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## The IV. World Congress

By G. Zinoviev.

The IV. Congress of the Communist International made a gigantic stride on the way to the transformation of the Comintern from an alliance of separate parties into a really united International Communist Party. The IV. Congress has most successfully defined the tactical resolutions of the previous congresses, especially of the III. Congress, and has determined the manner of their application to the present situation; it has further dealt with communist tactics in each separate country, with the variation of the work in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the various countries. At the same time the IV. Congress undertook the first great step towards formulating general program of the Comintern.

This was the chief task of the IV. Congress.

The Comintern has greatly increased in extent and power. At the IV. Congress 65 delegations were present (at the III. Congress 52). The greater mass of the work was done in the commissions and sections. Three quarters of the essential activity of the congress consisted of conferences held by the various parties, in the presence of representatives of the most important brother Parties, for the discussion of their internal affairs, and for the passing of resolutions founded on the experience of the advanced workers of the whole world. The greatest work of the Comintern lies in having accomplished this. It marks the essential character of the IV. Congress.

### The United Front.

The IV. Congress conclusively formulated the views of the Comintern with regard to the united front tactics in general and the workers' government in particular. The III. Congress merely opened up these questions in a general form, and issued the watchword: "To the masses!" The Executive Committee and its two enlarged sessions first called into existence the tactics of the united front. The IV. Congress has overcome the last obstacles in the way of successfully carrying out these tactics, and characterizes the united front as a slogan for a whole period. The united front tactics encountered the greatest opposition in the Latin countries, in France, Italy, and Spain. The traditions of the labor movement in these countries at first caused the real nature of these new and complicated tactics to be incomprehensible. The IV. Congress noted with much satisfaction the declarations of the Spanish, French, and Italian com-

rades, from which was to be seen that the United front tactics are beginning to achieve notable results in their countries. After the IV. Congress the Comintern is in a position to carry through "as one man" the united front tactics—the tactics forming the key to the present situation—in complete comradeship and on an international scale.

### The Unity of The Trade Union Movement.

The IV. Congress emphasized with special stress and decision the importance of unity in the trade union movement. Although at one time there were many comrades, embittered by the treachery of the Amsterdamers, who let their feelings run away with them and who declared: "We are not afraid of a split in the trade unions", the IV. Congress now distinctly declares to the contrary: "We fear the split in the trade unions, we do not want it, we shall not permit it". It is the leaders of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals who want the split. Objectively considered, they fulfil a special task of the bourgeoisie with their eagerness for a split. The Amsterdamers and the leaders of the Second International feel that the ground is slipping from beneath their feet. They know that the future belongs to the communists. And before they leave the trade unions, before they abandon their places to the communists, they at least want to slam the door behind them with such violence that all the window panes rattle: They want to leave nothing but the debris of the trade unions for the communists. Therefore the Comintern must exert every effort to save the unity of the trade unions. At the IV. Congress comrade Rosmer said that the Comintern saved the labor movement in the year 1920 when it successfully opposed the "left" tendencies to leave the trade unions. This is correct. In our opinion the IV. Congress has saved the international labor movement for the second time by issuing the slogan: "Maintain the unity of the trade unions under all circumstances".

The IV. Congress brought about an approach to nearer relations with the best elements of syndicalism: with the communist syndicalists, and the elements closely connected with them. The IV. Congress made slight organizational concessions to these syndicalists in consideration of the fact that they represent considerable masses of really revolutionary French workers. These are at present

old French traditions and by the weakness of the French communist party, from adopting the correct attitude in the question of the relations between party and trade unions. If we stand for the united front, we must do our utmost to preserve the unity of the best syndicalist elements. This has been attained, and is another point of no little value which has been gained by the IV. Congress.

#### The Purification of the International C. P.

The IV. Congress was obliged to spend much time in liquidating the relics of social democracy, for all parties belonging to the Comintern have not yet succeeded in getting rid of these. No doubt much malicious joy will be felt in some quarters, that after the Comintern has existed for four years, we are still obliged to occupy the time of our congress with such a question as that of freemasonry. At the time of the second congress of the Comintern, Serrati proposed that we should include, as a 22nd condition, one forbidding members of our party from being free-masons. At that time I replied to Serrati that we were just as unable to include such a special condition in our statutes as we were unable to make special mention of the fact that it was not permitted to extract handkerchiefs from strange pockets. Alas, we were much too optimistic. Some of the parties joining us brought with them the whole of the social democratic incumbrances. The greater the number of old social democrats who came over to us, the more difficult it became to organize a real communist party in the country in question. This was also the case with our French brother party. There we suddenly won over a great majority of the old party. The old party belonged to the second International at one time, and this majority brought with it not only social democratic prejudices, but also problems of free-masonry. There is no use attempting to disguise the fact that the IV. Congress of the Comintern had to occupy itself with the "problem" of free-masonry. We are however convinced that the Comintern will not be obliged to return to this and similar questions.

Almost all the larger parties of the Comintern came under the review of the congress, and especially before its commissions. The congress helped the French party to overcome the old traditions of parliamentarism and centrism. The congress aided the Italian communists in their task of establishing unity with that section of the old socialist party which deserted communism at Leghorn, and which returned to the ranks of the Comintern after bitter disappointments and severe lessons. The congress helped the Norwegian party to settle with the remains of semi-syndicalism, semi-reformism, with federalist principles of organization, and with the social democratic intellectuals. The congress aided the American comrades in creating the right relations between the illegal party and the legal mass movement. The congress joined with the American comrades in emphasizing with all possible force the need for the formation of a broad legal labor party (after the type of the English Labor Party). The Czecho-Slovakian comrades, who can boast of great success, are helped by the congress to overcome the semi-syndicalist danger just at the moment when this danger is beginning to arise. The congress helped the Spanish comrades to find the right way to win over the masses from the irreconcilable anarcho-syndicalists and assisted the Yugoslavian comrades, by efficient advice, to carry on the fight against the bourgeoisie, etc. etc.

#### Capital threatens a Siege

The IV. Congress established with perfect certainty the fact that in a number of countries the workers are confronted with an approaching state of siege and White Terror. Fascism may before long become an international phenomenon. The IV. Congress recognizes this clearly. But it does not take a stereotype view. It is aware that a new page of history may be turned to-morrow, and that there are at least some countries (England, France), where episodal rebirth of democratic pacifist illusions is very well possible.

#### On to the land.

The IV. Congress laid down in detail the tactics of the Comintern in the agrarian question. The congress completely rejected the crude Marxism which is of the opinion, in accordance with the traditions of the "good old" social democracy, that the communists should not concern themselves too much with the peasantry. The congress was also obliged to note another aberration—the idea that all peasants are the same, that they are all "agricultural workers", and do not differ in any way from the workmen in the factories and workshops.

#### The Negroes in our midst.

The Negroes were represented for the first time at the IV. Congress, and they brought reports full of interest to us.

The IV. Congress created an exhaustive program of action for the parties and revolutionary organizations of the Near and Far East, and in this question it was only necessary for the IV. Congress to put in more concrete and definite form the resolutions of the II. World Congress. The work to be executed will be of tremendous practical significance.

#### Towards the United World Party.

The IV. Congress has at last altered the structure of the leading organ of the Comintern. Every vestige of federalism in the structure of the Executive Committee of the Comintern has been laid aside. From now onwards the congress itself will elect the Executive Committee, and the IV. Congress has determined that this committee is to be a real central committee of the International Communist Party.

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The IV. Congress was a gigantic university for us and for all participants. All advanced workers in the world should acquaint themselves with the magnificent work done by the 4. congress. The path of the Comintern was outlined at the 4. congress with a care, and clarity and distinctness hitherto unknown. A few years more of such work, and the Comintern will form such a solid foundation of workers' parties of the world that it will be able to take up the fight, with the fullest confidence, against every attack of reaction and against every attack of international Fascism. At the 4. congress we felt, more than ever before, that the international community of communist workers has joined hands, and will not retreat, even in face of the powers of hell.

## POLITICS

### The Dardanelles Struggle in Lausanne

By Arthur Rosenberg.

The diplomats of today call to mind those maidens in the Greek mythology of the Underworld who were condemned to be forever pouring water into a bucket that had no bottom. Endless streams of words and ink pour into the Entente conferences upon contemporary humanity. But the result is, when one has weighed it seriously, nothing. What a great noise was raised over the disarmament Conference in Washington! Yet it has already become an accepted fact in the British House of Commons that no one is carrying out the agreement for naval disarmament. Everywhere the building of battleships continues, and the warships actually discarded are only old hulks which are no longer a match for the artillery of today. *Le Temps* has found in all this a remarkable excuse for the inability of France to ratify the Washington agreement. Namely, that at the Washington Conference, Russia was forgotten. And the present Oriental crisis, the discussion of the Dardanelles question in Lausanne, shows more than ever that Russia is still a great power on the water as well as on land.

It is very nice of French Capitalism, which has struggled so long to strangle Soviet Russia, to suddenly notice the existence of Russia as a Great Power. But viewed impartially, the objection of the Paris paper proves to be perfectly sound, for the course of events in Lausanne demonstrates that the Washington Conference failed to estimate truly the balance of seapower. The conference reckoned as follows: the German and Russian fleets have been destroyed by the World War, France and Italy are and will always remain seapowers of secondary importance. Therefore there remain, as serious competitors on the seas, England, America and Japan, and their future battle field will be the Pacific Ocean. If disarmament and peace therefore are ever to be attained, the fundamental question of the Pacific Ocean must find an acceptable solution, and such an agreement come to regarding the strength of the various fleets as would lead to some sort of balance of power between England, America and Japan. Today, however, England is compelled to concentrate thirty warship, including seven modern dreadnoughts, off Constantinople, as a means of pressure against Russia and the Turks. England has therefore to fear not only a serious competitor in the Pacific Ocean but also in the Dardanelles. Thus the Washington calculations come to nothing and the gentlemen have been merely scribbling more scraps of paper.

The Lausanne conference has demonstrated that not only the problem of Islam and England remains unsolved, but that of England and Russia as well. One taking a superficial view of the matter can declare that Soviet diplomacy follows the way of the

Tsarist political methods: i. e., struggle with England over the Dardanelles, Russian interests in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, Russian menace to India. What has changed then, since the days of Isvolksi? Several things have changed. In Russia there no longer exists greedily Capitalism and Imperialism. Soviet Russia does not seek for profit in the Orient, but merely for recognition of her right of existence. But it is just here that Russian politics become more dangerous to capitalist England than before. The grasping Tsarist Russia generally had the Mohammedan world against it, and England could always play the role of the protector of Turkey. On these grounds the English fleet during the Crimea war sailed to Sebastopol, and on these grounds Disraeli at the Berlin Congress, set bounds to the Russian schemes of conquest. When England at that time succeeded in establishing the neutralization of sea passages, when by the agreements of the Nineteenth Century, Russian warships could not pass through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the result was simply that the Russian Black Sea Fleet was reduced to a policing power for the inland waters. For a decisive move in the Mediterranean no Russian Fleet existed. Should Russia, in the event of war, attempt to break through the Dardanelles, the Turks could hold the fortifications until the English came to their aid. And that the Dardanelles fortifications are a formidable obstacle for an enemy power which tries to force its way through was shown in 1915.

Conditions today are entirely changed. Soviet Russia no longer represents a menace to the people of Islam. Turkey today need fear no Russian Imperialism whose aim is Constantinople, and the Turks, defending their independence have no friend so trustworthy as Russia. No longer can English Capitalism play off Turkey and Russia, one against the other. In the nineteenth century England stood with Turkey against Russia. In the World War she sided with Russia against the Turks. But now England finds opposing her the united front of Russia and Turkey. In Turkey, Kemal Pasha embodies the opposition of "The exploited Oriental peoples against Western Capitalism". The Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government has all the force of the International Proletariat behind it.

Such is the historical background of the dual of words between Tchitcherin and Lord Curzon at Lausanne. On the one side there spoke the henchman in defence of endangered western capital, on the other side answered the spokesman of the oppressed peoples of the Eastern and the Western lands.

Today England's policy is the exact reverse of what it was before the war. Then she wanted the Dardanelles as strongly fortified as possible, so that its cannon could effectively resist any attempts of the Russian ships to proceed Southwards.

Today she wishes the complete demolition of the Dardanelles fortifications, so that, in case of war, the English fleet can steam unhindered to Constantinople and take possession of the Black Sea. So one finds that the English Capitalists, anxious for peace though they declare themselves to be, still retain mental reservations, and Soviet Russia must adapt herself to those mental reservations. Tchitcherin declared in Lausanne, with absolute truth, that a settlement of the Dardanelles question in the British sense could never reestablish harmony in the Near East, and that it would be a standing danger to Russia and to world peace. It must have rung painfully in the ears of Curzon, that former Viceroy of India, that champion of Anglo-Indian interests, when Tchitcherin reminded him that the Russian Cavalry stands again on the border of Afghanistan; that, if the worst came to the worst, there stands between the Russian Red forces and the seething Indian Empire merely the unstable Emir of Afghanistan.

The diplomats in Lausanne have not risked tackling the stormy question of the petroleum in Mossul. The convenient excuse was accepted, that England controls the Mossul petroleum fields by a mandate of the League of Nations, and that the matter cannot be disposed of without the League of Nations. In the question of European boundaries, Turkey found opposing her, besides England and Greece, the Little Entente and Bulgaria as well, whose Peasant Government considers the best method of carrying out her pacifist program to be through reconciliation with Jugoslavia. France maintains throughout the entire conference her attitude of marked reticence. Poincaré feels apparently, that the principal aim of French Oriental policy, the creation of a strong Turkey, has been reached. She holds in reserve her Mossul claims. Nor is haste so imperative in other matters. French capitalists want first of all to secure their harvest in the Ruhr, and for that English support is essential. And so, for the moment, France plays the role of disinterested friend to England. This combination creates a difficult position for German diplomacy. The majority of the conference not only wishes to leave Thrace west of the Maritza in the hands of Greece; Turkey has even been refused the possession of Karagach, which is the

suburb of Adrianopolis, on the west side of the Maritza where lies the railway station of this city. The islands, which skirt the west coast of Asia Minor are also to remain Greek. In the question of Capitulations, the majority is likewise unwilling to meet the Turkish demands. The privilege of separate courts for foreign capitalists in Turkey remains intact, and the Turks are required to recognize the old demands of foreign creditors. The American representative took pains, also, to secure this dominance of foreign robbers on Turkish soil.

In addition, America jealously reserves her own petroleum claims. As far as Italy is concerned, she is, despite the loud-mouthed Mussolini, a mere supernumerary.

Already one can say in all truth that the Lausanne conference is settling nothing except the petroleum problem. The Turks are in no hurry to sign an unfavorable peace treaty. However, even should the combination of the Great and the Little Entente and America succeed in forcing the Turks to a treaty in favor of Western Capital, such a treaty would be null and void for Soviet Russia. And Turkey herself would not wait long to tear up such a treaty. For the united front of her enemies cannot be of long duration. The petroleum question of Mossul will soon divide the English from the French and the Americans.

The Lausanne Conference will go the way of the Washington Conference, a great deal of waste paper and no result. The real outcome of Lausanne remains the union of interests between Russia and Turkey. The Lausanne conference receives its historical significance in the sense of being a step in the common struggle of the European Proletariat and the Oriental peoples against Western Capitalism. The future will agree with Tchitcherin and not with the Dardanelles proposals of Lord Curzon.

## The Moscow Disarmament Congress

By Maisky.

Despite all the talk of the enemies of Soviet Russia on the subject of "Red Imperialism", the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, born with the word "peace" on its lips, has held true to this watchword during the whole course of its existence. At Genoa the representative of Soviet Russia, Tchicherin, raised the question of general disarmament in his first speech. And even after the failure in Genoa, Soviet Russia did not abandon her pacifist intentions. On June 14, the Soviet government appealed to all the governments of the border countries, especially, to Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Roumania, to hold a common conference upon the possibility of reducing armaments.

Russia's initiative encountered much distrust. With the exception of Roumania, all these states have been formed out of parts of the one-time Russian empire, and even now they never feel certain of the morrow. They are always shaking with terror that one fine day they may be swallowed up by Soviet Russia. To this must be added the influence of the great powers, above all of France, which is especially anxious that armed forces be maintained in the states surrounding Russia. It was not until December 2, that is, six months after Russia's note of invitation, that the conference was at last opened at Moscow. Those present included the representatives of Soviet Russia, headed by Litvinov, and the representatives of Poland, Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania; Roumania did not take part in the conference, for the Roumanian government declared beforehand that its participation in the congress was conditional upon Soviet Russia's recognizing the stolen Bessarabia as a part of Roumania. It is true that the leader of the Polish delegation, prince Radzivil, declared that he had certain powers of attorney from Roumania in his pocket, but he made no use of these in the course of the negotiations.

Soviet Russia at once brought up the disarmament question in the first session. Her proposals were as follows: 1. Reduction of the armies of all participants in the conference by 75% within 18 months. This would imply a reduction of the Red Army to 200,000 men. (In 1914, before the war, Tsarist Russia had an army of 1,800,000). 2. Disbandment of all irregular military formations; 3. reduction of war expenses of the participating states in such manner that each state has the right to expend only a certain sum per year and per soldier; 4. creation of neutral zones on the frontiers, in which no military are to be allowed.

These proposals effectively demonstrated Soviet Russia's readiness to disarm. To maintain an army of only 200,000 men for the gigantic territory of the Soviet Republic, from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean — this signified complete abandonment of any aggressive tendency.

But it is precisely for the reason that Russia's propositions made for real and actual disarmament that they threw the delegates of the neighbouring countries into the utmost confusion. They had come to Moscow because they had to come or compromise themselves in the eyes of the masses of the people, but they had not the slightest intention of really disarming.

In reply to Russia's offer the Polish-Baltic coalition stated its counter demands. The delegates declared that the first condition for disarmament was the creation of an "atmosphere of confidence" between Russia and the neighbouring states, and that this confidence could only be created if Soviet Russia would sign a treaty binding herself not to invade these states.

In vain the Soviet delegation pointed out that the relations between Soviet Russia and the neighbouring states were regulated by peace treaties containing the most solemn assurances of mutual friendship. After the negotiations on the "atmosphere of confidence" were over, and the question of actual disarmament was approached, a remarkable comedy was played.

Not one of the border states held it to be possible to reduce the armies by more than 25%. Russia declared that it has now an army of 800,000 men, so that this reduction would lower it to 600,000 men. The border states did not however state the strength of their present armies. Finland was to have 28,000 men after the disarmament, Estonia 10,000, Latvia 19,000, and Poland 23,000. But reliable information shows for instance that Latvia has now 19,500 men under arms, and Estonia even only 14,000, so that Latvia would reduce its army by 2% and Estonia would actually raise its army by 14 per cent. In the same manner Poland attempted, by fraudulent figures, to have its army reduced by 14,000 men, that is, by 4% per cent, instead of 25%. When their tactics were discovered, there remained no choice for the border states but to sabotage the conference. At the session held on December 2, the united Polish, Finnish, Estonian, and Latvian delegates made a statement in which they moved that a mutually binding treaty against invasion should be signed at once, but the question of disarmament should be placed in the hands of military experts for study.

With this the conference was dead.

Despite this, the Moscow disarmament congress has not been entirely unfruitful. It has openly shown to the whole world that the Soviet republic is sincerely anxious for peace, and the enemies of Soviet Russia will no longer be able to convince the workers of other countries that Soviet Russia cherishes aggressive aims.

The delegates of the border countries also rejected the motion of the Russian delegates, that a full session be held to recapitulate the results of the congress. The reason given for this refusal was that such a final session would solely serve the purpose of "Soviet propaganda". Another proof of how these elements fear the daylight, and how they must hide the truth from their peoples.

## Comrade Radek's Speech at the Hague Peace Conference

This world peace congress has been convened for the purpose of discussing the means to be employed for carrying out the resolution passed at Rome by the ITUF. Although we did not participate in that congress, we are willing to take this resolution as a starting point. Permit me to go into this resolution in detail.

### General strike against war.

The main point of the resolution consists of the passage: "The International Congress declares that it is the duty of the organized workers in the future to counteract every threatened war by every means at the disposal of the labor movement, and to prevent the actual outbreak of war by declaring an international general strike".

What is the significance of the threat of an international general strike in the event of war? It signifies the refusal to take part in any war conducted by capitalist states, whether this war be furnished up as a war of defense, or openly carried on as a war of imperial rapacity. A binding engagement to carry out a general strike against war means the refusal to defend the *Capitalist Fatherland*.

Misled by the slogan of defending "home and country", the proletariat bled for four years for the interests of the bourgeoisie, and this under the leadership of the majority of you. If you have now recognized that you were in error, then have courage enough to admit this openly. We do not demand this in order to have the pleasure of seeing Wels and Grassmann, Henderson and Thomas, Renaudel and Jouhaux, making a pil-

grimage to Canossa, but because a mass policy must be a clear policy. If the threat of the international general strike is to be something more than an empty threat, the workers of the capitalist world must be told daily:

*You proletarians of the capitalist countries, you have no fatherland to defend; you must first conquer the land of your fathers.*

### The Preparation for the Struggle against War.

Gentlemen, you have seen what war is, many of you perhaps have felt it. I hope that your experience has been such that none of you assume that when war threatens, the capitalist governments will grant you freedom of action. The bourgeoisie will appear armed to the teeth. Is the proletariat to stand before it defenceless? It must be armed. In the first place it must be politically armed by the full consciousness of its tasks, of its political rôle. Can it be so armed when war is threatened, if its mass party has been enervated by years of a policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie?

*If all you have to say against war is not to be a mere phrase, the first condition is to break off the coalition with the bourgeoisie!*

The proletariat, thus emancipated from the paralyzing coalition with the bourgeoisie, will also emancipate itself from the influence of bourgeois politics and mentality. It must learn to understand all the treacheries and tricks of the bourgeoisie. Are you helping the proletariat to do this? The resolution on Henderson's report lies before me. It does not even demand the annulment of the Versailles Treaty! Four years after the end of the war, after every liberal has recognized the untenability of this treaty, your resolution demands the revision of some points of the Versailles peace, without even exactly designating which. Do you believe that agitation of this nature will inspire the French and English workers to take action, and to make sacrifices, against the occupation of the Ruhr valley? Why do you not protest against the proceedings in Lausanne, where a new treaty of Versailles is being prepared against the Turkish people? Do you believe that there is no possibility of war for the possession of the Mösull petroleum, or that such a war does not concern the proletariat?

But the mental preparation of the proletariat against the danger of war does not suffice; even its protests do not suffice.

*The bourgeoisie does not bend before arguments.*

If all your threats are not to be threats made with a mere cardboard sword, measures must be taken ensuring that at least a part of those bearing arms are on our side. Can you do all this without the proper means and equipment? No!

### Mass strikes and war!

You have caused the great word of an international strike against war to be uttered.

We are of the opinion that if the working class does not rise before the cannon are mounted, it is much less likely to rise after martial law has been proclaimed, after all the demons of nationalism have been let loose, and the workers bound hand and foot.

We communists, whose object it is to prepare the working class to-day and to-morrow for the revolutionary struggle against the dangers of war, do not engage to organize the mass strike when war breaks out.

*Mass strike against war is social revolution, and the date of the social revolution cannot be determined beforehand.*

If you can do it, we shall not stand aside, although we are no fixed-term-herces. But we can tell you one thing: After your policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie and of pacifist illusions has enabled world capital once more to drive the working masses on to the battle fields, we, the communists, will not desert, but will go to war, and take up arms to carry the spirit of revolution into the army, to turn the weapons against the bourgeoisie.

If you talk daggers here for a week, and then go home to prepare heroic deeds against war, to be performed at dates still unknown, the bourgeoisie will laugh at you, and will have a right to do so. Now is the time to show your readiness to fight, now that the bourgeoisie is preparing to strangle the German people with fresh reparation demands, and is paving the way for a new war in the Near East. As proof of your readiness to fight we suggest:

1. the immediate organization of an international propaganda week against imperialism, and
2. the devotion of the closing day of this week to a one-day protest strike against the peace treaties of Versailles, etc.

Whenever we make suggestions, you invariably reply that we have the interests of our Russian foreign policy in view. But now I may tell you:

We Russians do not now fear the attacks of the Entente; the Entente will not venture to attack us. The proposal which we make to you is not: Help Soviet Russia. We say: *Do not make it impossible* for the proletariat to unite in the fight against the consequences of the war, which will crush the Western European proletariat to the earth. We hold out our hand to you for common action, and if you refuse to take it at this moment, when you are uniting with the bourgeois pacifists, the proletariat will recognize that you do not mean to fight!

*Comrade Radek* explained, on behalf of the Russian delegation, why the decisions of the commission were impossible of acceptance by them:

"We came here for the purpose of taking a common step forwards with you. But it appears that you do not want to take this step forwards. The resolution on the reparations which has been passed in the commission forces the German worker, who cannot even buy himself a shirt, to pay for Stinnes' policy. But how does it come about that the congress only demands reparations for France and Belgium, but not for Yugoslavia or Poland, who suffered far more from the war? Because the congress submits to the pressure of Poincaré and his 800,000 soldiers. The League of Nations is nothing more nor less than a diplomatic negotiating machine. How can a proletarian congress designate this League as a universal remedy? A resolution is submitted demanding the general strike in case of war. But here Vandervelde made his reservation, which was received with lively applause, that in case of war he would first have to consider if it were not a war of defense for Belgium; and in the commission, Huysmans declared quite openly that under similar conditions he would act precisely as in 1914. The majority of the congress has refused the practical suggestions of the Russian delegates. The majority want to join hands with the bourgeois pacifists, but not with the communist workers who fought against war, at the greatest sacrifice, during the world war. We shall go to the masses and tell them why the united front has failed here."

#### The Resolution proposed by the Russian Delegation: (rejected).

"In view of the fact that the abolition of war is only possible with the abolition of the capitalist system, war being an attendant phenomenon of capitalism; and in consideration of the fact that the pre-requisite of every struggle against imperialist wars is the creation of a united front, the International Peace Congress adopts the following resolution:

1. An international committee of action is to be formed for conducting the struggle against war, this committee to be composed of representatives of the International Trade Union Federation, the Second International, the Vienna Working Union of socialist parties, the Communist International, the Red Labor Union International (Moscow), and the International Cooperative Federation.
2. Similar committees of action are to be formed in all countries, composed of representatives of the above named organizations.
3. Every workers' organization is to be admitted to these committees of action, even if it does not belong to any International, provided it wishes to carry on the fight against war.
4. These committees of action have the further duty of exerting all their energies to put an end to the splits within the trade union organizations, and to prevent possible splits, provided that the liberty of propaganda within the organizations themselves is assured, and unity of action observed.
5. These committees of action and the organizations to which they belong must carry on an indefatigable fight against the theory and practice of bourgeois defense of the native country, this being a slogan utilized for the purpose of delivering over the working class, bound hand and foot, to the imperialist bourgeoisie.
6. In order that the proletarian fight against war may have real results, mutual work with bourgeois classes and government coalitions is to be abandoned, and a distinct dividing line to be drawn between workers' organizations and bourgeois governments.
7. In view of the fact that bourgeois pacifism is under the delusion that peace can be maintained on a capitalist foundation, the peace congress calls upon all workers' organizations

to destroy these bourgeois delusions by systematic work, the more that the combatting of these dangerous delusions is the leading premise for efficacious struggle against war. Without declining the cooperation of bourgeois pacifism for the cause of peace, the congress is opposed to a bloc with the bourgeois peace movement, as such a bloc is only a form of working in common with the bourgeois class.

8. In order to prepare the army and broad masses of the workers for the real fight against war, legal and secret organizations are to be formed in the army, and to gain an influence, by means of constant, persevering, and revolutionary work, enabling them to take their place at the head of the army at the suitable moment, and to rise against the bourgeoisie.

9. The masses must prepare for the most violent struggle: for the annulment of the disgraceful treaty of Versailles and of analogous treaties; against the imperial band of robbers hiding behind the "League of Nations"; for the most energetic fight against the enslavement of the working masses of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, etc., consequent on the reparations, and on the attempt of the bourgeoisie of all countries to thus meet the damage wrought all over the world by the imperialist war.

10. The manoeuvres of international imperialism against the interests of the working class must be unmasked, and all secret treaties made between the governments are to be published.

11. It is necessary to call upon the workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, oppressed by the imperialist governments, to take part in this action.

12. Action is to be taken for the immediate evacuation of all parts of Germany occupied by allied troops, and for the evacuation of all countries, districts, and territories, in the Near and Far East, in Africa, etc., whose occupation has been carried out on the mandate of the League of Nations, that is, by the right of might.

13. Action is to be taken for the disarmament of all White Guard organizations (Fascisti, civil guards, Orgesch), and for the arming of the working masses; further action is to be taken for the formation of workers' governments in all countries, the task of such governments being to carry out the above-named demands against the will of the ruling classes.

14. The congress resolves to organize an international propaganda week against war, from January 8 to 15., and to proclaim a 24 hours international general strike for January 15, as a protest against war, against the Versailles treaty, against imperialism, against the dictatorship of capital, and for the placing of power in the hands of the workers." (Rejected.)

## The "Zoological Garden" at the Hague

By A. Lozowsky.

It is eminently suitable that the International Peace Conference, announced with so much fanfare by the people in Amsterdam, should meet precisely here. The spot is well chosen. The pacifist fauna is fairly well represented. The one-time French-militarists, having learnt something by the international massacre, walk hand in hand with the bourgeois pacifists, and perform miracles of eloquence, skirting and fringing 80,000 times around the questions, without ever tackling them fairly. The crocodiles of the holy civil peace wander about the garden and exert themselves to the utmost to square the circle: to declare war against war, and at the same time to defend an imperialist native country to the last breath. Who would have believed that these asses could continue to exist? But they are still there; the air of Versailles seems to have done them good.

Abstract and barren pacifism is quite at home here. The speakers and delegates roar to such an extent that they might be taken for real lions, but nobody takes them seriously, for everybody knows them to be the servants of their governments.

I walk along by the tables and look for workers with revolutionary blood in their veins, and not the consecrated water of pacifism! I look in vain.

The garden is still and lonely. Even the flies are almost dying of ennui. This Zoological Garden, which fairly resembles a cemetery, is one day abruptly shaken out of its quietness by the appearance of Muscovite bears! What can they want here? The poor unwieldy animals wander about among the tame beasts. The air of the Zoological Garden, reeking of the pacifist stable, almost suffocates the Muscovite animals. Here they miss the fresh air of their native country. The tame creatures, gentle and friendly to their masters, cry out in the greatest alarm at the

sight of the bears . . . Have you never seen how doves go in for politics on a grand scale? It is a fine spectacle!

But is it really so delightful here in this Zoological Garden? I begin to doubt it, although the number of animals represented is large enough. It is much more like a pacifist cemetery, where the pacifist corpses wander uneasily about, delivering hollow and empty speeches. Always the same phrases, over and over again. Is it a cemetery or a Zoological garden? One as much as the other. And peace? Ah, peace! It is dead, poor thing. Poisoned by reformist and bourgeois pacifism.

The Hague, December 12, 1922.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Fight in Ludwigshafen

By J. Walcher (Berlin).

#### A Retrospect.

The fight in Ludwigshafen lasted for three weeks and a half. It ended in defeat. But we believe that this defeat is one of those of which Rosa Luxemburg once spoke, which form the premises of future victories. This can of course only be the case if the vanquished workers candidly admit their defeat as such, and set to work on the thorough removal of its causes.

Why were the workers obliged to capitulate, just as victory appeared to be within their reach?

Why has the German proletariat added a fresh link to the long chain of its defeats?

The reply is as follows: the workers of Ludwigshafen were vanquished by capital because some of their local representatives, and the majority of the trade union leaders, sided with the employers and against the workers in this struggle. The strikers succumbed to the tremendous preponderance of power represented by the employers, the government, the occupation authorities, and the trade union leaders, despite the generous support afforded them by the German and the international proletariat.

It is true the working class with its gigantic powers is strong enough to crush even such a combined front of the enemy as existed in Ludwigshafen. But this cannot be done by guerilla warfare in which the workers are forced into attempting to defeat the mighty financial reserves of the employers with the aid of mites sacrificed by those who themselves have not even the necessities of life, who cannot even feed and clothe themselves.

At the beginning it appeared as if the workers — regardless of all obstacles and hindrances — were determined to extend the fighting front more and more, and thus to convert the struggle into a political one. The struggle began in the great Baden Aniline and Soda Factory, and in the notorious Oppau Works. In the course of two days it had spread over almost the whole of the Rhine province. Had the struggle spread at the same speed beyond the frontiers of the province, the aniline kings would have been obliged to come to terms within a few days, and the workers could have returned to the factories as victors. The realization that the struggle of the Ludwigshafen workers was a struggle of the whole working class, was however, not sufficiently strong to bring about a spontaneous solidarity strike outside the Rhine district.

This is the first lesson to be drawn by the proletariat from the Ludwigshafen fight: it is impossible for the workers to obtain a decisive victory over capital, where only funds are pitted against funds, where the victory of the workers depends on their having adequate means in their treasury to meet the needs of the strikers. In such a struggle the most that can be forced from the employers is a compromise acceptable by the workers, but they can never thus be forced to complete capitulation.

In this struggle, even though it did not intensify into a political one, the position, having regard to all circumstances, was extremely favorable for the workers. The chemical industry is very busy. The profits forfeited by the capitalists during each day of the strike were enormous. Had the trade unions supported the fight of the workers with only one half of the energy which they employed to damage and discredit it, the workers would have been able to successfully defend their position, and would have forced the employers to pay adequate wages, and to withdraw the dismissal of the three shop stewards. But the trade unions, especially the leading Factory Workers' Federation, did not support the strikers; they even threw difficulties in the way of the collections organized by the workers all over the country. In this way the trade union bureaucracy succeeded in preventing many workers from taking part in the relief action. As a result

of this sabotage the amounts collected did not suffice to adequately support the strikers. In the course of the three weeks and a half the strikers received only one single dole: married men 1,500 marks — and single men 1000 marks. A round sum of 30 million marks was required for this single payment. The same amount was collected during the first week with the aid of the international working class. In Germany itself collecting was not begun until the second week of the strike, and in the International, practical results could not possibly be realized until the third week. The misery of the strikers had become unbearable before practical solidarity began to be felt. Christmas was at the gate — the majority of the fighters had taken the last of their property to the pawnshop, and were faced with absolute destitution. The class-conscious workers saw the dangerous position; they redoubled their exertions, and thanks to this readiness for self-sacrifice the strike leaders could announce the commencement of the second payment of strike benefit.

The workers were to decide by vote whether they would continue to starve and suffer in the attempt to break the brutality of aniline capital. At this point the local organizers of the German Metal Workers Union, some thousand members of which were participating in the fight, took it upon themselves to carry out the comedy of putting the question to the vote. Only a ridiculously small number of workers took part. The local organizers took care to mention no numbers, but hastened to declare the strike at an end. The strikers were thrown into confusion — the backbone of the strike was broken.

Aniline capital would never have gained the victory but for the help of the trade union bureaucracy. Although the strikers were fighting under the most unfavorable conditions possible, aniline capital was obliged to concede the full wage demands made by the strikers. Previous to the strike, all rises in wages were simply refused; as a result of the strike the wages, which were 185 marks per hour were raised to 400 marks. Besides this, every worker resuming work is promised an after-payment of 2,500 marks for November, and a Christmas advance to any desired amount. The aniline capitalists are thus obliged to pay a very high price for having their workers return to work under the 21 conditions of enslavement. These 21 conditions fully express the defeat of the workers and the victory of the capitalists! Until the outbreak of the strike the workers possessed fairly extensive rights of decision and control in the factories and workshops. The shop stewards were everywhere at hand to assist the oppressed and exploited; they were able to illuminate many dark ways of the capitalists, and thus many barriers were placed in the way of capitalist exploitation. The capitalists wanted to alter these conditions — hence the impudent provocation — and they have altered them. Thousands of shop stewards have been dismissed. Thanks to trade union bureaucracy, capital has been able to fully utilize its victory.

Every workman who took part in the fight thoroughly realizes that the capitalist victory was only rendered possible because so-called "confidential representatives" of the workers were on the other side of the barricade, on the side of the employers. The second lesson to be drawn by the workers from their defeat is: *ruthless expulsion from their own ranks, of all open or concealed agents of capitalism.* If the workers, not only in the strike area, but all over the country, have really taken this most important lesson of the strike to heart, then the defeat of Ludwigshafen is indeed the augury of future victories.

One other matter of immense significance for the class-conscious proletariat of the whole world, must be emphasized. So far as we are aware, it is the first time that the class-conscious workers — not only of the whole country, but of the whole International — have taken active part in an economic struggle confined to a small district, a sympathy well expressed in the 50 million marks received by the strike leaders up to the present. Even if the workers of Ludwigshafen have not succeeded in vanquishing the aniline kings, the fact that the Russian, Czecho-Slovakian, French, Norwegian, Bulgarian, English, and Swiss workers made the utmost sacrifices to aid the strikers to victory is none the less of tremendous significance. It is only two years since the Red International of Labor Unions came into existence. In the leading countries only minorities are affiliated to it. And yet an appeal from this organization sufficed within a few days, to bring in sums amounting to millions, from numerous countries, for the striking workers. This magnificent international solidarity must be fully utilized, must be organized. Facts prove — and this is the third lesson to be learnt from this struggle — that it is already possible, at the present time, to create an international fighting fund. International collections are a promising commencement, a clear proof that the Red International of Labor Unions is on the right road to become what it must and will be:

An International of Action.

## ECONOMIC RELIEF

### Reception of the First Workers' Loan

By W. Münzenberg (Berlin).

The announcement and opening of the first workers' loan for Soviet Russia through the International Workers' Relief was greeted with scepticism by many party members. The comrades foresaw a complete political and financial fiasco. But again the Optimists have proved to be right, and not the everlasting doubters and hesitators who, hindered by a hundred perplexities and doubts, accomplish nothing in the end. The most critical comrade, viewing the political results of the drive up to date, can find no harmful consequences for the Communist Movement and the International. On the contrary, in many countries—one need only mention Sweden, Norway, France, Holland and America—comrades have seized upon propaganda for the loan as an opportunity for general and effective propaganda for Soviet Russia, for the proletarian revolution in Russia and for the labor movement in all lands. In still other countries the proletarian loan has furnished the occasion for the first widespread propaganda for Soviet Russia, as, for instance, in Japan.

Thousands of posters, a hundred thousand articles, appeals etc. have been pushing the cause of the loan and of Soviet Russia, and at the same time fighting the lying statements of the bourgeois and Social Democratic press. Nor has the loan and the propaganda for bringing it about hindered in the least the work of any communist party, in fact, in many countries, where the decrees of the Communist International have earned respect and esteem, the most encouraging propaganda and political results have developed. But prophecies over the material results were as sceptical as those over the political effects. We were reminded gloomily of the increasing cost of living in Central Europe and of the poverty of the people, of the huge army of unemployed in the western countries, of the heavy drain upon comrades through financial obligations to the party, etc.

But here too, things have turned out better than one had dared to hope. The first workers' loan for Soviet Russia has received a welcome in the workers' ranks of all countries. Even in non-Communist groups the belief in the stability and permanence of the present Russian system and the present Russian Government has proved stronger and greater than some of the comrades supposed. Bourgeois banks have undertaken the sale of shares of the Workers' Loan, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups have invested in shares and bourgeois industrial and commercial enterprises declare themselves ready to accept the script of the Workers' loan in exchange.

Besides the Communist Parties, many Trade Unions and Cooperative Societies are showing great interest in the loan. In certain countries, Sweden, France, England, for instance, several loan committees have been formed with delegates from the Communist party and from the Trade Unions, Cooperative Societies and other organizations as well. One of the members of the London Committee is O'Grady, the well-known English Trade Union leader. Similar committees are in course of formation in other countries.

The loan has been considerably hampered by a multitude of questions which had to be solved regarding technical financial legal and organizational matters. The state of the security market differs in almost every country. Frequent and lengthy consultation with experts was necessary. Great pains were taken over the necessary organization of the loan, the consideration of the general exchange conditions and the gold relations of each country. The loan certificates which are principally to be sold in the currency of each particular country, had to be carefully translated, printed and conveyed to the various committees. These technical preliminaries occupied more than four months time. The greater part of these details are settled at last and the time is now ripe for a wide and public propaganda for subscription.

But already, before a wide-spread public drive was possible, considerable amounts were subscribed and paid, in several countries. In Holland, alone the payment of subscriptions ensures the receipt of 75,000 Gulden and 10,000 is already paid. In Sweden shares have been disposed of to the amount of 125,000 Kronen, and the Stockholm Committee is confident that this amount will be increased to 250,000 Kronen. In France a large sum has already been subscribed, as well as in Norway, where the various Trade Unions, such as the Goldsmiths union have subscribed largely. Switzerland and Czecho-Slovakia show an increasing interest, England plans to raise 40,000 pounds sterling, etc.

Good news arrives from South America, while in North America the labor groups having Russian sympathies have just agreed to raise another million dollars for the American-Russian Co-operative Organisation which was founded by the Garment Workers Relief is calling a sitting of its extended executive in non-communist groups, from individuals etc. are coming into the central office in Berlin.

In order to benefit by recent propaganda experiences and to overcome the last technical difficulties, the International Workers Relief is calling a sitting of its extended executive at Berlin in the middle of January. The Russian Government will be represented by several delegates.

Naturally, the present condition of the Central European worker, the magnitude of the industrial struggle and the financial support necessary for the same will hinder to a certain extent the prompt and immediate disposal of all bonds of the Workers' Loan, but there is no doubt that the entire loan will be fully subscribed in a relatively short time, and that the Workers' Relief will be again enabled to give immediate and practical help and support to Soviet Russia for the reconstruction of her industries.

## FASCISM

### The Development of Fascism in Czecho-Slovakia

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

There is no doubt that we are confronted by the rise of an extensive Fascist movement in Czecho-Slovakia. The threads being spun between the Orgesch organizations in Germany and the German nationalist classes of Czecho-Slovakia are becoming more and more visible, and are preparing the way for an irredentist movement. At the same time the Czecho-Slovakian newspapers publish constant reports on the spread of the "Narodni hnutí" (national movement, the name of the Czech Fascist organization). Even the German social democrats, who a year ago attempted to ridicule the first disclosures of our press on the German-Bohemian Orgesch organizations, are now taking the matter more seriously, and that part of the Czech press opposed to the Fascist movement shows great signs of disquietude, but more on account of the Czech than on account of German Fascism, which is not taken very seriously by the Czechs.

In any case, we Czecho-Slovakian communists have got to take the Fascist movement seriously, not only because the groups from which Fascism recruits its forces (gymnastic clubs, legions, etc.) have already long existed, but above all because the economic and political conditions making for Fascism are to be found in Czecho-Slovakia. The economic crisis heavily burdens the country, its economic relations to neighbouring states are difficult and complicated, every exertion has to be made to overcome the crisis, the last ounce of strength must be wrung out of the working masses for the salvation of capitalist economy. In no place are the wages of the workers and the salaries of the civil servants so palpably reduced as in Czecho-Slovakia, there is no country where unemployment is so terrible. The carrying out of an economic program such as planned, at the expense of the working population, requires ruthless brutality and a strong and determined governmental power. Thus the government of the "strong hand" had to be formed, in which the wire-pullers of the government parties, who have hitherto only worked behind the scenes, themselves took an active part, in order to throw the weight of their authority in the balance.

But the political powers of this government coalition are by no means equal to the gigantic task which it has set itself. Czechish social democracy is no doubt well represented in Parliament, but it has no corresponding hold on the masses. It is only because they have nothing more to lose, that these bankrupt betrayers of the proletariat agree to everything that the finance capitalists and agrarians demand of them. The fermentation among the masses, after reaching Czechish social democracy two years ago, has now spread to Czechish socialism, whose position has, up to now been unshaken.

Although inner difficulties have prevented our party from applying the united front tactics as comprehensively and thoroughly as it have been desired, still the masses following the Czech socialists have awakened into movement; there is open and concealed revolt within the party, and under this pressure of the movement among the masses, the leaders are becoming uncertain and hesitant, they are ceasing to be quite reliable pillars of the government. Among the agrarians and capitalists this is bound to create a desire for a regime free from

the necessity of considering the social democratic parties. For these parties fear the masses, and are a hindrance to a sharper persecution and suppression of the communist movement. Hence the backing of the Fascist movement by the national democratic press.

But Czechish Fascism is preparing for battle on two fronts at once. It has not only to defend the capitalist state against the revolutionary labor movement, but at the same time the Czech national state against the national minorities. It has to fight simultaneously in the class war and in national war. The rebellion of the majority of the Slovaks against the Prague Czech system of government, destroys the fiction of a united Czecho-Slovakian nation, and renders the formation of a new Czecho-Slovakian coalition government more and more difficult, as the Czechs alone do not possess a majority in the state. At the same time the first pre-requisites for a Czecho-German bourgeois-socialist government coalition have been recently complied with. The "German Parliamentary Alliance", comprising the whole of the German-bourgeois deputies in the Czech Parliament has been dissolved. The personal contact and community between the social democratic party leaders and the leading spirits of the Amsterdam trade union international is, in Czecho-Slovakia, as in Austria, much closer and more intimate than anywhere else, and the German social democrats have agreed so completely with their Czech colleagues in reducing the wages of the workers, and in preventing the formation of the united front, that any political antagonism still existing between these two cliques of leaders is based solely on bourgeois nationalism in both camps. As soon as bourgeois fractions are found on the German and Czechish sides, willing to work together in a government majority, this hindrance to a German-Czech bourgeois-socialist government will be overcome. This coalition is approaching nearer and nearer, and the antagonisms in the present coalition are becoming increasingly acute. The social democrats and socialists desire the new coalition in order to free themselves from the oppressive social rule of the national democrats, who bring the whole coalition system into discredit; at the same time they expect to be rid of the fetters of coalition with the clericals, an alliance which embitters the anti-clerical masses of the Czechish working people.

But Czech finance capital sees its scarcely won position of monopolist of the home markets, already endangered by a Czecho-German coalition with a strong social democratic trend. Therefore the national democrats are irreconcilable opponents of this coalition. The disciples of unqualified adherence to French foreign policy side with them. The ranks of the opponents of the coming coalition are also swelled by the extreme nationalist intellectual circles, and by the legionaries, who fear that any injury to Czech supremacy in the state involves injury to their civil service careers. All these elements combine to form the Czecho-Fascist movement. While the present bourgeois socialist coalition is showing the first sign of going to pieces, the next coalition is not only knocking at the door; but the mines are already being laid which in turn are to shatter this coalition. This explosion will however affect the whole system, and confront the state with the urgent question: Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is already building on Fascism, the proletariat on its united front. The decision will depend on which fighting front rallies first: that of the bourgeoisie or that of the proletariat.

Here it should not be forgotten, that one leading cause of Fascism—inadequacy of state power at the critical moment—must be more rapid in its effects in Czecho-Slovakia, than in other countries. The bourgeoisie is composed of antagonistic elements: old Austrian bureaucrats and new extreme national elements side by side with German and Hungarian officialdom, who cannot be relied upon under all conditions. The army is still more inadequate. This contains still more unreliable elements: old Austrian officers of German nationality. The rank and file is also unreliable, owing to different nationalities and communist propaganda (at the last communal election at Jicin the majority of the garrison voted communist). To this must be added that the geographical situation of the state is most unfavorable from a political standpoint, its frontiers strategically most disadvantageous, and the irredentist danger so acute at many critical points of the political situation—in Slovakia the dangerous autonomist tendencies are also to be reckoned with—that even a larger army than the present one would scarcely suffice, under the present critical circumstances, to defend the frontiers of the state, quite apart from the maintenance of "order" at home.

The conditions and thus also the danger, fully exists in Czecho-Slovakia. The proletariat will have to take the matter very seriously indeed, although the beginnings of the movement may appear trivial. In the Czecho-Slovakian state it is easier to declare the "fatherland" to be in danger than in other countries,

for the danger is much more real. The German danger, that is, the danger of a German success in the case of a conflict with a capitalist nationalist Germany, is indeed so great that in earnest Czech circles Fascism is decisively rejected as a fighting organization against the Germans, these circles being convinced that such a movement only increases the antagonism towards the Germans, without accumulating sufficient force to banish the German danger in the case of a serious conflict. But whether seen from a national or a social side, the "fatherland", the capitalist state, will always be endangered, and Fascism will always be wanting to save it. Fascism in Czecho-Slovakia is a real danger for the proletariat, and it must take steps against it in good time.

## An Episode of Fascism in Poland.

By P. Pascal.

Warsaw, Dec. 11., 1922.

Last night, on the 10th December, a mob of several thousands gathered before the Russian Embassy in Warsaw, whistling and yelling, and shouting: "Kill the Jews! Down with the Bolsheviki! Long live the Fascisti!"

A similar demonstration had taken place the previous evening. To-day many people were maltreated, thrown from the trams, wounded, perhaps even killed. Police petrols appeared somewhat late, and went the round of the city.

Pogroms are being revived. But not in the old Tsarist Russia, but in Poland, which, though formally independent, is in reality doubly enslaved by its petty militarist nobility and by the French generals or financiers. Galician salt or Drombrovo coal are unobtainable here, at the source of production, for French capital derives profit from their export. During two hours walk through the centre of Warsaw I encountered a French colonel, two majors, and a French soldier. On the other hand, about every fifth passer-by was a Polish military person. And Jewish blood has been shed!

The excuse for the uproar was the election of a new chief of state in place of the President, Pilsudski, who has resigned. The Senate and the Sejm met in joint congress on the 9th of December for this election. Zamoyoki, the Polish ambassador in Paris and candidate of the Right and Vitos, the candidate of the rich peasantry, were defeated by Narutovicz, the candidate of the "Vyzolenie" party and the medium peasantry. This result was due to the votes of the Lithuanian, White Russian, German, and Jewish national groups. Hence the rage of the parties of the Right. The electoral districts had been carefully arranged so as to wipe out the national minorities, but by holding together they have managed to successfully frustrate this manoeuvre. At the congress they commanded 200 votes.

The pogrom did not originate among the general populace, but among the students. They could be seen, during the last three days, walking about in the manner of the Fascisti, armed with cudgels and even with axes. And it was the students, accompanied by warmly and richly clad ladies and gentlemen, who formed the crowds of demonstrators shouting: "Kill the Jews!" The movement is not a spontaneous one. One of its instigators is General Haller, the one-time commander of the Polish legions and the blind tool of the French army staff. A few days ago he delivered a most inflammatory speech. White guardist placards are displayed everywhere, containing incitements against the Jews.

But this is not all. Under the Tsar's regime the Jews in the universities were only permitted to be matriculated when they had attained a certain percentage. The "enlightened" society of Poland was indignant at this, and inveighed against Russian nationalism. But to-day a meeting of 3000 students decided to permit at most only 13 per cent of Jews to matriculate.

On the other hand, there is now proceeding the trial of the 39 communists arrested last year in Lemberg. 2000 further communists are languishing in prison merely because they are communists. The workers are systematically held back from fighting by the Polish Social Party, which is thoroughly permeated by reformist and nationalist ideas. "I offer no opinion as to whether Narutovicz is worth more than anybody else. But in any case I know that prices are higher every day, while wages remain the same", so said a workman to me with regard to one of these demonstrations.

Thus appears bourgeois militarist Poland, the darling of France. Despite her misery she has a title to fame, and the whole world must ring with it:

*Poland is awakening again to life the pogroms against the Jews!*