

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

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The Session of the Genoa Conference.

The Genoa Conference is at an end. According to the intention of its conveners, it was to do nothing more or less than to "restore the economic balance of Europe destroyed by the war." The braggarts! No one can get out of his skin. The imperialist bourgeoisie cannot save Europe from economic ruin, the same Europe which has been made the arena of imperialist massacres and was destroyed and plundered for fully four years.

Genoa the Mirror of the Impotence of the Bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie has proved at Genoa its complete helplessness, its absolute impotence. It made an enormous fuss; the Prime Ministers of the richest bourgeois states had to come together, even the King of Italy, the Archbishop of Genoa, the Pope himself and all the other saviors of humanity were agitated. And the result of it all? For several weeks they talked with one another; they circled like a cat round a dainty morsel and did not move from the spot. And now with God's help they have finally succeeded in moving from Genoa to the Hague. The petty squabbles of the "victorious states" have shown the whole world what profound differences exist between England and France, between Japan and the United States, Italy and France, between the victorious states and Germany, etc. The League of Nations is a putrefying corpse which the Genoa Conference could not even remove out of the way. But the Entente is also creaking audibly. It is a modern piece of rubbish fit for the scrap heap. The more Lloyd George and Barthou declare in tones of conviction that the Entente is in full vigor and that love and harmony prevail, between England and France, the more the sparrows chirp from the roof that this is only a piece of pre-rehearsed hypocrisy and the more will it become clear to every proletarian that the notorious Entente has come to the end of its tether and is sinking to its final rest.

The decay of bourgeois society has never been so apparent as now. The dissolution and decomposition of bourgeois society is proceeding with seven league boots. The outward brilliancy of bourgeois governments is like the hectic color on the cheeks of a consumptive. It is a *disappearing class*. Every attentive observer who has followed the deliberations of the Genoa Conference must arrive at this conclusion. *The star of the bourgeoisie is setting; that is the chief lesson of Genoa.*

But the working class is in the ascendancy. It is a rising star. The power of the proletariat will grow without interruption—a first slowly, then with ever increasing rapidity. The proletariat will inherit from the bourgeoisie the power of the whole world. This has been clearly demonstrated by the part played by the Russian Delegation at Genoa.

The Soviet Delegation represents the Future of Humanity.

The Russian proletarian revolution is now in a difficult position. Soviet Russia has for four years been tortured and harassed by intervention, conspiracies and White Terror. A serious famine has swept over the land. In spite of it the Russian Revolution is a *victorious revolution*. And this victorious proletarian revolution, the first in the world's history, now stands, head proudly erect, before the international court of the bourgeoisie. This is the reason why a complete program, a perfect world outlook, a wide historical perspective, an elevation of ideas

was only to be found among the Soviet Delegation, which defended not merely the interests of proletarian Russia, but the interests of the proletariat of the whole world. It alone at Genoa represents the *future* of humanity whilst all the bourgeois delegations represented the lifeless *past*.

The first proposal of the Soviet Delegation in Genoa was that of disarmament.

You say that you want to restore the economic stability of Europe destroyed by your imperialist war. Very good. Make the first step towards it, let us proceed to disarm. Thus declared the Soviet Delegation to all bourgeois speculators in cannon-fodder. The representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie of France, *Barthou*, quite naturally regarded this as a personal affront. This motion was "more delicately" refused by the English and all other imperialists.

What conclusion must the workers of the world draw therefrom?

It can only be this: disarmament is an impossibility so long as the bourgeoisie remains at the helm. *Disarmament is impossible without the victory of the proletariat.*

By the disarmament proposal of the Soviet Delegation the representatives of the Second and 2½ Internationals felt themselves hit. These petty bourgeoisie have for decades like a hurdy-gurdy ground out their lukewarm pacifist phrases to the workers and preached to them virtue and peacefulness. According to these it is easy to abolish the chasm between capital and labor. One needs only swallow the panaceas of the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals and lo! the bourgeoisie is seen to disarm, there is no more war and the lion lies down the lamb.

The Leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals—The Lackeys of the Bourgeoisie.

What was revealed in Genoa? Have the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals supported the demand of the Soviet Delegation for disarmament? Of course not. They would not be the flunkeys of the bourgeoisie if they did not do at the decisive moment what their masters commanded. The Second and 2½ Internationals proved to be in this respect definitely on the side of the bourgeoisie. And again every class conscious worker must say, "If you wish disarmament you must fight for the proletarian revolution. If you wish disarmament you must fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this purpose you must support the Communist Party."

When at Genoa they made the attempt to plunder Soviet Russia, the first proletarian republic, the bourgeoisie formed a "united front". "Restitution"—this was the watchword of the bourgeoisie in Genoa. Long live Restitution! Restitution—the final wisdom, the last cry of civilisation. No salvation without restitution.

What is to be understood by this infamous "Restitution"? In plain language it means extorting from the proletarian revolution the restoration to the foreign capitalists of the sacred property rights which they possessed in Russia before the revolution of 1917. This handful of industrial magnates and Stock Exchange barons is probably no more than a few hundred strong. We can count on our fingers the Belgian, French and English

big capitalists who are so interested in this Russian restitutions. But these billionaires are the actual dictators of bourgeois society. As Marx said, bourgeois government is nothing but the executive organ of the moneybags. And as these few billionaires pipe, so all the Lloyd Georges and Barthous dance.

You will get no "Restitution" from us! The proletarian revolution in Russia will not restore the property rights of the Stock Exchange wolves, who are so dear to your hearts. Thus declared Soviet Russia to the greedy gang assembled at Genoa. And the bourgeoisie got the same answer with regard to the question of loans.

The Russian proletarian republic was at first threatened with death and destruction. They scolded and raved, but afterwards they calmed themselves and even assumed a very satisfied countenance. The world bourgeoisie was still strong enough to be able to refuse the granting of loans to the Russian proletarian republic which they themselves had during a period of four years striven to plunder and ruin in the most shameful manner. But fortunately for the international proletariat bourgeois Europe proved itself to be sufficiently weak to be unable to enforce upon the first proletarian republic new obligations, or to reestablish the old stronghold of foreign private property. The teeth of bourgeois Europe have become loose and can no more bite Soviet Russia. The time is not far distant when they will all fall out.

The Treaty of Rapallo.

Soviet Russia has concluded a treaty with the bourgeois German republic. The "Democrats" and "Social Democrats" governing Germany resisted the union with Soviet Russia for a long time although the whole working class of Germany have for two years unanimously demanded this union. But the absolute usurer's inexorableness which the "victorious states" brought to bear upon defeated Germany caused even the present Government to conclude a treaty with Soviet Russia. The treaty between Germany and Russia concluded at Rapallo is of enormous historical importance. Mighty Russia with its 150,000,000 inhabitants and its preponderatingly agrarian character in union with Germany with its powerful industry will lead to powerful economic collaboration which will force its way through all obstacles. On the German side this treaty has been signed by the present bourgeois Menshevik Government. But every one knows that this or that particular composition of the bourgeois Menshevik Government of Germany is only temporary whilst the German working class will remain. The German working class will one day inevitably capture power in their country. Germany will become a Soviet Republic, and then when the German Russian treaty binds the two great Soviet Republics together it will provide an unshakable foundation for real Communist construction, which old exhausted Europe will not be able to keep back for many years. In this sense the history of mankind will be determined by the success of the German working class. The victory of the German proletariat over "its" bourgeoisie will mean an unprecedented overthrow of the social structure of the whole of Europe. When the German proletariat puts an end to the influence of the second and 2½ Internationals in Germany a new chapter in the history of mankind will begin.

The Treachery of the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The miserable counter-revolutionary role of the Second and 2½ Internationals has never been so clear as during those weeks when the world conference took place in Genoa. The leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals have left no stone unturned in order to hinder the world proletariat from convening its congress and setting forth in the name of the proletariat of the world its proletarian programme for the reconstruction of Europe and the whole world. The leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals have done everything possible to facilitate the leaders of the bourgeoisie, the Lloyd Georges and Barthous, in their plundering of the first proletarian republic. At the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals. *The German Social Democrats refused to support the demand for the revision of the robber Treaty of Versailles.* By this act alone the treacherous Social Democrats of Germany have covered themselves with lasting ignominy and shame. Instead of calling upon the workers to protest, instead of rousing the feelings of the oppressed class and organizing it for the struggle against the rulers of bourgeois Europe, the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals in Genoa—each before "his" bourgeois minister—dissolved into meekness and humility. With finger on lip they implored the workers not to break the silence so that for God's sake the harsh proletarian words of truth and revolt should not reach the noble ears of the ministers assembled at Genoa, who came together in order to plunder Soviet Russia and pave the way

for new imperialist wars. The progressive workers of the whole world will never forget and will never pardon the shameful role played by the Second and 2½ Internationals during the Genoa Conference. The attitude of the Second and 2½ Internationals at the time of the Genoa Conference has proved with absolute certainty that if the events of July 1914 were to be repeated in July 1922 the Social Democratic leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals would again call the workers to the "Defense of the Fatherland", that is, to reciprocal slaughter as did the Scheidemanns and Vanderveldes at the beginning of the first imperialist world carnage.

The Communist International—The Gravedigger of Bourgeois Society.

At the conclusion of the Genoa Conference the representatives of the Entente once again made the impudent attempt to bring up the "dangerous propaganda" of the Communists. The International Fellowship of Communist Workers organised in the Communist International has not and will not bind itself by any kind of pledge. We are the deadly enemies of bourgeois society. Every honorable Communist will by word and deed and, if necessary, with weapon in hand fight against bourgeois society until his last breath. The propaganda of the Communist International will indeed be "dangerous" for you, master imperialists. The historical task of the Communist International is this: to be the gravedigger of bourgeois society. No offence, master imperialists! So long as you by your existence offend the feelings of every class-conscious worker, so long as your foul breath poisons the whole earth, so long as a handful of billionaires continue to build up their prosperity upon the bones of the working class, in short, so long as your blessed capitalist social order exists—the "dangerous" propaganda of the Communists will not cease.

Workers of France! It is up to you! Do everything that lies in your power to overthrow the government of Poincaré which is a disgrace to the French working class. Call to account the reactionary gang which is dragging France to ruin and seeks to plunder Soviet Russia.

Workers of England! For years you have striven for the recognition of Soviet Russia. For years your bourgeoisie with the help of the social traitors, Henderson, MacDonald and Co., has thrown sand into your eyes. Has not the Genoa Conference opened your eyes?

Workers of Japan! Even the robber governments of Europe were compelled to sign a treaty in which they undertook not to "invade" Soviet Russia. Only the representatives of your bloodthirsty government demanded for themselves special terms. They wish to carry out their robber campaign against the working masses of the Republic of the Far East. Japan is now in a pre-revolutionary period. Even a considerable section of the Japanese bourgeoisie stands in opposition to the present regime. **Workers of Japan!** Place yourselves at the head of the ripening revolution. Seize the Japanese monarchy by the throat and set your foot on its breast!

Workers of Germany! Capture the power in your land as speedily as possible. You will thereby remove a load from the soul of the world proletariat and accelerate historical progress with tremendous rapidity. In your hands lies the destiny of the proletarian revolution. Let your watchword be: *Down with the treacherous Social Democrats! Down with the power of capital! Long live the Workers' Government!*

Workers and Red Army Soldiers of Russia! If you still needed any proof that only the Soviet Government defends the interests of the proletariat of the world you have received unassailable proof from Genoa. You are experiencing hard times, but the hardest is already past. Guard your Soviet Government as the apple of your eye. You are standing at the outpost of the proletarian World Revolution. The proletarian armies of other countries will come to your aid. Victory is no longer distant.

With more unanimity than ever the workers of all countries cry out:

Down with the Bourgeoisie!
Down with its Flunkeys, the Social Traitors!
Long live Soviet Russia!

*The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.*

POLITICS

The Russian Proletariat and the Soviet Power.

by L. Trotsky.

Not only were the May Day demonstrations in Moscow and Petrograd gigantic, but also those of Kharkoff and Kiev. The organizers themselves had not reckoned on such a number of demonstrators. The foreigners, including those who are by no means kindly disposed towards us, were astonished. Under the immediate impression of the Moscow demonstration, one of the representatives of the Amsterdam International declared that he had seen nothing like it except at the funeral of Victor Hugo. Of course, all demonstrators did not share in the same feeling: one element was enthusiastic, another was moved by sympathy, with another it was a case of mere curiosity, with another again it was a case of just going with the crowd. So, however, are all movements which embrace hundreds of thousands. In general the masses felt that they were taking part in a common thing. The enthusiastic portion, of course, set the pace for all the rest.

Some days before the First of May the comrades in the local organizations said, "You cannot imagine how the Genoa Conference has increased the political interest and raised the revolutionary self-confidence of the working masses." Others added, "The feeling of revolutionary pride plays a great part in the present mood — we have compelled them to deal with us almost as human beings!"

If one were to judge from the foreign White Socialist paper appearing in Berlin it would seem that the Russian working class is permeated through and through with scepticism, with a decadent reactionary mood and with hatred of the Soviets. It is quite possible that not all of these reports are concocted in Berlin, the centre not merely of Russian Monarchism, but also of White Socialism. Everyone describes what he sees; the Mensheviks, however, consider every object from the reverse position and portray it accordingly. There is no doubt that in the workers' quarters there exists discontent due to various inconveniences caused by the present hard life. One can also add that the slow pace of the development of the European revolution and the arduous and painful process of our economic reconstruction evoke in certain rather important, not purely proletarian, sections of the working class the feeling of decadence and lack of clearness which even goes over to mysticism. On weekdays (and our greatest epoch has also its weekdays) the consciousness of the working class in considering and judging the questions of the days is not united; the difference of interests and views of various sections of the working class come to the front. At the next great event, however, the deep unity of the proletariat which has passed through the fiery trial of the revolution becomes perfectly evident. We have observed this fact several times on that long road from the insurrection of the Czechoslovaks in the Volga area up to the negotiations at Genoa. Our enemies have claimed several times that the rising of the Czechoslovaks was helpful to the Soviet power. The Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries and their older brothers the Cadets, and the Milioukoff group are continually repeating that military intervention is so mischievous because it only serves to consolidate the power of the Soviets. But what does this mean? It means precisely that in the difficult and serious times of trial the close union of the Soviets with the working masses in spite of disorder, in spite of grievances, in spite of unskillfulness, in spite of the weariness of many sections and in spite of the discontent of others always comes to light.

Of course, a state regime which happens to be at variance with social development can also consolidate its position at a time when outward danger threatens. This we observed to be the case with Czarism during the first period of the Russo-Japanese war. This applies, however, only to the first period, that is to say only so long as masses of the people have not yet assimilated the new facts. The settlement follows later; the out-of-date regime loses much more of its stability than it gained in the first period of war. Why therefore do we not witness this invariable phenomenon in the history of the Soviet Republics? How was it that the experience of three years of military intervention compelled our far-sighted enemies to come to the idea of renouncing the continuance of military attacks? For the same reason for which the Genoa Conference gave a great uplift to the mind of the working masses, which against expectations resulted in the colossal success of the May Day demonstrations.

The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries were of course opposed to the demonstrations of the workers and appealed to them not to participate in them. The more clearly therefore was the unanimity of the working masses expressed with regard to the fundamental and vital questions of the Workers' Republic. One can of course say that repression has hindered and is hindering the successful propaganda of the White Socialists. This cannot be denied. But the struggle between them and ourselves consists in that they endeavor to overthrow the Soviet Power and the Soviet Power does not permit them to do so. We do not feel obliged to provide them with favorable conditions for their counter-revolutionary activities.

Not is the bourgeoisie endeavoring to lighten the conditions of work of the Soviets; the revolutionary movement developed in spite of it, and is still developing. Czarism had at its disposal the most powerful instrument of suppression, but this did not prevent its overthrow. Nay more; the Mensheviks themselves have several times written and stated that the Czarist suppressions only strengthened and deepened the revolutionary movement. And this was true. In the first period of the Russo-Japanese imperialist war, Czarism was still successful in arranging patriotic demonstrations, though very small ones. Soon, however, the revolutionary masses dominated the streets of the cities. The statement with regard to suppressions therefore proves nothing, as the question arises: why are these suppressions successful, whilst the struggle against them remains without success? The answer is: suppressions are futile when they are adopted by an outworn state power against the new progressive historical forces. In the hands of the historical progressive power repression can prove to be a very effective means of emancipation in the arena of history from the out-of-date forces.

On the 1st of May, the close connection of the working masses with the Soviet Government and the total powerlessness of the party of White Socialism made themselves apparent. Cannot the conclusion be drawn that repression is unnecessary? May we not legalize this impotence although it is a deadly enemy of the Workers' Revolution?

This questions must be quite clearly answered. Had the May Day festivals throughout the whole world had the same character, the question of repression in Russia would not have arisen. The same would have been the case if Russia alone existed in the world. The reason, however, why the working masses demonstrated so unitedly on the last May in Moscow, Petrograd, Charkoff, Kiev and other towns was that they felt, thanks to the Genoa Conference, their love for their Russia of Peasants and Workers, confronted by about 40 bourgeois states, more deeply and intimately. Within the national limits of Russia the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries are a disappearing influence, but in the international field the relation of forces is different as the bourgeoisie throughout Europe and the whole world has control of power and Menshevism is its political intermediary.

Russian Menshevism is very weak, but it is a lever of the still powerful system, the driving forces of which are the Paris, London and New York stock exchanges. This was perfectly clear in the Georgian question. The Mensheviks, led by Vandervelde, asked for no more and no less than the restoration of Menshevik Georgia. M. Barthou, the most reactionary political negotiator of France, demanded the administration of the former Menshevik government of Georgia to the Genoa Conference. This same Barthou keeps the Wrangel troops in reserve in case troops are needed for landing on the Caucasian coast. All these things are the outcome of the greed of the stock exchanges for Caucasian oil.

From the point of view of domestic politics the importance of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries is very negligible. But in consideration of the capitalist cordon they have been and still are the semi-political and semi-military agents of imperialism armed to the teeth.

After long weekdays with their quiet mutual undermining work, the Genoa Conference showed anew in clear dramatic form the contrast between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world. Therefore the working masses of our country gathered so unanimously beneath the flag of the Soviets. This great movement of the masses showed the revolutionary power of the republic, but it also showed the vastness of the dangers which threaten it. At present there are no fronts and no military actions: we are, however, still a beleaguered fortress. Our enemies have concluded an armistice with us and asked us to send them envoys. The enemies are informed and convinced that we have at present less reason than ever for capitulating. But the enemy is still strong. The danger is therefore also great. The lesson of May Day is: though conscious of our strength, none the less we must not reduce our vigilance by one iota.

Upper Silesia.

by Peter Maslowski (Breslau).

The German-Polish Agreement on Upper Silesia which was signed at Geneva on the 15th May after three months of negotiating and bargaining and which contains over 600 articles, has up to the present not been made public in all its details. The Treaty, whose ratification by the German Reichstag and the Polish Sejm will take place in May in order that the evacuation of the Inter-Allied troops and the official handing over of territory to Germany and Poland respectively can take place in the interim, provides essentially the same solution of property relations which was proposed by the League of Nations in October 1921. According to the treaty in the liquidation question, private property has of course been declared inviolable. The expropriation of industrial undertakings, mines and foundries by the Poles can only be carried out after 15 years and can only take place earlier in exceptional cases when a special "Mixed Commission" consisting of two Germans, two Poles and a neutral chairman considers this expropriation indispensably necessary to Polish interests of state.

Now however in Upper Silesia—and this was the practical result of the plebiscite swindle for the capitalists—foreign international capital, French, English, American, and even Japanese, has so settled down that one may speak of an enormous Upper Silesian trust of international capital to exploit the German and Polish proletariat, the Upper Silesian mineral resources and further the semi-capitalist and not yet capitalist Eastern territories. The famous armament firms, Schneider-Creuzot and Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., have bought up factories in the Polish portion of Upper Silesia in order to establish a big munition arsenal for the Little Entente. Upper Silesia has become a bridgehead of French Imperialism.

If after all the struggles in Upper Silesia the German-Polish treaty has been comparatively easily concluded at Geneva, it is due to the fact that the capitalist division of Upper Silesia was completed long before the 600 paragraphs were neatly drawn up. The question of liquidation, the expropriation of the mines and foundries which have up to now been in German hands, today no longer plays any great part and will after 15 years practically cease to be of any importance. The pact of Geneva shows that all the nationalist struggles of the Upper Silesian proletariat which were instigated by the German and Polish bourgeoisie respectively were merely cover manoeuvres in order to prevent the wage slaves from realizing how completely they have been skinned.

The Treaty of Geneva is the visible sign that the capitalist class has succeeded in settling down once more firmly and surely upon the broad and patient back of the Upper Silesian proletariat. The German and Polish bourgeoisie have every reason to be satisfied with the Treaty.

The final result of the whole plebiscite hub hub bears another complexion for the proletariat. The Treaty of Geneva may have put an end to the question of Upper Silesia as a problem of foreign policy, but the real solution of the problem has not taken place. In the first place, there exist the illegal military organizations, the German *Orgesch* and the Polish *Bojowka*.

From an economic point of view the future of the Upper Silesian proletariat is just as gloomy. It is a matter of course that the cost of the changed economic organization, of the increased international profit interest, and the desire of the German as well as of the Polish bourgeoisie to extract from the industry of Upper Silesia in the most rapid manner possible the millions squandered in the lying campaigns conducted during the plebiscite period, will have to be borne by the proletariat. The market for the mining products of Upper Silesia, no matter whether from the German or Polish regions is not so secure for the future as was the case up to now. Belgian competition is already a great menace to Upper Silesia. World market prices have been reached. Every improvement in the German mark, which according to the Treaty is to be the chief exchange medium in Polish Upper Silesia during the next 15 years, can deprive thousands of workers of their daily bread. As for the Polish side it cannot be seen how the new Upper Silesian competition will effect the Polish iron industry, which up to now has been protected by tariff walls against Germany. Polish industry, which in spite of its low currency is losing more and more of its ability to compete in the world market on account of its obsolete methods of production and is suffering from increasing unemployment, must without doubt now be threatened by the Upper Silesian mining industry which is technically much more efficient. One can now understand why bourgeois Poland today

looks at Soviet Russia with quite different eyes. On account of its inability to compete in the West, it is compelled to look for new markets in the East. But in consequence of Poland's dependence upon militarist France it is quite uncertain what the future will bring in this connection.

As is the case throughout the whole world the capitalist offensive aiming at the prolongation of the working day and the lowering of wages has set in with redoubled intensity in German and Polish Upper Silesia. Poland has made all preparations for the abolition of the eight-hour day by passing an Act in the Sejm in March 1922 which permits a ten-hour working day. The capitalist attack will hit the workers the more severely, will prove to them the more quickly how they have been bamboozled by nationalist lies and will revolutionize them the more certainly as during the plebiscite period mountains of gold were promised to them if they would only vote for this or that "fatherland".

In the first place the question of taxation will become most acute for the proletariat in German and Polish Upper Silesia. Whilst on the German side the screw of taxation will be turned with increasing pressure, on the Polish side Article 5 of the new Polish Autonomy Law, which grants Polish Upper Silesia local autonomy, provides that the general taxation laws of the republic are to be applied immediately to the "liberated areas".

The tasks of the Communists of Upper Silesia are in view of these conditions clearly set forth in that they must to a greater degree than hitherto act as a mouthpiece to voice the daily increasing misery and suffering of the masses. Through the capitalist offensive with its wage reductions, prolongation of the working day and unemployment, through the pressure of taxation and increasing prices and through the extension of nationalist terror, the masses will finally realize that nationalism has thrown them into this misery and that only the proletarian united front on the basis of the class struggle can lead them out of their misery.

Furthermore, capitalist frontiers like those artificially drawn in Upper Silesia cannot be considered by Communists as insurmountable barriers to united action. In German as in Polish Upper Silesia there will be Communists whose fidelity has been proved in previous struggles, who will perhaps be compelled to make a change in their organization but will have to play a great historical part as the unifying element for the proletariat of Poland and Germany and as a bridge from the East to the West for the advancing World Revolution.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

To the Transport Workers, Longshoremen, Dock Workers and Seamen of all Countries!

Comrades!

After the destruction of immense quantities of goods in the world war, world capitalism had been pushed into the defensive by the productive proletariat. Meanwhile, however, as a consequence of a complete misunderstanding of its historic tasks on the part of the proletariat, world capitalism was able to reconstruct itself so far that the productive working class may expect intensified oppression in the future. It is true that even by its consolidation capitalism could not overcome the general economic crisis; if at all, capitalism will only be able to do it by an exploitation of the proletarian masses which will be unequalled in history. A balance of private capitalist interests is impossible both on a national and on an international scale; capitalism is only united in its struggle against the proletariat. Only the abolition of the present system can save labor from falling victim to the increasing economic crisis, only the establishment of an economic order which is based upon the cooperative system assures the further existence of the toiling population and of all its goods and cultural acquisitions. The establishment of a united front which fights for a society of this nature must be accelerated so as to prevent increasing misery in time.

Transport is one of the most important factors of world economy. With the exception of Russia, transport in all countries is serving the capitalist system. More and more the intention of concentrating capital to denationalize those branches of transport which are still under the control of the state becomes evident.

Before the war, in practically no country did the railwaymen's organizations have the right of coalition. Where such

organizations existed at all, they were under the influence of superior employees and were far from being proletarian organizations. Only the increasing misery, under which large masses of employees are now suffering, has compelled sections of the transport proletariat to use methods of struggle which they formerly refused. The proletarianization and revolutionizing of the railwaymen and other backward sections of the transport proletariat, corresponding with the increasing pauperization, are steadily progressing. Their aim is to make the means of transport on land and water serve the broad masses of workers and employees; this can only be accomplished by unity of all sections of this proletariat.

It must be the highest aim of an International Transport Workers' Federation to serve this aim.

If we ask ourselves whether the existing International in Amsterdam can be considered as an instrument of struggle such as that, we must certainly answer in the negative. When in 1919 this International was reorganized after the breakdown of the International in the war, and when at that occasion the British Transport Workers' Federation showed some enthusiasm, we hoped that the political trend toward the Left and its consequence, a proletarian policy, would be victorious within the organization. Unfortunately the experiences of recent years proved that none of the leaders of the International Transport Workers' Federation were really willing to build up a capable international organization of transport workers. To-day we must question ourselves whether leaders like Fimmen, etc., are capable of leading the militant transport workers towards victory. Also the seamen will ask themselves whether the International Seafarer's Federation under the leadership of the social-patriot, Havelock Wilson, is a body which can stand for the international interests of the sailors of all countries. There is no doubt about the answer to this question. Both organizations with their leaders were until now the only true hindrance to a final, international organization of the transport proletariat. They are carefully avoiding the methods of class struggle for the conquest of power by the proletariat. Their entire authority and their influence is being directed against those ranks of the working class who are determined to wage consistent class war. They refuse to form a united front with the militant transport workers and avoid every opportunity of establishing it. Every organization within the Federation that develops towards revolution, is being expelled from the Amsterdam International; existing revolutionary unions are not being admitted. At conventions and conferences nobody is admitted who not only uses the word "class struggle" but also practises it. Openly and in secret they are carrying on a fight against the members of their own class. Thereby they support, of course, the interests of capitalism. Thus for instance the Dutch Transport Federation has been expelled by the International Transport Workers' Federation because a representative of the former had participated in the Moscow Congress. Both the All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation with its membership of 1,500,000 and the Bulgarian Transport Workers' Federation are not admitted, and not allowed to take part in conferences. The German *Schiffahrtsbund*, the largest organization of German sailors, is not admitted to the Transport Alliance, because it is not willing to submit to the influence of the German Transport Workers' Union and to abandon the policy of class struggle.

In his interview with Stinnes, Havelock Wilson gave a lucid proof of what he considers advocating proletarian interests.

It is vain to expect from this side a support of the united front. Only by a revolutionary development of the workers themselves will the united front be enforced. In order to lead the way, a group has been formed to take the initiative for the convocation of an international conference. The vital problems of the formation of a united international organization of the transport workers on land and water must be dealt with and solved at this conference. By joint action, further splits and isolated actions of single groups and organization of transport workers must be prevented. All necessary measures must be taken for the transformation of the International Transport Workers' Federation into a powerful, international organization of class struggle.

The group consists of representatives of the All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation, the Dutch Transport Workers' Federation and the German *Schiffahrtsbund*.

We ask your organization to take part in this conference. An immediate answer whether you intend to participate or not is urgently required, as the conference which will be followed by a conference of representatives of sailors is intended to be held at the end of June. The necessary information upon agenda,

participants, place and precise date of the conference will then immediately be dispatched to you.

All letters should be addressed to *Landtagsabgeordnete Geschke, Berlin C. 54, Rosenthaler Strasse 38, Germany.*

German *Schiffahrtsbund*.

Dutch Transport Workers' Federation.

All-Russian Transport Workers' Federation.

Hamburg, April 26th, 1922.

The 1st of May in Italy.

by Amadeo Bordiga (Rome).

In view of the fact that the 1st of May this year fell during the Genoa Conference, the Italian Government sent out very stringent instructions to the chiefs of police, prohibiting any and all political demonstrations. The Fascisti announced that they looked upon the 1st of May and upon all demonstrations connected with it as an anti-Fascisti provocation; through their meagre organization within the union they made an attempt to shift the workers' holiday to the 21st of April, thus turning it into a solemn fiasco. They even announced that they would oppose all proletarian processions.

The organization of worker's demonstrations was assigned to the local committees of the *Alliance of Labor* which comprises all the union organizations. To the demonstrations that were organized by these Committees, the Syndicalists, the Communists, the Socialists and the Republicans sent their respective speakers.

On this occasion the Communist Party issued its manifesto, and offered its own organization and all means at its disposal to the allied organizations, in the eventuality that they should decide to demonstrate publicly in spite of the prohibitions and threats of the Government and Fascisti. But this offer was nearly everywhere rejected. In its manifesto the Communist Party analyzed the present political situation and reaffirmed the tactics of the Third International in favor of the united front, as well as its own measures in Italy, with a view of rendering the *Alliance of Labor* an effective and revolutionary organization. As a voice of protest against the prohibition of the Government, the Milan Committee of *Alliance of Labor*, whose majority is Socialist, and that of Turin, whose majority is Communist, proposed the calling of a general strike throughout Italy.

The demonstrations assumed an imposing character even when they were supposed to be of an unofficial nature. All workers and peasants remained away from work; even the railwaymen, to whom the government had made some concessions by reducing the number of trains, declared their complete abstinence from work, in spite of the many threats by the Fascisti and the aid of the soldiers and sailors. They paralyzed the entire service in spite of the official lies, a fact testifies to their admirable solidarity. In the great industrial centers as well as in the villages, the proletarian meetings were imposing and roused the greatest enthusiasm. The collisions between the workers and the Fascisti who attacked the workers were numerous. There were many proletarian victims, but the characteristic feature of the day was the rising spirit of combat among the workers, which in turn explains the fact that the Fascisti suffered so large a number of dead and wounded.

The speakers of the Communist Party developed the concrete principles which the party supports in favor of the united front; at the same time they openly criticized the other parties and everywhere met with huge success.

Our Party was chiefly responsible for the efficient propaganda among the masses, as well as for the struggle against the Government and Fascisti reaction.

As a result of the events that took place, the proletarians of many towns and the Communist Trade Union Committees issued the formal proposal that the *Alliance of Labor* declare a national general strike, but the Central Committees of the organizations whose majority consists of Socialists and Anarchists rejected this motion and contented themselves with issuing a platonic protest.

In reporting the results of the demonstrations, the Communist Press emphasized the success obtained, for it was really a great experience for the united front tactics and it gave the great masses an opportunity to reunite, thereby raising the proletarian morale. On the other hand, it was pointed out that what was lacking was — unity of organization. This shortcoming manifested itself in the organization of the meetings particularly on the point of proletarian defense. However, this opportunity was taken advantage of, and a campaign was launched for the reinforcement of the *Alliance of Labor*, in its organization as well as in its tactics.

It will be the task of the Italian Communist Party to lend to this great mass movement that rose so spontaneously an effective unity of leadership in the revolutionary sense, always tearing away a part of the masses from the detrimental influence of the opportunistic leaders, who already see themselves defeated on the political field by the Communist tactics. In spite of themselves, they see the near approach of the revolutionary insurrection of the Italian proletariat.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Minority in the National Council of the French Communist Party.

by Albert Treint (Paris).

For the first time the opposition in the French Communist Party appeared in its true light at the National Council of April 23rd, participated in by those comrades who are in full accord with the Third International and by those who seek to veil their discord with it.

The crisis latent since the Third World Congress, is developing irresistibly in the French Party. In order to understand it we must for a moment examine the past.

At Tours, the movement that carried the masses from the old party towards the Third International was so powerful that even those who were opposed to adhesion felt themselves overpowered, and they rallied to Communism by virtue of their political opportunism.

For several months, the reorganization of the party and the fight against the dissidents occupied first place in the activity of the party, and it is clear that this work required all its energy.

This period of struggle, engendered in the party-masses, which are too little penetrated by doctrine, a simple ideology: *Communism displaced by Anti-dissidence.*

The Third Congress, decided in accord with the French delegation to give the French Party a firm direction, as it did to all the others, and to lend it life and capacity for rapid initiative; in short, to give it direction enabling it not only to steer the Party but also to conduct the struggles of the French proletariat.

At this point the crisis began, at first very mildly. The Left Communist wing flew first towards the opportunistic Right, then towards the extreme Anarchist Left. These two elements were carrying on a common fight against the Presidium, against the control of the press, and against democratic centralization which was labeled by them "oligarchical centralization". Instead they propagated federalism, which was baptized by them, "democratic centralisation".

This campaign found open expression in the organ, the *Journal du Peuple*. The Center of the party, in control of responsible posts, acquiesced in this campaign.

Thus it was that at Marseilles, the masses of the party, cunningly deceived as they were, elected a Central Committee in which the Communist Left received a blow in the person of Souvarine, and which also contained some masked but resolute opponents of the International.

For fear of shaking the young party too rudely and in the hope that the crisis would subside and in favor of Communism the Left was too slow in seizing the Party.

At Marseilles it was necessary to sound the alarm. That was the meaning of the resignations of Loriot, Treint, Vaillant-Couturier, and Dunois.

The Third International called upon the delegates of the party and upon those that resigned to come and air their disagreement before the Moscow Congress.

The Trotzky motion explicitly condemned the anti-Communist campaign carried on within the party, and also explicitly condemned the complaisance of the Center towards these campaigns.

Under the moral pressure of the International the Central Committee of the party soon set to work, expelled Fabre, the editor of the *Journal du Peuple*, and urged its members to contribute to this organ during the trial period.

Those who had handed in their resignation then agreed to enter into the Central Committee to accomplish their assigned tasks without discord.

The Trotzky motion aimed at the displacement of the bloc consisting of the Center and the Right against the Left, by a bloc of the Center and the Left against the Right.

It constituted a pact concluded between the Center and the Left, based upon the struggle against the Right, and upon the carrying into effect of the International's decisions.

At Marseilles and since Marseilles, the masked adversaries of the International took advantage of the *united front* and turned it into a weapon against the Communist Left and against the International.

In our own press, the united front was represented as the equivalent of a Left bloc and characterized as the surrender of our organic independence and as a poor tactical move for the workers of the West; but they declared that such a move was necessary for the safety of the Russian Revolution. The *united front* was also characterized as the loosening of the principles of Communism and as the rebirth of opportunism and reformism. The nature of the Workers' Government that was planned for Germany was identified with parliamentary cooperation of Communists and the bourgeoisie.

The comrades of the Center participated more or less in this work of deformation. The Communist Left was rarely given the opportunity of voicing its opinion in our papers. The more negative, sterile and sentimental constituents of the anti-dissident ideology were artificially retained, tended and encouraged to grow. The united front was represented as the fraternization of the Communist chiefs with Noske, the assassin of so many Communist workers.

In spite of the promise made by Cachin before the Moscow Congress, according to which the French party was to carry out the decisions of the Enlarged Executive Committee, the campaign against the united front went on until the National Council met. There was there erected in the drawing up of the motions as well as in the voting a bloc of the Center and the Right against the Left. In the Resolutions Committee, the discussion between the Center and the Right turned on the question whether the words "*brotherly cooperation with the International*", should be retained or not. The Right accepted the retention of this expression as a polite formality. This is something like the fortnightly post-card of the Italian Socialist Party to Moscow, of which Magdliani spoke before Livorno.

The Party should not be deceived by the verbal assurances of fidelity to the International, and the Center should choose between the anti-Communist Right and Moscow.

Of course the Communist Left does not lose sight of the difficulty of applying the united front in France. Due to the reformists, the French proletariat suffered great defeats in 1919 and in April and May 1920, as well as in the textile strike of 1921. The political split of Tours and the recent Syndicalist split have created among organized workers, a psychology hostile to the united front, in the political as well as in the economic field. In France the capitalist offensive is not yet strong enough to necessitate a united front of the working class and the tactical wisdom of such a move therefore does not yet appear in all its clearness.

But these difficulties should not be taken advantage of to turn the united front into a weapon of attack against the International. Anti-dissidence is a negative virtue. It cannot take the place of Communism. It works well when the main question is one of pointing to the errors and weaknesses of the past, and of guarding against possible errors and weaknesses in the future.

On the other hand, it is fatal if it hinders proletarian unity of action, that unity of action which is beneficial to Communism, not by any mediocre combination of naive Macchiavellism, but because it constitutes an historical truth.

For the Second and 2½ Internationals for Amsterdam, there is a trap in the united front. It is that trap which history lays for those parties who attempt to proceed against historical truth.

The difficulties in applying the united front to France should be better defined in order that they be better overcome.

We must ask:

Is the capitalist offensive in France growing, as is the case in the rest of the world?

Is it or is it not true that Communism speaks the truth about the development of the class struggle, and should it or should it not therefore appear to the fighting working class as the only doctrine capable of leading the proletariat towards complete liberation?

Are there or are there not still some workers behind the reformist C.G.T. and behind the dissenting parties?

Again, is it or is it not possible through mere propaganda to separate these deceived workers from their bad chiefs?

Is the experience of the struggle against capital going to be favorable or detrimental to this separation?

Do the unorganized masses comprehend our doctrinal divisions or not?

Is the independent action of the organizations an obstacle to the entrance of the hesitating and backward workers into the struggle, or not?

Are agreements between the various organizations for a definite action favorable or detrimental to the action of the great proletarian masses?

Is it of greater advantage to Communism to find itself facing an inert mass or a fighting mass?

Is the C.G.T.U. for or against the united front?

Have the French Communists in the last year done everything they could for the maintenance, consolidation and extension of Communist influence in the unions, or not?

Have they or have they not permitted the Anarcho-Syndicalists to dominate the unions?

Should the French Communists take advantage of their rights as labor unionists to propagandize the doctrines of the International within their unions, or not?

Should or should not the Communist Party permit itself to be towed by the other organizations when the latter are in the wrong?

Should or should not the Communist Party be the guide of the proletariat?

Should it or should it not, for the purpose of fulfilling its mission and directing the struggle of the proletariat towards the revolution, inspire confidence by always seizing the initiative in actions of the working class?

To put these questions is to answer them.

Besides, we know that the French proletariat is not the only one in the world, and that it solidarizes with the workers of all countries.

A great world battle is being carried on under the slogan of the united front. Everywhere, particularly in Germany, which is so near to its revolution, such a battle is beneficial to Communism, and the rival Internationals openly or secretly sabotage the united proletarian front.

In rejecting the united front, would the French party be willing to furnish the Second International with a pretext for shifting the responsibility for the sabotage upon the Communist International which is responsible for its French section?

This is the significance of the minority motion of the National Council.

Will it be said of us that we have hurt the French Party? Above the Party, there is Communism, and the Party is worth something in our eyes only if it is a living and active instrument of Communism.

And Communism is void of all meaning if it leads a party action. It acquires meaning only when it carries on a class action. Communism, when served by the Party, cannot but be a doctrine animating and coordinating the efforts of the entire working class arrayed in battlefront against capitalism.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

**To the Miners, Transport Workers,
Seamen and Railwaymen of the
World!**

**To the Particular Attention of the Workers of England,
France, Belgium and Germany!**

The drama of last year's miners' strike in England is repeating itself in the great American coal strike. The British coal strike was broken because the bourgeoisie exercised international solidarity and the miners did not support their class comrades standing in the midst of a bitter defensive struggle by preventing the transportation and delivery of strikebreaker coal. The strike of the British coal miners was turned into a defeat with the aid of German reparations coal, with coal from France, Belgium and the Saar.

Now the world bourgeoisie is organizing the transport of British, French, Belgian and German coal to America in order to subject the American coal miners just as the English miners were subjected in 1921.

Miners of the world! How long will you allow this? One after another you are being defeated in your difficult struggle for existence, for your bit of bread. The International Federation of Miners and Transport Workers is doing nothing to prevent the

defeat of the American miners. Just as in the English coal strike, they are passively looking on while the fight of the American miners is being turned into a defeat by the shipment of British strikebreaker coal.

Since the leaders whom you still suffer are doing nothing to prevent this new disaster, we call upon you either to compel these leaders to organize the international struggle or immediately to hinder the transport and shipping of scab coal to America *without the leaders of the International Federation of Miners and Transport Workers.*

Hold meeting everywhere; control the consumption of the coal you produce and prevent by all means your labor from being utilized to reduce the wages of your American class brothers and take the bit of bread out of their mouths.

Miners! Get into touch at once with the transport workers, the railwaymen and the seamen, in order to aid them in exercising international solidarity. The seamen, railwaymen and transport workers must refuse to transport coal to America.

Railwaymen, Seamen and Transport Workers! Help the miners!

Workers, Class Comrades! If you do not help yourselves, no one will help you. Learn from your defeats; close your ranks for joint action. The adherents of the Red Trade Union International in your countries will help you to organize this defensive struggle!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

For the Executive Bureau
of the Red Trade Union International,
Heinrich Brandler.

The Central Committee of the Red Trade Union International on the Convening of an International Conference.

(R.T.U.I.) After exhaustive discussion of the proposal of the Norwegian National Organisation with regard to the convening of an International Conference of representatives of the Amsterdam International and the Red Trade Union International for the purpose of jointly working out forms and methods of fighting against the capitalist offensive, the Central Committee of the Red Trade Union International declares:

- 1.— The steps taken by our Norwegian comrades for the practical realization of the united battlefront of the whole organized proletariat of the world are exactly in the same direction as those of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International which has already repeatedly called upon the leaders of the International Trade Union Federation in Amsterdam to take up a united struggle on the definite questions of the day, without however receiving any adequate response from the other side.
- 2.— Notwithstanding, the Central Committee of the Red Trade Union International declares its willingness to take part in an International Conference to which the Communist International invites all Communist and Socialist Parties and trade union organizations, as well as to participate in an International Trade Union Conference in order to organize in common the resistance to the capitalist offensive and imperialist reaction.
- 3.— The Central Committee authorizes the Executive Bureau to get into communication on this question with those organizations who take the initiative for the convening of this conference.
- 4.— All organizations affiliated to the Red Trade Union International who can formulate practical proposals in this connection are invited to submit these proposals to the Executive Committee to enable them to be discussed in detail and worked out in a regular manner.
- 5.— No organization belonging to the Red Trade Union International shall take part in any kind of Conference or Congress without the participation of the official representatives of the Red Trade Union International.

In conclusion the Central Committee proposes that the Norwegian "National Organization" draw up a concrete plan of action which in its opinion can serve as a basis for the international action of the Red Trade Union and Amsterdam Internationals.

To the Workers of Esthonia!

Comrades!

The so-called democratic government of Esthonia, once more reveals itself in its true light as a power of the reactionary peasants, barons and property owners as well as insolent White Guardist speculators.

As an offering to these White Guardist speculators on the 1st of May it determined on the *destruction of the workers' organizations*—including among these the trade unions—the confiscation of the workers' press and wholesale arrests of the most active and foremost fighters for the working-class, including the workers' representatives in Parliament. The acme, however, of its shameful acts was the torturing and shooting of the esteemed and devoted leader of the Esthonian working-class, *Comrade Victor Kingisepp* after a quasi-court martial verdict. *This brutal act was accomplished by some members of the government* who with their adherents were preserved by the same *Comrade Kingisepp* from being lynched by the populace at the time of the breaking up of the Sejm (towards the end of 1917).

By the declaration of protest and sympathetic strikes you have already given fitting answer to this shameful and cowardly murder. May the bourgeoisie know and feel that the murdering and torturing of men is not calculated to kill the idea of emancipation of the working class from the yoke of capital. Be assured therefore that the entire sympathy and support of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world is behind you.

Let us reply to the White Terror of the Esthonian Government by closing the proletarian ranks along the line of the united front still more firmly. As an answer, let us work even more energetically for the creation and strengthening of the organization of the united front of the trade unions. We reply with the inflexible revolutionary struggle until complete victory! Only upon the ruins of the capitalist citadel can we think of resting from the fight!

Honour and renown to all the fallen in this fight!

The continuation of their struggle is the best means of preserving them in memory.

Dozens and hundreds of fighters must step into the shoes of each individual fallen!

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

A. Lozovsky, General Secretary.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Paul Boncour.

by *Ecris Souvarine* (Moscow).

Although France is the blessed land of barristers, the Yellow Internationals did not find it very easy to discover anyone in their midst with sufficient courage to defend, as a Socialist, the Russian Social Revolutionary Party before the revolutionary tribunal. In fact the barrister of their choice, Paul Boncour, was appointed more on the strength of his "naïveté" than his courage.

Paul Boncour is a former and future minister of the bourgeoisie. He made his mark in politics at the time of his Secretaryship in the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry when he devoted himself to the movement for the introduction of trade union legislation among the State officials. He had what is termed "a brilliant career" in the field of politics, became deputy, and subsequently Minister of Labor. However, this career received a serious check in 1914 when Paul Boncour was defeated at the elections.

To be or not to be a deputy is a matter of the greatest importance for a French politician. No political career can be made outside Parliament. Hence, Paul Boncour went back to obscurity until another election returned him again to the Chamber of Deputies. He had emerged from it under a modestly Republican label, and he returned to it under the bolder label of Socialism.

For in the meantime Paul Boncour had joined the Socialist Party which was under the leadership of Renaudel, Albert Thomas, Marcel Sembat, not to mention the two veterans Vaillant

and Jules Guesdes who had lost all faculty of understanding the new trend of events. Thus Paul Boncour's adhesion to patriotic, reformist and petty-bourgeois Socialism is only of recent date. But it is only right to say that it was not Paul Boncour who adhered to the Socialist Party, but that it was rather the Socialist Party which adhered to the bourgeois-republican views of Paul Boncour.

In fact, Paul Boncour has not changed. It is the Socialist Party which has renounced the class struggle, has betrayed the interests of the proletariat, has made common cause with the imperialist bourgeoisie and has given its support to the "useful intervention" of the reactionary Entente against revolutionary Russia. Thus Paul Boncour is not a social-traitor, but a social-patriot, an avowed opportunist who never dissimulated his opinions by revolutionary phraseology. He cannot be accused, like Renaudel and Scheidemann, of having abjured his opinions of yesterday. Personally, he is not responsible for the fact that the old deteriorated French Socialist Party has descended to the level of Milioukoff's Party, and after the war, to that of Savinkov.

The chief characteristics of people like Paul Boncour are their belief that Socialism is the normal and logical issue of the bourgeois republic, perfection of bourgeois democracy. Because they are the Left Wing of the Republican Parties, they imagine that they are the Party of the proletariat. The latter showed them that they were mistaken by boycotting their Party and their Press and by forming the Communist Party which is the only real and conscious revolutionary force. As to Paul Boncour's Party, impregnated as it is with parliamentary traditions, alien to the class idea and concerned above all with the interests of the "Nation", the utmost it can do is—to form a reservoir of deputies and ministers for the bourgeoisie. The fact that people like Paul Boncour call themselves Socialists is a proof that they have not the least idea of what modern Socialism is, and that they still cling to the conception of the forties of the last century.

Paul Boncour is not only a clever politician but also a barrister of repute. The consensus of opinion is that he is a brilliant orator but when put into print, his oratory does not amount to very much. Another word's nature has endowed him with dramatic gifts, a fascinating personality (which conjures up the classic type of the Jacobin) an insinuating voice, in fact with everything which ensures the applause of a select audience. Proletarian audiences, as a rule, demand something else, which Paul Boncour is unable to give them. As barrister, he made a name especially by his part in the trial of 'Jaurés', assassin when he pleaded in the name of the family and of the friends of the victim.

It is in connection with this trial that one is justified in saying that Jaurés was assassinated a second time—by the man who was called upon to glorify his memory. Paul Boncour endeavoured to prove to the bourgeois court of justice that Jaurés was not the supposed legendary revolutionary, but above all a good patriot, nay even a specialist in the question of "National Defense", namely of the defense of the interests of French capitalism and imperialism. He surpassed himself in the art of ignoring the flame which inspired the thoughts, the words and the writings of Jaurés, and in only making use of the ashed. Moreover, he failed in his attempt to make the bourgeois judges share his admiration of Jaurés, the patriot. The judges, more perspicacious than Paul Boncour, recognised the revolutionary character of the part which Jaurés played in the defense of the proletarian cause, and as defenders of the bourgeois order they acquitted the assassin.

Such is the man whom the Yellow Internationals have chosen to defend the members of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party. I said that he was probably chosen on the strength of his naïveté. The fact is that owing to his ignorance concerning Communism and his failure to understand the real meaning of the Russian Revolution, Paul Boncour sincerely believes that to be a Social Revolutionary one has only to fly the Social Revolutionary colours, just as one has only to join a party which calls itself Socialist, that the divergences of opinion between the S.R.'s and the Bolsheviks represent only shades of the same opinion, and he fails to understand why one of these parties is in power while the members of the other are *émigrés* abroad. What will he say when trial will have revealed to him the true character of the relentless campaign of the Social Revolutionary Party against the first proletarian State? What will this man, who extols the Jacobins, say in defence of the Girondins and the Russian *émigrés*? What will this spiritual descendant of the great Terrorists of 1793 say in order to deny the fighters of the great Russian Revolution the right to use the weapon of the revolutionary Red Terror in order to crush the reactionary White Terror?

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