

(the factory employs almost 75 % women), large clean rooms with beds, chairs, small tables and cupboards, and a common kitchen.

A Kindergarten and a home for small children was also provided for the factory, and here the mothers can leave the children who are under school age, while they work in the factory. The children are taken to the home at 7 o'clock in the morning, and remain until the afternoon, when they are fetched away by the mothers. In the home they are fed, washed, and amused. The children play here, are taken for walks, and the older ones are taught to read.

The workers of the Giraud factory, in whose memories the old conditions are still fresh, are fully conscious of what they have won by the revolution. It is only necessary for them to compare their former housing conditions with their present, to feel that the Soviet government is a workers' government. To be sure, conditions are not yet by any means ideal; the wages are not high, the workers suffer from the high prices. But they feel that progress is being made. The better the factory works, and the greater its production, the greater the improvement of the conditions under which the workers live. And this the Russian workers, down to the last non-partisan, know.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Frossard in the footsteps of Levi

By A. Lozovsky.

The decisions of the Fourth World Congress have evoked a storm of dissatisfaction from the intellectuals of the Communist Party of France. The old sickness of French socialism was strongly present in the Communist party. Abstract revolutionism, intellectual hair-splitting, estrangement from the masses, lack of proletarian discipline, freedom of action for single bodies of the party, all these things gnawed at the roots of the French Communist Party. The Communist International has frequently taken up the French question, but the matter proceeded slowly. At last the Fourth Congress adopted a series of salutary resolutions and demanded that every "independent" or "autonomous" member of the French Communist Party declare whether he does or does not agree with these conclusions. At the conclusion of the Fourth Congress, it was plain that the great majority of the party had accommodated itself to the international discipline; but there remained about a hundred communists who kicked against the decisions of the world-congress and founded a "Committee for the Protection of Communism". Among these were: Ferdinand Faure, Garnier, Lafont, Morizet, Meric, Pioch, Torres and quite a number of other journalists and lawyers of such "broad" dispositions that they could not accommodate themselves to the "narrow" limits of the Communist International.

Frossard hedged at first, then announced his desertion of the party and placed himself at the head of the committee for non-ratification of the decisions of the Fourth Congress.

All these "free spirits", who have been expelled from the party, have founded a unified communist party, the central organ of which is called *l'Egalite* (Equality) with the subtitle, "In the interests of Communist unity". In the first number of this organ we find a declaration of the program and two articles by Frossard, "Who are we?" and "Why I have left the Communist Party". Frossard explains that he is "in agreement with the principles of the Communist International, but not with its methods", and that even at Tours, he had only accepted the 21 conditions of the Comintern with reservations. "I dreamed," he writes, "of a great proletarian party which should combine the bold revolutionary realism of Lenin and the broad humanity of Jaures in one harmonious synthesis."

Against the humanism of Jaures we have nothing to say, but we have much to say against his reformism. In vain does Frossard attempt to conceal his wish to create a synthesis between the revolutionary realism of Lenin, that is between Communism and the reformism of Jaures, under the name of Humanism. It is a reformist communism of which Frossard has been dreaming.

Against the Communist method, Frossard cites the watchword of Blanqui "Neither god nor master". Frossard is displeased because the Comintern revised the charter of Tours, he protests against the laborism of the Comintern, against its trade union policy, and centralization tendency. He writes, "I regard the International as a sum of parties while Moscow

regards the International as a single party which is strongly centralized and directed by a small group of people with unlimited power. This conception repeats the faults of the First International which fell because of its oligarchical centralization."

So the "broad" Communist, Frossard, attempts to correct the errors of both the 1st and 3rd Internationals, and for this purpose the autonomy of the party and non-interference by the International in its inner affairs is of course necessary.

The central point of the entire program of the new party is the trade union movement. It is understood, of course, that in this new party the trade union has an absolutely independent position. Frossard "cannot imagine that the party in France could take upon itself the initiative for strikes and conduct them together with the union organizations." Frossard declares that the sentimental attachment of the C.G.T.U. to the Profintern will not last long, that the "organic connection between the Comintern and the Profintern would be supplied by a permanent committee of action. The day will soon come, when the demand for autonomy in the C.G.T.U. will burst forth in a tempest."

In the declaration "To all Communists and syndicalists" the independence and autonomy of the trade union movement is emphasized. Finally one finds the entire philosophy of communist independence in a special editorial on the trade union movement. "The party frankly declares that it stands for the absolute autonomy of the trade union movement. And by the autonomy of the trade union movement the united communist Party understands that as a party, it will not interfere in a single official discussion of the proletarian economic organizations. The Party expresses itself as categorically opposed to the tactics of forming nuclei and declares its purpose to be that of service to the unions and not one of taking them in tow; that the question of discipline will never be brought up inside the party, to restrict the freedom of its members in the field of trade union activity, that it will be left to the conscience of each single member to act in the interests of the working class. Both the adherents of the R.I.L.U. and those of the Anarcho-Syndicalist International will be free to write for the central organ, since neither organization necessarily excludes the other."

This, then, is the theory of the new organization which "is in perfect agreement with the principles of the Comintern, but not with its methods."

Even from these few quotations, we can judge how far this group of intellectuals is in agreement with the principles of the Comintern. It is enough to glance through the pages of this journal to see that about as much remains of the Comintern principles, as remains with Fabre, Verriest and others who were expelled long ago.

Here, Andre Morizet writes regarding the declaration of Bukharin at the Fourth Congress relative to the theoretical possibility of a Red intervention. There appears in the official declaration of the "Committee for the protection of Communism", a dogmatic presentation by Stapel, of the decisions concerning the mutual relations of party and trade union. The same writer scoffs at "Revolution by means of war, revolution by means of militarism, revolution by means of cannon, aeroplanes, tanks and poison gases." Victor Meric reveals in "Two years of Communism" that he stands for the Russian Revolution and International Communism; but with perfect freedom heart and mind, not under the club, not with the howling of chained dogs or under the deluge of ever-lasting theses.

The exit of Frossard and his friends from the Communist Party occurred at the time of the Ruhr occupation, and the savage persecution of French communists and revolutionary syndicalists. These one-time communists have been much offended when they have been told that their conduct smacks more of political cowardice than of theoretical keenness. But the truth remains. At the moment of arrests the general secretary left the party and created his own little party in which he assembled all those who like to applaud Communism without doing anything for it. History repeats itself. Frossard, six months later, repeats the action of Paul Levi. Levi too, was quite in agreement with the principles of the Communist Party but not with its methods; he too, built up a compromise party. Levi, who, like Frossard, was so much in accord with the principles of the Comintern, is now in the arms of Renaudel and Brackes? The first number of *Egalite* shows, that Frossard has taken a big step in that direction. Frossard, who wished to discover a new method for the Communist International can think of nothing else but to follow in the foot-steps of Paul Levi. But why let that trouble us? Communism did not die when Paul Levi left the party, nor is it likely to fall at the desertion of Frossard. On the contrary!

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## POLITICS

1871—1923

By Bertraint (Paris).

In 1871 imperialist Germany forced on bourgeois France its Treaty of Versailles, containing the three main clauses: 1. the annexation of Alsace Lorraine by the German empire then coming into being; 2. the granting of most favoured nation treatment to the victors in commercial relations, and 3. the payment of 5 milliard francs as war indemnity to the German Empire.

Soon after, the insurrection of the Paris Commune broke out. This, though but a diffident and imperfect attempt, marked at least the beginning of proletarian revolution. After a few months the Commune was crushed by the fearful and suppressive violence of the Versailles. At least 20,000 members of the Commune, for the most part workers, fell victims to the reign of terror instigated by M. Thiers.

Our open or masked opportunists have always derived great pleasure in emphasizing the alleged patriotic character of the Communards.

Before the war they were never weary of glorifying the Commune as a reaction of the national spirit of the workers against victorious German imperialism.

This permitted our social patriots to represent their internationalist harangues as being perfectly consistent with their recognition of the duty of defending one's native country.

It also rendered it possible for the social democratic leaders, in 1914, to represent their class betrayal as being a continuation of the revolutionary traditions of France.

It is a most despicable act to misuse in this manner the theoretical confusion, which was the deadly weakness of the Commune, for the purpose of falsifying history and besmirching the first attempt at proletarian rule, by accusing it of bourgeois patriotism.

After the siege of Paris, and after the French defeat, the Paris workers and craftsmen felt that the whole burden of the consequences of the war was going to be thrust upon their shoulders.

After they had consumed all their savings for providing themselves with the bare necessities of life in the besieged city, they saw the moment approach when they would have to pay their rent arrears. The economic life of the whole Paris district was in a state of complete dissolution. Work was lacking everywhere. The workers of Paris were confronted with untold misery.

On the other hand, the great bourgeoisie was at the

same moment enjoying life to the full. The bankers, the great industrial magnates, and the vanquished generals, lived in riotous luxury.

The workers of Paris instinctively felt, that the bourgeoisie would cast the whole burden involved in the Versailles treaty solely onto the working class.

To be sure, the Parisian workers hated German imperialism, but they also hated their own vanquished and shameless bourgeoisie.

They issued the slogan of an armed rising of the working class, in opposition to the unfavorable peace treaty, in opposition to the Germany of the junkers and industrial barons, against the French bourgeoisie and French militarism.

This was a class revolution in the face of the national enemy lying before the gates of Paris! What resemblance is there between this and the civil peace patriotism of to-day and yesterday?

It is true that the Paris Commune did not clearly and sharply define its attitude towards patriotism and defence of the native country. It went further than this, it acted.

That which its class logic did not know how to formulate theoretically, it carried out in actual practice, by many instructive deeds.

The deeds of the Paris Commune have replied beforehand to the history written and falsified since then by opportunists and *burgfrieden* socialists.

Thiers and Bismarck, for their part, understood this very well.

The German statesman calmly allowed the French statesman to reorganize and train the Versailles army of counter-revolution, which was to crush the Paris Commune.

Thus Thiers and Bismarck exercised the Franco-German solidarity of the exploiting classes against the workers' rising in Paris.

One must be stupid or a rascally opportunist not to grasp what Thiers and Bismarck grasped with such wonderful ease.

In 1919 it was imperialist France which imposed on bourgeois Germany the second Treaty of Versailles. The occupation of the Ruhr is to continue until Germany has paid full damages for a war for whose origin every single one of the belligerent governments were responsible.

The German revolution of November 1919 broke out in the midst of the war, against the militarism of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and against the capitalism of Stinnes, Krupp, and Essen.

And on November 11, M. Clemenceau, the French Bismarck, granted Mr. Noske, the German Thiers, precisely the same favor as that shown by the German forerunner of Clemenceau, to the French forerunner of Noske.

The Armistice left to Noske the 600 machine guns, and the hundreds of heavy guns, which the destroyers of the German commune employed against the proletariat.

M. Poincaré has tolerated the *Orgesch* and all other white guard organizations in so far as these have been necessary to hold the German working class in subjection.

The French generals of the Rhine army have frequently distributed weapons among the inhabitants who were attacking the striking workers.

Only six weeks ago, the French commander in the Pfalz district took steps against the striking workers in Ludwigshafen, in order to dissolve their shop stewards councils and force them to accept the ten hour day.

During this period we heard no indignant patriotic protests against French bayonets from the German capitalists or their social-democratic flunkys.

But now French imperialism has forcibly invaded the Ruhr area, and Stinnes and Thyssen, as well as their business manager Mr. Cuno, are struck with the somewhat belated idea of appealing to national honor and interests.

In the Ruhr affair, Stinnes and company are as little concerned about the German Fatherland as the *Comité des Forges* (Iron Works Committee) or Loucheur & Co., are for the French Fatherland.

The question is simply and solely whether the German and French capitalists are to participate equally in the profits of the collieries and iron works of the Ruhr area.

And for Mr. Stinnes, there is the further question, whether he can utilize the French pressure on the Ruhr district, and Germany's embarrassment, to force the German state to hand over its railways to private industry.

Neither the French nor the German workers must permit themselves to be misled by the heart-rending appeals made to their love of *Vaterland* by their industrial barons or their governments.

On the contrary, they must fraternally combine against Franco-German capitalism, and against the threatening danger of a fresh war.

In 1871, the Paris Commune set up the workers' government in opposition to the first Versailles treaty, and to the French bourgeoisie.

In the Reichstag, Bebel and Liebknecht sounded the note of international proletarian protest.

In 1923 we fully endorse the attitude taken by the German Communist Party, which is also demanding the establishment of a workers' government in opposition to the second Versailles treaty and to German capitalism.

The Communist Party of France, despite all police persecution, and despite the imprisonment of its leaders, continues to raise the voice of international proletarian protest everywhere, in Parliament, in public meetings, and in workshops and factories.

The C.G.T.U. (Unitarian General Labor Confederation) faithfully assists in the work of agitation and preparation for the struggle. It guarantees the comprehensiveness and extent of the movement.

In 1871 the international organization of working class forces was still very weak.

In 1923, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions have organized proletarian internationalism on a firm and powerful basis.

The fight against the Versailles peace treaty, the fight for the workers' government in Germany, is a fight for the aims, not only of the German working class, but of the whole European proletariat, indeed, of the whole world proletariat.

To-day, as at the time of the Essen conference, this fight consists, above all, in the systematic preparation of a general strike among all the workers of the West.

We hope that from this general strike a great German Commune will be established, which will never know defeat.

What the Parisian labor movement of 1871 chiefly lacked was a powerful proletarian party.

Of the German revolution we know that neither the German Communist Party, nor the other brother parties of the Communist International, will fail to do their duty in bringing about realization.

## Comrades Monmousseau and Treint before the French Court of Inquiry

The French government will not succeed in bringing the campaign instituted against the French communists to a conclusion favorable to itself. The "conspiracy" is based on such a tottering foundation that it has already been found necessary to set comrade Ker, one of those accused of "high treason", tem-

porarily at liberty again. Thus Poincaré's government not only has to give way to the pressure of the working masses who demand the release of those arrested with daily increasing vehemence; it is also highly disagreeable to the government that the prisoners, by their proud bearing before the court of inquiry, are gaining the sympathies of ever-widening masses of the people.

Monmousseau, the general secretary of the CGTU, has now been heard by the judge of the court of inquiry. We quote the following from his reply to the accusations of judge Joussein:

"I have the privilege to-day of appearing before you for the second time to vindicate my revolutionary activity.

The present persecutions of myself and my comrades remind me vividly of the persecutions of May 1920. Then as now you took precisely the same course and under precisely the same pretexts. Both legal actions were preceded by entirely arbitrary arrests, which later could not be justified in the least degree, despite recourse to the whole armoury of the code of penal law.

The government — for these persecutions originate with the government — thus fulfils its part as paid servant of the financial powers. On every occasion when the government believes the interests of the great capitalists to be endangered by the workers exercising their rights, it has recourse to violence against the working class, in favor of high finance, with utter disregard of its own laws.

The course of procedure is invariably the same: In May 1920, workers' functionaries were arrested so as to prevent the right to strike from being exercised. To-day labor functionaries are thrown into prison in order to facilitate the predatory raids made by the Iron Works Committee to the detriment of the Franco-German proletariat. And to-morrow — if we may believe the provocations of the *Temps*, the semi-official organ of the government — labor functionaries are to be once more imprisoned for the purpose of strangling the strike of the coal miners, a strike dictated by purely economic interests.

The policy of suppression is expedited in proportion to the increased rapidity of the decay of capitalism.

The parallel between the action taken in 1920 and in 1923 is clear and obvious: Then as now, there is the entire lack of any serious evidence on which to base the indictment, the same police documents, the same fantastic or mendacious reports by spies, all aiming at penalizing men for their convictions.

I have the right to point out here, that on the occasion of the first trial the jurymen of the Seine Département emphatically condemned the action taken by the authorities, which is continued to this day. This kind of trial discredits those who repeatedly seize the same weapons, for the sole purpose of glutting their political vengeance, of depriving the workers of their right of free speech, and of placing hostages, (pledges) into the hands of a Parliamentary majority — the sole pledges which are really productive.

My appearance before you in your official capacity sufficiently proves that neither imprisonment nor trials, obviously arranged in the interests of despotism, will exercise the slightest influence on the decisions of the workers' functionaries.

For the rest, I shall not deny, weaken, or palliate anything in my writings or speeches, nor as to the aims which I have followed. As member of the committee of action, in which capacity I was sent as delegate to the Essen conference, I take complete responsibility for the mandate with which I was entrusted.

In view of the disastrous policy being pursued by the French government in the Ruhr area, in view of the economic and financial machinations which are but imperfectly concealed behind patriotic appeals, and in view of the policy of suppression against the revolutionary labor functionaries, I declare my full and complete solidarity with the German proletariat whose communist organizations are carrying on the conflict against their own government and against French Imperialism.

In my speech in the Ruhr area I said: We shall do our utmost to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr, because this is a crime perpetrated against the French proletariat. I am convinced that the French government is pursuing an aggressive policy. From the very beginning I have fought against the Treaty of Versailles, and against the false interpretations put upon it at the instigation of a government obedient to the great industrial undertakings.

The occupation of the Ruhr means increased misery and oppression for the Franco-German proletariat, whose solidarity rests on the defence of its interests against the economic and financial plans which the Stinnes-Loucheur group has had up its sleeve for a long time.

After five weeks of arrest comrade Albert Treint, the general secretary of the French CP., was at last brought up before the judge of the court of inquiry. Like Monmousseau, he acknowledged with joy and pride his responsibility, for the

mandate entrusted to him, and like Monmousseau, showed the proceedings taken against him to be an attack on the communists and on the Communist International.

In his declaration before the court of inquiry, he said: "I am accused of a fairly large number of political crimes. The legal pretexts employed for my prosecution are such as would scarcely deceive anybody to-day. It is no longer possible to cloak and conceal their actual import.

With respect to the government which has cooked up this trial, it is perfectly obvious that it never believed in the existence of any plot or conspiracy. The government plainly reveals what little regard it has for law as soon as the interests of capital are in any way threatened. As a true agent of the propertied class, the government placed the state power at the disposal of capital, and exercises in its favor the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The government prosecutes us because, in the name of the proletariat, we oppose a criminal policy of provocation which threatens to lead to bloodshed, a policy, the sole possible result of which, can only be—increased want and misery among the international working class.

We are confronted by a fresh attack upon the right to hold opinions, by a fresh attack on the Communist Workers International.

This manoeuvre however, will not prevent us from continuing our struggle against capitalism, and especially against the treaty of Versailles, whose disastrous consequences weigh as an ever-increasing burden on the workers of the whole world. We shall continue to denounce before the entire world the imperialist policy of a government which occupies the Ruhr area in order to satisfy the greed for profits of the great industrial undertakings. The government is pursuing its anti-labor policy with logical strictness: aggression at home and abroad; murders of workers in Havre; armed intervention against the workers' strike in the Pfalz district; arrest of workers' functionaries, and occupation of the Ruhr area. All this is plain and obvious.

Our prosecution is thus a class prosecution, and aims at striking a blow at the Communist International, through us. I, with my whole party, expressly claim the honor of belonging to the Communist International, which reveals the machinations of the capitalist governments before the eyes of the world proletariat.

The Communist Party is a class party. The French section, like all the other national sections, represents the interests of the whole working class. For there is no sphere in which the interests of the French working class are not absolutely identical with the interests of the workers of all other countries.

This explains the solidarity binding the French proletariat to the proletariats of all other countries: with the proletariat of Germany, collapsing beneath the burden of an enforced peace. With the proletariat of Italy, persecuted and pursued by murderous Fascists. With the proletariat of Central Europe and Poland, delivered into the hands of a merciless police regime and of the most frightful White Terror. With the proletariat of America—in short, with the oppressed proletariats of all countries, and not least with the victorious proletariat of Soviet Russia, which, surrounded on all sides by enemies, establishes its workers' rule more and more securely, and rebuilds its economic structure.

The Communist Party is an international party. It is international just as capitalist exploitation is international. International as the proletariat, international as the misery of the working class. International as the desire for emancipation in the proletariat. International as the Russian revolution, the outpost of the revolutions of the workers of the whole world.

As a member of the "Committee of action against war", as a delegate sent by the Communist Party to the Essen conference, and as general secretary of this same party, I take full responsibility for the mandate entrusted to me.

After comrade Treint declared his complete solidarity with everything which had been undertaken by the Committee of Action, the judge accused him of having declared, in the public meeting held at Paris on January 3, that the Red Army would be prepared to support the German revolution. To this comrade Treint replied:

"Yes indeed, I gave expression to the idea of the solidarity of the proletariat with regard to the revolutions which might break out. This is in any case a traditional idea common to all movements claiming to stand on the ground of class war."

In conclusion, comrade Treint again assumed full responsibility for the wording of the Essen manifesto, and expressed his regret that he had been personally prevented from taking part in the public meetings in the Ruhr area.

## A letter from Bukharin and Zinoviev to Joussein, judge of the French Court of Inquiry

Dear Sir,  
The charge brought against our international brothers in arms, Cachin, Monmousseau, Treint, and others, is based for the most part on a speech of Bukharin's. Therefore the undersigned beg you to summon them before the court as witnesses. The Judiciary of the French republic knows perfectly well, that the charge in question is a political one, intimately connected with events of great international significance. The opportunity is thus offered of illuminating the democratic role of the French republic and the position of the Communist International; and also, of examining, before the court, the import of Bukharin's speech, and the correctness of the official accusations published by the French bourgeois press. We do not doubt for a moment but that the justice of democratic France, known for its impartiality and love of objective truth, will accede to our request. It was one of us who delivered the incriminating speech, and the other is the chairman of the Communist International, and of the 4th Congress where the speech was delivered.

N. Bukharin. G. Zinoviev.

## The Sakhalin Question and the "Sinclair" Concession

By Vilensky-Sibirakov (Moscow).

The Sakhalin question has entered on a new phase with the ratification of the concession agreement with the American Sinclair Company, for the exploitation of the naphtha wells in the Russian part of Northern Sakhalin.

Up to now, the Sakhalin question has been regarded solely from the point of view of Russo-Japanese relations, and has depended on the relative powers of Russia and Japan in the Far East, but the conclusion of this contract with the Sinclair Company—backed not only by American capital, but by the government of the United States—renders this question more than ever, an international one; the number of parties interested is now greatly increased, and Japan's position considerably weakened.

The importance of Northern Sakhalin lies in its enormous strategic significance, not only for Russia, who here defends the passage to the waters of the Amur, but also for Japan and America. To Japan, Northern Sakhalin constitutes a base from which she could threaten the Russian Far East. At the same time Japan sees in Sakhalin a vast reserve of coal, naphtha, and other natural treasures, necessary for the extension of her power. To America, Sakhalin is an object of great interest on account of its naphtha, for the possession of which America is fighting the whole world.

The "great press" of America long ago declared, that if Japan seized the naphtha sources on the Pacific coast, Sakhalin included, America's struggle for the waterways of the Pacific Ocean would become much more complicated. The American government therefore follows Japan's activities in Northern Sakhalin with close attention. The American government has raised frequent protests against Japan's occupation of Northern Sakhalin. The concession agreement with the Sinclair Co. originated in 1920, that is, at the time when America withdrew her troops from the Russian Near East, and Japan, under the pretext afforded by the so-called "Nikolayevsk events", occupied Northern Sakhalin.

For quite obvious reasons, Russia was in no hurry to accept the American proposal, though in principle she has nothing against the admission of American capital for the purpose of exploiting many of the natural riches of the Russian Near East. The attitude adopted by Russia in this question is best justified by the negotiations conducted at the same time with Vanderlip respecting the so-called "Kamchatka concessions". At that time, there was reason to hope that the Sakhalin question would be solved by a direct agreement with Japan.

The conference of Daira, and particularly that of Tchanchun, where Japan declared her intention of retaining control of Northern Sakhalin—by way of a "guarantee" on "compensation" for the "Nikolayevsk events"—finally convinced us that the Japanese were not going to renounce Sakhalin. And in so far as American capital—it must be assumed, with the approval of its government—did not withdraw its proposition, which is undoubtedly of great commercial advantage to Soviet Russia, Soviet Russia signed the concession agreement for the exploitation of naphtha for a term of 30 years.

It is highly probable that this Russo-American concession agreement will meet with great dissatisfaction in Japanese commercial and industrial circles, which now have every reason

for reproaching their government for its faulty policy towards Russia. The imperialist policy pursued, first by the Hara cabinet and then by the Kato cabinet, has contributed not a little to Russia's loss of faith in the possibility of coming to an agreement with Japan for the settlement of Russo-Japanese relations in the Far East.

The concession agreement with the Sinclair Co. is of great commercial importance to Soviet Russia. And its political significance is greatly magnified by the fact that the government of the R.S.F.S.R. reserves the right to immediately annul the agreement, should the United States government commit any hostile act against Soviet Russia, or should normal relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and the United States not be restored within five years after the contract comes into force.

The Sakhalin question was recently brought up in the Japanese parliament, but found no favorable settlement. The Japanese minister for foreign affairs, Uchida, declared that "Japan is ready to settle all pending questions between Russia and Japan as soon as Soviet Russia's internal affairs are firmly established". This signifies that Japan again postpones the settlement of the Sakhalin question, under the pretext that Russia's internal situation is not yet thoroughly settled. From this we can draw the conclusion that the Japanese militarists, and their attendant diplomatists, have learned very little, especially with regard to grasping the international significance of present day Soviet Russia.

The Sinclair agreement thus gains in significance, because by it, not only Soviet Russia, but also America, protests against the occupation of Northern Sakhalin, for by this agreement, America emphasizes her recognition of Soviet Russia's rights to Sakhalin. It is not long since America's pressure forced Japan to return Shantung to China, and it is not very likely that Japan will find the necessary means to enable her to enter into war with America for the naphtha of Sakhalin.

Thus our concession agreement with America gives us the hope that Japan will soon think very seriously of speedily withdrawing her troops from Northern Sakhalin.

## Divided Council in Ranks of British Labor Party

By Thomas Bell.

Since the general election in Great Britain, an internal struggle has been going on inside the Labor Party. The cause of this struggle lies in the successes of the Independent Labor Party at the polls, and the attempts of the I.L.P. leaders to gain control of the Labor Party machine.

In the last Parliament the leadership of the Labor Party was in the hands of quite moderate and "constitutional" trade union leaders. Thus we had respectable would be statesmen like Clynes or Thomas speaking on behalf of Labor, to the disgust of the I.L.P.'ers outside the House of Commons who were continually obliged to apologize for the ordinary Liberal doctrines of their leaders. The I.L.P. made no secret of its intention to remove this difficulty for itself by replacing Clynes with Ramsay MacDonald. The latter gentlemen was paraded as a heaven-sent statesman of the first order. Considerable propaganda was put in to prepare the way for MacDonald in the event of his being returned to Parliament. Even the Liberal bourgeois press proclaimed him as the one man wanted to make the Labor Party an effective opposition. And so, when the election took place and MacDonald was returned, the first meeting of the Parliamentary group, thanks to the numbers of the I.L.P.'ers, voted him as leader of the Party in the House of Commons and removed Clynes, who meekly agreed to act as deputy to the hero of the Second International.

An important factor in deciding the issue between MacDonald and Clynes (i. e. between the I.L.P. and the pure and simple trade unionists) was the phenomenal political landslide in Scotland for the Labor Party, most of whom are active I.L.P.'ers.

Now, the Glasgow I.L.P.'ers in particular had associations with the revolutionary shop-stewards during the war. For this reason their psychology is peculiarly different from their comrades in England or Wales. Moreover, they were returned on the crest of a rent agitation which had been responsible for many unemployed workers being able to set rent free for months. They promised to secure rent which, due to a technical weakness in the law, ought to be returned by the landlord. Apart from this, the whole tradition of the Clyde workers for years back has been rebellion and resistance to capitalism in every shape and form.

When these Scottish I.L.P.'ers came to London they found themselves up against the problem which others have always had to face. Either they must conform to the procedure of the

parliamentary machinery of the Labor Party and be quite respectable, only speaking when the Henderson, Webb, MacDonald caucus allows them, or they must live up to their reputation, which is, to kick over the traces and fight.

The few "scenes" and demonstrations in the House provoked by these Scots indicates in a way the struggle going on inside the Labor Party towards the leadership and control of the machine. Perhaps the most significant manifestation was the debate on the Government's policy the other day,—on the international situation, when the official Labor leaders went into the same lobby and voted with the Liberals, while the Scottish laborists refused to vote.

Another factor in the internal struggle of the Labor Party is the attitude adopted towards the situation in the Ruhr. The Labor Party is calling for one thing and the I.L.P. for another.

Forgetful of the decisions of the Conferences at Rome and the Hague, where the Second International (of which the Labor Party is the main prop) pledged itself to promote a general strike in the event war, the joint meeting of the General Council of the T.U.C. and the N.C. of the Labor Party, at which meeting Mr. Edo Fimmen of Amsterdam fame attended, agreed upon the following policy:—

"The General Council of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party calls upon the British Government:—

1. To adopt a policy of definite diplomatic intervention, if possible with the cooperation of the United States Government, with a view to securing the earliest possible evacuation of the Ruhr Valley by foreign troops.

2. To support any proposal which may be put forward at the next meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on January 29, that the valid claims of France and Belgium for the reconstruction of the devastated regions and the Ruhr Situation should be dealt with by the League under Article 11 of the Covenant.

3. To propose that the French and Belgian troops be withdrawn from the Ruhr pending the inquiry by the League into the whole situation.

4. To appeal to the Governments of the Little Entente, and especially Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, not to yield to any pressure to occupy German territory and by doing so involve Europe in a new war.

It was agreed that the resolution should be forwarded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and to the members of the Council of the League.

Contrast the above policy with the following statement which appeared in the *Morning Post* of Feb. 21st, from the pen of the national organizing secretary of the I.L.P. (Mr. Fenner Brockway) in reply to the Earl of Pembroke who attacked the I.L.P. for being pro-German.

"The I.L.P. is neither pro-German nor pro-French. It is seeking a solution of the present difficulties which will be just both to France and Germany and which will give promise of a permanent settlement.

The fact that the I.L.P. is not animated by antagonism to France is proved by its recent declaration of policy on the European situation. The I.L.P. understands that there can be no hope of better relations in Europe until France has (1) some guarantee of the means to restore the devastated area and (2) some security against a renewal of war. The I.L.P. has put forward proposals to meet both these needs.

It suggests, first, that France should withdraw claims for reparations not warranted by the pre-Armistice agreement and reduce her demand to a sum sufficient for the reconstruction of the devastated areas. On this being done, the I.L.P. urges that the British Government should (1) join in guaranteeing an international loan to France, (2) waive all claim to any share of reparations, and (3) subject to a general settlement, agree to a cancellation of the whole or part of the Allied debts. This is a practicable policy, and in the long run France would gain much more by co-operative action on these lines than by isolated efforts to secure impossible reparations by force.

As regards security, the I.L.P. does not believe that France can be guaranteed peace by military agreements. Armed alliances will inevitably lead to a reversion to the policy of the Balance of Power, with rivalries tending to war. The I.L.P. proposes as an alternative that the League of Nations should be transformed into a real association of nations, with a revised and democratic constitution; such a League is the only effective method of securing France or any country against aggression."

Fenner Brockway is one of the humanitarian pacifist elements in the I.L.P., as may be judged from the foregoing statement.

Leaving that for a moment, let us turn to the Scottish I.L.P.'ers. Four of these worthy gentlemen, J. J. Wheatly, J. Maxton, D. Kirkwood, Campbell Stephen (all M.P.'s), determined on a visit to the Ruhr to see things for themselves. While on the flying visit they tell us that they

"discussed the situation with M. de Brouckère, the well-known leader of the Belgian Socialists, the British General Headquarters Staff at Cologne, the British Consul-General for the Rhineland, and the British Vice-Consul at Essen, von Bülow, a director of Krupp's famous works, the Executive Committee of the Ruhr Miners' Union, and a number of artisans and gentlemen occupying professional positions in the Ruhr district. All these spoke English fluently and are keen students of the problem on which we desired information. We had also the privilege of meeting General Degoutte, the French Commander-in-Chief and his staff, and in several other ways studying the situation on the spot.

It is interesting to note the familiarity of these heroes of the 2½ International with the military chiefs of capitalist imperialism.

After giving a few "impartial" observations on the "high standard of comfort" of the German miners in particular and studying "carefully" the effects of the situation on their bourgeois masters, they arrived at the following decision and offered it to the capitalist Press as a way out of the morass the bourgeoisie has landed into as a result of its criminal pursuit of gain.

The only way out of the difficulty is for France, Germany, Britain, Belgium, and Italy, to internationalize the Ruhr coalfield. The German mine-owners could not reasonably object. They are the debtors of the Allies, and are of the class of Germans who can afford to be taxed. Besides, the German Government would be expected to compensate them as it did the owners of German ships, live stock, and rolling stock confiscated by the Allies. The administration of the coalfield would, of course, be in the hands of an international board of directors, who would appoint a managing director and the necessary staff. The coal would be disposed of in the competitive market in the ordinary way, and the dividends earned would be distributed proportionately as reparations.

Germany's dividend would be the political independence and freedom from occupation in the Ruhr, and every other part of Germany, which the scheme would ensure to her. In addition, by the Allies at the outset fixing a reasonable sum as reparations, she would be given an incentive to work harmoniously for the liquidation of the debt, and the restoration to her of the Ruhr coalfield which would follow.

The dividends of the Allies would be increased by their saving on military expenditure. France would have her national safety guaranteed by the international control of the source of German war materials. Britain would be safeguarded against the overwhelming advantages in the world's markets, which a monopoly of the Ruhr coal with the Lorraine ore would give to any nation. Italy and Belgium would gain in status by sharing in the control. The whole world would benefit by the sense of security and common interest created by such a settlement.

Who does not recognize this scheme as the programme of French Nationalism?

Since the publication of this statement by these ardent members of the I.L.P. there has been war inside the Labor camp.

Henderson, Webb etc. have been working for years to make the Labor Party a centralized and disciplined Party. Gradually the old loose federal basis of the Party is being removed. This action of the I.L.P.'ers has been repudiated by the official leaders of the Party, but has only led to a widening of the gulf between the official Labor Party and the I.L.P. Thus there is growing up in the Labor Party a clear "right" wing and a "left" wing. The "left" which otherwise might be taken up by the I.L.P. is going to be taken by a section of the latter, and that the Scottish element.

More and more, as the schism widens, the latter will be driven away from their pacifist colleagues towards communism. As yet they will not join the Communist Party. But the Communist Party can afford to look forward with satisfaction at the internal struggle now going on, because as it will centralize the masses of the workers who are looking on, it will see the truth of the Communist contention, that the middle class leadership of the Labor Party is more concerned with making good in the eyes of the capitalist imperialists, than safeguarding the interests of the working class.

## The Situation in Poland

By N. Ulan (Warsaw).

The results of the Sejm elections were not particularly favorable for the large industrial and large landowning reactionaries. They did not gain the majority. The petty bourgeoisie, peasantry, and PPS., with their national minorities, have a few more votes in the Upper House. But in Poland, as elsewhere, reactionary Big Capital is anxious to dominate, that it may carry out its class dictatorship, expressed at the present time in the capitalist offensive. The petty bourgeois groups of Poland, including the PPS., are the obedient servants of the "Schlachtitzes". But still the petty bourgeoisie wavers, and the reactionaries had the prospect of seizing undivided power, and struck their first blow in December. In Warsaw there was street fighting, culminating in the shot at the "first" president. The attack of Fascist reaction was warded off, but without its being defeated; all that was effected was an armed truce.

During these days of excitement, in December, the "Sejm Left", as the petty bourgeois groups in Poland like to call themselves, called the ex-parliamentary government of General Sikorski into being.

This government is still represented to-day by the *Robotnik* (central organ of the PPS.), as the champion against reaction, saviour of democracy, right, and order. It is already 2 months old,—a long time for Poland. But there is nothing to be seen of a fight against reaction; on the contrary, this government gives way step by step before the advance of reaction. It is true that it proclaimed a state of siege, but it was only the proletariat that felt its severity. Hundreds of workers were arrested, and labor organizations dissolved. Thus for instance, on the very day when the state of siege was raised, the council of the Free Trade Unions in Warsaw was dissolved, the documents confiscated, and the leading members arrested. This government, so zealously supported by the PPS., is continuing the policy of the petty bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry, and only encourages reaction to make fresh attacks. It utilizes this policy for its own purposes, orders its ranks, improves its armaments, and prepares for a better organized and more determined attack.

The "democratic" government of General Sikorski is characterized by weakness against Fascist reaction on the one hand, and increased severity of pressure on the proletariat on the other.

The relation of this government to the various nationalities in Poland is also characteristic. Poland is a land of many nationalities. Almost one half of its inhabitants are Ukrainians, White Russians, Germans, Lithuanians, and Jews. With regard to these, Sikorski's government has adopted the good old Tsarist methods already so well tested in Poland: violence, suppression, and denationalization. We observe a mass terror against the 74% of Ukrainians inhabiting Eastern Galicia, dissolution of schools, mass arrests, deportations, etc. in the border districts, and the most frightful anti-Semitism throughout the country.

In the sphere of financial economics, the "left" government took over the whole financial program of the last "right" minister of finance. This program is as follows: The entire national wealth is to be placed in the hands of foreign capital for better exploitation, indirect taxation is to be increased, and steps taken towards lessening or abolishing the protection of tenants, the agrarian reforms, social insurance and the eight hour day.

With respect to foreign politics General Sikorski follows the old lines: with imperialist France through thick and thin. Retention of the military alliance with Roumania, strengthening of the military alliance with the Little Entente, maintenance of a large army, corresponding to the needs of Polish imperialism. In short, wherever warlike adventures may be anticipated, Poland must be on the spot.

This is a brief outline of the program of the Sikorski government, presented to the Sejm on the 23rd of January. The PPS., of course, gave its vote of confidence to this government, and published a savage pogrom agitation against the Jews in the *Robotnik*, because the Jewish deputies refused to join in the vote of confidence.

The deputy of our fraction, comrade Lancucki, who finally succeeded in maintaining his right to speak, in the discussion on the exposé given by the prime minister, thoroughly unmasked the reactionary rôle played by the alleged "democratic" government, and declared: "The working class, in town and country, has no confidence in Sikorski's government, and cannot have any confidence in it."

The fact that the report meeting held by the deputy, comrade Lancucki, in Warsaw, was dispersed by the police by force, throws a characteristic light on the "constitutional" rights of the members of Parliament in Poland.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Communist International and the Italian Socialist Party

By G. Zinoviev.

The fate of the Italian Socialist Party will be finally decided at its coming congress, this month. Those comrades who were of the opinion that the decisions of the IV. Congress had finally solved the Italian question, were much too optimistic.

Two tendencies have formed within the Italian Socialist Party: the "fusionists" (desirous of immediate unity with the Italian communists and immediate affiliation with the Comintern, and the "antifusionists" (opponents of alliance with the Italian communists). We shall devote ourselves to these latter in this article.

In so far as can be judged from here, the anti-fusionist camp is divided into four groups:

1. Honest revolutionists, who are prejudiced against the alliance — out of a feeling of fealty to their own old party, in which some of them have worked for many years. They do not want to part with the old name of the *Italian Socialist Party*. They are still too much influenced by the violent struggles, fought with the Italian communists during recent months. They are doctrinaires such as may often enough be found even among the leaders of the Italian Communist Party.

2. Over-cautious comrades, who think that by retarding the fusion with the Italian communists, they will save their party from Mussolini's reprisals. These comrades are prepared to sacrifice affiliation to the C.I., for the time being, not out of personal cowardice, but because of their wish to save their party from the Fascist persecutions. For this reason they oppose the alliance with the communists.

3. Those who are opposed to Communism on principle, — semi-reformists, semi-centrists —, people who frequently display great personal courage, but are perfectly incapable of appropriating the ideas of communism. These are condemned to revolve in the circle of petty-bourgeois ideology which has nothing in common with the ideology of the Communist International. There are quite a few such people at the head of the Italian SP.

4. Mere Careerists and cowards, anxious, for many reasons, to hold themselves on the surface during the present period, so trying for the Italian workers.

As to the third group, and especially the fourth, we have no convincing arguments for them in our arsenal. The sooner the Italian Socialist Party cuts loose from these — by your leave — "comrades", the better for the Italian proletariat. But we shall attempt to come to an understanding with the first and second groups.

*The name of the Party!* Every old revolutionist will understand the attachment to the name of the party under whose banners he has fought for years. Why not? Victories and defeats, perhaps many years of imprisonment, the best hopes of life, are bound up with this name. Comrade Lazzari is a living example in this regard. But for an old revolutionist there exists something more vital than the name of the party. The Russian Bolsheviks also bore the name of "Russian Social Democratic Labor Party" until the year 1917. This name was associated with decades of work, traditions, etc. But still, when the time came for us to break finally with every anti-communist and anti-proletarian element, even when these were generally regarded as belonging to our camp, the Russian Bolsheviks did not hesitate to give up the old name and to call themselves the "Communist Party".

The comrades of the left wing of the German *Independent Social Democratic Party* experienced the same struggle after the congress at Halle. This left wing counted some hundreds of thousands of comrades, and many of them had accustomed themselves to the name of the Party and felt a certain affection for it. After Halle, the left wing of the Independents allied itself to the small Communist Party, which had by far fewer members than the left wing of the independent Socialists. And yet the left wing socialists had to agree — and did agree — to the name of the new party: *United Communist Party*. After all the trials and lessons which the Italian proletariat has undergone, the Italian comrades will surely not hesitate to take this step, when their hesitation is equivalent to playing the game of those elements who are consciously sabotaging the affiliation of the Italian SP. with the Communist International.

The second group of comrades mentioned, is also on the wrong path. It is of course the duty of every one of us to consider how we can guard our party from reprisals which can

be averted. And we see nothing reprehensible, nothing damaging to the honor of a revolutionist, in that which some Italian comrades are thinking on this question, even if they do not say it openly. But have these comrades calculated aright? Will it really be the case that, if the Italian Socialist Party does not join the Italian communists, (which also means not to affiliate with the C.I.), Mussolini will give up all reprisals against the Italian Socialist Party?

Not at all! Signor Mussolini is thoroughly familiar with every trend in the camp of the socialists of Italy. He once belonged to this camp himself. He is a renegade of Italian socialism. Mussolini may perhaps abandon reprisals against the I.S.P. but only if the I.S.P. adopt a completely reformist attitude. What is really being formed in Italy at the present time is a bloc between Fascisti and reformists. If the I.S.P. would join this bloc, it is likely enough that Mussolini's anger might turn into graciousness. But to attain this, the Italian socialists would have to go over to the other side of the barricade, betray the workers, and put themselves at Mussolini's disposal. Petty tricks are of no avail here. Of course, the Italian socialists must hide everything from the enemy which can be hidden. There is no doubt that craftiness is permissible and suitable in war. But there are questions in which we cannot deceive others without deceiving ourselves.

The two first groups have another objection. A new split — they say. Is this a suitable moment? Vella and Nenni are threatening a split. They will not submit to the resolutions if these should decide on the alliance with the Italian communists and the affiliation with the Comintern.

To this we reply as follows: Look at the example of the French Communist Party! It is not long since it passed through an apparently hopeless crisis. The sharpest conflict dragged on for months. The party was condemned to inactivity. A group of intellectual leaders, headed by Frossard, Lafont & Co., were really leading the party to a rupture with the Comintern, and sabotaged all revolutionary work. And a number of French comrades, whose allegiance to the Comintern is unquestionable, prolonged the crisis, because they did not wish to see a new split, for fear that the party was not strong enough to bear it.

When the French comrades finally resolved to break with the reformists and career-hunters, and to get rid of Frossard, Lafont, & Co., the party did not go to pieces, — but has, on the contrary, become very much stronger and firmer. The French party settled the crisis the moment it settled with those leaders who were not communists, and never could become communists. The prestige of the French party has grown enormously. The best workers are returning to the party. The party is unfolding a splendid political agitation. Frossard and Lafont played the part of saboteurs in the party, and their work was beneficial to the bourgeoisie only. By putting an end to this sabotage, the party has not been weakened, but actually strengthened. There is no doubt whatever that the same will be the case in Italy.

But — "You are liquidating the Italian Socialist Party!" writes Nenni to those comrades who are true to the Comintern not only in words, but in deeds. No, citizen Nenni, nobody is liquidating the Italian Socialist Party but you yourself! Those who propose that the Italian Socialist Party join another section of the revolutionary proletariat in forming a United Communist Party are not liquidating the old party, but are attempting to uphold its best traditions. The Italian Socialist Party is actually being liquidated by you, for your behaviour is splitting the party which ceases to exist as a whole. In other words: what you are doing is to the advantage of the worst enemies of the Italian Socialist Party.

Unfortunately there are some comrades among the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, who also fail to realize the urgent necessity of the fusion of the Italian S.P. with the Communist Party. We may safely wager that when one hundred proletarian members of the Communist Party hear our arguments, at least 99 of them will be in favor of union with those socialists who are faithful to the Comintern, and, on the other hand, it is probable that 99 out of every hundred proletarian members of the Socialist Party would vote for union with the communists. But even among the heads of the Communist Party there are ossified dogmatists who rub their hands in delight when Nenni sabotages the union. Blind people! They do not see that Nenni's attitude is the best proof of the correctness of the resolutions of the IV. Congress, and of the absolute necessity of the union.

It is in the midst of a most critical period that the Italian socialist workers are called upon to decide the fate of their party. But we hope, that the right decision will be reached.

Do the members of the I.S.P. require any further lessons? Once they had victory in their hands, at the time when the

movement reached its apex. The opportunity was missed, and to-day the workers have to pay for the lost opportunity with their blood. The position of the Italian workers is difficult enough without this. Is the burden to be further increased by new errors?

Enough of sectarianism! Enough of quarrelling! And enough of clinging to the past! A true revolutionist looks forward, not backward. We maintained a violent conflict with Serrati, and fought him energetically, so long as he marched against the Comintern. To-day, the followers of the Comintern including comrade Serrati, are in favor of union with the Communist party. With the aid of the Comintern a position can be created by which the old conflicts and quarrels can be eliminated in the shortest possible time. A close and real fraternal unity amongst all those who have remained true to the Red Flag, — that is the burning question of the day in Italy. Class-conscious workers of Italy, take the fate of your party into your own hands! The resolutions of the IV. Congress of the Comintern show you the only right way. Disregard the petty trickery of the enemies of the Comintern, and go forward to the work in hand! On the one side the *followers of Communism* — on the other the *followers of Fascism*!

Thus, and only thus, can the question be formulated in Italy.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### To the Workers of all Countries!

Comrades!

The Ruhr valley, the spring of Germany's industrial life, has been occupied by French troops, and the workers are exposed to double exploitation: from the capitalists at home and from the foreign conqueror. Europe is standing on the threshold of a new world war. A flood of nationalism, a precursor of fresh butchery among the peoples, is spreading among a section of the workers, and those infected with this nationalist venom are the old opportunist leaders of the socialist and trade union movement. The threatened war confronts every worker with the question: how imperialism and its results are to be best combated.

The German proletariat groans under double exploitation. The sole hope of the German worker is the activity of the international proletariat, the help of the worker of all countries. And in the face of these events, what are the leaders of the Amsterdam International doing? Those leaders who recently swore at The Hague, that they would prevent the outbreak of a fresh war by an international general strike? When the delegation of the central council of the Russian trade unions proposed that the question of the impending occupation of the Ruhr be placed on the agenda of the peace congress, the motion was rejected. When the Russian delegation expressed its doubts whether the organizations affiliated to the Amsterdam International would really carry out the threat of a general strike, it was attacked on all sides. When the Russian delegation proposed that a united front of all workers, regardless of political tendencies, be formed against the danger of war, this proposal was also rejected.

To-day, weeks after the end of the Hague congress, it can be plainly seen who was in the right. What has become of the vow to proclaim a general international strike? What are the French reformist trade unions doing? Why are we hearing nothing from Vandervelde and Martens, the representatives of the labor party and the trade unions of Belgium, and why are they not trying to influence their government by a strike?

Why does the Amsterdam International remain inactive? The whole of these elements are proving their bankruptcy. The Belgian labor party and the trade unions, the Socialist Party of France and the reformist Labor Confederation, the Amsterdam International — their only recourse, in this hour of danger for the labor movement of all countries, is the League of Nations. The same thing, however, has happened before. The Amsterdam International has done nothing else in the three years of its existence. It is plain to all observers that this procedure leaves the French government unmoved, and that French imperialism can only be curbed by the organized action of the proletariat. But the Amsterdamers refuse to hear anything of violence against their own bourgeoisie. They evade all such action, for they, the Belgian and French followers of the Amsterdam International, defend the economic interests of "their" bourgeois native country; they are convinced that the reparation demands are just, and those who recognize the right to reparations must also recognize the right to use force for obtaining their payment.

And what are the leaders of the German trade unions doing in the meanwhile? They have already formed a bloc with their bourgeoisie, and have called for that civil peace, that unity between employers and employed, which marked the events of August 1914. Thus, on the occasion of the first international collision after the Hague peace conference, the Amsterdam International and its affiliated organizations reveal their complete bankruptcy. They have failed, because they have continually subordinated the interests of the international proletariat to national interests. This has led to the substitution of the national front for the class war. The war of class against class has been transformed into the conflict of one state against another, one people against another. They have failed, because this has led to the fate of each of these organizations being bound up with the fate of its own bourgeoisie, and the interests of the working class being pushed aside in favor of the interests of the bourgeois state.

The occupation of the Ruhr district, and the prompt betrayal on the part of the Amsterdam International, again prove the complete hollowness of this organization. The Amsterdam International loves to call attention to its 24 million members. Where are they, these 24 million proletarians? With what means has the Amsterdam International held them together, in what way has it induced them to act in the face of recent events? If the 24 million workers alleged to be in the Amsterdam International really expressed their readiness for active and earnest struggle under the leadership of the Amsterdamers, if they really wished to prevent the adventure of the French imperialists — nothing could resist their mighty force, imperialism would collapse before the impact of their united and determined attack.

Workers of all countries! The national policy of the leaders of proletarian organizations has already cost the working class countless victims. The years of the world war were years of mass annihilation of the working class. To-day, we are confronted by an ever-increasing acuteness of imperialist conflicts, and again witness how the interests of the working class are subordinated to those of the bourgeoisie. Once again nationalism occupies the forefront of daily interest, once again we hear speeches on unity between employers and employed, and all this is evoked by the Amsterdam International.

May this fresh treachery, in the face of the danger of war, serve as a grave warning to all sincere proletarians. The workers of France, Germany, Belgium, and England will now understand why the Russian delegation voted against all the resolutions moved at the Hague by the leaders of the Amsterdam International. They will now understand our justifiable mistrust of those who pursue a national policy, and at the same time threaten an international general strike in case war should break out. This threat was a pure deception, a miserable farce, a petty demagogic device, a derision of the workers. And therefore were the representatives of the Russian trade unions so emphatic in rejecting all the declarations of the Hague congress. We know the past of these initiators of the congress too well to be able to place any faith in their promises. Each of the different groups is chained to the capital of its native country, and they will disappear from the earth with the disappearance of capital.

While the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union federation and of the Second International are forming a national united front and drawing up empty protests, only the communists and revolutionary trade unions are fighting against war. In France and Germany alike they are carrying on a ruthless fight against their bourgeoisie, following Karl Liebknecht's slogan: "The enemy of the proletariat is in his own country".

The salvation of the Ruhr workers, and of the whole German proletariat, now threatened with strangulation by French imperialism, is only possible if the international proletariat increases its activities and renounces all coalition with the bourgeoisie, that is, if the international proletariat recognizes the program represented by the Russian trade unions and the international organizations of the proletariat, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

Down with international capital!

Down with the shameful peace of Versailles!

Down with Imperialism!

Down with the reformist lackeys of Imperialism!

Long live the united front of the proletariat against the united front of the bourgeoisie!

Presidium of the Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions.  
Chairman: M. Tomsky. Secretary: A. Dogadov.

Members of the presidium:

Andreyev, Antipoff, Yevdokimov, Lepse, Lvovskiy, Lutovinoff, Melnichansky, Rudzutak, Rykov, Senyushkin, Ugarov, Schmidt.

## The striking miners of France to the miners of the Ruhr area

On the eve of entering into the fight, the French miners addressed the following communication to the miners of the Ruhr area:

The struggle between German and French imperialism has increased our misery. As we are victims of the same evil, logic demands our solidarity. The struggle between the capitalists of the two countries will soon cease, and then they will come to an understanding for the continuation of their offensive against the working class.

The hour has come in which all frontiers must be erased. The hour for international action has arrived. The hour in which we must realize that there is only one capitalism.

The struggle which is being prepared by the French miners may open up a period of international struggles. Mutual confidence must be created by the struggle. It will be created if you prove your solidarity with your French colleagues by your action.

We are not carrying on a political struggle such as the bourgeois press pretends we are, but a struggle for the betterment of our living conditions. Conscious as you are of the needs of the present hour, you will comprehend that all local prejudices are to be swept aside, just as capitalism sweeps them aside. Confidence demands confidence, solidarity demands solidarity.

Your successful action will create the indissoluble Franco-German bloc.

The success of the French miners will be your success:

Long live international solidarity!

For the Committee of the United Miners' Union.

H. Delfosse (General Secretary).

## For Unity in the Ranks of the Metal Workers' International against Fascism!

On the 17th of January the secretariat of the International Propaganda Committee of the revolutionary metal workers in Moscow, wired the following communication to the International Metal Workers' International in Berne:

"The International Propaganda Committee of the revolutionary metal workers, in its character of an organization fighting for the unity of the metal workers' movement in all countries, draws your attention to the fact of the expulsion of the Turin section from the federation of the metal workers of Italy. In consideration of the possible results, we are here faced with a much more serious event than a simple splitting action on the part of the leaders of the Italian metal workers' federation.

It is not necessary for us to enlighten you as to the atrocities of Fascist terror.

The Turin section of metal workers forms an heroic band of fighters of the enslaved and tortured proletariat of Italy. Neither Fascist arson, nor the murder of the leaders, and of the most prominent workers and their families, has been able to turn the Turin metal workers from revolutionary fighting. They have continued their struggles, and demonstrated their revolutionary will at the recent election to the management of the unemployed fund.

And what does the Italian metal workers' federation do under these circumstances? It expels from its ranks its most tried and militant section, and thus isolates it from the collective organization. What does this signify? By this action, D'Arragona and Buozzi gave their moral sanction to the final shattering of the Turin section. A high price to pay for earning a good reputation for the federation in Mussolini's eyes!

We apply to you as the International to which the Italian metal workers' federation is affiliated. We suggest that you exercise your influence on this federation to induce it to cancel the expulsion of the Turin section. This is your sacred duty as being the International upon whom will fall the whole responsibility for all that happens to the Turin metal workers after their expulsion from the federation.

The formal reasons for this expulsion are not yet known to us, but whatever pretexts the leaders of the federation may concoct, the whole proletarian world knows that the Turin metal workers have held aloft the banner of class war, and that their revolutionary spirit is the sole reason for their expulsion.

Before all the members of the Berne International we declare that our task, as the centre of the revolutionary metal workers of all countries, consists in fighting for the unity of the movement and keeping its class tendency on the right lines. Acting on this principle, we suggest that you do not hesitate a moment in this matter, but act at once for the restoration of

unity in the metal workers' organization of Italy. We guarantee that all our followers in Italy will co-operate, with every means at their disposal, for the attainment of this aim.

At the same time we propose that you take the initiative in creating a united front of the metal workers of all countries, for the fight against Fascism, and for the purpose of preserving the proletariat of Italy from the destruction of their organizations, and from their physical defeat at the hands of the Fascists. Summon the metal workers of all countries to this great work of solidarity, organize collections for this purpose—we shall support you with the whole of our influence, and with every means at our disposal.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### To the Working Youth of all Countries!

Soldiers and sailors!

It is but a short time since we called upon you, on behalf of the World Congress of the Communist Youth International, to gather your forces against imperialist war, and to prepare yourselves to give unequivocal expression to your will by means of a great propaganda week against the danger of imperialist war, and against the reaction of the ruling classes. And it was not long before events fully confirmed the necessity of our warning!

The French imperialists have sent their armies into the Ruhr area, the Lausanne conference has been a failure, and we are immediately faced with war in the Orient. Imperialist conflicts multiply on all sides.

The dogs of war are unchained!

But the social democratic youth internationals rejected our proposals of fighting shoulder to shoulder! Their international leaders have trodden underfoot the interests and the honor of the working youth; and the 2½ Youth International, which came into being as a protest against the treacherous attitude taken by the social democrats during the world war, refused to fight along with us, preferring to throw itself into the arms of the social patriotic leaders.

Young workers!

This must not hamper you. The fight continues! The social democratic leaders refer us to the anti-war resolutions passed by their Hague conference. But Fimmen himself, the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, solemnly declared in Paris a few days ago, that the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the social democratic internationals are unable to carry out these resolutions. Thus the whole thing has been a deception. But he maintained that you, the masses of the workers, are to blame for your inactivity, and that you are responsible for the latest treacherous betrayal on the part of the social democratic leaders.

Young workers!

Prove that you are not willing to shed your blood in a fresh imperialist butchery! Prove that you are not willing to fall as defenceless victims of Fascist reaction! Prove that you will not permit yourselves to be utilized for subjugating your working class brothers in other countries, in the interests of the capitalist money bags.

Young social democratic workers!

A handful of your international leaders has refused to join in a common struggle with the hundreds of thousands of revolutionary communist youthful workers, with the millions of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions. Now as before we turn to you with the appeal: "United front against war and reaction, despite all treachery on the part of the leaders!"

The Communist Youth International has fought indefatigably against French imperialism, and against the German capitalists in the Ruhr area. Our call has found response in the hearts of hundreds and thousands of workers and soldiers. But the work being done in the Ruhr must be extended over the whole world!

Therefore, up and prepare for the international demonstration week, from March 11. to 18., against imperialist war and reaction!

Against imperialist war!

Against the imperialist peace treaty of Versailles!

Against the occupation of the Ruhr!

Against reaction!

For proletarian revolution!

Moscow, 19. February, 1923.

Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

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## Political Prisoners' Week: March 11-18

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint!

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## POLITICS

### The Ruhr War and the German Communists

By Paul Frölich (Berlin).

The Ruhr war has called forth the first international action of the communists. The Communist parties of Germany and France are the immediate participants. That which the socialist parties of the 2. and 2½ Internationals cannot accomplish, fettered as they are by their attachment to their respective national bourgeoisies, is now being tested by the Communist International; namely, the capacity for united action on the basis of international proletarian interests. French and German communists are co-ordinating their struggles, in both countries, and striving towards a common goal. In the Ruhr area they are actually fighting side by side.

Both parties are fighting on the same front, and it is their duty to comprise in this fighting front the whole proletariat of France and Germany. The different sections of the front have their special tasks. At the French front we have the slogan: Fight against Poincaré and the Comité des Forges, against French imperialism! But at the German front we hear: Fight against French imperialism, and against Cuno and the German industrial magnates! Why this fight in Germany against both bourgeoisies at war with one another?

The fight against Poincaré and the powers backing him is necessitated by the violent measures taken by French Imperialism against the German proletariat.

The fight against Poincaré is called for, because French imperialism is the mainstay of the Versailles treaty, which initiates new world wars under the sham flag of peace.

The fight against Poincaré is called for because bourgeois France is the most powerful military force on the European continent. It has created hoibeds of strife in every quarter of Europe by the separation of nationalities; it has created a number of small powerless dependent states, and has established a hegemony in Europe whose sole object is to plunder the continent, and whose weapon is brutal violence.

The fight against Poincaré is called for, because the France of today, the country of the 14. July and of the Marseillaise, is now the stronghold of reaction, the strongest fortress of counter-revolution. Her policy is to maintain the status quo, to keep the

Ruhr firmly in his power, his next step will be civil war against the revolutionary miners and iron workers. Is not French Imperialism the most hostile, the most irreconcilable enemy of Soviet Russia? Has it not sent one expedition after another against revolutionary Russia, whipped up one people after another against the Red East? Did it not declare a permanent counter-revolution in Russia, by financing and equipping every school of bandits, from the Social Revolutionaries to Wrangel,—who are still on its pay roll? Poincaré, who is official France, is the strongest enemy of the international proletariat. Therefore he is to be fought.

But the fight must, at the same time be directed against the rule of the German bourgeoisie, against Cuno.

The fight against Cuno is a necessity, because he represents the dominion of heavy industry over the German working class. Cuno's regime is the consequence and the embodiment of all the weaknesses and defeats of the German proletariat. It is only by fighting against Cuno, and by overthrowing him, that the German proletariat can rescue itself from the profound misery of its present existence, and from sinking ever deeper into this misery.

The fight against Cuno is a necessity, because his policy serves those same imperialists and conquering heroes who, for the sake of their wretched profits, sent the German workers to their death in thousands, for four and a half long years. All these adventurers must be fought from the field. They have been clever enough to cast all the burdens of their own defeat onto the proletariat and to reap advantages from the general collapse, to enrich themselves shamelessly, and to extend their power. They have thrown all taxation onto the proletariat, and made even taxation, a medium for increasing their wealth. They have condemned the German workers to an existence of slow starvation, and introduced an era of mass mortality. And with the unprecedented cheap German labor they have taken up a cut-throat competition against the whole world, sapping the vital power of the German people and undermining world economy.

The fight against Cuno is a necessity, because his clique is still misusing the misery of the nation, as during the world war, for plundering the people; is still pursuing a mad price policy and increasing starvation to an intolerable point; Cuno & Co., has invested its milliards abroad and has itself fed with fresh milliards by the state; is utilizing the pressure of French Imperialism for its own purposes of extortion, with the object of laying its hands on the railroads, thereby gaining absolute control of German economy.