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**HOOPER WAR
COLLECTION**

POLITICS

Letter from Constantinople

Kemal Pascha's Reign of Terror against the Labor Organizations.

By *Christo Kabaktschieff*.

The blow dealt by Kemal Pasha's government at the Turkish Communist Party eight months ago is still fresh in our memories. Without the slightest legal pretext, the government arrested all the communists in Angora and other cities, threw them into prison, and arranged a prejudiced political trial. The reactionary arbitrariness of Kemal Pasha's government did not confine itself to Asia Minor. After Kemal's government had occupied Constantinople, one of its first tasks was to institute a persecution of the labor organizations in general, and of the communists in particular. The object of the government is plain: every independent organization, and every independent struggle of the Turkish proletariat, is to be suppressed. If a labor movement exists at all, it must follow in the track of the government's nationalist policy, and must serve the purpose of more firmly establishing the power of the Turkish bourgeoisie.

In Constantinople, there are two large labor organizations. One of these, the International Labor Union (*Union internationale des travailleurs*) is composed of the most class conscious workers among the various nationalities represented in Constantinople (besides the Turkish working class, there are also numerous Greek and Armenian workers in Constantinople), and of the workers organized in the various trade unions (building workers, wood workers, seamen, etc.). The International Labor Union is affiliated to the Profintern, and is working for the reorganization of the old trade unions. The Association of Turkish Workers, (*Association des travailleurs de Turquie*) is stronger numerically. It includes the workers of some state undertakings among its members. There are also communist groups in Constantinople: these have developed energetic activity among the organized and unorganized workers during the past year.

The entry of Kemal's troops into Constantinople was welcomed by the broad masses of the people as a national emanci-

pation. The majority of the working class believed that the new regime meant rights and liberties for the workers, an improvement of their conditions. The working class has been disappointed. Reaction rapidly increased its attacks on the labor organizations. The two organizations mentioned were forbidden to carry on any agitation or propaganda; they were prohibited from convening conferences. The trade unions in which these two organizations exercised influence, through their class conscious and active workers, were also hindered in their work. A nationalist and purely chauvinist agitation was instituted against the workers of other nationalities; these were driven out of the factories and workshops, and replaced by Turkish workers.

After the V. Communist Balkan Conference, a special committee was formed in Constantinople for the unification of the communist organizations and elements in Turkey, and measures were taken for re-organizing the trade unions on the industrial principle, the trade union to comprise all members of an industry, of whatever nationality. Endeavors were also made towards uniting all trade unions in a general trade union federation. The working class heartily welcomed these measures, and 15 trade unions responded to the call to the first conference convened for this purpose. In Constantinople, there exists a so-called "General Union of the Proletariat of Constantinople" (*Union Generale du proletariat de Constantinople*), headed by Schakir Bey, an adventurer and tool of the Kemalists, the object of which is to drive the proletariat of Constantinople into the arms of the government, that it may serve the reactionary and nationalist government policy. This Schakir Bey, who appeared at the above mentioned conference as a representative of a trade union, succeeded with the aid of the police in preventing the non-Turkish workers from attending one of the sessions of the conference. The whole conference, however, energetically protested against this. In spite of this, the conference held several sessions, and drew up the statutes of the future federation of the labor organizations of Constantinople (*Union Generale des organisations ouvrières de Constantinople*). The conference also sent delegates to the economic conference at Smyrna. At the present time the sanction by the government of the statutes is being waited for.

But just at this moment, Kemal's government chose to deal a severe blow at the labor movement in Constantinople. As is known, the trial of the Angora communists is not yet at an end. The agents of the government were successful in arresting Com-

rade Salih in Constantinople, and had him immediately sent to Angora. Just at this time the Mayday appeals accidentally fell into the hands of the police. Thereupon, dozens of comrades belonging to the International Labor Union were arrested without the slightest legal pretext, and cruelly ill-treated. The relatives of those who contrived to escape this police persecution are continually being threatened, in order to force them to betray the hiding place of those sought for. Those arrested, and their relations, are condemned to the most frightful misery, to death by starvation. Proceedings are being taken against the prisoners. They are to be placed before a court martial on the charge of high treason.

These persecutions are not only directed against communists and trade union members, but also against the trade unions themselves, against their administrative bodies and their functionaries. The government prohibited the celebration of the 1st of May by a special edict. It suppressed the *Neos Antropos* (organ of the "International Labor Union") and destroyed all the rights and liberties enjoyed by the trade unions. But, at the same time, the government has the insolence to announce that only one person has been arrested, for distributing revolutionary appeals!

In order to adequately characterize the regime prevailing in Constantinople at the present time, we must mention one of the laws recently passed by the National Assembly at Angora: the law relating to high treason, which empowers the government to designate as high treason any expression of dissatisfaction or opposition, any struggle against the existing regime, and to impose capital punishment accordingly.

Soviet Russia and the Communist International are supporting the national revolutionary struggle being carried on by the Turkish people against the imperialist states. This help is still being given today, now that the Turkish people is striving to free itself from economic, financial and political dependence on Imperialism, and to win national independence. But Kemal Pasha's government gives ample proofs that it is well on the way to an understanding with English and French Imperialism, and to joining forces with these for the betrayal of the interests and liberties of the Turkish people. In order to facilitate and prepare for this betrayal, the first care of Kemal Pasha's government is to stifle the voice of the vanguard of the fighting Turkish workers and peasants, the communist workers, and to destroy the labor organizations, even those of a purely trade union character.

The government is preparing for new elections to the national assembly. These elections will, however, be carried out on the old two class system. This electoral system is the most reactionary of all systems, and robs the workers and peasants of the possibility of returning their representatives to the national assembly, so that this body represents exclusively the nationalist bourgeoisie and large landowners of Turkey. The Chester concession, for the construction of a new railway system in Turkey, concedes great economic privileges to American capital, and makes Turkey dependent on this. Strategically considered, this new railroad scheme is directed against Soviet Russia.

Kemal Pasha's government exploits the nationalist feelings, still widely spread among the masses of the workers, for the purpose of diverting these from the path of independent class war, and of inducing them to participate in the struggle against the revolutionary labor movement; the working class is to be split up, and utilized, with the aid of European and American Imperialism, for the establishment of the unrestricted class rule of capitalists and Beys in Turkey. This government, which made use of the moral help of the international proletariat in its struggle against English and French Imperialism, must be shown up in its true colors before the world proletariat, for it has betrayed the interests of the proletariat; it is a government which betrays the Turkish people, and which persecutes the class-conscious workers with the utmost cruelty, in order that it may be better able to bargain away the Turkish people as slaves to foreign imperialists.

Schlageter

"The Wanderer into the Void"

A speech delivered by Karl Radek at the session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern on June 20, 1923.

We have just heard the comprehensive and deeply impressive report of Comrade Zetkin on International Fascism, that hammer meant to crush the head of the Proletariat, but which will fall upon the petty bourgeois class who are wielding it in the interests of large capital. I can neither supplement nor complete the speech of our venerable leader. I could not even follow it clearly, because there hovered before my eyes the corpse of German Fascism, our class enemy, which was sentenced to death and

shot by the hirelings of French imperialism, that powerful organization of another section of our class enemy. Throughout the speech of Comrade Zetkin on the contradictions within Fascism, the name of Schlageter and his tragic fate was in my head. We should remember him here when we are defining our attitude towards Fascism. The story of this martyr of German nationalism should not be forgotten nor passed over with a mere phrase. It has much to tell us, and much to tell the German people.

We are not sentimental romanticists who forget friendship when its object is dead, nor are we diplomats, who say: By the graveside say nothing but good, or remain silent. Schlageter, a courageous soldier of the counter-revolution, deserves to be sincerely honoured by us, the soldiers of the revolution. Freksa, who shared his views, published in 1920 a novel in which he described the life of an officer who fell in the fight against Spartacus. Freksa named his novel "The Wanderer into the Void".

If those German Fascists, who honestly thought to serve the German people, failed to understand the significance of Schlageter's fate, Schlageter died in vain, and on his tombstone should indeed be inscribed: "The Wanderer into the Void".

Germany lay crushed. Only fools believed that the victorious capitalist Entente would treat the German people differently from the way the victorious German capitalists treated the Russian and Roumanian people. Only fools or cowards, who feared to face the truth, could believe in the promises of Wilson, in the declarations that the Kaiser and not the German people would have to pay the price of defeat. In the East a people was at war. Starving, freezing, it fought against the Entente on fourteen fronts. That was Soviet Russia. One of these fronts consisted of German officers and German soldiers. Schlageter fought in Medems, Volunteer Corps, which stormed Riga. We do not know whether the young officer understood the significance of his acts. But the then German Commissar, the Social-democrat Winnig, and General Von der Goltz, the Commander of the Baltic troops, knew what they were doing. They sought to gain the friendship of the Entente by performing the work of hirelings against the Russian people. In order that the German bourgeoisie should not pay the victors the indemnities of war, they hired young German blood, which had been spared the bullets of the Great War, to fight against the Russian people. We do not know what Schlageter thought at this period. His leader, Medem, later admitted that he marched through the Baltic into the void. Did all the German nationalists understand that? At the funeral of Schlageter in Munich, General Ludendorff spoke, the same Ludendorff who even today is offering himself to England and to France as the leader of a crusade against Russia. Schlageter was mourned by the Stinnes press. Herr Stinnes was the colleague in the Alpina Montana, of Schneider-Creuzot the armourer, the assassin of Schlageter. Against whom did the German people wish to fight: against the Entente capitalists or against the Russian people? With whom did they wish to ally themselves: with the Russian workers and peasants, in order to throw off the yoke of Entente capital or for the enslavement of the German and Russian peoples?

Schlageter is dead. He cannot supply the answer. His comrades in arms swore to carry on his fight at his graveside. They must supply the answer: against whom and on whose side?

Schlageter went from the Baltic to the Ruhr, not in the year 1923 but in the year 1920. Do you know what that meant? He took part in the attack of German capital upon the Ruhr workers; he fought in the ranks of the troops whose task was to bring the miners of the Ruhr under the heel of the iron and coal kings. The troops of Waters, in whose ranks he fought, fired the same leaden bullets with which General Degoutte quelled the Ruhr workers. We have no reason to believe that it was from selfish motives that Schlageter helped to subdue the starving miners.

The manner in which he chose to die speaks on his behalf, and proves that he was convinced he was serving the German people. But Schlageter thought he was best serving the people by helping to restore the mastery of the class which had hitherto led the German people, and had brought such terrible misfortune upon them. Schlageter regarded the working class as the mob that must be governed. And in this he shared the view of Count Reventlow, who calmly declared that no war against the Entente was possible until the internal enemy has been overcome. The internal enemy for Schlageter was the revolutionary working class. Schlageter could see the profound mistrust of the workers towards the German government and the German bourgeoisie. He could see how the deep cleavage in the nation hampered its defensive power. He could see more. Those who share his views complained of the passivity of the German people. How can a defeated working class be active? How can a working class be active which has been disarmed, and from whom

It was demanded that they should allow themselves to be exploited by profiteers and speculators? Or should the activity of the German working masses be replaced by the activity of the German bourgeoisie? Schlageter read in the newspapers how the very people who pretended to be the patrons of the German nationalist movement, sent securities abroad so that they might be enriched and the rich impoverished. Schlageter certainly could have no hope in these parasites, and he was spared reading in the press how the representative of the German bourgeoisie, Dr. Lutterbeck, turned to his executioners with the request that they should permit the iron and steel kings to shoot down sons of Germany, the men who were carrying out the resistance on the Ruhr, with machine guns.

Now, that the German resistance, through the rascally trick of Dr. Lutterbeck, and still more through the economic policy of the possessing classes, has been turned into a farce, we ask the honest, patriotic masses who are anxious to fight against the French imperialist invasion: How will you fight, on whose support will you rely? The struggle against Entente imperialism is a war, even though the guns are silent. There can be no war at the front when there is unrest in the rear. A minority can be kept under in the rear, but not a majority. The majority of the German people are the working men, who must fight against the poverty and want which the German bourgeoisie is bringing upon them. If the patriotic circles of Germany do not make up their minds to make the cause of the majority of the nation their own, and so create a front against both Entente and German capital, then the path of Schlageter was the path into the void, and Germany, in the face of foreign invasion and the perpetual menace of the victors, will be transformed into a field of bloody internal conflict, and it will be easy for the enemy to defeat her and destroy her.

When, after Jena, Gneisenau and Scharnhorst asked themselves how the German people were to be raised from their defeat, they replied: only by making the peasants free. From submission and slavery shall come freedom. Only the free German peasantry can lay the foundations for the emancipation of Germany. What the German peasantry meant for the fate of the German nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the German working class means at the beginning of the twentieth century. Only by it can Germany be freed from the fetters of slavery, and not against it.

Schlageter's comrades talked of war at his graveside. They swore to continue the fight. It had to be conducted against an enemy that was armed to the teeth, while Germany was unarmed and beaten. If the talk of war is not to remain an empty phrase, if it is not to consist of bombing columns that blow up bridges, but not the enemy; that derail trains, but cannot check the armoured trains of Entente capital, then a number of conditions must be fulfilled. It demands that the German people should break with those who have not only led it into defeat, but who are perpetuating the defeat and the defencelessness of the German people by regarding the majority of the German people as the enemy. Only when the German cause becomes the cause of the German people, only when the German cause becomes the fight for the rights of the German people, will the German people win active friends. The most powerful nation cannot endure without friends, all the more so a nation which is defeated and surrounded by enemies. If Germany wants to be in the position to fight it must create a united front of workers, and the brain workers must unite with the hand workers, and form a solid phalanx. The condition of the brain workers cries out for this union. Only old prejudices stand in the way. United into a victorious working people, Germany will be able to draw upon great sources of resisting power which will be able to remove all obstacles. If the cause of the people is made the cause of the nation, then the cause of the nation will become the cause of the people. United into a fighting nation of workers, it will gain the assistance of other people who are also fighting for their existence. Whoever is not prepared to fight in this way is capable of deeds of desperation but not of a serious struggle.

This is what the German Communist Party and the Communist International have to say at Schlageter's graveside. It has nothing to conceal, for only the complete truth can penetrate into the suffering, internally disintegrated masses of Germany. The German Communist Party must declare openly to the nationalist petty bourgeois masses: Whoever is working in the service of the profiteers, the speculators and the iron and coal magnates, to enslave the German people and to drive them into desperate adventures, will meet with the resistance of the German Communist Workers. They will oppose violence by violence. Whoever, from lack of comprehension, allies himself with hirelings of capital, we shall fight with every means in our power. But we believe that the great

majority of the nationalist minded masses belong not to the camp of the capitalists but to the camp of the Workers. We want to find, and we shall find, the path to these masses. We shall do all in our power to make men like Schlageter, who are prepared to go to their deaths for a common cause, not wanderers into the void, but wanderers into a better future for the whole of mankind; that they should not spill their hot, unselfish blood for the profit of the coal and iron barons, but in the cause of the great toiling German people, which is a member of the family of peoples fighting for their emancipation. This truth the Communist Party will declare to the great masses of the German people, for it is not a Party fighting for a crust of bread on behalf of the industrial Workers, but a Party of the struggling proletariat, fighting for its emancipation, an emancipation that is identical with the emancipation of the whole people, of all who toil and suffer in Germany. Schlageter himself cannot now hear this declaration, but we are convinced that there are hundreds of Schlageters who will hear it and understand it.

The International Significance of the New Wage Struggle in Germany

By W. Lada.

There is no doubt that the latest German wage struggles possess a high degree of international significance, not only with regard to the international labor movement, but with regard to world politics. Considered purely from the standpoint of world politics, it might be thought that such severe wage struggles as those in the Ruhr area, or in upper Silesia, must undoubtedly weaken Germany, and thus strengthen France's position. This is the viewpoint of the German bourgeoisie and the German government, who are therefore endeavoring, in closest alliance with their social democratic and reformist flunkies, to stigmatize every struggle on the part of the masses of the people as "communist sedition". At the same time the French bourgeoisie and the French government regard events in the same light and are hastening to utilize the situation for putting the "hereditary enemy" into the most difficult position possible. The revolutionary, class-conscious proletariat must look deeper into the matter. World politics are still the domain of the ruling class. But the influence of the toiling masses reacts far more quickly today on world politics. "Passive resistance" against the Ruhr occupation was not, and could not be, the watchword of the international proletariat. Its watchword, clearly and sharply defined by the Frankfurt conference, was active fight—on both sides of the Rhine—in every country in Europe, and for the slogan: Clear out of the Ruhr area! Down with the dictatorship of the Versailles victors', and, in the two countries concerned: Down with Cuno and Poincaré! These internal and world political aims, however, by no means render it imperative that the "unity of the German people" remain unshaken, that class antagonisms, questions of wages, conditions of living, etc., be peacefully and quietly settled. On the contrary, these aims necessitate that the forces of the German working class, of its revolutionary vanguard,—should they be insufficient to overthrow Cuno's government—be maintained as far as possible. This conservation of the forces of the German working class is, however, made impossible by the continuous worsening of conditions of living.

The recent magnificent wage struggles of the German working class are therefore not only more than justified from the standpoint of a bare struggle for existence, but are equally justified from the point of view of the world political aims of the international working class. The slogan of the international revolutionary proletariat is not: Victory of German "democracy" and German "right" over the imperialism and brutal domination of France, but: Down with the dictatorship of the Versailles victors! The German bourgeoisie, in capitulating to French imperialism, is also contributing to a partial liquidation of the Versailles treaty. But the struggles of the German working class are just as little responsible for this capitulation as they were responsible for the dictates of the Versailles peace. The defeat of the German bourgeoisie and its social democratic allies in the Ruhr war is the inevitable result of their defeat in the great war. The victory won by the German working class in the last and present wage struggles guarantees that these working masses will continue to fight in the future, with equal or even greater energy and determination, to defend themselves from being plunged deeper into misery.

Let us now consider the significance of the latest wage struggles in Germany purely from the standpoint of the labor movement. In Germany, the first five months of the Ruhr occupation passed off like the first 2½ years of the great war, without any great mass fights in the labor movement. The German bourgeoisie, with the social democratic and reformist

trade union leaders, were successful in establishing "civil peace". This malign spell has now been broken. The masses have begun to move. The economic pressure of the Ruhr war has proved stronger than all the phrases as to "United Front for defence against Poincaré". The German working masses have been fighting and are continuing to fight for their class interests, and this fact is bound to affect the working masses of western Europe—especially of France and Belgium. Whilst the German working masses did little to disturb "civil peace" during the first five months of the Ruhr war, in France and Belgium, the economic consequences of the Ruhr occupation gave rise to extensive mass struggles, even in these first months. These struggles were, however, not so intense as the recent struggles in Germany. And they have shown no realization of the connection between the economic factors of the movement and the world political situation. But in spite of all this, the fact remains that the French and Belgian miners, as well as the Belgian civil servants, have fought determinedly for their own interests, even in the midst of the Ruhr war. 1923 is not 1914/1917—that is the deeper import of this fact! The proletariat is defending its class interests against the interests of its imperialist bourgeoisie, and despite the deceitful phrase of "national unity".

We are now going through the second period of the Ruhr war, which resembles the second period of the great war (1917—1918). The German proletariat appears on the scene. The approaching solution of the Ruhr conflict, announced by the second German note, cannot bring any change in the development of Germany's economic position and thereby in the conditions of existence of the German proletariat. The struggles will therefore continue, and will probably be resisted by the bourgeoisie with growing energy.

The starting point of these movements of the German working class is based on the ever-growing disparity between the level of wages—intentionally kept down during the Ruhr war—and the enormously increased cost of living. In other words, they are based on the further reduction of the already low standard of living of the German workman. It is impossible to fully overcome this tendency by wage struggles. If we assume that the real wages of the German workers, before the Ruhr war, amounted to one half of his pre-war wages, then it is a fact that, since this war, his wages have fallen to one third of the pre-war level. This fact is bound to affect the workers of France, Belgium, etc. And this means fresh struggles in these countries also. For the bourgeoisie of the allied countries, is not likely to give in without a struggle to any demands for levelling up of wages. And here the workers of western Europe—like the German workers themselves—must derive a lesson from the latest German struggles. They must learn that their aims are only to be attained by the action of united and determined masses—regardless of party, industry or profession. The events in Havre, Celsenkirchen, Dortmund, Bautzen, and Leipzig, must teach them that it is futile and harmful to expose themselves in the streets to the blows dealt by "democracy", until they can confront these democrats with their own equally well equipped organizations; they must learn that during this era of capitalist collapse, it is impossible by mere wage struggles to bring about any permanent improvement in their position, but that there is only one way to this improvement: the closest linking up of the economic and political struggle, the seizure of political power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of putting all productive forces at the service of the toiling masses.

Höllein's Parting Greeting to the French Workers.

On the day when the Paris-Strassburg express brought Comrade Höllein to the German frontier, the Parisian "Humanité" published the following letter addressed by Höllein to the working class of France:

"Santé Prison, June 14, 1923.

Dear Comrades,

After having, endured for 13 weeks every species of baseness and vile trickery which a corrupt capitalist justice has been able to devise, simply and solely because I went to France for the purpose of expressing the idea of inviolable revolutionary solidarity binding the French and German proletariats together in their common struggle against the imperialist infamies and crimes of their ruling classes;

after being accused of conspiracy, together with the French communists and Red trade unionists, and robbed of my freedom for several months, in a manner directly counter to law, and held as a German hostage of Poincaré-la-guerre and his criminal hireling Colrat, who wanted to fill out their hollow indictment, based entirely upon forged documents, by dragging me in;

after having been forced, together with my young party friend Peri, and courageously supported by my anarchist comrades in the Santé prison, to defend myself against the vilest and most despicable law-breaking by a conscienceless government by resorting to the last available means, the hunger strike;

after having witnessed, in my sick room in the Cochin hospital, the miserable collapse of the accusation of communist conspiracy before the French Senate, which resolutely refused to permit itself to be degraded to the executive organ of the base plans of that detestable tyrant Poincaré and of the national bloc, both of whom are only anxious to establish the infamous rule of white terror against social revolution and all its followers;

after I had finally been detained 15 days more in hospital, although actual medical treatment had long ceased, and after having been sent back to the Santé prison and there subjected to fully 8 whole days of further nerve-racking trickery and refined torture, devised by the Minister for Internal Affairs Maunoury, and executed by his orders, I am now to be conducted to the French frontier, to be expelled from the soil of the French state.

This last underhand measure once more exemplifies, not only the criminal character of the capitalist dictatorship in France, but also the imperative necessity of the closest and most active revolutionary co-operation between the working class of France and Germany, whose very existence is threatened by the criminal policy of the ruling class.

Party comrades! I assure you most emphatically that the national frontier thrust between us is entirely incapable of really dividing us. Whatever the exploiters and slave-drivers on both sides of the Rhine may do, they will never succeed in breaking the revolutionary bonds which now unite the proletariat of France with the working class of Germany. Despite our forced separation, I shall always be with you in all your revolutionary struggles. In the future, as in the past, you will always find me in the van in the fight for power, between capital and labor, which will finally decide the fate of the European proletariat. And the events through which I have passed, the French proletarian strivings of which I have been a witness during my three months unlawful imprisonment in France, have confirmed my conviction that despite all difficulties, and despite the violent coups attempted by a vindictive and irreconcilable government, French communism is unhesitatingly pursuing the path to international revolution, and though it makes but slow and painful progress, it will soon succeed in gathering together, all truly revolutionary elements in France, in organizing them, and in leading them to battle and victory.

The stirring and fraternal reception accorded me by the Parisian proletariat on March 17, in the public meeting held in the Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles; the long months of my forced sojourn in Paris; the sympathy and affection shown me by the whole working class of France throughout all this time, and especially during the painful hunger strike forced upon us by the vileness of a criminal government; the active, generous, and brotherly aid lent us by our brave anarchist comrades in the Santé prison, Comrades Albertini, Coniant, Delecourt, Lentente, and Loréal; all these are among the noble deeds of the French revolutionary spirit, and can never be obliterated from my memory.

Thus I feel myself impelled, before taking leave of you, proletarians of France, to thank you, from the bottom of a heart overflowing with emotion, for all the proofs of solidarity and sympathy, for the efforts and fraternal aid, with which you have constantly overwhelmed me on all sides.

May all party comrades, all French workers, who have unhesitatingly offered me their assistance during this time, whether in prison, in hospital, or anywhere else, accept these lines as the living expression of my deeply-felt gratitude.

And now let me say, not good-bye, but ou revoir my French comrades-in-arms! United by the same great ideas of revolutionary class warfare, animated by the same unshakeable will to subdue criminal capitalism and to save humanity, in defiance of every obstacle, we shall continue, without weakening, to carry on the great historical struggle of the international proletariat.

Long live revolutionary communism!
Long live social revolution!

Emil Höllein, Reichstag Deputy."

Austria, the German Ideal

By Georg.

In every country the columns of the great newspapers contain appeals to subscribe to the "Austrian guaranteed state loan, League of Nations loan"; guaranteed by the governments of Belgium, Denmark, England France, Holland, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and Czecho Slovakia. Great Scott! is there anything left to wish for? A country guaranteed by so many powerful

governments must be a delightful and blessed country—this is what many people are thinking, even many workers perhaps, and certainly many of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie is in need of saving ideals. Mussolini's Fascism has rapidly reached the end of its tether. The latest ideal, especially since the German mark has sunk far below the level of the despised and derided Austrian crown, is Austria—Austria stabilized, economically restored, consolidated, and guaranteed.

What means were employed to bring about this miracle in Austria. It is quite simple. The Christian prelate Seipel undertook a pilgrimage to the earthly gods of capitalism in Rome, Paris, London, and Geneva, made confession, and received absolution for the revolutionary sins committed by the Austrian people on condition that he undertook to see that adequate penance was paid. He agreed to this, whereupon the gods appointed Zimmerman as their earthly deputy.

Mr. Zimmerman discharges the duties of his office with god-like severity, and is infallible. In monthly encyclics he proclaims to the Austrian people, and to the rest of the astonished world, the salvation which he brings; at the same time he enumerates the fresh penances. It is true that the people groan, that they are starved and impoverished, that they even rebel. But the prelate Seipel knows what is due to the gods and their deputies.

Austria has ceased to be an independent country. The idea of independence only continues to exist in obsolete school books. Austria has no government. Its administrator and sole ruler is Mr. Zimmermann, the commissioner of the League of Nations. He commands and Seipel kow-tows. In his last report he sharply reprimanded the "extraordinary cabinet council", because it discussed too much. Its task and duty is rather to obey, and execute the orders issued by Zimmermann.

Austria has become an industrial colony of world capital, much more so than the old "sick man of Europe", Turkey. Austria's dismemberment would have brought about a new and bloody war among the rivals. Thus a compromise was deemed most advisable: each one of the rivals is to have a share of the last drops of blood of the Austrian people.

The "Central European question" was put off. When it crops up again it will be the cause of even greater conflicts.

The victorious powers have "guaranteed" a loan; but in return for this they have required the carrying out of the death sentence of the Austrian working class; that the number of officials be reduced, involving the discharge of hundreds and thousands of civil servants; that the small social gains won by the Austrian working class be abolished; that even the wage index law, that one feeble weapon which has enabled the workers to retard the rapid sinking of their real wages, be done away with; that unemployment benefit, pensions, disablement doles, and all "social expenditure" be reduced; that the shop stewards be robbed of even the scanty remnants of their rights, etc. These are conditions upon which the Entente countries guaranteed to put Austrian economics on a "sound" basis.

The Austrian bourgeoisie joyfully concurred. It hastily pocketed its national feelings, allied itself to foreign capital, and set about utilizing the active help of this latter for the purpose of bartering away the last residue of state independence, and of holding the rebellious working class in subjection.

But the so-called "sound economic basis" has not advanced matters one bit; the economic crisis continues, unemployment increases, real wages sink, the misery suffered by the workers, officials, and middle class assumes enormous proportions; but foreign capital is doing excellent business, and permits the Austrian patriots to earn something in their capacity of middlemen.

Thousands of docile-minded officials, reared in slavish allegiance to the Hapsburg spirit, are now rebelling, demonstrating and threatening to strike, under the pressure of threatened death by starvation. Only those who know these people can form any idea of what they must have gone through before being driven to such unheard of acts.

Since the period of foreign intervention in Austria's economics, the country has become more and more reactionary. The Austrian bourgeoisie is anxious to demonstrate to foreign capital that it is worthy of the confidence placed in it. The Fascist bands make their appearance with increasing impudence, supported by the government; the workers are provoked to the utmost. The confidence men of the working class are murdered. Peaceful trade union meetings are dissolved by the police. The army is systematically purged of all class conscious proletarian elements. The old system of Hapsburg military obedience has been re-introduced, so that the soldiery may be turned into willing tools against the working class.

The capitalists are doing this regardless of cost. In the course of this year, 24 milliards were raised by the industrial

union for the support of the Fascist associations. The Jewish-Zionist bourgeois gave their contributions on one condition only: that the followers of the "hooked cross" shall undertake no anti-Semitic action. This condition was agreed to.

The work was so far successful that even the American Morgan banking house considered the situation sufficiently ripe to justify their "helpful interventions".

And when—thus groans the German petty bourgeoisie—when shall we be so far that America will help us? When shall we be able to float such a beautiful loan, guaranteed by so many mighty lords.

The saviours of the German people reply soothingly: soon. The new Cuno-Stinnes plan is nothing more nor less than a plan for placing Germany on the same "sound" economic basis. Abolition of state independence, denationalization of state undertakings, reduction of number of the lower officials, perpetuation of misery and poverty, cutting down of all social measures, this is the import of the whole business. Thus foreign capital is to gain increased confidence in the German investment market. And then, but not until then, after the benevolent protection of the foreign bayonet is assured, will Stinnes and his companions contribute something from their hoards, in order that they may have their share in the business.

The English labor paper, the *Daily Herald* observed with regard to this German plan for improving economics that it would render 15 millions of human beings superfluous; these would either have to emigrate or die. Was it not the hereditary enemy Clemenceau who once made a similar observation, bitterly resented by the German patriots?

"Within a few years, or a few months, who can judge how long it will be?—the storm will sweep over the world again. And then the social and national problems of 1918 will again clamour for solution . . . in the midst of the new storm of revolution." This was written in Vienna, and not by a communist paper, but by the social democratic *Arbeiterzeitung*. The organ of that social democracy which bears the greatest burden of guilt for the misfortunes of the Austrian working people, and which yet recommends its recipe to Germany. Do the social democrats write this because they possess the will to avert the impending fate? No, they write thus because the broad masses in Austria are demanding a way of escape, for they see that the present way is impassable. But in Germany this same way is to be pursued, and at top speed. The ideal now dearest to the hearts of the German patriots is the ignominious betrayal of their fellow countrymen, in accordance with the example shown by the Austrian Fascisti.

FASCISM

The Fermentation in Fascism

By M. Rakosi.

The Fascisti have not succeeded in improving the economic position of Italy by means of internal political measures. The rate of exchange of Italian currency, after improving somewhat during the first weeks of Fascist rule, fell equally with the fall of the French franc during the first weeks of the Ruhr occupation, and then improved again to an insignificant degree. The crisis in the textile industry becomes daily more acute. The number of unemployed has increased to 800,000 as result of the mass dismissals of railwaymen and of state and municipal civil servants (unemployment has thus increased by 20–25% during Fascist rule). Scarcely one half of the unemployed receive a scanty dole; prices are rising slowly but steadily.

In Italy there is but little coal and still less iron. In 1913 Italy was obliged to import more than 9 million tons of coal from England. Italian heavy industry has been working with foreign coal and foreign iron. It has been artificially supported by every description of state subsidy and high customs duties, and has developed at the expense of other branches of industry. Light industry, on the other hand, possessing natural facilities—as for instance the silk spinning industry—is on a stronger economic footing. The textile industry is working with the aid of electric power obtained from the mountain torrents of Upper Italy. It is working for export, and is developing in the atmosphere of foreign competition. War industry does not concern it. It thus consistently opposed the expensive imperialist policy and the participation of Italy in the great war.

At the end of the war, when the bourgeois governments were no longer able to lend heavy industry adequate support, heavy industry finally collapsed. The Ansaldo Company, the greatest war undertaking in Italy, was obliged to reduce its share capital from 500 million to 5 million lire. This brought about the bankruptcy of the bank of the heavy industrialists (Banca Disconto), and the bank of the light and textile industrialists, the Banca Commerciale, took over the control of Italian economic life.

Mussolini is aware that the capitalists represented by this bank will declare most decisive war against his imperialist plans, and against the restoration of bankrupt heavy industry which his plans involve. He has drawn up a magnificent plan for this struggle, basing the proposed restoration of heavy industry on great state subsidies and on the amalgamation of all—naturally denationalized—undertakings with heavy industry. His idea is to create a new capitalist combine by the amalgamation of the shipyards, the gun factories, railways, post and telegraph service, radio stations, and other state undertakings. This combine is to be powerful enough, and economically firm enough to dictate terms to the group around the Banca Commerciale. As is only natural the Banca Commerciale is taking steps in self-defence. It possesses influence with the most important newspapers (*Corriere della Sera, Secolo, Stampa, Il Mondo*, etc.), and carries on the conflict against Mussolini with their aid. Besides this, it is endeavoring to steal a march on its opponents. It is buying up the private railroads; it is also buying one section of the Fascist leaders, and is secretly organizing the steadily increasing resistance against the Fascisti. Its efforts are greatly facilitated by the ever increasing disappointment felt among the Fascisti themselves.

One of the causes of this disappointment is the wages tax introduced by the Fascisti, which throws a great burden on the officials and railwaymen chiefly recruited from their ranks. The reduction of invalid and old age benefits, and the abolition of tenant protection, were also not without influence on the opinions of tens of thousands of Fascisti.

The capitalists who financed Fascism, and helped it to victory, are equally dissatisfied with it. They wanted a dictatorship, but one which they could hold firmly in their own hands. But Fascism became an object in itself; it is true that in general it directed its efforts against the working class, but its power is in the hands of Mussolini and his petty bourgeois friends. And the more the capitalists seek to utilize the situation created by Fascism for their own purposes, the more they come into conflict with the Fascist masses.

This struggle became most apparent in the question of the existence of the Fascist trade unions. At first all the Fascisti were in fullest agreement as to the necessity of Fascist trade unions. But after the Red Trade Unions had been dispersed, the capitalists preferred to employ the unorganized workers rather than the Fascist trade unionists, the more so as increased poverty among the Fascist workers obliged even the Fascist trade unions to organize strike movements. Cases are becoming more and more frequent in which Fascist trade unions strike against Fascist employers. In Turin the bakers, not having been able to get their demands granted with the aid of the Red Trade Unions, entered the Fascist trade union and succeeded in thus obtaining the desired concessions. Cases have also occurred in which the Fascisti have occupied factories during wage conflicts, and have put a stop to the work. The pressure exercised by the masses forced the Supreme Council of the Fascisti to recognize the strike, in "exceptional cases", as a weapon of the Fascist trade unions. The capitalists and large landowners therefore maintain that the Fascisti have not been successful in "liquidating class warfare". They defend the Fascist formula of a peaceful solution of all questions by the combined unions of employers and employees, but only up to a certain point, that is, only for so long as it lends them a weapon for the destruction of the Red Trade Unions. But now that the dissolution of their own fighting organizations is demanded, they refuse with the utmost energy.

There is an antagonism between the "real Fascisti" and the "new Fascisti". Those styling themselves the "real" Fascisti are, for the most part, radical petty bourgeois who joined Fascism in 1919; the "new" Fascisti are the agrarians who joined later, and who have not only contrived to secure all the best positions for themselves, but know how to exploit the "real" Fascisti at the same time. The "real" Fascisti are beginning to defend themselves, and a fierce squabble with mutual exposures and accusations has set in. This is leading to mass expulsions or demonstrative mass withdrawals from the local groups of the Fascisti. The worse the economic position becomes, the more violent and widespread will be this struggle.

It is scarcely possible to find a Fascist organization in Italy which is not in a state of fermentation. There is a crisis in every large local group of Fascisti. In Alessandria and Leghorn there have been real battles. In Rome, the gendarmerie had to prevent collisions between the Fascisti.

On April 25, the Supreme Fascist Council was convened, in order to consult, as to measures against this disintegration. It was resolved that every Fascist must belong to the militia. The party functionaries are only permitted to speak in public when especially commissioned to do so. This measure is intended to put a limit to the mutual revelations. The admittance of new

members is limited; even the question of a purging of the party was mooted. All these measures are of course unable to do away with the internal contradictions. Mussolini, on the other hand, is trying to weaken bourgeois opposition by concessions. He no longer speaks solely of the dictatorship, but emphasizes that he is anxious to work together with parliament. The corporation of the "Fascist supreme commissaries" has been dissolved, as also the railway militia, which molested the passengers and was in continual conflict with the railwaymen.

The right wing of Fascism continues to regard increased Terror as the best way of warding off the opposition. The leader of this group is De Vecchi, who is anxious to fight against the "inner enemy" with hand grenades and flame throwers. As he is at the same time the leader of the anti-Mussolini agrarian wing, he was expelled from the party after he had delivered a speech in favor of these fighting methods. Some other Fascist leaders were also thrown out of the party, some of them even being deputies. Others have been arrested. But all these measures are ineffective. The fermentation increases. The disappointment grows. The voices condemning the impotence of Fascism are becoming louder and louder. At the parliamentary session held on May 30, a Fascist deputy delivered a sharp speech against the Fascist government. The minister of commerce, who spoke openly in parliament on the barrenness of Fascist measures, was obliged to resign.

Six months of Fascist rule have sufficed to disappoint the population, and to urge it on to the path of opposition. But this period has not been long enough for the organization of a sufficiently powerful opposition. The scattered proletariat is just beginning to assemble its forces. But there is one circumstance constituting an obstacle in the way of the liquidation of Fascism. Fascism involved an enormous aggravation of class contradictions. Hundreds and thousands of peasants, workers, and petty bourgeoisie, at one time peaceful democrats, have been drawn into the conflict by the violent acts of the Fascisti. They are thirsting for revenge, and at the given moment they will take bloody revenge on the Fascisti, and thus on the Italian bourgeoisie. Mussolini is well aware of this, for he admits openly that he feels himself to be playing Kerenski's role; but to avoid Kerenski's fate he intends to suppress the proletariat. And the minister for home affairs Bianchi, a one-time syndicalist, actually made the following declaration on the occasion of the anti-Fascist demonstration held by the Catholic People's Party: "The return to the liberal democratic form of government is nonsense. Today there exist but two possibilities: either Fascist rule or Bolshevik dictatorship".

The sensible elements of the bourgeoisie have grasped this, and are now seeking feverishly for means by which Fascism may be liquidated, and yet its inheritance not fall into the hands of a proletarian dictatorship. The latest ideal of Italian capitalism is a moderate dictatorship exercised by a "liberal" general loyal to the king. Mussolini's adversaries are grouped around the king at the present time, which partially explains this capitalist wish.

The class fermentation goes still deeper, far into the lower strata of the Fascist masses. There are increasing signs that the proletarian elements of Fascism, among which there are many former socialists, syndicalists, and communists, are disappointed, and ready to re-enter the path of class warfare. This movement is only beginning, but it exists, and will play a tremendous part at the moment when the communists and the revolutionary socialists join their forces to those of this movement.

As soon as international complications (the conflicts with Yugoslavia, with Tripoli, etc.) have brought Fascism fresh defeats, the crisis will become much acuter. Thus the actual fundamental task set the Italian proletariat is the concentration of its powers, the formation of the united front.

The half year's rule of the Italian Fascisti has proved that Fascism is incapable of arresting the decay of capitalism; more than this, Fascism itself creates the premises for acuter class warfare.

But still, every country contains broad masses of workers whose experience of social democratic policy has disappointed them in class war; and then there are also broad strata of despairing petty bourgeoisie. And in every country bankrupt capitalism will try to exploit the trend of feeling thus evoked; will try to attract the despairing masses to itself, and thus to prolong its own existence. In this sense, the natural, preliminary conditions for Fascism exist in every country. If the communists succeed in guiding the despair of the proletarian and petty bourgeois masses into the paths of proletarian revolution, this means the defeat of the bourgeoisie. But if they are not successful in this, then Fascism appears on the scene; naturally, Fascism does not save the bourgeoisie, but it forces the victory of the proletariat to be won at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, and by long and devious paths.

The Struggle Against Fascism, and New Experiences of the United Front in Germany

By Paul Böttcher.

II.

The Defence Units and their Tasks.

What aims is the Communist Party of Germany pursuing by creating joint factory "hundreds"? (Defence Corps). The special task of these Factory hundreds is to fight against Fascism in industry. As a rule, the Factory councils are not equal to this task. They often refuse to take action when the employer deliberately engages Fascisti or institutes factory police and Pinkertons. Very often the Factory Councils are the mere organs of the trade union bureaucracy, and feel themselves bound by the instructions of their social-democratic leaders. Therefore, wide organizations must be created which will enjoy the confidence of the workers. The workers must be made to understand clearly that it is the duty of all the workers engaged in the factory to purge it of Fascisti. A united front in the factories must be created. The factory hundreds will embody this united front. They are not a military toy, they have no military tasks. To the factory hundreds must affiliate the workers of all parties and unions, syndicalists, trade unionists, non-party men, work-women, and juvenile workers. Their work is political agitation and education in the factories. The hundreds may be summoned to political information meetings at which they will have explained to them the political situation and the tasks that arise from it. In the case of provocation or terrorist attacks of the Fascisti, the factory hundreds will be summoned to the defense. Where the movement for the united front and the hundreds have passed beyond the initial stages, Fascist meetings and nationalist demonstrations will be hindered and broken up. The question of the arming of the hundreds should not arise when the information is first undertaken; it will itself come forward with the increasing determination and strength with which the united front movement opposes the master class. To bring up the question of arming the hundreds in the early stages of the movement, would mean to attempt to secure the arming of the proletariat before the workers have directly entered on the struggle for the seizure of power. Before the elementary conditions for the struggle have been created in the factories, the hundreds will be unable to deal with any military tasks.

The German Communist Party is firmly opposed to the creation of party hundreds. The social-democratic leaders are seeking to obtain the creation of party hundreds in opposition to the K.P.D. in those localities where they are obliged to give way to the demands of the workers for self defense against Fascism. The Social democratic leaders are endeavoring to form S.P.D. guards armed with cudgels to be used against the Communists, and they parade these guards under the name of "Republican Self Defender". They take advantage of the anti-fascist mood of the social-democratic workers, in order to incite the social-democratic and communist workers against each other and provoke street fights amongst them. However, the Social Democratic leaders do not stand alone in their resistance to the formation of joint factory defence corps. There are tendencies within the Communist Party which are opposed to the formation of such joint corps, owing to the fact that they see in them not organs of the United Front, but military shock troops in the struggle for political power. On this point the Party is still affected by the old traditions from the period of the revolutionary struggles. However, Party members are everywhere convinced of the necessity for establishing such joint factory defence corps and are busily engaged in establishing them.

The success of United Front Tactics.

The formation of these so-called proletarian hundreds depends on the general strength of the United Front movement. Wherever the Party encountered strong resistance to its United Front tactics, the control Committees, as well as the hundreds are either poorly developed or do not exist at all. On the other hand, the districts with a strong United Front movement have also firmly established organs of the United Front. In Saxony the Communists made their support of the "left social-democratic" government (established in March 1923) conditional on the latter relying for its support on the organs of the proletarian United Front: factory committees, control committees, proletarian hundreds. The right Social-Democratic leaders at the outset offered strong opposition to the formation of joint proletarian hundreds. However, the German Communist Party (with the exception of the Leipzig district) has succeeded to establish everywhere joint hundreds together with the social democratic workers against the wishes of the Social-Democratic

leaders. In this question the Saxon workers are far ahead of the proletariat in the other parts of the country. The Social-Democratic leaders are in a desperate position. In Prussia the Social-Democratic Minister for the Interior, Severing, has prohibited the formation of such hundreds. By his orders, members of the control committees and hundreds in Berlin have been arrested and brought before the State Tribunal. In Saxony, the Social-Democratic Premier Zeigler has recognised the necessity for the formation of proletarian hundreds, and the Social-Democratic Minister for the Interior Liebmann was compelled to sanction their formation in Dresden during the provocative actions of the Fascisti. There the police forces were withdrawn from the streets, and the workers hundreds made themselves responsible for the protection of the working class. The Weimar constitution was practically annulled. Although this state of affairs was only of a transitory nature owing to the objective situation, it must nevertheless be intolerable for the capitalist State. The Cuno Government as a capitalist Government demanding submission to its dictates, cannot of course tolerate the development of the hundreds into non-parliamentary class organs and weapons of the working class in Saxony while it prohibits the formation of such hundreds in Prussia. This explains the attitude of the National Government towards the Saxon Government. In this question Cuno's National Executive and the Party Executive of Herr Wels will join hands in their attack on the Saxon working class.

Having carefully examined the application of the United Front tactics in Germany, the K.P.D. can say that it has succeeded to a considerable extent in putting into practice the theses of the Fourth World Congress on this matter. This applies especially to a paragraph in the Theses saying:

"In applying United Front tactics it is of paramount importance to arrive not only at agitational but also at organisational results. Every opportunity must be taken to establish organisational points d'appui within the working class itself (Factory Committees, Control Committees consisting of workers of all parties and of non-party workers committees of action etc.).

The most important point in the United Front tactics is and always will be the agitational co-ordination of the working masses".

Our strategy has succeeded in surrounding the Communist vanguard with a large body of working class sympathisers. Moreover, the K.P.D. has not limited itself to influencing the working masses ideologically, but has shown great skill in giving a firm organisational basis to this influence. At present the Communist Party has rallied to its banner the United Front organs as active outposts of the revolution. These organs are under its political leadership and it also influences their outlook. This fact is a clear proof of the magnitude of the change in the balance of power within the proletariat. The social democratic workers, having got rid ideologically of the counter-revolutionary leadership of the old party bureaucracy, join the Communist workers in the ranks of the United Front, previous to taking the next step, entry into the Communist Party. It is, as yet, impossible to ascertain the degree of this change of the balance of balance of power, but that which is taking place slowly in the course of a stubborn struggle will come down like an avalanche when the time will have arrived for open struggles and revolutionary action. In exposing the Social-Democrats, and in bringing vividly before the masses the contrast between the will of the workers to struggle for Socialism with the weapons of the class struggle and the will of the leaders to indulge in coalition policies with the bourgeoisie, the K.P.D. is practically liquidating Social-Democracy. Through the application of the United Front tactics, the K.P.D. rallies ever increasing masses to its banner, and thus creates the pre-requisites for proletarian dictatorship and the ultimate victory of the working class.

The Possibilities of Fascism in Spain

By Andres Nin.

Spain is a pre-eminently agrarian country. Out of 20 million inhabitants, there are scarcely 2 million industrial workers. The great majority of the country population consists of agricultural laborers, who are employed on the great farms of central and southern Spain. In other parts of Spain agrarian conditions vary greatly. There are medium farmers, poor small-holders, tenant farmers, and besides these semi-farmers, who possess a piece of land but are occupied at the same time as laborers. Thus in Spain there does not exist any great compact mass of small landowners, who can form, as in Italy, a serious danger for the revolutionary proletariat. The great majority of agricultural laborers join forces with the city workers, with whose aid they have already carried on great joint struggles.

A second important element of Fascism, the one-time officers and other elements declassed by the great war, is lacking in Spain. The Spanish state is in a condition of complete disintegration. The bourgeoisie possesses no large organized parties, apart from that of the Catalonian industrialists. Neither is there in Spain any powerful nationalist movement, as in Italy.

Thus the situation in Spain is objectively favorable for revolutionary development, but the proletariat is not capable of utilizing this favorable situation. There is no firm and disciplined labor organization, and the Communist Party is still weak. But on the other hand certain tendencies towards Fascism may be observed.

These tendencies are incorporated in the following counter-revolutionary organizations:

1. The *Somates*: an armed organization of the bourgeoisie in Catalonia. In Barcelona alone it counts over 12,000 members.

2. The *Accion Ciudadana*: This organization is similar to the *Somates*, but much weaker in numbers. It exists in various cities, especially in Madrid and Saragossa.

3. The so-called "free trade unions", a police organization, which has nothing in common with the trade unions beyond the name. In reality these are bands for murdering the best known comrades.

4. The *Requetés*. This is the youth organization of the arch-reactionary party known as the Carlist. They possess military organization, and have already murdered several of their political opponents. They co-operate with the bands of the so-called "free trade unions".

5. The *Juntas de Defensa*. These are organizations of the active officers of the army, and were founded in the year 1917. They form a sort of secret government upon which the political organizations of the country are dependent. They are powerful, dissatisfied with the policy of the official government, above all in Morocco, and there is imminent danger of their attack.

In Barcelona the big industrial bourgeoisie has formed an organization. This has adopted the name of "Fomento del Trabajo Nacional". It exercises a great influence on the government, aided by the strongest political party of the Catalonian bourgeoisie, known as the regionalist party. The men who play the leading part in this employers' union stand openly for the necessity of creating a Fascist movement in Spain. Besides this there is a general employers' union, well organized, and assembling the forces of the collective big, medium, and petty bourgeoisies of the country. This union also favors the formation of bands of murderers. Its former president, Graupera, delivered several addresses calling upon the employers to follow the Italian example. An Italian Fascist general, Novelli, also delivered an address in Barcelona. The organ of the employers' union, *Production, Commerce, and Consumption*, wrote in its March number:

"The victory of Fascism has freed Italy from mob rule, and has made it impossible for an impudent minority, which wanted to transform the wonderful sky of Italy into the melancholy nothern sky of Russia, to do any more harm. Though Fascism has won its victory at the cost of many acts of injustice and violence, still the communists represent the system of Terror, and of tyranny exercised by the ignorant masses. The aim of Fascism is the restoration of national soundness, but communism is only the imperialism of the men in Moscow."

At the beginning of April Senor Cambo, the leader of the regionalist party, declared at a meeting that the lowering of the costs of production must be enforced, by the use of extreme violence if necessary; and Ossorio, the leader of the new "Social People's Party" emphasized in a speech that should he have to choose between democracy and "action" (by which he meant Fascism), then he would choose "action". In April the secretary of the "free trade unions" journeyed to Italy for purposes of study, and a group was formed in Barcelona under the name of Traza. This group published an appeal, in which it spoke somewhat vaguely about its aims. But in Spain it is well known that this organization is anxious to follow the example of Italian Fascism.

The situation is extremely grave. The reformists still advocate the policy of class collaboration. The anárcho-syndicalists, who still exercise a great influence, are in a state of complete confusion. It is only the communists and the followers of the Red International of Labor Unions who have given the working masses concrete slogans. They recommend the formation of the proletarian united front and a decisive mass action. If the working class follows these slogans, the Spanish proletariat will save itself. Strongly organized, it will be invincible. But should there be no such proletarian organization, then the Fascist elements may attempt to follow the Italian example.

OUR PROBLEMS

On Co-operation

By N. Lenin.

II.

Whenever I have written on the New Economic Policy, I have invariably referred to the article written by me in 1919 on State Capitalism. This has frequently aroused doubts among some young comrades, but their doubts have been mainly directed to the abstract political theory.

They have been of the opinion that we cannot speak of a state of society as state capitalism, when in this state the means of production belong to the working class, and state power is also in the hands of the working class. But they overlook the fact that in the first place I made use of the term "state capitalism" for the purpose of establishing the historical connection between our present position with the position taken in my polemics against the so-called "left" communists. Already at that time I pointed out that a state capitalism would be a higher form than that of our present economics. For me it was of the greatest importance to show the inherent connection between ordinary state capitalism and that extraordinary, indeed quite extraordinary, state capitalism of which I was speaking when I introduced the New Economic Policy to my readers. In the second place it is the practical aim that has always been important to me. And the practical aim of our New Economic Policy was: to obtain concessions. But under our present conditions the concessions would represent the purest type of state capitalism. This was the point of view from which I considered State Capitalism.

But there is yet another side from which we can make use of state capitalism, or at least of something analogous. This is the question of co-operation.

There is no doubt that co-operation within the capitalist state is a collective capitalist institution. And it is also beyond dispute that under our present economic conditions, now that we are uniting private capitalist undertakings—but only on land which is our common property, and solely under the control of the state power belonging to the workers—with undertakings of a consistently socialist type (in which the means of production, the ground on which the undertaking is erected, and the undertaking itself, all belong to the state), it is beyond all doubt that here the question of a third form of undertaking arises, one which formerly possessed no profound, independent significance—the question of the co-operative undertaking. Under private capitalism, the co-operative undertakings have differed from the capitalist undertakings in being collective enterprises. Under State Capitalism the co-operative undertakings differ from the state capitalist undertakings, first in being private enterprises, and secondly in being collective. Under the present order of things in our state, the co-operative undertakings differ from private capitalist undertakings in being collective, but they do not differ from the socialist undertakings, if they are based on the principle of state property, that is, on the principle that the land and the means of production are the property of the working class.

This circumstance is not accorded sufficient attention when cooperation is spoken of amongst us. It is forgotten that our unique form of state, imparts an exclusive importance to co-operation in our country. Apart from the concessions, which, by the way have never developed to any important degree, co-operation is perfectly synonymous with socialism under our conditions.

I shall explain this. Why were the plans laid down by the old co-operators, beginning with Robert Owen, so fantastic? Because they dreamed of the peaceful transformation of the present state of society into a socialist one, without giving any thought to such fundamental questions as class warfare, the conquest of political power by the working class, the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class. And therefore we were quite right in seeing nothing but foolish and romantic imaginings in this "co-operative" socialism: mere dreams for the conversion of class enemies into class co-operators, of class war into class peace (civil peace), simply by the spread of co-operation among the population.

There is no doubt whatever that we have been in the right from the standpoint of the fundamental task of the present day. For without the class struggle for the political power of the state it is impossible to realize socialism.

But let us consider how matters have changed since the state power actually came into the hands of the working class, since the political power of the exploiters was overthrown, and all

means of production (with the exception of those placed voluntarily and temporarily in the hands of the exploiters, on terms of concessions) belonged to the working class.

We have now the right to say that the growth of co-operation (with the "slight" reservations mentioned above) is for us synonymous with the growth of socialism. At the same time we must admit a fundamental alteration in our whole point of view with regard to socialism. This fundamental alteration consists in the fact that hitherto we have rightly laid the greatest emphasis on the political struggle, on the revolution, on the conquest of power; but now the time has come to attach the greater importance to peaceful organizational "cultural" work. I might say that our attention must now be concentrated on the work of culture, apart from international relations, where the highest importance has to be attached to our duty of defending our positions against the world. But if we set aside this consideration, and limit ourselves to our internal economic relations, the centre of gravity of our work lies in cultural activity.

We are faced by two great epoch-making tasks. First, the task of re-organizing our apparatus which we have completely taken over from the past epoch. During five years of fighting we have not succeeded, and in the nature of things could not succeed, in accomplishing anything here. Our second task consists in cultural work among the peasantry. And cultural work among the peasantry, as an economic aim, is precisely one of the things accomplished by co-operation. Once given complete co-operation, we should already have a firm foothold on socialist ground. But the attainment of these conditions of complete co-operation assumes such a state of culture among the peasantry that this co-operation is impossible without a cultural revolution.

Our opponents have often told us that we have thoughtlessly undertaken the realization of socialism in a country of defective culture. But they are entirely mistaken if they consider themselves justified in reproaching us for not having begun the work at that end at which, according to theory (of various pedants), it should have been begun. For us, the political and social revolution was merely the fore-runner of that cultural revolution on whose threshold we are still standing.

This cultural revolution is all that is needed for us to become a completely socialist country. But this cultural revolution demands enormous efforts, not merely in purely cultural spheres (combatting illiteracy, etc.), but also in material respects, for the necessity of transforming our land into a cultural land implies a certain development of material means of production, a certain material basis.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Third Anniversary of the "Kommunistka", The Women's Organ of Soviet Russia's Proletarian Revolution

By Clara Zetkin.

Can it be only three years since the *Kommunistka* first appeared among our women comrades, among the proletarian and peasant women of Soviet Russia, as a friend and guide, going before to show the path, and to strengthen the forces of the women striving and fighting for their emancipation through socialism? How many and how mighty are the events which have been enacted during these three years in Soviet Russia itself, and in the world beyond its frontiers! Events numerous and important enough to fill whole volumes of history, were we to fully describe and examine them. Events such as generally require decades, or even centuries, to so transform the face of society or intervene so decisively in the life of the peoples. But the heroes of these events arise from classes hitherto consigned to the outer darkness, and who are now pressing forward into the full light of history—those classes which in other countries are still trampled under foot as mere refuse: the workers and peasants. The three years during which the *Kommunistka* has existed and carried on its work are not measured by our common conceptions of time. These have been years of proletarian revolution, of the revolution arising from the creative masses, and it is this which imparts to the third anniversary of the *Kommunistka* its great importance.

And indeed: The work and value of the *Kommunistka* can only be properly estimated in the light of the great world historical happenings in which this women's organ has originated, and which it serves. It is the concentration of something which has been evolving for centuries, the concentration of the longing and desire of innumerable generations. These three years have

been filled with the life and work of revolution, above all of a proletarian revolution, which is not content—like a bourgeois revolution—with placing state power in the hands of a class hitherto dominated and suppressed, but which at once entrusts the state power of this class with an enormous task: that of revolutionizing economics and society in accordance with that communism which alone is capable of giving to the weary and sorrow laden, and therefore to women, their share of the sunshine of perfect freedom, their share of every gift and opportunity common to humanity.

The *Kommunistka* appeared as an organ of a revolution which was already able to boast of proud victories. But precisely for this reason, the tasks confronting the revolution were the more gigantic and difficult. It had to defend what it had won against the treacherous and unscrupulous attacks of counter-revolution at home, and against the no less treacherous and unscrupulous machinations of the world bourgeoisie. At the same time it had to devote a great part of its energies to the construction and improvement of economics, to their renewal and development in accordance with communist ideals. And Russia's economics were, for the most part, still deep in the morass of backwardness, still suffering from the effects of the worst sins of capitalism and Czarism, and shaken to their foundations by the crime of the predatory world war. The Russian workers had no one to help them in this unheard of task. The proletariats of the highly developed capitalist countries had allowed themselves to be inoculated with the virus of diffidence, of lack of confidence in their own powers. They started back in alarm from the fulfilment of their historic duty of carrying on the world revolution begun by their Russian brothers and sisters. Soviet Russia has been the scene of a Titanic battle for the development of a new world order, of a world which is to realize the dream of the thinkers, poets, and prophets, a world which is to satisfy that cry of lamentation and hope which such innumerable millions have uttered all through the history of mankind: a society of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all, a society of peace on earth and goodwill among all men!

The proletarian and peasant women of Soviet Russia, whose torchlight is the *Kommunistka*, have never been mere inactive spectators of this struggle. Their whole will and capacity are devoted to its service. The proletarian revolution is flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone, spirit of their spirit. Was it not working women and soldiers' wives who first sounded the alarm bell of revolution, and demonstrated in tens of thousands in the streets of Petrograd, crying out: Bread and peace! Women were lacking in no struggle in which the workers, led by Bolsheviks with clear aims, fought for the conquest of political power; and women have been among the victims of these struggles. Women have played their part as fighters, defying death, as nurses, as commissaries, and in many other responsible positions in the rank and file of the heroic Red Army, when this was defending the soil of Soviet Russia, sacred to the revolution, against the armies of Yudenitch, Denikin, Koltchak, Wrangel, and the bands of White Guard Poland. Millions of working and peasant women have undergone every deprivation in the "trenches" of industry and agriculture, and thereby helped to render the Red Army invincible. With burning hearts, and with never-resting hands, they took up arms against the famine catastrophe and its frightful results in 1921. With utter self-abnegation they have worked for the economic and social structure in which free and happy human beings are to dwell.

To be sure, the enormous totality of working women and peasants of Soviet Russia do not yet belong to the army of those who have worked comprehendingly, courageously, and self-sacrificingly for the mighty and fruitful creation of the revolution. This has so far been the work of the revolutionary vanguard only, the elite of these gigantic masses. But that which this revolutionary vanguard has already accomplished, and is still accomplishing daily and hourly, is a proof that it is imperatively necessary for the broad masses of women still outside of our movement, but belonging to the producing classes, to be filled with the clear and penetrating spirit and strong will of the revolution. The great historical hour must bring forth a generation of women worthy of it. Communism, if it is to break the fetters which exploiting ownership has fastened upon man and woman alike, requires the joint labors of man and woman. How great is the honor which thus falls to the *Kommunistka*, but how great also the task and responsibility bound up with its existence and its endeavors. It has to keep alive the sacred fire of revolutionary conviction, of energy, and enthusiasm among the women of the proletariat and peasantry; it must fan the flame into ever greater creative incandescence. It must serve those who are already awakened, but whose footsteps are still uncertain, as an enlightener and instructor; and to those who already know the goal and the path leading to it, it must act as advisor and stimulator; to all it must be a faithful and reliable guide, the

voice of the revolution, the voice of the social proletarian conscience.

For three years the *Kommunistka* has faithfully and successfully carried out these manifold tasks. Has carried them out amidst all the dangers and difficulties with which revolutionary Soviet Russia has been wrestling, and despite the many obstacles inherent in the nature of this organ and its field of activity.

The *Kommunistka*, in giving knowledge and insight to the women of the proletariat and peasantry, binds them firmly together in spirit and will with the revolution and the Soviet system—a pledge that evolution is leading to communism. Allied to the peasantry, the workers hold political power in their hands. Under this system, they exercise their dictatorship, and their representative, the Communist Party, steers the ship of revolution across the stormy sea, straight to the communist harbour. Soviet power implies proletarian power, and proletarian power implies social revolution, annihilation of capitalism, establishment of communism. The *Kommunistka*, which enlightens the proletarian and peasant women on the historical significance of events, gathers them together and makes them loyal supporters of Soviet power. It hammers into their consciousness the truth that Soviet power signifies their power as well, that Soviet power secures their future liberty.

The *Kommunistka*, a pillar of fire will light the way for working women of Soviet Russia in the days of hardship and struggle now confronting us. The world bourgeoisie is on the point of culminating its general offensive against the proletariat, the disinherited of every country, in a campaign against Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia is the first great proletarian position of power created by the world revolution. It is the stronghold of all the exploited and enslaved who rebel against oppression, who long for freedom, human dignity, and happiness. So long as the Russian workers' and peasants' state remains unconquered, world capital cannot fully enslave all those who possess little or nothing, and consolidate its rule upon the lasting misery of the poor. And Soviet Russia is not merely maintaining itself, it is making progress, it is developing further by its peaceful work. Within a comparatively short space of time the Soviet republic will be a flourishing community, whilst the capitalist states all around are falling into decay. And it should be remembered that the rich natural resources of Russia, and the many millions of workers and peasants, arouse the greed of the capitalists for profits.

The English imperialists are whetting their swords for an attack on Soviet Russia. Lord Curzon's ultimatum was a declaration of war. The vassal states of the Entente, from the Gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Danube, are arming for invasion. The murder of our esteemed Vorovsky was the danger signal. Conscious of the significance of peace for the reconstruction of her economy, and for the working masses of the whole world, Soviet Russia has made the greatest possible concessions in order to arrive at an understanding. The workers of England, and the thinking workers of the whole world, are at one with Soviet Russia, in the cause of peace. And in case of war there is the unconquered Red Army, and the Red Fleet. But war against Soviet Russia would necessarily mean another world war. Such a war is already being prepared for in the Ruhr by the French imperialists; for these are not satisfied with robbing Germany economically, but strive for her political dismemberment. War may come like a thief in the night on the Dardanelles question, on the question as to who is to have the first rights of robbery in Turkey, or to rule in the Near and the Far East.

Thus the storm clouds darken the whole sky, and the deadly lightning may prove disastrous even to the economy of the Russian workers' and peasants' state, and to its general development. But Soviet Russia is armed and ready. Its passionate desire for peace will only be equalled by its valor and determination in fighting if fight it must. And again it will be the proletarian and peasant women of Soviet Russia who devote the whole of their energies to ensuring victory to the Soviet flag, whether by peaceful work for the reconstruction of economic life, or amidst the clash of arms in a life and death struggle. The *Kommunistka* will lead these heroines in the future as it does today, firing their enthusiastic devotion, increasing their energies. In this full confidence the revolutionary proletarian women, and their champions, the communist women, send greetings from all countries to the *Kommunistka* on its anniversary. And in greeting the *Kommunistka* they greet all the brave and self-denying proletarian and peasant women of Soviet Russia, who live for the cause of revolution, and are ready to give their heart's blood for it. They greet in the *Kommunistka* a considerable part of that proletarian revolution to which the future belongs in Soviet Russia, and in the whole world!

The Position of the Women's Movement in the Near East

By Dina Schreiber (Berlin).

Since the war, a growing interest has been felt by every stratum of the population of the countries of the Near and Far East. The whole proletariat of the Occident is turning with ever increasing interest to the East, for it is well aware that the awakening proletarian masses of the Orient represent powerful allies against Imperialism; and that the successes won by the eastern proletariat are determined by, and in turn determine the western proletarian forces.

The struggles arising among the proletarian masses have naturally been accompanied by a mighty women's movement. The women of the working and peasant class, after centuries of degradation and exploitation, were, however, incapable of taking the initiative in the fight for their emancipation; in most cases they were only able to take part in a bourgeois intellectual women's emancipation movement, as a fore-runner to their own movement. It was not until after the Russian revolution that the limitations of the bourgeois women's movement were overcome, and women induced to take part in the general struggle for social emancipation. The Women's Secretariat for the Near and Far East has undertaken the leadership in this struggle. The task is by no means a light one. For the economic development, and the resultant social and legal status of woman, varies greatly in the different regions of this vast area. The women living in the industrial centres (for instance Baku, Batum) have, for decades, been class-conscious fighters; but on the other hand the Musselman, Tartar, and Armenian women of the peasant and trading class belong to the most backward section of the population. It was not until the war that the pressure of economic necessity obliged them to break through the confines of mere domestic work, and drove them to work in the fields and factories, thus creating the first premise for their emancipation. The national hate amongst the various tribes exploited by each succeeding ruler of these districts for playing the peoples off against each other, is another obstacle in the way of a united revolutionary movement. Different working methods are required in the trans-Caucasian Soviet district—where women enjoy legal and economic equality—and in the districts still under foreign rule.

Comrades Kasparova and Arbori-Ralli have sent in an extremely interesting report on their work, to the International Women's Secretariat. The following is an epitome of this report:

I. The Soviet countries of the Near East.

A. Georgia.

Even before the proletarian revolution, the women belonging to the industrial centres (Tiflis, Bakum, Kutais), took active part in the proletarian movement and in numerous strikes. In 1917 they received full political rights; five women were elected to the constituent assembly. But it was not until after the Bolshevik revolution that the women displayed great political interest. The women's communist groups in Georgia have come into existence since this time. At the Soviet elections held in Tiflis 1921 18 women were elected, in the province of Tiflis 22 women, in Senak 24, etc. After the Bolshevik revolution, Musselman women's schools were established in Tiflis, and weaving and spinning co-operatives were founded; of these last, the co-operative workshop founded by nuns is worthy of special attention, communist propaganda having exercised the greatest influence on this. The greatest attention is devoted to the establishment of maternity and children's homes.

Two obstacles have lain in the path of the communist movement: in the first place the backwardness of the peasant element forming the greater part of the population; in the second place the national hate against Russia, caused by the oppression of the Caucasian tribes under Czarism, and which was further stirred up to the highest possible degree by the Menshevist government. To these are to be added the violent national antagonism within the country itself between Ossetes and Georgians, Armenians and Jews. All these reasons explain why it is only since 1922 that really large masses of working and peasant women have joined the communist movement.

B) Armenia.

Armenia is the poorest of the Soviet countries, and is decidedly an agrarian country. It was not until the war that the women forsook housework to go and work in the fields. The movement here has thus been pre-eminently a house-wives' and peasants movement. Since the rule of the Soviets, they have taken part in public life. In 1922, there were 61 women elected to

the Soviets; the deputy president of the executive committee of the Armenian Republic is a peasant woman. Characteristically, in this backward country the leading rôle is played by the intellectual women.

C) Azerbaijan.

There is no country in which the proletarian revolution has exercised such a powerful influence on the position of women as in Azerbaijan, for here the pre-requisite, industrial development, was already present. The Russian, Armenian, and Jewish working women, working in the Baku district, are also entirely different to the Turkish women vegetating as mere slaves to their husbands in the interior of the country. But even in the industrial districts, the women did not obtain perfect equality until after the proletarian revolution. But the struggle is not merely for the recognition of woman's personality, it is for the transformation of her position in economic and social life. For this purpose, women's co-operatives are being founded, for agricultural work, for silk-worm breeding, for weaving, embroidery, and carpet making. Where such work cannot be instituted schools are established, and the women instructed in social work.

The number of communist women in Azerbaijan is 20,000; at the congress held in 1921, 1200 delegates appeared from the most backward villages.

The clearest picture of the movement throughout the whole of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics was afforded by the congress meeting at Baku in May 1922: 262 delegates were present, representing twelve different Caucasian nationalities; 163 delegates were non-partisan, 98 communists, one a Menshevik; all were filled with the proud consciousness that the working population of the Trans-Caucasian Soviet states represents the vanguard of all the peoples of the East.

II. The Newly Awakened East.

In the colonial districts the movement is faced with much greater difficulties. For here every means is being employed to suppress any attempt at independent economic and political development. The natural result is that the class war character of the movement, being concealed under national forms, is not always sufficiently apparent, so that it has frequently happened, that native bourgeoisie and proletariat have joined forces to fight against the "national enemy". But every success won by the national bourgeoisie further accentuates the contradictions within the country itself, and helps to dig the grave of the bourgeoisie.

A) Turkey.

For many centuries Turkey was a poor vassal state, alternately plundered by England, France, Germany, and Russia throughout the whole of the 20th century. Raw materials were obtained from the country, and worked up in the western states. But the western capitalists were too afraid of competition to permit any native industry to develop. Thus Turkey became the typical land of constant decay, where a bribed and corrupt bureaucracy lived a pleasant life at the expense of ignorant masses of peasants. No alteration took place until the Turkish revolution in 1908: some few industrial undertakings were founded, the women ceased working in their homes, and gradually commenced working in the weaving and spinning mills, and in the tobacco factories, on starvation wages and with a 12 hour day. But there was still no thought of a proletarian women's movement. Reports were received only of a bourgeois women's movement, which originated in connection with the young Turkish revolution and demanded some separate items of women's rights.

It was the war which brought about the proletarian women's movement. During the war the men were at the front. Every worker was required. Women's labor made its way into every workshop, into trade and transport, into war industry, even into the army itself. Thus in Anatolia women took part in national defence. Today 20% of all workers in Turkey are women.

So long as the Communist Party was working illegally, work among the women was extremely difficult; but today, now that the party is legal it has organized numerous meetings for working women, published women's articles in the communist newspapers *Imen* and *Ikaz*, and has issued 5 women's pamphlets. The backwardness of the country renders it necessary to employ different forms of propaganda to those in Europe; for despite the significance gained by women in economic life during the war, they are still completely without political rights. The national movement, directed against foreign capital, continues to play an important part. But the continued impoverishment of the Turkish masses, who are no longer living scattered all over the country, but are concentrated in the large cities and factories,

and thus better able to perceive the community of their wretched fate, furthers the influence exercised by the communist parties of Europe, and especially the shining example of Soviet Russia; all this is driving the working masses into conflicts which lead far beyond their original aims.

B) Syria.

In 1840, French capital established the first silk factories in Syria. By the year 1912 there were already 200 factories, belonging for the most part to the English. In 1911 there were 120,000 women to 14,000 workmen. Foreign capital did away with home industry, converted the semi-nomadic peoples into settled tribes, and shut up the women for 13 hours daily in the factories. The prevalence of women's work has been accompanied by a corresponding greater participation of women in intellectual life. The objective pre-requisites for the development of a proletarian women's movement are to a great extent given.

C) Persia.

As yet, no proletarian women's movement exists in Persia. The feudal conditions under which Persian economic life is carried on, and which are strenuously maintained by foreign capital, render any proletarian movement impossible. There are only a few intellectual women, who, having completed their studies in Europe, revolt against the existing conditions. In 1921 a popular women's paper *Woman's World* appeared in Teheran, edited by an academically educated woman. This periodical was prohibited, with the agreement of the socialist party, as it was alleged to run counter to the laws of the Koran. It was however speedily replaced by another newspaper, the *Lissane Zinon* (Women's Voice) which continues to exist today.

D) Egypt.

Conditions are very different in Egypt. As early as 1890 the best known of Egyptian authors, Kassim Emir, "the Luther of the Orient", raised his protest in two of his works against the degradation of women. Since this time, changes in woman's social position may be observed, but only in bourgeois circles. The wife of the fellah continues to perform the hardest labor, whilst her husband continues to loaf about as before. The women of the lower classes are exposed to a threefold exploitation: exploitation by their husbands, by the state, and by foreign capital. Industry is more developed in Egypt than in the other countries of the Near East. In 1897 there were already 63,700 women occupied in tobacco factories, spinning and weaving mills. This number is steadily increasing. They are worked 12 hours a day for a wage one third of that paid the men. But before 1919 it was impossible to speak of a proletarian women's movement. The women participated extensively in the great strikes of the year 1919/20, which were directed against English rule. They acted as pickets, erected barricades, and participated in all the street fights. They took energetic part in every street demonstration, and in some girls' schools there were even strikes organized against English teachers.

Although all sections of the population participate in this struggle, the movement is permeated by innumerable nationalist notions. But in every colonial state the national movement is the necessary precursor to the struggle for social emancipation. The historical task to be performed by the communist parties within the colonial states consists therefore, in the recognition and utilization of the national movement as a necessary transition movement in the fight for social emancipation.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Zinoviev on the Events in Bulgaria

Comrade Zinoviev in his concluding speech on the Report of the Executive, delivered at the Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, dealt with the situation in Bulgaria. He stated:

The news comes from Bulgaria that Stambolisky is preparing for a counterblow and that in Plevna, the Communists would have made an uprising, but that the Central Committee of the Communist Party opposed it. If this news is true, it was a serious error. Now we must ally ourselves with the accursed Stambolisky. The Bolsheviks fought with Kerensky against Kornilov. The Bulgarian Party has the accumulation of 25 years behind it; it must now show whether this was an accumulation of Communist energy. There are now three possibilities in Bulgaria: The party can enter into the fight, in which case it might become a fight for a Workers' and Peasants' Government. If

the party does not fight, and the present government stands, then the life of the Party is at stake or the rot will set in. The third alternative is that the Central Committee of the Party remains inactive but that the rank and file are drawn into the struggle. This will lead to a split. We are far away from the source; we can give no lead from here. But we must draw the attention of the Bulgarian Party to the dangers.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

World Conference for Economic Relief and Reconstruction in Russia

By Karl Müller (Berlin).

The world conference for economic aid and reconstruction in Russia, convened by the I.W.R. in Berlin for the 17th of June, proved an impressive demonstration against England's new policy of war and blockade for the purpose of throttling Soviet Russia. Besides the I.W.R. other bodies represented were Nansen's Relief Committee, the Red Cross, the Quaker Relief, the Russian government by its ambassador comrade Krestinsky and special representatives of the Supreme Economic Council and of the Agricultural Commissariat, the Ukraine Soviet Government by the ambassador Aussem, the German Government by the Reichstag president Löbe and the state president of Anhalt, Peus. Written or telegraphic greetings were received by the conference from the Italian Red Cross, from the committee of the International Children's Relief, and from the Labor Relief committee of Argentina.

Those elected to the presidium were: Ambassador Aussem; Mrs. Kameneva (Russia); Peus, president of the Diet (Anhalt); Lady Frey (England), representing the Quaker Relief; Comrade Dessang (France), representative of the French trade unions (C.G.T.U.); and Comrade Münzenberg, foreign committee of the I.W.R.

Comrade Münzenberg opened the congress on behalf of the I.W.R. Ambassador Krestinsky welcomed the delegates in the name of the Soviet government, and emphasized the great interest taken by Russia in the work of the congress. The social democratic state president of Anhalt, Peus, delivered a speech in the course of which he said:

"Formerly, we Germans looked towards the West, but now we realize that we have to look more to the East. Our welfare lies in the East, not only economically, but also, as I hope, politically. For if the workers in Russia succeed in remaining rulers of Russia, then the rule of the workers over Europe is also secured."

The following were the items on the agenda: 1. Address by Comrade Kameneva, representative of the All Russian Committee for combatting the results of the famine, on: The work accomplished hitherto by the relief organizations, and their future tasks; 2. Address by the representative of the Russian Agricultural Commissariat, Friedrichsohn, on the Situation in Russian Agriculture, and 3. Address by Prof. Trachtenberg, delegate of the Russian Supreme Economic Council, on the Situation in Russian Industry; this last was submitted to those present in printed form, on account of the lateness of the hour.

After an address by Comrade Aussem, Comrade Kameneva tendered preliminary greetings to all the friends of the Russian people, who already in 1921 came to Russia's aid; Comrade Kameneva expressed the sincere thanks of the Russian people. She reminded her audience of the first world conference of the Russian Relief, held in Berlin in December 1921, when the problem to be faced was the salvation of 30 million human beings from immediate death by starvation. Then came the second conference of 1922, confronted by the fresh problem raised by the comparatively good crops, and the necessity of converting the relief work into productive economic aid, and into means for providing for and training the millions of orphan children left by the war, the revolution, and the famine. The Children's Relief is the most urgent task. Four million destitute orphan children have had to be provided for, and even now this work is not yet completely carried out. There is yet a million children who still have to be maintained and educated at the cost of the state. To this must be added the necessity of providing for the innumerable disabled and invalids of every description.

But our most important task lies in combatting the causes of the catastrophe, the aid to be given in restoring the devastated farms and the ruined industries—apart from big industry. Part of this work consists in providing live and other stock, seed, draught animals and relief for home and industrial workers.

The work done by the A.R.A. has been of great importance to us. Even though the rations which it distributed cannot be regarded as sufficient for the maintenance of a human being. The A.R.A. is however, now ending its activity. Until quite recently the Nansen organization maintained 71,000 children, the catholic organization 100,000, the Quaker Relief 40,000, and the American Mennonites 5,400 children; the I.W.R., though chiefly engaged in productive economic relief work, has nevertheless been maintaining 10,000 children. The largest food rations have been supplied by the Workers Relief and the Quakers.

With regard to the restoration of agriculture, the work accomplished this year has been as follows: The people's commissariat for agriculture has supplied a total of 28.5 million puds of seed corn; this seed is loaned, but need not be returned before a year or 18 months. This has enabled the area cultivated to be greatly increased this year. For the spring crops alone the area under cultivation is 21% greater than that of last year. Compared with 1916, the difference is 48%. In the Ukraine the difference is greater still; here it amounts to 83% of the area cultivated in 1916. Besides this, the central committee for Famine Relief has also supplied 750,000 puds of corn, with which 150,000 hectares have been sown; it has supplied 4,700 head of draught cattle to the famine districts, while the people's commissariat for agriculture has supplied 10,000 head; 2,000 horses rejected by the army were also sent to agricultural undertakings which had suffered from the famine. Most important work has been done in combatting insect and other field pests. This has required an expenditure of 250,000 roubles and 42,500 pud of corn. Over 10,000 hectares of land have been successfully freed from all pests. Complete data are not yet at our disposal, but here are a few small examples; from the Crimea for instance, where the area under cultivation for gardening has increased from 9,000 to 14,000 dessjatines, for vineyards from 4,000 to 7,000, and for tobacco from 460 to 2,000 dessjatines. It may be seen that the rate of development is fairly rapid, and that even greater success may be anticipated in the near future.

The total amount of corn collected by the central committee for Famine Relief was 6 million pud, supplied by the government, and now in spring an additional 1 million pud. Besides this, the Ukraine collected 4.5 million pud and placed it at the disposal of the same relief work. The total amount of corn thus collected has been 11.5 million pud.

The foreign organizations have also devoted much attention, during recent months, to the reconstruction of economics. A large number of organizations have participated in this work, for instance the A.R.A., which has now abandoned its activity in Russia, and is withdrawing the greater part of its organizations. The number of those still continuing the work is thus considerably reduced.

Amongst the other helpers, mention must be made of the Quakers, who have distributed 2,200 horses and 90 tractors among the peasants of the three districts, and have restored a large number of houses, children's homes, etc., besides performing excellent relief work by supplying seed, etc. The foreign organizations have supplied over 200 tractors in all to Soviet Russia; of these 7 were sent by the Swedish Red Cross, a large number by the Mennonites, and also a larger number through Nansen. How the whole work has been accomplished may best be seen from a characteristic example which I should like to adduce here, the example given by the American organization the "Joint". This organization selected 96 localities small villages, as its field of activity. The "Joint" has worked almost exclusively in the Ukraine, in the Cherson government, in the Yekterinoslav government, and in the Donez government. 42 co-operative credit societies have been formed, by whose aid the Joint mainly functions. The help here afforded is not given on philanthropic lines, but is treated as a loan for 2-3 years at the rate of 4% interest, the intermediary organizations, the credit co-operatives, having the right to subtract 10% for their own expenses. Up to now 75 tractors have been supplied, and a large number of other machines—harvesting machinery, ploughs, harrows, sowing machines; besides this, 30,000 puds of potatoes of superior sorts, and 260,000 pud of seed, have been brought into the country for improving the standard of the products. Further, over 8,800 horses have been supplied to horseless farms, each recipient of a horse undertaking to lend it to his neighbour at times until he has paid off the full value. Dairies have also been set up. These dairies devote their chief energies to the production of cheese, and have made 400 kilograms of Dutch cheese during the past month. Horses and oxen for breeding purposes have also been supplied. Pig-keeping, poultry rearing, and bee-keeping, have also received encouragement. The organization has also carried out a number of other helpful actions, such as for instance the feeding of the

children in the children's homes, the establishment of a students organization in Voronezh, in Kieff, and in Petrograd. Without being of a purely philanthropic character, this description of organization is able to afford very considerable help.

The six months of productive economic relief which have passed since October do not yet suffice to give a complete idea of the prospects of development. But they suffice for us to gain a general idea of the trend of future activity. The indisputable signs of agricultural uplift in Russia permit us to look fairly optimistically into the future, and to hope that the mutual work, the spontaneous initiative of the population, the activity of the governments and of all organizations, will all further combine to yield equally good results in the future, so that the consequences of the great catastrophe may be finally overcome.

Comrade Münzenberg reported on the activity of the I.W.R., which possesses at the present time four large farms, an extensive fishery undertaking, and a shoe factory.

Addresses were then given on the situation in agriculture and industry.

The congress unanimously passed the following resolution: "The third world congress of the relief organizations combatting the consequences of the famine in Russia, notes with great satisfaction that the relief action has been carried on, and is still being carried on, in Russia; that the first successes are now apparent in the revival of the agrarian districts devastated by the famine catastrophe.

The various reports suffice to demonstrate to the conference that the plans and organizational measures used for combatting the consequences of the famine, as laid down by the last world conference, have been right on the whole.

The conference points out that a breaking off of the work begun for combatting the consequence of the famine would mean, at the present juncture, that all results gained up to now would be destroyed, and the population of the districts concerned again plunged into the greatest misery, should they be visited by another famine catastrophe.

The conference affirms that the combatting of the consequences of the famine is a question which does not concern the famine areas alone, and points out further, that the whole human race has interests at stake in the reconstruction of the productive forces of Russia—a sixth of the surface of the globe. The conference calls upon all social forces to take part in this work, a work which is not only of material significance, but is of the greatest cultural and ideal importance, especially at the present time, when peace is being continually threatened, and a rapprochement among the peoples made more difficult.

For this reason the conference expresses cordial satisfaction at the formation of associations in various countries, having for their object the cultural rapprochement between all peoples and new Russia.

The conference is unanimously of the opinion that the relief work for the Russian children must be continued, the productive economic aid must be further extended, in order, by reconstructing Russia's economic foundations, to work for World reconstruction. In order that the lines of action laid down in this resolution may be carried through, the conference instructs the presidium to appoint a commission from among its own members, which will be empowered to open up and maintain communication with all organizations working in the sphere of economic and cultural relief for Russia."

In order to ensure the maintenance of communication between the separate organizations, a commission was appointed, and will meet regularly in the future.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Lessons of the American Marine Strike

By George Hardy.

Militancy in the workers is a powerful force. The recent marine strike of the I.W.W. shows this clearly. The shipowners capitulated to the strikers because they feared that the national strike and mass tactics of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union might take root in the minds of the marine workers. An increase in wages, with better working conditions, was also long overdue, so that the shipping interests, conceded a 15% increase in wages, the 3 watch system at sea and an eight hour day in port. The release of political prisoners was not obtained, but the strikers were correct in using whatever power they possessed to make a real live issue of their continued incarceration.

The fact that different tactics to those of the 1921 strike were used, will not alter the final result if we do not learn from the recent strike's obvious lack of organization. Andy Furuseth, President of the I.S.U., split his union by his twaddle to the United States Shipping Board about an "All-American Marine" (citizen preference on American ships), while the vast majority of the members of the union came from other countries. The foreign born workers naturally resented this and left the union. He also depended upon the "Seamen's Act", and asked the capitalist courts to enforce it, instead of depending on economic power and organization, and thus developing the fighting spirit of the seamen. The I.W.W. strike had its aggressive features. Public mass meetings in defiance of the authorities, and mass picketing resulting in hundreds of arrests. The seamen signed on as potential scabs but never sailed in the ships. These tactics, and others of a like nature, brought the strike to a national issue, which would not have been the case otherwise.

Central Direction Necessary in Strikes.

The utter lack of machinery to handle the strike was one of the outstanding failures. The I.W.W. had no national strike committee, leaving a settlement in accordance with its national demands to the local committees at the different ports. This prevented a national settlement as far as it was concerned. The International Seamen's Union did not call a strike; instead, it opened up negotiations with the United States Shipping Board, and, by warning the Shipping Board against the radicals and discrediting them generally, it endeavoured to regain its former prestige. However these "good boy" tactics will be of no avail, for the shipowners recognize only those who exercise power.

Longshoremen's Convention opposes Amalgamation.

At the Convention of the International Longshoremen's Association recently held in Boston, which was called before the end of the seamen's strike, no action was taken to prevent their members handling cargo at the many ports which were affected by the strike. However, the rank and file in San Pedro showed their class solidarity by refusing to scab on their fellow workers, even though they might not agree in principle with them. The united front of all the marine workers of this port is an example to be emulated throughout the industry.

An amalgamation resolution, which was submitted by a few progressive delegates, was carefully pigeon-holed by the resolutions' committee turning it over to the executive committee. President Chlopak had written in his report a recommendation for a working agreement, qualifying his desire with the words "or amalgamation". But when he learned the interpretation put upon the term, he immediately rose to withdraw this "radical statement". To hear that amalgamation meant one industrial union for all working in the industry, with one set of officials one constitution, one journal, one treasury, one convention and one point of view for the whole industry, was too much for him. He saw himself, due to his ignorance, placed in the camp of those who are the strongest opponents of Samuel Gompers, but also the hope of the American labor movement. This would not have agreed with the welcome given the convention by the capitalist Governor of the State, the Mayor of Boston, and the assistant from the prison at Deer Island. The convention therefore closed without any real progress being made, for the recommendation for a marine trades department within the A.F. of L. will not help the Marine workers one iota.

The Power of the Shipowners.

Against our disjointed craft unions and sectarian industrial unions stand the most closely allied groups of employers in America. They represent the greatest industrial magnates in the world. The American International Corporation controls 125 ships. On its directory are the Armours, the meat trust; Rockefeller, the oil trust; Stillman, the financial trust; Coffin, the electrical trust; representatives of the steel trust and many other equally powerful industrial magnates who dominate the economic and political life of the whole nation. This corporation holds 20 per cent of the securities of the International Mercantile Marine Corp., which also controls 119 ships. The same groups controls the American International Shipbuilding Corporation, which was many times charged with grafting enormous sums out of the two hundred million dollars it extorted from the government to build the Hog Island shipyards. They also own shares in the United Fruit Company which controls 90 ships, and are deeply interested in the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the Grace and Dollar lines, as well as being allied with some of the largest foreign steamship lines of the world. The United States Shipping Board employs approximately 35,000 workers, according to recent figures. And

the American Steamship Owners Association—the one big industrial union of shipowners—unites all shipowners against our fragmentary and divided unions. How is it possible to win against this powerful and unscrupulous enemy? It cannot be done unless we unite our forces.

Let Experience be our Teacher.

Out of the folly of divisions has arisen a new movement. The strike brought out prominently the need for a rank and file organisation, so a group of militants came together from the various marine organisations and formed the *International Marine Workers Amalgamation Committee*. They saw that, unless we united our divided forces, the slogan "A strike is never lost" could not apply to the recent strike, even though we have gained a little more wages and shorter hours, for which the I. W. W. can be given credit inasmuch as it precipitated the strike. We must not forget that high wages ashore were more due to changed ratings, and changed conditions, than to the strike itself. Therefore, we must recognise that if we do not get more solidarity by building up an industrial union of the Marine Workers, it will be impossible to hold the concessions granted.

The old slogan "we learn by doing" must be made an axiom. We must prepare to combat the formation of a Marine Trades Department in favor of an amalgamated marine workers union, which will take in all the existing organizations. Experience has shown us that the metal, building, railroad and printing trades departments, etc., with their district councils have not stopped the workers from scabbing upon each other. We must have a solid front of the marine workers facing the employers. Loyalty to all workers in the industry, no matter to what section they belong would be our only concern. This is the only way to win against the shipping trust as we have learned from bitter experience.

International Unionism our Aim.

Internationally as well as nationally, the marine workers are heading for a divided movement. The International Seamen's Union is affiliated to the International Seafarers Federation, which is known as the "Entente International" because it excluded all those countries that fought against the allies. It has witnessed its affiliated organizations beaten one after another without even given publicity to the attacks of the shipowners. The French Seamen's Union withdrew when the last congress failed to support an International eight hour day throughout all shipping. At the convention of the I. L. A. they voted to affiliate with the International Transport Workers Federation of Amsterdam, which has recently concluded an agreement with the Red International of Labor Unions for a United front against War and Fascism. This United front must now be extended to include all the activities of the International Transport Workers. Nothing short of complete unity of purpose, and action in carrying it out, will ever enable us to score any success in our every-day struggle.

The transport section of the Red International of labor unions is the only international that has in the past truly taken up the fight of the transport workers. It aims at uniting all marine workers on an industrial basis just as we propose they should be organized nationally. There will be no international scabbing. Already it is almost numerically equal to the I. T. F., and its influence and power is greater. It takes up every fight of the workers no matter how small; it carries on revolutionary propaganda, and mobilizes the workers for the final struggle. Its aim is an International Union of Seamen with an all inclusive United Transport Workers International. Amalgamation of our unions, locally, nationally and Internationally, is the objective; for success lies in solidarity and defeat in division.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Struggle against Illiteracy in Soviet Russia

By A. Bubnov (Moscow).

The II. All Russian Congress for the liquidation of illiteracy has just been held in Moscow. Delegates from every part of Russia attended the congress, and it was resolved to use every available means of assuring that by the 7th November, 1927, that is, by the tenth anniversary of the October revolution, there shall be no inhabitant of the Soviet republics, between the ages of 18 and 35, who cannot read and write.

A basic plan has been worked out for executing this design. In accordance with this plan, which has been worked

out by the "Headquarters for Political Enlightenment" and the body known as the "All Russian Tcheka for abolishing Illiteracy", it is intended to begin work among the organized strata of the population (trade unions, youth associations, etc.), and to have this completely organized by about the summer of 1925. Preparatory work and organization for combatting illiteracy are to be carried on simultaneously among the unorganized town and country population.

Comrade Lenin, in his last article on co-operation, put the question of "cultural revolution" very emphatically in the foreground. "This cultural revolution" he writes, "offers enormous difficulties". There is no doubt whatever that one of the most important conditions of this cultural revolution is the abolition of illiteracy in the whole country, especially among the millions of peasant inhabitants.

Illiteracy is still tremendously widespread. The total number of those who can neither read nor write, in the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, amounts to about 27 millions (aged 11 to 40 years). In the Russian Soviet Republic (without Ukraine, Caucasus, etc.) there are 17 million totally illiterate persons, according to data furnished by the All-Russian census of 1920; of these 4 millions are living in the towns, and 13 millions in the country; 4 millions of men and 13 millions of women. According to the statistics of the same census about one half of the total working population in the European part of the RSFSR. cannot read or write. The number of female illiterates exceeds that of the males by 2.7%. There are three times as many illiterates among the rural population as in the towns. There are a great number of illiterates in the trade unions; the average number is 15%, according to the data issued in 1922. Some unions contain a far higher proportion of illiterate members, thus, for instance, the leather workers union 50%, the miners 60%, and the forest and agricultural laborers, actually 80%.

10% of the members of the Young Communist League cannot read or write. Even in the vanguard of the Russian proletariat, the Russian Communist Party, there are illiterate members.

Illiteracy forms an unspeakably heavy burden, and one which now stands in the way of the development and rebirth of Soviet Russia. Illiteracy is a stumbling block in the path of economic reconstruction, especially in the country. It prevents all cultural growth among the masses of the population. So long as illiteracy prevails, no political or other enlightenment of the masses is possible.

For this reason the resolution passed by the II. All-Russian Congress for the liquidation of illiteracy may be designated as historical; it can and will be of the greatest significance. Everything now depends on the manner in which the mass organizations of the country actually and energetically set about the solution of this cultural problem. In this work the leading rôle again falls to the party organizations. The Russian C.P. undertakes this new work, in the consciousness that the abolition of illiteracy is the most urgent and important cultural task of the proletarian state and the proletarian party.

Women in the Russian Trade Unions

By Isa Strasser (Moscow).

In the Russian trade unions there has never been a "Women's Question" in the sense as is still unfortunately to be found in the trade unions of western Europe. The Russian trade unions, under the leadership of conscious socialists, from the very beginning adopted an essentially different attitude towards women's work, and the questions connected with it, from that taken, for instance, by the trade unions in England, with their guild character, or the trade unions of Germany, cut according to bourgeois pattern. The admittance of women to the trade unions and to highly qualified work and the principle: Equal pay for equal work, were a matter of course in the Russian trade unions as early as 1905. Thus a resolution passed by the printing workers in 1905 demanded the employment of skilled women printers, and equal payment for male and female employees doing similar work. And in 1907 a leading trade unionist, Dimitrov, stated that the employment of a comparatively large number of skilled female compositors in Petrograd and Moscow was due to the attitude taken by the trade unions, which had sided in favor of like training for male and female compositor apprentices. In other industries, as for instance the metal industry, the wood industry, etc., equal rights for women in trade unions and in the workshops were principles which were theoretically recognized by the Russian trade unions, even before the revolution. It was of course only natural that in a capitalist world, where

the wishes of the workers collided violently with those of the employers, the weakness of the young Russian trade unions prevented the full actual recognition of these principles. Thus we read, in a report issued by the printers union in 1909, that when the wages of men and women in this profession are compared, it must be admitted that very little has been attained.

It was not until political power had been captured by the proletariat that the path was cleared for the Russian trade unions to realize their theories in practice. In the Russia of today, women's labor is reckoned at precisely the same rate as men's. The working woman receives the same wages as the workman who performs the same work. The abolition of "pajok" (payment in kind), and the introduction of payment in money, has been proved by inquiry into the question to have altered nothing whatever in this relation. But in spite of this—the great mass of working women continue to receive, now as before, considerably lower wages than the majority of working men. The reason for this is easily to be seen if we glance at the distribution of women over the various trades and professions. Among the metal workers 63% of all women employed in this industry belong to the lowest category, to the semi-skilled workers; in the next category of better skilled workers only 13%. Among the wood workers 74% of all female workers come under the unskilled and half-skilled category. Among the textile workers the proportions are somewhat more favorable; here only 17% of the women workers belong to the unskilled assistant workers, but 43.3% and 31.4% to the half-skilled and qualified workers. The Russian trade unions do not however, regard this fact—that women's work is for the most part unqualified work—as an irremediable fact. The question: "What is to be done to help women out of their position as unskilled workers, so that they themselves and Russian industry may be raised to a higher level"—this is one of the questions to which the Russian trade unions are devoting the greatest attention at present. Thus the metal workers union convened a conference of trust leaders, factory directors, and labor protection commissions of the trade unions, in April of this year, at which this question was dealt with in connection with the unemployment question. A resolution was passed that an investigation be made as to which branches of work, in the metal industry can be made accessible to women without injury to their health. In addition to this, a circular was drawn up and sent to all trade union leaders, to the following effect: "Why is unemployment greater among the women in the metal industry than among the men? Because the overwhelming majority of women are doing unqualified work. It has, however, been actually demonstrated that the women are equally capable of qualified work. Efforts must thus be made towards securing precisely the same training for girls as for boys in the metal industry, in those branches of work which girls are able to perform without injury to their health".

In the other industries (wood working and chemical industries), investigation is also being made of the possibilities of opening out new fields of work for the wives of qualified workers, physicians, and technicians. And everywhere measures are being taken to further the education of women and girls, in the factory schools and evening classes connected with the factories. Thus, for instance, the union for the lithograph industry sent a circular to the trade union leaders requesting that 25% of the places be left open for girls.

It is clear that the chasm which has been created in the manufacturing and great industries between working men and women, between skilled and unskilled workers—a chasm which capitalism has invariably endeavored to artificially maintain and even extend, on the principle of "Divide and rule"—is not to be bridged at once, even in a Soviet state, and with the trade unions entirely willing, but only after a long and obstinate struggle. But there is one thing which can substantially accelerate this process, and that is: the active co-operation of women in the trade unions themselves. It need not be said that even in Russia, women take comparatively little part in trade union work. Despite this, the Russian working woman appears to participate much more actively in this work than the working women of western Europe, a fact which should be highly appreciated, for the Russian working woman is at a great disadvantage, with regard to schooling, when compared with the German or Austrian working woman. (Among the textile workers 40% of the women cannot read or write, but only 10% of the men.) In Moscow, for instance, there are 29.3% women among the leaders of the textile workers unions, but in the province only 17%. At the last election to the Moscow committee for the tailoring profession, 90 women and 60 men were elected. In Ukraine, where about 30% of the trade union members are women, 10% women have been elected to leadership.

RED RELIEF

Red Relief for Class War Prisoners

At a session of the Central Committee of the International Red Relief, recently held in Moscow, it was resolved, in view of the growth of world Fascism, and of the increased victimization of the proletariat, to use every endeavor to reinforce the work done by the International Red Relief and to establish firmer connections with foreign countries by organizing accredited representatives of the CC. of the IRR. in West Europe and America. Meanwhile the relief action undertaken by the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia for political prisoners in capitalist countries is assuming ever greater dimensions. In every part of Russia the workers and peasants are proceeding to form Red Relief organizations and to work on behalf of the political prisoners, not only by propaganda, but by practical help. The assembled factory councils of Charkov expressed themselves to the following effect:

"We have gained liberty not for ourselves alone, we are prepared to make every sacrifice to assist our working brothers abroad in the conquest of their own liberty. We shall organize and spread our agitation, in order to mobilize every available resource, to collect millions of small contributions, and thus to come to the relief of our foreign brothers languishing in the prisons of the bourgeoisie."

The workers and peasants of the town of Kotelnitch, in the government of Viatka, send cordial greetings, actuated by the feeling of solidarity which binds all toilers, to German comrades incarcerated in the prisons of capital.

To these they call:

"Have courage, comrades! The toilers of Russia are your true friends and allies, your faithful comrades! The help already afforded you shall be increased, and we shall be able to aid you more effectively than before."

The artists of Russia have also seized the opportunity of addressing an appeal to the artists of the whole world. The following is an extract:

"Capitalism, writhing in its death agony, is trying to stem the irresistible rising tide of revolution in every country in the world there are numbers of revolutionary merable are the sacrifices and the sufferings undergone by the champions of a better future for humanity. In every country in the world there are numbers of revolutionary fighters in the dungeons of the bourgeoisie. These fighters await help from the toilers of the world.

We artists must follow the example set by the workers. The Artists' Association of revolutionary Russia, which undertook the task of the artistic reproduction of the heroic October of the Russian revolution, has devoted itself with the greatest disinterestedness to propaganda for the prisoners of capital, and calls upon the artists of the whole world for their co-operation by all available ways and means.

Revolutionary artists of all countries! Indifference towards the victims of the revolutionary struggle is a crime against the champions of your own class. Follow the example set by the Artists' Association of revolutionary Russia. Contribute your mite for the imprisoned revolutionists!"

A small selection from the list of contributions received may be appropriate here. These are sums recently raised by the Russian workers and peasants for their comrades imprisoned in capitalist countries:

The following amounts have been received by the "Red Relief": The workers of the Siberian coal mines, 109,204 roubles (about 54½ million marks); the Red Relief Committee of Petrograd, as first instalment, 64,484 roubles (about 32 million marks); the Provincial Committee of Vologda, 11,201 roubles (about 5½ million marks); the Red Relief Committee of Ivanovo-Vosnossensk, as third instalment, 26,649 roubles (about 13 million marks), making a total of 42,350 roubles (about 21 million marks); the Hungarian emigrants 241 Dollars; the Ural Bureau of the miners' trade union Central, 32,960 roubles (about 16½ million marks); the Red Relief Committee of Vitebsk, 30,000 roubles (about 15 million marks); and, among many others, the Red Relief Committee of the Province of Viatka, 225 roubles (about 112½ million marks).

These magnificent demonstrations of solidarity from the workers and peasants of Russia can only meet with one response from the workers of other lands: they will respond by proclaiming in like manner their solidarity with the victims of our struggle.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Debs - Chairman of the Socialist Party of America

By John Pepper.

The Convention of the Socialist Party of America elected Eugene V. Debs to the National Executive Committee of the Party. The National Executive Committee chose Debs as its chairman. It is now for the first time since 1899 that Debs is on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Debs has become chairman of the Socialist Party.

We must emphasize this fact, for it is of political significance.

The Socialist Party has lately fallen into two factions. The right wing under the leadership of Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger, and the left wing under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. The right wing had the party machinery completely in its power. The petty Tammany Hall of Victor Berger and Hillquit was the undisputed ruler of the party, and determined its policy. The left wing had no organization. It was but a vague revolutionary sentiment. The right wing controlled the party, but the party could only exercise an influence upon the laboring masses through the left wing. The Socialist Party received 60,000 votes in New York at the November 7 elections of 1922 and 40,000 votes in the mayoralty elections in Chicago, not through Hillquit and Lee, but mainly through this vague revolutionary sentiment which is embodied in the person of Debs. The Socialist Party as the bearer of an ideology and as a mass organization is dead. But it would be ridiculous to deny that the Socialist Party still wields an influence over militant masses, through the vague revolutionary sentiment represented by Debs. The Socialist Party without Debs is an insignificant opportunistic sect. But whether we like it or not, Debs is to-day the leader of the political actions of tens of thousands of workers? Where are these workers? These workers compose a middle stratum between the Socialist Party, and the Workers Party. They are profoundly dissatisfied with the petty Tammany Hall of Hillquit and Victor Berger. But these workers are not yet members of the Workers Party, and in many ways, are not as yet adherents of the Communist ideology. These workers were discouraged from joining the Workers Party, partly through the brutal persecution by the government, partly because the Communists had an underground organization, and last but not least because our agitation and propaganda was not adapted for reaching them.

Those workers who continuously vacillate between the Socialist Party and the Workers Party to-day consider Eugene V. Debs as their leader.

We do not imply thereby that Eugene V. Debs is himself vacillating between the Socialist Party and the Workers Party. He did vacillate for some time. When he was liberated from the penitentiary of Atlanta on December 25, 1921 he declared, "I cannot make a definite statement of my opinion", as to which Party is in the right—the Socialist Party or the Workers Party. But in his statement of October 8, 1922, he declared, "I have arrived at the definite conclusion that my place in the future, as in the past, is in the Socialist Party." Yet he declared at that time that he does not identify himself with the policy of the Socialist Party in everything.

And since then we have seen that on almost every question he had a different opinion from that of the official Socialist Party. The official Socialist Party is an ally of Gompers and an opponent of amalgamation. Debs on the contrary, indorsed the Trade Union Educational League, and branded the traitors of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy as traitors. The Socialist Party lives on the slandering of Soviet Russia. Debs has, on the whole, defended the Russian revolution, even if with some sentimental pacifistic reservations. The Socialist Party is against the United Front, whereas Debs declared himself in favor of the United Front of all working class forces. Ideologically, the official Socialist Party has for a long time already been an adherent of the Second International. Debs, however, declared himself against social peace, against support of war, and for the class struggle.

The laboring masses who were influenced by the Socialist Party were not won over through the counter-revolutionary activity of Hillquit and Berger, but through the policy of Debs for Amalgamation, for Soviet Russia, for the United Front, for the class struggle. The masses who voted for the Socialist Party did not vote for the official Socialist Party, but for the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs, for a party which, even if it does not exist organizationally, exists ideologically, like the left wing of the old Independent Socialist Party of Germany. Naturally, the official Socialist Party drew all the advantage therefrom, in the same way as the Second International derived advantage from the vacillating policy of the Second-and-a-Half International.

We have a new Debs before us to-day. In 1921 he could not as yet choose between the Socialist Party and the Workers Party. In 1922 he chose the Socialist Party, but offered criticism, and remained an ordinary party-member. In 1923 he became member and chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. We must wait now to see if he will accept also the official policy of the Socialist Party. In any case, he has accepted the official leadership of the Socialist Party under remarkable circumstances. The same Socialist Party convention which unanimously elected him as leader, had decided against his policy on all questions. The Socialist Party convention declared against interference in internal trade union affairs, which means against Amalgamation. The Socialist Party convention rejected the motion to repudiate Abe Cahan's attack on Soviet Russia, which means that it indorsed all his shameless slanders against Soviet Russia. The Socialist Party convention declared against the United Front and against participation in the Farmer-Labor Party Convention in Chicago, that is, against the Labor Party.

Against Amalgamation, for trade union officialdom, against Soviet Russia, against the United Front, against the Labor Party—that is the mandate which the Socialist Party Convention has given its newly elected leader Debs.

What will Debs do? Will he fight for his previous views, or will he carry out the decisions of the Convention? This question interests us, not because of the personality of Debs, but because of the political position of those laboring masses who still listen to Debs. Debs faces a dilemma. If he fights for his own political views,—he must fight against the petty Tammany Hall of Hillquit and Berger. But the destruction of the petty Tammany Hall of the Socialist Party officialdom means the death of the Socialist Party. And yet, if Debs chooses the other way, and accepts the policy of the petty Tammany Hall of Hillquit and Berger, the laboring masses who have confidence in him to-day, will quickly abandon him. That also means the death of the Socialist Party in another way.