

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A Joint Committee of Action of the C.I. and the R.I.L.U.

(Declaration of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.)

The general situation of the labor movement at the present time all over the world, demands a complete co-ordination of all organizations of the working class, both political and economic, that are prepared to fight against capitalism. The capitalist attack which has now been raging continuously for two years renders this co-ordination urgent and imperative. The form of co-ordination is of secondary importance. The main point of significance is that co-ordination is actually carried out, and can play a part in the daily struggles of the workers.

In the first International the political parties and the trade unions were amalgamated in one organization. During the epoch of the second International the overwhelming majority of the political parties were of a parliamentary opportunist character, and shrank from revolutionary mass struggles, while the trade unions, with few exceptions, confined themselves exclusively to defending the interests of the working class within the limits of capitalism, and shrank from conflicts with the bourgeois state.

In our epoch of desperate political conflicts at home and abroad, when the centralized forces of the bourgeoisie and its state power are mercilessly attacking the working class, when our most effectual fighting method must be mass action of the proletariat, the co-ordination of this action is most indispensable.

On the basis of the resolutions passed by the fourth World Congress of the Communist International and by the second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, make the following declaration:

1. A joint committee of action will be formed by the C.I. and the R.I.L.U. for the promotion of their common activities against the attacks of capital, and for the leadership of the offensive and defensive struggles of the working classes against the bourgeoisie and its accomplices; the name of this committee will be "Committee of action of the C.I. and R.I.L.U."

2. This committee of action will be formed on the basis of equal representation. The Executive Committee of the C.I. and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U., will each appoint three representatives to the committee.

3. Besides this, joint committees of action can be appointed for conducting special campaigns, and common sittings of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. (or their presidiums) can be held for the purpose of deciding on questions of particular importance, demanding joint action of both organizations.

4. The mutual relations of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions in the different countries are to be decided on the basis of the resolutions passed by the fourth congress of the C.I. and the second congress of the R.I.L.U., and by the concrete situation obtaining in the country in question.

The bourgeoisie does not shrink from co-ordinating all the forces of its organizations (bourgeois state, parties, employers' unions, schools, church, parliament, etc.) in the conflict against the proletariat. The leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals do the same.

The bourgeoisie and the heroes of the Second International, who have preached to the working class on so-called neutrality, autonomy, etc., have themselves struck out quite a different path. The working class must once and for all grasp the fact, that it can only hold its own against capital, by concentrating the whole of its forces in a systematic and planned co-ordination of activity, enabling it to offer the required resistance against the ceaseless attacks of the capitalist class.

THE WHITE TERROR

Russia to the Rescue

Arrival of the exchanged Lettish communists in Moscow.

After more than 400 Hungarian communists had been liberated from the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, an exchange agreement has been carried through between the Soviet government and the government of Latvia. On December 23, ninety communists arrived in Moscow, from the prisons of "democratic" Latvia, where they had been martyred and tortured, and from whence they have now been rescued in exchange for Lettish hostages retained in Russia.

They were received at the Vindavsk station in Moscow by the workers of the former Riga factory "Union", of the railway workshops of Moscow, and by the students of the communist university in Moscow, further by the representatives of the Comintern, of the Lettish section and the Moscow Committee of the Russian CP., of the Moscow Committee of the Youth Union, or the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, etc. In their speeches of welcome, the delegates expressed their conviction, that the flames of the world revolution would soon seize even those places from which the martyred comrades came. They conveyed messages of sympathy from the Russian workers to the Lettish comrades, who have suffered so much in the prisons of bourgeois Latvia.

Comrades Krustin, Dermann, and Kliavs-Kliavin replied to the welcome on behalf of the exchanged comrades. Comrade Krustin pointed out that the leaders of white Latvia were building "democratic" Latvia on the dead bodies of the workers who fell in the fight for their emancipation. Comrade Dermann, deputy of the Lettish national assembly, emphasized that to-day in Latvia, the Tsarist code of criminal law is still being used, and that workers are being condemned to death for deeds for which even the Tsarist government seldom imposed capital punishment. The Lettish courts of justice, headed by the social democrat Holzmann, has caused death sentences on communists to be carried out.

The last speaker, comrade Kliavs-Kliavin, who, despite his being a Russian subject, was tortured in the prisons of Latvia, thanked the workers of Soviet Russia for their comradely reception, and declared that the whole of the comrades who had arrived from Latvia were fully conscious that they owed their lives to Russia, whose powerful hand had rescued them from the hangman of "democratic" Latvia. These comrades are united to the workers of Russia by the tie of communism, and will devote their whole work and their lives for the increase of the political and economic power of Soviet Russia.

APPEALS

The Russian Medical Workers to the Medical Personnel of all Countries!

The 4. All Russian Congress of medical employes and workers, representing over 350,000 union members, having held its session recently in Moscow, sends fraternal greetings to the medical personnel of all countries, and imparts the following information:

"The union 'Wsemediksantrud' is based on the principle of one vocation one union, and comprises all workers employed in the medical and veterinary profession, or in pharmaceutical chemistry, (Physicians, dentists, veterinary surgeons, ambulance assistants, mid-wives, infants' nurses, pharmaceutical chemists, druggists, etc.) in state, public, or private institutions within the territory of the RSFSR.

The union takes an active part in solving the questions connected with medical, sanitary, and veterinary work; it discusses the most important points in the structure of our health authorities, conjointly with the economic organs, and puts forward candidates for responsible positions in the organs for the protection of public health, hospitals, etc.

During the 5 years of Soviet government the members of the union have stood shoulder to shoulder with the workers of Russia, and have supported the government in all its measures. They have fought against epidemics and served in the field, despite the most frightful deprivations; they have cared for the sick and wounded of the Red Army, and have had faith in the victory of our ideals."

The appeal also contains the following:
"Comrades! Our organization is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, notwithstanding, we appeal to you, who are in the ranks of other international organizations, and propose that you enter into close relations with us. We beg you to exchange your experiences in the class-war with us.

We for our part will willingly give you the full benefit of the experience gathered in the course of our work, and in this way we may succeed in working out, conjointly with you, a general line of common tactics.

The 4th All Russian Congress of the 'Wsemediksantrud' appeals to you, comrades, to enter into the closest connection with us.

Long live the proletarian united front!
Long live the international proletarian revolution!
Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!

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In the heart of civilized Europe

By Karl Radek.

In Buer two French officers were murdered by persons unknown. The French occupation troops replied to this by shooting two German workmen, and by issuing the following decree:

1. Any act of violence committed against a member of the French occupation will be punished by the shooting of the mayor at present under arrest, and by other punitive measures to be decided upon.

2. From today on (March 12), from 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the public must use the middle of the street only. The population is forbidden to put hands in pockets; the arms must be so held that the palms of the hands are visible.

3. From today on, only those persons are allowed in the streets, between 7.30 in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning, who are provided with a special night pass.

4. By 10 o'clock in the evening all lights must be out.

5. Any assembly of persons in the street, and any assembly whatever, even during the day, will be dispersed by force of arms.

6. The inhabitants are strictly prohibited from possessing weapons. Anyone found with a weapon in his possession will be brought at once before the court martial.

This declaration issued by the French troops of occupation tells more than any article about the conditions prevailing in the Ruhr area. The French, who in the beginning of their invasion attempted to play the role of friend to the German working class, have found themselves obliged by the course of events to imitate the German imperialist troops in the Ukraine under similar circumstances. They are obliged to force the population into submission with their weapons, and where they encounter the passive resistance of the population, they let themselves be provoked into the most bestial and savage, and at the same time the most idiotic, deeds of violence. It suffices to mention that when the French occupied the People's House

at Herne, a building erected from the savings of the workers for the purpose of affording a meeting place for the Herne proletariat, they set the whole furnishings of the house on fire, ruined the central heating plant, and left the house filthier than a pig-stye. And this was done by the sons of this civilized nation. All this is inevitable. If the masses of soldiers are to be kept under arms at all, if they are to be at all used for such rapacious raids the officers are obliged to instil fear against every imaginable attack, and distrust and hate against the immediate surroundings. The soldier becomes exhausted by his unceasing exertions. It is not possible to keep him under military discipline; play must be given to his savage instincts; plunder and murder must be made of personal interest to him. These are the tactics of the French officers.

In order to attain his goal, M. Poincaré decided to prolong his stay in the Ruhr area, and not to quit until his demands are fulfilled. We do not know how long M. Poincaré will have to keep his troops in the Ruhr area, but there is every sign that the time will be long enough to disintegrate the French army. We do not know if Poincaré will succeed in extracting coal from the Ruhr basin and money from the steel safes of the German bourgeoisie. But there is no doubt whatever that what he will obtain from the Ruhr area will be the disintegration of the French army. The French soldier, whether peasant or workman, is an honest human being, just as the masses of the people in every country are honest. It is true that when in a state of fear, and in an atmosphere of outlawry, he can become bestial, as is the case with every mass of soldiery whose path is not illuminated by a great idea. But the French soldier will not be able to suppress his doubts and indignation at the crime for long; he is beginning to reflect as to why it is being committed. At the moment in which he gives himself a reply to this question, the rule of the French Bloc National begins to totter, and perhaps the rule of the French bourgeoisie with it.

But until then we are witnesses, in this fifth year of peace in democratic Europe, of the most savage dictatorship of the bayonet, attempting to dominate one of the industrially most developed parts of the world. How much was written by the French bourgeois press on the impotence of force, so long as it was a question of predicting the collapse of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. But the Russian proletarian dictatorship was not impotent, for the wielders of this dictatorship, the masses of workers and peasants, were fighting for their own cause, and were actuated by the profoundest faith in the justice of their cause. The dictatorship in Russia was and is supported by the working strata of the population. The object of this dictatorship was the class of exploiters. In the Ruhr area the dictatorship of the bayonet has been introduced, but these bayonets are in the hands of workers and peasants who will presently discover that they are fighting for somebody else's cause, for the cause of the capitalists who do not want to pay any taxes. In the end, Poincaré's dictatorship will prove powerless for creating even a peace of piracy. But on the other hand it will become the source of the profoundest revolutionary upheaval. It will not only lead to the overthrow of the French Bourgeoisie but also of the German and the world bourgeoisie.

Even though Poincaré's occupation troops may throw factory managers into prison, as well as workers, still, the matter will be settled tomorrow, in one way or another, by a bargain struck between French and German capitalists,—and the whole burden of the dictatorship will be thrust onto the working class. The disclosure of the conspiracy in Bavaria proved that the nationalist circles of the Right, this German Vendée, were ready to come to an understanding with the French troops on the separation of Bavaria from Germany, on its union with Roman Catholic Tyrol, and on the creation of a state in which the revolutionary rebellion was to be exterminated. The official circles of the German Right naturally disown these Bavarian traitors. But this is merely external. Count Reventlow's organ, the *Reichswart* is not the petty publication of irresponsible nationalist circles. For decades Count Reventlow has been the leading publicist of German imperialism. Even today he is one of General Ludendorff's advisors. What attitude does he adopt in this periodical? Count Reventlow declares that under present circumstances all talk of war with France is absurd. Resistance will only be possible after all rebellion has been suppressed within Germany itself, and all Jewish and revolutionary elements have been annihilated. Count Reventlow is thus preaching the policy of a pause for breath with regard to French imperialism, with the idea of utilizing the recess for a bloody settlement with the revolutionary elements in Germany. Count Reventlow is preach-

The Frankfurt Conference

(Conclusion)

Frankfurt, March 18.

The second day of the congress.

Telegrams of greeting were received by the Congress from the shop stewards and factory meetings of the largest works in Essen, Bochum, Dortmund, Mannheim, Hamburg, Bremen, Königsberg, Chemnitz, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Berlin etc. All these asked the congress to formulate the lines of combat against French and German capitalism, and stated confidently: *Rely on us!*

The following foreign organizations had sent letters and telegrams of greeting: The General Trade Union Alliance of Bulgaria, the Central Trade Union Association of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of Roumania, the Glasgow Trade Union Council and a mass meeting in Glasgow, the Trade Union Alliance of Czecho-Slovakia, and other organizations.

The secretary of the International Miners' Federation, *Frank Hodges*, sent a letter stating that he could not take part in the congress because it was not convened by the Amsterdam International.

The first speaker was a representative of the C.G.T.U., who spoke on the first point on the agenda:

Report on the situation in France.

"Until 1914 the French Trade Union Federation appeared to be filled with revolutionary spirit. It was in July 1914 that the French proletariat experienced its first bitter disappointment. Leaders like *Jouhaux*, who had just sworn faithfulness to the cause of the proletariat at the grave of our unforgettable *Jaures*, now formed a coalition with the bourgeoisie. But even at that time a courageous opposition made itself felt, which proclaimed *class war against war*. But this oppositional group contained men like *Merrheim*, who did not follow us on the road to revolu-

tion that which is being done by the Bavarian traitors. And this is again something inevitable. German counter-revolution is truly unable to fight on two fronts at the same time. It must either renounce its counter-revolutionary character in the name of nationalism, or renounce its nationalism, for the moment, in the name of its counter-revolutionary character. Propaganda by word and deed. Chaffering with French imperialism for the subjugation of the German working class, under the protection of the French bayonet. These are guide-posts on the road of even the most consistent representatives of German counter-revolution.

And it is this that is breaking up the ranks of German nationalism, splitting it up into two groups corresponding to its two fundamentals; capitalist and feudal nationalists are advancing against the working class under a foreign yoke; but sooner or later the proletarianized petty-bourgeois elements of nationalism will realize that in reality they can only defend the cause of German national independence from within the ranks of the German proletariat. And on the other hand,—the German proletariat, in face of the alliance between French bayonets and Fascist black-jacks, will be forced to realize that they can defend neither themselves nor the country except by opposing force against force, by a determined and consistent struggle.

Mr. Lloyd George, who became a prophet after ceasing to be a minister, has written an article on how the French are carrying out the Versailles peace. In this article he describes the complete helplessness of the international bourgeoisie. He points out that the Ruhr adventure has overthrown the shaky balance of Europe, that it has rendered all antagonisms more acute. He shows that, in the whole of bourgeois France there is not a single individual capable of making up his mind to liquidate the crime initiated by Poincaré. He points out that the English government was not able to do anything to prevent this crime. We ask, what will be the inevitable result of this complete impotence of the world bourgeoisie with regard to the impending catastrophe, whose approach the bourgeoisie sees, but cannot prevent? The answer is extremely simple. Nobody can tell how long the death agonies of capitalist Europe may last. But one thing we do know—if the bourgeoisie is not able to prevent the catastrophe, it will be prevented by that class which can live without the bourgeoisie, and which does not intend to be engulfed in the catastrophe. Today or tomorrow this class will take the salvation of humanity into its hands. And the wretched dictator, the dictator without brains, the dictator who is only capable of destroying the European bourgeoisie, will be compelled to abdicate in favor of the dictator who has learnt by suffering what he has to do.

tion after the war, when a clear division was made between the two camps of Reformism and Revolution. These men did not grasp the change of situation brought about by the great war. Although the revolutionary majority in the trade unions made extensive concessions to the reformist minority, the latter brought about the split, by which we were obliged to found the revolutionary C.G.T.U. outside of the CGT."

The speaker then described the frightful financial situation of France, which naturally signifies inevitable economic ruin. "The national debt now amounts to 10,000 francs per head of the population, and there is no prospect of wiping out this debt so long as Poincaré's policy drives France from one adventure into another. The French government, which does not venture to call upon the war lords to pay up, throws itself with full violence on the working class. A 10% wage tax is to cure the wretched financial conditions. But the working class protests against this 'by great spontaneous strike movements, as at Le Havre. The C.G.T.U. and the C.P.F. formed a Committee of Action against the predatory raid into the Ruhr area. This committee has distributed the Essen manifesto among the whole working class; this manifesto is read in every iron works, and is the starting point for a mighty action among the working masses. The success of our work is best proved by the fact that 13 of our comrades have been thrown into prison. We have fulfilled our duty towards the International, and shall continue to do so.

In France the resistance against Poincaré's government is growing from day to day. This is evidenced by the great miners' strike, in which the Red Miners' Union effectively utilized the favorable situation created by the coal shortage and the high price of English coal. In this strike the Amsterdam leaders again proved yellow. They declined to recognize the united front; but the masses grasped our slogans, and our Union has emerged

from this struggle with a membership increased by thousands. On this 18. March, the day of the Commune, the day on which the whole French proletariat thinks of its bold champions, massacred in thousands against the wall of Pere Lachaise, we are proud to represent here the proletariat of France. We shall not tolerate another 1914, we shall sabotage the mobilization and declare a general strike. We appeal to the German proletariat, whose revolutionary spirit we have here seen, to join us in preparing for the revolutionary mass strike against war. In the face of all obstacles and dangers, we must lead the revolution to victory."

Comrade Brandler: The situation in Germany:

Today we see in Germany, as a result of the social democratic policy, the complete collapse of capitalist "reconstruction", the collapse of finance, of food provision, and of production. The country has a floating debt of 4½ billion marks. While the enormously high prices render the food problem more and more acute for the proletariat, the agrarians gather in huge profits. Although the dollar is falling, the prices continue to rise.

The capitalist offensive becomes daily more aggressive.

The results of the policy pursued since the collapse are, a lower living standard of the proletariat, expropriation of the lower bourgeoisie. The whole structure of German society has been thrown into utter confusion, and many members of the intellectual and military classes have not only been forced into the ranks of the proletariat, but even far below it. It is precisely these elements which supply the foundation of Fascism.

The German bourgeoisie refuses to raise by taxation even those amounts required to maintain its own state apparatus. 90% of all taxes are raised from the wages of workers, clerks, and officials, and only 10% of these direct taxes are collected from the bourgeoisie. The German bourgeoisie uses every possible medium for its enrichment, even undisguised high treason, as recently proved by the *Eaden Aniline Co's* deal.

Our first task is to mobilize the proletariat. In the year 1918 we demanded an alliance with the sole proletarian state,—Soviet Russia. At that time the social democratic lack of faith in the revolutionary power of the proletariat was so great that the social democrats declared such an alliance to be useless, for within 3 months Czarism would be ruling Russia again.

They went begging to the Entente bourgeoisie, and fell upon their knees before it.

And yet all the then existing Entente governments have vanished; the Soviet government is the only one remaining, and it stands more firmly than ever. The French proletariat will not rebel for a Cuno or Stinnes government. But if the proletariat had the power in its hands, then the French proletarians in uniform would have acted precisely as they did in Archangel when they were called upon to fight against the Soviet government.

The French imperialists are now striving for precisely the same aims as those striven for by the Germans in the war.

On the one side we see decay and ruin in the reactionary ranks, and on the other side the growing revolutionary forces of the proletariat.

Comrade Newbold of the English C. P.

described the situation in Great Britain: there is no probability of an effective intervention on the part of the masses of British workers at the present juncture. After two years of unprecedented unemployment, there are still 400,000 registered unemployed. The trade unions are weakened, and the employers utilize every strike for the purpose of drawing cheap labor from the army of unemployed. This, of course, is no excuse for the hypocritical tactics of trade union leaders of the description of Frank Hodges, who do not think at all of revolutionary action conjointly with the workers of other countries.

The old Conservative Party, accustomed to rule, and infernally cunning, has brought about the union between England and America, under Bonar Law's leadership. France, on the other hand, is comparatively isolated. So long as capitalist society continues to exist, British imperialism will never renounce its ambition of world domination. It merely waits for its chance. The British workers are dissatisfied. Their class consciousness is awakening. For the first time in history millions of votes were cast for the Labor Party. But this signifies no more than the millions of votes for German social democracy in 1914. British imperialism is declining. But at the present time the great mass of British workers still think imperialistically; they consider themselves members of a ruling class, and for this reason we cannot promise anything for the C.P. of England which we are not in a position to fulfil.

Declaration of the Social Democratic Fraction.

The social democratic fraction declares to the International Conference:

With the occupation of the Ruhr the imperialists of France and Belgium have committed an act of war involving a frightful danger for the proletariats of Germany, France, and Belgium. The occupation of the Ruhr is a blow in the face of the German working class. But at the same time it implies the most terrible consequences for the proletariat of France and Belgium.

The Ruhr occupation signifies the danger of a fresh international slaughter. Should, however, an understanding be reached between Poincaré and Loucheur on the one side and Cuno and Stinnes on the other, it will be solely at the expense of the proletariat on both banks of the Rhine. The exploited of both countries will be alike the victims of a war or of an understanding between the capitalists of France and Germany.

The Ruhr occupation has supplied fresh nourishment to Chauvinism in France and Germany. Under the cloak of national defence the Fascisti are arming. And in both countries the weapons are directed against the proletariat. A new war is to be provoked, so that the workers may be the more easily enslaved.

In this situation it is absolutely imperative that the working class form a

national and international united front,

for carrying on the struggle against the victorious imperialists, against the war danger conjured up by the occupation of the Ruhr, and against Fascism in every country. It is only if the working class acts in determined unison that it can emerge victorious from this fight.

We therefore demand that the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, and the General Trade Union Alliance, put an end to all coalition with the German bourgeoisie, and take up the struggle for the Workers' Government.

The German bourgeoisie shares the blame for the war and the occupation of the Ruhr.

The alliance with the bourgeoisie must be replaced by the alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, with the Independent Socialist Party and Communist Party of Germany.

It is only by taking up the struggle against the German bourgeoisie that we shall be able to establish a united fighting front together with the working classes of France, Belgium, England, and all other countries.

This struggle must bring us side by side with

Soviet Russia, the first and only proletarian state in the world.

We demand of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals that they enter all the organizations affiliated to them into this international class struggle. The present situation is as pregnant with danger as that of the summer preceding the great war.

We do not want another 1914.

We therefore demand of the international labor organizations: war against war! The social democratic fraction declares to the International Conference that it will do its utmost to further this demand within the Social Democratic Party and the independent Trade Unions.

The working class, if united with the bourgeoisie, is condemned to inevitable ruin. But our own national and international united fighting front renders us unconquerable, and will gain for us peace and liberty.

Long live the united international fighting front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie of the whole world!

Ernst Friege. Barnewald. Erdmann. Flammiger. Appel. Albert.

Declaration of the Independent Social Democratic Fraction.

The invasion of French imperialism into the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial area, combined with the steady increase of the Fascist danger, makes it imperative for all proletarian forces to be mobilized for a determined defensive struggle. This defensive struggle can only be victorious if based on the united action of the international proletariat. The lust for robbery and power actuating international capitalism and imperialism must be opposed by the united front of the international working class, ready for action, and established on the firm foundation of purposeful and positive class war.

In consideration of the present dangerous and threatening situation, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany is willing to put all tactical party differences in the background for the moment, in order that it may co-operate in the formation of this united front. It regrets and condemns the anti-labor attitude adopted by the leaders of the London and Amsterdam Trade Union Internationals, and of the General German Trade

Union Federation and the United Social Democratic Party, whose non-participation in the Frankfurt congress demonstrates an attitude hostile to unity. The Independent Social Democratic Party regards the combatting and defeat of this disastrous revisionist and nationalist policy as the first need of the hour, in order that the French and German proletariats, and the proletariats of the whole world, may be steered for the struggle against all militarist and imperialist dangers, and for the victory over international capital, in order that the road be cleared for Socialism.

H. Fuchs

(Secretary of the national committee of the shop stewards of Mecklenburg.)

E. Walther

(Representative of the Party Committee.)

The rapacious invasion of French imperialism in the Ruhr area, and the danger of a fresh war.

I.

The International Conference now being held in Frankfurt, convened on the initiative of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards, and attended by delegates from the most important European countries and the united workers of various tendencies: social democrats, independents, syndicalists, communists, and revolutionary trade unionists, is induced by the situation created by the occupation of the Ruhr to pass the following resolution:

1. The fight against the occupation must be carried on with increased energy, nationally and internationally, especially in Germany, France, and Belgium. Our slogan must be:

Out of the occupied territory!

2. The annulment of all international robber-treaties, especially of the treaty of Versailles, must be striven for by means of a struggle organized and executed in every country with the utmost energy.

3. The carrying out of this struggle involves systematic propaganda work in the army in general and among the troops of the occupied territory in particular. The most important task of the coming period is the work of enlightenment among the white and colored soldiers.

4. Systematic work must be done towards fraternizing the slaves of labor hounded against each other by the hostile bourgeoisie, towards awakening brotherly solidarity between the working class and the troops in the occupied territory. The French, Belgian, and English soldiers must have it proved to them by actual deeds that the German workers adopt an irreconcilable attitude towards the ruling classes of Germany and France alike.

5. The necessary restoration of the devastated regions is to be carried out at the expense of the ruling classes of all countries, under the control of proletarian organizations, until such time as the problem of restoration is solved by the general socialist order.

6. Propaganda work must be intensified among the youth, the women, and war victims of all countries. The revolutionary youth organizations, whose work has already been attended with much success, as well as the revolutionary women's organizations must be induced to take a more active part in the fight being conducted by the whole proletariat against war, imperialism, and Fascism.

7. Visits to the Ruhr area must be organized, from representatives of works and trade unions of all countries, and especially of France, Belgium, and England, so that these representatives may have the opportunity of getting to know the real position of the workers in the occupied territory, who are borne down by the double yoke of home and foreign exploitation.

8. Franco-Russo-German fraternities must be formed among the workers of the most important industrial groups, especially among the railwaymen, miners, and metal workers. The task of these fraternities should be to execute joint acts of solidarity, and to lend aid for the co-ordination of international actions organized by the Committee of Action.

9. Control Committees must be formed, nationally and internationally from among the workers of those branches of industry engaged in the manufacture and transport of the means of war (workers in ammunition factories, aeroplane works, chemical works, mining, sea-faring, railroads, and transport service). These Control Committees must have headquarters on the frontiers, at railway junctions, and in the most important ports.

10. Special conferences must be immediately organized, of representatives of the shop steward councils and trade unions of Germany, France, Belgium, and the occupied territory—especially from Paris, Brussels, Rhenish-Westphalia, and Berlin—for the discussion of all questions relating to the situation of the working class in the occupied territory, and for consulting on the most suitable measures of joint militant action.

11. An International Protest Week against the Ruhr occupation must be carried out in all countries from 15.—22. April. These manifestations and demonstrations must be extended into mighty protests against the rapacious treaty of Versailles, against the war danger, and against Fascism. The labor organizations of every political trend, and especially the great non-partisan masses of workers, are to be called upon to take part in these demonstrations.

12. During this week the ex-parliamentary campaign against war danger and Ruhr occupation must be supported in the parliaments and municipal representations of all countries.

13. During this international protest week the fight must be taken up everywhere against the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie. The creation of the proletarian united front, and the organization of an international strike in the case of diplomatic and warlike complications, can only be carried through victoriously by means of constant, persevering, and inexorable fighting against all the measures taken by the capitalist offensive.

14. The International Conference elects from its midst delegations commissioned to negotiate with the Amsterdam and Second Internationals, the Vienna Working Union, and the workers' organizations of the different countries, on the organization of this protest week, and on the formation of a proletarian united front for the struggle against Fascism, war danger, and the Versailles treaty. These delegations are to be composed of followers of the various parties represented at the conference.

15. The conference elects an International Committee of Action, composed of 21 members, representing all the political and economic organizations present at the conference. Should political or trade union organizations not yet represented at the conference, join the international fighting front later, they will be enabled to send delegates to this International Committee of Action.

16. The International Committee of Action, in its capacity of ex-party organ, is commissioned to initiate fraternal relations with the labor organizations of all tendencies. Where the heads of the national and international organizations refuse to cooperate with the committee, the latter is commissioned to appeal directly to the masses, the shop stewards, and the local organizations.

17. The International Committee of Action is commissioned to mobilize all political and economic organizations of the workers for the struggle against international imperialism. For this purpose the International Committee of Action is to enter into negotiations with all labor organizations regarding the convention of an International Labor World Congress to combat war, imperialism, and Fascism.

18. The conference commissions the International Committee of Action to create a fund for establishing the international united fighting front. All workers are to organize collections for this Fighting Fund, and to deliver up the amounts collected to the International Committee of Action.

As the occupation of the Ruhr area is a result of the Franco-Anglo-German conflict for hegemony, the revolutionary workers of these countries are faced with a number of special tasks.

In France,

where the Communist Party and the Unitarian Labor Confederation have been carrying on a violent struggle against their imperialist bourgeoisie, this struggle must be intensified. "Down with the Versailles peace treaty!" "Out of Germany!" these must be the slogans cast abroad at all meetings held among the broad masses. Agitation and propaganda are to be supplemented by demonstrations, and the struggle concentrated on the following points:

Fight against high prices; against the wage tax; against the exploitation of the colonies; for their emancipation; against the use of the army and of colored troops, especially in social conflicts between capital and labor; for the imposition of all taxation on the propertied classes; for the abolition of standing armies; for the free expression of opinion among officials; for the arming of the proletariat.

The united front tactics, which have already achieved good results in France, must be continued by the political party and the revolutionary trade unions alike. As the shop steward movement is just coming into existence in France, it is necessary to begin with a campaign for convening a congress of representatives from all factories, at first in districts and later on a national scale, for the purpose of discussing the question of unity of the trade unions and the danger of war.

In Germany,

the revolutionary working class must wage war at two fronts. The first aim is:

To throw Poincaré out, with the aid of the international action of the working class.

Today the situation is different from that of 1914; today the working class is determined to defeat the external enemy, and to solve the conflict in the interests of the proletariat. At the same time it represents the interests of the broadest non-proletarian masses. While the bourgeoisie paralyzes the defence against the Ruhr occupation by its readiness to come to an understanding with the French bourgeoisie, and to join it in exploiting the workers, the working class is mobilizing, and organizing the revolutionary fighting staff against French imperialism.

In order to check the imperialist plans of the French bourgeoisie, in order to create the firmest solidarity in the international working class, it is imperative to unfold a mass struggle for the overthrow of the Cuno government and the establishment of a revolutionary labor movement.

While the Social Democratic Party and trade union leaders subordinate the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie, while they support the Cuno government by every possible means, it must be the task of the revolutionary workers to mobilize the forces of the working class, especially outside of the Ruhr area, for the struggle against the Cuno government.

This can only be done by opposing everywhere a united revolutionary proletarian fighting front to the capitalist offensive against wages and working hours, and to the bands of murderous Fascists paid by heavy industry. The work being done by the shop stewards and control committees, towards the reduction of prices and towards obtaining control of production, the formation of proletarian self-defence units against Fascist reaction, must be continued and extended.

The tax-dodging practised by the propertied class must be combatted by the seizure of real values by a Workers' Government. The working class refuses to raise the means for the sham defense being carried on by the German bourgeoisie while negotiating with the French bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary working class of Germany opposes every fresh capitalist war; it will ten times rather throw the riches of the German bourgeoisie, pressed out of the German working class, into the jaws of bloodthirsty French imperialism, in order to win a respite for the development of proletarian power, than sacrifice the bodies of the German proletariat for a capitalist war. *Should this attempt at maintaining peace be shipwrecked on French imperialist greed for land, should the powerful support and enthusiasm called forth internationally by a revolutionary Workers' Government in Germany not cause the then weakened Entente imperialism to abandon its attack on the German Workers' Government, then, a revolutionary war of defence carried on by the German and Russian Red Armies, allied to the revolutionary working class in the Entente countries, will be able to conquer this counter-revolutionary imperialism.*

England.

The revolutionary workers of Great Britain are faced with the task of winning over the British Labor Party and the trade unions for a decisive action against the occupation of territory in Germany, and against the danger of renewed war. A comprehensive campaign must be carried out in the press, in Parliament, in the municipalities, by every means of publication, for the purpose of enlightening the English working class on the situation in the Ruhr area, and on the pirate policy of the English bourgeoisie in Ireland, in the Near and Far East, and especially in Turkey, India, and Egypt. The working class is to be organized for the struggle against this policy now being pursued by the ruling class.

It is necessary that the revolutionary proletariat in the army and navy conduct extensive propaganda against the bourgeois policy, and for the proletarian class struggle.

The mass unemployment, the capitalist offensive in England, the attempts to lengthen working hours and reduce wages, the casting of the whole burden of taxation on the working class, the housing problem—all this must be made the subject of a broadly planned propaganda for the establishment of the proletarian united front against bourgeois class rule and bourgeois reaction.

In Italy,

where the Fascist Bacchanalia continues, and where Fascism has reduced the working masses to their present condition of enslavement in order to be the more easily able to plunge them into fresh wars, the most urgent task is the concentration of the whole of the revolutionary forces of the country; further, the restoration of the proletarian mass organizations, and the mobilization of the working people in town and country, regardless of party.

There must be a determined fight to restore the liberty of the press, of assembly, of organization; for the liberation of the political prisoners, for securing housing for the workers without increased rents, against reductions in wages, against the arbitrary dismissal of workers and officials for political reasons, for the imposition of all taxation upon the bourgeoisie, for the adherence to the lease agreements and for the complete retention of the eight hour day. Legal, semi-legal, and illegal activity must be carried on energetically in the army and in the Fascist organizations.

This work of organization, this concentration of all proletarian forces in the struggle for the defence of the life interests of the working masses, when supported by the solidarity of the international proletariat, will create the necessary power for the overthrow of the Fascist regime.

In Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, where the governments are under the immediate influence of French imperialism, and which France is anxious to convert into a corridor through which she can find immediate access to the frontiers of Soviet Russia, and divide up German territory, we must concentrate our whole propaganda on the slogans: "Down with the French Exchange and its flunkys!", "Down with all those who promise to give the blood of the workers for French gold!" In these countries, the immediate neighbours of Soviet Russia, particular emphasis must be laid on the readiness of the workers of these states to stand on the side of Soviet Russia in the case of war. The work of revolutionary organization in these countries must be conducted in the closest contact with the revolutionary workers of France and Germany. The agitation and propaganda must be closely bound up with the propaganda and action against unemployment, high prices, taxation, political suppression, etc.

The Russian working class, which has proved its international solidarity in the Ruhr crisis by great demonstrations, collections of money, and consignments of corn, will support the German and French working class determinedly in all struggles against exploitation. The revolutionary Workers' Governments will meet with the unequalled support of the Russian working class, and with a readiness to enter into a fighting alliance for the establishment and security of the rule of the working class, with the aid of every means obtainable. The alliance of the Russian Soviet power with the victorious workers' governments of Western Europe will render the rule of the working class unconquerable.

Resolution on the struggle against Fascism.

An additional task is imposed on the working class, that of fighting the victorious Fascism of Italy, and the Fascism being organized all over the world. It must overcome Fascism politically, and organize effective means of self-defence against Fascist violence. For this purpose the following measures must be adopted:

1. The labor parties and labor organizations of every tendency must form a special body in all countries, for leading the struggle against Fascism. The duties of this body are as follows:

a) Compilation of facts on the Fascist movement in their own countries.

b) Systematic enlightenment of the working class regarding the hostile class character of the Fascist movement, by means of newspaper articles, pamphlets, posters, meetings, etc.

c) Organization of self-defence among the working class by means of enrolling and arming self defense troops. Organization of workers' control committees for preventing the transport of Fascist bands or of their weapons. Ruthless crushing of all Fascist attempts to terrorize the workers and to hinder the expression of their class will.

d) Inclusion of all workers, of whatever party, in this struggle. Appeal to all labor parties, trade unions, and all proletarian mass organizations, to join in defence against Fascism.

e) Combatting of Fascism in the Parliaments and all public corporations.

f) Devotion of special attention to anti-Fascist enlightenment among the working youth, from whose ranks the Fascists enlist most of their recruits. The revolutionary youth organizations should take part in the activity of all the proletarian organizations of self-defence.

2. The forces of Fascism are organized internationally. It is therefore imperative that the fight against Fascism be also organized internationally. For this purpose an international workers' committee must be formed. Besides forming a medium for exchange of experiences, this committee will above all be entrusted with the organization of the international struggle, to be conducted chiefly against Italian Fascism. Leading factors for the struggle are:

a) an international campaign of enlightenment by means of newspapers, pamphlets, pictures, mass meetings, etc., showing the absolutely anti-labor character of Italian Fascist rule, and the systematic destruction of all labor organizations and institutions by Fascism;

b) the organization of international mass meetings and demonstrations against Fascism, against the representatives of the Italian Fascist state abroad, etc.;

c) utilization of the parliaments; appeals to the parliaments, especially to their labor fractions, and to the international labor organizations, to send commissions to Italy to examine into the situation of the working class;

d) struggle for the immediate liberation of all imprisoned revolutionary proletarian fighters;

e) material and moral support for the persecuted working class of Italy, by means of collecting money, finding homes for the refugees, aiding their work abroad, etc. The International Red Relief must be further developed to this end. The worker's co-operatives are to be appealed to for help;

f) the international committee of action is commissioned to consider all the possibilities of a moral, political, and material boycott of the Italian government;

g) the conference commissions the international committee of action to put itself into communication with the Provisional International Committee for Combatting Fascism, and with the organizations which have been formed by it, for the purpose of establishing a permanent committee.

It is imperative to hammer into the mind of the workers that the fate of the Italian working class will be their fate, unless

they prevent Fascism from being recruited from the less class conscious elements, and that they can only prevent this by energetic revolutionary struggle against the ruling class. The labor organizations must therefore make an energetic and determined attack against capital, for the protection of the broad masses of the working people against exploitation, oppression, and usury. They must oppose the pseudo-revolutionary demagogic watchwords of Fascism by an efficiently organized mass struggle. Further, they must crush with all their force the first attempts at Fascist organization in their own countries.

On the suggestion of comrade Clara Zetkin, it was unanimously decided to send the following telegram to the comrades imprisoned in Italy:

"The International Conference at Frankfort sends the heartiest fraternal greetings, and the warmest liberation greetings, to comrades Bordiga and Serrati, and to all communist, socialist, and revolutionary workers whom the terror of Fascist dictatorship has banished behind prison walls, or persecutes at home and abroad. The conference regards it as the sacred duty of all class conscious workers to fight, in faithful solidarity with the suffering Italian proletariat, with all energy, for the liberation of the imprisoned, and for the suppression of Fascism."

Clara Zetkin.

The motion proposed by the Polish delegation, that the Committee of Action should make an appeal to the Polish workers employed in the Ruhr and in France, asking these to remember their class duty and not to permit themselves to be used as tools of the bourgeoisie, was passed unanimously.

Another Step Forward

By A. Lozovsky.

Berlin, March 22, 1923.

The International Conference at Frankfort carried us another step forward on the road to uniting all proletarian forces for the struggle against war and Fascism. This conference aroused the greatest interest among the workers, and rightly so. It was the first international conference which had been held since the occupation of the Ruhr valley, at which all questions were thoroughly debated. The soul-saving speeches which the leaders of the Amsterdam International delivered on the subject of the Ruhr invasion need not be counted. Of course nobody has thought of taking these reformist tea-parties seriously; even those who took part in them knew perfectly well that nothing would come of them. When Finmen reflected on the passivity of the Amsterdam International, and began to shed tears, his colleague Oudegeest wrote an article in which he endeavored to prove that these speeches of Finmen were to be explained by his "exhaustion". We do not know whether Finmen is really exhausted or not, or whether it was the proletarian conscience which spoke in him—but it is an unalterable fact that the leaders of the Amsterdam International admitted their own impotence; nay more, they admitted that they have no wish to carry out the resolutions passed at the Hague.

That which both the Amsterdam and the 2. International failed to do, has been accomplished by the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. The communist parties and the revolutionary trade unions, and these alone rose up determinedly against the predatory invasion by French imperialism; they alone roused the masses to a real struggle. These revolutionary actions have been welcomed with the greatest sympathy by many workers still belonging to reformist organizations. The Frankfort conference was not only attended by communists and revolutionary syndicalists, but also by workers belonging to the German social democratic and independent social democratic parties. The social democratic workers took part in the conference against the will of their leaders. When they were faced by the alternative of either submitting to the anti-proletarian decisions of their leaders, and of thus weakening the struggle against war, or of acting against their leaders' decisions and lending their aid to strengthen the anti-imperialist and anti-Fascist front, they chose the latter course: they acted as real proletarians. In this way a united front has been actually created, a front upon whose strength the life of the working masses hangs in the most literal sense of the word. It is true that but few social democratic workers attended the Frankfort Conference (only ten in all), but this small group, which preferred a united front with the revolutionary workers to a united front with the bourgeoisie, mirrored the ever-growing indignation of the broad masses against the anti-class policy of their leaders.

But the Frankfort Conference was not only a manifestation of the ever-increasing united front of the proletariat, it was above all a consultation held by men of ripe revolutionary experience, who set themselves concrete questions as to the most effective methods to be adopted in the struggle against war and Fascism, as to the means to be taken for combining the broad masses in united organizations with one united will, and for assembling the scattered proletarian forces in order to lead them against the growing reaction. The Frankfort social democratic journal, the *Volksstimme*, ironically named our conference a "conference of war". This newspaper wanted to stigmatize us by such a designation, as the social democrats were not pleased with my declaration that we were no peace conference, but a class war conference. In this sense the Frankfort Conference really was a war conference. Its task was to collect the experiences gained in the class struggle in every country, to sum up these experiences, and to work out practical forms and measures for the class war. — We are quite prepared to admit the designation of our conference as a war conference, for it indicated the lines on which the class war is to be carried on. Our army is the whole working class; our front forms a zig-zag line, traversing every country in a thousand directions. We have the largest army in the world. But a part of our army is still in a state of complete passivity, is still under the influence of bourgeois ideology; one part of it is poisoned by reformism, and only one part of it is gathered round the flag of class war. It was the work of our conference to weld the revolutionary workers more closely together, to build a bridge between the revolutionary workers and the workers who are members of reformist organizations, or who belong to no labor organization and stand apathetically aside from the social struggle developing around them—to draw all these over to the side of irreconcilable class war.

Was the Frankfort Conference successful in fulfilling these tasks? Undoubtedly. Above all, the conference adopted a number of practical measures calculated to create new fulcrums for our struggles: the control commissions, committees of action, international fraternities, etc. All these are new centres of organization, whose task lies in drawing the masses more closely together for their struggle against imperialism. The culmination of all the organizations formed is the International Committee of Action, a body standing outside of party, and commissioned to lead the work of the revolutionary workers of every political trend, to enter into close relations with all labor organizations, and to do its utmost to convene an international labor congress.

The International Conference passed a number of concrete organizational resolutions, and in addition to this imparted concrete instructions to the revolutionary workers of the most important

countries as to their immediate tasks under present circumstances, and pointed out the subjects on which the proletariat of each country must concentrate under existing international conditions. The program has been worked out carefully; and this program is no product of a mere national movement. It is a product of the experiences gained by the revolutionary movement in all countries.

The Frankfort Conference differed from the Hague conference in that it did not occupy itself with pacifist speech-making. The men who met in Frankfort were no pacifists, but revolutionists; no phrase-makers, but men of action; and they were thus able to enter into every question of our complicated class strategy.

The most important strategic question for the working class is that of the international co-ordination of action. We have seen how the Amsterdam and 2. Internationals which were restored with so much trouble after the war, resolved themselves into their national constituents as soon as the war clouds lowered in Europe. The pacifist gossipers of all countries made lame speeches on the League of Nations, and inveighed against Poincaré for his ungentlemanly behavior, but all the same they continued to prefer the cultivation of national narrow-mindedness, and the preference of "national interests" to class interests. The Frankfort Conference has provided an actual object lesson of what the international solidarity of the proletariat really means. While the French and Belgian reformists were making drawing-room speeches, the French communists and revolutionary syndicalists appeared at the Frankfort Conference and there declared, before the workers of all countries, that they would exert every endeavor to break the neck of rampant imperialism. And they were not deterred from attending the conference by the fact that dozens of communists and syndicalists are still in prison for participating in the Essen conference. In such manner do the revolutionary workers of all countries regard the duties imposed upon them by the international complications and international conflicts of today.

The leaders of the Amsterdam and 2. Internationals did not wish to appear at the Frankfort Conference, but as they had to do something in view of the Ruhr occupation, or otherwise they might lose the support of all workers, the reformists of Italy, France, England, and Belgium assembled in Paris at the same time as the Frankfort Conference was being held, for the purpose of seeking a solution for the problems agitating the international proletariat. Vandervelde, Renaudel, MacDonald, and Modigliani, resolved to send a deputation to Berlin to negotiate with the German social democrats on the reparations and on the Ruhr occupation. A strange decision to come to! In the first place, why was it necessary to call the reformists of the Entente lands together first, why not have invited the German reformists at once? The thing is perfectly clear: The reformists of France, Belgium, and of the countries diplomatically connected with them, felt themselves to be in the position of victors with regard to the German reformists, and set upon a course with regard to them just as the Entente bourgeoisie acts towards the German bourgeoisie. As soon as two representatives of Entente reformism are gathered together, they begin to cry out about the reparations, as if it were only France and Belgium which were devastated by the war. All this is perfectly incomprehensible so long as we regard the reformists as representatives of the working class, but as soon as we regard them as representatives of the "Nation", that is, of their own bourgeoisie, their proceedings become perfectly comprehensible.

Fascism, recognized as a preventive counter-revolution, was accorded great attention by the Frankfort Conference. Fascism is raising its head everywhere. It hopes to finally suppress the discontented masses, and to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for long decades. But what is the difference between Fascism and ordinary, non-Fascist reaction? The fact that Fascism misuses the working masses by demagogic methods, that it endeavors to utilize the most radical watchwords, that it attempts to form labor organizations of its own. Fascism disintegrates the labor organizations, tries to split them up from within, to demoralize them, in order to be better able to strangle them. Not only is Fascism the highest form of reaction, it is at the same time the embodiment of the extreme bellicose nationalism, leading inevitably to fresh wars. Therefore the Frankfort Conference not only worked out a program for combatting war, but at the same time it laid down the lines of struggle against Fascism.

The Frankfort Conference has shown us that it is not only the communists and revolutionary syndicalists in the working class who are desirous of fighting against war, but many other working class elements as well; it has shown that the united front tactics proclaimed by the Comintern and the

R.I.L.U. have their source in a profound need of the broad masses.

The Frankfort Conference was the highest consummation of international solidarity in another sense also, in that the separate groups faced the possible results of their impending joint struggles against the whole bourgeoisie. The International Conference, in declaring that the first task of the revolutionary workers of Germany is the overthrow of the Cuno government and the establishment of a workers' government, faced the fact that this may lead to a war on the part of the Great and Little Ententes against the social revolution in Germany. No one doubts for a moment that the workers' government in Germany signifies an alliance for life or death between revolutionary Germany and Soviet Russia. To a conference of internationalists such an alliance is a matter of course. It would be a strange thing if Soviet Russia would permit the strangulation of the social revolution in Germany. This was so perfectly obvious to everyone that the question did not even give rise to a debate. All were fully convinced that when the German proletariat has overthrown its bourgeoisie, and finds itself confronted by European imperialism, then the Russian proletariat and the Red Army will fight hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with the German workers until the end, until complete victory over the bourgeoisie.

The most obstinate and conservative reformist is now forced to recognize that it is only the revolutionary workers who are carrying on any effective struggle against the Ruhr occupation. It is true that the German bourgeoisie, and its allies, the German social democrats, continue to repeat, day after day, that the German communists are agents of Poincaré; at the same time the whole yellow press of France maintains that the French communists and revolutionary syndicalists are the paid hirelings of Cuno. This insolence is nothing new. It is a well known line of tactics, invariably followed by ruling classes and disciples: to represent the revolutionists of their country to be agents of a foreign power. Let them say what they will; let the dogs bay the moon! The revolutionary workers of all countries took the first step in Essen. The Frankfort Conference has taken the second step in the same direction: An international committee of action has been formed, national and district committees, commissions, fraternities, etc. have been called into existence. The path is traced out before us. It only remains to work, to work, and once more to work—and the victory is ours!

POLITICS

What has Mr. Vandervelde to say?

By Karl Radek.

Moscow, March 10, 1923.

Our readers will recollect how the one-time royal minister of justice Vandervelde, caused us to blush with shame by declaring, at the S.R. trial: "In our country, in Belgium, the communists may do as they like, write what they like, and say what they like." Mr. Vandervelde added, with a grimace: "This does not trouble us; nobody is afraid of them; we are a powerful Belgian labor party, they are an inconsiderable minority."

To-day the wire brings us the news that 20 Belgian communist have been arrested, among them three members of the party leadership of whose names we are not informed. They will be accused of some frightful crime, perhaps even of high treason. But what has happened that democratic Belgium, whose advantages were so highly praised and favorably compared with Soviet Russian barbarity, has suddenly become so disturbed?

The Communist Party of Belgium, though young and weak, has manfully protested against the participation of Belgium in the rapacious raid on the Ruhr. The Belgian bourgeoisie declared to the workers of Belgium that they were obliged, on behalf of the welfare of the Belgian people to loot Germany. The Belgian communists reminded the Belgian miners that, despite the enormous gains of the colliery owners, they are living in want and misery. They issued the slogan: No campaign against the German miners (whom the representatives of Belgian capitalism are treating precisely as General Beseler and other representatives of the then victorious German militarism treated the Belgian miners), but a campaign against the Belgian capitalists. When the movement began among the Belgian miners, Mr. Vandervelde's party ran for help to the Belgian capitalists, and began to hunt down the communists. But it turned out that the Belgian communist party, despite its youth and weakness, had the greater influence, and that the fit of jingoism evoked by the German invasion of 1914, and the subsequent sufferings of the Belgian working masses, and even more by the victory of the

Entente, is now over. The miners did not follow Mr. Vandervelde, but rather responded to the appeals made by the Belgian communists Jacquemotte and van Overstraeten.

As soon as this happened, it appeared that Belgian democracy is as unapproachable as a chaste maiden uninured to the temptations of life. The Belgian government tolerated the agitation of the communists so long as it was convinced that Mr. Vandervelde and his party could cope alone with the communist danger. But so soon as it became evident that the communists can place themselves at the head of an elementary movement among workers who have lost their faith in Vandervelde, then the Belgian bourgeoisie fell upon the communists, and flung open the doors of the prisons for their reception. It is possible that Mr. Vandervelde, with the skill peculiar to him, will even protest against these arrests. Mr. Vandervelde invariably makes a point of protesting whenever the bourgeoisie, with his assistance, prosecutes its aims. Then he washes his hands in innocence exclaiming: "I protest". But nobody can be deceived by this skillful manoeuvre on M. Vandervelde's part. He and his party aided their bourgeoisie to maintain power at the moment when it was tottering. Now they protest, with their tongue in their cheek. But the general conclusion which we can draw from this is even more instructive: The bourgeoisie plays with democracy so long as it is not dangerous to it. But as soon as democratic liberty permits the working class to organize any form of struggle, as soon as it facilitates any preparation for attack on the part of the working class, then the bourgeoisie throws democracy overboard, and bourgeois conjurers manufacture laws on treason against the state.

What has Mr. Vandervelde to say to this?

From Westminster Palace to Santé Prison

By R. Albert (Paris).

"...and thus the paths of the flunkeys and the revolutionaries cross each other..."

Within three days of each other—March 17. and 20.—two socialist conferences took place in Paris. The agendas of both contained almost the same items: both were occupied with the questions unfolded by M. Poincaré, the spokesman of the Comité des Forges: The Ruhr, the coming war, the great capitalist threat against the world peace.

Two "socialist" conferences. A symbol.

One took place in the great hall of the trade union buildings. Here there were thousands crowded together who had marched hither direct from their places of work, working men in old-worn clothes, the weariness of the day's toil in their bones, but at the same time containing in their heads everything which Paris possesses of revolutionary hope and confidence, courage and will to action.—Outside of the hall, in the darkness of the night, a pack of despicable beings prowled about, around this mass of workers, like hungry dogs ready to make a snap at any moment: police and spies.

The speaker's platform was occupied by a man with hair just turning grey, a man of high stature, with clear eyes—he spoke with outstretched hand. The foreign accent was scarcely noticeable in his voice. Had the chairman not just introduced him, it could have been assumed that he belonged to this mass of Parisian proletarians.

Höllein, communist member of the German Reichstag, was speaking.

And the hall re-echoed with the thunders of applause from the thousands of Parisian working men and women; hands and faces were raised enthusiastically to welcome this German, and the strains of the "International" filled the great hall. For there was not one present but felt that the conceptions Frenchman and German belong to the past, and that the terms "boche" and "welsche" are infamous designations. A German worker was speaking to French workers, a communist to communists. They all understood only too well what he was saying. The misery of the German children? In the suburbs of this opulent Paris there are just as many pale-cheeked children. The intrigues of the plutocrat Stinnes? Ah, did not the Comité des Forges have the class brothers of the workers here assembled, shot at Le Havre only yesterday? The monarchist plots in Munich? The bourgeoisie and the "Action Française" elements were also represented in the hall by their spies. The imprisonment of German revolutionaries? In France the leaders of the workers are also sitting behind bolts and bars.

This German communist was felt to belong to the same common stock as all those present in the hall. He came from a country where, four times within five years, the proletariat has unfolded its red flag and shed its blood in insurrection. And the

thousands of workers listening here in Paris were well aware that for them, there is neither fatherland nor peace under the bourgeois regime, that there is no salvation without the inexorable struggle of the exploited against exploiters...

After leaving this mighty meeting, the speaker was arrested and taken to prison.

Höllein came here to bring proletarian Paris the fraternal greetings of the German workers, and for this he is charged with plotting against the security of the state; it seems as if the plain words of the communists contain something especially dangerous. Höllein is now in a cell of the political department in the Santé. Cachin is "dwelling" near him; thus the representatives of two democratic parliaments are living under one roof in a prison of the French republic.

The other socialist conference took place three days later in the comfort and tranquility of the Palais Bourbon (French parliamentary building.), surrounded by the servile respect of the servants, discreetly guarded by some of the more superior spies from the prefecture—to make sure that no-one disturbed the socialists at their work... Here the socialist deputies from four allied countries unfolded their portfolios (which did not yet look quite ministerial), and took their ease as well-remunerated shepherds of the peoples... Here the flower of European socialism was represented (except those of the enemy countries), or what the II. International regards as the flower. A choice selection of one-time and future ministers: Citizen Vandervelde, the signatory of the Versailles peace; citizen Renaudel, his cronies Treves and Modigliani, who will presently be receiving an offer from Mussolini, that they black his boots in some sub-secretariat of state. Citizen Ramsay Macdonald from the English Labor Party...

Ramsay Macdonald, who had just come from the banquet in Westminster Palace, where he had dined well at the table of His Majesty the King of England; where his majesty had condescended to speak to him just as the champagne or liqueur was being passed around... Who will ever give us a report on this aspect of the history of socialism?

Did George V. perhaps speak with him on the future of the British working class, or even of the fate of those 172 Hindu peasants who were condemned to death "in the king's name" somewhere in the great dependency?...

And this inter-parliamentary socialist conference of the II. International passed a resolution that... passed a resolution that... resolved that a commission, also inter-parliamentary, should be sent to Berlin to negotiate with the leaders of the party of Ebert, Scheidemann, and Noske.

Among these socialists there was not one who knew manual labor or daily want, or had not found time to forget them. Not one who knew prison. Not one who preached mass action. Not one who had an idea beyond hypocritical and lying phrases. Not one who was a revolutionist. Not one who was not an honored and honestly honoring servant of some bourgeois power. Two socialist conferences. A symbol.

The citizen Ramsay Macdonald came from Westminster Palace.

Höllein went to Santé prison.

"...and thus the paths of the flunkeys and the revolutionaries cross each other..."

Open letter to Mr. Benes*)

Dear Sir,

You are a member of the League of Nations, and one of the aims of this League is to see that justice is administered in this world, for which purpose, as you will be aware, it boasts quite a large number of citizens into the next world, by protecting every imaginable war adventure. You, as member of this honorable institution, and as Minister for Foreign Affairs in a democratic republic, probably find the following of interest. Your Moscow representative visaed my passport, and it was specially noted on the passport that I was going to Marienbad for a course of treatment. When I appeared at the police headquarters in Prague I was informed by the police officials, in the charming manner peculiar to them, that I had to leave Prague for Marienbad within 24 hours (this term was prolonged to three days). Although deeply moved that the police should be so anxious about my health, I asked the chief of police why I could not remain in Prague for five or six days. He replied gruffly that he had his good reasons, but was not obliged to inform me of these. Thus, although I am obliged for your three days hospitality, I leave Czecho-Slovakia with the feeling that the Soviet air of my own

*) Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia.

country will do my health much more good than the healing waters of Marienbad, when these are mingled with police supervision. And yet I should like to ask you, as minister, whether you can explain to me why your democratic police prefer to see me outside of your frontiers? If I were General Degoutte, and should trample in my soldiers' boots over the necks of the unarmed population of the Ruhr area, I could live in Prague as long as ever I liked, and as my boots would be those of a worthy representative of the French Exchange, the chief of police would polish them with his own hands. If I were Admiral Stark, and should sell ships which are the property of the Russian state, and appropriate the money for myself, your country would naturally extend its hospitality for a longer time. If I were a White Guard officer, and had attacked the Red Army from behind, under General Wrangel's command, when it was fighting against the Poland of the landowners, then you would not only permit me to remain in Prague, but would grant me financial aid from the money collected from Czech workers and peasants. If I were Stinnes, and had scooped in milliards out of the misery and poverty of the German people, you would have shut your chief of police up in a lunatic asylum if he had thought of limiting my sojourn in Prague. And finally, if I had been a speculator, and had come to Czecho-Slovakia for the purpose of raising the prices on the necessities of life, or of executing some exchange manoeuvre, your chief of police and the other authorities would have prepared a magnificent reception for me. But I am no French general, I do not indulge in speculation, I have not sold Soviet Russia either wholesale or retail; I am not even a whining S.R., but something much worse—I am a Bolshevik. Hence this limitation of the hospitality of Prague.

And do you know why it was necessary for me to spend a few days in Prague? I wanted to form an idea, if only superficially, of the unemployment, the position and form of organization of the trade unions, the administration, the forms of book keeping, and of all the difficulties which hinder the development of the labor movement in your country. These were my "criminal" intentions. This sufficed to expose me to the impudence of your agents, who dogged my footsteps without intermission. And your agents do not appear to have worked in vain, for on the morning of the 13. March one of these amiable creatures stopped me in the street and conducted me to the police headquarters, where a regulation was read to me showing that a decree dating from the year 1871 banishes me for ever from Czecho-Slovakia. Several dozens of soles accompanied me in the most friendly manner to the station, some agents even coming as far as the frontier; your government appeared to fear that if I had extended my stay in Prague even one day beyond the term granted, the country would have been endangered.

You must not imagine, Mr. Benes, that I am in the least offended at this agreeable treatment on the part of your chief of police! No; he is a pillar of democracy, and therefore suffering from anti-Bolshevism, and from love for White Guards and speculators. I merely establish the fact the Czecho-Slovakian democratic republic receives with open arms every dishonorable, treacherous, anti-labor element of the whole world, but limits its hospitality as soon as it is a question of a communist, a functionary of the international trade union movement, serving the working masses of Russia and of all countries. You can adduce for your justification the fact that your republic is no worse than the French or the American—this is true. I have not the courage to try and decide which of these three republics is the worst. But you at least are on the same level as your French patron. Despite all this, I have nevertheless carried away some very pleasant impressions from Czecho-Slovakia—not from you or the chief of police, of course—but from those revolutionary workers who feel themselves organically related to the Russian revolution. I do not abandon the hope of being able to visit Czecho-Slovakia again before long, and am fully convinced that the workers of your country will show real hospitality to the representative of the Russian workers. The so-called democratic republics are but passing phenomena, are they not, Mr. Benes?

With Soviet greetings.

A. Lozovsky.

Prague, 13. March, 1923.

Let us win the Army for Communism

By Maurice Laporte (Paris).

Motto: We can make no revolution without the army.

Karl Liebknecht.

It is a fact that without the army there is no certainty of victory. To win the young soldiers for Communism is to strike a deadly blow at Capitalism.

They are fools who hope for a "short peaceful" revolution, a social transformation without profound and mighty upheav-

vals. In the battles of today victory falls to the one who has the best weapons at his disposal, and knows best how to use them. There are no pleasant surprise attacks as in 1848, no taking of town halls or chamber buildings by a boldly executed coup; now there is nothing but the barricade, and behind it the rifle, the machine gun, even the cannon. Two great armies oppose one another, determined to fight: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. And we again emphasize that only the complete defeat of the one can render the victory of the other possible. It is in our hands to choose and to conquer.

We are often told, "If you defend the Red Army, you are not really anti-militarists". Naturally those who oppose militarism are solely the elements who take every opportunity of emphasizing their will to peace, who groan and sigh whenever events appear to make war inevitable.

And these pacifists have never been so numerous as now, during the present period of confusion and threats of fresh war. Let us take a closer glance at the reasons adduced by these stay-at-home humanitarians.

Bourgeoisie and Pacifism.

For the bourgeoisie, pacifism is just as effective a means to an end as religion, native country, justice, universal franchise, — it is another medium for lulling the proletariat to sleep. In the name of pacifism, and with the full support of the social democrats, the bourgeoisie condemns our thesis of the class struggle, which imposes on the oppressed of all countries the right and the duty to emancipate themselves by means of revolutionary force, that is, by means of war itself. Just as the bourgeoisie has its election agents, so also it has its special assistants whose task it is to sing the praises of the benefits conferred on the world by the League of Nations, to extol the idea of the rights of the peoples, of general and simultaneous disarmament, although all these things are absolutely incompatible with the present state of society which is based upon oppression and domination.

When the pacifists reproach us with having insufficient anti-military ardour, they are mightily mistaken.

Our chief concern is not that an army is a mere assembly of human beings accustomed to discipline and obedience. For us the social rôle played by the army is of much greater importance. Today it is a platitude to say that the army is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class. But platitude or not, the constant repetition of this assertion does not in the least detract from its significance. The point of main interest for us is: in whose behalf is this instrument being used?

At the present time the army supports the capitalist state. In the communist society, and during transition to this state of society, the whole army will be at the service of the revolution, at the disposal of the proletariat, which, after it has seized power, will inevitably have to take up arms against world reaction. For the triumph of communism in one country will not lead automatically to world revolution.

We must not forget the profound meaning contained in Lenin's words: "Until we have disarmed the bourgeoisie everywhere, we cannot throw away our guns".

National Defence?

Those pacifists who condemn war as such, are the same who do not reject the idea of national defence. For these opponents of war there exists a profound solidarity which closely unites the exploiters and exploited of one and the same country during war.

Events, which have little respect for pacifists, sometimes make war unavoidable, and when such a moment arrives, we shall witness a complete collapse in the camp of the humanitarians. Then we shall hear nothing more of peace between the peoples, or of disarmament. Then nothing will be spoken of but war. National defence comes before all else:

It is thus easily understood why we so bitterly combat the lies of pacifism.

We must now be quite clear in our minds in what manner we must work in order to convert the army to our views.

Practical Anti-militarism.

In theory and in practice alike, the army is directed much less against neighbouring capitalist nations than against ourselves. Thus we have to win at least the majority of this army over to our side, if we want to take up the struggle with a fair prospect of success.

We have 736,000 soldiers for the protection of national honor; of these 250,000 are at present in the Ruhr and Saar districts, 85,000 in Morocco, 8,000 in Constantinople, and 35,000 in Syria and the East. All this apart from Algeria, Tunis, Menel, etc. Of course this is all very little indeed, so little that the 1914 class is being kept on service, and in a few weeks will

probably be joined by the 1923 class. It is easily possible that still further categories will be called up. And in addition to this there is the fleet, the tanks, the air service, etc.

How can we oppose this? Is there any question of opposition at all? No. Our immediate task consists in working within the army itself, of winning the sympathies of its finest and most class conscious elements. The Communist Youth does not by any means conceal from itself the difficulties presented by this task. But it is resolved to defy them. Here on the threshold of our great anti-militarist campaign we turn to the delicate problem of practical agitation.

Ways and Means.

The first part of our plan includes leaflets, posters, bills, pamphlets, daily papers, etc. No opportunity is to be missed for spreading our literature as widely as possible in the meetings held by the young recruits, and in the conferences and peoples' meetings.

For the second part of our plan we only need to turn to the carefully worked out program of the 3. World Congress of the Communist Youth International.

We shall co-operate closely with our comrades in the army for the improvement of their conditions.

We shall start a campaign for the express purpose of improving the food in the ambulance service, of regulating the granting of leave, suppressing courts martial and penal companies, granting of civil rights to soldiers, etc.

By means of our leaflets, our bills, and our special organ: "Le Caserne" (The Barracks), we shall arouse the interest of the soldiers in our struggles. We shall establish permanent and regular relations between the army and the working class. We shall unceasingly remind the soldiers that they are sons of the people, and that they must remember this at all times and places.

If we wish to cite examples of what has already been done, we only need to name two: that of the strike at Havre, and more especially that of the more recent and important affair at Bochum, where the "Tommys" despite all the threats of their officers, refused to tear down the posters stuck up by the Communist Youth.

All circumstances favor the anti-militarist action which we are about to take up. The Communist Party must not forget that anti-militarism is not a special task which only falls to the Youth, but is a duty imposed on the whole party.

The provincial press, and the functionaries in all local groups and districts, must support our action to the utmost of their power.

The Bulgarian Miners' Union and the Ruhr Occupation

On February 11. the Bulgarian miners held large meetings for discussing the occupation of the Ruhr area, and the danger arising therefrom for all miners. When one of the speakers announced that the secretariat of the International Miners Union, at whose head stands the famous Hodges, had rejected the twelve hours protest strike against the Ruhr occupation and war danger, proposed by the seven revolutionary miners' unions, among them being the Bulgarian miners' union, thousands of voices raised the cry: "Down with the traitors". At one of the meetings, held at the large Pernik colliery, the following resolution was passed:

The miners of Bulgaria regard the Ruhr occupation by the French imperialists not only as a preliminary to a new bloody war, but at the same time as an attack on the rights of the miners, especially on the rights and liberties of the thousands of miners of the Ruhr area. A great part of the blame for the present sufferings of the Ruhr proletariat, and for the disastrous results of the occupation of the Ruhr area for the whole German and French proletariat, lies at the door of the German bourgeoisie and its greedy capitalist policy.

The responsibility for the crime committed by French imperialism and German capitalism is also shared by the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union federation, who facilitated the occupation with the aid of their leaders in France, Bulgaria, Germany, England, and other countries. The Amsterdam International refused to entertain the proposal made by the Profintern, to carry out an international proletarian action against the deeds of violence committed by French imperialism. In the same manner the International Secretariat of the Miners' Union rejected the suggestion made by the unions affiliated to the Profintern, for the organization of a general protest strike for defending our brothers in the Ruhr.

The leaders of the German Miners' Union omitted to take any step whatever which could rescue the workers of the Ruhr

district from the clutches of the capitalists, Stinnes, Thyssen, and the reactionary Cuno government.

The Bulgarian miners while, exposing the treachery of these leaders, send their greetings to all the miners of the Ruhr area who have declared themselves ready to fight against French imperialism and German capitalism alike. They send greetings to the shop stewards of the Thyssen collieries, who withdrew their representatives from the commission for the liberation of the colliery barons and directors. They declare their revolutionary solidarity with the decisions passed by the shop stewards' congress of the Ruhr mines, and most warmly welcome the defensive action commenced by the French workers against the attack of the French imperialists. They extend their hands in all brotherliness to the miners of the Ruhr and of all countries, and call upon them to join in the common and united struggle, under the leadership of the Profintern, for the overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of peace and fraternity among the working peoples by the aid of workers' councils and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The slogans of the Bulgarian miners are: "Long live the international solidarity of the miners! Long live the united front of the proletariat of all countries!"

ECONOMICS

Ruhr occupation — German and French economics

By E. Varga.

If there really were some people still naive enough to believe that after the world war, conflicts could be solved by the League of Nations or in some other peaceful manner, France's military proceedings must have sufficiently convinced them by now that within capitalism conflicts can only be solved by force. What is going on in the Ruhr area at the present time is war: the war of an unarmed population against an armed enemy.

Before considering the question of the economic significance of the Ruhr area, and of the consequences of the occupation for German and French economics, we must first emphasize the fact that in this case the same illusion is prevailing as during the world war. At that time there existed a general belief that a world war could not last longer than a few months, that modern economics were so internationally interwoven that it was impossible for a war to last longer. Experience shows that a world war can last 4 1/2 years. And in this case: it was believed that an occupation of the Ruhr area, attended by a cutting off of the supply of Ruhr coal, would lead to a speedy catastrophe in German economics. How often was it repeated, by the bourgeois press of Germany, that a railway strike for instance, or a coal-miners' strike, would bring about an immediate catastrophe in the economic life of Germany, and must therefore be avoided at any cost. But now experience shows that after more than two months of Ruhr occupation, and after supplies of Ruhr coal and iron have ceased for six weeks, there is no thought whatever of a catastrophe in German economics. This proves, in the first place, that this pretext for combatting labor movements is based on a lie, and, in the second place, that German capitalist economics are exceedingly elastic.

The coal and iron problem.

The purpose of the Ruhr occupation is stated by France to be the necessity for getting pledges from Germany that the reparations are paid regularly. These are the "productive pledges" which France sought to obtain by occupying the Ruhr. But besides this financial aim, another factor has been decisive for the occupation, that of the special interests of French heavy industry. To make this clear, the following figures may be adduced:

Even before the war France had a large excess of iron ore as compared with her coal. A great part of the iron ore produced on the Lorraine frontier of France had to be exported, and was smelted in Germany. After the war, the disproportion between iron and coal in France became much greater. French coal production has been diminished by the devastation of the mines in Northern France by the Germans; on the other hand, France's output of iron ore has been enormously increased by her possession of Lorraine and its ore mines. The change which has taken place may be gathered from the following collective statistics for the whole of Europe, taken from "Economic Statistics":

In 1913 the total coal output of Europe was over 600 million tons:

Germany, old boundaries	190,11 mill. t = 31.17 %
France, old boundaries	40,05 " t = 6.56 %
Great Britain and Ireland	292,04 " t = 47.87 %

With the present political boundaries, the coal output of Europe is distributed as follows:

	1913	1920	1921	1922
	Mill. t	Mill. t	Mill. t	Mill. t
Germany, present boundaries (without Saar)	140.9	23.10	108.4	113.9
Saar area	13.2	2.16	9.8	9.5
France, including Lorraine	43.8	7.18	24.3	28.2
Belgium	22.8	3.74	22.4	21.8
Poland (with Eastern Upp. Silesia)	40.5	6.64	29.4	29.9
Czecho-Slovakia	12.7	2.08	11.1	11.6
Great Britain and Ireland	292.0	47.87	233.2	166.3
The rest of Europe	44.1	7.23	—	—
Europe	610.0	100.00	—	—

Thus the coal output of France has dropped from 44 million tons in 1913 to 31 million tons in 1922.

The output of iron ore, which has developed in the opposite direction, is shown by the following:

Europe's output of iron ore, which amounted to 107 million tons in 1913, was distributed as follows:

Germany	28.6 mill. t = 26.73 %
France	21.5 " t = 20.09 %
Great Britain	16.2 " t = 15.23 %

By the loss of the Lorraine Minette, and by the surrender of the districts in the east, German iron ore production has dropped from 28.6 to 7.3 million tons (compared with 1913), i. e., by about three-quarters; France's output on the other hand, has about doubled.

The following table shows the distribution of iron ore production in the present political districts, before and after the war, for the whole of Europe:

	1913	1920	1921
	Mill. t.	Mill. t.	Mill. t.
Germany, present boundaries	7.3	6.82	6.3
France,	42.7	39.91	13.9
Luxemburg	7.3	6.82	3.7
Belgium	0.2	0.19	0.03
Poland (with East Upper Silesia)	0.4	0.37	0.2
Czecho-Slovakia	2.6	2.43	—
Great Britain and Ireland	16.3	15.23	12.9
Sweden	7.5	7.01	4.5
Spain	9.9	9.25	4.8

From this may be seen that France's iron ore production from her present areas amounted to 40% of the total iron ore output of Europe in the year 1913. The result is thus:

7% coal output as compared with 40% iron output.

It must be further observed that the quantity of minable iron ore (in the earth) is now in France's hands to a much greater extent than before: France, within her present boundaries, possesses

53% of the total iron ore reserves of Europe.

It is this disproportion between coal and iron which has induced French heavy industry to force an imperialist policy on the French government in the Ruhr area.

Naturally it is possible to imagine a state of affairs in which the Lorraine ores would be smelted in the Ruhr area again; and the blast furnaces of Lorraine could be provided with Ruhr coal and Ruhr coke; the new frontier lines have not altered the geographical and transport conditions in the least. But the real question is the determination of French heavy industry to extend its influence to the whole Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry, in order to obtain a monopoly over the continental European iron industry (the heavy industries outside of Germany—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia—are powerfully influenced by French capital). French heavy industry has not been driven into its present policy by necessities of production, it is actuated by the desire for monopoly and for political power.

The economic significance of the occupied territory.

It must be specially emphasized that great tracts of Germany were occupied by the Entente before the occupation of the Ruhr: the Saar district, the district on the left bank of the Rhine, the bridge heads. If we include the Saar area, the territory at present occupied is 34,573 square kilometres in extent, and has a

population of about 12 millions, that is, the fifth part of the total population of the country. But up to now the occupation had little effect on Germany's economic life, for the traffic had been kept open between occupied and unoccupied territory, and all territory remained under German administration, taxation, financial control, etc.

All this is changed with one stroke by the Ruhr occupation for all these districts are now cut off from free economic intercourse with Germany in respect to products of heavy industry.

It must be remembered that the Ruhr area is the very heart of German coal and iron production. It is the most industrialized district in the world. There is no district in the world, with so dense a network of traffic as the Ruhr area.*

	1922	1921	1920	1913
	in 1000 t	in 1000 t	in 1000 t	in 1000 t
Saar area	11 178	9 465	9 824	13 216
Other territory hitherto occupied	6 031	5 614	5 605	6 986
All territory hitherto occupied	17 209	15 082	15 429	20 202
Ruhr area	92 606	89 065	84 295	110 359
Total occupied territory	109 815	105 047	99 724	130 561
Germany, present boundaries	130 323	123 405	118 228	151 142

The following survey gives an idea of the coal output of the occupied territory:

	% of total for whole country incl. Saar district			
	1922	1921	1920	1913
Saar area	8.6	7.7	8.3	8.6
Other territory hitherto occupied	4.6	4.5	4.7	4.5
All territory hitherto occupied	13.2	12.2	13.0	13.1
Ruhr area	71.1	72.9	71.3	71.6
Total occupied territory	84.3	85.1	84.3	84.7

Thus approximately 85 % of the total German coal output falls to the occupied territories, and of this, 71 %, or about three quarters, to the Ruhr area on the right bank of the Rhine.

With respect to the production of iron and steel, we have data for the year 1920 only, no statistics having been published for later years.

The following table shows the importance of the iron and steel production in the occupied territories:

	Saar area				Other terr.				Ruhr area				All occup. terr.				Germ., present boundaries			
I. Production in 1000 t																				
	1913	1920	1913	1920	1913	1920	1913	1920	1913	1920	1913	1920	1913	1920	1913	1920				
Crude iron	1371	643	1512	676	6622	3779	9505	5098	12287	6447	6599	6659	6447	6599	6659	6447				
Crude steel	2080	740	2298	1276	7251	4702	11629	6718	13636	8136	8136	8136	8136	8136	8136	8136				
Rolling mill products	1530	559	2046	1159	5484	3234	9060	4952	6212	6212	6212	6212	6212	6212	6212	6212				

II. % of total for whole country, incl. Saar district

Crude iron	1913	11.2	12.3	53.9	77.4	100
Crude steel	1913	15.2	16.8	53.1	85.1	100
Rolling mill products	1913	9.1	15.7	57.8	82.6	100
Crude iron	1920	7.7	10.2	56.8	76.7	100
Crude steel	1920	9.1	15.7	57.8	82.6	100
Rolling mill products	1920	9.0	18.6	52.5	80.1	100

From this we see that Germany has been robbed of about 80 % of her iron and steel production by the occupation of the Ruhr area.

Consequences of the Ruhr occupation for German economics.

The distribution of the coal produced in the Ruhr area is as follows:

About one third of the coal produced in the Ruhr is coked in the Ruhr area itself. The coal output of the Ruhr area (including that of the collieries on the right bank of the Rhine) during the eleven months from January to November 1922 amounted, in round numbers, to 89 million tons, and was distributed as follows:

Consumption by the collieries about 10 mill. tons
incl. coal for payment in kind " 30 " "
consumption in the coke works " 49 " "
coal sent away " 49 " "

Of the 49 million tons of coal sent away and the 22 1/2 million tons of coke, the distribution was as follows:

	Coal	Coke
unoccupied German	24 mill. t	7.9 mill. t
formerly occupied terr.	8 " "	2.3 " "
Ruhr area	8 " "	6.2 " "
deliveries to the Entente	8 " "	5.6 " "
other foreign countries	1 " "	0.5 " "
Total	49 mill. t	22.5 mill. t

* see Shadwell's book: *Germany, England, America.*

The cutting off of all export of coal and coke from the Ruhr area has naturally involved severe losses for Germany. But the harmful effects of this cessation of coal supplies is felt much more slowly than was predicted. It is probable that the constant threats of occupation of the Ruhr area put the German capitalists on their guard, so that these had provided themselves with a good stock of coal. Moreover, the production of lignite has been energetically increased, and a great part of the shortage is compensated by the import of English coal.

In 1922, the import of English coal had already reached 8.3 million tons — almost that of the year 1913. We have no comprehensive data on the import of English coal since the Ruhr occupation, but there is no doubt that it is very high. At the present time American coal is also being imported by Germany. It is characteristic for the anarchy of capitalist economics that the same ships which carry English coal to the United States, bring American coal with them for Germany on their return journey; this is reported by the English technical journals.

The alarming stagnation of German economics at the present moment, expressed by the great increase of unemployment and part-time, is not an immediate consequence of the Ruhr occupation; it is the continuation of a downward process which began six months ago, and has been rendered more acute by the stabilization of the mark which took place a few weeks ago.

But although the Ruhr occupation and the cessation of coal supplies has not yet led to catastrophic results for German economics up to now—apart from the Ruhr area—this does not by any means signify that this state of affairs could be borne permanently by German economics. The store of coal will soon be exhausted, and the import of English coal cannot in any way replace the shortage of Ruhr coal; neither is England's production large enough to do this, nor is Germany capable of raising the money required for the continuous purchase of expensive English coal.

With regard to the economic position in the Ruhr area itself, we must admit that no reliable data are obtainable. It is probable that the coal output has diminished very considerably—probably to less than half of normal—and that this coal is coked in the Ruhr area itself, and used for smelting the existing and imported iron ore, and that the iron goods thus produced are placed on stock for the present.

The Ruhr occupation and French economics.

However incredible it may appear, the consequences of the Ruhr occupation are at the moment much more disastrous for French than for German economics. The French iron industry is completely dependent on German coal and German coke. Only very small reserves were on hand, have now been used up, and a large number of blast furnaces in the east of France, above all the Lorraine works, have been compelled to shut down for lack of coal. The total amount of coke required monthly is about 700,000 tons, only a very small amount of which is produced in France itself, or is replaced by English or Czechoslovakian coal. The position is best characterized by the following survey given in *L'Usine*, the periodical of the French iron and steel industry: "We have now been in occupation of the Ruhr area for a month, and the situation of our iron industry is becoming more and more critical every day. When the government decided to adopt compulsory measures against Germany, it sent official notice to our industrial undertakings to make the necessary preparations for taking over large amounts of coke. The results are sufficiently well known. We entered the Ruhr on January 11, and since January 19, our industry has not received a single ton of coke from the Ruhr area. Our factories are working today at about 60% of the January rate, that is, at 30% of their normal production. We are continually being compelled to extinguish additional blast furnaces, and the situation has every prospect of becoming worse."

The majority of the works are running scarcely a quarter of their blast furnaces. The small reserves are completely exhausted. It must not be forgotten that the German deliveries were always in arrears, so that it was impossible for our industry to take precautionary measures against possible crises, quite apart from the fact that it was never consulted.

When German or pro-German newspapers, attempt to represent the Ruhr occupation as an action undertaken at our instigation, this is very far from the actual truth. On the contrary, our industry is the first to suffer from the resultant conditions. It is precisely our industry which feels with the greatest acuteness the consequences of the policy pursued at present.

It must not be concluded from this that French heavy industry abandons the idea of controlling the Ruhr industry. All that is proved is the old story of the great war: that the cost of defeating the enemy by far exceeds the profits gained; that the conflicting parties ruin themselves mutually in the struggle for economic power.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the cessation of coal and iron supplies from the Ruhr area, and the consequent stagnation of a considerable part of French iron industry, have led to a temporary revival of the markets in the other heavy industrial countries of Europe. England is the greatest gainer; her coal and iron industries are fully occupied at present, and at rising prices. This is one reason why the movement against the Ruhr occupation gains ground so slowly. Czechoslovakian heavy industry has also experienced a revival, but it is very difficult to get coal or iron transported across Germany from here to France. Germany is the chief buyer. American heavy industry is also gaining by the Ruhr conflict at present, for French and German competition has disappeared from the world market; moreover, Germany is buying coal from America. But this revival is merely a passing phase, and will blow out with a protraction of the Ruhr conflict.

The issue of the conflict.

It is not our task to predict the probable termination of the conflict. But one thing appears to be certain: On no account will England permit France to carry off a complete victory in the Ruhr conflict. Such a solution, which would place the whole Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry in French hands, will not be accepted by England. For this reason, the intervention of England and America in the conflict is inevitable, even if this interference is not open, and participation will be secured for English capital in Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry. Further, there is no doubt whatever, despite the press campaigns and the official announcements made by French and Germans alike, that continual negotiations are going on between German and French heavy industries. We consider the most probable issue of the conflict to be—provided that the working class does not succeed in gaining decisive influence on the solution of the question by revolutionary action—that the Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry will become the joint property of German, French, and English capital. This could be made technically possible by a loan to Germany, guaranteed by England and raised in England and America, and paid over immediately to France. This would enable Poincaré to withdraw from the Ruhr affair successfully. This international loan would be secured by the real values of German industry above all by those of the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial area, and a form would be found (for instance the issue of supplementary shares) enabling French and English capital to secure the desired participation.

This solution would probably be temporary only. The fact of the Ruhr occupation is in itself a proof that on the basis of the Versailles treaty there can be no capitalist balance of power. The political struggles for power which are expressed in the occupation of the Ruhr are again shaking European economics to their foundations, and the gradual improvement observable during the autumn months has again been erased.

The Soviet rouble and the French Assignats

By G. Sokolnikov.

(Russian People's Commissary for Finance.)

We frequently meet with the opinion that our traffic in paper money, like all traffic in paper money, must inevitably lead to a catastrophe; that the crisis which our paper money is undergoing is a deadly one, and that it is not possible to avoid the transition to gold currency, not merely in the sense of calculating on a gold basis but to the use of gold currency. But if we accord these opinions careful consideration, we find that the arguments on which they are founded are supported more by prejudice than by logic.

The instance most frequently adduced is that of the great French revolution, which attempted to put its economics in order with the aid of paper currency. When this paper money was deprived of value, it was replaced by metal coins, and after a crisis lasting some years France passed to metal currency again.

This historical analogy deserves a careful analysis, for such an analysis serves to disclose the extreme superficiality of this analogy, and demonstrates that it contains not a shadow of proof of the inevitability of the collapse of our paper currency. During the epoch of revolutionary crisis, France did not make the transition to metal coins because the paper money system had collapsed; the reverse was the case, the system of paper money collapsed because it was replaced by metal currency. And why? In the first place because coin currency was possible. There were such quantities of coins in the country (about 2½ milliards of francs), in the hands of private persons, that these sufficed to cover the requirements of French currency. This was the first and

most important condition, and was a result of the then existing backwardness of banking activity, which had not yet reached the point of withdrawing metal from circulation in overwhelming quantities, and concentrating it in reserve funds belonging to the central banks.

Besides this, there were two other decisive factors. First, until 1793 France still had a favorable trade balance, and during the first year of the revolution this favorable commercial balance was able to prevent metal currency from leaving France. The revolution gave a powerful impetus to the development of foreign trade. Later on the revolutionary wars hindered the development of foreign trade, especially of sea trade. But — and this is the second factor — the Napoleonic wars brought about a tremendous increase of France's gold reserves, for the gold of Italy, Holland, and other countries was confiscated. It may be asserted, without exaggeration, that almost all the gold reserves accumulated by the commercial states of the continent during the middle ages fell into the hands of the French bourgeoisie, which proceeded (for a time) to extend its political hegemony in France to an immediate political and economic hegemony in Europe.

Even during the period of paper currency, France's finances were never on a purely paper basis. The government combined the system of issuing bank-notes with a system of paying in metal to bankers and business people who gathered round the government; the manufacturers supplying war requisites were almost invariably paid in metal coins.

During the whole period, up to the overthrow of Robespierre, the revolutionary government was supplied with considerable means by the issue of paper money, and when the fall in the rate of exchange came, it was inconsiderable as compared with the present fluctuations in the value of paper money in Russia, Germany, etc. At the time of Robespierre's downfall the paper money still retained 30% of its original value; it was not until later that the depreciation took more rapid strides, with regard to which it must be observed, that the most acute depreciation occurred at a time when the government itself was anxious for the complete depreciation of the paper currency. Thus the maximum limit of depreciation of this paper has nothing whatever in common with that limit reached by the Soviet currency. During the epoch of bourgeois revolution, the economic conditions obtaining in France were naturally very different to those of Russia after the October revolution. In France there was never that restriction of commercial traffic which took place in Russia. In France the political force of the bourgeoisie was never so undermined as in Russia. When the French paper money began to depreciate in value, the revolutionary government encountered the economic resistance of the commercial bourgeoisie and of the industrial magnates, who wished to rid themselves of the sinking paper currency, and thus converted their economic resistance into a political resistance. The bourgeoisie had no objection so long as the "costs of the revolution" were borne by the nobility. But when the issue of paper money became a peculiar means of "taxing" financial and trade capital, the bourgeoisie made a clean sweep of the paper money, and of the government based upon it.

With us there is no resemblance to this. Our industry is a state industry and our trade a state trade, and though these are equally anxious to be rid of the depreciated currency, and to have another basis of support than Soviet currency, still this striving implies no political development, for the state industry and the state trade are much more in need of a firm Soviet power than a firm currency.

Thus the analogy drawn between the French and Russian financial crises is more than weak: in Russia there is not sufficient gold for economic traffic; it is impossible to enrich the inner traffic with gold from foreign traffic or from confiscations. Most of the gold had already been withdrawn from circulation in Russia before the revolution, and was in the state bank, not in the hands of private persons.

It must be added that even the collapse of the paper currency in France cannot be regarded in its essential character as a collapse of the paper money traffic. After the paper money had depreciated and disappeared, France still carried on the paper money system for some years, under another name. Paper money notes were issued by the state exchequer in anticipation of revenues. This paper money also depreciated, but the state finances were held together by it for some years, until the taxation system was regulated, and the French state bank decided on the issue of bank-notes.

Soviet Russia's greatest advantage lies in the circumstance, that the regulation of the taxation system, and the organization of the state bank and its bank-note issue, are already being carried out at the present time, so that our Soviet "paper money" is not only secure from collapse, but is on the contrary showing symptoms of improvement.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

To all who have Children or who love Children!

By Maxim Gorky.

Today we must help the 2 million Russian children, the orphans living amid the ruins of the world war and in the famine districts. At the time when the famine threatened to strangle Russia, I sent an appeal, a cry throughout the wilderness of Europe; my call was not in vain. And now I appeal for Russia once more. I call upon all who love children, or who have children themselves, to participate in the *International School Week*, April 15—21, of this year which is being carried out by the *International Workers' Relief* conjointly with the pacifist-humanitarian bourgeois organizations. The children living in the homes maintained by the International Workers' Relief are to be given the possibility of developing into free, new human beings, and to this end books and mediums of instruction are to be collected, and, if possible, money and clothing. I am fully confident that the solidarity of the peoples will triumphantly overcome the dark night of cruel disunity!

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A great Marxian Party

By N. Bukharin.

For 5 years the Russian proletariat has maintained its power. And even the opponents of the proletariat have to admit that this power is securely established. It is a power rooted deeply in the Russian soil; it transforms the Russian people; it leads with an iron hand millions of human beings along a stony and thorny path, crossed by barbed wire and exposed to the fire of the enemy; it leads them through the steppes of hunger to the glorious victory of united humanity. How has this miracle been accomplished, despite the impotent rage of bourgeois mediocrity?

Undoubtedly the first factor which is to "blame" is the historical circumstances under which the toil-stained battalions of labor have advanced with mighty strides. History has created extraordinarily favorable circumstances for the success of the Russian working class: an autocracy whose devilish organization was shattered by the war, a weak bourgeoisie not yet capable of wielding the weapon of imperialism, and stupid enough to have undermined the power of Czarism during the war. Mighty masses of peasantry not yet awakened to patriotism, filled with passionate hate against their land-owning lords, and longing to possess the land they tilled. These are the circumstances which rendered the victory of the proletariat possible, which enabled it to unfold its young wings and soar aloft.

But there was yet another cause. The existence of an iron cohort absolutely devoted to the revolution; the existence of a party, unexampled in the whole history of great class struggles. This party had passed through the hard school of illegal action, its class will had been developed in the stress of conflict, it had won and trained its comrades in suffering and deprivation. The very hardness of the school evolved admirable workers, whose task it is to transform and conquer the world. In order to gain a clear idea of how this party has been formed, let us cast a glance at the main features of its development.

First a few words regarding the general staff. Our opponents do not deny that we have excellent leaders. One of the greatest ideologists of the German bourgeoisie, one of the present masters of German thought, Count Kayserling, states in his book: "Economics, Politics, Wisdom", that the power of Soviet Russia can only be explained by the superiority of its statesmen, who far surpass the statesmen of all bourgeois countries. The exaggeration is obvious. This alone is not decisive. But it is nevertheless incontestable that the fact explains much. What is the truth in this respect? The main point is the careful choice of leaders, a choice ensuring a combination of competence, cohesion, and absolute unity of will. With this watchword the leadership of the party was formed. In this respect the party owes much to Lenin. That which narrow-minded opportunists call anti-democracy, mania for conspiracy, or personal dictatorship, is in reality one of the most important principles of the organization. The selection of a group of persons possessing absolute unity of thought, and filled with the same revolutionary zeal, this was the first pre-requisite for

successful action. And this pre-requisite was fulfilled by merciless combat against any deviation from orthodox Bolshevism. This utter rejection of compromise, this constant self-purging, welded the leading group so firmly together that no power on earth could divide it.

The most important elements of the party grouped themselves around these leaders. The strict discipline of Bolshevism, its iron cohesion, its uncompromising spirit, even during the period of joint work with the Mensheviks, its absolute unity of viewpoint, and its perfect centralization, — these have invariably been the characteristic features of our party. The comrades were blindly devoted to the party. "Party patriotism", the passionate enthusiasm of struggle against all other groups, whether in the workshop, public meeting, or prison, converted our party into a sort of revolutionary religious order. For this reason Bolshevism aroused the abhorrence of all liberals, of all reformists, of all tolerant, vacillating, and weak-minded elements.

The party demanded real work among the masses from all its members, whatever the conditions and difficulties. It was precisely in this regard that our first differences with the Mensheviks arose. In order to carry out our purpose we formed fighting units. These were not composed of fine speakers, sympathizing intellectuals, or migratory creatures here to-day and there to-morrow, but of men ready to give their all for the revolution, for the fight, and for the party; ready to face imprisonment and to fight at the barricades, to bear every deprivation and suffer constant persecution. Thus the second concentric circle was formed around our party, its fundamental proletarian working staff. But our party has never been narrowed or limited within any sectarian confines. It must be energetically emphasized that the party has never considered itself to be an aim in itself; it has invariably regarded itself as an instrument for the formation of the mind of the masses, for gathering together and leading the masses. The whole art of political dialectics consists in possessing firm and coherent formations, but not in being a sect, manoeuvring in mere emptiness; in being a really mobile fighting power, capable of setting in action the mighty apparatus of the whole class, the whole of the working masses. The history of our party, especially during the years of revolution, shows how closely it has followed the tendencies in the masses. Who was the most active revolutionist in the army under the old system, constantly in danger of being martyred or killed by the officers? It was the Bolshevik. Who was the most unwearying agitator and organizer? It was the Bolshevik. He missed no opportunity of influencing the masses. In the imperial Duma and in the trade union, in the workers' meeting and in the workers' club, in the Sunday school and in the factory canteen, the Bolshevik was to be found everywhere; the Bolshevik penetrated into every corner, so that a contemporary writer said of him that he "functioned energetically". He has never failed to "function energetically", this Bolshevik.

We must further draw attention to some peculiarities in the policy of the party, to which is largely due the great success attained by the CPR. In the first place comes the firm Marxian foundation of the party. Martov was not wrong when he explained the continuance of the proletarian dictatorship, after the crisis in the spring of 1921, by the remark: "The Bolshevik Party has at least gone through the Marxian school". This is true. The party has studied Marxism thoroughly. The theoretical pre-determination of events, the analysis of class relations, that calculation "in millions" which Lenin has so aptly described as being the essence of politics; all this is in the highest degree characteristic of the leaders of our party. At the same time another peculiarity must be specially emphasized, applicable to our leader Lenin. In our hands, Marxism has never become a dead dogma. It is always a practical instrument, it is not a word but a spirit, it is no scholasticism and no Talmudism, but the actual spirit of Marxian dialectics as a practical working weapon. We possess Marxian training, but no Marxian prejudices. We have an admirable instrument, and it is under our control, not the reverse. And this living revolutionary Marxism is really capable of working miracles.

This explains the extraordinary tactical elasticity of the party. Political errors almost invariably arise from the application of methods which are eminently suitable under certain circumstances, but are harmful under others. The inability to grasp a concrete situation is the cause of the majority of political mistakes. And it is precisely in this grasp of a concrete situation that our party excels. The party has understood how to exercise the utmost patience in dealing with the errors and naiveté of the masses. We only need to recall the days following the February revolution, when we had patiently to make clear so much, and had to proceed so carefully in drawing the masses over to our side. But the party has not

only shown its capacity for patience, but for bold, determined, and unexampled rapid action. The days of the October revolution were ample proof of this. At that time history confronted the party with a whirlwind. There was nothing for it but to plunge into a whirlpool, and to emerge from it on the crest of a gigantic wave. The slightest false move would have been fatal. What was required was unlimited boldness, obstinacy and determination; the party plunged into the vortex, and emerged with power in its hands.

The party has proved itself capable of adapting its course to the need of the hour. Nothing can be more instructive than its policy in this respect. If we remember how the Russian communist party utilized the support of the social revolutionary party, and how rapidly it steered its own ship, and the ship of state, out of the waters of war communism into those of the new economic policy, these two examples suffice to show the tactical elasticity of the party, which combines absolute realism with a clear consciousness of the final goal to which it is steadily proceeding.

It is not possible for the working class, under the rule of capitalism, to so educate itself as to be capable of undertaking the leadership of society. Under the rule of capitalism the working class is enslaved and oppressed. In order to rise, it must break down the capitalist shell which envelops society. It cannot train its forces, prove its powers of organization and undertake the leadership of society, until the period of the dictatorship. During this period the working class develops its real nature, the slave is transformed into creator and lord. This gigantic work is one demanding the utmost exertions on the part of the masses and their vanguard. Our Russian Communist Party may well be proud of what it has accomplished. It has created its generals and its soldiers, its administrative and governmental forces, its nuclei for mental culture and economic construction. Its younger generation enters right into the gigantic laboratory of the Soviet state. After the frightful civil war, and the famine, the great Red Land advances triumphantly, and its trumpet of victory calls upon the workers of the whole world, the slaves in the colonies, the coolies, to take up the final struggle against capital. The innumerable, army of the exploited is headed by a mighty troop, seamed with scars, their standards riddled with bullets and torn with bayonet thrusts. This is the troop which leads the advance, the guide and helper of all the others — it is the Communist Party of Russia, the iron cohort of the proletarian revolution.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A Letter from the General Federation of Labor of Japan

(Tokio, January 1923.)

Dear Comrades,

Never in the history of the Japanese Labor movement have the workers faced a more outrageous crime from the bourgeois class. Never have we faced a more bitter struggle. The jingo government of General Kato is about to pass three new class laws which had been prepared in secrecy but are expected to be introduced in the new Diet in which workers have not a single voice.

The first Bill is the "Trade Union Bill". It clearly aims at smashing all existing militant labor organizations and at converting them into mere pillars of the capitalist system.

The second is the "Bill of Arbitration of Small Tenant Disputes", the object of which is to deliver the poor peasants over to the avaricious land owners.

The third and most repressive Bill is the "Anti-Radical-Social-Movement-Bill". It needs no saying that the Bill aims at depriving the labor movement of its active champions as well as at cutting off all international connections between the Japanese and other proletariats.

Against this bitter assault of the ruling class, we, the Japanese trade unionists, are determined to fight to the last; we formed a strong united front, building up the *Joint Trade Union Committee* which comprises more than thirty militant unions throughout the country.

Fellow workers and comrades of the world. You must support your struggling Japanese brothers if they are not to fall victims to the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie. Rise in solidarity with us, and fight against our common enemy.

Down with the White Terror!
Long live proletarian international solidarity!
Secretary of the General Federation of Labor of Japan,
K. Matsuoka.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

To all Co-operative Organizations!

The I. International Conference of communist co-operators, as well as the IV. World Congress of the Comintern, decided that the co-operative societies have to take active and energetic part in all struggles of the proletariat.

At the present time the proletariat is threatened with a frightful danger. The greedy bourgeoisie of France, actuated by the desire to completely crush and exploit the working masses of Germany, has taken the step of occupying the Ruhr area. For the German people, this occupation signifies a source of immeasurable dangers, of suffering and misery. It is impossible for the German people to patiently tolerate this predatory raid. The extension of French imperial power is an enormous danger for the peace of Europe. Storm-laden war clouds hang over Europe and the whole world. Now, more than ever, all truly proletarian fighting organizations must redouble their efforts in the fight against the bourgeoisie, and the Russian co-operative must not take the last place in the ranks of the proletarian forces.

In the face of this tremendous danger, we must immediately commence agitation within the co-operatively organized masses, for the creation of a united front against the bourgeoisie, and against the war danger threatened through the action of the bourgeoisie. We must continually expose to the masses of co-operators the policy of the social traitors, who pass resolutions at their peace congresses, but fail to carry them out when the decisive moment for action arrives.

We must devote all our powers to this struggle.

The attitude adopted by us to the question of the struggle for securing peace was clearly stated by Soviet Russia's delegation at the Hague conference. Our proposals to all labor organizations of the world are as follows:

1. In order to secure the greatest possible measure of success for the proletarian struggle in the cause of peace, it is necessary to put an end to any class collaboration and any coalition with the bourgeoisie, and to draw a sharp line between labor organizations and bourgeois governments.

2. In order to prepare the armies and the broad masses of workers for effective war against war, it is necessary to create legal and illegal soldiers' organizations, which organizations shall carry on an uninterrupted, persevering, and systematic work of agitation and enlightenment within the army, and be ready at the decisive moment to lead the armies rising against the bourgeoisie.

3. Energetic mass fighting is to be carried on for the annulment of the shameful Versailles treaty and other similar treaties; against the league of imperialist pirates sailing under the flag of the "League of Nations"; against the enslavement of the working masses of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and other countries, through the medium of the "reparations". The international bourgeoisie must be made to pay the full price for making good all the damage and devastation for which it alone is to blame.

4. The working and peasant masses of the semi-colonial and colonial countries, suffering beneath the oppression of the imperialist robbers, are to be induced to join in the war against war. Special attention is to be devoted to agitating against imperialism amongst the colored troops.

5. Strenuous efforts must be made for the immediate evacuation of the territories in Germany occupied by Entente troops, and for the withdrawal of all occupation troops from all districts (Near and Far East, Africa, etc.) which, according to the orders of the League of Nations, that is, according to the right of might, are to remain under occupation.

6. A continuous fight must be conducted for the disarmament of the White Guard organizations of the bourgeoisie, for the arming of the working masses, and for the establishment of workers' governments whose task it will be, to carry out these demands against the will of the ruling classes.

The events in the Ruhr impart a special significance to this resolution at the present time.

We appeal to all the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia who are organized in co-operatives, and call upon them to voice their revolutionary protest against the danger of fresh carnage now being raised by the imperialist bourgeoisie of France, aided by the late Entente.

The Committee of the "Zentrosoyus".

THE WHITE TERROR

In Yugoslavia

By W. Vuyovitch.

The reign of White Terror in Yugoslavia, which began towards the end of 1920, was not only revealed by the dissolution of the Communist Parties and of the trade unions, and by the imprisonment of thousands of workers; the Terror was further expressed by special methods of extorting confessions from the imprisoned communists, in order to obtain material to prove to public opinion how necessary it is to place the communist outside of the law.

In Bosnia, where 300 miners were kept awaiting trial for a year, eleven comrades fell victims to an inquisition whose cruelty surpasses all imagination. The death of these eleven comrades best characterizes the regime obtaining in the prisons of this "civilized" country. The communist trial which took place in Belgrade last year revealed numerous facts plainly showing that reaction is determined to shrink from no means in order to supply the criminal court with "proofs" based on the "confessions" of the accused. Comrade Tchaki was so beaten during an examination that he lost consciousness; thereupon, cold water was poured over his head to restore him to consciousness. After the proceedings were ended, he was forced to sign the protocol of this "hearing". During a hearing of this description four of his teeth were knocked out.

The prisoners were crowded in hundreds into cells intended for 30 to 40 men at most. Here they were left for several days, in unbearable heat, without bread or water. They were continually ill-treated, for no other reason than that they were communists.

The notorious "chimney" of the Belgrade prison certainly represents the most refined torture practised by Yugoslavian "civilization". It is a narrow cell in which a human being can only stand upright. Our comrades were frequently confined in this for 48 hours at a time, or even longer, without bread or water; at the same time smoke was allowed to penetrate into the narrow space, which naturally caused the most intolerable torments. Comrade Kolatschek was beaten till he bled. This beating was carried out with a cow-hide whip. After this ill usage he was carefully cleansed of blood, and incarcerated in the "chimney" for some hours. It would require a thick volume to recount all the numerous methods of torture employed, but the few facts here stated suffice to demonstrate the appalling conditions obtaining in the Yugoslavian prisons.

Comrades Steish and Tchaki, one condemned to 20, the other to 30, years of imprisonment, in "light irons", are in a frightful situation. Their cells are unhealthy and damp, the food defies all description; in addition to this, they have to drag about with them iron fetters weighing 15 kilograms. According to the Serbian law the weight of light fetters should only be 5 kilograms but as these comrades are incarcerated in a prison of Vovodina—a district belonging to Austria before the war—they are forced to carry a heavier weight because the Austrian prisons were only provided with such fetters!

A young comrade from Slavonia was recently condemned to two years strict solitary confinement. The sentence contained the further regulation that the prisoner, once a month, had to pass 24 hours without a bed, on the concrete floor, and without any food whatever. And this cruel sentence was passed for no other reason than that communist literature had been found in the prisoners' house.

But despite all these persecutions and ill usage, the Yugoslavian proletariat holds true to the revolution, and has carried through several successful struggles within the last few months; this may best be seen in the founding of an independent labor party, and in the excellent development made by the independent trade union in recent months. The Yugoslavian proletariat will also find a way to fight for the liberation of its political prisoners.

In Pilsudski's Poland

By A. K. (Warsaw).

For decades the Polish revolutionists have never had a month's peace. The dictatorship of the Polish bourgeoisie followed immediately on the heels of the Czarist regime of occupation rule. Under Moraczewski's government arrests and murders were the order of the day, and all the governments which followed of whatever description, pursued the same policy of arrests and murders against the revolutionists.

"Pavalion", "Paviak", "Serbiya", "Mokotow" (well known Warsaw prisons), and dozens of provincial prisons, returned to their most notorious traditional methods. Nothing was changed but the uniform and the badges. The one-headed eagle was not an iota more humane than his double-headed predecessor. And beneath his sway the system and practices of the prisons remained unaltered, unless for the worse. Many of the old occupants of the prisons returned to them. Hundreds of revolutionary fighters, who had already spent half their lives in Czarist gaols or in exile, made fresh acquaintance with the prisons of "independent" Poland. The communist deputy of the Sejm, Stefan Krolkowski, just recently set at liberty, has undergone eight years of Czarist imprisonment, followed by two years of incarceration watched over by Pilsudski's gendarmes. During the few years of existence of "independent" Poland, many of our comrades have scarcely enjoyed liberty for a few months. An idea may be gained of the extent of the reprisals being carried on in Poland, by a glance at the present exchange list, which contains the names of more than 400 prisoners, of whom at least three quarters have already been imprisoned for two years, and all of whom are condemned to long terms of imprisonment. Five to fifteen years hard labor, the measure of punishment meted out to the communists in one time Russian-Poland, the legal basis for this punishment is derived from the Czarist code of laws, in Galicia and Posen it is derived from the Austrian or Prussian code of penal law.

It has often been asked who has adopted the most brutal measures against revolution and the revolutionists: Czarism or the Polish Skallons, Kaznakows, Gruns, Ithofs, and Alexandrows, as represented by such scoundrels as Witecki, Snarski, Gorzechowski, Miegzinski, Farynski, and their companions. That such a question can be asked at all is significant enough in itself. It is extremely difficult to reply for it is hard to compare the data, and moreover the intensity of the repressive measures under both regimes, has varied at different times.

If we do not consider separate details, but wish to characterize the period as a whole, we may say that, in the first place, mass repression was formerly never exercised for such long and uninterrupted periods, and, in the second place, such repressive measures were never so extensive as at the present time, now that Lemberg, Cracow, and Posen, in which political trials were formerly unknown, can enter into competition with Warsaw and Lodz. There is no doubt that this period is filled with shameful deeds, such as were unknown to the earlier history of the Polish revolutionary struggle—for instance the murder of the Soviet Russian Red Cross commission, with the old political convict Vreckovski at the head, in December 1918; or the murder of Brzozas, stabbed with a bayonet; or the murder of comrade

Pola Maceyovskaya in the prison at Kattovitz, and the pogrom among the female political prisoners in Wronki.

Such excesses as were committed during Moratschevski's government have occurred in Poland at various times, and under the most various circumstances. The responsibility for these horrible crimes falls to the Polish Scheidemanns: Moratschevski, Baszynski, and Slivinski. Six months ago, under Slivinski's government, an arrested man was forced to make a confession by means of torture, and the rôle of executioner was not played by a gendarme or by the Defensive (Polish secret police), but by Luxemburg, the judge of the court of inquiry. During the electoral campaign a group of youths, who were arrested at an electoral meeting had their heads shaved like criminals, and in addition chained like convicts. In earlier times prisoners were certainly never subjected to such systematic psychological tortures as is now the case in Polish prisons. There are prisons in which as many as 10 hunger strikes have taken place in the course of a year.

The struggle raging in Poland against the communist movement is being carried on, as it has always been, under the leadership and active participation of the Polish Scheidemanns who sit in the offices of the Defensive, and openly and secretly co-operate with these secret police. Despite the dangers threatening them from the extreme right, these elements are still terribly afraid that the chains may be removed which hinder the development of the labor movement. A number of sharp lessons on the part of the right are first required, in order that the working class may revolt against these tactics of its leaders, and close its ranks for a united struggle against the repression hindering the development of the labor movement.

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Loucheur, Stinnes & Co.

By Jacques Sadoul.

Before 1914, the exploitation of the two mightiest mining areas of the continent, Lorraine and the Ruhr, ensured the predominance in Europe of the German bourgeoisie.

In order to break this dominion, the victorious Entente had to destroy its foundations. The Versailles Treaty therefore provided for the separation of the ores of Lorraine from Germany, and their incorporation in France, while the Ruhr coal was left to Germany.

But even the most solemn agreements, written in the blood of millions of poor propertyless victims, and protected by armies comprising millions of soldiers, cannot hold good if they contravene economic realities. The Treaty of Versailles, like many other treaties, is nothing more than a scrap of paper, because it attempts to break up the natural unity of the Rhine valley.

The German metal industries are as little able to do without the ore of Lorraine as the French metal industries of Lorraine are able to dispense with the Ruhr coal. The mutual economic dependence of the two areas is inalienable. The Rhine flowing between them must again become what it was before, a connecting line. It is only possible to properly utilize the huge riches of the Rhine valley when the owners work in the closest relationship with one another.

What form will these close relations take?

Three possibilities may be considered:

- a) the (French) iron submits to the dominion of the (German) coal.
- b) the coal submits to the iron.
- c) iron and coal—incapable of dominating one another completely—are forced to make a compromise.

The ore of Lorraine, in the hands of victorious and armed France, will not submit to the Ruhr, that is, to vanquished and disarmed Germany. But on the other hand England and the United States, after making such great efforts for the overthrow of German dominance, will not permit France to establish her own supremacy on the ruins of Germany, by forcing German coal to submit to the sway of French iron.

Let us therefore examine the conditions for the realization of the third possibility, the only one which appears probable at the present time: an understanding between French ore and German coal.

The men on both sides whose interests are chiefly at stake, and who are therefore best informed—the French and German iron barons—are perfectly aware that such an understanding is inevitable, and that it will be necessary, within a

short time, to form a Franco-German syndicate for the exploitation of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Both parties are preparing for this understanding, and both parties are naturally endeavoring to grant as little as possible, and to gain as much as possible, when entering into the agreement.

In order to fill and defend their cash-boxes—for this is the sole tangible reality in the whole affair—French and German capitalists are resorting to every possible medium of deception and violence.

In the last resort it is a question—and this no communist must forget—of what privileged rights this or that partner is to have over the sweat and misery of the workers, of what proportion of the riches squeezed out of the exploited workers of the Ruhr mines is to be granted to Loucheur, Schneider & Co., and how many millions in return for this are to be accorded to Stinnes, Thyssen & Co., from the no less scandalous exploitation of the miners of Lorraine.

This question, the one most essential for Stinnes, Loucheur, etc., is one which can be solved by corruption or by violence, by milliards of gold or milliards of shells. These knights sans reproche do not shrink from utilizing the national finances, and the national army, for their private interests and for the satisfaction of their own appetites. They drag both nations at their heels. And to be able to do so with more certainty, they carefully conceal their cash-boxes from sight. In France and Germany alike, the cash-boxes vanish behind a drop-scene painted in the national colors and bearing the dazzling inscription: Liberty! honor! fatherland! Words which for many centuries have served only too often to sacrifice the credulous masses to the designs of their oppressors. The feelings of the workers are again to be played upon, their idealism appealed to, and the same trap laid for them. Once more the German and the Frenchman, the workman and the peasant, the exploited tax-payer, is to be converted into a "heroic soldier", ready to sacrifice his life and possessions on the altar of his native country, that is, on the altar of capitalist profit.

Thus the German and French capitalists are in full agreement with respect to the division of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Four years of war, of suffering, of horror and of murder, ten millions of dead, thousands of milliards of debts—this has sufficed to convince them of the necessity of this agreement. All that remains to be settled is the percentage of profit to be assigned to each of these gentlemen. Hence all these negotiations, manœuvres, and intrigues, carried on for the last