

In the course of the year 1922 seven numbers were printed, each of 91,000 copies. Besides this, the publication of a popular journal, *The Peasant Woman* was begun, to meet the needs of the villages (up to now 12 numbers have appeared of this, the total edition amounting to 170,000 copies). In January 1923, the central Women's Section proceeded to the publication of a popular newspaper: *The Woman Worker*, for the masses of working women in the towns (up to now 4 numbers have been published, the edition of each being 15,000 copies). The demand for popular literature has been so great among the working and peasant women that a large number of periodicals have appeared in various provinces. The Siberian women's section publishes a paper: *The Red Siberian*. The Mountain Republic issues a periodical *The Woman Mine Worker*; Azerbaijan *The Caucasian Women Worker*; Moscow *The Delegate*; and the Ukraine, as hitherto, the paper: *The Woman Communist*.

As a result of this activity carried on by the Party among the non-partisan masses, there is an increase in the female membership of the Russian Communist Party. According to the figures of the All-Russian registration for the year 1922, there is a percentage of 7.8 women in the Party. The proportional numbers of the male and female candidates for membership in the C.P. of Russia leads one to conclude that the percentage of women party members will increase in the immediate future. There are 100 men to 8 women in the Party, but among the candidates there are 9 women to 100 men. In the city organizations there are 9 women to 100 men. In the city organizations there are 100 male members to 10 female, but 14 women to 100 men among the candidates. With regard to their social position, these candidates are working and peasant women. We are therefore justified in drawing the conclusion that they have been won for the Party by the activity of the sections for work among women.

RED RELIEF

The Russian Proletarian Relief Action for the Political Prisoners of the West

By Ehrenfried Wagner (Moscow).

The readiness of the Russian proletariat for self-sacrifice knows no limits. The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia fought and bled in the civil war, and at the front against the White Guards of international capitalism. The proletarian dictatorship was won at the cost of an enormous sacrifice of blood. Years of suffering and deprivation were needed to establish the rule of the working class. But the heroes of the Russian proletariat fought steadfastly and tenaciously to achieve their goal, and held their own against the enemy at home and abroad. Though suffering themselves the pangs of hunger, as early as November 1918 they offered bread to their German brothers. They have always been prepared to share their last with the fighting comrades in the West. And today, now that the sacrifices made are beginning to bear good fruit, and Russian economic life is recuperating, the Russian proletariat regards it more than ever to be its revolutionary duty to help and support its western comrades.

The measure of this readiness to help on the part of the Russian workers is shown with admirable clearness in a report on the activity of the "International Red Relief" (I.R.R.). There is scarcely a government throughout the vast realm of Russia which does not contribute its share to the relief action in support of the victims of the class war in the capitalist states. An appeal made by the I.R.R. sufficed to bring about the mobilization of all the forces of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, with the object of helping the many comrades languishing in prison. It is impossible to relate the many touching incidents in connection with this relief action. It must suffice to adduce a few facts and figures to show to comrades outside of Russia that the proletariat of victorious Russia is fully aware of its revolutionary duty, and is ready to contribute its full quota to the world revolution.

It is especially worthy of remark that the Russian comrades from almost all parts have grasped the fact that the relief to be brought to our comrades incarcerated in capitalist prisons should not be limited to a mere temporary effort but that it must be entrusted to a permanent organization

specially destined for the purpose. Most exemplary work has been done in this respect by the comrades in the Vjatka government. They are carrying on relief action on a magnificent scale, and have created a proper organization entrusted with the task of raising funds for the support of the class fighters. This Vjatka relief association already numbers 30,000 members. Workers' and peasants' organizations joined this association immediately *en bloc*. The relief association does not confine itself to the mere collection of monies and contributions, but also arranges concerts, theatrical evenings, and other festivities, the net proceeds of which flow into the funds of the I.R.R. At the beginning of March, this Vjatka section of the I.R.R. announced its readiness to make the comrades imprisoned in the prisons of Bavarian counter-revolution, as well as the political prisoners in Lithuania, the object of its special care. The Vjatka workers are willing to remit 1,500 gold roubles monthly for the comrades incarcerated in these prisons, and their relations. As a touching evidence of the readiness to help it may be mentioned that the pupils in the children's homes have given 3,000 tobacco pouches sewn by the children themselves, and that a handsome banner has been contributed for the prisoners by working women. Many groups of workers have worked on Sundays and holidays, and forwarded the wages derived therefrom to the I.R.R.

Equally willing hands are at work in other parts of the Russian republic. Thus the workers and peasants of the Tomsk government have undertaken to care for the prisoners in one of the greatest prisons of Italy. For this purpose they contribute 500 gold roubles monthly to the I.R.R. The comrades of the Kieff government, again, are ready to provide for the prisoners of the Lemberg (Poland) gaol. Throughout the whole summer of the year 1922, the Ekaterinenburg comrades are ready to help the class fighters imprisoned in the Siba gaol in Warsaw. In the Carpathians (Caucasus) all communists have undertaken to contribute 2% of their earnings to the I.R.R. The workers of a Siberian coal mine have given 500 puds of coal (1 pud = 20 kgs) to the relations of political prisoners; the workers of a soda factory have given 1,000 puds of soda. In the Tver government a lottery has been arranged for the benefit of the political prisoners. In fact it is often very touching to see all that is done to prove readiness to help. All this is in addition to the many letters, frequently from the remotest districts, received by the Moscow central committee of the I.R.R., in which the peasants state what they have in the way of flour, eggs, food, clothing, etc., for the wives and children of the political prisoners. The following figures give a general idea of the activity displayed by the Russian proletariat in this relief action; these are the sums received by the central committee of the I.R.R. during the first half of the month of July, 1923:

From the government of Ekaterinenburg	1267.50	gold roubles
" " " " Vjatka	1200.—	" "
" " " " Siberia	1720.—	" "
" " " " Tver	240.—	" "
" " " " Petrograd	4000.—	" "
" " " " Yekorovsk	138.39	" "
" " " " Tomsk	1249.—	" "
Officials of the state police (C.B.U.) Moscow	478.26	" "
Moscow emigrants	93.—	" "

2 gold roubles = about 1 dollar.

All these figures are eloquent. Clearly and distinctly the Russian comrades call forth into the dungeons of the bourgeoisie: "Do not despair, comrades, Soviet Russia remains a firm rock in the midst of the wild eddy of international reaction!" The Russian people are open-handed and generous wherever there are tears to dry and wounds to heal. Nobody knows better than the Russian proletariat what it means to go to prison for the sake of convictions.

In relating to our comrades in Western Europe the enormous help being rendered, it is by no means our object to awaken the idea that now everything is all right, that the great Russian brother will provide for everything. No! The Russian comrades are not giving from their superfluity, but are depriving themselves of necessities in order to be able to contribute their helping voice. These figures should rather have the effect of stimulating the western comrades to add their mite for the aid of the imprisoned. And still further. The Russian proletariat is willing to help with money, is willing to give still larger sums. But they ask one thing of their comrades in the West: To do their utmost, to leave no stone unturned, to throw open the gates of the prisons and restore to liberty the imprisoned proletarians. For this will be the real International Red Relief!

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The Foreign Policy of German Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Communism and the Nationalist Movement in Germany.

By Karl Radek.

Germany is at the lowest point of impotence and degradation. But that which best characterizes her situation is not the fact that large tracts of German territory are occupied by French troops, or that a part of the realm is cut off from the rest by foreign might; the situation is best characterized by the fact that the classes which have hitherto ruled in Germany are not capable, and cannot be capable, of uniting Germany, and of saving Germany from becoming a colony for foreign capitalists, or the German people from becoming the helots of the bourgeoisie of foreign nations. It is not the situation itself which is catastrophic, but the direction of its development under the rule of the bourgeoisie. Every bourgeois government in Germany since her defeat in the war has been a government of capitulation. And they have all been so, not because they wanted to be, but because they were obliged to be. Not only Herrmann Müller signed the dictates of Versailles, but the so-called Kapp government also began by kow-towing to Versailles; Kapp and Lüttwitz were perhaps of the opinion that this signified no more than a diplomatic flourish. But if they had been able to maintain their position, they would have had to become taskmasters for the Entente, for theirs was a government against the working class, a government of maintenance of capitalism. In view of this they could never have entertained the idea of secretly arming the German people, they were on the contrary compelled to feel alarm at the thought of weapons in the hands of the German workmen. It is impossible to carry on war against an outer foe when there are 15 millions of proletarians in opposition at home. The German nationalists conduct a campaign against Stresemann as being the preparer of capitulation. Messrs Ludendorff and Hitler proclaim a struggle for power as preparatory to the struggle

against the Entente. But all this is only empty clatter of which nothing more would be heard once these elements succeeded in seizing the reins of government; for Ludendorff, the leader of the nationalist movement, and Hitler to an even greater extent, are mere marionettes pulled by the wires manipulated by the coal and iron kings, and of the German bread profiteers. Even if they succeeded in seizing power a thousand times over, they would be powerless. In war, it is the man who turns out the grenades in the munition factory, who stands behind the machine gun in the field that plays the decisive role, and this man's actions are determined by that which he feels—if he is convinced that he is fighting for his own interests, or if he is serving the interests of others. The German army defeated the enemy so long as it believed that the war was holy. It was defeated when its morale was defeated. The profundity of Clausewitz's works lies in the fact that he understood how moral the frightful occupation of war is. The German people will be in a position to begin its defence, on the day when the German proletariat and the broad masses of German petty bourgeoisie, in town and country, understand that they are fighting and suffering in their own interests. Only then can the reconstitution of Germany begin. The German people needs to overcome its inner disunity if it is to succeed in its struggle against dismemberment and division at the hands of the external enemy. Can this disunity be overcome under a capitalist system? It is nonsense to assume, even for an instant, that it can. With Germany impoverished as she is, capitalism implies the necessity of unheard of misery for the broadest masses, in order that a small group of capitalists can gain profits. Is this a basis upon which we can unite fifteen million proletarians and nine million pauperized, hungry petty bour-

geoisie with the factory owners, bankers, big tradesmen, and junkers? The very putting of the question involves its denial. The majority of the German people can only unite on the basis of the struggle against want and misery, and even more on the basis of the struggle against the outrageous social injustice, against the parasites batten on the body of Germany. Nothing but the profoundest faith in the idea that it is fighting in order to organize life on new and better foundations will give the German people the power to bear all the unheard of sufferings which await it, whether revolution or counter revolution is victorious. It will bear the sufferings of the revolution, because the revolution paves the way to a better future. And therefore it is absolutely childish when many German nationalists say: You gentlemen from the Communist International are not going to dictate to us what inner policy we pursue, the German people is going to decide on that for itself. This objection is ridiculous. The revolution cannot be imported from outside. If the German people do not decide for the revolution, nobody can command them to have a revolution. The command is given by a higher authority than the Executive of the Communist International. It is a command coming *de profundis*, out of the depths of the need of the German people. The German revolution is the command issued by German need to the sons of the German people. If they heed this command, there begins a new chapter in the history of Germany. If they do not heed it, then Germany is erased from the list of striving peoples for decades; she will be an object of foreign exploitation and alien commands.

But what can the German people accomplish by an uprising? They are surrounded by enemies; they are disarmed. A people of seventy millions cannot be exterminated if the great masses are inspired by the will to defence. France has armies enough to enable her to occupy Germany, but France has neither the means to feed Germany nor the means to maintain herself should she seek to solve the unsolvable: the suppression of seventy million human beings. This is the best chance of the German revolution; the hopeless prospects of French policy. The second chance is the Anglo-French antagonism. The so-called continental politicians in Germany are perfectly right when they laugh at the hope of salvation through England. But the German nationalists are equally right when they laugh at Bernhard and Stresemann for hoping that Germany may be saved by means of an understanding with France; for in the first place such an understanding can only be temporary unless France remains in the Saar district and on the Rhine, keeping the Ruhr industry within the range of French artillery; and in the second place England would reply by counter-mining such an understanding as would render France the preponderating continental power. Still, it would be incorrect to assume that the Anglo-French antagonism is not an important factor for the German war of emancipation. It can become this, but only on one condition—that the German people itself is a factor of power, an active and energetic mass, whether in the form of a mass organized as an army and ready to resort to arms, or in the form of a volcano beneath the feet of the enemy. The Anglo-French antagonism played a leading part in overcoming the rule of Napoleon, but only because Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and Blücher were able to rely on an uprising nation.

The third factor of German revolt and emancipation is Soviet Russia. Reventlow sought to make a dispassionate analysis of the advantages which Russia expected to derive from the emancipation of Germany. It is foolish to object to lack of sentiment on the part of the German nationalists, or to their assuming that no sentimentality exists among the other factors of the world's politics. Soviet Russia might be ruled by people who love the German people more than they do the Russian. But in spite of that its government would not be in a position to put Russia's powers at the disposal of the German struggle for emancipation, unless the interests of the German and Russian peoples were commonly served by the German revolution. Do such common interests exist? Certainly they exist. The Russian people is surrounded by powerful capitalist nations, seeking to convert Russia into a colony; the geographical position of Russia renders her well capable of self-defence against these hostile intentions; she is indeed able to isolate herself perfectly for years against the dangers of international capital; but in the end the capitalist world is stronger than the peasants and workers of Russia, if only for the reason that the financial blockade does not permit the rapid development of her industry, the basis of technical defence. The victory of the German proletariat, its economic co-operation with the Russian workers and peasants, would give the German workers raw materials and food, and to the Russian proletariat a large amount of technical means and technical capability towards the reconstruction of the vast realm from Vladivostok to Beresina. This is the reason for Russia's deep interest in the emancipation of the German people.

And the fraternal feelings of Russia towards the German people are solely the expression of these reciprocal interests. We must not take it amiss if the German nationalists ask how Russia is going to help Germany, and when they point out all the great difficulties lying in the way of cooperation between the two peoples. But the nationalists put the question in an incorrect form when they speak of guarantees, when they deal with the question statically and not dynamically. Two countries in need cannot reckon in such a way that they ask what have we today, and what can we offer one another today? They must ask one another: shall we join forces, shall we defend a common cause? Once this resolution is formed, everything else is a question of energy, a question of iron resolution, a question of will in face of life or death. Then the great masses decide the great possibilities to be transformed into realities. The Communist Party of Russia has declared in its public proclamation to the masses of Germany and Russia that, however much it may have striven to keep peace, and however much it may strive in the future to keep it, it is none the less fully determined not to permit a German revolution to be throttled by the Entente, and that it will fight on the side of the German people should the latter freely resolve to take this great step. It is not necessary to explain the significance of this, and I am convinced that there is no politically serious person in the world who will regard this resolution lightly.

The fourth foreign political condition for the victory of the German revolution is its political effect in the world. The Entente will hate it, but will fear it more than it fears present-day Germany. It would be foolish to overestimate the powers of the Communist Parties at the present time. The French C.P. is weak, at this moment it cannot prevent war. But the communist movement has greatly increased in strength in Poland during recent years. One of the leading Polish political writers, the deputy Grabski, states this in a few blunt words in the book he published a few weeks ago. In Czecho-Slovakia the majority of the proletariat is already supporting the C.P., and the German revolution need not only calculate on the forces already existing, but with those which it itself will let loose in foreign countries. The German struggle for emancipation, which will be bound up with the cause of the emancipation of the German workers, small holders, intellegenzia, and petty bourgeoisie, and not with the cause of the restoration of the Hohenzollerns or with the despotic rule of Stinnes, will awaken mighty echoes all over the world. No people makes a revolution out of sympathy for another. Revolution is not a proclamation of sympathy, it is a life and death struggle. But in a number of countries events are ripening for revolution, and in others even the sympathy of the masses of the people for Germany will play an important part, for the governments are compelled to reckon with their difficulties today, and internal difficulties may develop into revolutions by tomorrow.

The German revolution is the first condition, for the emancipation of the German people. How the German people will emancipate itself, by what means, through what stages, all this is a question which can only be dealt with hypothetically, but which should be dealt with none the less.

POLITICS

The Hunger Revolts in Germany

The Vicious Circle of Capitalist Policy.

By Wilhelm Bartz (Berlin).

In Sorau, in Lörrach and in many other places in Germany the armed forces of capital have won bloody victories over starving human beings during the last few days. Workmen have been shot, women and children injured. Tomorrow, the day after, and every following day, these frightful scenes of terror will be repeated. And they will become more frightful and more cruel, will demand an ever increasing number of victims—but without removing a single one of the causes of these bloody massacres.

How is it possible for such conditions to have arisen in Germany?

Germany, despite the upheaval of 1919, despite its veneer of republicanism and despite the participation of the social democrats in the government, is a purely capitalist country, in which every measure is regarded from one point of view only—that of its being advantageous or disadvantageous for the capitalist system. Those governing the country are not capably lost the by any other standard. Capitalist-monarchist Germany, since the war, and the Republic was obliged to sign the

Versailles, however reluctantly. This entails burdens and obligations which, if actually distributed on "democratic" principles in accordance with the capacities of the various strata of the population, would endanger the basic principle of capitalist economics: that is, the profits of the capitalists would be considerably lessened. Who would care to continue the production of goods unless he "earned" something by it? It was therefore imperative to discover some other possibility of meeting the obligations involved by war and peace; a way had to be found of combining the so-called policy of fulfillment with the continued production of goods, that is, with the securing of continued profits to the capitalists.

And we see that the German post-revolutionary governments have found excellent recipes for accomplishing this. The very idea of laying hands on property, of seizing real values, would be a mad crime in the eyes of any capitalist, and would encounter the strongest imaginable resistance. Of course it was solemnly laid down as a principle, that in these times of great emergency every German must be prepared to make the greatest sacrifices, from the capitalist down to the poorest creature; but in actual practice this principle has been altered, and a policy pursued of burdening the non-propertied with all the sacrifices. Again and again the screw of taxation has been tightened, that is, the indirect taxes have been tripled, quadrupled, and multiplied. Is there any better proof of the assertion that almost all the burdens are put upon the non-propertied in Germany than the tax statement issued by the government, a statement certainly biased in favor of the capitalists, and yet showing clearly that the total revenues from income tax in the different months have been raised to the extent of 92% from the recipients of wages and salaries! To this must be added the milliards, or now it is rather billions, from indirect taxation! Every government has done its very best to maintain this state of affairs, to maintain it in the interests of capitalist production, and not even the acute aggravation of the crisis through the Ruhr occupation could bring about the least thought of a fundamental alteration.

In the same manner as it was intended to carry out the "fulfilment policy" by means of indirect taxation, it was also attempted to meet the financial emergencies created by the Ruhr occupation by means of fresh burdens on the non-propertied. The banknote printing press, which had already been working at high pressure, and whose great activity had already reduced the mark to a small fraction of its prewar value, was set working harder than ever, threw out billions and billions of valueless notes, attaining thereby by no means the financing of the Ruhr struggle, but an even greater impoverishment of the broad masses of the people on the one hand, and a senseless enrichment of the capitalists on the other. Whilst the recipients of wages and salaries were fobbed off with the enormously depreciated paper marks, the capitalists employed the Ruhr credits placed at their disposal by the Reichsbank for the purpose of throwing this present of milliards upon the money market, and thereby dealing the final blow to the "value" of the mark. The mark lost all significance as the measure of value. The foreign bill became the trump card. The cry for gold prices was raised.

In the midst of this situation came the change of government, caused beyond all doubt by the united will of the proletariat. The government of the "strong" men took the reins. Stresemann spoke repeatedly of the necessity of mobilizing even capital, Hilferding hinted at "drastic" measures, and presented a bill of direct taxation to capital. Several billions of marks in taxes were to be raised within a comparatively short time, the foreign bills seized, the hopelessly depreciated mark stabilized. But Hilferding's hopes were shattered by the necessity of maintaining the capitalist form of economy. That which was hailed by the social democratic press when the decision was reached, and designated as the first decisive step toward the restoration of "sound" financial conditions—this turned out, as it was bound to do, to be a fresh and great piece of deception practised on the proletariat. The billions of new taxes were indeed decided upon with the approval of all the bourgeois parties, but the bourgeoisie has paid nothing, or at least only a small fraction of the sums which it declared itself ready to pay. In order to avoid the payment of taxes, it heaped new mountains of marks upon the money market, and drove the dollar to the dizzy height of 150 to 200 million marks. Not one of the strong men of the government ventured to put a stop to the rise of the dollar, not one found the strength to collect the taxes decreed to their full value, and, despite the appointment of a "commissary for foreign bills", not one of these people thinks of seizing the foreign bills where they really exist in sufficient quantities to afford at least some alleviation. Not one of these men of strong phraseology has found strength enough to take up arms against the complete impoverishment of wide circles of the German people!

Whilst the capitalists have been converting their paper marks into foreign bills, whilst they have been demanding gold mark prices for their products, the recipients of wages and salaries have found their scanty wages melting away in their hands. Besides the tremendous burdens already imposed upon them, they now found themselves burdened with a fresh sacrifice involved in the depreciation of the mark, the inflation tax. The wild chase of the capitalists after the gold mark prices thrust these fresh burdens upon the shoulders of the workers. It was not only that prices rose constantly at a rate bearing no relation to the paper mark wages, but the gold mark prices actually introduced caused a stagnation of export and resultant unemployment. The same effect was produced by the factory tax decreed by the Great Coalition, by which the employers were to be obliged to pay an amount exceeding several times the sum paid in taxes by the workers employed in the factory. The capitalists capable of destroying the effectiveness of the other taxation decrees were not at a loss for means to sabotage this factory tax, and employed it as a fresh scourge for the working class, simply throwing the workers into the street. Whole undertakings were closed down, or their output greatly diminished. The burdens to be borne by capital were thus again transferred twofold and threefold to the non-propertied class. Once again the rich have become richer, the poor poorer.

The wages of the German workers are so low that they bear no comparison whatever with the wages of any other country. In Berlin, the highest wages paid in the week from September 10. to 17. in the printing trade were 100 to 110 million paper marks, the rate of exchange of the dollar being over 100 millions and so-called gold prices being calculated. Thus the workers received scarcely a dollar a week! Even the most incarnate enemy of the worker must recognize that nobody can exist on this. But the workers must and will exist. And if the position of the employed worker is so wretched, what about the vast army of the unemployed? Is it hard to understand that they express their indignation in actions which cannot bring any permanent relief from their unhappy situation? Thus it comes about that the inability of the present rulers to make any inroads on capital is the direct cause of the hunger revolts which we have now experienced in Sorau and other parts of Germany, and which will continue to occur in even acuter forms. In these struggles the government, in which the social democrats wield an overwhelming influence, takes sides against the starving, and mobilizes the armed forces of capital. This government cannot do anything else. On the contrary: if it wants to maintain its position, if it wants to gain the complete confidence of the capitalists, if it wants to fulfil its task of saving capitalism from Bolshevism, it will find itself forced to take even more drastic measures against—the working class.

The Minister for Finance of the Great Coalition, Herr Rudolf Hilferding, announced drastic measures against capital. However inadequate these measures were, the attempt to execute them was frustrated by the capitalist system which they were intended to support and strengthen. The measures taken by the present government have proved as powerless as all others to unravel the tangled knot, and they will not unravel it, for the moment of execution of really effective measures would be a moment of danger to the existence of capital. And this the capitalists, as we have seen, will not suffer. They cling desperately to their possessions, and resort to every possible means to maintain their position. It is clear that nothing but the united will of the workers themselves can find and apply the means assuring the solution of the great problems of the present day—the solution which means the breaking down of the capitalist barriers which lie between them and a betterment of their situation. Short of this, the attempt of Herren Ebert and Hilferding at restoration is turning in a vicious circle.

The Ruhr Miners and Passive Resistance

By Peter Maslovski (Essen).

The passive resistance proclaimed at the time by the Cuno government and taken up by the German bourgeoisie with great external show of "national enthusiasm", was doomed to failure from the beginning. Quite apart from the fact that passive resistance against an imperialism armed to the teeth can only constitute a heroic attitude without any real significance, the German coal barons and iron magnates are, in any case, far too good men of business to permit their profits to be in any way reduced on account of abstract patriotism. No doubt it was highly congenial to them to see themselves depicted and praised as national heroes in Herr Stinnes' *Deutsche Allgemeine*

Zeitung, but from the very beginning this passive resistance only coincided with their wishes is so far as it did not lessen their chances of profit making, and as long as they were able to thrust all burdens which might arise on to the broad and patient shoulders of the German proletariat, above all of the Ruhr mining proletariat.

The coal barons took their passive resistance so "seriously" that they entered into severest conflict with the miners, and deliberately permitted the enormous quantities of coal and coke lying at the pit heads, which the workers had demanded should be distributed among the invalids, widows, pensioners, and public institutions to fall into the hands of Poincaré. And why should they not do so? The country would reimburse the colliery owners in good hard coin for the coal confiscated! The fact that the Ruhr miners were at the same time robbed of the coal which they had for centuries received as payment in kind, that the workers who actually brought the black diamonds to the light of day had not even a fragment of coal at home wherewith to cook their dinner—well, this was a "national sacrifice". The government took no serious steps whatever to ensure the miners the share of coal forming part of their wages. Although the coal excavated has not been up to the normal quantity during the months of occupation, the colliery owners have, on the other hand, had the pits thoroughly re-equipped. All the work so urgently required for the proper development of the collieries, which had been neglected during the hurried production during and after the war, has now been carried out—at the expense of the country. The milliards thus expended are concealed behind the harmless title of "compensation for unproductively expended wages". The further milliards which have disappeared without possibility of control into the jaws of the Rhenish-Westphalian mining industry shark under the modest names of "credit relief" or "Ruhr relief", have not by any means been used for paying the miners a decently human wage, but for the purpose of endlessly reducing the value of the mark and thus driving the working people into unheard of poverty and misery. It is common knowledge that the fall of the mark is manipulated from the Ruhr district, the district least under the control of the government. The great industrial heroes of passive resistance against Poincaré have thus been very active exploiters of the working people.

And what has become of the Ruhr relief collected for the pitmen of the Ruhr? It is a fact that no other category of workers has had their wages reduced to such an extent as the Ruhr miners. In some places even the unemployed, whose dole is indeed a starvation one, received more in the form of unemployed benefit at the beginning of September than the pitmen received in wages. Nor is this all: because the great mass of the miners refuse to set everything in perfect order for Poincaré in the mines, because they will not even supply enormous quantities of coal to French imperialism, because, in a word, they are taking the idea of passive resistance seriously, the colliery owners refuse to pay out even the miserable wages due, lock out whole pits, and even let some of the mines become flooded. Thus, for instance, the Hagenbeck pit, where the managers had already had the pit ponies fetched up and the pumps stopped, would have been flooded if the workers, employees, and officials had not combined to save this valuable national property. The government, which actually ordered passive resistance, sides entirely with the mine owners. These big industrial saboteurs of national property are, of course, immune from arrest, but on the other hand bloody police action has been taken against the miners who, goaded on by starvation, went into the streets and began confiscating food. And when the locked out miners, to whom the colliery owners simply refused the wages which they had already earned during the first week in September, demonstrated as unemployed in Essen, the police again had nothing but blows for the starving masses.

The import of the whole thing is clear: Passive resistance is no longer bringing in such fat profits as those which can be gained by the colliery magnates if they sell the mines outright to Poincaré, now that they are thoroughly in order and capable of full production. The Ruhr credits with which they have been able to cram themselves up to now, are giving out. The French generals are equally aware where the fox gets the hens, and are confiscating milliards and milliards in the Ruhr area, even freshly printed paper money.

And then the screw of taxation within their own "German Fatherland" seems to the mining magnates to offer more terrors than a compact between Stinnes and Schneider-Creusot, even should French capital possess the majority of the shares. Under such circumstances of course the big capitalist desert the sinking German ship. Now we have another slogan: Away with this looting masquerading under the name of "passive resistance", only production can save us!

And this is the main point, the point of contact between the German mining barons and French imperialists at the present juncture. The highest possible output is also a matter of greatest importance to the French generals acting for Loucheur, Schneider-Creusot, and de Wendel. This is becoming gradually clearer to the masses of the Ruhr proletariat, thanks to the object lesson of the passive resistance. The stages of recognition being passed through are as follows: So long as the pitmen are striking for arrested directors, they are national heroes. When they carry on mighty wage struggles for a larger morsel of bread, they are traitors to their country. And yet the "patriots" of the type of the governmental president Lutterbeck applied to the "hereditary enemy" with the request that French bayonets be lent to the German authorities for quelling the "rioters". And now that the miners really attempt to carry through the passive resistance, even against the will of a great industry traitorous to its country, they are flung on to the street—and the safety police, newly sanctioned by the French generals, combine with the French machine guns to feed the starving "national heroes" with bullets.

And when the Stinnes press, despite all these facts, actually spreads abroad the lie that the miners are going over to Poincaré in crowds, it is surely the height of impudence, for the object of the calumny is too transparent. The miners are to be driven by despair and starvation into taking the first official step towards the French coal syndicate, so that the mining lords may afterwards have a scape-goat to exonerate them from responsibility for the long arranged union with the French capitalists at the expense of the proletariat. So far as we have information up to now, some few confused syndicalists have applied to the French coal syndicate and begged for aid against the brutal measures of the German colliery owners, as well as for supplies of food for the starving. But their confidence was speedily shattered. They were told: "First work hard for four weeks then you can come back and see if we have bread for you!" Thus the German mining lords and the French generals are unequivocally demanding one and the same thing: Unqualified abandonment of passive resistance, complete submission of the workers, and resumption of full production! And when we hear further that one of the main conditions laid down by the French imperialists was the immediate disbanding of the factory councils in the mines working for the French coal syndicate, then it is clear to everyone that the French rulers—and here they are again perfectly at one with the German mining lords—are simultaneously aiming at abolishing even the paltry revolutionary rights of the 9. November. The same object is pursued by a decree issued by the French authorities, according to which the allied coal syndicate has resolved to refuse consistently any permission for the miners to take the customary part of their wages due in coal, the coal output being so small.

The Ruhr miners therefore have nothing to expect to their advantage from either the French generals or the German coal barons. As soon as these have come to an understanding among themselves, as we now see is certain to be the case, then the Ruhr proletariat will be confronted by one single reactionary front, backed up by French and German bayonets. Precisely as the burdens of the lost war, of the shameful treaty of Versailles and of the general economic ruin, have been thrust entirely upon the proletariat, and precisely as the German bourgeoisie has again imposed the costs of the passive resistance and of the devastation in the Ruhr solely upon the proletariat, in the same manner it is now intended to burden the proletariat with the costs of the capitulation to Poincaré, and with the costs of the Central European mining trust now to be developed. The miners of the Ruhr, upon whom the first and heaviest blow will fall, do not dream of abandoning passive resistance under such circumstances. On the contrary, they will increase this resistance to the point of class war by every means at their disposal, and their attack will no longer be directed pre-eminently against French imperialism, but openly against the Franco-German coalition of exploiters. Passive resistance—which, from the very beginning, implied a different thing in the eyes of the Ruhr miners than in those of the bourgeoisie, though there were some external points of contact—is now being stripped of its apparent bourgeois-national coverings, and shows itself in its true character, freed from all inadequacies, as a revolutionary and proletarian struggle of international character. The sole aid which can be given to the miners of the Ruhr in this severe struggle is not "Ruhr Relief", or any other Ruhr swindle for the enrichment of the German mining lords, but revolutionary action on the part of the whole German working class, and solidarity on the part of the French proletariat.

The Moscow Soviet for the German Proletariat

On August 28, a joint session was held in Moscow, of the local Soviet with the trade unions and the representatives of the Red Army. Following Comrade Radek's speech on the situation in Germany, the following resolution was passed:

"The Moscow Soviet of workers', peasants' and soldiers' delegates, joins with the representatives of the trade unions in sending greetings to the German working masses fighting for their emancipation. The Russian workers cannot look on indifferently at events now occurring in Germany. An enslavement of the German working masses by the Entente, or the victory of Fascism in Germany, would represent an immediate threat to the existence of the Union of Soviet Republics. A Germany under Ludendorff, or a Germany degraded to a colony exploited by Parisian financiers, would inevitably form the starting point for a fresh invasion aiming at the enslavement of the workers and peasants of Russia. The Moscow Soviet expresses the thoughts and feelings of all workers when it welcomes the fight for emancipation being fought by the masses of German workers, who rise at the decisive moment to fight for the German people, against the coup d'état of the Whites, and against the attempt to render the great German people the slaves of the Entente.

The Moscow Soviet observes with joy that the majority of German workers decline any coalition with the industrialists and bankers, and offer fraternal hands to the ruined masses of peasants and petty bourgeoisie, warning these not to permit themselves to be utilized as the cannon fodder of counter-revolution by Stinnes and Ludendorff, but to join forces with the proletariat, which is not only fighting for its own emancipation, but for the emancipation of the whole toiling and suffering people.

The Moscow Soviet reminds the workers and Red Guards of Moscow and the proletariat and peasantry of the whole of Russia, what enormous sacrifices the German workers incurred during the struggle against an Entente intervention in Soviet Russia. The German workers refused to let through the weapons which the Polish junkers had intended to use for their war against Soviet Russia. The German workers, although themselves starving, organized collections for the support of the starving workers and peasants of Russia. The time has now come when Soviet Russia, having won the victory over famine, and being now in a position to reconstitute her political economy, must help the German workers in their arduous fight.

In view of the lockouts instituted by the German capitalists for the purpose of provoking bloody conflicts with the working masses, the Moscow Soviet calls upon all workers and Red Soldiers of Moscow and of the whole of Russia to organize collections for the protection of the German workers from the threatened starvation. The Moscow Soviet calls upon the workers of all countries to hold themselves in readiness to strain every effort to prevent the Entente powers from interfering in German affairs.

The Entente policy is making for war. In the interest of the millions of workers and peasants of the Soviet republics, in the interest of peace and of peaceful economic work, the Soviet government must exert every endeavor to prevent the events in Germany from bringing about a new world war. But however resolved the Russian workers may be to pursue a policy of peace, they are none the less thoroughly aware that the victory of the White counter-revolution in Germany, and the subjugation of Germany by the bayonets of the Entente, would signify a gigantic danger for the Union of Soviet Republics. After having subjugated Germany, the Entente would convert it into a military base for the preparation of a fresh invasion into Soviet Russia, for the purpose of depriving the Russian workers of the factories again, and for the purpose of imposing cruel taxation on the peasantry, in order that the debts incurred by the Czar and the bourgeoisie be paid with interest. The Moscow Soviet calls upon the Soviet government, and upon all the workers of Russia, to hold themselves in readiness to strengthen the defensive forces of the country, that the Soviet republics may be guarded from the fresh cruel massacres which, in their madness, are being prepared by the militarists and capitalists.

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!
Hands off proletarian Germany!

Long live the armed defensive forces of the workers and peasants of Russia, the guarantee of the world's peace!

Lord Curzon's Complaint against M. Poincaré

By Non diplomatist.

Lord Curzon's note to Poincaré is an enormously lengthy document. To study it properly requires much more time than to read one of Shakespeare's finest works, if only for the reason that it is considerably more tedious. Its main part is a real work of art. After England has looked on at the Ruhr occupation for seven months, a I said nothing to the proceedings of the French generals there, Lord Curzon now declares that the occupation is unlawful. This reminds one of the man who, after subsequently examining the pig he had bought in a poke, refused to take it because he did not like the poke. Lord Curzon points out in his note that there are paragraphs in the Versailles peace treaty which permit the occupation of certain districts should Germany fail to meet her obligations. But the Ruhr area is not among the districts enumerated. Lord Curzon knows beforehand that Poincaré will reply that Lloyd George, in the name of all the allies, threatened Germany with the occupation of the Ruhr valley in the year 1921, and that the English troops took part in the occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort. Lord Curzon wards off this reproach by pointing out that these actions were undertaken without England's appealing to the Versailles treaty. But this assertion is not true. Lloyd George declared on 3. March 1921 that "if Germany does not accept the ultimatum of the allies on the matter of payment, we shall act as follows, on the basis of the peace treaty: the allies have resolved to occupy Duisburg, Ruhrort, and Düsseldorf on the right bank of the Rhine, etc." Lord Curzon calculates on Poincaré's short memory. But whatever shortcomings the Parisian lawyer may possess, this is certainly not one of them, for he is incapable of forgetting even the very smallest trump against his beloved ally and co-author of the Versailles treaty.

But even if we assume Lord Curzon's theses to be correct, it goes without saying that England wins nothing by this policy. Lord Curzon calmly declares: when it was more advantageous for us, we could threaten Germany with territorial occupation without referring to the Versailles treaty (that is, by setting aside the Versailles treaty). Territorial occupation, if not based on any treaty, is an ordinary act of war. But England was one of the signatories of the constitution of the League of Nations, and this prohibits acts of war without previous investigation of the case by the League of Nations, even when the conflict in question is between a member of the League of Nations and a non-member.

We thus see that Lord Curzon's attempt to use the Versailles treaty against France recoils upon his own head, for it applies equally to England, the collaborator in the unhappy document of Versailles.

If Lord Curzon seriously intended to continue to proceed against France on these lines, he would be under the obligation of calling upon the League of Nations for its decision, and to submit the matter to the international arbitration of The Hague. And Mr. Keynes, in the *London Nation*, demands that this should be done; but Lord Curzon's organ, the *Daily Telegraph*, declares that England will not cite her allies before any court. It is true that M. Poincaré is a miscreant, but he is like that miscreant in the Russian story, whom the policeman could not seize by his collar, for alas! — he had no collar. Or it may perhaps be better to say of M. Poincaré that he does possess a collar, but a barbed wire one.

Lord Curzon is perfectly aware of this. The question is therefore: What can be the real import of the English note, which accuses France of the worst crime that one government can accuse another of—the indictment of undertaking warlike action in times of peace without first declaring war? This note is a step towards the moral isolation of France.

Lord Curzon, not being powerful enough to make war on France, begins to exercise a moral pressure upon her. But he does not rely solely on moral pressure, he aids it by economic pressure. Before the war, the pound sterling cost about 20 francs; today it costs 83.50 French francs or 104.50 Belgian francs. The first blow was thus dealt against the weaker opponent, Belgium. France has had to lend 500 million francs for the support of Belgium.

This attempt at lowering the value of the franc is a blow against French annuitants and taxpayers. But for the French industrialists the depreciation of the franc is of advantage, facilitating export. The effect of this material measure will therefore depend on whose influence will prove the greater in French politics, that of the industrialists or that of the taxpayers.

Another aim pursued by the English note is the strengthening of Herr Stresemann's resistance. It need not be said that this manœuvre on the part of her English ally is by no means a matter of indifference to the French government; but that which M. Poincaré has most feared up to now need not be a bugbear to him at present. The new American President Coolidge, of whom mankind has only known three things up to now—that he suppressed the policemen's strike in Boston, that he has his sons wear very heavy boots, and that he is a very reticent person—has lately acted contrary to this last trait of his character and openly proclaimed his policy through American journalists. He declared that America does not intend to take an active part in England's struggle against France, and will only take part in the commission which will have to examine into Germany's paying capacity if it is called upon to do so by all the countries interested. Thus, for the time being, England has to fight alone against her French ally. And this increases M. Poincaré's chances.

The Collapse of the League of Nations

By Arthur Rosenberg.

"If the League of Nations is not utilized in such a crisis as this, if the nations prefer to go to war rather than avail themselves of the services of the League of Nations, then the League of Nations will have to be dissolved, and Europe will return to the old state of affairs as before the war, with the old diplomatic manoeuvres of one power against the other. We shall have the old policy of international rivalry and competitive armaments again, one group of states will confront another, a fresh war will be prepared, and in the end there will be a general outbreak of war much worse than the last."

The man who spoke these words on the crisis occasioned in the League of Nations by the occupation of Corfu, is Lord Grey of unhappy 1914 memory. Since the great war commenced under the benediction of Grey, this worthy statesman has been working for the reconciliation of peoples and for love of peace, and at present is making himself interesting in England as the champion of the so-called League of Nations idea. The cry of alarm raised by him on the precarious position of the League of Nations was uttered at Falloden on September 7. If Lord Grey were right, then the Corfu affair and the attendant disgrace of the League of Nations would be the most important political event since 1919. For the premises spoken of by Grey have been fulfilled. Italy refused to allow the League of Nations to interfere in her quarrel with Greece. Mussolini relied on the guns of the Italian warships, and the roar of the guns at Corfu drowned the feeble protests of the international diplomatic assembly in Geneva. It would thus appear that Europe has thrown aside the instrument of peace, and now the horrors of pre-war times will return, competitive armaments and competitive struggles of the great powers all over the world, followed by the sure prospects of a second great war.

Although we do not over-estimate the political wisdom of Lord Grey, of Lord Robert Cecil, and of the leading articles writers of the British press who wax eloquent over the League of Nations, still we cannot believe these gentlemen to be so stupid as to really believe all they have written and said of late on the League of Nations. For the conditions which Lord Grey claimed would imply the collapse of the League of Nations have already been fulfilled. Is there really no competition in armaments in Europe at the present time, or how shall we designate the competition in aeroplane building between France and England? What object is served by the gigantic military budgets of England, France, and Italy? Has Poland disarmed? Is the Little Entente disarming? Are there no rivalries in Europe today among the great groups of capitalists? Does there not exist a firm bloc of France and her vassals, ready to strike a blow at Soviet Russia or at anyone else, as soon as the Parisian banking magnates pass the word? Preparations for the next great war have been carried on energetically since 1919 in the general staffs of the capitalist great powers and in the conference rooms of the great trusts. The League of Nations has disturbed nobody engaged in this pursuit.

Is the moral bankruptcy of the League of Nations, as revealed within the last few days, then a perfectly unimportant event? Not exactly that! The League of Nations was incapable, right from the beginning, of deceiving the revolutionary working class, but it was a symbol for the terrified petty bourgeois souls

of all countries, for those minds who seek any means of escape from the horrors of a second great war, but cannot persuade themselves to recognize that the sole way of escape leads through the extermination of capitalism. The big capitalists knew from the commencement how much the League of Nations was worth, but they know equally well that they require the delusions and easy credulity of the petty bourgeois soul if they are to wield power over the peoples. One of these delusions has now been dispelled, thanks to the events at Corfu and Geneva, and this is in itself a fact not without significance.

The lamentable history of the League of Nations will be remembered in connection with four geographical names: with Upper Silesia, the Saar district, Vilna, and Corfu. The four questions bound up with these places may be divided into two pairs: in Upper Silesia and the Saar district, the League of Nations was active and energetic, Vilna rendered it ridiculous, and at Corfu it perished miserably. It will be recollected that the verdict of the League of Nations decided the division of Upper Silesia, thus deciding the fate of one of the most important industrial districts of Central Europe. The verdict was immediately put into execution, backed up as it was by French bayonets. The League of Nations rules with equal power in the Saar district, where it realized a dictatorship of the sword of unheard of severity, in the name of world peace and justice, and where in the name of the League of Nations, French gendarmes even imprisoned any person venturing to criticize the League of Nations. The League of Nations has been powerful up to now, for it has acted as the instrument of French imperialism; for since America disowned Wilson's child, and English policy has been paralysed by the economic circumstances already discussed, France has incontestably held the leadership of the League of Nations. All the other elements hanging round the Geneva conferences, the European neutral and border state politicians, the representatives of Latin America and Eastern Asia, all these had no effect on the decisions.

The Vilna affair turned out very differently to the Upper Silesian: In October 1920, the Polish general Zeligowski occupied Vilna and thus anticipated the decision of the League of Nations regarding the fate of this town. At that time the Council of the League of Nations sent a serious warning to Warsaw, but the Polish politicians consigned the note from the League of Nations to the waste paper basket, and the League of Nations finally declared that Vilna belonged of right to Poland. This change is easily comprehensible; for French policy was on the side of Poland. In the Vilna conflict there was some success in at least keeping up appearances.

In the Graeco-Italian conflict, Mussolini was not even obliging enough to keep up appearances. Under other political conditions, and if the French troops had not been in occupation of the Ruhr area, the League of Nations would have perhaps defended itself energetically against Italy. For French interests would not have permitted the Little Entente to be threatened by Italian imperialism. And it is clear that the Italian blow dealt against Greece strikes the Little Entente at the same time. But during the Ruhr conflict, Poincaré cannot risk a conflict with Italy. Thus the most powerful force at present existing in the League of Nations is checkmated in the Graeco-Italian conflict. Mussolini would have had nothing to fear had the League of Nations dealt with the Albanian murder. The League of Nations would doubtless have taken sides with the stronger party in the quarrel between Greece and Italy, just as it did in the quarrel between Poland and Lithuania.

Why then did Mussolini so brutally provoke the League of Nations, if it could do him no harm? Why did he fling a hand-grenade at the unfortunate Geneva donkey, and rip the poor animal to pieces? The reason of Mussolini's enmity against the League of Nations lies in the social character of the grouping of powers which he incorporates, while on the other hand the enthusiasm of Lord Grey and Lord Cecil for the League is explicable on the same grounds. Fascism, as a social phenomenon, represents among other things a revulsion on the part of the petty bourgeoisie against the democratic-parliamentary swindle upon which it has been fed for years. Fascism cannot recognize the authority of the League of Nations, any more than it can recognize the authority of Parliament, for in doing so it would abandon its ideological foundation. The English press rightly emphasizes that Mussolini's defeat in his conflict with the League of Nations would have signified a catastrophe for Italian Fascism.

Those who have been defeated in Geneva are the groups of European bourgeoisie who believed that they could not only lull to sleep the masses of the population with their pacifist formulas, but could also alleviate the acute conflicts of international capitalist crises by the same means. The sorrow ex-

pressed by such papers as the *Manchester Guardian* at the course taken by the Graeco-Italian conflict is sincere and comprehensible. But there was still something else which suffered defeat at Geneva, and that was international reformist socialism. Every time the gentlemen of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals found an opportunity to philosophize on the world's situation, they consoled the masses of the workers seeking for a means of escape from the present chaos of capitalist antagonisms, by the hope of a "democratic development" of the League of Nations. This soap bubble has now burst. For when a member of the League of Nations bombards a city belonging to another member, in the midst of peace, and the League of Nations does not venture to interfere, then the League is hopelessly dead, though attempts may be made to galvanize the corpse for a time. The communists follow this drama without sorrow, but also without surprise, for we are aware that the futile measures which dying capitalism has recourse to in a last effort at self-preservation will all share this same fate.

The Military Dictatorship in Spain

By R. Albert.

In Europe we are now experiencing the rule of reactionary dictatorship without the thinnest veneer of democracy. On September 13, it pleased General Primo di Rivera, the Captain-General of Barcelona, to dismiss the liberal ministry of Alhucemas and the Madrid parliament, and to throw the document designated the "constitution of the Kingdom of Spain" into the waste paper basket. The *coup d'état* of Barcelona signifies the end of a six years' struggle for power. The military "Juntas", first formed in 1917 and since supposed to have been disbanded, have now gained absolute power.

Spain, in a state of economic decay, can offer the sons of its aristocracy and of its middle class no better career than the army. Spain has almost 25,000 officers to support. Apart from unhappy Morocco it possesses no colonies where it can find anything for the army to do. Badly paid, and leading tedious lives, the Spanish officers have formed associations for the protection of their interests, permeated with caste feeling: the Juntas. As these have been the sole really well organized force in the midst of general disintegration, all attempts of conservative and liberal ministries at their disbandment have proved equally unsuccessful. Last year the conservative ministry of Sanchez Guerra was overthrown because it attempted to dissolve the Juntas.

Four facts determine the policy of Spain: 1. the deficit; 2. the Moroccan defeat; 3. the suppression of the working class; 4. the impending end of the monarchy. The deficit is enormous, and increases annually. In 1920-21 it amounted to 872 million pesetas, and in 1921-22 to 1 milliard. The deficit is to be chiefly explained by the incredible deceptions practised in connection with the war in Morocco.

Severe fighting has been going on in Spanish Morocco since 1909, with a few intermissions only. For years Spain has been keeping 150,000 soldiers on a small tract of territory, and has suffered frequent defeat. It is a humiliating and unhappy campaign. The Spanish had to negotiate for months with Abd-el-Krim for the purchase of the release of thousands of prisoners. No one can foresee the end of the adventure. The obstinacy with which Spain carries on the war in Morocco is incomprehensible. For Spanish Morocco is no source of profit to the mother country. On the contrary, it costs enormous quantities of money and blood. Besides this, the Moorish war is the cause of a constant revolutionary fermentation. This was the cause of the rising in Barcelona in 1909, with its aftermath of the judicial murder of Ferrer. How are we to explain this enormous waste of blood and energy and what is the meaning of the invincibility of the Moors, who are defending a small territory bounded by the sea and by French Morocco? The military talents of Abd-el-Krim, and the fanaticism of his "Harkas" for the holy war are not sufficient to explain the power of resistance shown. Where does Abd-el-Krim obtain his weapons? Many of them he takes from his enemies. But besides this the Madrid newspapers report an extensive smuggling of arms across the frontiers of French Morocco.

What great European power finds it to its interest to maintain a strategic position of the highest importance, opposite Gibraltar? And what other great power finds it to its interest to oppose the first at precisely this point? During the whole course of the nineteenth century since the time of the Napoleonic wars, Spain and Portugal were politically dependent upon England. The Spanish campaign in Morocco, therefore, obviously

pursues the same aims as the recent Greco-Turkish war: the competing imperialist powers shed the blood of their vassal peoples!

The Moroccan campaign must accordingly be continued because "higher" interests demand it. But the Spanish people do not want to fight on aimlessly and endlessly. Every contingent of reinforcements despatched to Melilla is accompanied by a wave of protest throughout the country, and the troops only go on board the ships under the pressure of courts martial. As recently as August 25, there was a bloody military mutiny in Malaga, and similar occurrences have taken place in Seville and Granada. The Moorish war thus finds its complement in the interior of the country in the suppression of the labor movement.

In the year 1917, the year in which the Juntas came into being, the Spanish labor movement also made rapid strides forward, assisted by the flourishing condition of industry resultant on the war. The uprisings in Barcelona and Valencia showed the proletariat to be very revolutionary, but distinctly anarchist, and lacking in any definite organization, clearly defined program, or correct conception of revolutionary policy. A year later mighty strikes showed the Catalonian capitalists the actual character of the class adversaries against whom they had to fight. At the end of 1919 the General Labor Union counted almost a million members, despite its brief existence. This proletariat fought against the employing class according to the old anarchist methods, with the aid of terrorism. After the Catalonian bourgeoisie had recovered from its first fright, a period of White Terror began in November, 1919, lasting until 1922. The professional assassins of the so-called free trade unions murdered more than 400 workers in Catalonia. The governor of Barcelona, Martinez Anido, had thousands of workers imprisoned. Various descriptions of reactionary bands, Somates, etc., ruled in the streets with the cooperation of the police. At the same time that the anarchist proletariat of Catalonia was being persecuted by murder, torture, and prison, great strikes were going on in the mining districts of the Asturias, where socialist influence predominates. These strikes were betrayed by the reformist leaders, and ended in defeat. The socialist party, as well as the General Labor Union, have preserved silence about the shameful murders of the revolutionaries in Barcelona. In order to prevent any awakening of class consciousness among the miners of the Asturias, the reformist leaders excluded the communists from the trade unions. And when the White Terror had come to an end, the anarchist leaders in Barcelona began, on their part, a propaganda offensive against the communists and the Russian Revolution!

This was the situation in Spain before the dictatorship was set up: a monarchy devoid of all prestige; two political parties, conservative and liberal, both representing agrarian interests, pursuing practically the same politics and only differing in personal antagonisms; a great clerical power among the rural and petty bourgeois masses; heavy pressure of taxation; a proletariat vanquished by White Terror, betrayed by the reformists, and split up by the anarchists who will not learn anything from the Russian Revolution; a young and courageous, but still inexperienced Communist Party; a well organized and numerous officers' caste possessing simultaneous connections with the reactionary landowners, with the industrialists, and with the middle class influenced by the Fascist example; and the continuation of the war. These premises give in themselves the solution of the problem.

The problem might have had another solution if the proposals made at the beginning of this year by our comrades had been adopted, and a united front of all revolutionary workers formed. But, as it was, the impotence and disunity of the working class gave the victory to the reaction. Today, four generals are ruling Spain, regardless of the constitution. Martinez Anido, executioner of the workers, returns to Barcelona; the press tending to the Left is censored before publication. The dictatorship of the big landowners and industrialists will develop with increased ruthlessness in the form of a military dictatorship. The Spanish proletariat, which has already passed through so many trials, will receive many fresh and severe blows, but the military dictatorship will neither save the degenerate dynasty nor remove the deficit; nor will it be able to solve the problem of Morocco, for there is no Spanish solution to this problem. The dictatorship will not be able to throttle the class consciousness of the workers. Reaction can not create anything new, all it can do is to impose endless sufferings on the people, and retard the inevitable success of the revolutionary movement.

The Process of Dissolution in Georgian Menshevism

Extract from the speech held by comrade Martinov before the Moscow Party Functionaries.

(Conclusion.)

It is known to you, comrades, that Menshevism is everywhere in a state of disintegration. But in Georgia, this process of dissolution takes a peculiar form: here great masses suddenly began to leave the Menshevik party, so that by now no one is left in it except a few petty bourgeois intelligentsia. In order to grasp the causes of this catastrophe, we must form a clear idea of what has been going on in Georgia, of what the Georgian Mensheviks were and what they are today.

At one time the Georgian Mensheviks represented the best and most revolutionary section of the Menshevik party, today they are its worst troops. The leaders of the Mensheviks have trodden their old revolutionary laurels in the dirt. And the masses, retained up to now by the glamour of the now faded glories of the party, have at last recognized that they are on the verge of a precipice. Their faith once lost, these masses commenced their wholesale flight from the party. I repeat that the Georgian Mensheviks were the best section of the Menshevik party. They differed from the Russian Mensheviks in that they never declined to take part in armed actions and risings. They were invariably excellent fighters. In one point only they adhered fixedly to their doctrinaire standpoint: in their judgment on the essential character of the Russian revolution. In this respect they shared Plechanov's conviction that the Russian revolution has been a purely bourgeois revolution. And this is not to be wondered at. In Georgia, capitalism was much less developed than in Great Russia. The proletariat there was far fewer in numbers, while there was no big bourgeoisie there, not even a big commercial bourgeoisie (in Georgia the Armenians played the rôle of the great commercial bourgeoisie). Taken as a whole, Georgia was a semi-patriarchal peasant country, and until recently there were many more relics of feudalism to be found there than in Russia. It is therefore no matter of wonder that the Russian revolution, seen through Georgian spectacles, appeared to be a purely bourgeois revolution, directed exclusively against feudalism, against the nobility and the Czarist officials.

The political tactics pursued by the Georgian Mensheviks have, however, scarcely been dependent on this opinion; whilst in Russia the Mensheviks sought to come to an understanding everywhere with the cadets, with the liberal bourgeoisie, the Georgian Mensheviks have not been able to adopt this line of tactics, for in Georgia there was scarcely any liberal bourgeoisie to be found. During the first revolution they took the same course of action as the Bolsheviks, and sought support among the peasantry. Consequently, their revolutionary work during the epoch of the first revolution in Georgia differed but little from the policy of the Bolsheviks. It was only in regard to All-Russian questions that the differences of opinion between the two parties became conspicuous. This is the reason why the Mensheviks in Georgia have been able to retain revolutionary leadership almost up to now, for it is only now that the masses of workers and peasants have awakened to the fact that the Menshevik party has long since changed from a revolutionary party into a counter-revolutionary one.

This degeneration of Georgian Menshevism began during the great war. Even at that time the leaders of the Georgian party abandoned revolutionary positions. The founder and respected leader of the party, Jordania, who for many years embodied the Georgian workers with the spirit of internationalism, betrayed the International after the declaration of war, and began, like Plechanov, to preach "holding out to the victorious end". At first the Georgian workers could not comprehend this abrupt change of front, and followed very reluctantly. Their resistance went so far that at first Jordania was not permitted to have his articles on the war published in the Georgian party organ. This was the first resistance made by the Georgian Menshevik workers against the opportunism of their leaders. This resistance was, however, suppressed.

After the February revolution, the leaders of Georgian Menshevism sank yet lower. They succumbed to the worst form of All-Russian chauvinism, and fought for the "united and indivisible Great Russia" and against the "separatism" of the border nations. They attacked Lenin vigorously, charging him with defeatism on account of his slogan of: "Right of self-determination of the peoples, even to separation."

After the October revolution, the Menshevik attitude again abruptly changed. They proclaimed the independence of the

Transcaucasian republic, and when this fell to pieces in consequence of their unhappy national policy, they proclaimed the independent Georgian republic. Their idea was to bury themselves in Georgia against the October revolution, and against Soviet Russia, until—as they hoped—the approaching downfall of the Soviet power which they hated should have been accomplished.

And how have they managed the government meanwhile? Whilst in Russia the Bolsheviks were realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat amid the flames of civil war, the Georgian Mensheviks were trying to establish parliamentary democracy in Georgia. The Georgian Menshevik government promised to give the Georgian people political freedom—thus differing from the "barbarians in the North"—; to carry on a peaceful foreign policy, and at the same time to preserve the strictest neutrality and the independence of the Georgian republic; and finally to develop a democratic social policy within the country itself. Let us see if it has really carried out these promises, and if it could have carried them out at a time when violent battles were raging all around between proletarian revolution and bourgeois counter-revolution.

Let us begin with political freedom. At a time when the press still enjoyed a certain degree of liberty in Soviet Russia, the Mensheviks in Georgia, in February 1918, prohibited all Bolshevik newspapers. In little Georgia there were more than 900 communists in prison, etc. The "democratic" Georgian Mensheviks began to copy the dictatorial methods of the Bolsheviks only with the slight difference that their dictatorship was not directed against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, but against the workers and peasants holding revolutionary views. They even had their Tchekas, designated "special departments" to avoid being confused with the Bolshevik Tchekas.

And now let us see in how far the Menshevik government preserved the independence of the Georgian republic, and "strict neutrality" in regard to civil war raging in Russia.

The conclusion of the "treacherous and contemptible" Brest-Litovsk peace, which allotted Batum, Kars, and Ardagan to Turkey, afforded the formal motive for the founding of an independent Transcaucasian republic. The Georgian Mensheviks declared the Brest-Litovsk peace to be invalid with respect to the Transcaucasian republic, maintaining that the Bolsheviks had disbanded the constitutional assemblies and thus forfeited the right to speak in the name of Transcaucasia. The Turkish delegates replied with fine irony: "After the fall of the Lvov-Kerensky government, which took over power as a result of a revolutionary movement, its place was taken by the government led by Lenin by virtue of fact and of right. As regards the dissolving of the constitutional assemblies under circumstances sufficiently known to the whole world, this can only be regarded as a more or less interesting event, and as an additional proof of the power of this government." The Turks demanded the evacuation of the territory promised to them, and sent an ultimatum to the Georgian government. The Mensheviks first attempted resistance, but when the Turks began the attack, the Menshevik anger melted away, and they signed the "traitorous" Brest peace treaty. The first pretext for the separation of Georgia was thus done away with. Another had to be looked for. In a circular issued by the Transcaucasian government on April 10, 1918 we may read: "We are prepared to conclude peace and friendship even with Turkey which has just pillaged us, or even with the devil himself, in order to protect ourselves from the anarchy approaching from the North (that is, from proletarian revolution)." The Turks began to attack West Georgia, in spite of the great concessions made to them. The government applied to German imperialism for its intervention, to that same imperialism against which they had but shortly before declared battle to the death, and whose first demand was that they should undertake to release the landowners who had been arrested, and should provide for "the bettering of the position of the one-time nobility" (as may be read in a reply sent by the minister Ramischvili to a German general).

After the defeat of Germany, the Menshevik government of Georgia, ever ready to undertake any burden in order to save itself from Bolshevik "anarchy", entered the service of the Entente. In what manner it kow-towed to the Entente may be seen from the urgent telegram in which the representative of the Menshevik government, Topuridze, reported on his consultation with the American and English missions to the Georgian minister of war. Here we read for instance: "In the course of various conversations, the question of working wages and working conditions was also touched upon, and attention was called to the abnormally high wages. I replied that the government and the majority of thinking workers fully realize the abnormality of these conditions, and that the government considers it necessary to create more favorable conditions for capital."

You see, comrades, that the Georgian Mensheviks promised the Germans that they would provide for the nobility, and the English and Americans that they would improve the situation of capital!

But the Entente demanded from the "independent and neutral" Georgian republic other and bloodier deeds as well, and these they obediently carried out. On April 8, 1919 forty-two communists, men, women, and children, took refuge from the vengeance of Denikin in "neutral" Georgia. They were arrested, the men maltreated and handed over to Denikin's army, where the majority of them were of course shot. In a communication sent by the Georgian minister for foreign affairs to an English general, on the 25th February 1919, we read: "Your Excellency. In reply to your letter No. 99/9 we have the honor to inform you that the Georgian government had already on the 15th February issued a decree prohibiting the Bolsheviks from being permitted to cross the frontier." It was in this way that the Georgian Menshevik government proceeded against the Bolshevik refugees. But when the position was reversed, when the Bolsheviks began to pursue Denikin's followers, then the Menshevik government hospitably accommodated the whole of the right wing of the defeated Denikin army in Georgia, and not only failed to disarm and intern them as required by the Hague convention, but facilitated their joining Wrangel. During the whole of 1920 the counter-revolutionary staffs of the Petlura and other bands were active on Georgian territory.

These and many similar cases (comrade Martinov recounts a large number of similar violations of neutrality in favor of the White Guards. Ed.) characterize the foreign policy of the Georgian government. But all these deeds pale before the shameful crime committed immediately before the overthrow of the Menshevik government. These Mensheviks who were so indignant at the Bolsheviks for signing the Brest peace treaty, themselves called the Turks to Batum before their flight, in order that they might gain an ally against the Soviet power, and that they might render flunkey service to French imperialism, which was at that time exerting every endeavor to incite Kemal Pasha and Moscow against one another.

The internal policy pursued by the Menshevik government has been quite on a par with its foreign policy. As we have already seen, the government preaches self-restraint to the workers, but not self-restraint when it comes to a question of work: in no place has the eight hour day been introduced. The communists have been persecuted, arrested, etc.

The peasants have suffered still more. A feeble measure on land reform was passed, but even this was not carried out. The results of this policy have been continual insurrections among the peasantry during the whole period of Menshevik rule.

The national question of Georgia was also "solved" in a similar spirit. The principles underlying the national program were explained by Jordania in parliament, where, in February 1918, he declared that the Georgian government was prepared to grant the Georgian border peoples autonomy, preserving at the same time the "strategic, historical, and economic unity of Georgia". The manner of application of this very indefinite formula by the Mensheviks may be seen from the fact that, as early as 5 months after the collapse of the Transcaucasian republic, a war unheard of in the history of Transcaucasia broke out between the Armenians and Georgians on account of a small tract of land. And this was not the first and last war; during the rule of the Mensheviks in Georgia there has been unceasing warfare between the various small nationalities.

We may state that the entire rule of the Mensheviks in Georgia has been distinguished by Terror, persecution, and war. And the Terror has been directed against revolutionary workers and peasants, and against the weaker nationalities.

You will ask me, comrades: "Why have the workers and peasants tolerated this? Why have they not driven out the Mensheviks long ago? In the first place, as you will have seen from my narrative, they have by no means tolerated it: peasant insurrections have been continual, and the Bolshevik tendency has won ground constantly among the workers. In the second place, the former merits of the Mensheviks, and their campaign of slander against Soviet Russia, were calculated to lead the masses astray. They inspired the masses with terror of the "northern barbarians", and of the Red Army designated by the Mensheviks as "bands of robbers". And now what happened when the Red Army, on the initiative of the Georgian communists (and not on that of the "Moscow imperialists", as the Mensheviks lyingly declare), occupied Georgia? I am able to judge of what happened from what I myself saw and heard in Georgia. The greatly-feared "robbers" proved to be the best disciplined army which the Georgians had ever seen. And the forced Russification of Georgia has equally proved to be a legend.

It is further an incontestable fact that the Georgian peasants, now that the Bolsheviks had arrived, for the first time obtained actual possession of land and not merely on paper; and the workers received the eight hour day. But what was most astonishing of all to the masses of the Georgian people, in view of the many slanders they had heard, was the obvious fact that the Soviet power began at once to provide for the economic and cultural reconstruction of Georgia. I saw bridges being rebuilt which had had been blown up by the Mensheviks during retreat, I saw the railway being constructed in Osurget, the plantations at Tschagvô; I witnessed the work being carried on in the manganese ore mines, and the manganese ore being laden into foreign steamers. I also saw new electrical plant, well-equipped rest homes for workers, children's homes, etc.

There is no doubt whatever but that the sharp contrast between Georgia's present situation and its situation under Menshevik rule has brought about a complete change of feeling among the masses of Georgian workers and peasants, for these have now been convinced by actual experience that the Georgian Mensheviks, who once possessed their unlimited confidence, have simply fooled them. Despite all traditions, they turned their backs on Menshevism, and but a slight push was required to set the avalanche rolling. The exodus from the Menshevik party has assumed catastrophic dimensions during the last few months, and I have gained the impression that in the near future, this party will be nothing but a memory.

French Militarism

By Georges Lévy (Paris).

On July 7, 1923, the American daily, the *Washington Post*, wrote as follows:

"The French program for the reorganization of the land and air forces is avowedly militarist. As a matter of fact, it requires the maintenance of an army of over 500,000 men, and an increase of the air forces which represents an actual threat . . .

"The French program of reorganization is a subject of serious alarm to the whole world. At the same time it signifies a real danger and a threat to France itself."

In face of this, M. Poincaré's declaration, and the assertions of bought newspapers, that France is not militarist, will only be able to deceive over-credulous readers, or those who simply do not want to see the truth.

At the present time the French army possesses 698,020 soldiers. These troops are distributed as follows: in the interior of France 401,391; in Algiers, Tunis, and China 67,980; in Morocco 85,699; in the Saar district 5796; in the Rhineland 93,339; in Constantinople 8,000; in the Levant 35,000; and in various missions (plebiscite countries, control commissions, etc.) 815.

At the present time France possesses the largest army in the world in proportion to its population. And yet the words of the report made by Fabry on the law dealing with the training of staffs and troops seem to indicate that even this mighty army is insufficient for the preservation of peace. For he writes:

"We are preparing an army for the war which we are anxious to avoid. We hope that our powers will suffice to paralyse all attempts at war, and, if need be, to crush them."

But a further admission escapes the writer in another place:

"The army is a great moral personality, one which always finds it difficult to be satisfied with times of peace!"

This signifies that, despite the bankruptcy of the old thesis of: "If you want peace, prepare for war", this principle is to be adhered to.

And the example thus set by France is being followed by the other countries, each setting to work at strengthening its armies on the pretext of also being obliged to secure its safety, so that we are experiencing a renewal of the old madness of competitive armaments.

But is it really a fact that France is maintaining 85,699 men in Morocco, 8000 in Constantinople, 35,000 in the Levant, and 93,339 in the Rhineland, solely for her own protection? And is her own safety her sole motive in sending out swarms of military missions to every part of the globe?

Doubtless France requires the whole of these military forces for the purpose of spreading "French civilization" over the earth. M. André Lefèvre, the Minister for War, had not the

slightest compunction in stating, before the French chamber of deputies, that:

"Cannon must go first, then civilization can follow".

Thus French civilization will blossom on the corpses of the people of Morocco. The present government seizes every available opportunity to send off special missions, and doubtless all these great personages are working in the interests of peace only.

To keep 700,000 men under arms, after we have just recorded a list of 1,700,000 dead and 1,500,000 crippled—this is obvious madness.

But is it not an even greater madness when we continue to throw further milliards out of the window for a military expansion policy of this description, in face of the gaping void in our state treasury, and in face of a national debt which will presently total 417 milliard francs?

The preliminary state budget for the year 1923 contains the following expenditure for war purposes:

Ministry for War, regular expenditure . . .	3,078,472,197 fr.
Ministry for War, extraordinary expenditure . . .	488,293,130 fr.
Colonial Ministry, regular expenditure . . .	191,524,520 fr.
Colonial Ministry, extraordinary expenditure . . .	5,648,300 fr.
Ministry for War Pensions and War Grants . . .	173,368,000 fr.
Naval Ministry, regular expenditure . . .	1,005,437,008 fr.
Naval Ministry, extraordinary expenditure . . .	22,800,000 fr.
Maintenance of Occupation Troops . . .	1,000,000,000 fr.
Total . . .	5,965,543,155 fr.

Our militarism is thus swallowing up almost 6 milliard francs. Military expenditure forms approximately 5 milliards out of a regular state budget of 23,497,807,526 francs. Next to the expenditure for interest on the national debt, the military item is thus the heaviest of the budget. The actually useful ministries have much smaller credits placed at their disposal. The Ministry for Education thus receives only 1,586,928,075 francs; the Ministry for Commerce and Industry 24,739,140 francs; the Ministry for Labor 156,902,000 francs; the Ministry for Agriculture 112,598,305 francs; the Ministry for Public Works 1,533,029,266 francs; and the Ministry for Health, Social Insurance and Welfare, 401,321,066 francs.

Out of the 10 milliards expended for the whole of the Ministries and undertakings 5, precisely one half, are devoted to military purposes. To this end all other expenditure is put at a constant disadvantage, and the greatest financial efforts are put forth.

In a country weakened by war, a country which has just lost two millions of men, whose birth rate is very low in proportion to its relatively high mortality, whose labor power is insufficient in quantity and retrogressive in quality, and whose financial position is shaken, nearly 6 milliards of francs are none the less thrown into the abyss of war and 700,000 men kept constantly under arms. Given all these premises, how are our governing circles and their acolytes going to make the world believe that France is not militarist?

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The British Trade Union Congress

By J. T. Murphy.

When Mr. J. B. Williams, of the Musicians' Union opened the Plymouth Congress there were no optimists present expecting a rosy report. But there were few who expected that all the abusive epithets which are usually applied to the congress would find so much justification. It has been customary for revolutionists and revolutionary journals to either make fun of the congress or lash themselves into a frenzy about its backwardness. This congress provided even more than the usual quota of incidents for this kind of thing if we were prepared to spend much time upon it.

The Congress proceedings can be roughly divided into five parts, viz. complimentary and fraternal speeches, discussions on subsidiary questions such as working class education, the "Laundry" debate, foreign politics.

The chairman of course, is expected to survey all these questions, but the Trade Union Congress is not the Labour Party Conference. Different motives are operative in the choice of a chairman. At the Labour Party Conference someone of political importance is selected as chairman. The Trade Union Congress is fated at present to be content with a lesser light. Since the

creation of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, the "big" men take great care to avoid placing themselves in this most responsible position. Leaders of big unions are not anxious to lend the weight of their union to the General Council. To be a member is one thing. To be a responsible leader with the weight of important industrial organizations behind them when they speak in the name of the General Council is another. The one always gives the loophole of disagreement of the particular union as a means of escape. The other gives the impression of the lead of big forces, at least the union of which he is a leader. So up to the present it has been the policy to choose as chairman, the leaders of those unions who cannot pull any weight; Mr. Walker of the Agricultural Workers last year; Mr. J. B. Williams of the Musicians this year. In neither case could the chairman influence the union movement as a whole. So it is no cause for surprise that the presidential address to the Congress was a lamentable performance, without purpose or inspiration. A few generalisations on the wickedness of war, a little recall of the past to console the Congress for the loss of union membership, a screech against Mussolini, (Mr. Thomas must have told him to put that in) a suggestion of an awful threat to the International Labor Organizations of the League of Nations that, because the government had failed to confirm the Washington Convention, "as a dignified protest against what we consider to be a grave breach of faith", the British Labor delegate should withdraw, and it was all over. His only other job was to let Mr. J. H. Thomas dominate the proceedings and to say sweet words when favors were being handed out to the ladies, etc.

Then, Mr. Thomas handled the situation and the machine worked well. He and his colleagues had learnt a few lessons from last year's congress and from this year's Labour Party Conference. At the last Congress the Communists made their presence felt for the first time. Acting as an organized group they succeeded by a series of questions and the pushing of the issue of "more power to the General Council of the Congress", in making the greatest exposure of the leaders that any Congress had seen. For twelve months the Party had conducted a campaign for the reorganisation of the Council and its powers, and it was up to the leaders of the big unions to avoid this being done. We were witness to a parade of the leaders of the big unions who were on the General Council having to meet the opposition of their colleagues on the Executive Committees of their unions. So Smillie of the Miners was opposed by Hodges, Swales of the Engineers was opposed by Brownlie of the Engineers, Clynes opposed Thorn and so on. And all the time it was obvious that none of them wanted to see a change.

They were intent at Plymouth on not repeating this situation. Besides they had been to the Labour Party Conference and seen the group of Communists at work. It was decided to avoid discussion at all costs on all important questions and to sidetrack what could not be machined out of the way. How effectively this policy was carried through is clear from the fact that the total time taken to discuss "The future of the General Council", "Unemployment", "The Ruhr Crisis", "Italian-Greek Crisis", amounted to one hour. Even when the Congress turned to discuss the *Daily Herald* the debate was confined to "raising money". No one was permitted to question the effect of the policy of the paper on circulation; whilst when the "Back to the Unions" Campaign came under review, after Comrade Wilkinson, representing the Distributive Workers' Union, had declared that it was a failure because there had been no real lead given by the General Council, the Congress was permitted without the slightest intervention of the chairman to degenerate into a squabble. The whole purpose of the intended discussion was lost. On the question of Unemployment, a half-filled listened to a speech from an unemployed workers' representative, and then a pious resolution was passed and the matter disposed of. The principal characteristic of the Congress can therefore be summed up in the words "evasion, parochialism and funk". The Trade Union leaders are conscious of the weakness of the movement, but they are each struggling to save their jobs and any discussion which might involve them in demands for bold changes are to be avoided.

On the Ruhr question, Comrade Pollitt led off by a severe criticism of the General Council's lack of activity on behalf of the German workers. He said that the General Council had taken no active steps during the last year to secure the withdrawal of British and French troops. He recalled the resolution of the Southport Conference, pledging the full support of the British trade unionists to the German workers, and M. Fimmen's assertion after the occupation that this inaction of British trade unionists proved the international view to have failed. Com. Pollitt declared that the German trade unionists in the Ruhr wanted, not £500, but direct action to get the French out. If the General Council could not bring about direct action in such a

situation as this, of what use was it to talk of a General Strike when they were confronted with the menace of war? The present Government in Germany was the last Coalition Government there would be there. Its successor would be either Fascist or Revolutionary, and when the crash came they would have to decide whether they would support the one or the other. The present necessity was whole heartedly to show the German trade unionists that they were prepared to do whatever they were asked to do to get the French out of the Ruhr.

Mr. Thomas at once replied and the discussion ended. He informed the Congress that the first repudiation of M. Fimmen came from the German trade unionists themselves. The General Council had taken the opinion of the German trade unionists and received the answer, that if the British troops were withdrawn their last hope would disappear. Everything possible had been done to persuade the French working class that the occupation of the Ruhr was against their interests. Private negotiations were taking place between the big French and German capitalists, and in the end both the French and German workers were going to suffer. For the General Council to call a general strike would show that they were bereft of common sense. They could not order the men out, but they could tell them that until the questions of the Ruhr was settled, there would be no hope for the British unemployed.

It was a relief to find that the Ruhr and the position in Germany were not permitted to end entirely at this juncture. But had it not been for Fimmen's speech as the delegate of the I.F.T.U. nothing more would have been done. Then a resolution which committed nobody to anything was passed but there was no further discussion.

In moving the resolution on the Italian and French crisis, Mr. J. H. Thomas M. P. said: "They were gravely disturbed at the events taking place in Europe. Remembering the deplorable economic position at home, and all that the nations had passed through in the last eight years, the loss, the suffering and the misery, they were deeply distressed that the war spirit still prevailed to-day. This war spirit, the feeling of bitterness and revenge, was not limited to any one section. The working class itself was demonstrating that it had not lost the war spirit. In the deplorable incident that had arisen between Italy and Greece, they saw all the factors that led up to the last great war. Italian subjects had been cruelly murdered. No sane man would attempt to justify murder. It was wrong and deplorable; but what they protested against was that although it had not been proved who were the criminals, and there had not yet been an investigation to fix the responsibility, innocent women and children who were not responsible had been equally cruelly murdered.

The first protest of the Congress was against settling the dispute by those methods. What was to be said to the people who invariably lectured them about keeping agreements? Trade Union leaders desired to honour industrial agreements; but if agreements between employers and workpeople were sacred and should be kept—as the Congress believed they should be, what was to be said of the people who put their hand to an international agreement, and immediately it suited them, ignored and flouted it? Italy was a party to the Covenant of the League of Nations. If there was one particular thing the League of Nations was intended to secure, it was the protection of the weak against the strong. Yet immediately Greece submitted the present issue to the League of Nations, Signor Mussolini declared that Italy must be the sole judge. The Congress protested against this policy. The delegates wanted to see justice done to Italy and proper reparation for the cruel murders committed. Those responsible ought to be brought to justice, but they protested against this incident being the cause of another war that might involve all Europe. They must make no mistake. If war broke out it could not be confined to the two nations primarily affected. Nor should they pay any attention to those who advised Britain to clear out of Europe. The war had proved, not only that we could not clear out of Europe, but that all the nations were interdependent. The delegates were not pro-Greek nor anti-Italian, neither pro-German nor anti-French, but they were human beings, recognising that all human beings ought to be protected."

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., who seconded, said: "that on a subject such as this Labor had no prejudices and no favorites. If corresponding action were taken by any other nation it would be condemned as Italy's action was being condemned. By assassination, four or five distinguished Italians had been sent to their death. The Labor view was that murder on a small scale could not be cancelled, and ought not to be imitated on a large scale. Italy committed herself readily at the time to the

policy of adjusting national differences through the agency of the League of Nations. The great Italian nation ought not to allow that signature to be effaced by the act of any temporary dictator who apparently considered that he was not merely at the head of his country, but above the law of the world. There could never be peace so long as lawless acts of that kind were permitted. No man, not even Signor Mussolini, had the right to set Europe by the ears in this manner and offer the absurd pretence that sending his warships into Greek waters was not an act of war. War would last throughout eternity unless nations agreed not to be themselves the arbiters in these conflicts, but agreed to remit their adjustment and decision to impartial and reasonable third parties. The League of Nations, to which they must turn as the only pacific instrument for the settlement of international conflicts, was now to be severely tested. They would see whether those who constituted the League were sincere. Whatever the blunder, and whatever the bullying of Signor Mussolini, and whatever threats there might be, it rested with the League of Nations to do its duty. If the Italian policy was represented by the action of Signor Mussolini, the League of Nations might have to go to the length of carrying out a world isolation and a world boycott. If Italy disregarded or flouted the League, the League would be justified in calling upon the world, not only to indicate its disfavor of the action of Signor Mussolini, but to go further and declare that Italy had alienated the good opinion of the world and must stand condemned as the first great offender against the new international law.

This speech of Clynes was followed by Comrade Pollitt who moved the deletion of the final sentence of the resolution, urging the British Government to use its mediatory influence and the utilisation of the machinery of the League of Nations to prevent an international catastrophe. Com. Pollitt, said: "that if the British Government had never encouraged Signor Mussolini, he would never have dared to take action against Greece. The King and Queen paid a visit to Italy to do homage to a man whom they claimed as a deliverer of Italian democracy. The King bestowed a high honour on Signor Mussolini, and it was done because Signor Mussolini was to be used, not against Greece, but against Russia. He was to be the tool of British imperialism in an attempt to crush Russia. It was hypocrisy to ask the Government to stay Mussolini's hand after bringing him into the limelight. The Italian press accused the League of Nations of being the tool of England and France to promote Anglo-French policy, and the League was the most hopeless instrument for settling international conflicts at this moment. Mr. Clynes had said it might be necessary to boycott Italy. Of course it might be; but they could not do that through the League of Nations because when the whole world boycotted Russia the League of Nations was silent. Let the Congress send out the first part of the resolution as an appeal, not to the governments of the world, but to the Italian and Greek working class to refuse to take up the weapons of war. Let them ignore the Governments and the League of Nations, which was not in contact with the people, who alone could prevent war—the working people—and send the message to the people themselves.

The only other outstanding feature of the Congress was Fimmen's speech which has already been fully reported in the Party press.

The Congress closed having never attempted to get to grips with anything. Two and a half million workers have left the unions during the last two years. The Congress represented this year only 4,300,000 organized workers. Unless some bold measures are initiated which will inspire the return of members, the decay of the next twelve months will be greater still. This Congress had no inspiration and dare not even acknowledge the fact to itself.

It represented demoralisation. Having developed in a period when it was possible to pursue a policy of adaptation to capitalism, it is bewildered when faced with the problems of the epoch when adaptation to capitalism means adaptation to decadence, the process of dying.

Last year the small group of Communists drove the leaders to a fools parade. This year they have got them scared. Next year it may be that large numbers will see that only the Communists met to-day's crisis with proposals and leadership, which means life to the working class movement. If the scenes outside the Congress at the great demonstrations and meetings organized by the Communist Party, and the numbers of sympathetic delegates who approached the Communist delegates sounding the note of approval of the Communist policy, then the Plymouth Congress is the last of its kind.

The Crisis in the French Trade Union Movement

By Maurice Chambelland (Paris).

At its congress at Saint Etienne the C.G.T.U. resolved to enter the Red International of Labor Unions, on the sole condition that article 11 be struck out of the statutes adopted by the first world congress of the R.I.L.U. The second world congress of the R.I.L.U. resolved to strike out the article in question, upon which the C.G.T.U. affiliation to the R.I.L.U. was solemnly announced by the French delegation. Despite this, heated debates are still being carried on in the French trade unions on the affiliation to the R.I.L.U., and on the theory and practice of our international organization.

To uninitiated persons the crisis in the French trade union movement does not appear in this light. The comrades who recently called into existence the revolutionary trade union groups (the Marie Guillot—Lartigue—Cazals elements) declare that they only wish to raise a barrier against the penetration of the Communist Party into the trade unions, but have no thought of combatting the R.I.L.U., to which they profess allegiance.

All the same, the whole of the opponents of the R.I.L.U. make common cause with them. The "Committee for Trade Union Defence" (French section of the International Workingmen's Association) has discreetly, but none the less actually, placed the leadership of the whole opposition in their hands. The anarchists support them with the utmost energy, and are changing their weekly paper into a daily in view of the forthcoming trade union congress at Limoges. The "Resisters" (the group of Frossard, Lafont & Co.) have also given them demonstrative proofs of their active sympathy, and are likewise about to convert their weekly paper into a daily for the further strengthening of the opposition. At the moment when the crisis reached its height, immediately before the conference held by the National Committee of the C.G.T.U., Frossard declared his firm conviction that "the French labor movement would find a way of escaping from the clutches of Moscow".

The aims of the forces coalesced in the opposition cannot be more clearly described than by these actions. It is only necessary to recollect the debates held by the National Committee, and by the union conferences of the metal workers and railwaymen, to recognize that the French labor movement is shaken at the present moment by a fresh offensive against Moscow. "The trade union commissions? These were ordered by Moscow!"—this is what was said in effect by Broutchoux at the session of the National Committee. And at the railwaymen's conference Besnard expressed himself even more clearly, simply asserting that "the R.I.L.U. is the mother of the trade union commissions". At the metal workers' conference one of the secretaries of the revolutionary trade union groups, Massot, declared himself in agreement with the "purely syndicalist" minority both in the question of the International and in that of the trade union commissions.

The present conflict of opinion within the French trade union movement merely represents one aspect of the struggle between the two great tendencies brought into the international labor movement by the Russian Revolution. It is simply a continuation of the struggle between the adherents and the adversaries of Moscow.

This is recognized very clearly by the French workers themselves. We were all very anxious when the Marie Guillot—Lartigue—Cazals group separated from the majority of the C.G.T.U. leaders. At that time we believed that the revolutionary trade union groups would mightily strengthen the minority of Saint Etienne. The federations of state and municipal workers, and of post office employees, followed the same path as that trodden before them by the building workers' union. They voted for the Lartigue resolution against the trade union commissions. It was predicted everywhere that the former R.I.L.U. majority would suffer a severe defeat in the National Committee.

But even in the National Committee this majority remained the victor, though it cannot be denied that the result has yielded a certain increase of strength to the minority. This was soon followed by the extraordinary conference of the unitarian metal workers' unions, and shortly after by the railwaymen's conference. And at these two conferences the Monmousseau-Sémar group won a majority which even our opponents recognize as overwhelming. At the metal workers' conference 113 organizations voted with the majority and only 22 with the minority. And at the railwaymen's conference more than 50,000 votes were cast for Sémar's resolution, whilst the minority only succeeded in obtaining 10,000 votes. Last year it was still able to confront the 33,000 votes of the majority with 20,000 votes.

Further union congresses have been held since these. The teachers' union, in which a certain rôle is played by Marie Guillot, declared itself nevertheless in favor of Sémar's resolution. This was also the case with the porcelain workers, motor drivers, and cabinet makers.

These different results prove that our fear of the strengthening of the minority of Saint Etienne through the change of front of certain elements has been groundless, for it has on the contrary been so weakened that one of the leaders of the minority among the railwaymen, Louis Bert, has had the experience of even the majority of the local sections in the district of the railway system Paris-Orleans, of which he is secretary, voting directly against him. The minority is thus compelled to defend its own positions, instead of preparing to pass to an attack on the majority, as a minority should be able to do.

All this is an excellent omen for the General Trade Union Congress of the C.G.T.U., which is to meet in Limoges on November 15. At the same time it is a new striking proof of the strength of the ties binding the French proletariat to the Russian Revolution and the Red International of Labor Unions.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Workers Party at a Turning Point

By John Pepper (New York).

Our Party stands before a modification of its function. Briefly stated, we can divide the history of our Communist Party since its creation, into three periods.

The first period: the stage of *collecting the Communist forces*, beginning with the separation from the Socialist Party until about the Bridgeman Convention of August, 1922.

The second period: *the fight for a standing in the labor movement*, from the summer of 1922 to the Labor Party Convention in Chicago, July 3, 1923.

And we are now on the threshold of the third period: the period in which we must begin to lead that part of the working class which stands under our influence, into the *political struggles* against the capitalists and capitalist government. This period begins with the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The Period of Collecting the Communist Forces.

The first period, the collecting of the Communist forces, was the period of constant factional fights over the question of the best form of organization into which the Communist forces should be gathered. The first great question of organization was whether there shall be a uniform party or a party built on Language Federations. The second question of organization was that of the relation between open and underground work of the Communists. The third question of organization was whether the underground is the only possible form of existence for the Communist party in America, or whether, depending upon conditions, there shall be an underground or open form of organization. That which all these problems had in common was that they were all *internal* problems of the Party, and not problems of the great, broad, labor movement; and still less were they the problems of general American politics.

It was the period of selection and collecting of Communist elements in the United States. It is therefore self-evident that the main question was who is a "good Communist".

The Period of the Fight for A Standing in the Labor Movement.

The second period, the period of fighting for a standing in the labor movement, shows an entirely different picture. The main problem was, how shall the Communists approach the masses, how shall the Workers' Party send as deep roots as possible into the masses? In general, the tactic of the United Front served to attain this aim. Particularly, the campaign for amalgamation, the defense drive, the campaign for the defense of the foreign born workers, the anti-Fascist campaign and the fight for the Labor Party were the various roads leading to the various divisions of the masses. The whole life of the Party changed fundamentally in this period which has covered the last year. Our comrades were no longer occupied with questions of the best form of Party organization, but with organizational details of various labor organizations outside of our Party. It was no longer sufficient for our Party members simply to go to the branch meetings of the Party, but it was their duty to become members of labor organizations, and become the most energetic participants in meetings and conventions of the labor movement. We have had no organized factional fights at all

during the last year. It is characteristic in the highest degree that, as the main problem was no longer the selection and collection of Communist forces, but the gaining of influence by the Communists in the labor movement, the most usual classification of Party members was no longer who is a "good Party member", but who is a "good trade unionist".

A part of the Party comrades—and not the worst ones—those who rendered the best service to the Party in collecting the Communist forces, did not immediately or altogether grasp the change of function of the Party. They clung to the underground form of organization, as to a fetish, and considered it the surest guarantee for barring out of the Communist Party those who were not 100 per cent pure Communists. They opposed the idea of the Labor Party, because they feared that this meant sacrificing of the Communist Party. There was a tendency at that time in our Party, which impatiently demanded the expulsion of those comrades who could not understand and go along with the change of function of the Party. But the Central Executive Committee of our Party, instead of expelling these comrades, exercised patience and sought to convince, with the result that the greater part of these comrades became the best workers in the trade unions and for the Labor Party idea.

The Period of Political Struggles.

The organizing of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party means for our Party the beginning of a new era. The Workers Party is the only political group which has not betrayed the formation of a Labor Party. At the July 3rd. Convention in Chicago, the Workers Party was the political driving force which helped to crystallize into an organization the mighty sentiment of the rank and file.

In the first period of the history of our Party we collected the Communist forces. In the second period, the Communists acquired influence among the laboring masses. But this influence lays a very great responsibility upon us. The laboring masses consider the Communists as their leaders, and they expect us to show them the best ways and means of fighting against the capitalists and the capitalist government. In the third period of its history, which is now beginning, it is the duty of our Party to lead into the political struggle the masses which are under its influence.

In the first period our Party was only occupied with internal problems of organization. In the second period it was mainly occupied with trade union problems. In the third period it must occupy itself more than ever before, with general political problems. In the first period the vision of the greatest part of our members did not reach further than the internal factional fights of the Communist Party. In the second period the vision of our Party was enlarged, but with a great part of our comrades it went still no further than the internal struggles of the labor movement. We must now broaden the vision of the Party. We must perceive also the internal conflicts of the various classes of capitalist society. We must undertake more than ever before, the fight against the government.

It would of course be a mistake for anyone to believe that the tasks of the first and second periods no longer hold good, and are not important to the third period. It goes without saying that we must still select and collect the Communist forces. We still have not yet got the Communist mass party. It is self-evident that we must still conduct the greatest struggle in order to influence the masses. We still have not the majority of the American working class under Communist influence.

But now in the third period we have a richer and more complicated task. We must take over, in addition to the tasks of the first and second periods, also that of the third period, namely, the task of leading the masses into the political struggle.

This new task creates a much more difficult and complicated situation for our Party, and means a greater modification of the function of the Party than the transition from the first to the second period. It is almost self-evident that a part of our Party comrades—and again not the worst part—cannot immediately and elastically enough understand this modification in the function of our Party. A part of our most active and industrious comrades who have been rendering the best service to the Party in the fight for a standing in the labor movement, and in the fight in the trade unions, do not understand to-day the policies of the Party in the question of the Labor Party. They identify the Party too closely with the trade unions, and even if not in their theory, yet in their practice, they wish that the Party would not be a political party, but simply a left wing of the trade union movement. This view was expressed in its most concentrated fallacious form in the paper issued by the Williamsburg branch of our New York Party organization in this way: The Workers Party should, wherever possible, do nothing as a Party, but everything through the trade unions.

Such close adaptation of the Party to the trade unions as was called for in the organ of the Williamsburg branch means the sacrifice of the leadership role of the Communist Party as a Party. It is just as erroneous as the slogan which was launched formerly in Russia by the right elements and later by the leftists of the Communist Labor Party of Germany, that the Communist Party shall assimilate itself with the Soviets. Of course, the participation in the trade union movement is a life and death question for our Party. Of course we must compel every Party member to become a member of a trade union. Of course we must support and enlarge the Trade Union Educational League tenfold. But it would be a great mistake, and in the present new period an obstacle to the further development of our Party, if we would devote ourselves exclusively to trade union problems, and if we do not realize that a Communist Party must be not merely the left wing of the trade union movement, but a political party, concerned with all political and social questions. In the present period we must ask not only, who is a "good Communist", and who is a "good trade unionist", but also, who is good at understanding American politics.

We should not use the tactics of persecution and expulsion towards those comrades who do not comprehend quickly enough that this modification in the function of the Party is necessary and inevitable; but we must once more employ the means of patience and conviction. However, that which we cannot sacrifice is that every comrade, be he convinced or not, must carry out the policy of the Party, and the instructions decided upon by the Central Executive Committee. The comrades who are as yet unconvinced should not forget the classical maxim expressed by Zinoviev: Discipline begins where conviction ends.

THE COLONIES

A Letter from the Dutch East Indies

By P. Bergsma.

The policy pursued by the rulers of Java has been distinguished of late years by increased reaction. The powerful section of the Perserekat Kommunist di India (P.K.I.) in Ternate has suffered severely under the governmental measures undertaken against it. The best leaders have been in prison for over a year, and are likely to be kept there for some years to come.

It appears that all the leaders of the People's Party (Sarajat Islam) are not radical, for the principal leader, Tjokroaminoto, as well as the intellectual August Salim, succeeded in getting a resolution passed at the last congress of the Central of the S.I. to the effect that members of the S.I. were not permitted to be members of another political party at the same time. This obliged the communists to withdraw from either the S.I. or the C.P.

Shortly after this the communists held a congress together with the sections of the S.I. in sympathy with them, and reached a decision to break with the leaders of the Central of the S.I., and to found a red S.I. Tjokroaminoto, who recognized that the best elements of the S.I. went with the communists, made a sharp attack on the communists. We were not at a loss for an answer, and all the newspapers conducted by the communists took a strong stand against the policy of weakness pursued by Tjokroaminoto.

The communist agitation was so successful that the majority of the sections of the red S.I. went over to the Perserekat Kommunist di India, so that the Communist Party gained thousands of members.

The Communist Party has now 32 sections, including those in Ternate, Borneo, Sumatra, and Celebes. The number of members will be about 50,000. Besides these, there are sections of the S.I. working on the same lines as the communists. The communists have many newspapers at their disposal for written propaganda. The Central of the S.I., on the other hand, is so deficient in its financial administration that at present it has not a single newspaper at its disposal. It need not be said that under these circumstances the influence of the communists increases rapidly, and that the government is employing every possible means to prevent this influence from spreading further.

The method most popular with the government at present is the deportation and imprisonment of communists. But as all the leading trade unions—above all the union of railway and tramway men—are under the direct leadership of the communists, it is not so easy for the government to exterminate communism.

This may be once more observed in the case of the railwaymen's strike. The government provoked this strike, at a moment most favorable to itself, by imprisoning comrade Somoes for organizing a previous strike in the month of July, during

the liveliest period of sugar transport. About 10,000 strikers were now discharged, and those who declared themselves in favor of the strike had to answer for this before a court of justice. The railwaymen were no longer permitted to visit the premises of the union. Many leaders of the red S.I. were also imprisoned. Even the women of the S.I. were threatened with imprisonment if they did not cease their agitation.

When the sugar factories began to work, about a month after the outbreak of the strike, and transport increased rapidly, there were great difficulties experienced in the regulation of the railway traffic. The business people complained bitterly, and the bourgeois papers, which previously would not hear of conceding the strikers' terms, now demanded an examination of the working conditions obtaining among the railwaymen, and the reinstatement of the strikers. Many of the best engine drivers are among the strikers, and these have no intention of returning to work on the old terms. They insist on the fulfillment of their demands, and require as one point the release of those arrested.

The severity of the struggle which the revolutionists in the Indies have now to conduct, by no means robs the communists of their courage. Agitation is being carried on with as much energy as before, and there is no sign of the government's gaining the upper hand over the communists. Even bourgeois papers are forced to admit that the government is having a hard time.

As England is now desirous of establishing a naval base in Singapore, and the Dutch government is also thinking of strengthening its fleet in the Indies, the government, whose deficit already amounts to the large sum of over a milliard guilders, is getting into greater difficulties than ever. The great undertakings, possessing a large capital, are preparing to invest their millions in Indo-China and Malacca. Here the capitalists may count more upon the support of the government in helping them to find cheap labor power, which they can then exploit at will. The representatives of this capital are attempting to take advantage of this situation in the National Council, and demand that capital should not be so heavily burdened, and that it should be permissible to employ coolies on contract.

The government is in a difficult position. On one side there is capital, always ready for strong measures for the suppression and exploitation of the people; and on the other side the masses of workers and peasants rising in protest against the colonial system of exploitation.

Even the disagreement between the leaders of the S.I. and the communists is of no use to the government, for, as the reactionary press admits, both parties are competing in a struggle against the constituted authorities, each striving to win the masses for itself.

Much can happen in the Indies during the present year. Should the government not succeed in restoring order to the utterly disorganized traffic, it will have to make concessions to the communists, and this signifies that the government will have to retreat for the first time before the power of the young movement of the people. Then our comrades will emerge strengthened from the struggle, and will not fail to make the most advantageous use of this success.

But should the government win in this struggle, then even worse measures of brutality and violence will be employed against the communists.

FASCISM

Fascism and Working Youth

By Otto Unger.

Mussolini declared recently that he has to thank "three hundred thousand courageous young people" for his victory over the Italian working class. We know that there were a large number of young workers and peasants among these, who, disgusted at the lamentable inadequacy of the socialists, left the camp of the working class to seek fresh ideals in the camp of the bourgeoisie. And if we consider the German Fascist movement, we observe as a regrettable fact that here too, for instance in South Germany, a large percentage of youthful proletarians and sons of poor peasants are organized in the nationalist associations. This fact may be observed again and again on the occasions of the parades held by Hitler in Munich and other places. At the Schlageter parade in Munich on June 9, for instance, when the Fascisti were well armed and numbered 30,000 men, at least two thirds of those present were such "courageous young people" as aided Mussolini to his victory. And of these, again, the greater part were young proletarians.

only a small number being students and scholars. It is an incontestable fact that these proportions are the same in every country in which Fascist organizations exist. And it is clear that every communist, above all the young communists, must devote serious attention to the causes of this phenomenon, and to the question of how it may best be countered.

History shows us that youth has played a leading, if not a decisive part, in all important struggles. The greater part of the fighters who are ready to risk their lives for a cause are young people. No one can think of the October Revolution, or of the self-sacrificing struggles of the German and Italian working class, without remembering the glorious part played by the proletarian youth, by the Communist Youth League. And who is so simple-minded as to believe it possible to bring the coming German proletarian revolution to a victorious conclusion unless there are hundreds and thousands of young proletarians ready to give their lives for it? At least no communist believes this.

The bourgeoisie has long been aware of this. It already ranks among their truisms. And whenever they are making preparations for any special raid, or when they feel their property threatened, they first appeal to the best material to be used as cannon fodder in their interests. The international bourgeoisie has attained such excellent results for itself by these means, that it does not hesitate to employ the same means against the revolutionary working class. And it even permits itself the bloody jest of winning over working youth for the purpose. We do not speak here of the adherents which the bourgeoisie has been able to gain among the declassed and uprooted elements of the proletarian youth who simply sell themselves, are organized in volunteer and other White Guard bands and used as tools to crush the revolutionary working class. These are not the greatest danger to the working class. The greatest danger lies in that political movement, known as Fascism, which originates in the present phenomena of social decay, and which is now in the act of laying hold of the proletarian youth as cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie. Everyone who knows that the proletarian revolution cannot gain the victory without the proletarian youth, will fully recognize the fact that, should the bourgeoisie succeed in luring the proletarian youth into the Fascist camp, it would thereby deal the deadliest blow to the proletarian revolution. It is imperative that every worker should be fully alive to this fact, and that the communists should examine thoroughly every sign of danger in this direction.

The Bavarian Hitler newspaper, *Der Völkische Beobachter*, published on July 23, 1923, an appeal issued by the Nationalist Party to the youth of Germany for the formation of a national socialist movement. The aims of this movement are formulated approximately as follows: "To train the youth of Germany, without difference of caste or sex, in the art of defence, and at the same time to the attainment of a morally exalted and truly German character." With regard to the organizational side, we are informed that the movement consists of a girls' group, of a group for boys under 16 years of age, and of a group for youths over 16.

This last is to be called the Youth Defence Section, is to be a military group, and will in actual fact form the shock troops of the national socialists. Besides this, a Ramblers' Section is to be formed, in which all youthful members, without difference of sex or age, are to make Sunday rambles "in real German style".

A few days later the same periodical published an article by S. A. Lenk on "The Necessity for the National Socialist Youth Movement". This article is intended to furnish a sort of formulation of the program, whose outline was but sketchily given in the appeal of July 23. With respect to the object of the movement, the article contains the following:

"... We must make fresh converts and champions for the high aims of National Socialism, if we do not wish the movement to remain without recruits..."

The writer of the article then draws attention to the tasks incumbent on the movement. Conscious of the fact that something will have to be given to the proletarian youth—and the winning of the proletarian youth is the main object in view—if it is to be attached to the movement, he says:

"From this it will be seen that our youth movement has two different tasks to fulfil. It must fight the battles of youth, that is, it must be a protective organization. But at the same time it must train the youth to fight these and coming battles, it must be an organ of education and instruction..."

No word is said as to whether this championship of the struggles of the youth refers to economic struggles. But it is

scarcely possible to understand anything else. But in order that the capitalists who have to finance the movement may not take alarm at this new militant youth organization, the writer of the article continues in the following strain:

"... for this reason its leading task will be that of an organization for the promotion of training and education; its highest duty will be to develop the youth, without difference of sex, to an acceptance of national socialism, and to do this by educating it to self-confidence. A certain self-reliance, on a national basis, creates the prerequisite etc..."

The education given is to be simultaneously mental and physical; it is also to be a social education, and is to be directed against humanitarian sentimentality. We read:

"Youth must be physically steeled as well... It is we who will have to fight the battle for emancipation, and remembering this we must train our youth to self-defence."

The educational tendency will, of course, be anti-materialist:

"... Every youthful member must work for ideals. We have no intention of simply converting starving herds into satiated ones. We must put limits to youth's love of pleasure, we must educate it to idealism..."

And, finally, we reach the real attraction of the program, the great thesis of class harmony:

"... it (the National Socialist Youth) will, however, not educate them to a socialism of hate, but to a socialism of love for their own working fellow-countrymen (here we must of course understand Krupp, Stinnes, etc. O. U.)... In this, our working program, we are desirous of establishing comradeship among our members; there must be no apprentices and no scholars, no rich and no poor, there must be comrades only..."

In short: everything for the Fatherland!—that is, translated into the language of Marxism, everything for the ruling class, for the bourgeoisie. The article closes:

"... Let us train the working youth to be moral and free human beings, ready to give their whole powers for their Fatherland, and for the defence of its liberty."

Taking this as a whole, and extracting its real import from the many words which conceal it, only one fact emerges: The agents of capital are striving to win the proletarian youth, and to train it to act as shock troops against the proletarian revolution.

Among the communists there is a rule which runs somewhat like this: Never over-estimate the enemies of your class, but under-estimate them still less. We have no reason to exaggerate the counter-revolutionary importance of the national socialist youth movement. We must view it in its proper proportions, but even then it is a real danger to the proletarian revolution!—that is, it is a danger, unless we are able to work among the broad masses of working and peasant youth in such a way that the siren calls and demagogic lies of National Socialism can make no impression whatever.

The danger of Fascism lies in the fact that it utilizes the crying need of the decaying middle class, and the increasing misery of the workers, for the purpose of employing the resultant discontent—by every demagogic means available—in the interests of the bourgeoisie and against the interests of the working class. And does the same danger exist in the case of the working and peasant youth? Of course it does! It is precisely the working and peasant youth which has to suffer the most frightful deprivations at the present time. The working youth is without employment, without support, or has to work at starvation wages. To this must be added the absence of help from class comrades, the uncomradely treatment encountered in the factories. In the trade unions the youth seldom has any rights, the reformist trade unions for the most part doing nothing whatever to save the working youth from the most extreme misery and want. It is no wonder that youthful proletarians become embittered by frequent betrayals and disappointments, and throw themselves into the arms of the Fascisti, who speak in radical terms of their misery, and are to all appearances prepared to take energetic action in their interests. That the Fascisti give false reasons for this misery in order to distract attention, in the interests of those responsible for it, from the real reasons, this is naturally something which the uneducated and ignorant young proletarian is even less capable of recognizing than the adult worker or petty bourgeois. To this it must be added that Fascism appeals to the romantic instincts slumbering in every youthful heart. The whole of the military mumery, the parades,

the gradations in rank, the promotions and distinctions, and, above all, the playing at war, all these are things calculated to fool the proletarian youth, reared as the latter is under the influence of bourgeois education, and with the natural inclination to activity inherent in youth left unsatisfied.

And the sons and daughters of the poor peasants? It happens that, among small peasants, the inheritance generally falls to one heir only. Were it to be divided among several, it would yield no possibility of a livelihood to anyone. The majority of the sons and daughters of the poor peasants are thus proletarianized and, socially, completely uprooted. The likelihood of their being caught by the radical cries of the Fascisti is even greater than in the case of the youthful proletarians.

The probability therefore exists that Fascism will conquer a sphere of influence among the working and peasant youth.

Another factor also favors this probability. It is a well known fact that the social democrats have hitherto acted everywhere as the pace-makers for Fascism. They have not only done this by their continual treachery with regard to the interests of the working youth, and by the inadequate support given the youth by the Amsterdam trade unions. These have not been their only means of causing the working youth to follow the pied piper of Fascism. No; they have created, in their own youth movement, in the German "Working Youth" and the "Young Socialist Movement", an ideology differing but little from that cited above. During Easter week the Young Socialists held a conference at which addresses were delivered on the following subjects: The German and the German spirit.—German nationality and German culture.—Nation and humanity.—Nation and state, etc. Lack of space unfortunately renders it impossible to quote from these speeches. It must suffice if we mention that the conceptions "German character", "German spirit", "German nation", were bandied about with an extravagance equal to that of the extracts given above from *Der Völkische Beobachter*, and with even more bombastic phraseology. For the Fatherland, for the nation—these were the catchwords of the conference. As we know perfectly well what this means in a capitalist society, we can get an idea of the extent to which the leaders of the social democracy are poisoning the minds of the working youth. It is clear that we do not assert too much when we declare that the social democratic youth movement is paving the way for the perversion of the youth by Fascism.

The recognition of this danger suffices to indicate the way to avert it. The obvious method of defence is for the C.Y.I. to extend its influence among the broad masses of the working and peasant youth, and to do this by proving, by persevering work in the interests of the working and peasant youth, that it alone is ready and able to lead the youthful worker into battle in the frightful emergencies of the present situation. Persevering and skilful mass work, a struggle carried on daily on all fronts against the attacks made on the working and peasant youth, the enlistment of the working and peasant youth in the defence units of the working class, and the continual strengthening of our own organizations—these are the best methods of defence against all endeavours of Fascism to enlist the services of the working and peasant youth in a last attempt to avert the collapse of capitalism. Let us work on these lines, and the approaching German revolution will demonstrate that the proletarian youth, despite the efforts of Fascism and of those financing it, is marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.

The New Spanish Fascism

By T. Maurin (Barcelona).

The military who have now succeeded to power in Spain find their chief support among the capitalists of Catalonia. The latter are endeavouring to set up a dictatorship in order to cripple the proletarian organizations and thereby gain the possibility of reducing wages and prolonging working hours. There exists in the political life of Spain a continual antagonism between the interests of the landed proprietors, from whose ranks the ruling parties have hitherto been drawn, and those of the Catalonian industrialists. The taking over of power by the military, now gives the industrialists of Catalonia the possibility of deposing the agrarians from the government and putting themselves in their place. It is for this reason that the Catalonian great bourgeoisie is the only group which accepted the military *coup d'état* with enthusiasm. The Catalonian bourgeoisie and the military party, both of whom are inspired by the example of Italian Fascism, are attempting to set up in Spain a government after the *st.*

of Mussolini. The new rulers have dissolved Parliament, set aside the civil government, placed the country under a condition of martial law and established a censorship over the press. The new government has before all issued a decree for the creation of national "Somates", whereby a counterpart of the Fascist militia of Italy will be set up throughout the whole of Spain.

The new military directorate which has come into power as a result of the *coup d'état*, corresponds in some respects to the Great Fascist Council of Mussolini. The program of the new Dictatorship provides, before all, for the most vigorous prosecution of the war in Morocco. But this will in no wise serve to avert the collapse of industry, nor the bankruptcy of the state. For this reason the military dictatorship cannot be of long duration. The continuation of the Moroccan war must embitter the broad masses of the population against the new rulers, and also the great landlords who are attached to the old political parties and stand in opposition to the new system. The working class will, therefore, if it sets to work properly, soon settle with its Fascist opponents.

THE WHITE TERROR

Another Onslaught upon the Communist Party of Bulgaria

By E. A. Buck.

That which was to be expected after the upheaval in Bulgaria has now taken place: the Zankoff government has outlawed the Communist Party. The whole of the Party functionaries in Sofia are reported to have been arrested on the 12th of this month, removed to the barracks, and detained there under a strong guard. The People's House in Sofia is occupied by soldiery. Like measures are reported to have been taken in the provinces.

Unfortunately, we are still without details concerning this brutal act of violence on the part of the government, so that we are not informed as to either the names or the number of those arrested. But one thing is certain: the government of military dictatorship has at last arrived at the decision to take up the conflict with the Communist Party. For weeks the whole bourgeois press, including the social democrats, has been carrying on a savage agitation against the Communist Party of Bulgaria. The government has been openly called upon to adopt the severest measures against the Party, to prevent the Party from being represented in the new parliament. Now or never, shrieked the whole press pack—now or never we have to settle with the Communists! The right moment has come! "If this opportunity is missed, it will be a grave mistake, one which we shall have to pay for later with heavy sacrifices"; thus wrote the *Mir*, the most reactionary organ in Bulgaria. And in these words it simply expressed the most fervent desires of the whole Bulgarian reaction.

The government "justifies" its measures by the assertion that the Communist Party, conjointly with the Peasants' League, had planned a general insurrection for September 17. It is even in a position to supply the "exact plan" of this insurrection. The working class is sufficiently informed in the matter of "accurate reports" of this description; they are fabricated by the Bulgarian spy system like the Weissmann "documents" in Germany. The real reason for the persecution of the communists is rather to be found in the feeling of insecurity of the present government. Having attained power by means of a military conspiracy, it fully recognizes that it has no firm support in the masses of the people, although it is formed from the whole of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, including the social democracy, and is supported by these.

After the upheaval of June 9, the whole of the bourgeois parties combined to form a bloc, for the purpose of carrying on a joint struggle against the C.P. of Bulgaria and the Peasants' League. The "liberals" alone did not formally enter this alliance, although their program is actually identical with that of the bourgeois bloc. They are, moreover, represented in the government by two ministers, and support it without reservation. The Peasants' League is completely crushed; its leaders have almost all been murdered. The Communist Party has therefore to lead the fight against the whole reactionary power entirely alone.

The influence of the Communist Party has greatly increased in the villages since June 9. The small peasants belonging to the Peasants' League, disappointed and robbed of

their leaders, are streaming into our rural groups, and take up the slogan of a workers' and peasants' government with the greatest enthusiasm. A movement has been noticeable among the peasantry during the last two or three weeks, a movement which has become markedly stronger since our Party made to the members of the Social Democratic Party and the Peasants' League the proposal of a united front. The Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party met our proposal with suspicion and slander. Instead of declaring itself in favor of the united front of the proletariat, this party utilized the time in bargaining with the bourgeoisie for two more ministerial portfolios. The members of the Social Democratic Party have spotted this little game, and the honest elements among them rebel against the sabotage of the united front by their leaders, who prefer alliance with reaction to alliance with the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie could not look on calmly at the rallying of the masses to the C.P. of Bulgaria, the less as the time approaches for the re-election of parliament. The bourgeoisie is very well aware that in the case of an election the Communist Party, supported by the Peasants' League, would be certain of gaining the majority in parliament, for it could be seen at the last election that three quarters of the total voters backed up the C.P. and the Peasants' League.

Such prospects as these alarmed the rulers of Bulgaria. The government is therefore anxious to settle with the C.P. of Bulgaria at the present moment, so that it may have at its disposal an obedient parliament; a parliament whose doors remain closed to three quarters of the people; a parliament of capitalists, bankers, large landowners, and profiteers; or, what is exactly the same thing, a parliament composed of the leaders of the bourgeois parties. This is the final nail in the coffin of bourgeois parliamentarism.

The government has set about its project with the same brutality, and the same methods, as when it seized power. The Communist Party is robbed of its leaders by the arrests. We are on the eve of civil war in Bulgaria. The news received from Bulgaria during the last few weeks shows that the united front of the C.P. with the masses of the peasantry has been actually realized. It is probable that negotiations have been carried on to this end with the leaders of the remnant of the Peasants' League. The few adherents of the social patriots are also urging a united front with us against the reaction. We do not doubt but that our Bulgarian brother party will be in a position to repulse this latest onslaught of the reaction, and to pass from the defensive to the offensive.

The White Guardist Attempt on the Life of Comrade Rappoport

Comrade Rappoport has given to a representative of *Humanité*, detailed information regarding the White Guardist Murderer Katzenelson, who sought to murder Comrade Rappoport but instead of which severely wounded the latter's daughter. The murderer served in the war as an officer and then joined the Wrangel army. After the disaster which overtook Wrangel, Katzenelson betook himself to Paris. A year ago, Katzenelson sought out Comrade Rappoport and requested him to intervene to obtain his return to Russia as he alleged that he had changed his opinions and desired to help the revolution. Rappoport, it appears, was suspicious of Katzenelson and refused him his request. It is extremely probable that Katzenelson wished to go to Russia in order there to exercise terrorist acts against the leading communists. When he was unable to realise this plan, owing to the refusal of Comrade Rappoport, he was determined to be revenged on the latter.

In connection with this matter, Comrade Rappoport pointed out that the Russian Monarchist Bands who previously were to be found in Bavaria and Berlin have shifted their activity to Paris.

Since the commencement of the revolutionary crisis in Germany, many emigrants, becoming terrified at the menace of German Bolshevism, have betaken themselves to Paris. Among this group is to be found the one which prepared the attempt against Milyukov. At the time there is appearing in Paris a terrorist newspaper called the *Ruskaya Gazetta*. Among its contributors is a one-time Bolshevik, Alexensky, who has now gone over to the reaction and who also writes for the *Matin*.

Katzenelson declared before the Paris Court of Investigation that he wanted to "avenge Russia".

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The State of Emergency in Germany

By Wilhelm Bartz (Berlin).

In the middle of August, the Social Democracy conducted a violent campaign against Gessler becoming the Reichswehr Minister of the Great Coalition. On this rock, the Coalition Government, then in the making, threatened to go to pieces. The Social Democrats gave way. Gessler remained Reichswehr Minister, but the campaign against him continued. A few days ago, the Berlin Social Democratic District Conference adopted a resolution, in which it demanded, in the strongest terms, the removal of Gessler. Two days later the whole public power was handed over to the same Gessler, all constitutional safeguards were suspended, and this—the most significant aspect of the matter—with the consent of the Social Democratic leaders and of the Social Democratic Party Executive.

This is characteristic of the present position in Germany. These measures were necessary, so the *Vorwärts*, the Social Democratic central organ, maintains, in order to prevent the Republic from being overthrown by a monarchist "right" patch on the occasion of the liquidation of the Ruhr conflict. This danger appears, as a matter of fact, to have been momentarily averted; the movement of Hitler and his armed bands has been brought to a standstill. Hitler will not, for the present, march on Berlin. Nor is it in fact necessary that Bavaria come to Berlin; Bavaria is being set up in Berlin itself. For there is no doubt that a development to the right is now proceeding in double quick time, and with the inevitability of a natural force. The positions held by the workers up to the present are most seriously menaced. The *Vorwärts* openly admits this. In its morning edition of September 28 it states:

"As to the relation of the Reich to the individual states, it is in the nature of things that, just as in the case of individual citizens, so must the individual states also submit to temporary curtailments of their full powers. We are confident that, everywhere where the State governments stand under Social Democratic influence, this necessity will be acknowledged without more ado."

The "right" organizations, of course, will not need to impose such restrictions upon themselves. Proceedings against the "right" organizations, such as were still in evidence here and there, will now stop completely. The state of emergency will rather bring grist to their mill. Indeed, their best friends have the whole power in their hands. If Social Democrats were, here

and there, appointed as so-called Civil Commissaries, which incidentally, only happened to a very limited extent, this has not taken place in order to secure the rights of the workers, but in order to have Social Democratic assistants in the liquidation of these rights. When the work is advanced to a certain stage, then these also will receive their dismissal.

We have already witnessed something of the kind in Bavaria, where the Social Democracy has smoothed the way for the counter-revolution. The same thing would now repeat itself on a national scale. Provided, of course, if the development should consummate itself in the sense of the "right", and along the road cleared by the Social Democracy. Opposed to this, however, stand obstacles, both of an external and of an internal political nature. The Government's position in relation to the Entente is certainly not strengthened by the surrender of all power to the Generals of Wilhelm II. Poincaré will, in laying down the conditions, which, apart from this were already hard enough, have no hesitation in weakening an adversary from whom he must fear revenge. Hard capitulation conditions, however, coupled with the renewal of the Reparations payments, imply an aggravation of the financial crisis, imply an increased expropriation of the middle class, imply more grinding poverty for the working masses.

To be sure, this aggravation of the internal conditions may temporarily increase the ascendancy of the "right", which regards bayonets and machine guns as the most effective means of healing the wounds. But it must not be forgotten that Germany has a proletariat of fifteen millions, which plays an important role both numerically and as the upholder of production and the transport system, that it can be held down for only a very short time by the methods which are employed in Bavaria, in Italy, in Spain or in Hungary.

Such is the state of affairs in Germany to-day. The black patches on the map of Europe show a further increase. But that is the surest way to hammer the German proletariat into a solid block, upon which all the waves of reaction will ultimately break.

In another place, we bring as a historical document the manifesto of the Communist Party of Germany, in which the Party sets out the position as it sees it the moment, and makes public its attitude in regard to it.