (Paris).

French and Polish imperialism are securely bound one to another. The common position of both countries is the determining factor in this alliance. Both France and Poland are in the hands of nationalist and militarist reaction which exist upon war and will die in war. In neither country are the industrial capitalists at the helm. In France the power is in the hands of a parasitic, plunder-greedy capitalism, the capitalism of great national loans, of colonial adventures and limitless conquests. In Poland, on the other hand, there prevails a blind, megalomaniac nationalism and bitter hatred of Soviet Russia.

France has its own viewpoints, its own particular egotisms. To France, Poland means a substitute for Czarism, whose fall it still bewails in bitter tears, as it mourns its milliards lost for ever in its Russian loans. Poland is to constitute the second claw of the pincers that is to choke Germany to death. Furthermore, it is to serve against Soviet Russia as a gendarme and perpetual disturber of the peace. Finally, it is to preserve France from isolation and guarantee its safety.

France entertains two dominating fears, two serious misgivings. It distrusts the victory which has been characterised by its father, Clemenceau, as a „Pyrrhic Victory“. And it distrusts its great „friend and ally“, England. France realises that, in spite of all nice words to the contrary, it was defeated in the last war. It recognizes that 25 countries, five continents and America's warships and billions were necessary to save it from defeat. It perceives the steady diminution of its population. In 1919, a year of peace, it could record the trifling increase of 300 000 in the number of deaths.

As far as the „Entente cordiale“ is concerned, it is now only a memory, a diplomatic formula. Scarcely a week passes by without a new disagreement with England arising. The treaty of alliance which was promised during the Versailles conference in order to divert the aspirations of the militarists from the Rhine has fallen through. Lloyd George was more cunning and cautious than Clemenceau. He had set one condition as the price of the conclusion of the alliance: ratification by the United States. As the latter carefully withdrew from the European wasps'-nest, Lloyd was able to retract his promise.

Official France has literally lost its head. It has decided to purchase an ally: Poland. M. Millerand is to-day President of the French Republic only because he made people believe that it was his military and financial assistance that stopped the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw. In their incapacity to pursue a policy based on the common interests of the working-classes of all nations the reactionaries are blindly, ignorantly and conceitedly clinging to the fictitious greatness of Poland and drag the actual economic corpse of that country with them in order to save themselves.

The war industries of France are working uninterruptedly for Poland and Roumania, which is considered merely as an auxiliary of Poland. They are deliberately taking the chance of falling out with England over Upper Silesia. Germany is left completely ruined and absolutely unable to pay the milliards which are

counted upon to save France from bankruptcy, which in reality, if not legally, is already consummated. And all that for the sake of Poland's enlistment. Gribouille Pell-mell is the director of France's foreign policy. In other words, France is ruining itself in order to be protected against the German danger.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the reaction in France greeted the war as a means to the re-establishment of their rule—the rule of the church and the landowners. They dreamt of a complete victory, of a collapse of the republic. This dream has been only half realized. It has suppressed the republicans turned nationalist more than ever; it has emptied the republic of its republican content; it has resumed diplomatic relations with the Vatican. It has not subverted the officialdom of the republic, however. The latter, in order to hold their positions, have abandoned their convictions. The reactionary ideas have conquered but their supporters stand outside the door, unsatisfied and unfed. . . .

There is also a predestined psychological relation between French and Polish imperialism. It is their common romantic, sentimental character. The German, English, American and Japanese imperialism is realistic and practical—it knows how to translate itself into silver and gold coin. The French and Polish imperialism has this particular attribute—it ruins its country without yielding it anything but grievous burdens and privations.

That is imperialism on credit, the imperialism of the dazzlingly splendid beggar, who, in order to glitter in society in gala dress, at home lives on bread and water. They are poor fools, hiring fulldress clothes, borrowing tableware from the neighbors, giving elaborate balls, thus going bankrupt. Before the war France was the banker of the world. To-day it is more and more the world beggar. Instead of rebuilding its ruins, it is piling new ones thereon. It is spending five and six times as much for its army as before the war, not counting the war expenditures in Africa and Asia and leaving out of the account the sums that it is pouring into the Danaid sieve—Poland.

France believes that thru its alliance with Poland it will be able to destroy Soviet Russia. The exact opposite will occur. The monarchist republic of MM. Millerand, Briand, Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet will be annihilated. It is not the voice of healthy human reason, as Voltaire defined it, that is the decisive factor on the Qai d'Orsay (Foreign Office). It is the voice of Dmosky, Hervé, Bourtzeff, the standard-bearers of the Russo-Polish White Guards that is heeded by Philip Berthelot, the evil genius of French foreign policy, the lackey of reactionary high finance. This policy has gone bankrupt, just as the Chinese Industrial Bank, which he and his brother directed.

Is the heir of the French Revolution, the French proletariat, ready to take possession of its heritage? We will discuss this question in our next article.

Jugoslavia and Albania.

By J. C. (Zagreb).

In connection with the assembly of the League of Nations, Albania—small, mountainous, still in the stage of patriarchal clan organization—has projected itself into the domain of world politics. At the same time bloody conflicts have developed on the Albanian-Jugoslavian frontier. And since the rulers of the world in Geneva have also demonstrated in the Albanian question that, because of the conflict of their imperialistic interests, they are unable to establish international peace, the danger of a new war in the Balkans has drawn perceptibly nearer.