

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.

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48

Political Prisoners' Week: March 11-18

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint!

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 24

8th March 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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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 hotbeds 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 despite Noeke and Mussolini. Once Poincaré has 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.

The fight against Cuno is called for, because he is pursuing a policy which is inevitably leading to catastrophe. No attempt was made to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr area; on the contrary, it was provoked. It is a policy devoid of realism, — a pure game of chance.

Not a single measure was taken to counteract the frightful consequences for the Ruhr area, or to alleviate the sufferings of the broad masses. Cuno's is a catastrophic policy, because from its initiation, and onwards until the notorious action for stabilizing the mark, it has been a policy of frivolous waste of the financial resources of the Reich, of violent precipitation into bankruptcy, of dirty corruption and enrichment of the great capitalists. *After us the deluge*—is Cuno's motto.

The fight against Cuno is called for, because he represents the traitors of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow. Yesterday Stinnes and Company were prepared to drive the German people into slavery under foreign capital. Stinnes offered himself as overseer over the German workers, for the English capitalists. As early as 1920, at Spa, Stinnes was anxious for the separation of the Ruhr area. The aniline magnates have earned millions by selling trade secrets to the "hereditary enemy"; have struck bargains with the fruits of that German science which has to go begging to-day. All these industrial magnates, who speak to-day of "defending the Vaterland", are ready to sell this same Vaterland to-morrow.

If Cuno remains in power, then the Ruhr war may end as it will, the proletariat will pay the costs. There will be no taxation reform, no sacrifice of property. The proletariat will be plundered more than ever, subjected to greater oppression. Wages will experience an unheard of reduction, the eight hour day will be abolished, the hours of slavery lengthened. The right to strike will be done away with, the proletariat rendered defenceless.

Cuno signifies the rule of trust capital over the working class, the victory of the monarchy over the republic. Fascismo is already impudently raising its head, encouraged and financed by heavy industry. To-day it is officially recognized by the "Federal Court for the Protection of the Republic". To-morrow it will be employed to attack the working class. Cuno's government signifies civil war against the proletariat.

Fight against Cuno and Poincaré. They themselves tell us the reason why we have to fight them. Let us hear what the social-democratic renegade *Lench* has to say on the occupation of the Ruhr, in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Stinnes' newspaper:

"Not only military and national interests are at work here, but above all, the material interests of a handful of extremely powerful and influential men: the heavy industrial magnates of France. These people have placed their employees in the highest state positions; above all *Millerand*, who has been active in his capacity of legal representative for this company, and *Poincaré*, who has also placed his activity as solicitor at the service of these interests. One of these is president, the other prime minister. And these are of course surrounded by the swarms of a lesser chorus of paid agents: journalists, deputies, ministers, generals, and their like."

The *Temps*, the organ of the *Comité des Forges*, speaks in similar terms of Cuno and his policy. They are both right. And because they are both right we must fight them both with the utmost determination.

The fight against Poincaré is to be carried on by systematic sabotage in the Ruhr district, as a proletarian action, and by the revolutionary permeation of the imperialist army. Against Cuno—by combatting nationalism as an ideology, by taking advantage of the present situation to lead the working class in its defensive struggles, and to mobilize the masses for the general strike.

The French and German proletariats, in their joint struggle against the common enemy, are passing through a maturing process. The more rapid and thorough this process, the greater the prospect of a common victory.

Paris elects the revolutionist Marty against Poincaré-la-Ruhr!

By Jacques Sadoul (Moscow).

In France communist agitation is daily crowned with fresh and more brilliant success.

On January 3, 1923, comrades Cachin and Monmousseau, Semard and Treint, all of whom are now languishing in Prison, publicly assured comrade Rosi Wolfstein, who appeared at the meeting held on this date in Paris as representative of the German brother party, that our revolutionary organizations would be able, by determined class war, to check

and hinder the invasion of the Ruhr area then being deliberately planned by French imperialism.

At this the reformists of every grade broke into loud laughter. They scoffed at the communists as braggarts and boasters. They predicted the collapse of our action. And to make sure of being in the right, they presently began a savage campaign of sabotage against the revolutionary activity of our comrades. They took to lies and slanders, and came simultaneously to a more or less covert understanding with the bourgeoisie.

But despite the treachery of the reformist social democratic and trade union leaders, the Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. are joyfully and heroically keeping their promises.

The energy with which they prepared for the proletarian defensive struggle, and their close co-operation with the German organizations, soon made M. Poincaré realize—in this respect he sees much more clearly than the reformists—that it would be advisable first to win a victory over the revolutionary vanguard of the working class in France, before proceeding to enter on a conflict with the German people in the Ruhr.

And so Poincaré-la-Ruhr had the premises of the *Humanité* and of the C.G.T.U. broken into on January 10., and at the same time caused the most popular leaders of French communism to be thrown into prison under accusation of high treason.

Having thus secured the first stage of his advance, on the next day, January 11., he moved proudly and confidently forward into the Ruhr area. The French bourgeoisie, like Poincaré, blinded by hate and contempt of the proletariat, hoped to terrorize the working class by depriving it of its leaders. Poincaré intensified his policy of oppression at the behest of the bourgeoisie. But this, as we had foreseen, had the effect of fully revealing the class character of the coup. Sensible people, and even members of the petty bourgeoisie, began to realize with increasing clearness that the fight for the Ruhr area is by no means a war of national defence, but a predatory raid, a mighty trial of strength between Poincaré, the agent of *Loucheur* and *Schneider*, and Cuno, the agent of *Stinnes* and *Thyssen*.

Despite the noisy campaign of patriotic agitation carried on by the great press, which is bound by golden chains to the government, and valiantly supported by the reformists, five weeks of agitation among the broad masses of the workers has sufficed to convince the latter of the rightness of the communist standpoint.

It is a perfectly wonderful event.

Every day brings fresh evidence, which clearly demonstrates this extraordinary revolution in French public opinion.

The two latest and most characteristic events in this respect are beyond doubt the strike of the French colliery slaves, and the two-fold election of comrade Marty in Paris.

The incomplete and contradictory reports which reach us have, up to now, rendered it impossible to gain a clear survey, much less to predict the result, of the miners' movement led by the C.G.T.U. We know, however, that the threat of this strike threw the government into great confusion. The strikers are denounced as traitors to their native country, are accused of destroying public peace during war. Of course, the reformist leaders again form a united front which the bourgeoisie. They slander the "instigators" of the strike. They intrigue with the employers, and repeat their betrayal of the working class.

It is not altogether impossible that the combined action of the colliery owners and the reformist C.G.T. (General Labor Confederation) may force the workers temporarily, to resume work again. But, at the same time, it appears that the strike is not likely to be broken off until some economic concessions have been wrung from the colliery companies. But even should the starving miners only succeed in gaining this partial success, it would be of very great advantage to them, and the C.G.T.U. and the Communist Party would have cause to be satisfied with the result.

For in actual fact, the miners' union has remained almost entirely in the hands of the old C.G.T. Only a weak minority of the miners has gathered beneath the flag of the C.G.T.U. And those who know to what extent the miners are infected by the reformism of their leaders, who have been kow-towing to the employers for years, are perfectly amazed to see, that on this occasion, over one hundred thousand miners have followed the summons of the revolutionary miners' union, over the heads of their leaders.

We repeat: This result in itself is admirable and magnificent.

The bold offensive adopted by our friends has also had the effect of arousing the French miners from their accustomed apathy. It saves them from sharing reformist delusions. It alienates them from the old C.G.T. It leads them back to the class war. It inspires them with the joy of fighting and of preparing

for the fight. And thus, whatever be the end of this first battle, it will prepare the miners to make the next battle a decisive one.

This sudden metamorphosis among the French working class, brought about by communist agitation among the moderate elements, is strongly accentuated by the double election of comrade Marty to the Parisian municipal council.

The French people, in the course of the last two years, have chosen this hero of the Black Sea as their representative fifteen times.

But up to now Marty, who was cast into prison for refusing to combat the Russian revolution, and for inciting French soldiers to rebellion, has symbolized by his candidature the will of the French workers to express their sympathy with the Soviet power, and to release from the bourgeois prisons the innumerable victims of courts martial.

Up to now it has been the classic nobleness of the Parisians which has been appealed to. But last Sunday the appeal was made to their readiness to fight, and this was far more effective.

This time the name of Marty signified before all, the combatting of Poincaré's adventurous policy, and of the Ruhr occupation. Every evening, at all public meetings, Poincaré was indicted as the agent of the *Comité des Forges*. Day after day the electors were ruthlessly faced with the alternative:

"Either you vote for Marty, which means voting for the communist policy of international labor solidarity and of international revolutionary action, or you vote against him, which means approval of the imperialist policy of war and robbery pursued by the French government."

And now electors of Paris have spoken. They have voted for Marty, the communist, and against Poincaré-la-Ruhr. It is easy to imagine the confusion caused in the ranks of the French bourgeoisie by this election triumph. Marty has been re-elected in two electoral districts in Paris: In the Charonne quarter, an old working class suburb, which has always been true to the revolution, and sent so many heroic fighters to the aid of the Commune in 1871; and the Santé quarter, a suburb inhabited mostly by members of the petty bourgeoisie, employees, officials, and intellectuals. This second electoral victory, fought in a non-proletarian district on the basis of a completely revolutionary program, is a striking proof of the fruitfulness of communist propaganda. And it is this victory in particular which will carry dismay and consternation into the ranks of the enemies of the working class.

Indeed, it signifies the ruthless rupture of that pact of civil peace, without which imperialist France, thrown into confusion by the German resistance, financially and economically exhausted, morally and politically isolated, and secretly undermined by the enmity of her mighty allies, cannot hope to win the game.

To be sure, this breach of civil peace will not immediately cause Poincaré's complete defeat, but still it affords the possibility of preventing the victory of imperialist France, and of escaping from the compromise, between French and German heavy industry.

Our French comrades have every reason to be proud and satisfied.

Never before, has a revolutionary party in France, confronted by a similar difficult situation, been able to gain such advantage from the given position by such a display of intelligence, boldness, and efficiency.

Thus we may joyfully record the first results of the ruthless purging and sifting, wisely enforced by the Communist International upon the French section. Thanks to the active co-operation of Poincaré, who is no doubt also "bribed by Moscow", these successes have been attained much sooner than we had ventured to hope.

Political Situation in China

By V. Vitensky-Sibirskov (Moscow).

According to the latest news, the followers of Sun-Yat-Sen have occupied the capital of the one-time Chinese federation, Canton. This federation went to pieces last summer when General Chen-Tsiu-Min, the minister of war of Sun-Yat-Sen's Southern Chinese government, revolted, thereby beginning the Chinese civil war. The fortunes of war have now changed: to-day General Chen-Tsiu-Min has to flee from Canton as Sun-Yat-Sen had to flee some months ago. Chinese political circles are anxiously awaiting the issue; will Sun-Yat-Sen return to Canton, and will he again begin to mobilize the provinces of South China for a war against North China? For the present Sun-Yat-Sen declares that he has no intention of leaving Shanghai and returning to Canton. What can this declaration mean? Is it that he has no great faith in the military successes of his

southern followers; or is it a sign that Sun-Yat-Sen has now formed a different estimate of the political significance of the South, having regard to actual present-day political conditions in China? In our opinion the latter is probably the case.

Sun-Yat-Sen is the greatest political personality of China to-day. He has not only had great political experience, gained in illegal revolutionary struggles and in exile, and supplemented by eleven years of fighting since the proclamation of the Chinese republic, but he possesses an extremely fine political instinct enabling him to orientate himself rapidly in the most complicated questions of Chinese politics. Southern China undoubtedly plays a very important role, and will play a still more important one in the future, for it is the most liberty loving section of China, and has great revolutionary traditions. In the immediate past, South China was for Sun-Yat-Sen the great gathering place where he could concentrate the forces of the Gomin-dan party against the militarized North of which Peking was the capital.

Sun-Yat-Sen appears to have grasped the fact, that China can only be successfully transformed, if the changes are supported by the broad masses of China's teeming population, if political interest is awakened among the people and directed to actual problems. For this purpose, Sun-Yat-Sen needed Southern China, and it must be admitted that Sun-Yat-Sen fulfilled this task with all credit. Those political slogans which have spread all over China to-day, were first proclaimed by Sun-Yat-Sen in Southern China. But on the other hand, Sun-Yat-Sen's sojourn in the South must have shown him that, during the present stage of China's economic development, Southern China cannot compete with Central China, so that its significance is only relative. Further: In so far as economically backward Southern China takes action against industrially developing Central China, Sun-Yat-Sen's position is unfavorable, for in this case the growing Chinese bourgeoisie would, against its will, be opposed, to him, although it is his natural ally when he proclaims himself as a nationalist, and issues as a slogan, the revival of China as a nation.

During his fight against Wu-Pei-Fu, Sun-Yat-Sen understood the advantageous position of the former, who is not only in the industrial centre of China, but is supported by the national Chinese bourgeoisie, which is able to provide the means required by China for fighting for emancipation from the foreign yoke. It is therefore not at all remarkable that Sun-Yat-Sen hastens to declare his intention of not returning to Canton. Canton does not suit him. On the contrary, he is of the opinion that his sojourn in the North will strengthen his position in the South, just as the success of his southern followers more firmly establishes his whole political position and his influence in China.

A peculiar characteristic of the present Chinese political situation is the struggle of the reactionary bloc, and of the agents of international imperialism, against Wu-Pei-Fu. Should the latter be defeated, the triumph of reaction in China and the renewed kindling of a cruel war would be inevitable.

Up to now, Wu-Pei-Fu has maintained a very reserved attitude towards Sun-Yat-Sen, although he does not deny that the latter would doubtless be the most suitable president for China. We believe that the reason for this caution has been the reserve practised by the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of Central China towards Sun-Yat-Sen, as this bourgeoisie has regarded him as a leader of the South, and therefore as a man infected with socialist ideas. We have every reason to assume that Sun-Yat-Sen, who is at present in Shanghai, the real capital of industrial China, has come to an understanding with the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie, and that the latter is prepared to be reconciled to his socialist ideas, the more so, as these ideas do not contain anything in the least dangerous, for they are extremely moderate and agree very well with the national ideas and dreams of "great China".

There is no doubt whatever that if the imperialist bloc and its reactionary Chinese friends realize their plan, and threaten Wu-Pei-Fu with isolation, Wu-Pei-Fu will come to an understanding with Sun-Yat-Sen, and recognize him as president of China. Sun-Yat-Sen reckons precisely upon this, and his actions are based on this supposition. The occupation of Canton thus signifies the strengthening of Sun-Yat-Sen's influence in the North. It is not for nothing that telegrams report that political circles in Peking are carrying on lively negotiations with Sun-Yat-Sen regarding the re-union of China. The key to the re-union of Southern and Northern China lies more than ever in the hands of the "Father of the Chinese revolution", and we should not be surprised if the reports of his followers' successes in the South, are immediately followed by the news, that Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen has become the official head of the Chinese republic, and that he has been aided to this position by the troops of Wu-Pei-Fu.

England and Fascismo

By Bertréint (Paris).

American-European capitalism, homogeneous before the war, has emerged hierarchic from the war.

America and England, both of them nations whose money standards have maintained a high value, are no longer able to export their goods to the continent in sufficient quantities. The reduced purchasing powers of the French franc and the German mark, which continue to depreciate, hinders this export.

America and England are trying to meet this difficulty by exporting their financial capital to the continent. English and American banks are everywhere being called into existence, and these control whole branches of European industry, buying them up, or otherwise subjugating them.

The dollar and the pound sterling are doing their utmost to transform Europe into a colony.

In the same manner the French franc and the Italian lire, within the limits of the European continent itself, are trying to colonize the Balkan countries, the remains of the Danubian monarchy, and the small states which have separated from Russia.

The Stinnes people, and the large industrial undertakings of countries with depreciated currencies, denationalize their capital, converting it into financial values, francs, dollars, or pounds, in order not to be involved in the fall in the rate of exchange.

This fact explains the dual policy which they pursue.

On the one hand they resist the extension of colonization by the states of the Entente, for they want to preserve the independence of the capital they have invested in national industry.

And on the other hand they seek to connect themselves with the colonization capital of the Entente, by means of their denationalized capital.

The possession of this extensive capital abroad, daily increasing in importance through the falling value of the mark, gives the great capitalists of the Stinnes type every possible facility for carrying through a policy completely independent from that of their own country. And this independent policy frequently aims at getting possession of important public institutions: railways, post offices, telegraphs, telephones, etc., by which the whole state power is finally made theirs.

At the present moment we hear much of the proposals said to have been submitted by Stinnes to France and Germany. Stinnes is said to have offered the German state 16 milliard gold marks, to enable it to begin paying off its reparation debts. In return for this 16 milliard gold marks, Stinnes wants to lay hands on the German railways. For the success of this plan he calculates on the French pressure in the Ruhr area, and on the embarrassment of Cuno's government.

Should Stinnes succeed in this manoeuvre, he has the whole technical apparatus of the state in his power. And then the pressure of German large capital will weigh more heavily and directly than ever on the German proletariat.

In the midst of this world situation Mussolini comes out with his new formula for foreign politics: The formation under certain stipulations, of a continental bloc with Germany. This policy involves the following consequences:

First German capitalism must be subordinated to the system of Franco-Italian-Belgian capitalism, either voluntarily or by force. Here Signor Mussolini recommends the gentle method. He throws himself as intermediary between Germany and France. It is true that he also sent engineers to co-operate with the French technicians in the Ruhr area, but he was not in favor of the military occupation.

Mussolini represents the interests of the Italian industrial capitalists, especially heavy industry who claim their share of the Ruhr coal. He is not playing his role as intermediary for nothing, but hopes thus to further the interests of those who raised him to power.

Our French nationalists, on the other hand, are for violent methods. They proclaim less the desire to force Germany into paying than the desire of the French iron industry to seize the Ruhr coal.

But at the same time our capitalists have as little desire as Mussolini to kill off German capitalism. They also, are merely desirous of subjugating it, if by more brutal means, and hope to force it to submission by these methods.

They try to break the resistance they encounter by seizing even the state power in the Ruhr area, and by making themselves masters of both property and human beings alike.

In actual practice it is a complete annexation.

Will this plan succeed? There is every reason to doubt it. The *Information Financière*, the organ of French financial capital, writes as follows in its issue of January 20, 1923:

"In short, since the 11th or 12th of January up to the time of writing, the war damages office has done practically nothing for the collieries, and when the strictest minimum requirements of our iron working industry are computed at 12,000 tons of German coke, this signifies a shortage of 84,000 in seven days."

In another place the same paper adds:

"According to the data in our possession, our industrial undertakings have, as a rule, scarcely more than a week's supply of coal in reserve. Without giving way to pessimism, we may still ask the question, what will happen if supplies are interrupted for a few days or are insufficient? Then there will be no choice but to extinguish the blast furnaces, and slow down the whole speed of production."

Should French imperialism be successful, despite all difficulties, in setting the sensitive industrial mechanism running in the Ruhr area, then it will also succeed in developing its plan of subjugating German capitalism.

The *Action Française* (French action) explains the Ruhr operations in the following manner in its issue of January 15:

"From this point onwards it is our task to establish controls at the entrances and exits of the Ruhr area, and to direct Ruhr products to this or that part of the Reich, without ourselves having any direct advantage from it. In this manner it will be possible for us to deprive any given district of the country of all supplies, and on the other hand to send copious supplies to other districts, and thus to provoke a rupture. If the abominable German unity could be destroyed by such action, it would be at least interesting, even if it did not result in raising means for our restoration works."

We thus see that the important point is, that German capitalism be forced to subordinate itself to continental capitalism, to become an appendage of the victorious states, and that the economic power derived from the possession of the Ruhr district be employed as a tool for shattering the political unity of German capitalism.

Should this solution fail, there remains Mussolini's policy of intermediation. But whether it be accomplished by force or persuasion, the goal aimed at is the subjugation of German capitalism to Franco-Italian-Belgian capitalism.

A second line of Mussolini's policy, especially on the continent, is the strengthening of the employers' offensive against the working class.

Once subjugated to continental capitalism, German capitalism will be reduced to the position of middleman, and as such will have to exercise a heavier pressure than ever on the German workers, in order to squeeze out of them the double profits for inner capitalism and continental imperialism. All this is only possible however, if the Fascist methods are applied in Germany.

The increased misery of the German worker will be utilized by Fascism in Italy for the purpose of doubling its acts of violence, and by Fascism in France for forcing the French workers to accept the same starvation wages as our brothers in Germany.

Mussolini's policy presumes the transference of Fascist methods to the internal politics of the whole of Europe.

The historical import of the agitation against communism now being carried on in France, is to clear the path for a Fascist policy both at home and abroad.

Finally, Mussolini's policy aims at combining the whole European continent under a Franco-Italian-Belgian hegemony, ready to stand against England, and to hold its own against the colonization of European capitalism by the pound sterling.

It is in vain that Mussolini denies that his political formula is directed against England. This denial is a mere diplomatic phrase, a falsehood clearly contradicted by facts.

England cannot be a calm spectator of the justification of the iron ore of Lorraine with the coal of the Ruhr. For this justification would mean the world hegemony of the French iron industry, and would thus imply the end of the British hegemony.

England will close her eyes to France's proceedings until she has secured the Mosul oil-fields, but she will never cease to attempt to weaken France's influence in the Ruhr area. And afterwards she will adopt every possible means to combat the policy of a European continental bloc.

Thus two different political tendencies are gradually beginning to oppose one another sharply in the western capitalist world, the policy of the continental bloc and the policy of the Anglo-German bloc, in which Germany is the stake.

Apart from the present acts of violence, of which no-one can predict whether they will lead to a war or not, the elements of an Angl-continental war are brewing.

The Fascist foreign policy formulated by Mussolini has been joyfully received in France. There is no doubt that this

policy proceeds on the same lines as that of our royalists of the *Action Française*, which is revealing itself at the present time as a signpost and guide for our extreme nationalist large capitalists.

The wages, liberty, right of combination, even the bare existence of the European proletariat is threatened even more severely than before.

It is thus imperative that all the workers of Western Europe unite more closely than ever. These close relations must lead to the participation of all labor organizations in the proletarian united front, fighting against the occupation of the Ruhr and the Versailles peace treaty.

The leaders who reject this fighting possibility for the working class will be guilty of an act of betrayal equal to that of 1914.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Canadian Women in the Picket Line

By R. Buhay (Edmonton, Canada).

The strike in the Edmonton coal-fields, starting Dec. 1922, for the organization of the miners has been marked by unprecedented brutality and persecution on the part of the authorities and operators.

Not content with herding scabs, preventing peaceful picketings, arresting strikers on the slightest pretence, and clubbing and shooting at every opportunity, the mine operators, police authorities and the Government introduced (January 1923) some new methods during the last few days which they thought would crush the strike.

Realising that the spirit of solidarity amongst the men was growing stronger from day to day, that the rest of Edmonton was lining up with the strikers as was shown at the captured Memorial Hall meeting organized by the Citizen's League and operators, and that the picket line was daily strengthening, the police sought to break the morale of the workers by trying to make a picket line impossible.

Women Show Spirit.

One morning, the picket line was bigger than ever. This time the same thing occurred; more men were taken to the police headquarters. However, as the cells were overcrowded, they were only able to retain hold of about 30 and had to let the rest go.

Then came the women! Some of them stormed the police-station and broke the windows. Their defiant attitude was the greatest surprise to the authorities who had expected tears, supplications and general weakness, but they discovered before very long that the women were made of sterner stuff.

Wednesday afternoon there assembled at the Labor Temple, a mass of women and children from Beverley and Edmonton, while their husbands were being taken to Fort Saskatchewan to await trial. Their spirit of enthusiasm was splendid. Not one woman was bemoaning the fact that her husband had been arrested; not one consenting to have him bailed out; all demanded a fight to a finish, and demanded also that the city authorities bear the burden of feeding them and their children while the fight kept on.

After addresses by various speakers, including the writer, which were enthusiastically endorsed, it was decided that a parade to the City Hall or Provincial Parliament take place, and that committees of women be elected, one to demand immediate relief for the wives and families of the strikers from the mayor, and another to demand from the Attorney-General that the present brutal tactics of the police against the strikers cease at once.

Confront Mayor.

The committees were elected; the parade started. One of the finest incidents in the strike yet — the battalion of women fighters! If Edmonton was unaware of the class war before, it certainly knew it now. Marching shoulder to shoulder, full of fighting spirit and enthusiasm, the women showed the authorities and the Edmonton workers, that if their men were taken from them, they were ready to carry on the fight. At the city hall, the first committee stopped and entered the building to interview the mayor, amid the cheers of the assembled, who marched on to the Parliament buildings. The writer was the spokesman for the committee, and she made the mayor plainly understand that the women were in earnest about their demands for immediate relief. The mayor hummed and hawed, and felt uncomfortable, particularly when one strikers' wife after another spiritedly made her accusations and demands. Some of the men also joined in putting the case of the strikers forcibly before the mayor. Of course, no real satisfactory reply was ob-

tained, the committee did not expect it. What it wanted to demonstrate was that the authorities had not cowed the strikers or their dependents by their methods. The mayor referred the whole matter to the Welfare Board and this matter is now awaiting the attention of that board.

Solidarity increases.

The same thing practically took place in the interview with the Attorney-General, the procession reforming with the two committees, marched back to the Union Hall, singing and cheering.

This morning's picket showed the women on the job taking the place of the men, with the police in a quandary as to what to do. The real fight has now started. With the women lined up solidly the operators will be forced to realize that among the mine workers of the Edmonton field, a new spirit of solidarity has risen that no power can break, and that must ultimately bring victory.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

March 8: The International Communist Women's Day, 1923

By Clara Zetkin.

Another International Communist Women's Day, which — apart from Soviet Russia and the Soviet republics affiliated to it — does not yet mark the celebration of victorious combats fought by the world proletariat against the exploiting and enslaving rule of the bourgeoisie! On the contrary: the bourgeoisie is exerting its utmost energy, with greater ruthlessness and brutality than ever, to hold the masses in subjection. The murderous bands of Fascismo complete the work begun by the police, the judges, and soldiers. The international characteristic features of our time are: depreciation of currency, usurious prices for the necessities of life, robbery by means of taxes and levies, unemployment, longer working hours, increased production despite devitalizing living conditions, growing uncertainty of earnings and of means of living. And to all this must be added frightful housing conditions, chronic ill-nourishment intensified to actual starvation, lack of linen and clothing, of light, warmth, and cleanliness, of the most modest demands on culture; proletarianization of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and especially of the "intellectuals", transformation of willing workers among the non-property classes into idle beggars, calamitous spread of epidemics, disease, and death in want and misery, especially among children. And this, — in all countries where capitalism is still uncontrolled master in its own house, not only in industry, but in the state, despite "democracy", or rather, precisely with the aid and blessing of "democracy".

The cruel fate of the masses weighs with especial heaviness on the women, unless they happen to be appendages of the capitalist industrial magnates, dealers, speculators, profiteers, and usurers. There is no misery of the present day which is not felt by the women with double and multiple intensity. The working woman, the female civil service employee, teacher, etc., is more liable to dismissal than her male fellow worker, and when out of work she suffers more than the unemployed man from cold and starvation, for she receives a smaller dole than he. The housewife shares all the cares of her husband, son, and brother; she does not only suffer with him, but for him as well. The mother stands with bleeding heart before the cross of Golgotha, when she is powerless to satisfy the cries of her children, for bread and warmth, for a small share of the joys of life, for a little knowledge and beauty; when she is powerless to protect them from the merciless claws of disease, demoralization, and death. The stunted children, the infant mortality, the increasing number of neglected youthful criminals — are these not the most annihilating accusations against the present state of society in all capitalist countries?

But working women, housewives and mothers, are as a rule less capable of resistance against the miseries assailing them, less armed than their brothers. They feel acutely the wretchedness of their condition, but they endure instead of fighting, they are feeble in self-defence. The evil heritage of centuries of subjugation to man, the seclusion within four narrow walls, has dulled their outlook, destroyed their will power. As a woman has humbly obeyed her husband's commands, or bent to the will of the family, in the same way she does not venture to oppose the merciless exploitation of capitalism, the oppression of the bourgeois state.

Even in important states, women are not yet in possession of civil and political rights, without which they cannot fight for their own interests and for the interests of those they love. In

it not a fact that in Switzerland, France, Belgium, Italy, etc., the women to-day are in the same position as yesterday or the day before, without the right of voting for or being elected to the legislative Parliament?

During the years that followed the outbreak of the disastrous imperialist war, the troubles and torments of working women have risen mountain high. Their most diffident hopes of alleviation have been cruelly crushed, their burden of misery has increased daily.

The dominating and insatiable greed of the capitalist governments for a further extension of power is preparing a fresh blood bath for the peoples, by far vaster and filled with greater terrors and cruelties than the imperialist war of plunder which we have just witnessed. The military occupation of the Ruhr area by French Imperialism has brought on new storm clouds. An accident may decide whether the struggle between the French ore potentates and the German coal barons shall lead to a bloody conflict. And such a conflict cannot possibly be confined to France and Germany. It will be the signal for a fresh imperialist world war.

It is not Thyssen, Klöckner, Stinnes, and their like, who bear the costs and sufferings of the Ruhr occupation. Thanks to the occupation, they shovel in profits by the milliard. And it is not the mining slaves of Northern France, on the other side of the Rhine, who profit by the imperialist predatory raid. These, in company with the proletariat of the Ruhr area and of the whole of Germany, will be the vanquished, precisely as the combined exploited proletariats of all countries emerged subjugated and robbed from the war of 1914-1918.

The combined forces of the French imperialist bayonet and the famine whip of German capitalism will exert every effort to wring the maximum profits out of the Ruhr proletariat, will plunge the Ruhr proletariat into untold miseries by increased exploitation and oppression. And just as the misery of the Ruhr will spread irresistibly till it includes the whole of the workers of Germany, with the same deadly certainty will it spread to the disinherited in France and other capitalist countries. This is the will of the international class struggle, which binds by a common fate the exploited and oppressed, regardless of frontiers. Women and men! The women of the creative working class are equal victims of this common fate. The working women, the women of the petty-bourgeois and small-holding class, whether in England, France, Italy, or elsewhere, will feel the blows of Poincaré's sabre as painfully as the miners and iron workers of the Ruhr district; and they too will be able to breathe more freely when strong German proletarian fists overthrow the regime of Cuno and Stinnes, and establish the Workers' Government.

The more conscious the working women become of the impending danger, the more it is their most sacred duty to exert their utmost power to avert it. The International Communist Women call upon them to fulfil this duty. They show them who are the truly culpable, who the guilty ones are who leave the workers' plates empty despite unwearying toil and labor, whilst idlers wallow in excess and celebrate orgies of gluttony. The real culprit is neither the Frenchman nor the German, neither the Englishman nor the Yankee. He belongs to no nation and yet to all. It is Capitalism, striking violent blows in every direction, in its despairing death agonies.

There is no doubt of it! Capitalism is decaying, is in a state of dissolution. Its economy is no longer able to repair the havoc of war; it is no longer capable of maintaining the parasitic class in luxury, and at the same time of securely holding down, with hand and brain, its miserable slaves at the wretched level of their pre-war existence. The bourgeoisie still maintains its sole reliance on the treachery of the reformist leaders and their influence on the workers. All the bourgeoisie can now do is to snatch the last morsel of bread from the lips of the starving, and to drive families with their children from the comfortable tenement houses into the street or into empty stables; this the bourgeoisie can do as long as the working masses fear the revolution and its attendant sacrifices.

The Communist International has drawn the correct conclusion from the misery of the poor and weak. The International proclaims the necessity of a united front against the world bourgeoisie. Even if your spirit is so enslaved that you do not dare to dream of freedom, then at least you can hear the voice of your hungry stomach. Up and defend yourselves against increased exploitation, profounder misery!

This is our appeal to you in an hour in which the proletariat is wrestling with life and death, an appeal to all working women, all housewives and mothers, regardless of political or religious creed: Remember that you are all companions in misery! Unite! Come forth from the retreats where you hide your martyrdom, unveil your wounds before the eyes of the capitalist world, drunk with temporary victory. Proclaim your demands,

strengthen your will to fight for these demands. Confront the raging greed for profits and the attacks of the capitalists with your own demands:—

Equal wages for equal work, and adequate provision for the unemployed, man or woman. Eight hour day, free Saturday afternoon, legal protection for working women, adult or youthful, and the extension of this protection to all wage workers. Strict measures against usurious prices, control of production, distribution, and prices by workers' councils, by control committees composed of consumers and housewives. Comprehensive and effectual protection for mothers, infants, and children; social provision for the old, invalid, or war-disabled; which is compatible with human dignity; exemption of productive workers from taxation, taxation of the propertied classes by means of confiscation of real values, and by compulsory loans. Security of the rights of organization and striking, full political and social rights for all women. Immediate release of all imprisoned revolutionary fighters.

The International Communist Women appeal to all working women to join their brothers in proclaiming their firm determination to fight for the realization of these and similar demands. To proclaim this not by words, but by deeds, by marching courageously into the combat against the exploiting bourgeoisie, against the enslaving force of their state, wherever and under whatever form these two deadly enemies encounter them. Combat, determined combat against the war armaments and war making of the bourgeoisie, against the occupation of the Ruhr! Combat against the White Terror, against Fascism! Combat for the extension of power of the shop stewards and the workers' councils. Combat for the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and arming of the workers, the real producers! Combat for the workers' government!

The Communists of Soviet Russia stand side by side with us for the attainment of our aim of aiding the masses of working women to realize their full emancipation. No law stands in their way. But the world proletariat has recoiled in alarm from its great task of carrying forward the world revolution. Consequently every circumstance hindering communist development or hostile to it, is felt in Soviet Russia. Such hindrances are especially felt on the economic field. From Soviet Russia as the source of the World Revolution the current of awakening life flows over all capitalist countries, among the masses of women in the other federal Soviet republics and in the Orient.

The International Communist Women's Organization is spirit of spirit, power of the power, of the Third International. Not something for women alone! But the joint work of all communists, whether men or women. It is a link in the chain of battle for the proletarian united front, and in the proletarian united front. This chain can only be complete when the working women are included. This chain alone is strong and firm enough to fetter the murderous and brutal hands of the bourgeoisie. And when the proletariat has once fettered these hands, then it will gain self-confidence to overthrow its deadly enemy, Capitalism.

THE WHITE TERROR

March 18. — The Political Prisoners' Day.

By H. Roland Holst.

Proletarian class war has never cost such immeasurable sacrifices as during the last four years; never have so many young lives been destroyed in the flower of their youth. The bourgeoisie has lost faith in its own gods, and frantically clings to its power like a senile old man to life; terrified by the presentiment of its impending and inevitable death, the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of any human feeling, or even of a policy of reasonable moderation. In its desire for vengeance, and in its fear, the bourgeoisie is continually trampling its own laws underfoot. It regarded the contempt of the Bolsheviks for bourgeois legislation as highly reprehensible, but now it revels in lawlessness in the hope that it will weaken the proletariat, by destroying its communist and syndicalist vanguards.

It recently welcomed the Fascist Terror in Italy with as much heartiness as it welcomed Horthy's state-military Terror of three years ago. Without a word of protest, even with inward satisfaction, wide circles of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia look on while thousands of workers in all capitalist countries, are being gradually crushed underfoot because they showed their class comrades the way out of the bloody hell of decaying capitalism. Day and night a loud cry of lamentation, of wrath, and despair, rises from the prisons of Germany, Spain, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Roumania, etc. The cry is echoed by the

prisoners and persecuted of the vast lands of Asia and Africa—those lands where the oldest capitalist predatory states, England and Holland, are sucking the blood of hundreds of millions of human beings, exploiting oppressing and enslaving them. In these lands the oppressed belong to a race far superior in all culture—except technics—to ours.

It is frightful to think of the sufferings of the rebels languishing in prisons in every part of the world. It is a thought which pierces the soul, and poisons heart and mind. It is terrible to think that it is precisely the bravest and most energetic proletarians who are perishing in the fetid prison atmosphere; those hearts with the most glowing desire for emancipation from the capitalist yoke; those spirits whose impulse for action, whose social idealism, left them no rest, and for whom activity in the cause of revolution was as the breath of life. All this is bad enough, but it is not the worst. If we could but give these sufferers the assurance that we know and appreciate their fearful torments, then we need pity them, just as little as they will pity themselves. If we could only convince them that we are not abandoning them, that we are carrying on the struggle on their behalf as well as for the cause in general, that we think of them and care for their loved ones—if they only knew all this, then it would not be so difficult to suffer for so great and sacred a cause as that of communism.

But it is frightful when the imprisoned champions lack this knowledge and conviction. And the pity is that this is the case today. To-day there is unfortunately no powerful and vivid sympathy among the masses for the political prisoners, no general and passionate movement for an amnesty, a movement whose waves would rise ever higher and more irresistibly against the walls of the capitalist, bastilles. To-day there is no unceasing and burning consciousness of solidarity with the tortured and tormented, no restless thought which robs the heart of sleep. "The workers in all countries are asleep"—these words were recently spoken by the secretary of the Amsterdam Trades Union International. We shall not inquire into the question as to who has promoted this sleep by pacifist narcotics, and who, on the other hand, has unwearyingly attempted to awaken the masses. But Fimmen's words are true. The masses are asleep, and therefore to-day there is no sense of a vital bond and unity with the political prisoners. It is only when the masses are awake and fighting that the feeling of solidarity arises in their hearts.

Working men, comrades—and you, working women, my sisters! This must not be. You must not sleep whilst your brother is suffering for having fought for your emancipation. He is suffering, sitting in his dark cell, brutally and cruelly treated, even beaten and tortured. He does not see the sun, nor feel the soft wind, he does not feel the approach of spring, the awakening of all nature. He pines for his loved ones, he has nothing to occupy his mind, his soul and his body alike are starved. He feels himself cut off from the world of human beings, from the world of his hates and loves—the days and months pass, everything remains the same, the same frightful unending desolation, the same tormenting pining, the same living death . . .

You cannot remove all these torments from your brothers, but you can make them bearable. He can bear them if he feels himself borne up by your fraternal love, your active solidarity, if he feels that his frightful sufferings evoke results in you, unfetter your powers. This is the best consolation for imprisoned fighters, the softest pillow for the hard plank bed. But if he feels nothing of this, then the prisoner feels himself "forsaken by God and man"—that is, he loses that vitalizing enthusiasm, that glow of the social ideal, which has hitherto lent him power; he desponds; perhaps he even regrets his brave actions, regrets that he championed the cause; he becomes unfaithful in spirit—and is it not terrible to think that this is your fault?

All who are in prison live only on hope and confidence, on faith and belief, and we who are free have the sacred duty to give them all this. Any sign of sympathy, of comprehension, a letter bringing comfort to the heart, some good food strengthening the body, a book occupying the mind, and beyond and above all, the news that those at liberty are thinking of him, are fighting to release him, to rescue him from this tomb . . . and the prisoner takes heart again, becomes resigned and calm, even content. He is exalted beyond his sufferings by the thought: "It was not and is not in vain."

Come, workers, comrades, women, and youthful workers,—in the week of March 11—18, we shall send a ray of sunshine into the dark dungeons and cells of all those who are suffering for their brave attempt to emancipate the oppressed classes and races. March 18, is the day upon which, 52 years ago, the sun arose for all the oppressed and disinherited—arose for a short time only, for it speedily set again in a bloody sky, and was no more than a "glorious fore-runner of the coming state of society". We shall

send them fraternal greetings and fraternal gifts. We shall be with them in spirit, we shall help them to our utmost to bear their burden, we shall storm their prison walls with mighty songs of certain victory, we shall loudly and emphatically demand their release from their jailors, we shall generate the power enabling us to carry through our demands.

The Victims of the bourgeois Repression in Spain

By Andres Nin.

For three years, the Spanish proletariat has been the victim of the most unbearable persecutions. The slender guarantees of the constitution have been discarded and, with them, the freedom of assembly, of speech, and of propaganda. The trade unions have been outlawed. The Communist Party has developed its propaganda under the greatest difficulties. Thousands of comrades, syndicalists, anarchists and communists, have been imprisoned, hundreds deported and scores assassinated by hands of Whites and by the police. Within the last few months, the situation has slightly changed. The constitutional liberties have been re-established. The trade unions have regained their legality, and revolutionary propaganda can go on with a certain degree of freedom. The governor of Barcelona, General Martinez Anido, and the chief of police, General Arlegui, two of the principle instruments of the White Terror, have been driven from their posts. Once more the Spanish proletariat begins to breathe freely after the tragic darkness of the last three years.

But it would be an illusion to suppose that all danger is past and that every reason for anxiety had been cleared away.

The bourgeoisie is busily organizing Fascismo. The constitutional guarantees may be suspended again, on some pretext or other, and the militant revolutionaries again thrown to the mercy of the police prefects and the White Guards. We must not forget, that although a great number of comrades were released upon the re-establishment of constitutional rights, there are still many remaining in prison. During these three years of fierce repression, some monstrous criminal procedures have been worked up, thanks to confessions extracted by torture. The judiciary power, whose independence under the bourgeois regime we know too well, has become the instrument of the enemies of the proletarian class and has kept in prison and condemned dozens of militant revolutionaries marked for capitalistic vindictiveness. Many of them have already been sentenced to ten and twenty years of servitude. Other outrageous trials are still in process. In other countries it is impossible to realize how justice is administered in Spain. Only very recently, a worker from Bilbao was condemned to twelve years imprisonment under the accusation of wounding a policeman, although everyone knew that he was entirely innocent and that the real author of the deed had escaped abroad. The military tribunal knew quite well that he was innocent; but military institutions with us are considered as something sacred and in inviolable, and a punishment had to be administered as an example, even though the victim was entirely innocent. In the same way in 1920, upon the assassination of two policemen, four men were shot although they were completely innocent. And less than a year ago two more workers were executed at Barcelona on the unfounded charge that they had assassinated an employer.

These examples, chosen from among a thousand, will prove to the revolutionaries of every country how justice is administered in Spain, and should move them to energetic action in favor of the hundreds of comrades who are in prison and whose lives and liberties are so seriously menaced. We call particular attention to the trial for the assassination of the government head, M. Dato. More than twenty-one comrades are under trial as authors of the deed or as accomplices. The condemnation of any one of these comrades should be prevented at all costs. The Spanish proletariat expects decisive action on the part of the working class of the other countries.

E. C. C. I.

To the Workers of all Countries

Imperialist justice has condemned 172 men to death in India. A year ago, 228 men were put on trial charged with participation in a riot which resulted in the burning down of the police station at Chauri Chaura and the killing of 22 policemen. One hundred and seventy-two men are to be executed in revenge for the death of 22 policemen who fell while defending "law and order". The atrocity of this legal

murder is unparalleled even in the bloody history of British rule in India. 172 Indian peasants are going to be hanged while the curtain is hardly down upon the bloody drama of the Mopla Massacre, and while brutal repression has not yet succeeded in quelling the rebellion of the Sikh peasants. The revolt of the colonial masses has attained such dangerous proportions that Imperialism has inaugurated a veritable reign of terror to maintain its position.

Since 1919 India has been a scene of mass murder and brutal repression. Beginning at Amritsar, British Imperialism has gone on making free use of tanks, bombing-planes, machine-guns, and bayonets in order to drown the rebellious people in rivers of blood. The jails of the country contain more than 30,000 men and women arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for taking part in the nationalist movement. 6,689 poor peasants of Malabar (Mophas) are undergoing penal servitude. Five of them have been hanged and 70 suffocated to death. 5,600 Sikh peasants of the Punjab are lying in jail, beaten and maltreated. To add to this inglorious record another 172 men are to be sent to the gallows.

The great majority of these condemned men belong to the poor peasantry which was driven to revolt under the unbearable burden of war taxation and unprecedentedly high prices. The revolt was directed simultaneously against the native landlords and foreign government, both of which jointly suck the blood of the peasantry. The revolt was expressed in the form of huge mass demonstrations under nationalist slogans and direction. These demonstrations were peaceful, since the leaders of the nationalist movement are petty bourgeois pacifists believing in the cult of non-violence. But Imperialism would not suffer even a peaceful demonstration of the unarmed masses. A procession of about 3,000 people was fired upon from the police station of Chauri Chaura which it was passing towards the near-by market in order to picket the sale of foreign cloth. This act of provocation infuriated the peaceful demonstrators who attacked the police station, all the inmates of which were killed in the affray. The casualties on the side of the insurgents was never disclosed; but the result of firing volleys upon a crowd of 3,000 can be easily imagined. The fury quickly spread in the surrounding districts and developed into a dangerous agrarian uprising which was suppressed by military forces rushed to the spot. The number of those perishing at the merciless hand of "law and order" is not known. Upon the suppression of the revolt a considerable number of men were arrested, 228 of whom were sent up for trial under the charge of "murder and arson". The trial has ended by condemning 172 of the accused to death.

The international proletariat engaged in a bitter struggle with Capitalism in every part of the world, must not let this imperialist butchery go unchallenged. The revolt of the toiling masses in the colonial countries is a powerful factor in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship and the inauguration of a new order of society. Imperialism attempts to drown this revolt of the colonial masses in rivers of blood. The proletariat of the imperialist countries cannot remain indifferent. Energetic action must be taken in behalf of our Indian comrades fighting bloody battles against imperialist terror.

Working-men and working-women: Hold protest meetings and demonstrations condemning this act of imperialist butchery and demanding the release of the condemned men. Demand of the II International and the Amsterdam Federation that they call upon their mainstay, the British Labour Party, to save the lives of 172 Indian peasants whose only crime was that they were hungry, and they were so unbearably hungry because they had been forced to contribute too much for the prosecution of the "war for democracy". Demand of the Two and Half International that its backbone, the Independent Labour Party, be asked to rise up to its noble professions of pacifism.

Proletariat of Great Britain: It is your duty to take the lead in this case. Call upon the Labour Party to take Parliamentary action against this bloody deed of British Imperialism. If the reformist leaders will not be moved to action even by such a flagrant violation of every moral and legal code they hold up as standard for others, you must repudiate their leadership and resort to direct action in order to uphold the right of the subject peoples to revolt, and to demonstrate the world wide solidarity of the toiling masses in their struggle against Capitalism. The wild career of Imperialism gone mad can be only checked under a threat of direct action of the home proletariat.

Down with Imperialism!

Victory to the workers and peasants of India!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Communist International to the fighting proletariat of Hungary

The tormented proletariat of Hungary, exploited to the utmost limits of endurance, is still making the attempt, despite all persecutions, to better its living conditions by a wage movement. The unbearable economic and political conditions in Hungary force the workers to resistance. But the bourgeoisie makes short work of the workers' efforts by locking out the workers from the great metal and ammunition factories. More than 100,000 workers have been thrown into the streets. The attempt is now being made to bring the refractory wage slaves to reason by means of the whip of hunger. If this does not succeed very rapidly, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to employ the armed forces of the state, that is, the soldiery of the corrupt Horthy government, against the proletarian masses fighting for a morsel of bread. The brutality with which the Big Bourgeoisie sets to work is evidence of its weakness which is also reflected in the fact that many small undertakings did not obey the lock-out *Ukas* of the industrial magnates. The Hungarian workers know very well that their fight can only be conducted to a successful end if perfect solidarity is preserved amongst the exploited. Therefore those workers who were not yet affected by the strike and lockout, have resolved to hasten to the aid of their struggling brothers, and to down tools as well. This determined and fit measure taken by a class conscious working class meets with resistance on the part of the "prudent" trade union leaders, and it is against their will that the strike has been extended, and solidarity established in the threatened working class.

On behalf of the millions of oppressed and exploited of the whole world, the Communist International expresses its solidarity with the proletariat of Hungary, struggling for its most primitive economic and political rights. In a few weeks, on the 21 of March, we shall celebrate the *third anniversary of the day when the proletarian dictatorship was set up in Hungary*, and the workers of Hungary seized power. The Communist International is fully aware that the memory of the first proletarian state will steel the fighting courage of the Hungarian proletariat. Hold out, class brothers of Hungary.

Long live the solidarity of the fighting proletariat of all countries!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Soviet Russia's Export Plan for 1922-1923

The commission planning state economics, has drawn up the following provisional export plan for the fiscal year 1922/23:

First group. **Agricultural products:**

Corn 10 million puds, flax 2.5 million puds, hemp 1.2 million puds, oil-cake 5 million puds.

Second group. **Products of cattle and poultry raising:**

Undressed leather 10 million pieces, horse-hair 150,000 puds, bristles 100,000 puds, entrails 200,000 puds.

The value of the goods coming under these two groups is estimated at 89.1 million gold roubles.

With regard to the export of wool, the commission came to no final decision. The commission permits the export of certain grades of wool, after the requirements of our industry have been met. The quantity of wool proposed to be exported was valued at 2.25 million gold roubles.

Third group. **Products of hunting, fishing, and of agriculture.**

Skins 15 millions, sugar 1 million puds, spirit (40 per cent) 5000 buckets (1 bucket = 12½ litres), wine 14,700 buckets. The sugar intended for export goes to the East, chiefly to Persia.

Fourth group. **Products of forestry, mining, and fuel industry:**

Timber about 65 million standards, tar products 1.22 million puds. Mining and fuel products to the value of about 29.2 million gold roubles. The amount of ore to be exported has not yet been finally settled.

Naphtha export.

The total amount of naphtha products intended for export in the year 1922-23 has been fixed at 21 million puds, chiefly petroleum (10 million puds) and machine oil (5 million puds). The probable net profit (after deduction of all expenses: customs, etc.) is estimated at 17,160,000 gold roubles.

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW 48

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 25

13th March 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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To the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

Thousands of your brothers and sisters are languishing in the prisons and dungeons of Capitalism throughout the world. The world bourgeoisie has thrown them into its Bastilles, because they fought in the front ranks against exploitation. In every country in Europe and America, in Africa and Asia, the dungeons of the bourgeoisie are filled with the best of our comrades. Isolated from the active Class Struggle, and delivered over to their tormentors unarmed, our imprisoned brothers are also oppressed by the thought of the fate of their families. The suffering of our imprisoned comrades is frightful. Through its executioners the bourgeoisie vents its cruel revenge upon them. What an immense will power our incarcerated brothers and sisters must summon up to withstand the tortures of prison. They are fighting desperately and many of them succumb. A thousandfold Inquisition is their daily and hourly lot in the bourgeois dungeons. Torn from the active class war and

delivered over to their Inquisitors unarmed, our prisoners are tormented by still another thought, the fate of their families. *Workers of all Countries!*

These are the victims of the proletarian Class Struggle. It is for you and our cause that they have been thrown into prison, for you that they are being persecuted by the hangmen of the bourgeoisie, for you that their families are suffering.

We must help them! We must snatch them from the clutches of the bourgeoisie!

Arise in international protest and demonstrations of solidarity for our imprisoned and persecuted comrades on the 18th of March, the day of the Paris Commune!

This day must be made into a day of warning for the world bourgeoisie and a day of hope and encouragement for all our brothers who are languishing in the prisons.

Central Committee of The International Red Relief.

Marx' Materialist Conception of History

By N. Lenin.

The realization of the inadequacy and one-sidedness of the old materialism convinced Marx of the necessity of bringing social science into accord with the materialist foundation of society. If materialism lays down the general rule that *consciousness* is to be explained by *being*, then the application of materialism to the examination of society demands that *social consciousness* be explained by *social being*. "Technology", says, Marx (chap. I), "reveals the active attitude of Man towards Nature, the immediate productive process of his life, and at the same time, the social relations of his life and the mental conceptions arising therefrom". Marx gives a consistent formulation of the fundamentals of materialism in its application to human society and its history,—in the preface to his book, *Critique of Political Economy*, in the following words:

"In the life of social production, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will and which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these productive relations constitutes the economic structure

of society, the real basis, upon which a legal and political super-structure arises, and which corresponds to definite forms of social consciousness. The methods of production of man's material existence, determine the whole process of social, political, and mental life. It is not the consciousness of human beings which determines their existence; the reverse is the case; their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or, in juridical language, with the relations of property within which they have hitherto functioned. These relations are transformed from forms of development of the productive forces into fetters of production.

"Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense super-structure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of