

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 2. No. 16

PRESS

28th Febr. 1922

CORRESPONDENCE

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POLITICS

The Victory of the Second International over the International 2^{1/2}

by Charles Rappoport.

The French Socialist Party that was formed immediately after the Congress of Tours is made up of two elements: first, the war Socialists; Bracke, Blum, Renaudel, Varenne, Compère-Morel, Grumbach (the errand boy of Renaudel) etc., etc.; second, the pale and timid "minority" members who had just enough courage to fight the "exaggerations" of chauvinism but who did not even dare to refuse credits of war. Their name are known; Longuet, Paul Faure, Pressemane, Mistral and so forth and so forth.

It was evident that if the bullies such as Renaudel and Bracke united with men without energy like Longuet and Paul Faure, the eternal vacillators would have been absorbed by the fearless knights of Socialist treason. Even the German Independents who not only did not invent powder but who are even afraid to use it, are intrepid heroes in comparison with Longuet and Paul Faure. The 2^{1/2} was destined from its very birth to be devoured by the "giants" of "the Second" with long teeth, sound appetites and strong stomachs capable of digesting a Scheidemann and Noske and Vandervelde and Grumbach, dealer in "international" chauvinism and retail merchant of large and small counter-revolutionary infamies.

The "Socialist" Conference held in Paris on the 4th and 5th of February is a living demonstration of this absorption of the "minorities" without character or program by the war Socialists who know where they are going and what they want. They are going to the seats of power together with the bourgeoisie. And they want to save bourgeois society by crushing Bolshevism, that is to say revolution in action.

The German railway strike rendered a very important service to the revolution without knowing it, by helping to show the real character of this conference. On account of the strike the German Majority Socialists could not come. And without them it was impossible to throw dust in the eyes of the masses by talking of "reparations".

The reformists who like to play for the bourgeois government the part of the fly in the fable—with the exception of the cases of rebellion and of strikes where their role is more efficient—have a complete positive program of "reparations": international solidarity. That means: "The United States—the rich American uncle—will lend money to ruined Europe". Since the recent debates in the Congress of Washington it is known that the "uncle" shut his pocket-book although still keeping his heart wide open. . . . But even the biggest manufacturers of hollow phrases like Vandervelde understand that nothing can be done with a treasury as empty as his speeches.

Hence there was no talk at the Conference of the five ex-belligerent countries of "reparations" with the aid of empty treasuries and hollow phrases, but rather through international unity. The international proletariat must whatever the cost "repair" and restore Socialist virginity to all the Renaudels, Scheidemanns and Vanderveldes who paraded their virtue during the war in all the salons of the bourgeoisie.

The role of go-between fell to Fritz Adler and Paul Faure who were able to behave with decency in the midst of the war saturnalia. They are the sign-board that must hide the ugly interior of the house. These are the men of confidence who must endorse the bankruptcy of the Second International. Fritz Adler who had killed a minister but who is keeping alive the reformist and opportunist spirit of "the Second" shook with tears in his eyes the two hands that Vandervelde extended to him at the "family banquet" one of which hands signed the Treaty of Versailles, father of the Treaty of Saint Germain of which Austria is now dying. What a sight! The accomplices of the imperialist assassins who menaced brave Morgari with the police when he came to Paris trying to reunite "the Second" are pardoned and cajoled by men who like Adler at least risked something to fight the universal carnage and the treason of the "Second". Let Adler read again his own speech delivered during his trial. It contains enough to answer the hypocritical phrases and tears of all the Vanderveldes and Sembats on lost unity. After having assassinated this unity on the 4th of August 1914, these gentlemen want to restore it—until the next 4th of August of the next world war.

But in the midst of these ghastly scenes of reconciliation between the assassins and their victims a gay note was heard. Like Poincaré, Mr. Renaudel would not go to the Conference "without conditions". At the door of the "unity" Congress the Russian revolution must make its excuses to this big simpleton—called "Jaurès of the animal kingdom"—for not having followed his council and for having maltreated his friends by preventing them from stabbing the revolution in the back.

Nothing better characterizes the Paris Conference than the silence of poor Longuet who was found far too compromising in the midst of these ex-ministers who want nothing better than to return to their old positions. Longuet as a threat and a scarecrow! This fact alone condemns the spirit that reigned at the Congress. It is true that this "quarter of a Boche", treated by the friends of Mr. Sembat as a complete Boche during the war, might have brought a discordant note into these "devastated regions" of socialism, if only on account of his suspicious origins. Longuet has no voice among these businessmen of Socialism. But what is he doing among these candidates for the crushing of future communes who had been so eloquently lashed by his immortal grandfather and even by his father, honest though reformist.

While the Conference was preaching unity, the strikes of the German railwaymen and of the municipal workers of Berlin were in full swing. The same journal "*Le Populaire*" that published in *extenso* the unity speeches of these past and future ministers calumniated and insulted the striking proletarians, thus achieving unity with Herr Wirth and the gang howling at the strikers. Deeds speak louder than words. . . .

Capitalist unity is an accomplished fact. Why look for any other?

The comedy will be continued at Frankfurt. Do not laugh!

Russian Gold.

by E. Bejcek (Prague).

** At the present time when world imperialism is getting ready to force as many compromises as possible from Soviet Russia at the Genoa Conference, and when the "reputable" newspapers of Europe and America are flying into a passion

at the Soviet government supporting with great sums Communist propaganda the world over at a time when famine is devouring Russia, it is certainly opportune to call to mind some definite facts showing how the counter-revolutionary brigands of world imperialism devastated Russia during the civil war and how they robbed the Russian workers of their property.

It is well known that world imperialism was the first to participate in the counter-revolutionary war against Soviet Russia, and that it was represented by two states in particular, France and England. The Czecho-Slovak hirelings paid by the French bourgeoisie really proved quite useful instruments of European Capitalism. They comprehended quite well that which in the language of diplomacy is called an "heroic retreat" but which in plain language would be spelled "Robber-Expedition".

The Czecho-Slovaks, led by famous democrats and republicans, invaded Kazan in 1918 and stole the Russian gold funds, in order, these noble gentlemen said, "to preserve it for the Russian people".

The archives of the Koltchak government contribute some clear facts regarding this wonderfully logical proceeding. The Czecho-Slovaks passed the stolen gold over to the hangman of the Russian workers and peasants—Admiral Koltchak.

We have good reason to doubt whether they delivered the whole of the Russian gold treasure to Koltchak. We do not know exactly what sum he actually received and how much the present Czech generals retained as commission, but, we do know how Koltchak employed these funds.

If these trustworthy republicans and democrats pretend to have rescued that Kazan gold for the Russian people, one glance at the following statements will make it quite clear how Koltchak contrived to use the Russian gold "in the interest of the Russian people".

At various times and in unequal amounts Koltchak paid to:

France	876	poods of gold
England	516	" " "
Both Countries	698	" " "
Japan	1,142	" " "
Total	3,232	poods of gold

1 pood = 36 lb.

Besides these amounts Koltchak deposited for:

Guarantee of a loan from Japan	1500	poods of gold
Guarantee to an Anglo-American Syndicate	3937	" " "
Guns from the American Government	100	" " "
Machine Guns (Trade Mark Gould)	50	" " "
Guns from Remington Arms Co.	50	" " "
Total	5637	poods of gold
In addition deposits in Shanghai	372	" " "
	9241	poods of gold

These are official statements from the Koltchak archives. The money stolen from the Russian people has been freely used to murder Russian workmen and peasants, to thicken the forest of gallows growing in the plains of Siberia, to transform hundreds of thousands of dessiatines of arable Russian land into a desert, with the result that after three years' devastation of Soviet Russia, its most fertile districts are for many years eliminated from the granary of the world and that as a final consequence of this there followed the famine, devouring millions of innocent men, women and children, whose sole fault is that they wanted to live free from internal and external oppression.

Many business houses and banks (Bank of the Czech Legions) could relate wondrous tales of how immediately after the arrival of the "heroic" legionaries from Siberia great amounts poured into their coffers, and we are convinced that every one of the heads of these houses would decidedly protest if anyone asserted that they had received the money from the Russian Bolsheviks for Communist propaganda. On the contrary, they would proudly declare this money to have been honestly acquired at the time when the Paris Bourse and Professor Masaryk were reconstructing the Czech State.

If international diplomacy today demands before all that Soviet Russia should pay the debts of all the Russian governments extant since the revolution this demand fully corresponds to the Kazan robbery. If one day "the Creditors of Soviet Russia" will meet to deliberate on the contributions they demand from the proletarian state as the price of leaving it in peace, it would really be quite opportune for the Russian working people to present their bill to these precious gentlemen. We suppose that to cover the losses Russia has suffered through the civil wars forced upon it by world imperialism the full coffers of the Anglo-American nabobs would hardly suffice, for in this bill will figure millions of innocent human beings starved to death, murdered by the international bourgeoisie.

Oil — The Super-Government

by Dr. W. van Ravestejn (Rotterdam).

** It well known how petroleum seeks to consume the world in flames even before it sees the light of day. Ever since we learned the use of liquid fuel, of oil as fuel for ships, and saw that it is more yielding than the coal whose strategic significance it displaced, the search for oil has become very lively. Thus it has become for imperialism the most important product in the world.

In Delais's "Le Pétrole", published in French in 1920, it was pointed out that after the war, "victorious England" saw a dangerous rival in the United States, chiefly because of the latter's oil-treasures and extensive use of petroleum. However, England, whose former efforts in Mexico, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc. are only too well known, has since then succeeded in annexing the most important oil fields through diplomacy. Delais's publication itself discloses the machinations by means of which the powerful Shell trust, by attracting the private interests of the French Stock Exchange, succeeded in drawing France into its sphere of activity. Delais complains that this nipped the development of the independent French industries, which could lay claim to extensive and rich fields of exploitation, particularly in Africa, and after peace was concluded, in Roumania, Galicia and Russia as well as in the Orient; here it was again the banking system, which in France is not connected with the industries, that hemmed instead of furthering their development.

The English trust acquired its great significance only after its combine with the "Royal Dutch Shell" (a corporation for the exploitation of the oil fields in the Dutch East Indies) which had also acquired control of many oil fields in the rest of the world. From that time on the English-Dutch trust is known the world over as the "Royal Dutch Shell". This giant rose side by side with the American "Standard Oil", creation of Rockefeller, and both monsters were to share the petroleum-world between themselves. Only the Soviet states remained outside the domain of these rulers.

English diplomacy was able to acquire most of the world's oil fields "on the quiet". In October 1919, when the Standard Oil set out in search of new fields of exploitation, it found all doors shut; the Royal Dutch Shell had even laid hands upon a considerable number of American oil-wells, whereas English legislation, carefully kept foreigners away from British oil-fields.

This shutting of the world to the American oil-trust, was confirmed in the American Senate in March 1920, and in May of the same year by the United States Government itself. The Royal Dutch Shell, answering through the London "Times", admitted that it was true that "the English already possessed 2/3 of all the oil-wells in the old world and in Central and South America, and that in about 10 years the Americans would have to import 500 million barrels at one million dollars yearly". And as a matter of fact, even though the Standard Oil still produces three times as much as the Royal Dutch, we must not forget that due to the immense national consumption (especially of gasoline, 85% of which is consumed by the 8,000,000 automobiles within the country) the American oil-reserves (about 7,000,000,000 barrels) are rapidly being exhausted, whereas the English already control the greater part of the rest of the world's oil-reserves, estimated at about 55,000,000,000 barrels.

Of course, when the distressed Standard Oil looked around for new fields of exploitation, the American government (which for strategic reasons, is in this case even a direct participant) backed it. Of the American Government's efforts in this matter we need but recall its contest with England in Mesopotamia, where England had a better position, and its agreement with Colombia in April 1921, entered into for the express purpose of drawing the immense oil-fields, supposed to be there, into its sphere of interests.

It is very instructive to examine a typical example of how the trusts get a government — yes, and an independent and democratic government at that! — into its clutches.

As early as 1900, the Standard Oil sought concessions on the island of Sumatra, one of the Dutch East Indies. But the Batavian Company, a subsidiary of the Royal Dutch Shell got the concession. In the Djambi district there are very rich virgin oil-fields covering an area of about 4,418,000 acres. In 1915, the Dutch government was again willing to grant the monopoly of these oil-fields to the Batavian Company, this in spite of the fact that the company was not the highest bidder. But the proposed bill found strong opposition in the press as well as in Parliament; it was claimed by the opposition that the Batavian Company was in spite of its Dutch name really an organ of the powerful Royal Dutch Shell and that such a step would mean the drawing in of English capital, which with a product so impor-

tant from the strategic point of view might place the country in a dangerous position. Parliament even went so far that although the majority of its members far from favored the idea of government exploitation, the Social Democratic bill which aimed at this passed the house as a sort of last resource. The social patriots were jubilant over their "victory"; they were not aware, however, of the simple truth that it is not Parliaments that govern countries. "The life-interests of nations", as Delaisi rightly points out, "are determined by the business methods of financial groups by whom they are secretly ruled". Nothing came of the government exploitation. "A minister is not obliged to heed a whim of Parliament . . ." was the ironic remark passed by a capitalist newspaper. Once more the government made an attempt to let the Batavian Company in through the backdoor—all too obviously however, for it to have any chance of success. But the trusts did not yield.

World capital kept on "working on the quiet". And in April 1921, when the government once more proposed a bill, the writer of this article, who was shedding light on the matter from our standpoint, was at that time convinced that due to the country's passivity, the whole matter had by that time surely been settled and cleared up behind the scenes. That this opinion was correct we saw later on when we learned from official documents that early as January when only a draft of the bill had been handed in, the government considered the matter as "concluded and passed until Parliament gives its approval" . . . a mere trifle apparently.

This time the government proceeded more cautiously. Its bill only proposed the founding of a corporation half of whose shares was to be in the hands of the government and the other half of whose shares was to be sold to private individuals to be named later on. How perfectly innocent and harmless! But the matter assumed a different complexion when the government was compelled to admit that the "private person" in question was no other than the Batavian Company, a branch of the Royal Dutch Shell.

No wonder then that this new proposal was not met with open arms either; the "capitulation before the Royal Dutch Shell" was spoken of. But does this mean that the bill was defeated? Not by a long shot! It is *interests* and not *words* that decide.

Yet, there were other truly good reasons for defeating the bill. At every step the government was caught — "committing errors".

Then, by some unfortunate mistake, a piece of paper found its way among the documents, which gave away to the trust not only the Djambi fields, but *all the oil fields in the whole of the Dutch East Indies*. But it is of major interest to note here that the government persisted in denying the all-too-well-known fact that the Royal Dutch Shell was a representative of English capital, and constantly maintained that it was rather a "purely Dutch enterprise"! On the other hand the government pretended not to believe that the American government had any interest in the matter and that it stood behind the Standard Oil which was urging free competition. Our comrades demanded in the name of the Dutch proletariat and the oppressed inhabitants of the East Indies that the exploitation of the fields be postponed until the time when the East Indies, the true owners of these natural treasures, should become an independent nation. Of course, the social patriots attempted to ridicule this viewpoint. The Communist motion received only the votes of our own comrades.

But what is still more significant is that the whole bill was passed in spite of everything. It soon appeared that we were right. Not only did the American press assume a harsh tone towards us, but it even appeared that the government had simply hushed up a very important correspondence with the American government! This correspondence disclosed that the Americans had repeatedly pointed out their interest in the matter in question and that they protested against the manner of treatment, where upon the Dutch government began to play the ingenuous child and never answered to the point.

This naturally brought on a cloudburst. Parliamentarism of all colors wailed that "had they but known all this" they would have thought the matter over a second time. The largest liberal newspaper wrote that a Parliament which stood for such treatment deserved to be the laughing-stock of the country. The Communist proposal to vote the whole government out of existence was rejected. Even a vote of criticism against the Colonial Secretary, upon whom no love is lost anyhow, did not receive a majority, so that this minister is still at his post and was later even eulogized for this "behavior" in this matter. All further motions which sought to revive this affair were pigeon-holed.

But how was all this possible? To begin with we must not lose sight of the fact that today Dutch capital toadies to Allied capital just as much as in times of old it fawned upon

German imperialism to whom a Royal Dutch Shell victory was surely not the sweetest of pills to swallow. Furthermore, not very much was left of that group which had formerly wanted the concession for itself; one of them, who had previously given warning of the plans of the Royal Dutch Shell, had in the meanwhile been driven from public life by the dummies of the all-mighty trust (the official grounds were given as "political moral discipline" . . .) Be it furthermore remembered that two ex-ministers and former governors of the East Indies, who are at present leaders of the government parties, Colyn and Idenburg, were at the time of the Parliamentary negotiations in question, appointed directors of the Batavian Company and later of the Royal Dutch Shell itself, whereas at the same time a third ex-minister and brother-in-law of the present Minister of Foreign Affairs received a very high position in the trust. Besides these the Royal Dutch has on its board of directors former high government officials from the Dutch East Indies. The profits of these gentlemen runs into the millions of gulden. Mr. Colyn seems to have transacted similar deals even when still in office. Is it any wonder then, that our comrades cried out in Parliament, "Every mother's son of them is sold?"

Thus capitalism roots out the Netherlands, and what still remained intact after the war it will root up in the future, if — if the international proletariat does not prevent it in time.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Effects of the Germany Railway Strike in the Trade Unions

by A. Enderle (Berlin).

** During the railway strike it was already clearly to be seen that this fight would bring about a great revolution in the officials' and railwaymen's organizations. It is well known that the National Trade Union of German Railway Officials (Reichsgewerkschaft Deutscher Eisenbahner) which began and conducted the strike to the end, is affiliated not to the Socialist A.D.G.B. but to the so-called neutral German Federation of Officials (D.B.B.). The Officials' Federation, however, not only includes the middle and lower officials but also the higher officials. The tendency of the D.B.B. was at its foundation as well as during the whole of the recent period the prevention of every strike and the preservation of industrial peace. When the lower officials, and in this last case the railwaymen, because of their low wages, and under the pressure of the high cost of living were forced into open struggle a strong opposition on the part of the higher and well-paid officials at once manifested itself. They felt themselves to be the representatives of the capitalist state; and the Executive Committee of the D.B.B., the members of which are almost entirely higher officials, opposed and sabotaged the strike of the railwaymen in every possible way, although the National Trade Union was affiliated to the D.B.B. At the first committee sitting of the D.B.B. held since the conclusion of the strike, a serious collision ensued between the representatives of the higher and those of the lower officials. The conflict will only be finally decided at the General Session to be held in April. And today already one may prophesy that the present Executive Committee will disappear and will be replaced by representatives of the lower officials. This change will—at the same time—be followed by the secession of the higher officials from the D.B.B. Thereby, however, that Federation will change its actual form and tendency, and under the pressure of conditions will have to turn into a fighting organization, and doubtlessly it will gradually become a valuable addition to the purely workers' trade-union in their struggle against the employers and the capitalist state.

Of far more important consequence are the effects of the strike shown in the Socialist "Free Trade Unions".

The Executive of the German Railwaymen's Federation (D.E.V.), affiliated to the A.D.G.B., at the beginning of the strike issued instructions to its members not to join the strike but to leave the officials of the National Trade Union, which had arbitrarily commenced the strike without seeking their advice, isolated in this struggle. The great mass of the members of the D.E.V., however, did not obey this blackleg order, but profited by the opportunity in order to fight in common with the officials for an improvement of their conditions of labor and wages. In nearly all the large German cities, the railwaymen and employees, almost 100% organized in the D.E.V., entered upon the strike in open disregard of their Executive.

So great was their fighting spirit that many local employees of the Federation took over the leadership of the strike, placing themselves, by this step in open opposition to their national leaders. Now, instead of submitting to the will of by

far the greatest majority of their members, a will that had thus spontaneously expressed itself, the Executive proceeded to expel from the Federation those trade-union employees that had disobeyed their "commands", or to punish them by shifting them to insignificant positions.

In Berlin, for instance, the two authorized representatives of the Berlin local organization, Knebel and Schulz, both belonging to the Independent Socialists (U.S.P.), and up to now faithful adherents of Amsterdam, together with the Communist official, Linke, are about to be excluded from the Federation.

Furthermore, an official lackey of the Executive has been despotically appointed plenipotentiary for Berlin. To the announcement of this dictatorial arrangement the threat was added, that should the Berlin local oppose this arrangement, it would be dissolved, and a new local established, that would only accept such members as had expressly promised to submit to the decrees of the National Executive.

In a great meeting of union functionaries the Berlin members unanimously backed their local committee and protested most energetically against the coercion of the members as attempted by the Executive. A prominent representative of the U.S.P. then openly declared:

"The split in the trade-unions, as we now see, is not caused by the Communists, but by the party of the Executive (S.P.D.) and from the leaders of the A.D.G.B."

Even the spokesman of the Majority Socialists (S.P.D.) declared: "The despotic measures of the Executive must be frustrated by our united will. The Minister of Transport, Herr Grøener, who victimizes thousands of officials and striking workers, and Herr Scheffel, President of the Federation, may well shake hands. We, however, have to wage war against this destruction of the Federation; our only watchword must be: Either the Executive yields or it must go."

These declarations show that at last the spell is broken, and that the Amsterdam strategists are no longer able hermetically to separate a great part of the workers from the Communists by lies and slanger, in order to use them for the maintenance of capitalist society. Even in the ranks of the S.P.D. the workers now recognize that it is not the Communists that strive to split the trade-unions, but that it is their own leaders who form a stumbling block on the road to a united proletarian front.

But the action of the Executive is of yet further importance. It shows that the Amsterdam trade-union leaders, who, in the struggle of the proletariat against capitalism have never yet been able to bring about the international solidarity of the workers, are proceeding from internationally fixed principles in the destruction of the trade-unions. The A.D.G.B. and the Executive of the D.E.V. are acting on exactly the same principles as are being followed by the Amsterdam leaders of the French Railway Union, i. e., to destroy and split the Federation at the moment when the majority of the members were resolved to fight; or by Merrheim, Jouhaux, etc. in the rest of the French trade-unions, as well as by the Amsterdam leader Ilg in Switzerland. These fellows now openly unmask themselves and show themselves to be the vassals of capitalism. Heretofore they always succeeded in humbugging the masses of the members, thus keeping the trade-unions back from great battles against capital, and now, when the majority of the members has decided against their methods and decides for fighting, they consciously use all their cunning to destroy the trade-unions, thus rendering the working-class incapable of fighting for a long period. The revolutionary proletariat, prepared for combat, must build the international front of the workers opposed to this Yellow International. The foundation-stone of this organization has already been laid in the Red Trade Union International, and we must now carry on intense propaganda in all the trade-unions of the capitalist countries and lead and merge them into the only revolutionary international trade-union organization.

The Crisis in the South African Labor Movement

by D. Ivon Jones (Moscow).

** Johannesburg in the Transvaal is the centre of a coal and gold miners' strike. Apart from sympathetic movements which may or may not break out, not more than 20,000 white workers are directly involved. Yet the London Press is considerably perturbed. "Kaffirs", as gold mining stock is dubbed, are the mainstay of an important section of the bourgeoisie. And the Transvaal mines produced last year slightly more than half the total gold output of the world, produced moreover under the most modern forms of concentrated large industry. Hence its importance not only for the section of the bourgeoisie directly interested, but for the whole financial mechanism of world capitalism at a time when

British bankers are striving to stabilize currency on the gold basis. But this big proportion of the world's gold output is not produced by the 15,000 or 20,000 workers directly involved in the present dispute. Apart from the coal mines, there are 200,000 native workers, many of them raw recruits from the tribes, employed in the Transvaal gold mines. These are the men who actually drill the rock, "lash" the blasted ore and do the hardest manual work. The white miners on strike are more or less go-betweens, gangers, possessing a legal monopoly as white men of the right to handle gelatinite and blasting fuses. No man of color can by law hold a blasting certificate. This color bar is the symbol of the white workers' privileged economic and social position in South Africa.

This double-barrelled character of the South African labor movement is only now dawning upon the white workers. Hitherto they have regarded themselves as all that was meant by "Labor". Under the illusion of being the whole of Labor (as the bourgeoisie have the illusion of being "the people") the white workers have waged several fierce struggles with gold mining capital. In the 1913 general strike things went so far that a pitched battle took place between them and the regular troops in the streets of Johannesburg, in which 21 persons were killed and over 400 wounded. The capitalist class were panic-stricken, and the men's leaders, under the slogan of "The Martial Law of the Workers", scored a temporary victory. The following year, Smuts, after careful military preparation, avenged himself and deported nine of the trade union leaders.

When the war came, the supreme necessity of keeping the gold mines going forced the old politician type of magnate to withdraw from the scene, and Sir Evelyn Wallers, the arch-conciliator, was put in charge of the Chamber of Mines. Bain, Mason, Andrews and other old militant trade-unionists were shoved into the background by their opposition to the war, and the Boards of Reference found Crawford, one time Anarcho-Syndicalist, a most suitable tool for carrying out the policy of class collaboration. After the war, the premium on the mint price of gold further helped the Chamber to concede much to the white workers, who gradually lost their fighting spirit.

Meanwhile, the native workers gave signs of awakening, and surprised the white worker out of his self-sufficiency. A strike of 80,000 native mine workers; a big anti-passport movement; strikes of native municipal workers; the formation of a native trade-union, an unheard of innovation; all these portents came after the outbreak of the Russian revolution. But the native still calls his white fellow worker "Boss" as an ordinary form of address. And so the white worker is assured his status.

But now the gold premium is vanishing under the better exchange position of the pound sterling. The mine owners declare that many low grade mines have been working solely on this premium as a source of profit. It has been for some years the dream of the gold magnates to abolish the color bar, and introduce native labor into the more skilled operations. The "Star", organ of the Chamber of Mines, is a champion of Negro advancement against the exclusiveness of the white labor unions, and sometimes its propaganda in this direction is a good handle for Communist Party propaganda. The white labor movement is placed in a false position against the undeniable justice of the capitalist plea for native advancement, although it is only a transparent cloak for more intense exploitation of the native. Comrade Andrews, writing in our Party organ, "The International", holds out to the miners the only solution which they can employ and compromise their position in the labor movement: The following extract condenses the issue in a nutshell:—

"As for the unions, they would do better for themselves if they urged and helped the natives to demand more pay for the jobs they do now, thus decreasing the competition of native with white and diminishing the danger of natives ousting whites. The white miners are perfectly justified in fighting to keep up the numbers and pay of holders of blasting certifications. They would get native support in this with the higher pay and better treatment of the blacks. However, owing to deficient class consciousness, we find them presenting the shameful spectacle of conspiring with their masters for the better exploitation of their fellow-workers, which must inevitably, if gradually, lead to their own elimination. For a section which poses at the same time as both masters and workers must sooner or later collapse."

Let it not be supposed that a state of antagonism exists between the black and white worker at all comparable with that obtaining in the South of the United States. All our pogroms are governmental pogroms—the recent dastardly massacre of simple natives at Bullhoek, for instance, (passed over so lightly by the British Press). As a matter of fact, the white and black workers get on very happily together at the mines. The South

African Bantu is a jovial fellow to work with. The white skilled mechanic functions as a teacher of the native laborer, though he may not be conscious of it. During working hours he jokes with him, and even discusses the rudiments of social justice. The industrial functions of white and black are complementary. There is no industry where both do not labor together. The white workers can stop industry on their own account. So can the black workers if they have a mind to. But it takes both white and black to start the wheels going again. Under a Soviet system all the factors are present for mutual cooperation. Capitalist exploitation turns this industrial partnership into political antagonism. An abyss separates the standard of living of the blacks and the whites. It is this, and the fear of falling into the abyss, which generates the anti-color prejudice of the white worker. It is also this which makes the white worker a strange combination of anti-color conservative and anti-capitalist militant. He would honestly like a way out with justice to these "uncivilized children" as he naively regards the Bantu worker, but without "social contamination" with them.

The attack on the color bar threatens to put an end to this, the best possible condition for cooperation of white with black. A competition in the same industrial function will introduce the more ugly forms of American race hatred. There are more compelling reasons for this challenge than the drop in the gold premium. The total world output of gold has dropped from 94 million pounds in 1913 to 66 millions in 1921. The drop in Transvaal output was only from 37.4 million to 34.5 million. It will be seen that the proportion of the Transvaal output to the whole world output has risen from two-fifths to one-half. With the enormous inflation of the currency, this drop in gold production must be checked if the bankers' stabilization plans are to be realized. The low grade mines must be kept going at all costs, and the low grade ore knocking about the higher grade mines must be made available, and new borings encouraged. These considerations are behind the undoubted determination of the mine-owners to smash the color bar. A reduction in wages is not enough. Some "larger perspective", equal to the discovery of the cyanide process of gold extraction in the nineties, is needed. And the cheap Bantu worker is the solution, the man for the job, fresh from the tribe and requiring only a loin cloth and the benevolent sunshine in addition to the needs of the inner man—for the time being. Just now the mine-owners are only asking for a certain fixed proportion of colored workers to white.

Since 1913, Dutch workers in large numbers have invaded town industry, forced from the land by modern methods of agriculture. The Dutch Afrikaners are in a majority in the mines today, as well as several other industries. The police force is largely Dutch Afrikaner. Only in the skilled mechanical trades does the old type of British trade unionist still hold his own. Nevertheless, with one or two exceptions, the leadership of the labor movement is still in the hands of the more experienced British workers. The Dutch workers make splendid trade-unionists, however, full of the fighting spirit, for the trade-union movement gives them back a little of the lost glamor, the sense of combat, of the old voortrekking days. But they are as yet a drag on the wheel of labor progress. They are much more bitter towards the native than the British workers, owing to the slaveholding traditions of the Dutch farmers. They are an obstacle to the speedy rapprochement of the white with the black worker which is the burden of our propaganda as a Communist Party in South Africa. The Dutch workers form as a rule the left wing of the Dutch Nationalist movement, since the Labor Party by its chauvinism has forfeited their sympathy. Hence we have for the first time the participation of Nationalist leaders like Visser and Tielman Roos in the present strike on the side of the men, and General Hertzog, the Republican leader, has had a conference with the Industrial Federation. The Nationalists seem to be utilizing the strike as a means of forcing Smuts out of office. The sympathetic elements in the police force and the absence of Imperial troops, are factors in their favor. In normal times the British workers would resent the interference of the Nationalists. But the attack on the color bar is an attack on the very existence of the white section of the working-class, and it is therefore prepared to seek allies anywhere.

In the 1913 strike the more advanced white workers already encouraged appeals for native support. In the present strike in the coal section at Witbank, where the miners are more conservative than on the Rand (as the sixty-mile gold reef is called) the native workers are carrying on mining under the direction of officials. They approached their white fellow workers on strike and asked them what they were to do. These white strikers, still "solidaire" with bourgeois society, solemnly advised the natives to obey the big "mlungu" (master). But an increasing number of trade-unionists stand for the solidarity of Labor irrespective of color.

The Nationalist festival in South Africa is held on Dingaan's Day, the day when Dingaan's Zulu army was smashed by the Dutch invaders in 1838. This is now the holy day of Afrikaner Nationalism. The honest Bantu has nothing to gain from Nationalist intervention in the present dispute. The Chamber of Mines is for him in the line of progress, if the white worker will only turn towards him as his natural ally and fellow worker. Should that come to pass, then gold, the "root of all evil", will have been for the Negro masses of South Africa the agent of proletarian development which has brought them in line with the great world movement.

The General Lockout in Denmark

by Smohlan.

** The tremendous economic struggle has entered its second week and appearances do not lead to the conclusion that it will be settled soon. Mass-movements of the workers are reported from the provinces and in many towns strikebreakers have been driven from the factories. In numerous meetings resolutions have been adopted demanding the general strike as an answer to the employers' offensive. Peasants are acting as strikebreakers in the loading and unloading of ships and many cases of bloody conflict between them and the locked-out workers have been reported. In Copenhagen the strikebreakers are lodged on board ships and receive a daily wage of 16 crowns, board and lodging — a wage three times as high as that offered the workers.

The results of the lockout are becoming more and more noticeable. The sale of coal has been prohibited in the capital. The workers in the building trades have decided by an overwhelming majority to reject the award of the Arbitration Commission. Those building workers hitherto not affected by the lockout have decided to go out on sympathy strike. The drivers and teamsters of Copenhagen refuse to transport goods handled by the strikebreakers. As a result the transport of agricultural products has come to a standstill. The police has been mobilized and has acted in various towns in a provocative manner. It is feared that riots will break out if the lockout lasts much longer.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Russian Trade Unions in the Transition Period.

Following is the second part of the theses on the trade-union question, as accepted by the All-Russian Central Trade Union Federation and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia; the first part appeared in No. 14 of the "Correspondence".
The Editor.

7. The participation of and the part played by the trade-unions in the economic and government organs of the proletarian state.

** The proletariat is the basic class of the state, which is undergoing the transition from capitalism to socialism. In a country where the small peasantry constitutes the overwhelming majority, the proletariat can only succeed in carrying out its task if it proceeds step by step in an unusually skilful and careful manner to promote and cement an alliance with this overwhelming majority of peasants.

The trade-unions must be the most alert and unwavering collaborators of the government, which in its turn is directed by the class-conscious vanguard of the working-class, the Communist Party, in all its political and economic activities. The trade-unions are to be not only schools of Communism in a general sense, but particularly schools for the management of the Socialist industries (later also of Socialist agriculture), schools for the working masses, and later also for all the working population.

Based upon this principle, the following fundamental forms of participation by the trade-unions in the economic and governmental organs of the proletarian state must be formulated for the next period.

a) The trade-unions are to participate in the formation of all trade-union and government organs which are connected with the economic organization, and they are to present a list of candidates together with a report of their previous activities and experiences. The decisions lie exclusively with the economic organs which also bear full responsibility for the work of the corresponding organizations. The economic organs on the other hand, shall take into consideration the description and recommendation of candidates as presented by the respective trade-unions.

b) One of the most important tasks of the trade-unions is to develop a trained corps of future administrators out of the

working masses or employees in general. If we now possess a few score such administrators who are doing absolutely satisfactory work, and a few hundred others who are more or less efficient and capable, we shall soon be in need of hundreds of the first sort and of thousands of the second sort. In the future, the trade-unions must more carefully and completely than hitherto register all workers and peasants who are fit for such work and keep perfect control of their progress in the study of management.

c) It is necessary to increase the participation of the trade-unions in the elaboration of economic plans and programs of production and in the distribution of provision funds, as well as in the selection of industries that are to remain under government management and those which are to be let out or given out as concessions. This participation of the trade-unions takes place exclusively through their activities in the corresponding government organs. The trade-unions, however, shall have no direct control of production in the private and leased factories. Besides taking part in the entire work of cultural enlightenment and in the propaganda for increased production, the trade-unions are constantly to draw the working-class and the working masses in general more and more into the structure of the government economic system and to acquaint them with the whole cycle of economic life and industrial work, from the raw material up to the production of manufactured articles. In this manner the working masses are to get an ever-clearer and more concrete conception of the unified government plan of socialist economics, and of the practical interest of every worker and peasant in the realization of this plan.

d) The working out of wage-scales and provision-standards constitutes a most essential part of the work of the trade-unions in the development of Socialism. *Working discipline* is to be raised chiefly through the disciplinary courts, which are not to interfere with the functions of the civil courts and factory management.

8. Contact with the masses as a fundamental principle for all trade-union activities.

The most important and most fundamental prerequisite to any successful trade-union activity is *contact with the masses*, i. e., with the overwhelming majority of workers, and later also with the entire working-class. From the very base all the way to the top of the trade-union organization and its machine, a whole system of responsible comrades must be created, which is to be based on many years' experience. It shall be compulsory for these comrades to live in the workers' sphere, so that they may know it thoroughly and be ready at any moment and at every question faithfully to register the voice of the masses, their actual desires, needs and thoughts, stripped of all false idealizations, and to be able to determine the degree of their class-consciousness and the influence of this or that prejudice, and this or that remainder of the past. Through comradely behavior and by conscientiously satisfying the needs of the masses they should be able to win the unlimited confidence of these masses. One of the most serious dangers that threaten a Communist Party, which is numerically small and which manages an immense country as vanguard of the working-class during the transition period from capitalism to socialism, is the danger of being cut off from the masses, the danger that the vanguard may advance too far without first straightening out its front, that is without maintaining connections with the entire working army and with the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants. Just as the best-built factory, which may be equipped with first-class machines and have an excellent power supply, must inevitably come to a standstill when the transmission apparatus gets out of order, a catastrophe in our Socialist reconstruction is inevitable when the transmission apparatus between the party and the masses, that is, the trade-unions, is poorly constructed or functions poorly. It is not sufficient merely to state this truth, to call attention to it and to establish it; it must be organically incorporated into the whole structure of the trade-unions and into their daily work.

9. The contradiction in the situation of the trade-unions under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the foregoing results a series of contradictions between the various functions of the trade-unions. On the one hand their form of activity is education and enlightenment and on the other, they cannot withdraw from the sharing of certain governmental powers while participating in certain compulsory activities. On the one hand their main task is the defense of the workers' interests in the strictest sense of the word. On the other hand, being participators in the government and the builders of the economic system as a whole, they cannot avoid a certain pressure. On the one hand they must work in a very warlike manner, for, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most embittered, stubborn and desperate class-war; on the other, specific military tactics are least applicable in the trade-unions.

On the one hand they must adapt themselves to the masses and adjust themselves to their level, and on the other, they are under no circumstances to yield an inch to the prejudices and backwardness of the masses, but to raise them to an ever higher level, etc. These contradictions are not accidental, nor are they to be eliminated in the course of many years to come. For, as long as there remains a trace of capitalism and of small-scale production, contradictions in the entire social system between these remainders and the new cells of Socialism are inevitable.

The practical consequences are twofold. First, in order to be successful in their work it does not suffice for the trade-unions merely to understand their tasks correctly and to carry them out. Particular tact must be employed in the contact with the masses, a particular sense of understanding which is absolutely necessary in approaching the masses in every single, concrete case, in order to bring the masses with the minimum of friction upon an ever higher level of cultural, economic and political development.

Second, it is certain, that the above-named contradictions must inevitably lead to conflicts, friction and disagreement. In such cases it will be absolutely necessary to resort to a court of higher instance, which is also to possess enough authority to settle all conflicts at once. Such a court is the Communist Party and the international union of all Communist Parties — the Communist International.

10. The trade-unions and the specialists.

The fundamental theses on this question are to be found in the program of the Russian Communist Party. But if we do not repeatedly point out the facts which determine the degree to which they may be applied in practical life, they will remain mere pieces of paper. Such facts have recently come up in connection with the *killing of engineers by workers* in socialized mines not only in the Ural region, but also in the Donetz coal basin. Another example is offered by the suicide of the chief engineer of the Moscow water-works, W. W. Oldenburger, in connection with the impossible working-conditions brought about by the inefficient and inadmissible behavior of the Communist groups and the organs of the Soviet power. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee was compelled to hand over the investigation of this matter to the court.

It is more the Communist Party and the Soviet government as a whole, rather than the trade-unions, that are responsible for such occurrences. But now is no time for determining the degree of culpability; it is rather a question of definite *political consequences*. As long as the leading institutions, like the Communist Party, the Soviet government, and the trade-unions, do not succeed in seeing to it that those professional men and specialists who work conscientiously and out of love for their profession, are guarded by us like the pupils of our eyes even though in their ideology they may be far from Communists, there can there be no talk of any real success in the Socialist reconstruction. We must absolutely see to it that specialists, who form a special social group until we reach the highest point of development in Communist Society, *should fare better under Socialism than under Capitalism*, in the material as well as in the legal sense, *in the comradely cooperation with the workers and peasants* as well as in the sense of being satisfied with their own work, fully conscious of their social usefulness, and independent of the selfish interests of the capitalist class. No one will recognize such a system as well-managed if it does not practically and systematically provide for the all-around safety of its specialists, and if does not give preference to the best among them and protect their interests.

The trade-unions must not consider and perform this work (or the systematic participation in work of this kind) from the point of view of single jurisdictions or provinces, but rather from the viewpoint of labor and economic interests as a whole.

In the specialist question, the trade-unions have the difficult and strenuous task of putting pressure upon the masses daily, and of bringing about the correct mutual relationship between them and the professional men. It is only such work that can lead to real practical results.

11. The trade-unions and the petty-bourgeois influence upon the working class.

The trade-unions have a basis in reality only when they contain very large groups of non-partisan workers. The inevitable result is, particularly in a country with an overwhelming peasant majority, that the relative stubbornness against any political influence forms the superstructure of the capitalist remains and of small scale production. These are the petty-bourgeois influence; on the other hand those of the Menshevik, Social-Revolutionaries (the Russian parties of the Internationals 2 and 2½). It is only in these directions that we still have a somewhat considerable number of people who defend capitalism not

out of selfish motives, but because they continue to believe in the classless significance of the "democracy", "equality" and "freedom" they preach. The remainder (rarely is it a rebirth) of similar petty-bourgeois ideas in the trade-unions may be attributed exclusively to just such economic causes named above, and not to the part played by individual groups or persons. The Communist Party, the Soviet institutions and all Communists in the trade-unions must therefore pay very much more attention to the intellectual fight against petty-bourgeois influences and tendencies within the trade-unions, the more so, because the *new economic policy* must necessarily lead to a certain strengthening of capitalism. This capitalist gain must be counterbalanced by an intensified struggle against the petty-bourgeois influence.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Italian Communists and the Cooperatives

by Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

** The cooperative movement was always very powerful in Italy but its development during recent years has proceeded with a constantly growing rapidity. Directed, however, by the Socialists this movement has a constant tendency to deviate from its natural path and to become a support of the bourgeois regime. Its last degenerative tendency is *guildism* which has infiltrated into the cooperative and trade-union organizations.

Since the Armistice the Italian proletariat has been faced with ever-growing unemployment. Due to the reactionary pressure of the Government and the employers a strong movement took root aiming at the creation of cooperatives and trade-unions, at the establishment of a net-work of cooperatives all over Italy that would gradually take the place of all the organs of production and consumption, so that with the coming of a Socialist cabinet of ministers, the proletariat would find itself in the very presence of a Socialist Republic....

This tendency which received a new impulse after the occupation of the factories—when certain owners, frightened by their past and possible future, were willing to give up their establishments—raised great hopes in cooperation between producers and labor which was to protect the proletariat from the speculation of middlemen and merchants and lead to the creation of a great number of cooperatives. Among the organizations that suffered most from this fever was the Italian Federation of the Building Trades which soon developed a clearly *guildist* tendency.

The Italian Communists, therefore, awaited with keen interest the National Cooperative Congress which had to examine the situation created by this new state of things and to devise methods for the future. The Congress which met a Milan towards the end of January permitted the Communists, who control a certain number of Cooperatives, to enter the arena of the cooperative movement for the first time since the split of Livorno, in order to introduce the Communist banner in this field of proletarian struggle, and to take a definite position against other parties.

Presenting their views on the cooperatives, the Communists affirmed that, contrary to Social Democratic opinion, the cooperative movement is but a weapon and not the aim of proletarian class-struggle, and that neither the trade-unions nor the cooperatives can ever emancipate the proletariat if the latter does not previously seize political power. The Communists are opposed on principle to the grafting of the cooperatives of production and labor on the trade-union movement; the danger then arises that the trade-unions abandon their natural sphere of the class-struggle to launch into competition with capitalist enterprises. Under the capitalist regime the cooperative is not much different in its economic form from other enterprises. The competition which arises between bourgeois and guild businesses, not only forces the trade-union to deviate from its proper functions but also puts the guilds on an inferior basis when compared with capitalist enterprises. The *guildist* movement ought to be fought by all means.

The trade-unions ought to control the organization and functioning of every new cooperative of production and labor, and the action of these cooperatives ought to be subordinated to the general interests of the working-class.

The cooperatives of consumption offer smaller difficulties and can develop by taking in all proletarian producers and consumers of a city or district. The question of the relations between cooperatives and trade-unions is not solved by bureaucratic ex-

pedients given from on high by the leading organs, but finds its logical solution in the movement of the masses, who, having the same needs and the same ideal, organize in the trade-unions on one hand, and in the consumers' cooperatives on the other. The consumers' cooperatives which rest upon the masses have great possibilities of development, and their political and economic orientation demands the interest and efforts of the Communists. The true value of cooperative action from the Communist standpoint is that it ought to be closely and directly bound with other forms of the class-struggle, and ought to tend, under the direction and guidance of the political party of the proletariat, to accelerate the process of the direct and complete conquest of the state by the proletariat. The revolutionary value of the cooperatives consists precisely in the will of their members to win their emancipation by using as weapons of struggle the trade-unions and the cooperatives. It is therefore an error to accept into the cooperatives all producer-consumers; the cooperatives ought to be class-organs. The cooperatives and trade-union movements both lead (with the will of the proletariat) to collective society, but the two movements must not be confounded. Political action in the cooperatives must be inspired by Communist principles.

It is useless to add that the motion of the Communist delegates, stating their conceptions as just explained, was rejected by the Congress.

The Italian Socialist Party which had been invited to the Congress was not represented. The leading reformists of the cooperatives agreed with the bourgeois cooperators that the National Cooperative League ought to be entirely independent of the Socialist Party.

The result of the Communists' appearance in the cooperative camp was, first, to clarify by their motion the functions of the trade-unions and the cooperatives and the relation which ought to exist between the two organizations, and second, to throw new light on the crisis within the Italian Socialist Party which again, in refusing to take interest in a question of such importance, left the field of proletarian struggle to the reformists.

After the congress, the National Committee of Communist Cooperators was founded, which will aim to coordinate the work of the Communists in the cooperatives in order finally to conquer them.

THE WHITE TERROR

Delivered over to the Hangman!

by Paul Fröhlich (Berlin).

** Fort and Concepcion, the supposed murderers of Dato have been extradited by the German government into the hands of the Spanish hangmen. By the German Government? By the German Social Democrats! It is Radbruch, the Social Democratic Minister of "Justice" of Germany who is responsible for this betrayal.

No matter what the German Social Democrats do they cannot help but reveal their true miserable color, their malice and brutality.

A few days ago the Communist members of the Prussian Diet sounded the alarm with the report that the two Spanish comrades were after all to be extradited. The Government declared that negotiations were still in progress and that no decision had as yet been reached. Now it is established that at that time the fates of Fort and Concepcion had already been sealed. The bourgeois-Social Democratic government crowned its breach of the right of asylum with a dishonorable cowardly lie.

The right of asylum is a thing "holy" to the German Social Democrats. The Social Democratic Minister of Justice said so himself in his solemn declaration in the Reichstag. But how could the Social Democrats who respond to every wink of the counter-revolution, who turned traitor and spy to their own working-class, who offered Gallifets out of their own ranks to the bourgeoisie, and who tolerated and sanctioned death-penalties and their execution against revolutionary workers — indeed how could they resist a demand of the international counter-revolution! The right of asylum is "holy" to them. That is why they hand over political "criminals" to the Spanish rack!

Why need indeed a Social Democratic Minister of Justice be a Social Democrat and a lawyer if not for the purpose of finding words of justification for its service to the counter-revolution? He points to the German-Spanish extradition treaty which expressly provides that: "The provisions of the present agreement (extradition of common criminals) shall not apply to such persons who have committed any political crime or misdeed."

How clear, how unambiguous and precise! The Social Democrat Radbruch also admits that in this case it is likewise

a question of a deed "motivated by political revenge". But he cannot see the political purpose. Why had not the accused committed high-treason against the political criminal Dato? Herr Radbruch would then have saved them! But as it is, there remains nothing for him to do but to wait that the extradition "is a very unfortunate thing, not only on humanitarian, but also on judicial grounds". Such is the hypocritical sympathy which the Social Democrats never fail to offer to the victims of its counter-revolutionary deeds of shame. The same hypocrisy marks the protests which the General Trade Union Federation and the General Independent Federation of Employees have now issued against the extradition. The Spanish comrades are already in the hands of the hangman. The Social Democrats have delivered them to him. Now they scowl and proclaim their innocence. They are like the jackals — cowardly, vicious and cruel.

Yes — the Social Democratic trade-unionists are indeed protesting — just as they once protested against the torture in the dungeons of Barcelona, against the judicial murder the Spanish Anarchist Ferrer. Today a Social Democratic Minister of Justice offers new sacrifices to the Spanish torturers, and all he does is stammer out that the German government expresses its wish that the victims be not sentenced to death.

Translated from the Social Democratic jargon this means: "We the lackeys of the counter-revolution have done our duty. Great Inquisitor, do yours!"

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Liberated from Hungary's Dungeons

** 70 prisoners (55 comrades, among them the former People's Commissars Agoston, Bokanin and Cabatos, and 15 women comrades all of whom proletarian Russia's strong arm had liberated from Horthy's dungeons) arrived on February 17th in Dresden (Saxony) on their way to Russia. All of them had remained Communists and revolutionaries though they had been manhandled and maltreated. The Hungarian gangs did not desist from their cruelties, even at the last minute having prevented our comrades from receiving the farewells of their relatives. The irons around their legs and wrists had been tightened so as not to allow the blood to flow through the arteries.

The comrades stayed at the Dresden main station for about 9 hours which, thanks to the endeavours of the Dresden branch of the Communist Party of Germany, were passed in the spirit of solidarity. In Stettin, too, before boarding their ship, the comrades were entertained by the local groups whose members had quickly (no warning of the arrival had been given) procured as much food as possible. Then to the strains of the International the Hungarian and German comrades parted with hearty wishes for the revolution.

The Russian comrades liberate the proletarian rebels in the hands of the Hungarian Whites. Members of the Socialist Party of Germany, however, surrender fugitive proletarians to the Spanish hangmen. The emancipation of Labor can only be accomplished by Labor itself. The truth of this is once more shown by the liberation of the Hungarian revolutionaries by Russia, the only proletarian power, and by the hearty welcome those comrades were accorded both in Dresden and in Stettin.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The End of the K. A. G.

by E. Meyer (Berlin).

** Paul Levi and his followers began their fight against the German Communist Party in the Spring of 1921, with the object of defending Communism in Germany and in the entire world against the "putchistic and sectarian tendencies of the Communist International".

The result of this struggle, which lasted a whole year and which exhausted all means available even down to the publication of stolen documents, is the unconditional capitulation of the Communist Working Union (K.A.G.) before the Independent Socialist Party of Germany (U.S.P.D.).

The time and form in which the K.A.G. joins the Independent Socialist Party of Germany are both characteristic of Levi's group of renegades. The U.S.P.D. has just been playing a most ambiguous part in the railway strike; its press, with the Berlin "Freiheit" at the head, came out against the strikers quite openly. The U.S.P.D. Reichstag fraction saved the Wirth-Groener-Radbruch cabinet, thereby prolonging Rathenau's militant foreign policy against Soviet Russia, and enabling Groener

to continue with his measures of revenge and class-justice. Even in the ranks of the U.S.P.D. workers, the dissatisfaction with the attitude of their leaders is continually growing. Yet, the K.A.G. chooses this very moment for starting negotiations with the U.S.P. on the question of entering the Independent Socialist Party. The National Conference of the U.S.P. approved the entry of the K.A.G. into the party—on condition that the K.A.G. unconditionally accept the U.S.P.-program and the Leipzig Manifesto. The would-be-saviours of Communism thereby openly admit that they have given up the fundamental principles of Communism and that they at the same time accept those of the International 2½. The Independent Socialist press is jubilant over this political event and sees in it the success of the U.S.P.D. policy. The "Leipziger Volkszeitung", for instance, writes as follows:

"It is just the return of Däumig, Geyer, and Hoffmann that shows how correct our tactics were in those days at Halle... At that time the attitude of our paper as well as that of the Independents was not understood by many workers. Today we stand justified in every particular and we shall continue to remain justified in our attitude towards the recent struggles in spite of the fact that it did not coincide with the attitude and opinion of many of the party comrades..." (this refers to the attitude of the U.S.P. towards recent railroad strike and towards the Cabinet crisis).

The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" is indeed very modest. It interprets the return of a few men as the justification of its own policy, but at the same time it forgets what it sees itself compelled to admit in the very same article, namely, that the K.A.G. represents only a "small insignificant splinter" in the movement. In its negotiations with the U.S.P., as the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" reports, the K.A.G. admitted that it was no independent organization. With the exception of a communication sheet and Levi's monthly, the K.A.G. possesses no press, "and no difficulty whatever would be encountered in counting up the number of 'Communists' belonging to it in the hundreds column of a calculator".

The U.S.P. cat made very short work of the insignificant K.A.G. mouse. According to the decision of the National Conference of the U.S.P. the K.A.G. members must apply to the Local Committees for membership in the Independent Socialist Party. The U.S.P. press decorates this decision with all sorts of condemnatory remarks against the individual members of the K.A.G., so that the entry of the K.A.G. adherents into the U.S.P. is thereby rendered not so easy a task.

Until now the K.A.G. has not answered to the humiliating conditions of the U.S.P. Nevertheless it will have to accept them for the simple reason that it has no other way out. (Not so very long ago the K.A.G. still spoke in a very important tone to the Communist Party and put political and organizational conditions to it.)

In the protracted period of discussion between the K.P.D. and the K.A.G., the K.P.D. gave the K.A.G.-adherents the longest possible rope in questions of political and organizational nature, insofar as the latter kept within the grounds of Communism. The K.A.G. has always rejected the comradely settlement of their opposing views within the party; it preferred to work with disclosures in enemy papers and this puny handful was even impudent enough to "put conditions" in ultimatum fashion to the whole party. Now it accepts the protectorate of the U.S.P.D. without as much as an objection. It thereby proves that it long ago abandoned Communist principles and that it is organically related to the U.S.P.D. It is true that the humiliating attitude of the U.S.P.D. will hurt it to the quick—but only for a moment, for political ties bind more quickly and more securely than the petty jealousies and quibbles that arise out of some inessential differences.

The K.A.G. is expiring; no one sheds a tear, and the very last to waste any tears over its death will be the workers who had always looked upon the K.A.G. as an strange, artificial structure, and who for this reason kept away from it completely. If the K.A.G. now again puts on its "Sunday best" and sends a "delegation" to the Frankfurt International Congress of the Internationals 2 and 2½, that does not yet prove that it possesses any political significance, but it is rather a good proof of the utter insignificance of this sham congress which attempts to create the false impression that because of the K.A.G.'s participation, even "Communists" are represented at Frankfurt. With one foot in the U.S.P., the K.A.G., through its last political move, created another illusion. To delude itself and to try to delude others, was the only activity which the K.A.G. was capable of setting into motion against Communism, from the moment it saw the light of day.