The IV. World Congress

By G. Zinoviev.

The IV. Congress of the Communist International made a gigantic stride on the way to the transformation of the Comintern from an alliance of separate parties into a really united International Communist Party. The IV. Congress has most successfully defined the tactical resolutions of the previous congresses, especially of the III. Congress, and has determined the manner of their application to the present situation; it has further dealt with communist tactics in each separate country, with the variation of the work in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the various countries. At the same time the IV. Congress undertook the first great step towards formulating general program of the Comintern.

This was the chief task of the IV. Congress.

The Comintern has greatly increased in extent and power. At the IV. Congress 63 delegations were present (at the III. Congress 52). The greater mass of the work was done in the commissions and sections. Three quarters of the essential activity of the congress consisted of conferences held by the various parties, in the presence of representatives of the most important brother Parties, for the discussion of their internal affairs, and for the passing of resolutions founded on the experience of the advanced workers of the whole world. The greatest work of the Comintern lies in having accomplished this. It marks the essential character of the IV. Congress.

The United Front.

The IV. Congress conclusively formulated the views of the Comintern with regard to the united front tactics in general and the workers' government in particular. The III. Congress merely opened up these questions in a general form, and issued the watchword: "To the masses!" The Executive Committee said its two enlarged sessions first called into existence the tactics of the united front. The IV. Congress has overcome the last obstacles in the way of successfully carrying out these tactics, and characterizes the united front as a slogan for a whole period. The united front tactics encountered the greatest opposition in the Latin countries, in France, Italy, and Spain. The traditions of the labor movement in these countries at first caused the real nature of these new and complicated tactics to be incomprehensible. The IV. Congress noted with much satisfaction the declarations of the Spanish, French, and Italian comrades, from which was to be seen that the United front tactics are beginning to achieve notable results in their countries. After the IV. Congress the Comintern is in a position to carry through "as one man" the united front tactics—the tactics forming the key to the present situation—in complete comradeship and on an international scale.

The Unity of The Trade Union Movement.

The IV. Congress emphasized with special stress and decision the importance of unity in the trade union movement. Although at one time there were many comrades, embittered by the treachery of the Amsterdamers, who let their feelings run away with them and who declared: "We are not afraid of a split in the trade unions!", the IV. Congress now distinctly declares to the contrary: "We fear the split in the trade unions, we do not want it, we shall not permit it!". It is the leaders of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals who want the split. Objectively considered, they fulfill a special task of the bourgeoisie with their eagerness for a split. The Amsterdamers and the leaders of the Second International feel that the ground is slipping from beneath their feet. They know that the future belongs to the communists. And before they leave the trade unions, before they abandon their places to the communists, they at least want to slam the door behind them with such violence that all the window panes rattle. They want to leave nothing but the weeds of the trade unions for the communists. Therefore the Comintern must exert every effort to save the unity of the trade unions. At the IV. Congress comrade Rosser said that the Comintern saved the labor movement in the year 1920 when it successfully opposed the "left" tendencies to leave the trade unions. This is correct. In our opinion the IV. Congress has saved the international labor movement for the second time by issuing the slogan: "Maintain the unity of the trade unions under all circumstances!".

The IV. Congress brought about an approach to clear relations with the best elements of syndicalism, with the non-communist syndicalists, and the elements closest to them. The IV. Congress made slight organic concessions to these syndicalists in consideration they represent considerable masses of really revolutionary French workers. These are at present
old French traditions and by the weakness of the French communist party, from adopting the correct attitude in the question of the relations between party and trade unions. If we stand for the united front, we must do our utmost to preserve the unity of the best syndicalist elements that has been attained, and is another potential no little value—which has been gained by the IV. Congress.

The Purification of the International C.P.

The IV. Congress was obliged to spend much time in liquidating the relics of social democracy, for all parties belonging to the Comintern are yet grounded in getting rid of them. No doubt much malicious joy will be felt in some quarters, that after the Comintern has existed for four years, we are still obliged to occupy the time of our congress with such a question as that of freemasonry. At the time of the second conference of the Comintern, Serrati proposed that we should include, as a 22nd condition, one forbidding members of our party from being free-masons. At that time I replied to Serrati that we were just as unable to include such a condition in our statutes as we were unable to make special mention of the fact that it was not permitted to employ handkerchiefs from strange pockets. Also, we were much too optimistic. Some of the parties joining us brought with them the whole of the old democratic incumbrances. The greater the number of old social democrats who came over to us, the more difficult it became to organize a real communist party in the country in question. This was also the case with our French brother party. There we suddenly found a communist party of old social democrats. The old party belonged to the second International at one time, and this majority brought with it not only social democratic prejudices, but also problems of freemasonry. There is no use attempting to disguise the fact that the IV. Congress had to occupy itself with the "problem" of free-masonry. We are however convinced that the Comintern will not be obliged to return to this and similar questions.

Almost all the larger parties of the Comintern came under the review of the congress, and especially before its commissions. The congress helped the French party to overcome the old traditions of parliamentarism and centralism. The congress aided the Italian communists in the task of establishing unity with that section of the old social party which deserted communism at Leghorn, and which re-joined to the ranks of the Comintern after bitter disappointments and severe lessons. The congress helped the Norwegian party to settle with the remains of semi-syndicalism, semi-reformism, with federalist principles of organization, and with the social democratic intellectuals. The congress aided the American comrades in creating the right relations between the illegal party and the legal movement. The congress joined with the American comrades in emphasizing with all possible force the need for the formation of a broad legal labor party (after the type of the English Labor Party). The Austrian comrades' struggle for the re-edification of their party was highly successful, helped by the congress to overcome the semi-syndicalist danger just at the moment when this danger is beginning to arise. The congress helped the Spanish comrades to find the road out of their miasma from the ranks of the anarchosyndicalists and assisted the Yugoslav comrade comrades, by efficient advice, to carry on the fight against the bourgeoisie, etc. etc.

Capital threatens a Siege

The IV. Congress established with perfect certainty the fact that in a number of countries the workers are confronted with an approaching state of siege and White Terror. Fascism may be long become an international phenomenon. The IV. Congress recognizes this clearly. But it does not take a state of siege. It is regarded as an event of history may be turned to-morrow, and that there are at least some countries (England, France), where episodical rebirth of democratic pacifist illusions is very well possible.

On to the land.

The IV. Congress laid down in detail the tactics of the Comintern in the agrarian question. The congress completely rejects the "national spirit" in the matter of the peasantry, in accordance with the traditions of the "good old" social democracy, that the communists should not concern themselves too much with the peasantry. The congress was also obliged to note another alarming fact; that the American party is the same, that they are all "agricultural workers", and do not differ in any way from the workers in the factories and workshops.

The Negroes in our midst.

The Negroes were represented for the first time at the IV. Congress, and they brought reports full of interest to us.

The IV. Congress created an exhaustive program of action for the parties and revolutionary organizations of the Near and Far East, and in this question it was only necessary for the IV. Congress to put in more concrete and delimited form the resolutions of the II. World Congress. The work to be executed will be of tremendous practical significance.

Towards the United World Party.

The IV. Congress has at last altered the structure of the leading organ of the Comintern. Every vestige of federalism in the structure of the Executive Committee of the Comintern has been laid aside. From now onwards the congress itself will elect the Executive Committee, and the IV. Congress has determined that this committee is to be a real central committee of the International Communist Party.

The IV. Congress was a gigantic university for us and for all participants. All advanced workers in the world should acquaint themselves with the magnificent work done by the IV. Congress. The path of the Comintern was outlined at the 4. congress with a care, and clarity and distinctness hitherto unknown. A few years more of such work, and the Comintern will form such a solid foundation of workers' struggles, of the world that it will be able to take up the fight, with the fullest confidence, against every attack of reaction and against every attack of international Fascism. At the 4. congress we felt, more than ever before, that the international community of communist workers are in league, and will not retreat, even in face of the powers of hell.

POLITICS

The Dardanelles Struggle in Lausanne

By Arthur Rosenberg.

The diplomats of today call to mind those maidens in the Greek mythology of the Underworld who were condemned to be forever pouring water into a bucket that had no bottom. Endless streams of words and ink pour into the Entente conferences upon every human interest. They humbly in good faith and with gravity are weighed it seriously, nothing. What a great noise was raised over the disarmament Conference in Washington! Yet it has already become an accepted fact in the British House of Commons that the Entente conference has come to nothing. Everywhere the building of battleships continues, and the warships actually discarded are only old hulks which are no longer a match for the artillery of today. Le Temps has found in all that a remarkable example for the British to study the Washington agreement. Namely, that at the Washington Conference, Russia was forgotten. And the present Oriental crisis, the discussion of the Dardanelles question in Lausanne, shows more than ever that Russia is still a great power on the water as well as on land.

It is very nice of French Capitalism, which has strugiled so long to strangle Soviet Russia, to suddenly notice the existence of Russia as a Great Power. But viewed impartially, the objection of the Paris paper proves to be perfectly sound, for the course of events in Lausanne demonstrates that the Washington Conference failed to estimate truly the balance of seapower. The conference reckoned as follows: the German and Russian fleets have been destroyed by the World War, France and Italy are and will always remain, as serious competitors on the seas, England, America and Japan, and their future battle field will be the Pacific Ocean. If disarmament and peace therefore are ever to be attained, the fundamental question of the Pacific Ocean must find an acceptable solution, and such an agreement come to regarding the strength of the various fleets as would lead to some sort of balance of power between England, America and Japan. Today, however, England is compelled to concentrate mainly on the sea, including seven modern dreadnoughts, off Constantinople, as a means of pressure against Russia and the Turks. England has therefore to fear not only a serious competitor in the Pacific Ocean but also a strong power in the Dardanelles. Thus the Washington calculations come to nothing and the gentlemen have been merely scribbling more scraps of paper.

The Lausanne conference has demonstrated that not only the problem of Islam and England remains unsolved, but that of England and Russia as well. One taking a realistic view of the matter can declare that Soviet diplomacy follows the way of the
Tsarist political methods: i. e., struggle with England over the Dardanelles, Russian interests in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, Russian menace to India. What has changed then, since the days of the Tsar's reign, is that the political conditions have changed. In Asia there no longer exists greedy Capitalism and Imperialism. Soviet Russia does not seek for profit in the Orient, but merely for recognition of her right of existence. But it is just here that Russian politics become more dangerous to capitalist England than before. The Bosphorus and the Dardanelles protect the Russian world against it, and England could always play the role of the protector of Turkey. On these grounds the English fleet during the Crimean war sailed to Sebastopol, and on these grounds in 1914 at the Berline Congress, set bounds to the Russian schemes of conquest. When England at that time succeeded in establishing the neutralization of sea passages, when by the agreements of the Nineteenth Century, Russian warships could not pass through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the English was simply that the Russian Black Sea Fleet was reduced to a police power for the inland waters. For a decisive move in the Mediterranean no Russian Fleet existed. Should Russia, in the event of war, attempt to break through the Dardanelles, the Turks could hold the fortifications until the English came to their aid. And that the Dardanelles fortifications are a formidable obstacle for an enemy power which tries to force its way through them.

Conditions today are entirely changed. Soviet Russia no longer represents a menace to the people of Islam. Turkey today need not fear no Russian Imperialism whose aim is Constantinople, and the Turks, defending their independence have no friend so true. They can no longer can English Capitalism play off Turkey and Russia, one against the other. In the 19th century Europe stood with Turkey against Russia. In the World War she sided with Russia against the Turks. But now England finds herself in need of the united front of Russia and Turkey. In Turkey, Kemal Pascha embodies the conception of "The Oriental peoples against Western Capitalism". The Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government has all the force of the International Proletariat behind it.

Such is the historical background of the dual of words between the Tsar and the Soviet Russia in Lausanne. On one side there spoke the henchman in defence of endangered western capital, on the other side answered the spokesman of the oppressed peoples of the Eastern and the Western lands.

Today England's policy is the exact reverse of what it was before the war. Then she wanted the Dardanelles strongly fortified as possible, so that its cannon could effectively resist any attempts of the Russian ships to proceed Southwards.

Today she wishes the complete demolition of the Dardanelles fortifications, so that, in case of war, the English fleet can advance unimpeded and can take possession of the Black Sea. So one finds that the English Capitalists, anxious for peace though they declare themselves to be, still retain mental reservations, and Soviet Russia must adapt herself to those mental reservations of the English Capitalists, with absolute truth, that a settlement of the Dardanelles question in the Near East, that it would be a standing danger to Russia and to world peace. It must have rung painfully in the ears of Curzon, that former Viceroy of India, that champion of Anglo-Indian interests, when Tschicherin reminded him that the Russian Cavalry stands again on the border of Afghanistan; that, if the worst came to the worst, there stands between the Russian Red forces and the seething Indian Empire merely the unstable Emir of Afghanistan.

The diplomats in Lausanne have not raised the stormy question of the petroleum in Mosoöl. The government excuse was, that England controls the Mosoöl petroleum fields by a mandate of the League of Nations, and that the matter cannot be discussed without the League of Nations. In the question of European boundaries, England found the price of the colonies, besides England and Greece, the Little Entente and Bulgaria is well, whose Peasant Government considers the best method of carrying out her pacifist program to be through reconciliation with Yugoslavia. France stood throughout the mandate conference her attitude of marked reticence. Pomaréée feels apparently, that the principal aim of French Oriental policy, the creation of a strong Turkey, has been reached. She holds in reserve her Mosoöl oil fields, which in order to prevent French capitalists want first of all to secure their harvest in the Ruhr, and for this English support is essential. And so, for the moment, France plays the role of disinterested friend to England.

The major policies in the conference are territorial. The majority of the conference not only wishes to leave Thrace west of the Maritza in the hands of Greece; Turkey has even been refused the possession of Karagach, which is the suburb of Adrianopolis, on the west side of the Maritza where lies the railway station of this city. The islands, which skirt the west coast of Asia Minor are also to remain Greek. In the question of Capitulations, the majority is likewise unwilling to meet the Turk's demands. The great powers consider that the capitulations in Turkey remains intact, and the Turks are required to recognize the old demands of foreign creditors. The American representative took pains, also, to secure this dominance of foreign robber powers in Turkey.

In addition, America jealously reserves her own petroleum. As far as Italy is concerned, she is, despite the loud-mouthed Mussolini, a mere supernumerary.

Already one can say in all truth that the Lausanne conference is settling nothing except the petroleum problem. The Turks have no hurry to sign any peace treaty. However, even should the combination of the Great Powers and Entente and America succeed in forcing the Turks to a treaty in favor of Western Capital, such a treaty would be null and void for Soviet Russia. And Turkey herself would not wait long to tear up such a treaty. For the united front of her enemies cannot be of long duration. The petroleum question of Missouri will soon divide the English from the French and the Americans.

The Lausanne Conference will go the way of the Washington Conference, a great deal of waste paper and no result. The real outcome of Lausanne amounts to the unification of Russia and Turkey. The Lausanne conference receives its historical significance in the sense of being a step in the common struggle of the European Proletariat and the Oriental peoples against Western Capitalism. One cannot but agree with Tschicherin and not with the Dardanelles proposals of Lord Curzon.

The Moscow Disarmament Congress

By Maysky.

Despite all the talk of the enemies of Soviet Russia on the subject of "Red Imperialism", the Workers' and Peasants' Government takes no alarm over this watchword with the whole world. At Genoa the representative of Soviet Russia, Tschicherin, raised the question of general disarmament in his first speech. And even after the failure in Genoa, Soviet Russia did not abandon her pacifist intentions. On July 14 the Soviet government appealed to all the governments of the border countries, especially, to Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Roumania, to hold a common conference upon the possibility of reducing armaments.

Russia's initiative encountered much distrust. With the exception of Roumania, all these states have been formed out of parts of the one-time Russian empire, and even now they feel certain of the morrow. They are always shaking with fear that one fine day they may be swallowed up by Soviet Russia. To this must be added the influence of the great powers, above all of France, which is especially anxious that armed forces be maintained in the states surrounding Russia. It was not until December 2, that is, six months after Russia's note of invitation, that the conference was at last opened at Moscow. These present included the representatives of Soviet Russia, headed by Litvinov, and the representatives of Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania; Roumania did not take part in the conference, for the Russian government declared beforehand that its participation in the congress was conditional upon Soviet Russia's recognizing the stolen Bessarabia as a part of Roumania. It is true that the leader of the Polish delegation, prince Radziwil, declared that he had certain powers of a certain foreign military market, but he made no use of these in the course of the negotiations.

Sover Russia at once brought up the disarmament question in the first session. Her proposals were as follows: 1. Reduction of the armies of all participants in the conference by 75% within 18 months. This would imply a reduction of the Red Army to 200,000 men. (In 1914, before the war, Tsarist Russia had an army of 1,800,000.) 2. Disbandment of all irregular military formations; 3. Reduction of war expenses of the participating states in such a manner that each state has the right to expend only a certain sum per year and per soldier; 4. Creation of neutral zones on the frontiers, in which military are to be allowed.

These proposals effectively demonstrated Soviet Russia's readiness to disarm. To maintain an army of only 200,000 men for the gigantic territory of the Soviet Republic, from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean — this signified complete abandonment of any aggressive tendency.
But it is precisely for the reason that Russia’s propositions made for real and actual disarmament that they threw the delegates of the neighbouring countries into the utmost confusion. They had come to Moscow because they had to come or compromise themselves in the eyes of the masses of the people, but they had not the slightest intention of really disarmimg.

In reply to Russia’s offer the Polish-Baltic coalition stated its counter demands. The delegates declared that the first condition for disarmament was the recognition of an “independence” of Estonia and the Baltics. The resolute refusal of Russia and the neighbouring states, and that this confidence could only be created if Soviet Russia would sign a treaty binding herself not to invade these states.

In vain the Soviet delegation pointed out that the relations between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states were regulated by reciprocal treaties containing the solemn assurances of mutual friendship. After the negotiations on the “atmosphere of confidence” were over, and the question of actual disarmament was approached, a remarkable comedy was played.

Not one of the border states held it to be possible to reduce the armies by more than 25%. Russia declared that it has no army of 1,000,000 men, so that this reduction would lower it to 600,000 men. The border states did not however state the strength of their present armies. Finland was to have 30,000 men after the dismantling; Estonia, Latvia. 17,000, and Poland 25,000. But reliable information shows for instance that Latvia has now 17,500 men under arms and, Estonia even only 14,000, so that Latvia would reduce her army by 2/3 and Estonia would actually raise her army by 14 per cent. In the same manner Poland attempted, by fraudulent figures, to have its army reduced by 14,000 men, that is, by 4 1/2 per cent, instead of 25%. When their tactics were discovered, they continued to demand a complete disarmament.

Under these circumstances the conference was dead. Despite this, the Moscow disarmament congress has not been entirely unfruitful. It has openly shown to the world that the temper of the Baltic republics is sincere and anxious for peace, and the enemies of Soviet Russia will no longer, be able to convince the workers of other countries that Soviet Russia cherishes aggressive aims.

The delegates of the border countries also rejected the motion of the Russian delegates, that a full session be held to recapitulate the results of the congress. The reason given for this refusal was that such a final session would solely serve the purpose of the Soviet state. Another proof of how these elements fear the daylight, and how they must hide the truth from their peoples.

Comrade Radek’s Speech at the Hague Peace Conference

This world peace congress has been convened for the purpose of discussing the means to be employed for carrying out the resolution passed at Rome by the ITUF. Although we did not participate in that congress, we are willing to take this resolution as a starting point. Permit me to go into this resolution in detail.

General strike against war.

The main point of the resolution consists of the passage: “The International Congress declares that it is the duty of the organized workers in the future to counteract every threat of war, to contribute to the defense movement, and to prevent the actual outbreak of war by declaring an international general strike.”

What is the significance of the threat of an international general strike in the event of war? It signifies the refusal to take part in any war conducted by capitalist states, whether this war be furbished up as a war of defense, or openly carried on as a war of imperial capacity. A binding engagement to carry out a general strike against war means the refusal to defend the Capitalist Fatherland.

Mired by the slogam of defending “home and country”, the proletarian lied for four years for the interests of the bourgeoisie, and this under the leadership of the majority of you. If you have now recognized that you were in error, then have courage to admit this openly in order to have the pleasure of seeing Wels and Grassmann, Henderson and Thomas, Renaudel and Jouhaux, making a pilgrimage to Canossa, but because a mass policy must be a clear policy. If the threat of the international general strike is to be something more than an empty threat, the workers of the capitalists must be told daily:

You proletarians of the capitalist countries, you have no fatherland to defend; you must first conquer the land of your fathers.

The Preparation for the Struggle against War.

Gentlemen, you have seen what war is, many of you perhaps have felt it. I hope that your experience has been such that none of you will want to see what war means when it threatens, the capitalist governments will grant you freedom of action. The bourgeoisie will appear armed to the teeth. Is the proletariat to stand before it defenceless? It must be armed. In the first place it must be politically armed by the full consciousness of its tasks, of its political rôle. Can it be so armed when war is threatened, if its mass party has been enervated by years of a policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie?

If all you have to say against war is not to be a mere phrase, the first condition is to break off the coalition with the bourgeoisie.

The proletariat, thus emancipated from the paralyzing coalition with the bourgeoisie, will also emancipate itself from the influence of bourgeois politics and mentality. It must learn to understand all the mysteries and tricks of the bourgeoisie. Are you helping the proletariat to do this? The resolution on Henderson’s report lies before me. It does not even demand the annulment of the Versailles Treaty! Four years after the end of the war, after every liberal has recognized the unenlightenment of this treaty, your resolution demands the revision of some points of the Versailles peace, without even exactly designating which. Do you believe that agitation of this nature will inspire the French and English workers to take action, and to make sacrifices, against the occupation of the Ruhr valley? Why do you not protest against the proceedings in Lausanne, where a new treaty of Versailles is being prepared against the Turkish people? Do you believe that there is no class struggle for the possession of the Mosaul petroleum, or that such a war does not concern the proletariat?

But the mental preparation of the proletariat against the danger of war does not suffice; even its protests do not suffice.

The bourgeoisie does not know how to wage war. You have caused the great word of an international strike against war to be uttered.

We are of the opinion that if the working classes do not rise before the casual call of the bourgeoisie, it is much less likely to rise after martial law has been proclaimed, after all the demons of nationalism have been let loose, and the workers bound hand and foot.

We communists, whose object it is to prepare the working class to-day and to-morrow for the revolutionary struggle against the dangers of war, do not engage to organize the mass strike when war breaks out.

Mass strike against war is social revolution, and the date of the social revolution cannot be determined beforehand.

If you can do it, we shall not stand aside, although we are no fixed-term heroes. But we can tell you one thing: After your policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie and of pacifist illusions has enabled world capitalist once more to drive the working masses back to the old positions, it will not desert, but will go to war, and take up arms to carry the spirit of revolution into the army, to turn the weapons against the bourgeoisie.

If you talk daggers here for a week, and then go home to prepare heroic deeds against war, to be performed at dates still unknown, the bourgeoisie will laugh at you, and will have a right to do so. Now is the time to show your readiness to fight, now is the time to show that the bourgeoisie is not prepared to strangle the German people with fresh reparations demands, and is paving the way for a new war in the Near East. As proof of your readiness to fight we suggest:

1. the immediate organization of an international propaganda week against the war.
2. the deviation of the closing day of this week to a one-day protest strike against the peace treaties of Versailles, etc.
Whenever we make suggestions, you invariably reply that we have the interests of our Russian foreign policy in view. But now I may tell you:

We Russians do not now fear the attacks of the Entente; the Entente will not venture to attack us. The proposal which we make to you is not: Help Soviet Russia. We say: Do not make it impossible for the proletariat to unite in the fight against the consequences of the war, which will crush the Western European proletariat to the earth. We hold out our hand to you for cooperation, and if you refuse to take it at this moment, when you are uniting with the bourgeois pacifists, the proletariat will recognize that you do not mean to fight!

Comrade Radek, explained, on behalf of the Russian delegation, why the decisions of the commission were impossible of acceptance by them.

"We came here for the purpose of taking a common step forwards with you. But it appears that you do not want to take this step forwards. The resolution on the reparations which has been passed in the commission forces the German worker, who cannot even buy himself a shirt, to pay for Stinnes' policy. But how can it be about that the congress only demands reparations for France and Belgium, but not for Yugoslavia or Poland, who suffered far more from the war? Because the congress submits to the pressure of Poincaré and his 80,000 soldiers. The League of Nations is nothing more nor less than a diplomatic negotiating machine. How can a proletarian congress designate this League as a universal remedy? A resolution is submitted demanding the general strike in case of war. But here we made it clear to the resolution which was received with lively applaus, that in case of war he would first have to consider if it were not a war of defense for Belgium; and in the commission, Huysmans declared quite openly that under similar conditions he would do as precisely as in 1914. The majority of the congress has refused the practical suggestions of the Russian delegates. The majority want to join hands with the bourgeois pacifists, but not with the communist workers who fought against war, at the greatest sacrifice, during the whole war. We shall go to the masses and tell them why the united front has failed here."

The Resolution proposed by the Russian Delegation:

(rejected).

"In view of the fact that the abolition of war is only possible with the abolition of the capitalist system, war being an attendant phenomenon of capitalism; and in consideration of the fact that the pre-requisite of every struggle against imperialism is the creation of a united front, the International Peace Congress adopts the following resolution:

1. An international committee of action is to be formed for conducting the struggle against war, this committee to be composed of representatives of the International Trade Union Federation, the Second International, the Vienna Working Union of socialist parties, the Communist International, the Red Labor Union International (Moscow), and the International Cooperative Federation.

2. Similar committees of action are to be formed in all countries, composed of representatives of the above named organizations.

3. Every workers' organization is to be admitted to these committees of action, even if it does not belong to any international, provided it wishes to enter the fight against war.

4. These committees of action have the further task of exercising all their energies to put an end to the splits within the trade union organizations, and to prevent possible splits, provided that the liberty of propaganda within the organizations themselves is assured.

5. These committees of action and the organizations to which they belong must carry on an indefatigable fight against the theory and practice of bourgeois defense of the native country, this being a slogan utilized for the purpose of delivering over the workers' class, bound hand and foot, to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

6. In order that the proletarian fight against war may have real results, mutual work with bourgeois classes and government coalitions is to be abandoned, and a distinct dividing line to be drawn between workers' organizations and bourgeois governments.

7. In view of the fact that bourgeois pacifism is under the delusion that peace can be maintained on a capitalist foundation, the peace congress calls upon all workers' organizations to destroy these bourgeois delusions by systematic work, the more that the combating of these dangerous delusions is the leading premise for efficacious struggle against war. Without declining the cooperation of bourgeois pacifism for the cause of peace, the congress is opposed to a bloc with the bourgeois peace movement, as such a bloc is only a form of working in common with the bourgeois class.

8. In order to prepare the army and broad masses of the workers for the real fight against war, legal and secret organizations are to be formed in the army, and to gain an influence, by means of constant, persevering, and unanimous work, enabling them to take their place at the head of the army at the suitable moment, and to rise against the bourgeoisie.

9. The masses must prepare for the most violent struggle: for the amendment of the Versailles treaty and of analogous treaties; against the imperial band of robbers hiding behind the "League of Nations"; for the most energetic fight against the enslavement of the working masses of Germany, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, and in consequence on the reparations; and on the attempt of the bourgeoisie of all countries to thus meet the damage wrought all over the world by the imperialist war.

10. The Chaneurres of international imperialism against the interests of the working class must be unmasked, and all secret societies made public; all the governments are to be publicized.

11. It is necessary to call upon the workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, oppressed by the imperialist governments, to take part in this action.

12. Action is to be taken for the immediate evacuation of all part of Germany occupied by allied troops, and for the evacuation of all countries, democratic and nondemocratic, in the Near and Far East, in Africa, etc., whose occupation has been carried out on the mandate of the League of Nations, that is, by the right of might.

13. Action is to be taken for the disarmament of all White Guard organizations (Fascist, civil, and the Volkschutz), and for the arming of the working masses; further action is to be taken for the formation of workers' governments in all countries, the task of such governments being to carry out the above-mentioned demands, and to win the ruling classes.

14. The congress resolves to organize an international propaganda week against war, from January 10 to 15, and to proclaim a 24 hours international general strike for January 15, as a protest against war, against the Versailles treaty, against imperialism, against the dictatorship of capital, and for the placing of power in the hands of the workers." (Rejected.)

The "Zoological Garden" at the Hague

By A. Lezowsky.

It is eminently suitable that the International Peace Conference, which has been called to meet the people in Amsterdam, should meet precisely here. The spot is well chosen. The pacifist fauna of this fair is fairly well represented. The one-time French militarists, having learned something by the international experience, will walk hand in hand with the bourgeois pacifists, and perform miracles of eloquence, skirting and fringing their 100,000 times around the questions, without ever tackling them fairly. The crocodiles of the holy civil peace wander about the garden and exert themselves to the utmost to square the circle: to declare war against war, and at the same time to defend an imperialist native country to the last breath. Who would have believed that these asses could continue to exist? But they are still there; the air of Versailles seems to have done them good.

Abstract and barren pacifism is quite at home here. The speakers and delegates roam to such an extent that they might be taken for real lions, but nobody takes them seriously, for everybody knows them to be the servants of their governments.

I walk along by the tables and look for workers with revolutionary blood in their veins, and not the conscripted water of pacifists! I look in vain.

The garden is still and lonely. Even the flies are almost dying of ennui. This garden, which fairly resembles a cemetery, is one day abruptly shaken out of its quietness by the appearance of Muscovite bears. What can they want here? The poor unwieldy animals wander about among the tame beasts. The air of the Zoological Garden, reeking of the most stable and almost suffocates the Muscovite animals. Here they miss the fresh air of their native country. The tame creatures, gentle and friendly to their masters, cry out in the greatest alarm at the
sight of the tears... Have you never seen how doves go in for politics on a grand scale? It is a fine spectacle!  

But is it really so delightful here in this Zoological Garden? I begin to doubt it, although the number of animals represented is large enough. If it is much more like a pacifist cemetery, where the pacifist corpse wanders meekly about, delivering hollow and empty speeches. Always the same phrases, over and over again. Is it a cemetery or a Zoological garden? One as much as the other. And peace? Ah, peace! It's dead, poor thing. Poisoned by reformism and bourgeois pacifism.  
The Hague, December 12, 1922.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Fight in Ludwigsafen

By J. Walther (Berlin).

A Retrospect.

The fight in Ludwigsafen lasted for three weeks and a half. It ended in defeat. But we believe that this defeat is one of those of which Rosa Luxemburg once spoke, which form the premonitory signs of future victories. This can be said: only the case. If the vanquished workers candidly admit their defeat, sum and sum the workers struggle through the whole of its causes. The workers who were obliged to capitulate, as just as victory appeared to be within their reach? Why has the German proletariat added a fresh link to the long chain of strikes? The reply is as follows: the workers of Ludwigsafen were vanquished by capital because some of their local representatives, and the majority of the trade union leaders, sided with the employers in the battle against the workers in this struggle. The struggle of Ludwigsafen, the workers of Ludwigsafen, in the course of two days, went over almost the whole of the Rhine province. Had the struggle spread at the same speed beyond the borders of the province, the outcome of the battle would have been decided within a few days, and the working class would have returned the factories as victors. The realization that the struggle of the Ludwigsafen workers was a struggle of the whole working class, was however, not sufficiently strong to bring about a spontaneous solidarity strike outside the Rhine district.

This is the first lesson to be drawn by the proletariat from the Ludwigsafen fight: it is impossible for the workers to obtain a decisive victory over capital, where only funds are pitted against the numbers of the workers depends on their having adequate means in their treasury to meet the needs of the strikers. In such a struggle the most that can be forced from the employers is a compromise acceptable by the workers, but they can never thus be forced to complete capitulation. In this struggle, even though it did not intensify into a political one, the position, having regard to all circumstances, was extremely difficult for the workers. The chemical industry is very busy. The profits foretold in the leading capitalist papers for the day of the strike were enormous. Had the trade unions supported the fight of the workers with only half the energy which they employed to damage the strikers and discredit the workers, they would have been successful in keeping up their position, and would have forced the employers to pay adequate wages, and to withdraw the dismissal of the three shop stewards. But the trade unions, particularly the leading Factory Workers' Federation, did not support the strikers; they even made difficulties in the way of the collections organized by the workers all over the country. In this way the trade union bureaucracy succeeded in preventing many workers from taking part in the relief action. As a result of this sabotage the amounts collected did not suffice to adequately support the strikers. In the course of the first week and a half the strikers received only one single dole: married men 1,500 marks — and single men 1000 marks. A round sum of 30 million marks was required for this single payment. The 11 million marks which were subscribed with the aid of the international working class. In Germany itself collecting was not begun until the second week of the strike, and in the international, practical results could not possibly be realized under the circumstances. The majority of the strikers had become unbearable before practical solidarity began to take effect. The misery of the strikers was at the gates — the majority of the fighters had taken the last of their property to the pawnshop, and were faced with absolute destitution. The conscious workers saw the dangerous position; they redoubled their efforts and prepared the readiness for self-sacrifice the strike leaders could announce the commencement of the second payment of strike benefits.

The workers were to decide by vote whether they would continue to starve and suffer in the attempt to break the brutality of aniline capital. At this point the local organizers of the German Metal Workers Union, some thousand members of which were participating in the fight, took it upon themselves to carry out the comity of putting the question to the vote. Only a ridiculously small number of workers took part. The local organizers took care to ignore no numbers, but hastened to declare the strike at an end. The strikers were thrown into confusion — the backbone of the struggle was broken. Aniline capital would never have gained the victory but for the help of the trade union bureaucracy. Although the strikers were fighting under the most unfavorable conditions possible, aniline capital could not succeed in launching the full wage demands made by the strikers. Previous to this, the strikers' wages were simply refused; as a result of the strike the wages, which were 185 marks per hour were raised to 400 marks. Besides this, every worker is promised an after payment, 2,500 marks for November, and a Christmas advance to any desired amount. The aniline capitalists are thus obliged to pay a very high price for having their workers return to work under the 21 conditions of enslavement. These 21 conditions fully express the defeat of the workers and the victory of the capitalists! Until the outbreak of the strike the workers possessed fairly extensive rights of decision and control in the factories and workshops. The shop stewards were everywhere in fact headed by the trade union leaders, and the workers were able to address the authorities and employers on the conditions of work and wage demands raised by the workers. The shop stewards have been dismissed. Thanks to trade union bureaucracy, capital has been able to fully utilize its victory.

Every worker who took part in the fight thoroughly realized that the capitalist victory was only rendered possible because so-called "confidential" assistance which they were on the other side of the barricade, on the side of the employers. The second lesson to be drawn by the workers from the Ludwigsafen strike is: ruthless exploitation from their own ranks, of all open or concealed aniline capital, until all the workers, not only in the strike area, but all over the country, have really taken this most important lesson of the strike to heart, then the defeat of Ludwigsafen is indeed the augury of future victories.

One other matter of immense significance for the class-conscious proletariat of the whole world, must be emphasized. As far as we are aware, it is the first time that the class-conscious workers — not only of the whole country, but of the whole world — have taken active part in an economic struggle confined to a small district. The Ludwigsafen has raised the 50 million marks required by the strikers in a very short time. Even if the workers of Ludwigsafen have not succeeded in vanquishing the aniline kings, the fact that the Russian, Czechoslovakian, French, Norwegian, Bulgarian, English, and Swiss workers made the utmost sacrifices to aid the workers to victory is none the less of tremendous significance. It is only two years since the Red International of Labor Unions came into existence, when a large number of international solidarity movements are affiliated to it. And yet an appeal from this organization to the world, even a few days, to bring in sums amounting to millions, from numerous countries, for the striking workers. This magnificent international solidarity must be organized, must be organized. Facts prove — and this is the third lesson to be drawn from this struggle — that it is already possible, at the present time, to create an international fighting fund. International collections are being made. An International of Action.  

An International of Action.
ECONOMIC RELIEF

Reception of the First Workers’ Loan

By W. Münzenberg (Berlin).

The announcement and opening of the first workers’ loan for Soviet Russia through the International Workers’ Relief was greeted with scepticism by many party members. The comrades foresaw a complete political and financial fiasco. But again the optimism of the workers and not the critics, the doubters and hesitators who, hindered by a hundred perplexities and doubts, accomplish nothing in the end. The most critical comrades, viewing the political results of the drive up to date, can find no harmful consequences for the Communist movement and the International. On the contrary, in many countries—one need only mention Sweden, Norway, France, Holland and America—comrades have seized upon propaganda for the loan as an opportunity for general and effective propaganda for Soviet Russia, for the proletarian revolution in Russia and for the labor movement in all lands. In still other countries the proletarian loan has furnished the occasion for the first widespread propaganda for Soviet Russia, as, for instance, in Japan.

Thousands of posters, a hundred thousand articles, appeals, etc., have been used in the cause of the loan and of Soviet Russia, and at the same time fighting the lying statements of the bourgeois and Social Democratic press. Nor has the loan and the propaganda for bringing it about hindered in the least the work of the International Workers’ education work in various countries, which the decrees of the Communist International have earned respect and esteem, the most encouraging propaganda and political results have developed. But prophecies over the material results were as unimportant as the present Russian system and the present Russian Government has proved stronger and greater than some of the comrades supposed. Bourgeois banks have undertaken the sale of shares of the Workers Loan, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups have invested in shares and bourgeois industrial and commercial enterprises declare themselves ready to accept the script of the Workers’ loan in exchange.

Besides the Communist Parties, many Trade Unions and Cooperative Societies are showing great interest in the loan. In certain countries, Sweden, France, England, for instance, several loan committees have been formed with delegates from the Communist party and from the Trade Unions, Cooperative Societies and other organizations as well. One of the members of the London Committee, the well-known English Trade Union leader. Similar committees are in course of formation in other countries.

The loan has been considerably hampered by a multitude of questions which had to be solved regarding technical financial legal and organizational matters. The state of the security market differs in almost every country. Frequent and lengthy consultation with experts was necessary. Great pains were taken over the necessary organization of the loan, the consideration of the general exchange conditions and the good relations of each country. The loan certificates are to be principally sold in the currency of each particular country, had to be carefully translated, printed and conveyed to the various committees. These technical preliminaries occupied more than four months’ time. The loan’s reception, however, has been a success. The Zeituhr and the time is now ripe for a wide and public propaganda for subscription.

But already, before a widespread public drive was possible, considerable amounts were subscribed and paid. In several countries, a substantial fraction of the amount had to be subscribed and the receipt of 75,000 Guilden and 10,000 is already paid. In Sweden shares have been disposed of to the amount of 125,000 Kronen, and the Stockholm Committee is confident that this amount will be subscribed. In France, a fraction of the amount has already been subscribed, as well as in Norway, where the various Trade Unions, such as the Goldsmiths union have subscribed largely. Switzerland and Czechoslovakia show an increasing interest. England plans to raise 40,000 pounds sterling, etc.

Good news, arrives from South America, while in North America the labor groups having Russian sympathies have just agreed to raise another million dollars for the American-Russian Co-operative Organisation which was founded by the Garment Workers’ Relief. The American-Russian Co-operative Organisation, Furthermore, is calling a sitting of its extended executive at Berlin in the middle of January. The Russian Government will be represented by several delegates.

FASCISM

The Development of Fascism in Czechoslovakia

By Karl Kredich (Prague).

There is no doubt that we are confronted by the rise of an extensive Fascist movement in Czechoslovakia. The threads are being spun between the Orgesch organization and the German nationalistic classes of Czechoslovakia are becoming more and more visible, and are preparing the way for an irrepressible movement. At the same time the Czechoslovakian newspapers publish constant articles on the sinister "Narodnyi front" (national movement), the name of the Czech Fascist organization. Even the German social democrats, who a year ago attempted to ridicule the first disclosures of our press on the German-Bunovian Orgesch, now take the matter more seriously, and that part of the Czech press opposed to the Fascist movement shows great signs of disquietude, but more on account of the Czech than on account of German Fascism, which is not taken very seriously by the Czechs.

In any case, we, Czechoslovakian communists have got to take the Fascist movement seriously, not only because the groups from which Fascism attracts its forces (gymnastic clubs, legions, etc.) have already long existed, but above all because the economic and political conditions making for Fascism are found in Czechoslovakia. The economic crisis heavily burdens the country. Its economic relations to neighboring states are difficult and complicated, every exertion has to be made to overcome the crisis. The last ounce of strength must be clung out of the working masses for the salvation of capitalist economy. In no place are the wages of the workers and the salaries of the civil servants so palpably reduced as in Czechoslovakia, there is no country where unemployment is so terrible. The carrying on of an economic program such as planned, at the expense of the working population, requires ruthless brutality and a strong and determined governmental power. Thus the government of the strong hands had to be formed, in which the wire-pullers of the government parties, who have hitherto only worked behind the scenes, themselves took an active part, in order to throw the weight of their authority in the balance.

But the political power of this governmental coalition are by no means limited to the gigantic movement itself. Czechoslovak social democracy is no doubt well represented in Parliament, but it has no corresponding hold on the masses. It is only because they have nothing more to lose, that these bankrupt strong hands are able to accept any condition that the finance capitalists and agrarians demand of them. The fermentation among the masses, after reaching Czechoslovak social democracy two years ago, has now spread to Czech socialism, whose position has, up to now been unshaken.
the necessity of considering the social democratic parties. For these parties fear the masses, and are a hindrance to a sharper persecution and suppression of the communist movement. Hence the backing of the Fascist movement by the national democratic parties.

Czechoslovak Fascism is preparing for battle on two fronts at once. It has not only to defend the capitalist state against the revolutionary labor movement, but at the same time the Czech national state against the national minority movement, to fight simultaneously in the class war and in national war. The rebellion of the majority of the Slovaks against the Prague Czech-Slovakian coalition government, destroys the fiction of a united Czechoslovakian nation, and renders the formation of a new, Czech-Slovakian coalition government even more difficult, and more difficult, as the Czechs alone do not possess a majority in the state. At the same time the first pre-requisites for a Czech-German bourgeois-socialist government coalition have been recently conquered. The government of the Czechs, the formation of which is now under discussion, is composed of the whole of the German-bourgeois deputies in the Czech Parliament has been dissolved. The personal contact and community between the social democratic party leaders and the leading spirits of the Amsterdam trade union international is, in Czechoslovakia, as in Austria, much closer and more intimate than anywhere else, and the German social democrats have agreed so completely with their Czech colleagues in reducing the wages of the workers, and in the formation of the unified front that the political antagonism existing between these two cliques of leaders is based solely on bourgeois socialism in both camps. As long as bourgeois factions are found on the German and Czech side, this coalition, in a conflict with the state majority, this hindrance to a German-Czech bourgeois-socialist government will be overcome. This coalition is approaching nearer and nearer, and the antagonism, in the present coalition and the social democratic state, that the social democratic state socialists desire the new coalition in order to free themselves from the oppressive social rule of the national democrats, who bring the whole coalition system into discredit; at the same time they expect to be rid of the letters of coalition against them, and to be able to act with the Austrian alliance which embitters the anti-clerical masses of the Czechoslovak working people.

But Czech finance capital sees its scarcely won position of monopolist of the home markets, already endangered by a Czech-Slovakian government, flourishing with a strong democratic socialism. Therefore the national democrats are irreconcilable opponents of this coalition. The disciples of unconditional adherence to French foreign policy side with them. The ranks of the opponents of this type of cooperation are filled by the extreme nationalists, the politicians, and by the legionnaires, who fear that any injury to Czech supremacy in the state involves injury to their civil service careers. All these elements combine to form the Czechoslovakian government, the present bourgeois-socialist coalition is showing the first signs of going to pieces, the next coalition is not only knocking at the door, but the doors are already being laid which in turn are to be closed this coalition. The legionnaires are already bewailing the(elementary) nature of the social democratic state. The bourgeoisie is already building on Fascism, the proletariat on its unified front. The decision will depend upon which fighting front rallies first, that of the bourgeoisie or that of the proletariat.

Here it should not be forgotten, that one leading cause of Fascism—inadequacy of state power at the critical moment—must be more rapid in its effects in Czechoslovakia, than in other countries. The bourgeoisie is composed of antagonistic elements: old Austrian bureaucrats and new extreme national elements side by side with German and Hungarian officials, who cannot be relied upon under all conditions. The army is still under German influence. This coalition is not a coalition, under German influence. This coalition is composed of men of German nationality. The rank and file is also unreliable, owing to different nationalities and communist propaganda (at the last communal election at Jicin the majority of the commissars voted communist). To meet this political geographical situation of the state is most unfavorable from a political standpoint, its frontiers strategically most disadvantageous, and the irredentist danger, so acute at many critical points, affects the whole of the state. It will be the task of the workers and the peasants to defend the territory of the state, quite as much as the bourgeoisie.

The conditions and thus also the danger, fully exists in Czechoslovakia. The proletariat will have to take the matter very seriously indeed, although the beginnings of the movement may appear trivial. In the Czech-Slovakian state it is easier to declare the "fatherland" to be in danger than in other countries, for the danger is much more real. The German danger, that is, the danger of a German success in the case of a conflict with a capitalist nationalist Germany, is indeed so great that even in earnest Czech circles Fascism is decisively rejected as a fighting weapon against the German danger. But the hope being entertained that the capitalist state, will always be endangered, and Fascism will always be wanting to seize it. Fascism in Czechoslovakia is a real danger for the proletariat, and it must take steps against it in good time.

An Episode of Fascism in Poland

By P. Paschal

Warsaw, Dec. 11, 1922.

Last night, on the 10th December, a mob of several thousands gathered before the Russian Embassy in Warsaw, shouting and yelling: "Kill the Jews! Down with the Bolshevik! Long live the Fascist!"

A similar demonstration had taken place the previous evening. To-day many people were maltreated, thrown from the trams, wounded, perhaps even killed. Police petrols appeared somewhat late, and wounded many.

Pogroms are being revived. But not in the old Tsarist Russia, but in Poland, which, though formally independent, is in reality doubly enslaved by its petty militarist nobility and by the French generals or financiers. Galician salt or Dombrovo salt is unobtainable at the present moment. The French capital derives profit from its export. During two hours walk through the centre of Warsaw I encountered a French colonel, two majors, and a French soldier. On the other hand, almost every fifth patrol was a Polish military person. And Jewish blood has been shed!

The excuse for the uproar was the election of a new chief of state in place of the President, Piluksiński, who has resigned. The new man is the cousin of the congress of the 8th of December for this election. Zamoyński, the Polish ambassador in Paris and candidate of the Right and Vitos, the candidate of the rich peasantry, were defeated by Narutowicz, the candidate of the "Vyzolienie" party and the medium peasantry. This result was due to the votes of the Lithuanian, White Russian, German, and Jewish national groups. Hence the rage of the parties of the Right. The electoral districts had been carefully arranged so as to wipe out the national minorities, but by holding together they have managed to frustrate this manoeuvre. At the congress they commanded 200 votes.

The pogrom did not originate among the general populace, but among the students. They could be seen, during the last three days, walking about in the manner of the Fascist, armed with a bayonet and an ax. And it was the students who accompanied by warmly and richly clad ladies and gentlemen, who formed the crowds of demonstrators shouting: "Kill the Jews!" The movement is not a spontaneous one. One of its instigators is General Haller, the one-time commander of the Polish legions and the blind tool of the French army staff. A few days ago he delivered a most inflammatory speech. White guard plactards are displayed everywhere, containing incitements against the Jews.

But this is not all. Under the Tzar's regime the Jews in the universities were only permitted to be matriculated when they had attained a certain percentage. The "enlightened" society of Poland was indifferent or even hostile towards the Russian Jews. But nowadays, a meeting of 3000 students decided to permit at most only 13 per cent of Jews to matriculate.

On the other hand, there is now proceeding the trial of the 39 communists arrested last year in Lemberg. 2000 further communists must be brought to trial, the Polish Social Party, which is thoroughly permeated by reformist and nationalist ideas. "I offer no opinion as to whether the Jews shoule be allowed to return. But in any case I know that prices are higher every day, while wages remain the same", so said a workman to me with regard to one of these demonstrations.

Thus appears bourgeois militarist Poland, the darling of France. Despite her name, she has a title to fame, and the whole world must ring with it:

"Poland is awakening again to life the pogroms against the Jews!"

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