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For the First of May!

** Workers of the World!

On May 1st, 1922 the wage-slaves of all countries will manifest their will to emancipation in a particularly intense phase of the class struggle.

Capital, which after the imperialist war satisfied some of the most urgent demands of the workers, is already attempting to wrest out their hands the concessions it had made. In every country where the fear of unrest had led the bourgeoisie momentarily to grant a few concessions to the proletariat, the latter now sees these insufficient gains menaced.

The employers want to abolish the eight-hour day, whose realization they have always sabotaged. They want to lengthen the working day at a time when unemployment has assumed enormous proportions in England and the United States and is daily spreading in France, Italy, and Switzerland. At the same time they are everywhere reducing wages although the rise in the cost of living and the increase of taxation are continuing without end.

Overwork, inadequate wages and the permanent threat of unemployment are the conditions in which the great mass of workers are now living. Violent repression is the only answer to those who demand the possibility of being able to exist.

However, the offensive of capital against the working class cannot conceal the plight of the capitalist governments, met at Genoa to attempt to mend the irreparable consequences of the great massacre, and to seek a way out of the crisis which is paralyzing capitalist economy and is plunging larger and larger masses into misery—a misery which drives them to revolt.

All workers understand that the only significance of the Genoa Conference is lent it by the presence of the delegates of Soviet Russia. For the first time, the bourgeois governments are compelled to deal with those whom they had sworn to wipe off the face of the earth.

Nevertheless, the proletariat can not afford to deceive itself as to the results of the Conference. The Conference is bound to fail because the representatives of capitalism cannot admit the paramount condition for the economic construction of Europe—the abolition of the capitalist regime. The enslavement of the vast majority of producers to an infinitesimal minority of exploiters, competition and the wars which are the latter's inevitable consequence do not allow of the reconstruction of the devastated world.

After the defeats which it has suffered since 1918, the proletariat manifests a certain lassitude in its struggle against the exploiters, but it has not ceased to defend its vital interests and to fight for the integrity of its rights. Although the bourgeoisie has taken the initiative in the offensive, believing it could be recompensed for its losses caused by the economic crisis by intensified exploitation of the proletariat, the latter cannot and will not let that take place.

Proletarian resistance was actively demonstrated in the more important countries by strikes of significant extent: in England, the unprecedented miners' strike; in France, the prolonged textile strike; in Italy, general strikes in various provinces; and in Germany, the recent railway strike. These great mass-actions, betrayed by their reformist leaders, have everywhere failed to gain their immediate objectives. But the revolutionary will of the proletariat has not been broken. The

fighting spirit and activity of the exploited is everywhere being regenerated. The proletariat is defending its conquests and desires to fight to extend them still further.

Its tragic everyday experiences have convinced it of the necessity of forming a united front of Labor's forces against the implacable bourgeoisie. Under the pressure of the need for the struggle, the unity of the exploited class is being established, in spite of the political divisions engendered by the treason of its leaders.

The power of the bourgeoisie is inexorably on the wane. Whatever side one turns to, there is nothing to be seen but political crises, general instability of governments, strikes, lockouts and the revolts of colonial peoples.

The edifice of the British Empire is crumbling all over the world. After having yielded to insurgent Ireland, London is making concessions to unconquered Egypt, while the flames of insurrection are lighting up the Transvaal and a huge, black cloud is growing in India. The British Government and the Conservative-Liberal Coalition are racked by internal dissensions.

In France, while the economic crisis is killing traffic in its ports and causing the failure of great banks, governmental and parliamentary corruption is going on in broad daylight, scandals follow hard on one another's heels and the policy of the Bloc National is bringing the state to the verge of bankruptcy.

Italy is in the throes of a quasi-permanent Cabinet crisis and is suffering under the bloody exploits of the Fascisti—prelude to the civil war for which the working class is now paying the price while waiting for the inevitable changing of the rôles. Even Japan, the great war-profiteer, has not been spared by this crisis which is shaking two continents and her government is turning machine-guns upon the crowds modestly demanding universal suffrage.

Such is the spectacle presented by the victorious countries. As for the defeated nations, the sufferings of the working masses is in striking contrast with the opulence of the ruling oligarchy of financial and industrial potentates.

And Russia, practically isolated from the rest of the world for seven years, ruined by the imperialist and the civil wars, starved by an iron blockade and a natural catastrophe, is compelled to devote all its energies to the salvation of part of its millions of starving, to whom bourgeois civilization has refused aid—aid, which according to Doctor Nansen represents half the cost of a dreadnought.

Among all these ruins and misery, martyred humanity has only one hope: the liberating force of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only answer to the dictatorship of capital.

Workers of the World!

You will not remain passive while your masters lay new burdens upon your shoulders, demand new sacrifices and intensify your enslavement.

ON THE COMING FIRST OF MAY YOU WILL MANIFEST YOUR FIGHTING SPIRIT IN A POWERFUL DEMONSTRATION OF YOUR CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Draw up an imperious program of your immediate demands, and commence the struggle to compel the granting of these demands. Unite, **ESTABLISHED THE FRONT OF THE EXPLOITED AGAINST THE UNITED FRONT**

OF THE EXPLOITERS! Whatever your political differences may be, you all have common interests, you compose a single class, and if you form a solid bloc, no force will be able to resist you.

DEMONSTRATE ON MAY 1ST BY AT TWENTY-FOUR HOUR GENERAL STRIKE ALL OVER THE WORLD

For the eight-hour day

For the improvement of the living conditions of wage-earners

For the abolition of military expenditures and of taxes weighing upon the propertyless

For the cancellation of capitalist debts

For the emancipation of peoples oppressed by imperialism

For the establishment of real peace all over the world

For the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Follow the slogans of the Communist International!

To the Workers of the World!

** May 1st, 1922 is a date of special importance in the history of the labor movement in all countries. The past year has been marked by a vigorous and uninterrupted offensive of Capital. In May 1921, the struggle of the English miners with their exploiters was in full progress. The present First of May is also marked by great lockouts. Hundreds of thousands of metal and shipbuilding workers, as well as workers in the building trades have been thrown out of work in the very same England. At the same time hundreds of thousands of American miners have been forced to fight for their most elementary rights. Millions of workers in Germany, France, Italy, Denmark and other countries are battling for their existence.

There is not a single country in the world where Capital is not trampling the most elementary demands of the working class underfoot. The eight-hour day is threatened and wages are being cut two and threefold. From London to New York, from Yokohama to Johannesburg, from Copenhagen to Melbourne, the social struggle is raging everywhere. Everywhere the employers are in unbroken front attacking the disorganized and divided proletariat. The capitalist governments, the employers' organizations, the capitalist press, the church, science and art—all are being utilized in the fight against the working class. Dying capitalism sticks like a leech to its privileges. After the first years of danger, it has strengthened itself with the aid of the trade-union leaders and now is retracting all that it had conceded under the pressure of the enraged masses.

The more the crisis is intensified, the smaller the international market grows and more unemployment increase, the more brutal do the attacks of the bourgeoisie upon the working class become. The bourgeoisie is attempting to make the workers pay for the costs of the war and the crisis of the post-war period. It wants to compel Labor to pay for all the damage caused to society by the years of battle and mass murder. It is showing its true visage. Its publicists and statesmen are coolly and cynically attacking the working class. The pressure of taxation upon the backs of the workers is uninterruptedly increasing. Oppression is continually growing and **THE WORKING CLASS MUST DEFEND THE POSITIONS IT HAS GAINED AT ALL COSTS AND BEAT BACK THIS ATTACK, IF IT DOES NOT DESIRE TO BE DESTROYED.**

The offensive of capital has crossed the national frontiers and is being fought on an international scale. The Washington Conference proved itself, as was to be expected, to be nothing more than the bluff of deceived deceivers. The bourgeoisie will never voluntarily disarm. It does not itself believe in the possibility of disarmament. It leaves that to the ingenuous belief of the reformists in its good will and peaceful intentions.

The Conference of Genoa, where representatives of the whole capitalist world are supposedly attempting to reestablish the economic equilibrium, will present a Shylock's bill to workers and peasants of Russia and the working classes of the defeated countries. The bourgeoisie of the victorious countries will come to an understanding with the vanquished bourgeoisie at the expense of the working class of the whole world. The British and French bourgeoisie are at the head of these bold and cynical industrial and financial magnates. Lloyd George, the unprincipled demagogue, and Raymond Poincaré, insolent lawyer of French finance capital, or the heroes of the modern capitalist world who want to reconstruct and insure capitalist exploitation on the bones of the workers of their own countries and at the expense of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

Support the Communist Parties in their intrepid struggle—the parties which point out for you the path to emancipation and march before you, exposing themselves to the brutality and repressions of the bourgeoisie. Remember the example of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the proletariat given by the Communists of Russia, Finland, the Ukraine, Siberia and the Caucasus; of Germany and Hungary, Poland and the Balkans, Italy and Spain, whose blood has been shed for your cause!

Proclaim these proud battlecries:

GENERAL STRIKE ON THE 1ST OF MAY!

PEACE AND LIBERTY FOR ALL PEOPLES!

ALL POWER TO THE PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC!

LONG LIFE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN

REVOLUTION!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

What are the old-school trade union leaders doing against the offensive of capital, when the workers in every country are beginning to feel its direct consequences?

They are voluntarily retreating; do not at all attempt to organize resistance but instead ally themselves with the employers against the workers. They are not trying to unite the workers into a compact army. They fear the rousing of the working masses. They are trying to avoid great social conflict at any price and to obstruct the struggle against the bourgeoisie by taking shelter under old reformist tactics which lose for the workers all their gains and plunge them into the deepest misery.

The 1st of May, 1922 must serve to awake the world proletariat. The 1st of May, 1922 must be marked by the organization of resistance to attacking capital. We must repel the attack and reply to the blow with a counter-blow, to the offensive with a counter offensive.

FOR THIS PURPOSE THE WORKING CLASS MUST FIRST OF ALL UNITE INTO A FIGHTING BODY.

The offensive of the bourgeoisie forces the entire working class to retreat; not only the revolutionaries, but the reformists and non-party workers as well. **THEREFORE THE WORKING CLASS MUST AS ONE MAN REALIZE ITS HOMOGENEITY AND INTERNAL BOND OF UNITY AND MUST RISE AGAINST THIS MONSTROUS ATTACK OF THE BOURGEOISIE.**

The Red Trade Union International knows that the working class is not united, that it has a number of groupings, but today there is not a single worker, to whatever wing he may belong, who does not feel the necessity of a joint reply to the continuing offensive of the bourgeoisie. But this organized and methodical attack cannot be brought to a stop with resolutions. Nor can the Gordian knot be untied by placing hope in the liberal opinions and elevated feelings of the employers. The knot must be cut by the sword of proletarian mass-action.

We call upon the workers of the world to **DOWN TOOLS AS ONE MAN ON MAY 1ST, 1922.**

All factories and shops must stand still. Railways and steamers must stop. Telephone and telegraph must remain silent.

In all countries, in all cities and villages where proletarian hearts beat, the workers must arise and throw down the gauntlet of the twenty-four hour paralysis of the world's industrial, financial and commercial life to the attacking bourgeoisie.

AGAINST THE OFFENSIVE OF CAPITAL!

LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ITS EXPLOITERS!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL PROTEST STRIKE AGAINST THE CONSPIRACY OF THE BOURGEOISIE!

DOWN WITH THE EXPLOITERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

LONG LIVE THE RULE OF THE WORKING CLASS!

A. Lozovsky, General Secretary of the R.T.U.I.

Tom Mann—England

H. Brandler—Germany

G. Molnitchanski—Russia

A. Nin—Spain

L. Repossi—Italy.

Moscow, April 4th, 1922.

POLITICS

Mr. Montagu, Martyr.

by *Evelyn Roy* (Moscow).

** The arrest of Gandhi and the abrupt resignation (or dismissal) of Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, following upon his publication of the telegram from the Indian Government urging revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, may have come to the uninitiated as two surprising, but quite distinct shocks. In reality, they were phenomena closely related to one another, and may be designated as twin efforts of a single cause—the present political crisis in England and throughout the British Empire.

India, Ireland, Egypt, the hydra-headed monster that guards the golden apples of British Imperialism caught the fever of world-unrest and, forgetting its mission, threatened to upset the nice adjustment of world power by predetermined and concerted revolt. Coming at a time when British Capitalism found itself hard put to maintain itself at home, these nationalist upheavals gained in strength from the weakness of the enemy. Like a modern Hercules, Mr. Lloyd George devised a means of beheading the monster that threatened the golden treasure and charming the British public into retaining him as their leader. Seizing the Hydra in his brawny arms and holding it in midair, he soliloquized:

"Ireland is an obstreperous beast too notorious abroad to be tampered with. It will pay to compromise without losing the essentials of power. Egypt can be placated with a modicum of concession; what do we care? After all, a Protectorate by any other name will smell as sweet, and Public Opinion will be edified by such a demonstration of British justice and fair play. As for India, the other two disposed of, we shall have a free hand. There can be no trifling with the granaries of Empire. Tanks, machine-guns and bombing-plans will soon put an end to this prattle about Swaraj. Dead men tell no tales".

The astute Prime Minister did not deceive himself. In the midst of the general rejoicing over the Irish Free State and the Egyptian Treaty, the groans of unhappy India fell unheeded upon the ears of indifferent world. The decencies had been complied with; British ability to compromise stood vindicated. There must be something had been complied with; British ability to compromise stood vindicated. There must be something wrong with those brown devils in remote India who reach so clamorously for things beyond their grasp and ken. The arrest of prominent leaders and of thousands of obscure patriots, their sentences of long-term imprisonments, the daily calling out of troops to shoot down the striking workers who combined political demands for freedom with their plea for economic redress, was almost smothered beneath the flowery tributes of the sycophants who followed the triumphal progress of the Prince of Wales from Bombay to Calcutta, from Madras to Lahore. The outer world did not know, and if it knew, cared not that these trailing sycophants were the puppets and victims of British Imperialism—dummy princes, Junker landlords, bondholders and capitalists, who danced to Nero's fiddling while Rome burned. Beneath the superficial rejoicing reigned pandemonium; the vast mass of three hundred million toiling peasants and exploited workers who had lain passive for centuries beneath a foreign yoke, had awakened to the tune of quite another piper,—the strange, half-mystic call to Religion, Country and People uttered by the gentle prophet of Non-Resistance, Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience, Mahatma Gandhi. It signaled the re-birth of many peoples into a single nation, whose poor and exploited masses drew together for the first time across the barriers of race, speech, religion and caste to fight together for a common Swaraj, a common millenium under the banner of a universally adored prophet.

Mr. Lloyd George, who seeks to revive the legendary exploits of the heroes of Greek epic in his modern political career, resembles an impudent child juggling with the forces of natural law. Like a cheap political harlequin, he must dance to the tune of his strongest constituents. Ireland and Egypt were the glittering toys to dazzle the eyes of Liberals and Labor; India is the bone he throws to the growling dogs of conservatism. The noble lords must somehow be placated; they too, in the cynical eyes of a political juggler, have their price. A strong hand in India, with Lord Reading at the helm, and in England, a lord swapped for a liberal in the high office of Indian Secretary of State, is a good bargain and good politics at the same stroke. "Montagu and Gandhi must go together", said the Morning Post. Lloyd George assented; Mr. Montagu had to go, just as Mr. Gandhi had to go, but neither must he be done to death

prematurely. The House of Peers was howling for their blood, but then, in India and throughout the Empire more disturbing howls had rent the air for self-determination, independence, freedom. The quaking Empire must first be steadied ere the noble lords could taste their blood. The Irish Free State and "Independent" Egypt calmed the heaving Empire; the massing of troops, the enlistment of Civil Guards and recruiting of armed police solved the Indian situation. Only then was the little brown prophet of Non-Resistance, of home-spun Khaddar and the homely Charka, staunch denunciator of satanic governments, clapped into jail and sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment before the astonished gaze of India's adoring millions, who waited dumbly like the Florentines before their martyred Savonarola, and cried for "a miracle, a miracle!"

And only then was Mr. Montagu deprived of his office, as candy is taken from a baby, because forsooth, the naive infant forbore to consult the Cabinet before the publication of that transcendent telegram from the Government of India demanding, on behalf of Indian Mohammedans, "the evacuation of Constantinople, the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Holy Places, and the restoration of Ottoman Thrace". Quite as through Indian Mohammedans were inured, during the past few years, to see their lightest whims catered to; and as though Mr. Montagu, a seasoned diplomat if not a politician, on the very eve of the Allied Greco-Turkish Conference in Paris, would dare (without previous sanction) to come out of his corner like little Jack Horner after sticking his thumb in the political plum, and cry "What a good boy am I!"

Amid such a display of political imbecility, intended to camouflage the most profound political sagacity, one can only enquire sotto voce, of that modern Hercules, Mr. Lloyd George:

1—What fitting compensation has been offered Mr. Montagu for his voluntary (or involuntary) immolation upon the altar of political exigency?

2—Do you really believe that placating the noble lords by the twin martyrdom of Messrs. Gandhi and Montagu will compensate for the redoubled impetus which these victimizations will give to the Indian movement?

3—Even by throwing this bone to the dog, have you insured yourself sufficiently against the next General Election?

Moscow, March 22, 1922.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Great Labor Conflicts in the United States.

by *Earl R. Browder* (Chicago).

March 31st, 1922.

Six hundred thousand miners stop work tomorrow in a great nation-wide strike. The largest and strongest union in America, the United Mine Workers, goes into battle with the great trustified industry, the mine owners, and behind them the banking syndicates and the railroad magnates. The Government is aggressively on the side of the employers, but the extent to which it will directly engage in the battle is not yet known. The strike is sure, however, and its seriousness is grave.

The miners are making no demands except the continued life of their unions while the employers are determined to break the labor organizations. The miners have demanded that their wages shall not be cut, but have agreed to negotiate even that question. The mine-owners refuse even to meet the men. The situation is favorable to the employers. The coal-bins of the country are full; it is estimated that the country has ninety days supply if not another ton is mined. Unemployment is rampant; hundreds of thousands of miners have not worked three months out of the last year. Other unions have been receiving wage cuts right and left, and when they have fought, they have usually been defeated. All along the line the workers have been in full retreat for a year or more, while the entire employing class is united in a vicious drive against wages, working conditions, and even the very life of the union organizations.

At the same moment that the miners enter upon a strike, the million and a half railroad workers are engaged in hearings before the Railroad Labor Board, which body has jurisdiction over wages and working conditions of all railroad workers. The Board has already given the railroad unions two cuts in wages, and has revised the working rules, abrogated the national agreements which equalized conditions all over the country and gave the workers something of a united front, and has generally played havoc with the unions in this industry. There are prospects of serious conflicts on the railroads before the spring is over.

Just last month there was a meeting between the heads of the railroad unions and the miners' union, to consider joint protective action. This conference resulted in little, so far as the published documents are concerned at least, but the fact that such a meeting was called was symptomatic of the times. The capitalist press hailed this conference with a deluge of "good advice", and commented generally to the effect that this gathering was not dangerous because the character of the men engaged was such as to be a guarantee against any real action being taken; but also expressing some alarm at the idea that if such an alliance should be formed with real fighters, like Wm. Z. Foster and John Fitzpatrick at the head of it, that it would be a dangerous and "antisocial" combination which would threaten the peace of the country.

Many partial strikes have been on the steel industry for the past several months. These conflicts have taken on a violent character in some instances. In Newport, Kentucky, in one of the steel trust mill towns, the Governor of the State sent in troops, with armored cars, and ruled the strike-torn town with an iron fist for more than month. These men are largely disorganized, however, and the strikes could not spread, and were gradually smothered under the armed forces of the steel trust and the State. Unrest is smouldering, and undoubtedly in the case of a general strike movement the steel workers would become involved to a greater or lesser extent.

The building trades unions have been engaged in a series of fights, local in their character, for over a year. The employers are organized nationally, and have been carrying on a well planned drive against the unions, taking them one city at a time and defeating them in almost every case. The unions have contented themselves with making the local fights, without drawing in the forces of their national organizations into effective resistance. The result has been that they have suffered defeat after defeat. Seattle, Butte, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Denver, and now the Eastern cities, have gone down to defeat. A bitter fight is now raging in Chicago and New York, and the general result so far has been some degree of success on the part of the employers. The building trades are fighting stubbornly, but their division into some 25 different craft unions breaks up their strength, and prevent unified action.

A great spontaneous strike of the unorganized in the textile industry is raging, principally in the New England states where the great mills are concentrated. The strike was brought on by drastic wage cuts in an industry which has always been famous for its low wages. Two cuts within six months, amounting to almost 50%, drove the slaves to revolt, and more than 50,000 workers have been on strike for two months. On March 27th, 25,000 more textile workers, in Lawrence, Massachusetts, joined the strike, and the indications are that it will grow to even greater proportions.

The printing trades unions have also been engaged in a terrific battle. One union alone, the Typographical Union, has disbursed more than \$7,000,000 in strike benefits, within the past year. They have succeeded in maintaining some of the conditions they were fighting for, but on the whole they have also fallen back joining in the general retreat of labor forces.

Out of the whole situation, there is arising a movement, from the rank and file of the unions, for aggressive action, a pooling of all labor forces for a general offensive against the capitalists, to change the present retreat into an advance. In the miners union, this tendency is represented by Howat, of the Kansas miners, who has been fighting against the Kansas Government, and its "industrial court" to the point of going to jail. In the railroad unions it is taking the form of a movement for the amalgamation of all the railroad unions into one body, the principal figure in this move being William Z. Foster. In all the unions, a great ferment is going on, a new leadership is being demanded, and the Red Trade Union International is being discussed. Important and radical changes may be confidently expected to come out of the events of the next few months. Just what direction they will take, it would be rash to prophesy; but that the American labor movement is due for another step forward is certain. News from America should be carefully read with this in mind.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Karl Kautsky, the Advocate of the Terrorists.

by A. Thalheimer (Berlin).

** It is evident that those who believed that with his pamphlet against the terror of the Bolsheviki Karl Kautsky had

reached the summit of his abnegation of revolution and Marxism have underestimated his abilities. He is capable of expressing the most surprising ideas and of accomplishing the most funny capers if they serve to attack the revolution from ambush. Having yesterday condemned the terror of the Bolsheviki, he presents himself today as the most enthused advocate of the terrorists, but certainly of those terrorists who point their revolvers with poisoned balls at the leaders of the revolution. In the Berlin reactionary Russian paper "Golos Rossij" he publishes a letter in which he declares his solidarity with the 47 terrorist Social Revolutionaries who will have to justify themselves before the courts of the revolutionary proletariat for their criminal attempts against the revolution. It is self-evident that the lamentations of a man who together with the artillery of the counter-revolution waged war against the Russian proletariat, will be answered by the latter only by a contemptuous smile. The Russian proletariat will not deliver its enemies to the justice of those who have blessed the arms which murdered Russian workers and peasants. Mr. Kautsky closes his letter with the following abuse:

"If the Communist Parties should stand aside in this action of protest or should even try to prevent it, they will be branded before the proletariat of the world as cowardly assistants of the Moscow hangmen, as lackeys without dignity nor justice, with whom nobody who honestly struggles for the emancipation of the proletariat can work in common."

Karl Kautsky is sufficiently branded by Karl Kautsky. In June 1919 he published his book against Terrorism. In this book he prostituted Marxism and transformed it into a sweetish democratic fluid. He examined the origin of Terror beginning with the monkey. He falsified the history of the Commune and even that of the French Revolution in order to denounce Revolutionary Terrorism. In 1922 he corrects his own arguments. He declares his solidarity with the terrorists. He appeals to the proletariat of the world in order to save terrorists. In 1922 he is silent upon his big book against Terrorism written in 1919. It is true, the terrorists with whom he declares his solidarity; the Terror, which he defends by silence, fights the revolution. Those who organize Terror *against* the revolution do not lose the sympathies of Karl Kautsky. Those terrorists who remain Socialists are worthy of the sympathy and the assistance of the proletariat. Their party comrades receive the "best wishes" and the "heartiest greetings" of Karl Kautsky. Those, however, who were *forced* to use the weapon of Terror in order to defend the revolution, are criminals who place themselves outside of the Socialist community. And the hand of the revolution which punishes the counter-revolutionary terrorists is a murderer's hand. In order to denounce Revolutionary Terror, Karl Kautsky digs up history beginning with the monkey. If counter-revolutionary Terror is in question he does not even consider it necessary to inform himself of what these terrorists are accused and what proofs exist against them. All phrases of humanity, honesty, etc., which were Kautsky's arguments against Revolutionary Terrorism are now denounced as hypocrisy by himself. If the Terror is directed against the revolution, he does not even care to know the facts. They do not at all interest him. Everything is permitted against the revolution; if the maintenance of the revolution is in question, however, the Sermon on the Mount has to be strictly obeyed in every case

In their appeal, even the representatives of the International 2½ refuse to declare their solidarity with the Social Revolutionaries. Kautsky has already reached a level which is below that of the International 2½.

In June 1919 Kautsky excellently served the world bourgeoisie with his book against Terrorism. With his letter in March 1922, he does not serve them less.

Soviet Russia will have to fight a bitter struggle at Genoa against the imperialist robbers of the world bourgeoisie. The latter is doing its best in order to break the iron political power of the Russian Revolution. Mr. Kautsky has again joined the vanguard of the bourgeoisie in its attack against the Russian Revolution. For that purpose he rejects in 20 lines of his letter eleven sheets of wise explanations. For that purpose he even denies his denial of Marxism.

Naked and bare, he takes the lead of the bourgeois army. That man was once one of the prominent heritors of revolutionary Marxism. Only for that reason is the case worth mentioning.