

declared to the Amsterdamers and social democrats: "We are divided from you by great antagonisms, but if you are willing to fight against war, we are with you. In this case we are prepared to ally ourselves with you—despite your shortcomings, and to fight side by side with you against the dangers of war. For every other antagonism must retreat before the danger of war." The reply of the Amsterdamers to this was abuse of the communists, of whom they allege that they cause the split in the trade unions. Hereupon the representatives of the Russian trade unions answered: "Every child knows that we are opposed to the split in the trade unions. It is not we, but you, who expel minorities holding different opinions from the trades unions. But whoever may be at fault for the schism in the trade unions, we offer our help towards overcoming this schism. For strong and united trade unions are necessary for the war against war. We propose that committees of action be formed for healing the split in every country, and for making all further schism impossible; if you will only give us the possibility of agitating for our ideas in the trade unions, we are ready to submit to trade union discipline in the conflict against capital." This proposal was scornfully rejected by the Amsterdamers.

And at the same moment when they were preventing the formation of a proletarian united front against imperialism, they allied themselves with the bourgeois pacifists. For the first time in the history of the present day labor movement, the trade unions and the political labor organizations held a congress in common with the representatives of a part of the bourgeoisie, and thus gave the bourgeoisie the possibility of participating in decisions affecting the most important questions of the labor movement.

The united proletarian front is opposed by the alliance of the Amsterdamers, the 2. and 2½ Internationals, with the representatives of a part of the bourgeoisie.

It is attempted to justify this procedure by the statement that all forces directed against war must be collected for the conflict. But this assertion is a pure swindle. The Amsterdamers have refused to ally themselves with the revolutionary workers, the only real opponents of imperialist war. They only ally themselves with the bourgeois pacifists, the overwhelming majority of whom went over into the camp of nationalism, precisely like the Amsterdamers, during the war, and aided imperialism to tear the flesh from the bones of the proletariat.

Words in place of deeds against the danger of war.

When the Amsterdamers and the 2. and 2½ Internationals, rejected the united proletarian front, and formed an alliance with the bourgeoisie, they pronounced the condemnation of the Hague conference. People who refuse to join the revolutionary proletariat, and who prefer to ally themselves with the bourgeoisie, do not really want to fight seriously against war. Imperialist war serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, and those who ally themselves with the bourgeoisie enervate and weaken the working class, and render it impotent to fight against the danger of imperialist war. And thus we have witnessed that the Amsterdamers, the 2. and 2½ Internationals, actually went so far as to make speeches for the war against war, oblivious to the fact that at the same moment in Lausanne, the allies were throwing a noose around the necks of the Turkish people endeavouring to force a new Versailles peace on the Orient, the sure forerunner of a fresh war. The intervention of the representatives of the Russian trade unions was required as a reminder that in January there will be fresh decisions made by the great powers in regard to the reparation question, which may render the situation very acute all over the world. But all the endeavours of the Russian delegates failed to persuade these remarkable pacifists

to organize even so much as a demonstration strike,

which should show the international bourgeoisie that the proletariat is beginning to gather its forces against imperialism. Instead of organizing the fight against the danger of war, the Amsterdamers threatened an international strike in case of war. To these threats the representatives of the Russian trade unions replied that an international strike against war would be a trial of strength demanding the complete equipment of the proletariat. When war breaks out, every nationalist passion is unchained, military laws are proclaimed, and self-defense is only possible to a proletariat equipped and trained by years of uninterrupted class war. How can the proletariat be prepared for a revolutionary fight against the outbreak of war, when years of coalition policy have yoked it to the chariot of the bourgeoisie, when it has become accustomed to renounce all revolutionary propaganda against the bourgeois idea of defense of native country, when it possesses no illegal organizations, when it has delivered all weapons into the hands of the bourgeoisie?

*Break with the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie!
Fight to the utmost against the policy of defence of the native country!
Prepare the working class for the war against war, agitate in the army!*

Open up relations with the working masses in the Near and Far East, and in the colonies!—

These were the watchwords of the Russian trades unions. These are the watchwords of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions. These watchwords were replied to, without causing the slightest protest in the congress, in a speech by Emile Vanderveide, former chairman of the 2. International and subsequent royal Belgian minister, in which he expressed himself in favor of defence of native country, and defended the reparations policy.

And in the commission of the congress the former secretary of the 2. International concisely declared that, should war break out, the social-democratic parties and the trades unions would be obliged to act as they did in 1914, that is, betray the proletariat.

Camille Huysmans told the truth about the sort of conflict against war carried on by the Amsterdamers, the 2. and 2½ Internationals. At present they threaten with the international general strike against war, but they do this solely to keep the working masses quiet, and will deliver these over to imperialism, bound hand and foot, for they have no intention of fighting against the bourgeoisie. Those who have for years renounced all idea of fighting against the bourgeoisie, will not rise against it when it is an actual matter of life and death.

The united proletarian front against the danger of war.

Fellow workers! The Hague conference has proved that the leaders of the Amsterdam Trades Union International, of the 2. and 2½ Internationals, are not ready to fight against the growing danger of war, that on the contrary they are doing everything to make such a fight impossible. If you do not want to be dragged defenceless on to fresh battle-fields and annihilated in millions, you must gather together in factories, workshops, and mines, in town and country, even against the will of your leaders, to form a united front of the fighting proletariat. You must gather together in one united proletarian front, without thought of party differences, or another unity may be your lot — the unity of death on a common battle-field. You must overcome the paralyzing influence of the reformist leaders, who split your ranks and ally themselves with the bourgeoisie. You must begin to-day to fight the war danger in every country, with the greatest energy; you must liberate the masses from the influence of imperialism, you must render them capable of rising like one man against the danger of war. The masses of workers in the victorious capitalist countries must learn to recognize that they are no less defeated than the masses of the vanquished capitalist countries. They must recognize that if they do not oppose the rapacious raids of their governments, it is not the bourgeoisie of the conquered countries that will pay tribute, but the masses of the working people in these countries, that these will sink to the level of Chinese coolies, and will be driven by want and misery to work on terms of slavery, enabling the bourgeoisie of the victorious countries to force their workers to accept starvation wages. The workers of the vanquished capitalist countries must recognize that it is not in coalition with their own bourgeoisie, but only in

unity with the proletariat of the victorious countries, that the chains of Versailles, Trianon, and Neuilly can be broken.

The whole international proletariat must gather around Soviet Russia, the sole proletarian state power opposing the organized power of 150 million human beings to the rapacious policy of international imperialism.

Down with the imperialist policy of the capitalist governments!

Down with the Versailles treaty of peace!

Long live the united front of the proletariat against the danger of war!

Away with the coalition with the bourgeoisie!

Away with the reformist leaders, who render the proletariat incapable of fighting!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!

Moscow, 19. Dec. 1922.

The Executive of the Communist International.

The Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions.

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The International Conference in Essen

(Special Report to "Inprekorr".)

Essen, January 6, 1923.

Today there was a meeting here of the representatives of the Communist Parties of France (among others Cachin, and Monmousseau from the C.G.T.U.), England (among others the newly elected member of Parliament Newbold), Belgium, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, and Germany. There were also present the trade union leaders of the revolutionary railwaymen, metal workers, building workers, and textile workers of France and Germany. Representatives of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the Communist Youth International were also present.

Monmousseau brought with him 11,000 francs for the workers dismissed through the Ludwigshafen strike.

The agenda was as follows:

1. Fight against the Versailles peace after the failure of the Paris conference.

2. Organizational relations.

Clara Zetkin and Meyer (Germany) and Marcel Cachin (France) are elected to the chair.

Cachin is the first speaker. He calculates with certainty on the occupation of the Ruhr valley. For Poincaré this is a question of *to be or not to be*. He owes it to his Bloc National. The French workers have taken up the most energetic fight against this fresh adventure of French imperialism. A common committee of action has been formed against the Versailles peace by the French Communist Party and the *Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire* (C.G.T.U.).

Monmousseau (C.G.T.U.) speaks to the following effect: This meeting has nothing in common with that notorious conference held in 1914 in Brussels, where Jouhaux and Legien were present. At that time these men made the most sacred promises of peace, only to break them afterwards. Jouhaux and Legien, these false apostles of peace, transformed themselves later into unscrupulous apostles of war. We are no pacifists. We are in favor of peace because proletarian interests demand peace. We shall carry out the decisions resolved upon here without reserve. We shall do our utmost to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr valley.

Brandler reports on the position of the German party. This has now been considerably strengthened. Its influence reaches far beyond the limits of the party itself. Still we must not over-estimate our powers. But what we undertake to do at this conference shall be carried out.

Thalheimer gives a general survey of the international situation. Various possibilities are to be reckoned with. It may be that England and America will interfere at the last moment. But on the other hand it is equally possible that the pledges are seized without military measures. Should the Ruhr district be occupied, we must also calculate with the likelihood that the French government will first try and appease the workers with sugarplums, that is, with wages paid in francs, as the best way of corrupting them. Thalheimer welcomes the energetic attitude

adopted by the French workers. They may be assured that we make common cause with them. The present international situation renders it imperative for the German proletariat to issue the foreign political slogan of: *A bloc between Germany, Soviet Russia, and Turkey*, able to defy the Entente.

Gallagher (England) speaks in favor of the sharpest possible action against the occupation of the Ruhr valley.

Ker (France) reports that the position of French industry is comparatively good. The position of state finance, on the other hand, is very bad. The government utilizes this circumstance for purposes of nationalist agitation. It casts the blame on Germany, and makes propaganda for taking military action. The overwhelming majority of the French people however, is opposed to any warlike measures, for it is fully aware that it is the proletariat that foots the bill in the end, with its property and blood. The occupation of the Ruhr valley would raise a mighty storm in the French proletariat.

Prohibition of the international demonstrations against the occupation of the Ruhr district.

The demonstrations announced to take place against the occupation of the Ruhr valley, at which French, English, and Belgian representatives were to speak, have been prohibited in Düsseldorf and Munich-Gladbach by the French occupation authorities.

Great demonstrations in Gelsenkirchen and Duisburg.

Essen, January 7, 1923.

Today, Sunday morning, gigantic demonstrations were held in Gelsenkirchen and Duisburg. These demonstrations were participated in by workers of all proletarian parties and tendencies. Speeches were made by French, Belgian, English, Italian, Czech, German, and Dutch communists and trade union leaders. Their speeches were received with frantic enthusiasm. The whole atmosphere was one of readiness to fight.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the session of the international conference was continued.

Kreibich (Czecho-Slovakia) pointed out that the Czech social democrats do not want to hear anything about a revision of the Versailles treaty. They are the most faithful supporters of the policy of Poincaré-Benes. At the present time Czecho-Slovakia is shaken to its foundations by a severe economic crisis. It is not alone the workers who are opposing the policy of the government, but also the officials, petty bourgeois, and peasants. The non-Czech bourgeoisie is also antagonistic to the government. The work of the communists is rendered more difficult by the circumstance that their aims are misrepresented as being irredentist. Our struggle must thus be carried on on international lines, in common with the proletariat of France,

England, and Italy. When common international action is taken against the Versailles robber treaty, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia will not lag behind.

Monmousseau suggests that in the manifesto to be issued by this conference our attitude should be expressed, not only against the consequences of the Versailles treaty, for this is done grudgingly now and again even by the Amsterdamers, but against this vile treaty itself, against the vile principle of this treaty. We must completely condemn the whole treaty, as it stands, as it was signed at the time by the Amsterdamers and the leaders of the 2. International.

Brandler speaks as follows: Jouhaux and Legien are opposed to the Versailles treaty in words only. This was plainly to be seen at the *Nine Conference* held in Berlin in April of last year. There the German social democrats, in common with Mr. Vandervelde, most decidedly refused to fight against the Versailles treaty. The Versailles peace treaty must be done away with, and it will be done away with. But if this is done by the bourgeoisie, another Versailles treaty will arise in its place. Nothing but the international action of the proletariat can finally abolish the Versailles treaty.

After this a lengthy appeal to the working population of the Entente states and the vanquished countries is unanimously accepted. It is resolved to have the leading ideas of this appeal posted in France and Germany. (The appeals and the placard are given below.)

To the Working People of the Allied and Vanquished Countries

Workers of Town and Country!

The Paris conference, convened by the governing powers of France, England, Italy, and Belgium, for the purpose of finally regulating the Versailles treaty, has been broken off without attaining any result. Four years after the end of the frightful world war, and three years after the signing of the Versailles robber treaty, the ruling statesmen stand helpless and impotent before the ruins of their own mad creation.

What is the peace treaty of Versailles based upon? It was intended to throw the whole burden of the war, and the costs of capitalist reconstruction, solely onto the vanquished countries, especially upon Germany. In opposition to the burning desire of the working masses for a peace without annexations and indemnities, they wrought a peace of robbery and blackmail, a peace of violence and hate.

What are the consequences of this peace? Increasing ruin among victors and vanquished alike, the impossibility of restoring world economy, the growing misery and want of the broad masses of the peoples, growing rivalry among the various groups of states, and the ever approaching danger of a renewed and even more terrible world conflagration.

The bankruptcy of the Versailles treaty is final. And even the French statesmen who are its most determined champions are obliged to admit that even under the most favorable circumstances Germany is only able to pay a certain amount of the war tribute demanded, and only for a certain period of time, so that there is no choice but to grant Germany a moratorium for a longer or shorter term. This is the reason why the innumerable conferences of government heads, financial authorities, and experts, have been flat failures. All threats and reprisals have also been futile. The German workers have been starved and exploited to the utmost, also in vain; and in vain have been the patience and the hopes of the shamefully deceived working masses of the Entente states.

Workers, clerks, officials, and small peasants of Germany!

Up to now you have had to shoulder all the burdens and sufferings of the so-called "policy of fulfilment of war obligations", while the German capitalists have managed to reap extra profits out of the general ruin, and have succeeded in transforming every act of reparation, every increased depreciation of the mark, and the financial bankruptcy of the state, into a source of fabulous profits. You are paid coolie wages, your working hours are lengthened; your crushing burden of taxation is increased, your costs of living rise, starvation stares you in the face. The capitalists claim the fat dividends, a provocative luxury, a mighty increase of their power, and complete freedom from any burden of taxation.

Workers and peasants of France! The depreciation of the franc is eating up the savings you have gathered together with so much care and toil; the policy of sanctions is driving you into fresh war adventures; your sons will again be torn from their work, from their families, clad in uniforms, and forced to shed their blood for French imperialism.

Working men and women of England! Your bourgeoisie expresses its thanks to you by continually reducing your wages,

The following resolution was passed on the question of organizational relations: A permanent international committee of action is to be appointed, consisting of eleven members, representing the French Communist Party and the C.G.T.U., and the Communist parties of Germany, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, and Poland. The committee is to be further completed by representatives of the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions, and the Youth International. Besides this, special committees of action are to be appointed for the German and French railwaymen, the miners, and the metal workers.

At eight o'clock in the evening a gigantic demonstration was held in the largest hall of Essen. The doors of the hall had to be closed by 7 o'clock, as the hall was already overcrowded by this time.

The speakers at the meeting were Marcel Cachin and the chairman of the C.G.T.U., Monmousseau of France, Newbold from England, Kreibich from Czecho-Slovakia, van Overstraaten from Belgium, de Fischer from Holland, an Italian comrade, and Clara Zetkin. All spoke strongly against the occupation of the Ruhr and their expositions were received with enthusiastic applause.

In the course of the coming week a number of international demonstrations will be held; the one to be held in Cologne, for instance, will be on a very imposing scale.

by forcing you down to a lower living standard, and by condemning two millions of you to unemployment.

Workers of Czecho-Slovakia! Catastrophic unemployment and ever-increasing costs of living—these are the reward given you by the bourgeoisie.

Proletarians of Italy! Your best champions are being treacherously murdered by the Fascists, your people's houses destroyed, your organizations scattered. The Fascist government robs you of your eight hour day, and gives you as a present a tax on your wages!

Workers of all countries! The imperialist war drove you into the trenches; it murdered and crippled the flower of your youth, ruined the health of your women. And the imperialist peace is devouring you entirely; it exposes you to unemployment, ill-nourishment, and enslavement. You, the productive elements of all countries, you are the real victims, the real vanquished, whether in war or in peace.

But your sacrifices and sufferings will be still greater if you leave the liquidation of the criminal peace, which has just suffered bankruptcy in Paris—to the originators of the imperialist war, to those guilty of the imperialist peace, and to the originators and profiteers of the collapse of the world economy, that is, if you leave this to your ruling classes.

The France of Millerand and Poincaré, the France of the plutocrats, is at the gate of the Ruhr valley, ready to lay its hand on this "pledge", to cut its pound of flesh from the body of the debtor.

Capitalist England fears the union of French iron ore with German coal, irrespective of whether this union takes place by force or by agreement, or by both methods at once. It sees its dominance threatened by this possible union, for it would like to have Germany as a market for British goods, as a mere British colony. But at the present moment England's hands are bound by the strife of the robbers over the Turkish booty. America, the mightiest capitalist country, keeps in the background to watch over the interests of its export trade, above all over any turn favorable to a market for its agricultural produce.

The Germany of Cuno, Stinnes and Co., is still hesitating as to how it can best sell the flesh of its working masses, with the least disadvantage and greatest profit to itself. It is still undecided as to whether it shall divide the spoil with France, England, or America. But it has no conscience about exposing the German proletariat to increased exploitation by its decisions. On the contrary, it exerts the utmost endeavour to increase to the highest possible degree the exploitation, enslavement, and misery of the German workers.

Working people of Europe! The occupation of the Ruhr district signifies a fresh war, even when no armed resistance is offered on the part of the Germans. It will increase the antagonisms between the different states, and reawaken nationalist passions to the highest extremity. It will unchain reaction on both sides of the frontier, and clear the path for every variety of Fascism. It will sow the seeds of a new international massacre. And above all, whatever the solution found by the international robbers, it will inevitably have the following consequences: The working masses will work longer and harder, they will pay more

taxes, they will have less to eat, and they will have to be prepared to be led to the shambles at any moment.

Workers! You alone can stem the tide of threatened dangers and impending sufferings. But this can only be made possible for you if you set up a united front of self-defense, extending beyond the frontiers of your countries and the limits of your parties, thus enabling you to confront the united offensive of the bourgeoisie with an equally united defensive of fraternally allied working masses.

Workers of France, Italy, Belgium, England, Czecho-Slovakia, and Germany! Unite under the slogan:

Down with the rapacious peace of Versailles! War to imperialist war! Down with the reparations and sanctions of the capitalist governments. Unite, and cast all the burdens of the war, all the costs of economic reconstruction, onto the shoulders of the capitalists, those really guilty of the war.

Workers of France! Combine to raise your voices in a mighty and unanimous protest against the occupation of the Ruhr valley, against every attempt to dismember Germany, against the exploitation of German and French workers by the united bourgeoisie! Throw yourselves against the wave of nationalism! Fight for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territory! Strive for the highest taxation of capitalist property, for the payment of war debts and the restoration of the devastated regions. Organize the fight for self-defense at once in all workshops, factories, and mines, in every office, in every village!

Tell your uniformed brothers and sons that if they fight for the enslavement of German workers, they are fighting at the same time for their own enslavement.

German workers! Your enemy is not the French soldier, neither is the French worker or the French small peasant your enemy; these are exploited victims of the bourgeoisie like yourselves. Your common enemy is the German and the French bourgeoisie. Your most urgent duty is to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, whether it be of Arian or Jewish blood.

Essen, January 7., 1922.

Zentrale der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands.
Comité Directeur du Parti Communiste Français.
Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire.
Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.
Comitato Ejecutivo del Partito Comunista d'Italia.
Comité Directeur du Parti Communiste Belge.
Communistische Partij in Nederland.
Vykonni Vybor Komm. Str. v. Ceskoslovensku.

Appeal to be Posted

The Paris conference has failed. The France of Poincaré threatens the military occupation of the Ruhr basin, or at least with the confiscation of all state mines and forests, or with other economic compulsory measures.

Who will profit by it?

Certainly not the working population; neither the French nor the German.

The occupation and the repressive measures will bring no advantages, but will increase the burden of taxation and the exploitation of the working people.

The world conflicts will be rendered more acute, national hatred will be inflamed.

The sole result of the French repressive measures will be: An agreement between French and German capitalists at the expense of French and German workers.

Workers of France, fight for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territories!

Essen, January 7., 1922.

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At the present time your bourgeoisie is busy making agreements with its class colleagues in France as to the division of the spoil, and as to the best methods of silencing the proletariat.

Force the introduction of the control of production in the workshops, on landed estates, in the railways, and in the banks. Control the prices of goods!

Until the Versailles treaty is torn by the victorious fight of the international proletariat, your bourgeoisie will force you to bear all the burdens of the war; tear up the treaty, and force the bourgeoisie to bear the burden itself.

Form Control Committees of workers and small farmers! Set up a workers' government as a step on the way to a centralized power which will transform your demands into realities, supported by your own class organs.

Oppose the nationalism of the so-called national socialists and their allies, the Greater German parties, and all their flowery phraseology, with international solidarity, and with the common struggle of all workers against the international bourgeoisie. The international solidarity of the workers alone can save the German nation and its future, as a member of the great united family of peoples in the federation of the workers' republics of Europe and of the whole world.

Workers of Europe! The Communist Parties, and the trade unions affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, declare openly and unequivocally that which they have always proclaimed: They are ready to fight hand in hand with all workers' organizations in the common defense against the threats and dangers of the capitalist offensive and of a new world war.

It is the duty of the working masses to drive the leaders forward, who have hitherto aided their own bourgeoisie, and not to throw obstacles in the way of the united front of the militant proletariat.

Workers, the danger which threatens you is immediate and immense. Time presses. On to the work! Arise and fight together in your own defense!

Oppose every repressive measure against Germany!

Fight until you have replaced these measures by ones compelling your own bourgeoisie to bear the costs of the war and of reconstruction!

Agitate for these demands among your brothers in uniform! German workers, force your capitalists to bear the costs of reparation!

No lengthening of working hours! Adequate wages! No interference with the right to strike! Control of industry and markets, suppression of Fascist organizations!

German and French workers, clerks, small farmers, and tradesmen, unite against your exploiters, unite beyond the frontiers of your countries and parties!

Down with the rapacious Versailles treaty!

Down with the politicians of imperialist violence!

Give us governments of the working people!

Let the victorious working class restore Europe!

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