

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Lessons of the Last Miners' Strike.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

The strike of the French miners which ended on February 21, raises the question of how far the struggles of the miners have any possibility of success when conducted on national lines. All great strike movements among the miners during the last few years have in the main failed. Either the strike collapsed as a result of betrayal on the part of the reformist leaders, or it has been defeated by the forces at the disposal of the capitalist state. The workers have only in a very few cases attained a partial success. And only then when the circumstances were particularly favorable. This latter was the case in the American miners' strike, and in the strike of the French miners. But all other fights have been lost, and were bound to be lost under the circumstance in which they took place.

Two currents are struggling against one another in the trade union movement: the one in favor of working unity with the bourgeoisie, and the other opposed to this—the revolutionary current. Nearly all the miners' unions are in the hands of leaders who support working unity. These leaders are of the opinion that the class interests of the proletariat should be subordinated to the general interests of the state, that is, to the needs of the capitalist state. Since the revolution, every strike undertaken by the German miners has been systematically wrecked by the trade union bureaucracy, and this trade union bureaucracy has invariably explained to the workers that state necessity demanded the abandonment of the strike. This was the case in Czecho-Slovakia, and in Poland. We can still clearly remember the utterance of J. H. Thomas, the chairman of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and leader of the English railwaymen's union: it was thanks to the command issued by him to break off the last miners' strike in England, that the fall of the English governing power, was prevented. The Frenchman Bartuel was one of the most zealous advocates of the dictates of the Spa agreement, which forces the German miners not only to toil for the German capitalist, but to permit himself to be robbed at the same time for the benefit of French imperialists. The revolutionary section of the workers however, is of the opinion that every endeavor must be directed to defend the interests of the workers as a class. The interests of the workers unlike the interests of the bourgeoisie, do not clash on any national frontier. The workers of all countries have one common interest, the bourgeoisies have opposing interests. When revolutionary workers stand for a ruthless struggle for the defence of workers' interests, they, at the same time, stand for the international action of the proletariat against capitalism and its attendant dangers.

The coal agreement made at Spa threw great numbers of English miners out of work, and rendered the French and Belgian miners incapable of defending their wages and working conditions with any prospect of success. The low wages of the German miners are to blame for the low wages and misery of the miners in all other countries. The reformist miners leaders know this very well. It can scarcely be assumed that they are too stupid to see it. But their relations with their national bourgeoisie are much closer than their relations with the international proletariat, and with the collective interests of the working class.

This is again plainly illustrated by the miners' strike in France. In the first place the French capitalists had created adverse conditions for obtaining coal supplies, in both areas, by the occupation of the Ruhr. Germany is cut off from the Ruhr coal. Transport to France is prevented by the counter-action of the German railwaymen, who have stopped work on the railroads of the occupied territory. For the first time for many years the French miners had the opportunity of utilizing the embarrassment of the French capitalists for the purpose of gaining better wages and working conditions. The revolutionary miners utilized the situation, but the reformist leaders demanded blackleg service from their followers. They could not permit a wage strike of the miners to hinder the imperialist adventure of the French capitalists. Thus Bartuel and his friends have deprived the French workers of the success of their wage struggle, and have sided with Poincaré.

The case was exactly the same in Czecho-Slovakia. The miners, long suffering from capitalist attacks, during the last few weeks, attempted to fight for better wages. But as Czecho-Slovakia has friendly relations with France, the reformist leaders of the Czecho-Slovakian miners thought fit to oppose the fight of the Czech miners. In England the miners' leaders also seized the opportunity of rendering their ruling class a service. The

struggle in the Ruhr area and the strike of the French miners gave the English colliery owners the chance of doing good business. Now they were able to sell coal to the Germans and French. This favorable state of their market was utilized by the English bourgeoisie, who doubled the price of coal. The English colliery owners triumphantly announced that, thanks to this state of affairs, the number of English unemployed had sunk by 125,000. The English reformist leaders share the joys of their bourgeoisie so fully, that Mr Hodges replied to the demand made by the revolutionary miners of various countries, for the organization of a joint action against Poincaré's imperialist policy, with the answer that the situation was not suitable for starting such a movement. And indeed, why should the chairman of the miners' international trouble about proletarian measures for international fighting, so long as the English bourgeoisie is doing good business, and few crumbs from its full table fall to its lackeys.

In England the rise in the price of coal is accompanied by a rise in food prices, and it will not be long before the English miners will have to fight to have their wages adjusted to the higher prices. If Poincaré is victorious in the Ruhr, enormous quantities of cheap German coal will speedily appear on the French market, and it will be impossible for the French miners to defend their working conditions against the capitalists. Should the Ruhr conflict end with the victory of Poincaré, the Czech miners will also be forced into a precarious position. Should the German bourgeoisie come to an understanding with the French in the Ruhr, it will not be long before the English miners will be again, out of work. The German bourgeoisie utilizes the Ruhr conflict to lengthen the working hours of the German miners. When once these worsened working conditions have been introduced, then it is a matter of indifference whether Poincaré or Cuno is the victor, for the bad working conditions imposed on the German miners will have a decisive influence on the working conditions of the miners in other parts of the world. Instead of the miners of Europe mutually supporting each other by joint action for the defence of their class interests, and thus striking a severe blow at their class enemy, they have, under their reformist leaders, done precisely the contrary. The most favorable moment for joint action is again missed. The hand outstretched by the revolutionary worker for the formation of a united front is scornfully rejected. Hodges refuses any alliance, that is, with the working class, but not with the English bourgeoisie. Bartuel, who organized the blackleg action of the reformists in France, has not only thereby helped French mining capital out of a critical situation, he has at the same time weakened the labor organizations, and rendered hundreds and thousands of workers incapable of fighting.

But the behaviour of the German reformists during this period has been the most idiotic of all. They are desirous that the English and French labor leaders, especially the miners' leaders, help them to ward off the attack of French imperialism. At the same time they are in such a state of senseless rage against workers holding communist views, that they attack the fighting communists in the most despicable manner and do not desire the victory of the revolutionary miners of France, but the victory of the reformist Bartuel, the ally of Poincaré. Is it to be wondered, under such circumstances, that the workers are reduced to impotency and the Sinnes of every country triumph?

The French miners' strike has once more demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of reformism. The cowardly and bourgeois-coalition attitude of the reformist leaders can serve nobody but the capitalists, nobody but the national bourgeoisie of each country. The breakdown of economics, and of the labor movement, is bound to become continually worse under such circumstances, unless the revolutionary workers succeed in completely overthrowing the whole wretched reformist policy. The mining strike in France has opened the eyes of many thousands of pit slaves. They have recognized the dangers of reformism, and are turning to the revolutionary trade union organizations of the C.G.T.U. The example set by the French combatants has had a stimulating effect upon the Belgian miners. The resistance of the Belgian coal miners against their employers is growing; these miners are no longer listening to the hoarse shouting of the Belgian reformists, who maintain that the unrest among the Belgian miners is solely the result of communist agitation. The revolutionary miners must utilize the unrest obtaining among the miners of every country. They must show their fellow-miners that only by joint action can they hope for success, that they must no longer permit themselves to be exploited by their reformist leaders for the benefit of their national bourgeoisie, but they must all stand together in one common front for the ruthless defence of their class interests. Fresh conflicts are arising all round; it must be our work to prepare ourselves thoroughly for the fight, that it may end in a victory over the capitalists and reformists.

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The E. C. of the Communist International to the C. P. of Russia, on its 25th Anniversary

Comrades,

We greet and congratulate you, with revolutionary jubilation, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of your party. After the founding of the Second International, the labor movement of Germany took the lead in the international labor movement, but in the years 1904—05 the Russian working class stepped forward for the first time as a revolutionary force in the labor movement of the world. At that time you Bolsheviks were already heading the great mass movements, the workers' councils arising out of elementary forces, and the revolutionary general strike. For years you had been carrying on an intensified activity for the formation of a really revolutionary labor party. By combatting the Mensheviks in the then Russian social democratic party, and in their newspaper, the *Spark*, you saved the main body of the Party from sinking into the morass of opportunism and reformism to which the parties and trade unions of the Second International fell victims. From the very beginning you set the Party its true task of being a vanguard of the proletarian revolutionary movement, and at that time you were already its real vanguard. In the other countries ten or more years had to pass before the real rôle of the Party was clearly grasped.

When the imperialist war broke out, and the leading parties of the Second International in the different countries betrayed the cause of the working class, your party stood the test of fidelity. The Bolsheviks held aloft the flag of proletarian revolution in the Duma and in the army. Lenin's slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war pierced through all the fronts like a flash of lightning. This was the creative word which introduced a new era of international proletarian class war. It kindled an inextinguishable fire in the breasts of the bravest and most devoted champions of proletarian revolution in every country.

After criminal Czarism had been swept away by an elemental outbreak of popular hate, and was replaced by the provisional government of the bourgeoisie, served by the Mensheviks, your party at once opposed to this government the organized front of the revolutionary proletariat. At first this front was weak, but it speedily became firm. A fulcrum was created for it by the workers' and soldiers' councils, the for-

mation of which was zealously aided by your Party, and in which you took energetic part against the parties of capitalist democracy. By adopting a right attitude towards capitalist democracy, your Party saved the Russian revolution at this juncture.

Under your leadership the Russian revolution of the year 1917 became a great revolution. At precisely the right moment, just as the majority of the workers and soldiers had gone over to your side, you resolutely raised the banner of rebellion, and seized power. Courageously you announced your watchword of socialist revolution. You proclaimed the expropriation of the factories, the landed estates, and all other property used for exploitive purposes. The work of demolition which the bourgeois revolution should have carried out, but failed to do, was completed by you. You clearly grasped that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a necessary premise for carrying through the social revolution. You perceived that the concrete fundamental form of this dictatorship, its state apparatus, should be a Soviet organization of the working class, functioning under the immediate leadership of the Communist Party. And thus you began to form this organization. The task was gigantic, the conscious forces at your disposal but few. Ruin threatened the proletarian dictatorship from all sides. But you accomplished the task of concentrating the forces you had on the most urgent problem of the time. Your Party was the backbone of the Soviet power, you remained steadfast through all the tests and trials of war, of famine, of danger of dissolution.

The model combination of striking power and adaptability in your party is due, in the first place, to the correct development of democratic centralism in your Party organization, and in the second place to the constant intensity of your Party activity. The constant activity of Party members forms the foundation for firm organic Party discipline, and the activity of the Party leaders again forms the basis of their great authority. Your Party leadership has always been rendered particularly strong by its incorruptible self-criticism, by its merciless attitude towards all revolutionary phrases. A keen instinct for the practical has always aided your leaders immediately to go to the heart of every politically important question. And above all, your Party has been able to become what it now is, because it has combined proletarian

POLITICS

Soviet Russia and the German Proletariat.

By Karl Radck.

With money collected by the Russian workers, the All-Russian Trade Union Council has bought half a million puds of bread, and has sent this to the workers of the Ruhr basin.

The perusal of this piece of news awakens sad recollections.

It was in October 1918 that Lenin, on the occasion of the Soviet congress, suddenly rose to his feet and appealed to the congress to exert every possible endeavor to collect a special Reserve Bread Fund for the support of the coming German revolution. Deeply moved, the congress passed Lenin's motion. Every participant in the congress realized that the coming German revolution would release Soviet Russia from the noose of the Brest-Litovsk peace, but would at the same time confront the Russian proletariat with fresh and gigantic tasks. All realized that international capital would try to starve out the German revolution, and that Soviet Russia would have to feed the German workers. But the Russian workers shouldered this difficult task joyfully, for they knew that the alliance with the great German proletariat would give us the possibility of accelerating the economic rehabilitation of Russia, that it would strengthen the power of international revolution a thousandfold.

But it was not only the Congress that enthusiastically accepted Lenin's proposal. It was taken up by the broadest strata of the proletariat. I recollect, as clearly as if it were today, a meeting held in a Moscow factory after we had received the news of the Austrian revolution. It was evident that this would be followed by the German revolution. I spoke of the wide prospects thus opened before us, and of the great burdens which would be imposed on us at the same time. At that time the life led by the workers of Moscow was very hard, and yet, when I declared that the Russian proletariat would share its last piece of bread with the German workers, the whole meeting rose to its feet and applauded enthusiastically. An old working woman stood up, her face and hands bearing the unmistakable stamp of years of heroic toil and unheard of suffering. She gazed at me in an almost religious ecstasy. It could be read in her face that she had probably gone hungry to bed more than once, or even hundreds of times she had perhaps seen her children starving; and yet, without complaint, she took an inward oath to starve further, and to bring an offering for the joint victory of the Russian and German proletariats.

The night came when our radio station caught up the clumsy radio of some German warship, beginning with the following words: "To-day we buried the first victims of the German revolution. May they be the last." The storm of the German revolution raged. The Kaiser fled. The republic was proclaimed, and workers' and soldiers' councils were founded all over Germany. The Berlin Council appointed a government of Peoples' Commissars, headed by Scheidemann, Ebert, Haase, and Dittmann. For four days we exerted ourselves to the utmost, by cable and radio, to open communication with the Berlin Soviet government. Apart from the tasks attendant on the continuance of the struggle, it was imperatively necessary for us to negotiate with them regarding the most immediate tasks, and above all on the actions of the imperial officers in Minsk and Riga, their blood baths and their arming of the bourgeoisie. It was clear that Scheidemann and Haase, however cowardly they might be as politicians, must certainly grasp the fact that if a wall of armed bourgeoisie were erected between Germany and Soviet Russia, this would not only mean the arming of our enemies, but of theirs also, for the bourgeoisie of the one-time Russian border districts would not throw in their lot with a vanquished Germany, but with the victorious Entente. But it was impossible to establish any connection with Berlin. During this time the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decided to despatch the first consignment of bread to Germany, in order by this symbol to show the workers of Germany that the Russian workers were stretching out their hands to join them in a common struggle. On November 15, or 16, we succeeded in getting a message through to Berlin. At one end of the apparatus there stood the leader of the German Independent Socialist Party, who only a year before had helped us, at the Stockholm conference, to work out a plan against the world war; and at the other end there were comrade Tchitcherin and I. When I informed Haase of the bread consignment, the apparatus gave the cool reply: The German government is very grateful to the All-Russian Central

class war with Marxism. In the actual practice of the great proletarian revolution, your Party has raised the leadership of the class war from the level of a mere blind attack, or of a mere undefined striving, to that of a real strategy. It has consciously outlined the most important forms of this strategy, the methods of offense and defense, of temporary retreat, of united, open and underground combats, on several simultaneous fronts against inner and outer enemies, against open and secret enemies by means of force and diplomacy, with the aid of organization, of the press, and of state power. It has even evolved methods of combatting unconscious enemies, whether within its own ranks or outside of them; but at the same time it has magnificently evolved the methods by which friends and allies are made and gathered together for the proletarian revolution. In one word: *It has evolved the art of victory.*

Russian comrades! Your Party is also the founder of the Communist International and is the leading Party in it. The influence of your Party on the international revolutionary labor movement is great and valuable, and has proved especially so during the last four or five years. In the whole of Europe there is not a single country in which the influence of your Party has not furthered, either directly or indirectly, the birth and development of the communist movement and parties; and even in other far distant parts of the world your influence has secured a firm footing. The Communist International has to thank the Russian comrades for its best slogans, for the best instructions and advice. The experience and insight of the Russian comrades have originated the best resolutions passed by the Comintern, and ensured their victory everywhere. The leadership of the Russian comrades in the Communist International is our pride. Under Czarism, European reaction repeated the same mistake which it committed after 1848, when the counter-revolutionary governments of Germany and France hunted the most efficient leaders of the proletarian revolutionary movement from one country to another, and drove them into an exile giving them the best possibility of appropriating the wide and many-sided insight and experience so necessary to them later as leaders of the international movement. Without this hard and many sided school of political exile, even the Russian Party would not have been able to give our International the competent leaders which it has given it. The Communist International is profoundly conscious of the value of the leadership performed by the Russian members of its Executive during the whole period of its existence, and of the competent advice given by the central committee of the Russian Communist Party, of the excellence of the work done by the delegation and by many other members of the Russian Party in the work of the Comintern.

Comrades! As a special sign of gratitude for the imperishable and valuable work done by your Party, and by the chairman of your central committee, comrade Lenin, for the international labor movement, the Executive, as undersigned below, has decided to appoint comrade Lenin as honorable president, and to propose to the coming world congress that it permanently ratify this resolution. The executive has at the same time resolved to publish, in the course of this year, in the leading European languages, a complete work efficiently setting forth the activity and experiences of the Russian Communist Party, and at the same time to begin publishing a series of workers' reading books, containing imperishable and valuable extracts from the works of Russian Marxists.

Dear Russian comrades, you have been pathfinders on an hitherto unknown road. And what a long stretch of road you have covered in this quarter of a century! The spark you struck has kindled a world conflagration. Your little party has become the vanguard of the proletarian world revolution. Under conditions of the utmost difficulty, under circumstances in which one single great error on your part might have proved fatal for both the Russian and international movements, you carried forward the flag of proletarian revolution with all honor. Your Party is the most important instrument of historical progress, not only in Russia, but all the world over. Hand in hand with you, the revolutionary workers of all countries will fight to the end. Under your leadership the Communist International will conquer the world.

Long live our great leader, the Communist Party of Russia!
Long live our victorious International.

Hærnle (Germany), Neurath (Czecho-Slovakia), Duret (France), Gramsci (Italy), Gennari (Italy), Kolarov (Bulgaria), Mac Manus (England), Kostcheva (Poland), Stirner (South America), Kausinen (Finland), Schuler (Youth International).

Executive Committee for the fraternal solidarity, but has received the assurance from Wilson that America will supply Germany adequately with food. He therefore begs that the bread be used for feeding the starving in Russia. I gazed upon the black letters of the rolling ribbon, but what I saw was the face of the working woman who had stretched out her hand towards the German proletariat, but who now met no outstretched hand in reply.

The whole press of the Independents and followers of Scheidemann declared an alliance with Soviet Russia to be an empty delusion. The Soviet republic would go to pieces. And even if it did not, such an alliance, after four years of war, would only signify further famines, and fresh wars. Germany must submit to Entente capital, and Wilson will give her peace and bread. And she submitted. Despite the resolutions passed by the Berlin workers' and soldiers' councils, the delegation sent by us to the congress of the German workers' Soviets was arrested near Vilna, with the connivance of the government led by Ebert and Haase.

And when German officers belonging to Falkenheim's military staff surrounded our carriage, and forced us to turn back at the mouths of machine guns, they incited the soldiers against us, and shouted: "The Bolsheviki are going to Berlin to plunge us into a fresh war." When I then proceeded illegally to Berlin, in order to take part in the conference founding the German Communist Party, I saw posters all over the city: "The Bolsheviki want a fresh war!"

Relying on the backwardness of the masses, the social democracy prepared to capitulate before world capital. When defending this policy, Haase referred to the pause-for-breath policy pursued by the Bolsheviki at Brest-Litovsk. But here he overlooked one small point. At the first German trade union congress, the Scheidemann-Haase government succeeded in having a resolution passed on the convocation of a constitutional assembly, that is, on the surrender of power to the bourgeoisie. Soviet Russia accepted the sacrifice of Brest-Litovsk in order to gain time to organize the working masses of Russia, and to organize Russia's defence. When we signed the Brest peace, the peoples' commissar for foreign affairs, Trotzky, gave over the diplomatic leadership to comrade Tchitcherin, and turned to the great task of organizing the Red Army. But after the German social democracy had capitulated before Entente capital, it abandoned power to the German bourgeoisie in the hope that the allies would dictate better conditions of peace if Germany were ruled by the bourgeoisie. And to ensure this bourgeoisie, the strong man of German social democracy, Noske, was appointed minister of war. He placed himself at the head of the German white guard officers, organized a white army, and subjugated and disarmed the German proletariat within a year.

The German proletariat can now sum up the results. We in Russia starve as the German proletariat starves. We had to fight for three years longer, the working masses of Russia have borne unending sufferings. It is possible that even to-day their standard of living is no better than that of the German workers. But only go into a factory in Germany, and then into one in Moscow, and compare the atmospheres. In Berlin the main trend of feeling prevailing is that of the complete hopelessness of the situation, but here with us every worker is confident that the worst is over, that we are beginning to make strides forward. The gentlemen of the social democratic party are triumphing over the so-called retreat of our new economic policy, but God grant that when five years have passed they may have as many means of production in their hands, so many mediums towards the development of a new life, as we have under our new economic policy. It is not long since the bourgeois statistician, Kuczinsky, wrote: Never before has capitalism ruled so insolently in Germany, never has it wasted the capital of the nation as it is doing now, never before has it created such a hopeless situation. We have fought; after four years of imperial war we took upon ourselves the burden of three years of civil war; we fought, clad in rags; we lacked not only anaesthetics for operations on wounded soldiers, we had not even enough beds in the war hospitals. But Russia is not being converted into a colony. Our forces will grow from year to year. Germany is not fighting in the Ruhr for her independence, but merely for the sake of becoming an Anglo-American instead of a French colony.

We hear the lamentations of the suffering German proletariat. And we, who passed through this same purgatory of starvation yesterday, are to-day gathering together our forces to come to the aid of the German proletariat wherever we can. The Russian proletariat passes on his morsel of bread to help his German brother. But he cannot save him. The German proletariat can only be saved by the German proletariat itself; if it has faith in its own powers, if it will arise and take upon

itself the heavy burden of responsibility for its own fate and the fate of its nation, now groaning under the additional burden of occupation by foreign military forces; if it will set itself the task of emancipating itself and its country from the yoke of the foreign and German capitalists, who are not only no longer capable of upholding any idea of human progress or even of independence for their own country, but are only capable of seeking for a yoke which cuts less deeply into the living flesh than the French one.

Had the German proletariat made common cause with the Russian in 1918, it would have suffered much, but Europe would have looked very different to-day. The German proletariat has suffered for the sake of capital, for the reconstruction of bourgeois economics, and its severest sufferings are yet to come if it does not shake off the fetters of the bourgeoisie. When the German proletariat starves, it cannot even console itself with the thought that the bourgeoisie will treat it as well as it would a beast of burden. The prospect in store—the restoration of colonial capitalism—will be realized across the bodies of the proletariat. But on the day when it resolves to unite with the Russian proletariat, on that day a fresh page in history will be turned. The German proletariat will then play that great rôle which fell from its trembling hands in 1919.

We cannot tell when this day will come, but come it will.

"The morale of the troops is excellent!"

By Vaillant-Couturier.

The letter appearing below took about four weeks to reach us from field post section 122; it gives further instructive information regarding the actual state of mind obtaining among the Ruhr occupation troops.

A copy of this letter was also sent to M. Oberle, who earns his living by dishing out his "wit" in the *Petit Parisien*, and who as one-time participator in the war, has probably been of the opinion that in the Ruhr area everything is in the very best order; in the most beautiful and friendly army in the world.

The joys of dwelling in the Ruhr area.

As the *Petit Parisien* has not published the document sent to it, we do so here:

January 29th, 1923.

168. L.-R. 9. Comp.
Field post section 122

M. Oberle.

Dear Sir,

After having read the *Petit Parisien* (we can obtain no other newspapers here) of January 27, I have the honor of replying to you regarding the sentiments which you assume in the soldiers occupying the Ruhr area.

You assert that:

1. The occupation of the Ruhr involves nothing disagreeable.
 - a) We sleep on straw.
 - b) We are plagued by innumerable lice.
 - c) We cannot wash ourselves, or only very insufficiently.
 - d) We change our field post section very frequently, and are thus often 6,8 and 10 days without any news from our relations, who may very easily be ill in the meantime.
 - e) No leave is granted.
 - f) There is a muster three times a day.
 - g) The troops are kept in constant readiness for alarms.
 - h) We have to stand sentry for 4 to 6 hours a day, exposed to the full severity of the weather.
 - i) On march days we have to cover 25 to 30 kilometres daily with scarcely any food whatever. The food is uneatable, because it is cooked in old camp kettles which have not been in use for a long time, and are dirty and rusty inside.
 - k) Provisioning is extremely bad, in consequence of the railway strike occasioned by our occupation.
- l) As an illustration I append the menu of our yesterday's dinner:

$\frac{1}{10}$ of a loaf of black military bread,

$\frac{1}{2}$ of a tin of corn beef.

$\frac{1}{2}$ l. wine (but such wine!).

m) We are in constant danger of having a bullet through us from the German nationalists, who are engaged in justified self-defence.

n) We may be placed in the position of having to fire upon a crowd of innocent, unfortunate and unarmed workers, with a threat of 3 to 10 years imprisonment if we refuse.

o) Most of the boys and girls are terrified at the sight of us: they run away as soon as they see us. Even the most courageous girls make a wide detour to avoid us. For the Ger-

man bourgeois press—your accomplice—denounces us to them as tyrants.

p) We get newspapers 2 to 3 times a week.

2. "Seeing the country and the people". When we are marching along a road in close ranks, with knapsacks on our backs, and when the sole spectacle offered us is that of an officer pulling our comrades brutally to their feet again when they fall from exhaustion, there is nothing attractive whatever about this, at most it is highly instructive.

3. "Learning the German language" is made extremely difficult for us, as you must admit, since we are held in a constant state of readiness for alarms, and are incited to the utmost distrust of the inhabitants.

4. You say that we should "force the Boche to obedience?" I do not understand you. Ah, perhaps you are speaking of the Germans? In this case kindly note that he has not yet given way on one single point.

5. The pay of the occupation soldier is 75 centimes a day. At the present rate of exchange 27,900 marks monthly. But a two pound white loaf costs 1,050 marks, assuming one is to be had at all, for that is not such an easy matter.

Class fraternity.

This letter contains so much bitterness, despair, and outraged human feeling, that it must stir all who read it to their profoundest depths. We may add that the writer, who sent us a copy through his father is not a member of the Communist Party. It is a genuine "field post letter", written without any feeling of hate against the "enemy", but calculated to make the ears of the guilty in both countries tingle considerably. We receive hundreds of such letters. Parents lay them daily on our editor's desk, and add their indignation to that of their sons, whether officers or privates. And if these were the circumstances a month ago, the description is more applicable today. The position of the troops in the Ruhr district becomes daily more untenable and dangerous.

This is one, and not the least trifling aspect of the collapse evidenced by Mr. Bonar Law.

We do not rely on the government to bring about any sort of improvement in the situation for which it is wholly responsible.

We rely simply and solely on our German communist comrades. It is only these comrades, whom the imbecile nationalist press of France fancies it can draw into its sphere of influence, who can improve the position of their comrades in uniform, the French soldiers. They must give our soldiers the moral stimulus of which they are so greatly in need. They must show them that they are at home wherever their class comrades are. They must find ways and means of ameliorating the life forced upon our brothers in uniform by the German and French nationalists. The French soldiers in the Ruhr area and the German workers have one common enemy: the magnates of heavy industry and the *Comité des Forges* (Iron Works' Committee), represented on one side by the Cuno government and on the other by their factotum, Poincaré.

The Ruhr Proletariat holds its Council of War

By Karl Becker (Berlin).

On March 11, a congress was held in Essen (that metropolis of the industrial area, for the dominion of which French heavy industry is now wrestling with German capital), by the Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards. It was no small gathering that assembled here. While the first Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards' congress comprised about 240 delegates, at this second congress there were present 669 delegates, representing every description of party and trade union tendency. And it was no mere demonstration congress, but a congress of serious discussion as to the measures to be taken in the struggle against French imperialism and German capitalism. Serious and practical resolutions were passed on this point. The congress was in fact a *Council of War* of the Rhenish-Westphalian proletariat.

In the present turmoil of German nationalist agitation, and of French imperialist strivings to win over the workers, this congress is an event of the greatest significance. Let us consider what it means: in this area, where the conditions for class war are at present most unfavorable, the working class has succeeded in making its second shop stewards' congress almost three times as extensive as the first one held before the Ruhr occupation, and this—despite the sabotage of the Social Democratic Party and the trade union leaders. In Germany, the shop stewards' movement is beginning to be a really powerful factor against the sabotage of the class war by the German General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) and the German Social Democratic Party, and the day is not distant when it will be able

to lead the masses into battle against the influence of reformist sabotage. To the international proletariat, whom the official policy of the A.D.G.B. and of the German Social Democratic Party can only throw into despair, the German shop steward movement is a sign that, despite everything, the masses of the German proletariat are again gathering on the basis of revolutionary class war.

The international significance of the Rhenish-Westphalian congress was fittingly expressed in the opening speech of welcome by a representative of the revolutionary trade unions and of the Communist Party of France. Despite the greatest danger, despite the mad agitation carried on in the Ruhr area by French militarism against French communists, the revolutionary organizations of France did not permit themselves to be intimidated, but sent a representative to Essen. When the French comrade, securely guarded by a proletarian defence corps mounted the speakers' platform, the enthusiasm was tremendous, the audience rising to its feet and singing the International. The mere fact of the presence of a French colleague made a great impression on the representatives from the workshops, for this was indeed a living testimony of international solidarity in the proletarian class struggle.

The resolutions of the congress are characterized by a confident assurance of victory, marked at the same time by a sober appreciation of the situation. The Shop Stewards Congress could not resolve upon the proclamation of the general strike. After detailed discussion, there was perfect agreement on this point. In spite of the great success which is just now being gained for the revolutionary labor movement in Germany, the influence of the reformist party and trade union leaders is still so great that the general strike could be sabotaged. But the Congress felt itself powerful enough to decide on a number of measures on the immediate mobilization of the masses for extensive action. The most important resolutions passed are as follows: first, the immediate formation of proletarian self-defence organizations in all workshops in the Rhine country and Westphalia, and secondly, the immediate formation of committees of action in all localities, large and small, so that the masses may first be organized for the struggle against usury and capitalist starvation politics. The National Committee of the Shop Stewards, elected by the Congress, was instructed to begin immediate energetic agitation for a general strike against German capitalism and French imperialism. It was decided to reply with strikes to any French attacks on the working class, or to interference in production.

The proceedings of the Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards' Congress prove that gigantic strides are being made towards rallying the proletariat on the common ground of revolutionary class war.

That this Congress has proved of such importance also greatly enhances the significance of the Frankfurt international Conference, convened by the same *Committee of 23* which leads the shop steward movement in Rhenish-Westphalia. May the international conference be the preliminary to the mobilization of the proletariat for the revolutionary class struggle the world over.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

What the revolution cost us

By Paul Frölich.

"It was not by its immediate tragi-comic conquests that revolutionary progress made its advance, but the reverse: by the creation of a determined and mighty counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent, in combatting whom, the insurrector party matured into a really revolutionary party."

Marx wrote this in his "Class struggles", with reference to the February revolution in France. It can also be applied as the final verdict on the epoch of German revolution which we have passed through since November 1918. Our conquests were but small, and they have melted like snow in summer. The German proletariat has fought battles worthy of comparison with those of Paris in 1848 and 1871, and has forced the bourgeoisie to mobilize all its powers, to lay bare all its baseness, treachery, revengefulness, and cruelty, in order to retain its mastery. And because the bourgeoisie has been forced to gather the whole of its class forces against the proletariat, the question of power is at present the main subject of debate in every single combat in Germany. It is for this reason that both sides hesitate to strike the blow which must be decisive. But the very fact that our bourgeoisie to-day is obliged to pursue a catastrophic policy, which robs it of all inner homogeneity and consciousness of power, imparts to us the confidence that we in Germany are now coming to the conflicts in which we shall overcome the powers opposed

to us, in which the forces and consciousness of power of the proletariat grow with its victorious progress.

It is only when, like Marx, we conceive the revolutionary struggle as one of life and death between the two classes, as a struggle in which the dying class is putting forth its last forces, that we can grasp the revolutionary advances made in Germany during the last five years.

And what have we paid for this historical progress? The German proletariat has offered unheard of human sacrifices on the altar of revolution, has shed its blood unsparingly. The first to lead the procession of victims was the brave sailor Reichpietsch, with his comrades, who began the revolutionizing of the fleet in 1917, and were shot in accordance with martial law. These were followed by those who fell in the November risings. The enemy capitulated without fighting, and there were but few victims more. It was as if the working class was given a warning, by means of these losses and sacrifices, not to abandon themselves to too great illusions as to what had really been accomplished, and what the future would bring. For one month later, on December 6, 1918, counter-revolution raised its head under the leadership of Ebert, Scheidemann, Haase, etc. The republic showed its bourgeois teeth, cast the dead bodies of the proletariat into the streets. And now blow followed blow. The bloody Christmas brought one more victory for the Red sailors. This victory was submerged in the horrors of the days of January, when the German proletariat lost hundreds of its best, and among them: Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The provocations leading to the January struggles had been a *va banque* game for Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, and their like. They utilized their victory for the systematic creation of a counter-revolutionary power. The volunteer corps and the self-defence unions were formed, who tore the body of the proletariat to pieces. The Spartacists were hunted down like wild animals. Prices were set upon their heads. The events of March 1919 carried devastation into the proletariat, and among the remaining Red soldiers in Berlin. These were the days of Noske's murderous commands—the command costing the lives of the 32 sailors, and uncounted others. Leo Yogisches, the organizer of the revolution, was murdered. "Law and order" raged in Brunswick and Bremen, in Central Germany and in the Ruhr, in Baden and on the Baltic. In Bavaria, on the first of May, the day of fraternization among the peoples, the red flags were saturated with workers' blood at the orders of the social democrats. Murder raged far into the summer.

The "republic with the freest democracy in the world" had no other guarantee for its constitution than martial law. Machine guns were brought into use wherever there was a strike. Noske was the trump card played by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Noske, the man with the low and brutal forehead, the clumsy fists. A series of separate acts of murder followed the great campaign against the working class, and these again formed the preliminary to the bloody inauguration of the shop stewards' law in January 1920.

During this period fifteen thousand proletarians were left dead on the field. Noske himself boasted of this success of his bloody work. Then came the mass carnage of the Kapp putsch, in which the soldiery, the blood-thirsty Baltic forces, and the monarchist strudents, were let loose upon the workers who had just saved the republic. In the Ruhr area, Pomerania, Thuringia, Halle, and Saxony, the soil was soaked with the blood of the workers. A period now followed in which the economic struggles of the workers were suppressed by force, a period culminating in the massacre of March 1921 in Central Germany, provoked with cunning calculation by the social democrat Severing. "The first day must be bloody!" This was the command issued by him to the leaders of the White Guards, and this command they executed like faithful vassals.

Who can count the victims who fell in all these battles? The German proletariat has left an army of revolutionary champions on the battle ground. Almost every town has its sacred graves, adorned with red ribbons.

The wounds were followed by fetters, the White Terror by white justice. Courts martial, courts of military law, peoples' courts, special courts—they rained down their verdicts like machine guns their bullets. Sentence of death against the heroic Levine and many of his comrades. Condemnations to penal servitude for many thousands. The cruelties practised in the prisons, systematically sapping the vitality of the revolutionists, have been beyond description. Who counts the years which have been spent, and which are still being spent, by the proletarians behind the prison walls? Who appreciates the sufferings here borne in silence? Who estimates the numbers of broken lives, the wasted energies? And who thinks of the starving hundreds and thousands of women and children whom bullet or prison has

robbed of husband and father—of the starvation which even the grateful gifts of the workers have not been able to banish?

The voice of the victims of the revolution cries out from the graves and the prisons: Proletarian, how are you rewarding our courage? Will you help our loved ones, and thereby show us that you have not forgotten us and our great cause, that you are ready to help yourself?

E. C. C. I.

To the Frankfurt International Conference

Workers, Comrades!

When the Executive of the Communist International received the invitation to the International Conference at Frankfurt, sent out by the Rhenish Shop Stewards' Council to all labor organizations, it did not hesitate a moment in accepting this invitation. The Communist International places its whole influence at the disposal of that section of the German proletariat which is conscious of its international tasks. A special delegation of the Communist International will communicate our views regarding all the burning questions connected with the Ruhr occupation, to your conference.

The Executive, however, regards it as particularly necessary to declare once again before the whole organized working class, that the Second and Amsterdam Internationals have again failed in and have openly neglected their elementary duty. All the resolutions which were recently passed by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals during their peace conference at the Hague have become mere scraps of paper. One of the most prominent leaders of the Amsterdam International, *Edo Fimmen*, openly declared, that no one thought of carrying out these decisions. Edo Fimmen attempted to cast the responsibility for this upon the proletariat by declaring that the international working class was divided and helpless.

This is the same method that was employed by the social chauvinists at the beginning of the war in 1914. Then, as now, it was also attempted to throw the responsibility for the vacillating and treacherous conduct of the leaders upon the working masses. *Yes, the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are indeed helpless, precisely because they will not fulfil their duty. The working class is divided and helpless, because the Amsterdam International has split it and thereby rendered it helpless.* If the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals were prepared to form the United Front with the Communists, the working class would be in a far more powerful position. *Once again we propose to the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals that they form the United Front with the Communists.* We are ready to negotiate with the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, although the recent events have but served to confirm our estimate of them. *The chief enemy at the present moment is French Imperialism.* The German working class can successfully combat this imperialism, only when it overcomes its own, the German bourgeoisie, sets up a Revolutionary Workers' Government and thereby binds itself most intimately with the international working class, and in the first place with Soviet Russia and the French proletariat.

The Communist International is prepared to do everything in order to create a real United Front with the workers belonging to the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. Should, however, the leaders of the social democratic organizations once more succeed in preventing the united front, then the Communist International will proceed at the head of the fighting portion of the German and French working classes.

Only the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions have done their duty hitherto. Only the German and French Communist Parties have, under the leadership of the Communist International, mapped out their common line of advance and begun the united fight. It is only the Communists who have fulfilled their international duty in the fight against French imperialism and have, in the interests of the international proletariat, been thrown into the prisons of M. Poincaré.

The fact alone, that the two great communist parties, the German and the French, have acted jointly at such a critical moment, is a great political event for the working class of the whole world.

International conferences are, for us communists, no parades, no mere demonstrations. Our most pressing need is, a real serious co-ordination of the every day struggles of the various sections of the international working class. The political life of to-day is internationalized to an unprecedented extent. At a moment when even the bourgeois reaction finds it necessary to proceed on an international scale, how much more urgent is it for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to do so! The workers must learn not only to pass joint resolutions, but to act in common, to co-ordinate their methods of fighting, and to prepare for the general struggle.

The Frankfurt Conference will constitute an important event on the road of preparation for the inevitably victorious proletarian revolution. The class-conscious workers of the various countries must work doggedly, ruthlessly and with inexhaustible energy to bring about a real co-ordination of their struggles.

The Executive of the Communist International send its warmest fraternal greetings to the sorely tried working class of the Ruhr district, to the fighting section of the French proletariat, as well as to the proletarian vanguard of the whole world.

We call to you:

Down with French Imperialism!
Down with the German bourgeoisie!
Long live the Revolutionary Workers' Government in Germany and France.

Moscow, 16th of March 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the IWW. in Chicago

The Comintern congratulates the members of your organization upon their bravery in the struggle against capitalism, and against the persecutions by the government on the Pacific coast.

The persecutions in Portland and Sacramento, and the general arrests in St. Pedro and California, are an honor to the militant members of the IWW.

We welcome the appeal issued by the IWW, calling upon all workers to join in forming a united front.

The Comintern has frequently appealed to all the workers of all countries to join forces in a common fight against capitalism.

The united front of all class organizations of the American working class, against every description of exploitation and persecution, must be formed. It is with the greatest satisfaction that we observe the great efforts being made by the Workers' Party for the attainment of this aim.

Fraternal greetings to all the revolutionary workers languishing in American prisons.

Long live the unity and class solidarity of the American working class.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the Chinese Railway Workers

Comrades. Chinese railway workers!

The E.C. of the Communist III. International has received the news of your heroic struggle against the military servants of English, Japanese, and American capital, and sends you greetings, fully convinced that from now onwards you will never again let the red flag of the workers fall from your hands.

Railway comrades! By your struggle and your sacrifices during the last strike you have become a part of that section of the world proletariat which is fighting against the exploiters all over the world.

It is true that you are in the minority, and that you are waging an unequal fight against the imperialists and their Chinese agents, the Dudsunes. But ever increasing masses of the Chinese workers will join you. The slogans of your last strike—the right to hold meetings, the right of combination—and your determined defense of these slogans, are ample proof that you

have actually entered the ranks of the organized international proletariat.

You have commenced this struggle in the right way. It is only by winning the right to organize your forces that you can continue the fight for the emancipation of the Chinese proletariat, and for the emancipation of the Chinese people from the foreign Imperialists and their servants, the Chinese feudal lords.

The young Communist Party of China supports you in your efforts. This Party is now being cruelly persecuted by those same militarists who shot down your comrades in Kankoi and near Peking. This has brought you into close relationship with the Chinese Communist Party, and the experiences gained in your struggle will teach you that your way is the way of this Party, which not only defends the rights of the railwaymen, but of the whole working class. When you co-operate with the Communist Party of China, you close the fighting ranks of the Communist International, the leader in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat all over the world.

Long live the Chinese proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, March 3, 1923.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Congress of the Egyptian CP.

Cairo. February.

The ex-socialist party, which had already applied for admittance to the Communist International, unanimously accepted the 21 conditions at its recently held congress, and definitely joined the CI. By this step, the Egyptian proletariat has constituted its revolutionary class party and the Egyptian people is confronted with some of the most important tasks of its history, for it has not only to fight for its national independence, but at the same time for its emancipation from the yoke of European and native imperialism. The Egyptian government took advantage of the martial law proclaimed in our country, and hand in hand with the English military authorities declared our party to be outlawed; it attempted to prevent the constitution of our party as a Communist Party, and now prevents our legal existence and the publication of our own legal newspaper.

All in vain! The government had even prohibited the congress. But the Egyptian comrades held it despite the prohibitions of the government and the threats of the Anglo-Egyptian police.

The congress was held secretly out in the country, in Upper Egypt, in the open air, beneath the free sun and sky, while the "Fellahs" were toiling all around in the fields. The congress thus received so to speak, a symbolic consecration. In the brightest sunshine the group of men who had gathered together inaugurated the party, the party whose task it is to restore freedom to the millions of Egyptian peasants oppressed by feudal serfdom.

Representatives of various sections were present. Several Europeans, Greeks, Italians, and Russians, mingled with the natives.

After comrades N.'s opening speech, the party secretary read and explained the 21 points.

Comrades Ariel, representatives of the Communist International, then rose to speak.

The representative of the Comintern.

Comrade Ariel greeted the congress on behalf of the Comintern, and in the name of the Italian CP.

He then proceeded to point out that by the acceptance of the 21 conditions, and by the alteration of the name, the congress definitely made the Egyptian party into a section of the Communist International.

He showed the importance of the Egyptian CP. in the International. The International will grant its utmost moral and material support to the Egyptian CP. In order to be able to enter the International, the party has freed itself from all the opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements in its ranks. The Party has now to gather together all the revolutionists scattered over the Nile valley, to organize them, and transform them into good and disciplined communists.

The Party is young. As yet it is unknown to the masses. It is therefore necessary that the Party claim a share in Egyptian

political life and that it makes its power and initiative felt in directing the course of events. The Party must draw the attention of the "Fellahs", and of the hand and brain workers, to its activity.

How will the Egyptian CP. realize the slogan: "Go to the masses".

1. by trade union activity;
2. by a suitable agrarian program, taking into account the requirements of the peasants, so that the millions of "Fellahs", who form the main labor and revolutionary force of Egypt, may be gathered beneath the flag of the Egyptian CP.;
3. by extensive propaganda, among the masses, for a program demanding absolute national independence from English domination. The Egyptian CP. will issue the slogan of the revolutionary united front against English imperialism, and this slogan will enable the Party to gather together every national force among the people of Egypt.

Comrade Ariel then explained in detail the three points forming the fundamental basis for the activity of the Egyptian CP.: the trade union movement, the agrarian question, and the question of national independence.

With regard to the last of the three points, comrade Ariel examined the phases of the Egyptian national movement, and demonstrated the "waf" to be a fundamentally capitalist and conservative party, founded by the upper strata of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Despite all appearance, Zagulis party will not be able to give Egypt real political independence, for the reason that the common interests between Egyptian and English capitalism, and the dependence of Egyptian capitalism on English high finance, fetter any actual realization of independence. Saad's party, which was forced further to the Extreme Left by the pressure of the revolutionary population of Egypt, is now seeking the possibility of a permanent understanding between Egypt and England. This party has always been anxious for such an understanding, and its leading men have themselves declared that they recognize England's predominant interests in Egypt.

The Egyptian CP., however, is sincerely and earnestly opposed to any compromise with English imperialism against which it is fighting. And it will not fail to reveal the truth about any deceptive plan of independence which the "Waf" attempts to force upon the people of Egypt.

Comrade Ariel showed with the utmost clearness that Egypt can only be freed by a revolution, a revolution at one and the same time political, economic, and social. National independence and emancipation of the proletariat are closely bound up with one another.

Comrade Ariel then gave a general survey of the European and world situations, and pointed out the tasks awaiting the peoples of the East in their struggle against capitalism.

In conclusion, he expressed his full confidence that the young CP. of Egypt, and every individual comrade, will always be found in the front ranks of the fighting Egyptian proletariat, beneath the flag of the Communist International.

After comrade Ariel's speech, the congress enthusiastically accepted the 21 conditions without any opposition whatever, and resolved on altering the name of the old party.

The Party program.

Comrade O. gave the report on the Party program, and submitted this to the central committee of the congress.

The task of the Party is the emancipation of Egypt and the Sudan, and the union of these two countries, so that the two united peoples may secure for themselves the natural wealth of their country, and fight in union against their native and foreign oppressors and exploiters.

With regard to the Suez Canal, the Egyptian CP. will demand its nationalization, not because the realization of this demand would be of any immediate advantage to the working class, but because it could strike a death blow at the whole of England's imperialist plans.

One of the main activities of the Party consists of communist penetration into the trade unions.

Cancellation of public debts, abolition of capitulations, introduction of compulsory education, sex equality, separation of church and state—these are the other main points of the Party program.

For freeing the agricultural proletariat, the Egyptian CP. will not only endeavor to have the communist theories realized, but will stand for the following immediate demands:

1. Annulment of the debts of the poor Fellahs;
2. Abolition of taxation of the small-holding Fellahs;
3. Expropriation of large landowners, and distribution of the land among the Fellahs; formation of communist agricultural cooperative societies;
4. Formation of banks upon a cooperative basis, for supporting the poor Fellahs.

The resolution.

The congress unanimously accepted the following: The congress of the Communist Party of Egypt resolves:

1. after having accepted the 21. conditions of the 3. International, to adopt the name of the "Communist Party of Egypt, section of the Communist International", in place of the old name of "Socialist Party".
2. to express the solidarity of the Egyptian CP. with Soviet Russia in its struggle against world capitalism;
3. and to inform the brother parties of all countries regarding the resolutions."

After this resolution had been passed, the congress closed with the singing of the "International".

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

The Bourgeois Press acknowledges the work of the I. W. R.

In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of February 25., Herr Georg Kleinov, in one of a series of articles entitled "Wanderings in Russia" describes under the heading: "A tractor farm", the work of the American tractor unit sent to Russia last year by the I.W.R. This tractor unit, which has taken up work on the Toykino estate near Perm, and whose energetic aid has also been recognized by comrade Lenin in a special communication to its leaders, owes its equipment to the self-sacrificing efforts of American communists and workers. Herr Kleinov is wrong in his assertion that the tractor unit was not equipped by the American communists, but by the American tractor firm of Gaze for advertising purposes. At the same time Herr Kleinov is obliged to admit that the workers have done excellent work under the most difficult circumstances. The following is an extract from his report:

"We must admit that the engineers and technicians of the two American firms have accomplished really excellent work under the most difficult conditions. The numerous Russian organizations taking an interest in Toykino have not in any way diminished the difficulties. If we drive up the mountain from Bolshaya Isosovskaya, the road leads through hundreds of acres of ploughed land, shimmering with the young corn; three months ago there was nothing here but the wild steppe. As far as the eye can see, the steppe-like soil is all ploughed: about 40 acres! This work was done within scarcely eight weeks with the aid of 24 tractors, although the third supplied by Gaze proved useless. 30 versts of road had first been constructed. On the bare height swept by the rough autumn winds, a dozen white tents for the foreigners may be seen; beyond these a like number of large brown ones for the auxiliary workers, (some of whom are Italian communists), for the Russians as kitchens and for stabling the cows, goats, and horses. In the centre of this bivouac there is a smithy, with extensions enabling fittings to be executed, and this is a centre of industrious activity."

This acknowledgement of the work carried out by the I.W.R. forced as it were from a critical bourgeois journalist of hostile tendency, is a striking proof that the I.W.R. is supporting with ability and success the development of production in Russia.

THE WHITE TERROR

In Horihy Hungary

By Desider (Budapest).

70,000 prisoners, more than 10,000 executions, 20,000 to 25,000 workers and intellectuals forced into exile: these are the official figures of the Hungarian counter-revolution. This much the murderers themselves admit. This much is to be gathered from the book recently published by one of the head inquisitors of the Hungarian White Terror, Vary, Horthy's chief attorney general. Terrible, eloquent figures! The question arises: how

much greater must be the real number of workers murdered and imprisoned in the name of "order" and of the "cross" when the executioners are forced to admit such figures as these? The vandals of counter-revolution, alas, have demanded many more victims than these. These figures only speak of those victims who have been condemned and executed by legal or semi-legal authorities; they do not mention those workers who have been murdered by the "indignant population", or by Horthy's "best officers". In a country numbering scarcely 8 million inhabitants, the class vengeance of the bourgeoisie demands this enormous number of victims, although the two revolutions were almost without bloodshed. During the Soviet republic not more than 131 persons were executed, and most of these were counter-revolutionists who took part in public rebellions against the proletarian state.

Almost four years have passed since the troops of Czech and Roumanian imperialism strangled the Hungarian proletarian revolution, and ever since this time Hungarian counter-revolution has continued to demand fresh victims. After the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship, a social democratic government was formed of trade union leaders, and this utilized its five days of rule not only to give the factories back to the capitalists, to turn the proletariat out of the houses requisitioned from the bourgeoisie, to disarm the workers, and to arm a bourgeoisie thirsting for revenge — but also to proclaim the slogan: "those guilty (of the proletarian revolution) are to be punished". It is a historical fact that the White Terror was set going by the social democrats. Theirs alone is the blame that so many of our best comrades fell into the hands of the executioners. On their heads is the blood of the two most self-sacrificing champions of the Hungarian proletariat: Otto Korvin and Eugen László. Fools that they are! They themselves have not escaped the claws of the wild beasts of counter-revolution which they have let loose. The murder of the communist Korvin was followed by the despicably brutal murder of the social democrat Somogyi. The slogan for "punishing those guilty of the dictatorship" was taken up by the scum of the bourgeoisie with the greatest joy. The commands issued by the second counter-revolutionary government were still more severe: Anyone under suspicion of being a communist is to be arrested. And the prisons were filled with uncounted thousands of workers. Death sentences were fabricated with express speed by extraordinary courts of justice. Sentences of imprisonment for many thousands of years were passed. Horthy, the commander-in-chief of the counter-revolutionary troops, took it upon himself to dispense with formalities. He gave his officers the right to murder defenceless workers. And for those upon whom not even the bloody judges of counter-revolution could pass sentence, that is, those who had done absolutely nothing, the "Hungarian Siberia" was created, the camp for the interned at Zalaegeersweg. After awaiting their trial for years, these unhappy creatures, whose sole guilt in the eyes of the bourgeoisie lies in their being workers at all, are interned in this camp.

There are thousands of workers languishing here in this "Hungarian Siberia" for no definite crime, many of them with their wives and children, hungry and in rags. The conditions prevailing in this hell are shown by the following: The starving interned prisoners killed the hunting dog belonging to the camp commander, and ate it. A few weeks ago the prisoners endeavored to put an end to their torments by setting the camp barracks on fire. But in vain. Nothing but the active solidarity of the international proletariat can tear down the wire fencing enclosing this Hungarian Siberia.

In this same camp, soldiers who entered the Red Army, to fight for Russia, when they were prisoners of war are being allowed to starve. These can hope for no mercy. They committed an unpardonable crime against the bourgeoisie: with weapons in their hands they aided the Russian proletariat in its fight for life.

A parliamentary commission visited the "Hungarian Siberia" a few days ago. When the deputies reached the barracks occupied by the one-time Russian prisoners of war, the officer accompanying the commission observed: "Former Russian Red Army soldiers, for the most part dangerous communists". To this the social democratic deputy Pickler remarked: "If that is the case, have them brought before a court martial and hung!"

Yes, these are points on which Noske's foster brothers, Pickler and Payer and their like, are in full agreement with Horthy. For the communists: gaol, prisoners' camps, and the rope.

Counter-revolution has been raging in Hungary for four years. For four years the communists have been carrying on a heroic guerilla war against Horthy and his social democratic flunkies. But these thousands of communists are being thrown into prison in vain — the "Hungarian Siberia" will meet the same fate as the Russian Siberia.

In the Clutches of the Lithuanian Bourgeoisie

By *Hawkin* (Kovno).

In the prison at Kovno there are 70 to 80 political prisoners, of whom only 40% are under sentence, while the rest are still awaiting trial. The overwhelming majority of them have to wait for two years before being brought to trial. Protests from political quarters on this state of affairs have not yielded any positive result up till now. The attorney general invariably makes the same reply: the Lithuanian government is not organized yet, and therefore the delay is unavoidable.

The cells containing political prisoners are over-crowded. The cells intended for the common use of five persons have to accommodate 8 to 20 men; the cells for one person — 3 to 4. Besides this, the cells are kept locked the whole day, with the result that 70 to 80% of the political prisoners suffer from bronchitis, and 30% are tuberculous. The food is most inferior: one and a half pounds of black bread are given per day, but the bread is generally not properly baked, and is difficult of digestion. Black coffee without sugar is given twice daily, and once daily there is a soup made of turnip-tops, rotten potatoes, beetroots, flour, and water. Thanks to this diet, and to the confinement of the cells, the prison is a perfect hotbed of infection; during the winter of 1922 typhus in its most varied forms raged in the prison. The whole of our comrades were attacked by it; 18% died, and half of the prisoners were twice attacked by the disease. The prison hospital was constantly overcrowded, the patients lay three and four in one bed. Patients whose temperature was still 37.5 centigrade were sent back to their cells. The prison management undertook no steps whatever to put an end to the epidemic, and it was only by means of a three days' hunger strike that the prisoners succeeded in getting the cells disinfected. The prison rules are severe. Anyone approaching a window is shot. The governor of the prison flogs the political prisoners. Thus comrade Vugman was struck during the hunger strike. When the representative of the RSFSR raised protest against this, the governor of the prison attempted to justify himself by saying he had been excited. Unfortunately, the prison management is only too liable to fits of nervous excitement. Our comrades are only allowed to see their relations for five to ten minutes, while the prisoners belonging to the Polish military organization are allowed half an hour or longer. Despite all this, this prison is a kind of respite for our comrades, for when they fall into the prosecutor's hands, they are beaten unmercifully. In December 1922, for instance, the Kovno worker Vaitshumas was arrested. His name figured in the labor list as candidate for the Sejm. After he had been called upon to admit that he belonged to the Lithuanian Communist Party, his teeth were knocked out, and his eyes seriously injured.

Regular and organized relief on the part of the Red Cross has been recently observable, but the relief distributed is still entirely insufficient. The Red Cross distributes to each prisoner, for three days: 3 lbs of black bread, about ¼ lb of lard, ¼ lb of sugar, 1/32 to 1/24 lb of tobacco, and a herring. Most of the comrades are in need of foot wear and under wear, linen and warm underclothing. The prisoners are wretchedly provided with newspapers. At one time they received newspapers every two months, but now none whatever are sent to them.

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Lenin

(On the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the C. P. R.)

By *Karl Radek*.

Like everything else in nature, Lenin was born, has developed, has grown. When Vladimir Ilyitch once observed me glancing through a collection of his articles written in the year 1903, which had just been published, a sly smile crossed his face, and he remarked with a laugh: "It is very interesting to read what stupid fellows we were!" But I do not here intend to compare the shape of Lenin's skull at the age of 10, 20, or 30, with the skull of that man who presided over the sessions of the Central Committee of the Party or the Council of Peoples' Commissars. Here it is not a question of Lenin as leader, but as a living human being. P. B. Axelrod, one of the fathers of Menshevism, who hates Lenin from the bottom of his soul—Axelrod's case is an excellent example of how love can change to hate—related, in one of the philippics with which he sought to convince me of the harmfulness of Bolshevism in general and of Lenin in particular, how Lenin went abroad for the first time, and how he went walking and bathing with him. "I felt at that time", said Axelrod, "that here was a man who would become the leader of the Russian Revolution. Not only was he an educated Marxist—there were many of these—but he knew what he wanted to do and how it was to be done. There was something of the smell of Russian earth about him." Pavel Borisovitch Axelrod is a bad politician, he does not smell of the earth. He is one who reasons at home in his own study, and the whole tragedy of his life consists of the fact that at a time when there was no labor movement in Russia, he thought out the lines upon which such a labor movement should develop, and when it developed on different lines, he was frightfully offended, and to-day, he continues to roar with rage, at the disobedient child. But people often observe in others, that which is lacking in themselves, and Axelrod's words with regard to Lenin grasp with unsurpassable acuteness precisely those characteristics which make Lenin a leader.

It is impossible to be a leader of the working class without knowing the whole history of the class. The leaders of the labor movement must know the history of the labor movement; without this knowledge there can be no leader, just as nowadays there can be no great general who could be victorious with the least expenditure of force unless he knew the history of strategy. The history of strategy is not a collection of recipes as to how to win a war, for a situation once described never repeats itself. But the mind of the General becomes practised in strategy by its express study; this study renders him elastic in war, permits

him to observe the dangers and possibilities which the empirically trained general cannot see. The history of the labor movement does not tell us what to do, but it makes it possible to compare our position with situations which have already been experienced by our class, so that in various decisive moments we are enabled to see our path clearly, and to recognize approaching danger.

But we cannot get to know the history of the labor movement properly without being thoroughly acquainted with the history of capitalism, with its mechanism in all its economic and political phenomena. Lenin knows the history of capitalism as do but few of Marx's pupils. It is no mere knowledge of the written word—here comrade Riazanov could give him five points start—but he has thought out Marx's theory as no one else has done. Let us for instance take the small pamphlet which he wrote at the time of our conflict with the trade union movement; in it he calls Bukharin a syndicalist, an eclectic, and a great sinner in numerous other respects. This polemical pamphlet contains a few lines devoted to the differences between dialectics and eclectics, lines which are not cited in any collection of articles on historical materialism, but which say more about it than whole chapters from much longer books. Lenin has independently grasped and thought out the theory of historical materialism as no one else has been able to do, for the reason that he has studied it with the same object in view by which Marx was actuated when creating the theory.

Lenin entered the movement as the embodiment of the *Will to Revolution*, and he studied Marxism, the evolution of capitalism, and the evolution of socialism, from the point of view of their revolutionary significance. *Plekhanov* was a revolutionist too, but he was not possessed by the *Will to Revolution*, and despite his great importance as a teacher of the Russian Revolution, he could only teach its algebra and not its arithmetic. Here in lies the point of transition from Lenin the theorist to Lenin the politician.

Lenin combined Marxism with the general working class strategy, but at the same time he applied it concretely to that strategic task involving the fate of the Russian working class. It may be said that at the Army Staff Academy he studied not only Clausewitz, Moltke, and their like, but he studied at the same time, as no-one else in Russia, the territory of the future Russian proletarian war. Herein lies the whole of Lenin's genius: in his utmost intensity of intimate contact with his field of activity.