

INTERNATIONAL

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 77

8th Sept. 1922

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

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Politics		Labor Movement	
"Anything But Crises". By <i>E. Ludwig</i>	573	The Amsterdammers in Czecho-Slovakia with the Bourgeoisie, Against the Workers. By <i>H. Brandler</i>	576
Who Will Pay the Reparations. By <i>E. Heine</i>	574	The Strike in Le Havre. By <i>Marcell Ollivier</i>	577
The Situation in Alsace-Lorraine. By <i>A. Dubois</i>	574	The Chinese Metal Workers' Union in Canton	578
Economics		The Colonies	
The Growing Misery of the German Proletariat. By <i>G. Fink</i>	575	The Débauché of Gandhism. By <i>E. Roy</i>	578
The Jugo-Slavian Loan in America. By <i>K. Novakovic</i>	576	Appeals	
		To the German and French Proletariat! To the International Working Class!	580

POLITICS

"Anything But Crises"

By *E. Ludwig* (Berlin).

The Paris decision of the Reparations Commission is best characterized by the familiar phrase of the German Chancellor von Bülow, which was his maxim of government, — "Anything but Crises". It marks the extent already reached by the international imperialist differences, but it particularly betokens the helplessness of the most "brilliant" statesmen of Europe in solving the reparations problem, when every one of them, be it Lloyd George or Poincaré, Italian or Belgian, even Dr. Wirth himself, pronounce the Paris decision as an acceptable success.

For the Paris pronouncement is not that which they try to make the world believe it is, namely, a solution to, or at least an appreciable alleviation of the reparations crisis. It is, according to the Bülow phrase, even at best, but a postponement of the crises within the one big chronic crisis, which opens up new and more acute differences.

The decision appears to be a compromise of the two opponents and methods which have fiercely fought against each other during the last few weeks on the reparations problem, — Poincaré and Lloyd George. They have agreed on and for the "most noble" victim of the World War, Belgium, whose priority to the German reparations payments has been recognized. Since Germany must pay on August 15th, September 15th, October 15th, and December 15th, these Belgian priorities, not in cash but in treasury bonds, which will be due in six months, in gold, and which are secured by guarantees, the Reparations Commission has only gone around the core of the question at issue: whether Germany shall receive any kind of postponement of payment, and what guarantees she shall give for the same.

In fact, the decision of the commission very clearly reveals in its contradictions, the embarrassment of the imperialist statesmen who are today still shy of fighting out their differences to the last consequences. Germany need not pay in cash, but this provisional decision with regard to the gold payment is negated

by the obligation imposed upon Germany to give as a pledge, 270 million gold marks up to the end of the year, which is about 100 billion paper marks, in gold bills of exchange. For this momentary relief, Germany is paying with a more than 25% increase of her floating debt i. e., from 312 to 412 billion marks. Furthermore, instead of by monthly installments of 50 to 60 million gold marks, which she cannot pay at present, Germany must assume the obligation to pay, in six months 270 million gold marks in one sum. This tremendous obligation, solemnly secured by treasury bonds and guarantees, is — and this is the most grotesque contradiction of the Paris document — imposed upon a country which the Reparations Commission declares in black on white, in the introduction to its decisions; that "she has lost all her domestic as well as foreign credits". By which statement, however, the Reparations Commission has not only pronounced the undoubted bankruptcy of the Ebert republic, but also that of the whole capitalist reparations policy.

This "breathing space" can only have the effect that Germany will in six months, at the latest, be out of the frying pan and in the fire. In addition to this is the fact, that this replacement of payment in gold by payment in gold bonds, refers only to the reparations engagement, so that Germany, even now — after the Paris decisions — has to make an immediate 30 million gold mark compensation payment, and remains indebted with the cost of the occupation troops and the payments in kind to be made by the government according to the agreements of Bemelmann and Wiesbaden. The reparations crisis will soon break out afresh.

It will break out internationally and within the limits of the German policy, on the question of the guarantees which Germany has to give even before the treasury bonds fall due. In the decision it is stated that the treasury bonds shall be endorsed with guarantees with regard to which the German Government and the Belgian Government to whom these payments have been allotted, have to come to an agreement. In case of failure to agree, these payments have to be secured by gold deposits in a foreign bank acceptable to Belgium.

The Reparations Commission has formally transferred from itself to Belgium the question of the guarantees upon which Poincaré and Lloyd George could not come to an agreement. Belgium has now to attempt a separate agreement with Germany. But Belgium is only the screen behind which the

imperialist differences over the reparations question will be fought out between the great powers.

The guarantees, the pledges which Germany has to give to her creditors through Belgium, have, as a result of the Paris pronouncement been shifted to the centre of the Anglo-French conflict. The decision of the Reparations Commission brings no shadow of amelioration. The breathing space which was granted in Paris to Germany will be the welcome pretext for Poincaré to carry out and to pursue still further, with yet greater stubbornness, the aims of the French Iron and Steel barons, to combine into a trust with the Rhine-Westphalian iron industry. It is just the clause on the German guarantees which will be the impulse to that *peaceful penetration* of the Ruhr District which France has always preferred as a more comfortable method than that of open, brutal force.

The foul compromise of Paris is revealed precisely in the fact that after a few days of apparent reconciliation, all those struggles over guarantees and pledges which have so long stood on the agenda of the Reparations Commission, must set in again. The decision is neither a victory for Poincaré nor one for Lloyd George. It is but a phase in the growing acuteness of the crisis between them, for neither of the imperialist powers is sufficiently strong for a decision in its favor.

In Germany, it is already to be seen, hardly 24 hours after the Paris decision, that the reparations crisis is not yet solved for the Wirth Government, which is today *officially satisfied* in the same manner as Poincaré and Lloyd George affect satisfaction.

Certainly the Social Democrats of both tendencies will make believe to the proletariat, in order to keep up the deception, that now at last, economic reasonableness has taken the place of brute force. It is true that in the first burst of joy, the dollar has gone back from 2000 to 1300.

It will, however, be seen shortly that the only equivalent which Germany has been given for the obligations and guarantees imposed upon her in Paris, the international loan, is a still more rotten bill of exchange upon the future than even the treasury bonds of Germany.

The first difficulties are already in sight, and characteristically also in the question of guarantees. The German Government will give bills of exchange instead of paper money, but no money for bills of exchange Already it refuses to deposit an appropriate part of the gold of the *Reichsbank* to cover its obligations under the bills of exchange as the Reparations Commission demands. It claims to have no influence over the National Bank, which is autonomous in accordance with the desires of the Entente. In the same way the great German banks do not think of putting their signatures to the treasury bonds as proposed by Belgium.

The Stinnes press is also dissatisfied with the Paris decision. It reproaches the government through the mouth of *Paul Lensch* in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, with having disregarded the interests of the nation at Paris, because it did not sufficiently emphasize the readiness of the iron industry and of the trade unions to give guarantees for the fulfilment of the reparations. The flight of Stinnes to the French bayonets has not been successful at the first trial; hence, the injured interests of the German nation.

At any rate, the fight for the trustification of the German and the French iron industries will have to be fought out within the sphere of home politics, in spite, or perhaps because of the Paris decision. Thereby a portion of the financial capitalists, and with them the government, seem to withstand the pressure of the Stinnes group to recklessly seek a rapprochement with Poincaré.

Nor does the recent decision of the Reparations Commission bring any relief to the international, to the German proletariat in its unbearable situation. The continuation of the imperialist conflicts show their acuteness and therewith the growth of the danger of war. In Germany prices are increasing daily, hourly, whether the dollar rises or falls. Hunger is increasing. Bread riots, increasing rebellion of the broad masses are the reply to the helpless attempts of the ruling classes to save decaying capitalism by means of the reparations. But the proletariat whose last illusions regarding the possibility of a civil peace with its own capitalists, with the French or English imperialists, have been shattered by the Paris decision, are pressing for an immediate fight against the increasing cost of living and distress, through control of production and prices. From its standpoint, from its class position; it is rolling up the whole reparations and fulfilment policy.

Who Will Pay the Reparations?

By E. Heine (Berlin).

We often read in the French chauvinist press that to attack the Treaty of Versailles is to play the hand of German militarism. For the only purpose of the Treaty, it is claimed, is to destroy German militarism and to make impossible its resurrection. Nothing could be falser. *The true purpose of the Treaty is to enrich French capitalism at the expense of German capitalism.* Its French authors are attempting to force the most important German industries under French control.

All imperialistic conflicts, (and the reparations question is the most serious one just now), reveal clearly at the same time, the antagonism among the various national capitalist groups, and their solidarity of interests against the proletariat. The German bourgeoisie, for instance, recognizes that the execution of the Versailles Treaty represents the only way to come to an understanding with French capitalism. This at least is the opinion of the most important group of the German bourgeoisie, represented by Mr. Stinnes. The petty bourgeoisie, led by the Social Democrats, and the lesser industrialists, might prefer an alliance with the English bourgeoisie, but it gives way before the Stinnes group just as Lloyd George gives way before Poincaré.

By submitting to Poincaré, the German Big-Industry would gain the following advantages: 1. A new market for its products; 2. Assured profits; 3. A stable currency; 4. Separation from the bankrupt German state; 5. The protection of French bayonets against the German proletariat. The German bourgeoisie is willing to sell its political independence at that price.

On the other hand, the more the fall of the mark precipitates the bankruptcy of the German Government, and increases the misery of the German workers, the more tempting does this solution seem to the German industrial barons.

But if the plans of the French Big-Industry and the Stinnes group succeed, Germany, having lost Upper Silesia and the Rhine, will face such bankruptcy, that all payments of reparations will be impossible. These payments are already impossible. The continual rise of the dollar adds new billions to the paper marks Germany must pay to the Entente. The French Government, however, has no other way to cover the deficit of its budget than through the German reparations. It will therefore continue to demand new sums from a Germany already drained dry, sparing, however, those German capitalists who have become associated to its interests. The burden of reparations must then fall on the German worker, industrial and agrarian. The interests of the French bourgeoisie are here again in agreement with those of German capital, and even those of the Government, with its Social-Democratic faction. For no coalition government will ever consent to impose the least part of the reparations burden upon the German capitalists.

Who then is paying and will pay the reparations? The German worker and peasant, living already below the normal, and slowly starving. Who can help the German worker? First, the French worker. We do not make here a mere appeal to the solidarity of our French brothers; this is also their interest. A natural consequence of the German proletariat's misery will be that of the French. If wages fall in Germany they will inevitably fall later in France. The strengthening of French capitalism which now enslaves the German proletariat, will some day turn against the French proletariat.

We, the German workers, when we ask you, French workers to help us, in our fight against exploitation, hunger, and slavery, ask you to fight against the war and the misery which menaces you after us.

The Situation in Alsace-Lorraine

By A. Dubois (Strassburg).

The formation of the *Alsace Party* (a body with strong particularist tendencies), under the provisional leadership of *H. Zorn von Bulach*, marks a further step in the adaptation process which has been going on for almost four years, and which is flattered by the French Government with the title of *transition regime*, in which the complete absorption of Alsace Lorraine with its peculiarities, into the great French family, will find its official expression.

The announcement of the formation of this body has awakened a lively echo in all camps and throughout the whole press. The chauvinistic and clerical press in the service of the

Bloc National, uses this fact as the welcome occasion for rekindling hatred against Germany. They naturally do not forget to attack the growing Communist movement.

It is our task in the following article to disclose the closer connections and the reasons for the founding of this party:

"Faites aimer la France" (See to it that France gains friends) was the watchword given to the French army of interior officials that swept the country after the departure of the Germans. Thousands of business people, usurers and profiteers peopled the province in order to carry on their crooked business among their "newly recovered brethren".

How a great portion of these missionaries fulfilled the work entrusted to them was to be seen recently in the weekly paper *Le Cri de Strasbourg*, which usually takes the lead in the Boche and Alsace provocations, in an article which most appropriately characterized the mentality of the *nouveaux-venus* (immigrants). It is interesting to note that the author, who is a native of inner France writes as follows: "One has to acknowledge that, particularly among immigrants, there are many people of decidedly doubtful morality. Tradesmen who, greedy to enrich themselves, flood Alsace with spurious products; shady business people who exploit the credulity of the Alsations; interlopers; and among the French authorities, officials of ill-repute, concerned with recovering their reputations, and receiving undeserved promotions . . . etc. They have all entirely failed to appreciate properly the position in Alsace and take no account of the distress they cause to the Alsations."

The greater portion of the inner French officials understood not a word of German, and this was the prime cause for the injustice and the discontent. It often happened that a defendant in court understood nothing of the proceedings except the sentence. It was hastily and without any understanding attempted to impose the French language upon the German speaking districts, which contain the greater portion of the population.

The native officials were almost entirely set aside, particularly the teaching staffs who today are not given the same status as their French colleagues and do not receive the same treatment. The whole staff of officials is embittered, for after four years they still have to subsist on starvation wages, whilst many of their French colleagues still receive additional colonial allowances. In the private industries too, the most lucrative positions are reserved for the French. And one is guilty of no exaggeration in saying that Lorraine never saw so many pensioned officers in its mining works and foundries.

Almost every day some section of the inner French press makes it its task to discredit the social insurance (insurance for workers and clerks etc.) taken over from the German regime as "Institution boche", and to make propaganda for the less favorable French Acts. Practical attempts are already being made to abolish the *Miners' Friendly Society Laws*, in order to set up the "Caisse autonome" which at present prevails in the interior, an institution which would deliver over the workers, hand and foot bound to the despotism of the employers.

The proportionately much higher taxation of wages and salaries constitutes a further ground for discontent. In addition to this, there are the wretched party politics of the Alsace Lorraine deputies in the Chamber, who in their flunkey-like submission have not uttered a word of protest against all these grievances.

The severing of the three provinces from the German economic area has intensified the general European crisis, and will here, through the gross mismanagement and incapacity of the government, be extremely disastrous. The sequestration of individual undertakings which merely fill the pockets of some patriots will be seen by everybody, even the most short-sighted, to be a stupid blunder. A further contribution to the intensification of the economic anarchy is the expulsion of the German skilled and technical workers, of whom there is an appreciable scarcity today. It was attempted at the time to replace the expelled Germans with workers from the interior of France. These, however, were employed, not according to their actual business and technical knowledge, but according to the well known French method of favoritism (*camarades de promotion*).

The consequence of all these evil conditions is reflected in the *Annual Records of the smelting industry*, published in the course of the last month, which almost without exception, shows gigantic deficits. (Rombacher Smelting Works: 27 millions; Kneutinger Foundry: 30 millions; Hagendinger Works: 25 millions.) The employers naturally throw the whole blame upon the eight hour day, and demand a law which shall render possible the "elastic application" of the Eight Hour Day Act.

The economic horizon of the Alsace iron and steel industry for the near future, looks very gloomy. Owing to the rapid depreciation of the mark and to the uncertain political conditions, the metal-mining industry is almost at a standstill. It is easy to see that with all the abuses that are carried on, the irritation will increase every day. The government, which through its incapacity and chauvinistic policy is continually stirring disaffection among broad circles of the population, finds no other means of helping itself than ascribing all this discontent to German influence and Bolshevik instigation. An unbearable espionage makes itself felt in the country.

The Alsace-Lorraine workers have already long recognized that the "liberation" was not perchance pursued in order to win the hearts of the population, but solely to capture the country with its riches. That French capitalism is no less brutal in its exploitation than the German, has already been sufficiently proved. The young Communist Party, which is gaining a surer foothold every day, will pursue its aims in spite of the chauvinist bourgeois enmity. For this party there is no Alsace Lorraine irredenta. Its attitude towards the Alsace Lorraine problem which has been quite unconsciously raised again by the Alsace Party, is the following:

Standing on the basis of the actual facts, we consider the final solution of this question to be possible only with the solution of the economic and political problems of Europe as a whole, and in the Communistic sense. Alsace Lorraine will then be neither French, nor German, nor neutral. It will belong to the great Rhineland economic area. Alsace to the upper Rhine, Lorraine to the Mosel-Saar district; and within the framework of such a great unity, these two provinces which for centuries have been the bone of contention of two neighbors, greedy for power and territory, will then be able to realize their full economic strength.

ECONOMICS

The Growing Misery of the German Proletariat

By G. Fink (Berlin).

The German mark has undergone a marked improvement. The dollar, at 2,600 only very recently, now vacillates between 1,200 and 1,500 marks. Prices, however, which closely followed the dollar at its upward curve, deserted it when it came to a stop, and are still soaring skywards at an unprecedented speed.

This is not an exaggeration; prices do not only change day after day, they are even frequently increased in the course of the same day. This does not only apply to the prices for goods purchased by the retailer at a higher price from the wholesale houses or factories, but for goods paid for and delivered some time ago. The practice prevailing until recently that all goods displayed in the shop windows were marked with a price, has been discontinued. This, in spite of a police regulation providing that to all goods, and especially foodstuffs, must be affixed a price list. Such practice would, however, show the passers-by how prices are increased daily and hourly. It has become a rare sight, to see goods with a fixed price displayed for sale. This is not all, however. Many businessmen refuse to sell at all, and keep their stock with a view of realizing still more on it.

Prices have already gone up tremendously. A pair of shoes, until very recently only 600 marks, is now not obtainable for anything less than 3000. A suit of medium quality which could be purchased a few weeks ago for approximately 5,000 marks, is now at least 30,000. The price of a pair of soles has risen from 120 marks to 900 marks. In how arbitrary a manner prices are fixed can be gathered from the fact that for the same commodity they are nowhere the same.

And what is worse for the working class: prices of foodstuffs have not only kept pace with those of wearing apparel, but they even got ahead of them. The bourgeois press even, catering as it does, to readers recruited from the middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie and from the working class, cannot but daily admit the tremendous increase of prices. In this, however, it almost never forgets to stress the necessity of an extension of working hours and of increased production. According to the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Stinnes' chief mouth piece) the cost of living has risen 40 per cent from August 16th to August 19th. In the meantime it has risen still farther. The *Rote Fahne* (Berlin) in its painstakingly compiled weekly economic report, estimated that from the third to the fourth week in

August the cost of living of a proletarian family of four heads had gone up *another forty per cent.*

These immense increases, which lower daily the purchasing power of wages, thus augmenting the pauperization of the working class, are a fat source of profits both for industrial and financial capital. We have mentioned the practice of the small tradesmen, of increasing almost daily the price of their commodities. The usual reason advanced is that they cannot sell for the cost of production but must, in order to be able to buy a new stock, have the price of reproduction. This argument is easily refuted by the fact that now that the mark has gone up and industry is not compelled to increase prices, the increase for goods in stock do not only prevail, but continue steadily. The German industrials are more and more adopting the practice of selling for dollars, Swiss francs, or pounds sterling, instead of for marks, or of introducing a sliding scale. All this means, that commodities, the raw materials for which were purchased for a low price and which were manufactured by the workers for low paper wages, are disposed of with a large profit, amounting at times to a few hundred per cent. German industry has in time provided itself with a great stock of raw material.

The trade-balance for July, presents the picture usually met with in countries with a depreciating currency: the import at cheap prices of large quantities of raw material which will be converted into high priced commodities. It is furthermore in possession of sufficient foreign notes to enable it to import raw material even if the mark should go down still further. This raw material is converted by cheap labor into commodities which are either disposed of for high prices at home, or are used for dumping exports. From this it follows, that industrial capital which is greatly interested in a further slump of the mark, and this would tend to reduce real wages and thus the costs of production, has systematically engineered the extent of the depreciation of the mark, which was started, and is from time to time given a fresh impetus by the reparations policy.

While in this catastrophe the industrial and financial barons manage not only to avert any losses but even derive fat profits from it, the workers, clerks, all classes of pensioners and large sections of the so-called middle-classes suffer terrible hardships. Since the avalanche of prices set in, wages have only increased 30, 40 and in a few exceptional cases, 50 per cent. Even, if a few highly qualified trades, succeeded through "wild" wage struggles in securing a higher percentage of marks, there can be no doubt that the real wage as it was before the sudden rise set in, was nowhere recovered. Nor must we forget that even before the rapid drop of the mark and the tidal wave of prices, the real wage of German labor was less than a half the real wage (already a starvation wage) before the war. The clearance sales in Germany's shops and department stores provide with commodities not the workers, but principally the foreigners from countries with a higher rate of exchange (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Scandinavia etc.) who sejour in Germany in order to supply as cheaply as possible, their wants which are by no means modest.

How in the world could the German workers "store up" for times of even greater stress? Before the war they could buy a suit for two-and-a-half weeks wages; today it requires more than ten weeks wages. In 1914 a third of a week's wage would buy a pair of shoes; today, the worker would have to pay two week's wages for the same article. The same or nearly the same is the case with all the necessities of daily life, which it becomes ever harder to purchase, the wages being not even sufficient for buying the barest necessities. Once more we see long lines forming in front of the groceries; hundreds of proletarian women have to wait for hours in order to buy half a pound of sugar. The standard of living of the working class which had somewhat risen since the armistice, has once more sunk to the war level and even below it. The price for a loaf of bread on tickets will increase 250 per cent on and after October 15th. When the Communist Party in the *Reichstag* voted against the bill providing for a levy on grain, and told the workers that a loaf of bread which at that time sold for 12 marks would cost 75 marks in November or December, the Social Democrats of both shades (who voted for the bill and thus for an increase of the bread price) maintained that this was not true. It was, as a matter of fact, somewhat incorrect inasmuch as the price named by us will already be reached in October, if not sooner.

The German working class demands an energetic campaign against high prices, pauperization, and profiteering,—while the German trade union bureaucracy (ADGB.) barter away the 8 hour day to the capitalists. The German workers also know the futility of petty actions against petty traders, carried out either by the workers themselves or by the profiteering boards which have not become visible as yet, but that this struggle will only

be successful if labor lays the axe to the root of the evil and adopts measures accordingly. Everywhere the workers are demanding a national congress of the shop stewards, the carrying out of the Ten Demands of the ADGB. of November 21st, the confiscation of property and the control of production. If the German workers do not wish to be completely enslaved, they must adopt energetic measures and fight to the end for their demands.

The Jugo-Slavian Loan in America

By K. Novakovic.

The Jugo-Slavian Government has contracted a loan of 100 millions dollars with the American Blair Syndicate. According to the present valuta of Jugo-Slavia, this amounts to 8 billion denar.

All loans that have hitherto been contracted by the bourgeoisie of any country whatsoever, have in no way led to the amelioration of the economic condition of the proletariat. And particularly in the case of Jugo-Slavia, the funds which have flowed from other countries into the coffers of the state have chiefly been devoted to militarist purposes. With every further loan the capitalist class has consolidated its political power and thrown the working class into still greater political slavery. In addition to this, every loan acquired by the bourgeoisie up to now has been a rich field for exploitation purposes. The half of all loans flows into the pockets of those who undertake contracts for the state, the middlemen and jobbers who undertake the execution of public works. Every state loan is followed by the most scandalous affairs in which are involved the banks of all the bourgeois parties, those of the opposition as well as of the governing parties; "estimable" statesmen, politicians, former ministers and even members of the court are involved. The loans for the "economic improvement of the country" vanished in the form of gifts and appanages into the pockets of these circles.

The present Blair Loan contracted by Jugo-Slavia is likewise camouflaged under the guise of the "economic improvement of the country". A special character was to be lent to this loan, by assigning it for the improvement of the railway service. The masses of Jugo-Slavia have clearly recognized where all previous Jugo-Slavian loans have gone to, and it is for this reason that the loan is declared to be for the "improvement of the railways". With the money obtained from America, it is claimed that the railway trucks will be repaired and new ones constructed. The government hopes in this manner to be able to throw sand in the eyes of the masses. According to the agreement of the Jugo-Slavian Government with the Blair syndicate, 30 million dollars are to be paid in cash. This sum will in no circumstances be used for the purposes specified. The remainder of the loan will partly be the booty of the Americans who are to supply the material for the intended railway repairs and construction. But the Jugo-Slavian capitalists will also enrich themselves chiefly out of this balance of 70 million dollars, for the railway construction will be carried out by Jugo-Slavian contractors. And these will not fail to partake of the feast which is offered them.

The sum to be paid in cash is to be raised in such a way that it shall be chiefly subscribed by Jugo-Slavian workers living in America. When one takes into consideration that this loan will strengthen financially and therefore politically the governing reactionary clique, and if one further recollects that this white terrorist government uses its political power in order to suppress by the most brutal and violent means every movement of the proletariat in its class struggle, one is forced to the conviction that the Jugo-Slavian workers living in America can have no interest whatever in supporting the brutal repressive policy of the Jugo-Slavian Government. They will be doing so, however, if they put their names to share prospectuses issued by the Blair Syndicate in America. Let the workers refrain from contributing to the support of a reaction that oppresses them.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Amsterdammers in Czecho-Slovakia With the Bourgeoisie Against the Workers

By Heinrich Brandler.

From Czecho-Slovakia it is reported that the official statistics reveal 600,000 unemployed. Along the whole far-stretching German frontier, unemployed are daily emigrating

into Germany with and without permission, in order to seek work in the border districts. At all the frontier stations, one can observe three types of emigrants. The opulent bourgeoisie is taking advantage of the depreciation of the mark in order to recover in the luxurious German baths from the exhaustion brought about by the exploitation of the Czecho-Slovakian workers. Another class of emigrant consists of those belonging to the middle and petty bourgeoisie, who are streaming into the German frontier stations in order to purchase whatever articles they can get hold of. The third group consists of that army of poor workers, who, after months of unemployment take the road to Germany in order to seek work, although the proceeds of their work do not suffice to provide for their own scanty existence, to say nothing of their earning something for the maintenance of their families.

The trade union leaders belonging to the Amsterdam International make use of this time of the greatest distress among the working class of Czecho-Slovakia, in order to split the working class, thereby making them still more incapable of resisting the reductions of wages and lengthening of hours which the employers, supported by the forces of the state, are imposing on the working class.

Nowhere does the treachery of the Amsterdam "labor leaders" appear more flagrant than in Czecho-Slovakia. Nowhere is the destruction of the trade unions proceeding more violently than in Czecho-Slovakia. As a consequence of the world economic crisis, the German and Czechish working masses in the Czecho-Slovakian republic are becoming radicalized. In all the unions this process of radicalization is proceeding upon democratic lines. In most of the unions this process is going on even among the old trade union bureaucracy of the more active and better kind. The members of the individual central organizations are convinced of the practical sterility of the old Amsterdam trade union tactics, and the overwhelming majority are deciding to take up the position and tactics of the Red International of Labor Unions. The splitting of the individual trade unions first took place in the Czechish unions, after the little insignificant minorities who still abide by the Amsterdam tactics, by the policy of complete inaction, began, under the directions of the Amsterdam leaders the work of splitting on an extensive scale. At the international congress of the Amsterdammers in Rome, in addition to the official resolutions which endorsed their policy of submission to the policy of the bourgeoisie, secret councils were held as to the means by which the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy could retain its old influence against the increasing radicalization of the trade union members. Like the Roman Augurs, they decided, under cover of a loud outcry against the "splitting tactics" of the Communists and the followers of the R.I.L.U., to split the trade unions by expelling all Communists and revolutionary workers, in order to retain the indifferent masses and the old trade union funds and machinery in their hands. The Amsterdammers in Poland and in France had already followed this method before the Rome Congress. The decision of the Czechish wood workers to proclaim the principles of the Red International of Labor Unions, formed the starting point for the splitting of the Czechish Trade Union Federation by the federation bureaucracy. Previous to the Wood Workers' Union, ten of the most important trade union centres of Czecho-Slovakia had already pronounced in favor of the principles of the R.I.L.U., without the bureaucracy having ventured on that account to break up the Czechish Trade Union Federation. The adherents of the R.I.L.U. did everything to prevent the splitting of the Czechish trade union committee. They did so because they were firmly convinced that they would soon gain the majority in the leading organs, which they already possessed among the members.

This firm confidence which the followers of the R.I.L.U. had, was the determining ground for the Amsterdam bureaucrats in shattering the Trade Union Federation in Czecho-Slovakia. The Wood-Workers' Union was expelled on account of its adherence to the R.I.L.U. Fourteen trade union central committees protested against the expulsion. Majorities or large minorities of the members in other unions voiced their protest. The Amsterdam bureaucracy turned a deaf ear to these protests, and proceeded to expel the protesting unions, such as the Chemical Workers' Union, and others. This perfidious, destructive activity of Amsterdam, compelled those groups in the reformist unions favoring the principles of the R.I.L.U., and the central committees of fourteen trade union organizations, which espoused the principles of the R.I.L.U. to take a definite stand and enter upon decisions of far-reaching importance.

For the Trade Union Federation it was not sufficient to expel the red trade unions from the national federation, but it also split the various national trade unions. The Amsterdammers ordered their adherents to break away from the red trade unions and form other, special organizations. They are even on the

point of expelling the revolutionary minorities in the other reformist unions. Thus the destruction of the Czechish trade unions is in full swing.

The conference of the expelled unions and revolutionary minorities in the reformist organizations, which was held in Prague on the 18th of August, decided to adopt the following measures against this destruction of the trade unions:

1. The expelled unions shall link themselves together and cease payment of contributions to the Trade Union Federation. At the same time a great campaign shall be conducted, to appeal not only to the followers of the R.I.L.U., but to those workers who are opposed to the destruction of the trade unions, to stop the payment of contributions to the splitters until they abandon these treacherous tactics.

2. The leaders of the revolutionary unions, and the committees of the organized groups of revolutionary minded workers within the reformist unions, shall jointly and with the authority of the R.I.L.U. convene an extraordinary congress of the trade unions in the near future.

3. The opposition groups in the reformist unions shall discuss the situation created, at a conference, and there, where the leaders of the reformist unions have already commenced the expulsion of individuals or groups of workers, they shall as a protest against these proceedings, cease the payment of contribution to their centres, and in case of expulsion shall provisionally join the union of the chemical and factory workers.

4. The agitation committee and the conference of the central committees of the unions are of the opinion, that there must be created a united international of trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia for the workers of all nations and of all branches of industry. They give to all workers who, in spite of the destructive work of the Amsterdammers, are not yet convinced of the correctness of the tactics of the R.I.L.U. the assurance that they have in their organization perfect liberty of opinion and the right to form fractions. They declare that essential differences of opinion among them shall be fought out with intellectual weapons on the basis of working class democracy. Dictatorship, which the Amsterdammers ruthlessly employ against their class comrades who hold other views, in order to assist the bourgeoisie and to render the workers incapable of struggle, will only be employed by the adherents of the R.I.L.U. for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and not for the suppression of class comrades who do not happen to think like them.

5. To immediately link up with the workers of German nationality, who are organized in the unions belonging to the Reichenberg Trade Union Committee, through the oppositional groups and fractions, in order to win these unions as a whole for the new organized body which is to be formed.

Apart from the demands of the United Federation, which we regard as a task which cannot be realized at the moment, we are of the opinion that the Czechish revolutionary trade unionists have by these demands done what had to be done in order to make good, as quickly as possible, the destruction of the Czechish trade unions caused by the Amsterdammers, and to form revolutionary, fighting organizations which are in a position to offer decided resistance to the capitalist offensive.

The splitting of the trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia is particularly extensive. As the Amsterdammers are only the lackeys of their bourgeoisie, there existed, even before the splitting of the trade unions, separate German and Slovakian trade unions. In addition to the national cleavages there are yet workers in Jewish, Catholic and Protestant trade unions. If our comrades succeed in repelling the splitting offensive of the Amsterdammers, the foundation will have been laid for the formation of a central, consolidated, trade union federation in the Czecho-Slovakian republic, which will be in a position to overcome the national and religious distinctions through the prosecution of the class struggle.

We are convinced that our Czechish comrades will bend all their efforts in order to carry to a conclusion the work that has been begun. The workers of all countries have an interest in this, for it will depend upon the rapidity and upon the vigour, with which our Czechish comrades succeed in warding off the splitting offensive, whether or not the Amsterdammers will also bring their treacherous plans into execution in other countries.

The Strike in Le Havre

By *Marcel Ollivier* (Paris).

The present strike movement in France is one of the greatest witnessed for a long time. We must go back to the great strike in May 1920 for anything to compare with it in extent and intensity. The present movement is nothing but a

part of that general struggle which labor is everywhere compelled to carry on for its very existence. The life of the workers is here at stake, and not this or that concession on the part of the capitalists. The strike in Le Havre is added proof of this.

On July 15th, representatives of the employers' federation told representatives of the metal workers that they were about to reduce wages by 10 per cent. Four days later the workers employed at the shipyard *Gironde* decided not to submit to the proposed reduction and laid down their tools. On July 21st the workers in the steel and cable mills followed suit.

For a few weeks the strike went on peacefully, with the whole population of Le Havre sympathizing. The best proof of this, is a poster published by the *Action Francaise* and rousing wide-spread comment. The spokesmen of the employers, however, persisted and stubbornly refused to reconsider their decision; every attempt to settle the dispute, was resisted by them with all means. When the Deputy Siegfried, a member of the Bloc National, the senior president of the Chamber of Deputies, approached the representatives of the steel interests he was politely shown the door.

Thus matters stood when, after the strike had lasted two weeks, the government, acting under pressure from the mill owners, decided to interfere, relieving the police president of Le Havre, M. Meyer, of his post and replacing him with the governor of the province, M. Lallemand. In answer to this provocation, the local trade-union council decided to extend the strike. The longshoremen, the organized sailors, the dockworkers, the gaswork laborers,—one union after another struck work. The Dock Workers' Union in Rouen, decided to boycott all ships bound for Le Havre. The Transport Workers' Union decided to apply this decision to the whole of France.

Then the government tried to master the movement by force. Troops were sent to Le Havre, and the special constabulary was set to work. General Duchêne, in command of all operations unburdened himself of the following: "I promise to reestablish order in Le Havre within three or four days, even at the cost of three or four hundred human lives."

Then the inevitable happened. On August 23rd, the strikers resisted the provocations of the troops and the special constabulary, and a fierce struggle ensued in front of the clubhouse *Franklin*, the meeting place of the former. The strikers erected barricades from behind which they resisted the police and the troops for two hours. Their losses were 4 dead and about 30 more or less seriously wounded. The government was not content with this, however, and ordered the military occupation of the clubhouse and the arrest of ten trade-union secretaries who had or were alleged to have, taken part in the struggle.

When news of this reached Paris, the C.G.T.U. and the Seine Federation of Trade Unions, decided to call a 24 hours general strike. The Builders' Union had, without first waiting for this decision, already called for the general strike, to demonstrate its solidarity with the strikers of Le Havre.

Throughout France the workers enthusiastically responded to this decision. Work was either stopped altogether or considerably restricted. Response was especially strong among the miners in the North, in Lyon and in Marseille. Numerous encounters took place everywhere between the strikers and the armed forces of the state.

All these events are proof of the deeply revolutionary sentiment of the French working class. The speed and the enthusiasm with which the trade-unions sided with the workers show that the interests at issue are not those of a few craft organizations, but of the whole French working class which is threatened with a general attack by French capitalism.

The employers believed that the dissension in the ranks of the proletariat would enable them to reach their goal without encountering much resistance. Now they are beginning to perceive that they have been mistaken and that the French workers, in the face of so great a danger, will reestablish its unity destroyed by the Amsterdam leaders.

The Chinese Metal Workers' Union in Canton

(R.I.L.U.) The strongest and best organized union throughout China is without doubt the Metal Workers' Union in Canton. This union particularly was involved in serious struggles. Thousands of its members have borne various punishments for their participation in the class struggles of the union. The union has been involved in many strikes and has not suffered a

single defeat. Although it was founded but recently, and it lacks the leaders who can guide its work into the right channels, it has none the less recognized that the emancipation of the working class is the concern of the workers' themselves.

The union was actually founded in the year 1909. But at that time the development of the workers' organizations was quite impossible in consequence of the difficulties placed in their way by the then existing government of the Manchu Dynasty. Until 1917, therefore, the union existed only in name. When China became a republic, the Canton metal workers called a general conference at Hong-Kong in order to consider the question of reviving the activities of the union. In the course of a very short space of time, the metal workers of Canton collected about 100,000 Dollars. In a few years the union became the centre of the labor movement for the whole of China, including the district of Nang-Yuang.

The membership of the Union — in all numbering 156,000 — comprises the workers of Canton (16,900) as well as those of other towns. The union is divided into ten sub-sections, for draughtsmen, modellers, founders, turners, moulders, steel workers, copper workers, machinists, electro-technical workers, and stokers. The affairs of the union are transacted by an executive committee consisting of ten members, to which each of the ten sections elects three additional members. The executive committee elects a chairman and the members of the whole union elect a special union president.

The resources of the union are derived from the current contributions of the members. At the time of a strike, special collections are taken which serve to procure provisions for the strikers. A large building is at present in course of erection, which will contain the whole business premises of the union, and whose cost of construction will amount to about 100,000 dollars.

The union is endeavouring to instruct its members in the economic sciences, to found schools and set up a press. The executive committee has set itself the following tasks which are to be realized in the near future: 1. To found schools for mechanics. 2. To publish a monthly journal for mechanics. 3. To publish a weekly journal. 4. To build a model factory for mechanics. 5. To erect a hospital for workers. 6. To organize a technical school. 7. To establish a savings bank for workers. 8. A sanatorium for tuberculous workers. 9. To erect a convalescent home for aged people. 10. To organize Kindergartens.

During the last two years *three strikes* were carried out in the city of Canton. The first strike broke out in May, in consequence of the workers demanding higher wages. The strike ended successfully; the wages were increased by about 32½%. The second strike took place in November 1920, for the purpose of supporting the province of Canton in its fight for self government. This strike also achieved its purpose. The third strike broke out in May 1921, when the workers demanded a further increase in wages and a reduction of the working hours. Here too, a complete victory was won in which the workers at the same time compelled the employers to make good the earnings lost during the strike. In this manner the Metal Workers' Union of Canton conducts its propaganda, not only by word and writing, but also by deed.

The Canton Metal Workers' Union, in spite of many a failing and errors, constitutes an important factor in the development of the labor movement of China. The union is still very young. It is still necessary to instill a true class-consciousness into the members of the union. Only then will it be able to unfold the banner of the social revolution, and bring the struggle to a successful conclusion by the abolition of capitalism.

THE COLONIES

The Débauche of Gandhism

By E. Roy

Gandhism as a political force reached its climax in the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress, held in the last week of December 1921. The six thousand delegates, representatives of India's outraged nationalism,—outraged by the policy of deliberate repression launched upon the Government of India,—conferred upon the Working Committee and upon Mr. Gandhi as its head, supreme dictatorial powers to guide the national destinies during the ensuing year. Non-violence, non-cooperation and mass civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, were adopted as the means to attain the goal of a still-undefined *Swaraj*.

Few leaders can ask for more than this,—the sense of power that emanates from a nation's mandate, backed up by the popular will. The field was clear for Mr. Gandhi to exercise his qualities of leadership and to match steel with his powerful opponent,—British Imperialism. If at first blush, the contest looked unequal between the slender David and the giant Goliath, it must be remembered that the odds were not all in favor of the latter. Three hundred and twenty million people, united under the single command of an adored and trusted leader, who has cleverly put his bristling opponent at a disadvantage from the outset, by proclaiming non-violence as his chief weapon,—such a force if properly manoeuvred, could be made to wring more than one concession from the irritated and non-plussed adversary, whose moral position in the eyes of the world is a bad one, and whose cowardly hypocrisy smarts under the knowledge of this fact. And concessions were all that Mr. Gandhi asked for. He is not, and has never been an avowed revolutionary, who puts the issue squarely to the enemy,—“either you or I must go”. His unsubstantial *Swaraj*, when pieced together from reluctant definitions, means only “Home Rule within the British Empire”, as the defeat of Hazrat Mohani's resolution for “complete independence outside the British Empire” proved at the Ahmedabad Congress.

If, instead of winning concessions for at least a section of the Indian people, Mr. Gandhi won for himself a six-year jail sentence and a martyr's crown at the hands of the British Government, he has only himself to blame. Great positions carry with them great responsibilities, and Gandhi the Dictator, who played a lone hand against his powerful adversary, must acknowledge that his tactics brought him to a catastrophic defeat. The situation at the close of the Ahmedabad Congress was a delicate one, and success for either side hung in the balance. It is in such moments that leadership turns the scale, and judging by the denouement, the palm must go to Lord Reading and not to Mr. Gandhi.

A moment's retrospect will make clear the position as it stood. The visit of the Prince of Wales to India served its purpose, by showing the Government that there was real force behind the Non-cooperators,—the force of the striking masses. Stung by this demonstration of power, the bureaucracy adopted a policy of such wide repression, that today, in addition to all the prominent leaders, twenty-five thousand Indian patriots lie in jail upon very vague and unproven charges of “sedition”, “disaffection” and of “waging war against the King”.

But in its engerness to stamp the movement out, the Government overshot the mark. The Moderates, that tiny section of upper class Indians whose “loyalty” gave a show of legality to the wholesale arrests and prosecutions of their fellow countrymen, these same Moderates rebelled against their leading-strings, and demanded a change of policy. Members of the new Councils resigned, others protested; lawyers and landowners and capitalists banded themselves together in a sort of unity to tell the Government it must cease its rampant repression. The suggestion of Pundit Malaviya to hold a *Round Table Conference* of all shades of opinion, for the solution of the crisis, was responded to by all the political parties. This was the crucial moment, and the wary tactics of the Viceroy in this crisis prove that he was fumbling in the dark.

In a speech made in Calcutta on Dec. 21, 1921, just before the Ahmedabad Congress opened, the Viceroy himself stated that he was in favor of a genuine attempt to solve the problems of unrest by means of discussion and consideration at a conference, and that meanwhile, there should be a cessation of activities on both sides, both Non-cooperators and Government. He further declared that such a truce would involve no advantage or triumph to be claimed on either side. The reason for this offer to mediate was clear. It was desired to save the face of British prestige during the Prince's visit, and for this reason, Lord Reading was ready to negotiate. No definite response was given immediately to his offer, and his real object,—that of making the Prince's visit a success, was thereby lost.

But his words had not fallen on deaf ears, and we find the idea of a conference being toyed with by Mr. Gandhi in the Ahmedabad Congress, who “left the door to negotiations open”, and again in the Conference held in Bombay on Jan. 15th, in which definite terms were laid down for the calling of a Round Table Conference, in conformity with the Viceroy's speech; that the Government cease its arrests and release all prisoners and that the Non-cooperators cease all activities pending the negotiations. Mr. Gandhi, meanwhile, as Congress Dictator, had suspended Civil Disobedience until the end of January, in order to assist the arbitration.

In this desire of Mr. Gandhi to arbitrate, lay the secret of his defeat. Lord Reading discovered that Mr. Gandhi was

no less unwilling than himself, to call into action the sanguinary forces of the Indian masses. This was amply demonstrated by his ever-growing insistence upon the creed of Non-violence at the expense of its concomitant non-cooperation. By his sharp rebuke to every manifestation of force on the part of the masses, such as his “Manifesto to the Hooligans of Bombay” after the events of November 17th—20th and Madras, in which he declared “it is better to have no hartal and no hooliganism”; above all, by his shrinking from embarking upon the final step that he himself declared must lead to *Swaraj*, namely, *Mass Civil Disobedience*, including non-payment of taxes. This latter step was thrice postponed after its formal adoption in the Ahmedabad Congress; postponed for no reason whatever, except Mr. Gandhi's own timid horror of the inevitable conflicts between police and people that must follow its inauguration.

It did not need much acumen for Lord Reading to discover this weakness of Mr. Gandhi, who proclaimed it from the housetops, for the benefit alike of Government and Non-cooperators. On Jan. 25th, he wrote in *Young India*, at the very moment when the Round Table negotiations were under way, and he was supposed to declare Mass Civil Disobedience in operation within five days if the overtures for peace fell through:

“I don't know what is the best course. At this moment I am positively shaking with fear. If a settlement were to be made, then where are we to go? After coming to know the strength of India, I am afraid of a settlement. If a settlement is to be made before we have been thoroughly tested, our condition will be like that of a child prematurely born, which will perish in a short time.”

In the face of this naive avowal of indecision, helplessness, and terror, is it any wonder that the Viceroy, afflicted by no such qualms and very conscious of his end in view, should bring the negotiations for a Round Table Conference to an abrupt end and pursue his serene course of lawless repression, undeterred by the voice of his own or Mr. Gandhi's conscience. Lord Reading's decision was communicated to Pundit Malaviya and the 200 delegates from all political parties, in a telegram sent by his secretary, towards the end of January, which stated that His Excellency was unable to discover in the proposals put forward by the Conference the basis for a profitable discussion on a Round Table Conference, and no useful purpose would therefore be served by entering into any detailed examination of their terms.

The Viceroy had begun to advance from the very first step of retreat taken by Mr. Gandhi in postponing the application of Mass Civil Disobedience until the outcome of the Round Table Arbitrations. If instead of this amiable postponement, Mr. Gandhi had issued an edict to the waiting peasantry to cease payment of taxes immediately at the close of the Congress, the whole outcome might have been different. The response of the peasants cannot be doubted. Wherever tried, its effect was instantaneous and overwhelming. Lord Reading, confronted by a show of force and firmness, backed by mass-action on a large scale, might have wavered and accepted negotiations with the Non-cooperators. But Mr. Gandhi merely threatened and then postponed for two weeks that which constituted his only weapon. On Feb. 4th, when the Viceroy had already declared the road to negotiations closed, Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to him, once more offering to delay the inauguration of mass civil disobedience pending the Conference, if the Viceroy would revise his policy of lawless repression.

The reply, of Feb. 6th, was a Government Communique which declared that “mass civil disobedience is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with sternness and severity”, while Mr. Gandhi's overtures for peace were completely ignored. Matters had now come to a showdown. The Government had called Mr. Gandhi's bluff, and all cards were laid on the table.

Mass Civil Disobedience, already declared at Bardoli on Jan. 29th, but suspended pending the Gandhi-Reading negotiations, was formally launched through the medium of a mass-meeting held at Bardoli, and a Manifesto issued Feb. 7th by Mr. Gandhi, in which he declared:

“The choice before the people then, is Mass Civil Disobedience with all its undoubted dangers, and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people.”

Although Mass Civil Disobedience was not formally sanctioned by Mr. Gandhi until all hope of a compromise with the Government had been given up, that is, until the first week in February, in reality it had begun spontaneously in various districts sove January, in the form of non-payment of taxes, and was approved by the various local Congress Committees. The

rumor spread from village to village that the Gandhi-Raj had come, and it was no longer necessary to pay taxes. That the movement was spreading rapidly is proven by the fact that local officials began to resign in large numbers because of their inability to collect the revenue, as well as by the official reports, which show large sums outstanding which the officials were unable to collect from the peasantry. District magistrates complained of incitement among the people not to pay taxes, of popular resistance to rent-warrants, of insults heaped by prisoners under trial upon their judges, and a general subversion of jail discipline.

The prompt and energetic measures taken by the Government to arrest the non-payment of taxes movement, prove how seriously it was regarded. Already on January 10th, a Communique from the Punjab, warned the people against the consequences of Civil Disobedience, which the Government threatened would be dealt with by more rigorous and systematic measures than any yet adopted. On January 20th, the Madras Government issued a similar notice, stating that the resignation of village officials would not be accepted, and that officers refusing to carry out their duties would be dismissed and deprived of their hereditary rights, and that the land of persons refusing to pay taxes would be seized and put up for sale. Extra police were recruited at the expense of the population, but those paying taxes before the prescribed date would be exempt from this liability. Military police were called out in Assam to assist collections, but were met with resistance by the people.

Conflicts between the police and the people became a daily occurrence, but a strict censorship was maintained to conceal the extent of the unrest. Only the reports of the revenue-officers form a gauge of the strength of the movement. In Guntur District, Madras, collections amounted to $\frac{1}{100}$ th part of the money due. (Conclusion follows.)

APPEALS

To the German and French Proletariat! To the International Working Class!

Workers!

The Communist International heartily greets the joint conference of the Communist parties of France and Germany, at Cologne, and their united efforts to start a joint struggle against the attempt to carry out the collapsing Peace Treaty of Versailles at the expense of the German and French workers; of the German working class which is to be subjected to intensified exploitation, and of the French workers who are to be embroiled in fresh military adventures. Only a joint, energetic action by the proletarians of both countries can prevent the bourgeoisie, which has shown its complete impotence to come to a reasonable revision of the Versailles Treaty, from entangling the world in fresh wars.

The Communist International warns the German and French workers not to place trust in the attempts at compromise on the part of the various capitalist governments which will undoubtedly yet be undertaken more than once. Because of their conflicting interests these governments cannot reach an agreement in spite of their fears of a new war. While the English bourgeoisie is chiefly interested in reestablishing the European market, and hence inclined to make matters "easy" for Germany, the French bourgeoisie is driven on the one hand by the fear that it shall have to eliminate the deficit by taxing the peasants (which would result in the collapse of the Bloc National) and on the other hand, it is urged to the destruction of Germany by the greed of the French industrial kings, for the coal of the Ruhr Valley, to supplement the iron ore of the Briey basin and of Lorraine. This would give France the industrial and thus the political hegemony. That is why they will for some time continue to doctor around the problem but will never be able to solve it.

Workers!

The Communist International warns you against the belief that the diplomats of the Second and 2½ Internationals, and those of the Amsterdam Trade Union International can, through intrigues and whisperings succeed in inducing the bourgeoisie to abandon its criminal policy. They who did not dare to answer

the attempts of American capital to crush the striking American coal miners by armed force, by stopping the import of coal into America; they who mocked the American miners by sending them an insignificant charity pittance,—are not willing to do the only thing which will compel capitalism to desist, if only for a moment, from its policy of plunder; they are utterly incapable of rousing the proletarians to the revolutionary struggle.

Workers of Germany and France! Workers of All Countries!

The Communist International calls upon you to realize the necessity for putting an end to the misdeeds of the bourgeois governments. This cannot be done by a few mass meetings or demonstrations, but only by carrying on in all factories and workshops an intensive and energetic agitation to rouse the passive and indifferent workers, to the realization that the present situation is no whit less serious than in 1914. You must bring about the revolutionary preparedness of the masses, and if the conflict becomes more intense, have them march through the streets of all cities in great processions. The bourgeoisie must learn that the wheels cease to revolve whenever it tries to carry out its threats.

Workers!

This you can do only by closing your ranks. The united front of the proletariat is needed more than ever. The Second and 2½ Internationals have committed the crime of sabotaging the proletarian world congress which we demanded at the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals in order to organize the necessary struggle of the proletariat. What could not be done from above, by an agreement of the three Internationals, must be brought about by unity from below. The proletarians of all countries must rise unitedly against their common enemy and even against those of their leaders who seek to avoid this struggle!

Workers!

The Second and 2½ Internationals, and the Amsterdam Trade Union International call upon to support "Germany". Which Germany? Is it the Germany of the bourgeoisie which erected its regime upon the corpses of thirty thousand proletarians? Or is it the Germany of the bourgeois, Social Democratic government which does nothing to tax the bourgeoisie, but instead, saddles the proletariat with all the burdens? This Germany we do not call upon you to support. The German bourgeoisie and its flunkies are ready to burden the German proletariat with additional hardships; its only aim is to be allowed to continue in the role of slave driver of the Entente.

Workers of France!

We call upon you to carry on a revolutionary struggle against the policy of your government, against French imperialism, not in order to help German imperialism to its feet, but to remove the military pressure of French imperialism from Germany and thus free the forces of the German revolution.

Workers of Germany!

We call upon you to fight the German bourgeois Social-Democratic government, and to work for the proletarian government which will free, once and for all, the French masses from the fear of a revival of German militarism, and thus enable them to get away from the spell of nationalism.

Workers of Germany and France!

We call upon you to unite in the revolutionary struggle which alone can prepare the road for the united action of the world proletariat in the reconstruction of the world devastated by capitalism.

Communists of All Countries!

Carry on an energetic propaganda for the establishment of the proletarian united front and for the struggle against the machinations of imperialism! You must be the breath and brain of the awakening proletarians of all countries!

Down with imperialist plundering!

Long live the united front of the proletariat against the world imperialism!

Proletarians of all countries, prepare for struggle!

Moscow, September 2, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.