

Schvetsov and Wise, the representatives of the Russian "Zentrosojus". The report states that Schvetsov thanked the Guild, on behalf of the "Zentrosojus", for the excellent relations it had established with the Russian cooperative movement, and then went on to describe the present stage of development of the movement in Russia, its capabilities and evolutionary possibilities. The turnover of the "Zentrosojus" for the first quarter of 1923 amounted to 3.74 million pounds sterling. Of this 87% was due to business transactions with the cooperatives, 10% with the state organizations, and 3% with private firms. Russia is at present engaged in reorganizing her export trade, and her cooperatives are desirous of according foreign cooperatives the preference over every other kind of organization. The only possible way of attaining an economic understanding among the peoples is by the international cooperative exchange of goods. The Russian cooperatives have done their utmost to set up economic connections with the cooperatives of western Europe.

With respect to women, Comrade Schvetsov observed that in Russia these enjoy the same rights as men, and that it is therefore unnecessary to found any special women's cooperative organization here. In Russia very much is being done to enlighten women on the principles of the cooperative movement. For this purpose special courses of instruction are arranged for women; women attend the cooperative meetings, and a large number of women occupy responsible positions in the leading cooperative bodies.

Comrade Wise, who was an important official of the English Board of Trade until February, and then placed himself at the disposal of the "Zentrosojus", had just returned from a trip to Russia in the capacity of manager of the London office of the "Zentrosojus", and spoke with great enthusiasm of the importance of the cooperative movement for the reconstruction of Russia, and of the great possibilities offered by cooperative exchange of goods between the British and the Russian cooperative organizations. "There is really no reason", said he, "why the work of a few weeks should not see the corn grown by Russian peasants—put on the market by their cooperative, sorted and cleaned by machinery belonging to the Russian cooperatives, loaded on to a ship belonging, may be, to the Russo-British organization, financed by the Russian bank and the English wholesale buying society, insured by the cooperative insurance society and ground in the mills belonging to the wholesale buying society—finally sold in the form of bread to the members of the women's guilds through the agency of the local organizations." These convincing words earned lively applause.

There is no doubt whatever but that, in this direction, the English women's guilds are performing extremely valuable pioneer work for the cooperatives. At the same time political activities are being undertaken which concern themselves with one of the really fundamental problems of today—the rapprochement and solidarity of Western Europe with Soviet Russia. We have here, then, a most important field of activity, one in which women cooperators in every country should work with the utmost energy.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### André Marty for the IWR.

The leader of the French sailor's insurrection against the intervention in Odessa in 1920, comrade Marty, has been made an honorable member of the foreign committee of the International Worker's Relief for Soviet Russia. Marty's reply is as follows:

Dear Comrades,

I was greatly touched by your letter of 2. August, and send you my heartiest and best wishes. If you will be good enough to admit me to your circle, I shall gladly continue my defence of the Russian people.

I have never ceased to think of the Russian people. While in prison I met many children of the Russian soil, who knew themselves to be under life sentences of the French bourgeois republic. In spite of their fate, they all expressed without exception their profoundest longing for the triumph of the cause of the Russian people in the struggle against its innumerable opponents. They have always shown me every kindness, though making their own lives harder by doing so, and I therefore feel it to be my duty to give what aid I can to their brothers, also threatened by the power of the bourgeoisie. *You can count on me.*

Please accept my heartiest greetings.

André Marty.

Comrade Marty will be a valuable co-fighter in the economic relief action being carried on by the proletariat of the world for Soviet Russia.

English Edition.

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## The Marshalling of the Working Class of Germany against the Counter-Revolution

By *Ernst Meyer*.

Berlin, 12th October.

As in the case of all great historical events, so at the present time, the contemporary spectator believes himself to be still standing before the events when great decisions have already begun.

Every day, nay, every hour brings with it new facts and new developments. The latest events which are recorded by the pen are already overtaken by new events by the time they reach the eye of the reader. There is little use therefore in going into details, but it is sufficient and even more to the point if we note down the general tendency of events.

The plans of the German bourgeoisie for the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship met at the last moment with opposition from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois parties of this bourgeoisie. The German Nationalists and the Agrarians who are behind them, as well as the People's Party representing heavy industry, are pressing for an open dictatorship. But those politicians of the People's Party who belong to the industries engaged in turning out finished manufactures, and the representatives of the petty and the middle bourgeoisie in the Center and among the Democrats, still recoiled from the letting loose of civil war in Germany. They wanted, as the Democrats expressly say, once again to attempt to obtain with the help of Social Democracy that which without the Social Democracy they must carry through with the German Nationalists.

And the Social Democrats had in fact accomplished "the unheard-of", "the insane thing", which compelled even the

Social Democratic papers to give vent to rage and indignation. Terrified at the prospects of civil war, 54 Social Democratic members of the Reichstag acquiesced without more ado in the dictatorial demands of Stinnes right up to the open surrender of the Eight Hour Day Law. But even among the 61 Social Democrats who voted against an unconcealed abandonment of the Eight Hour Day there is a very large section which is ready to deliver over the working class to Herr Stresemann, who is preparing the ground for Stinnes. The smug Social Democrats are very proud of their trick of having had withdrawn from the Authorization Law, which otherwise gives the government a perfectly free hand in all economic, social and political questions, the law for the abolition of the Eight Hour Day. As the Social-Democrats know that a bourgeois Parliamentary majority exists for the passing of a simple law, the Eight Hour Day Law will be abolished all the same, it is true without their express approval, but with their knowledge and toleration.

The abolition of the Eight Hour Day through the Authorization Law, being an alteration of the Constitution, would have required a two-thirds majority in the Reichstag which the Social-Democratic Party could have prevented merely by its absence.

Can the new Cabinet of Stresemann yet master affairs by means of its Authorization Law? No, and again no! The foreign political situation of Germany is such, the hunger and the misery of the masses so great, the finances ruined to such an extent, that there is no longer any possibility of improving or straightening out matters within the frame of the bourgeois

State. Even the most radical methods from the capitalist standpoint, a taxation policy following the English pattern and far-reaching compulsory measures such as those of war economy, can no longer save the situation. Just as at the time of the Great French Revolution, even the greatest reforms will do very little to alleviate, but will bring new and added confusion. In the very shortest space of time the new Cabinet, the dictatorship of Stresemann, cannot avoid being helplessly wrecked.

This process will be expedited by those within the bourgeoisie itself. The German Nationalists and the Stinnes' wing of the German People's Party will continue to rage and incite against Stresemann. They will endeavour to make use of the dictatorship of Stresemann for themselves so far as it goes, but they will ruthlessly combat it in so far as it is opposed to them. The dictatorship of Stresemann will very soon have to give place to the open dictatorship of Stinnes and Helfferich. Perhaps this transformation will, with the help of the military authorities, come about almost unnoticed. It is more probable that the pressure of the Nationalist fighting bands and of Fascist Bavaria will, with a sudden perceptible movement, throw Stresemann over board.

Fascism in Germany is the last reserve of the bourgeoisie in the face of the aspiring working class. Its organizations are well-armed and capably led, but the last reserves of the bourgeoisie always consist of the last dregs. Every little defeat, every little failure will shake and destroy them. Indeed, a mere hesitation and wavering of their political leaders will thoroughly demoralize them. Behind the defeat of the Fascists there stands nothing for them and their bourgeois patrons but oblivion.

It is otherwise with the proletariat. The German working class is torn and stultified as a result of the coalition policy of the Social Democratic Party and of the policy of collaboration with the employers pursued by the trade union leaders. The German proletariat, disarmed through numerous defeats since the November days of 1918, has grown faint-hearted. The German workers have grown mistrustful towards the leaders of all proletarian organizations. They have been so often fed with promises and illusions that they impose no real confidence in anyone. Their trust in themselves and in their own powers has also suffered. But today they see no alternative before them, but either to give way without a fight and go under as is recommended to them by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, or by one last effort to shake off all the fetters of servitude. The struggle threatens to demand enormous sacrifices, but the prize of the struggle is not only the repulsion of the momentary danger, but also the gaining of mastery over the class-enemy for all time.

The change in the feeling of the members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany is a palpable symptom of the growth of this insight among the proletariat. Even in the strongholds of the Social Democratic Party of Germany the local leaders of Social Democracy have to take this change of outlook into account. The Social Democratic leaders undoubtedly have the intention yet again to deceive the workers. But even every apparent concession to the Communists, every instance of working together with them today, strengthens the Communist Party and weakens Social Democracy. In many localities the manoeuvre of the Social Democratic leaders recoils against them. The Social Democratic workers are, in their overwhelming majority, already decided opponents of the policy of coalition. Every little success following a pure proletarian policy consolidates the proletarian united front and destroys the Social Democratic policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie.

In this connection there is rendered clear the great importance of the attempt to form a Workers' Government in Central Germany. The entrance of the Communists into the Saxonian and Thuringian Governments meets with whole-hearted approval among the workers throughout the Republic. Every step taken by these governments in the fight against the bourgeoisie will strengthen their position not only in the two States concerned, but will cause an enormous growth in the pressure of the masses for the building of Workers' and Peasants' Governments in all the various States as well as in the Republic. The coalition policy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany is so compromised, its effects have been so disastrous for the proletariat, that the turning away from this policy will absorb and collect as in a mighty stream all the forces of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Germany, by its decision to make Central Germany the rallying and starting point of the revolutionary struggles in Germany, has taken a great responsibility upon itself. The proletariat cannot endure any further disappointments. But we are confident that Saxony and Thuringia will, on the contrary, bring strength and stimulus to the revolutionary energies. The Communist Party will show what a Workers' Government is able to accomplish. This

example will be far more effective than all theoretical arguments. Besides showing solidarity for Central Germany in the face of the threat to it from the Fascists, the whole German proletariat will follow the example of Saxony and Thuringia, and by obstinate struggle will not only render Central Germany secure, but will capture the whole of Germany.

## GERMANY

### The Situation in Germany

By Wilhelm Bartz.

Berlin, 15. October 1923.

The Reichstag has passed the Special Powers Bill, the bill which constitutes the external cause of the crisis in the government. It was passed by almost all the votes of the governmental parties. Only a few members of the German People's Party—it is characteristic that Hugo Stinnes, whose plans do not coincide with the Emergency Law, was among them—abstained from voting. We observe a similar phenomenon on the other side of the governmental coalition, on the side of Social Democracy. The opposition which has hitherto existed here has suddenly vanished. While at the Reichstag session held on Thursday there were still about twenty deputies belonging to the opposition who demonstrated against the bill by withdrawal, at the decisive division on Saturday there were only two such deputies left, who together with the communists and the deputies of the Ledebour group, left the House, whilst the remainder of the members of the social democratic opposition present in the Reichstag calmly voted for this law for the strangulation of the working class. This is a fact demonstrating the utter lack of inner strength in the opposition, which only responds to powerful direct pressure from the masses.

The trend of feeling prevailing among the workers in Germany is very clearly revealed by a report published by the bourgeois Berlin morning paper, the *Montag Morgen*, concerning the public meetings held by the Communist Party on Sunday in Berlin. This paper states:

"Ten great meetings were held by the communists on Sunday morning in Berlin. For the most part they were well attended. In several places the huge crowds which put in an appearance rendered it necessary to hold overflow meetings in the adjoining gardens. The close of the meetings was not attended by the customary street demonstrations, with cheers and singing, and cries of 'Up' with this and 'Down' with that. There was no party propaganda, no distribution of admission forms to the German C.P., no sign of the usual agitation work generally accompanying such meetings. The leaders of the meetings declared in many cases that the Party was not anxious to admit new members at present, as the administrative work would only be a hindrance to the preparations for the struggle; the sole point of importance at the present juncture is that the proletarians outside of the party be gathered together in the workshops and factories, and prepared for the acute and decisive struggle which may break out within the next few days. The extreme quietness of the meetings was perhaps the most disquieting thing about them. The communists believe that the signal for the decisive struggle will come from Central Germany, when the military commanders, allied with the Bavarian Bolsheviks of the Right, take steps against the socialist-Communist governments of Saxony and Thuringia. The latest ordinances issued by some of these military commanders, combined with Rossbach's release from imprisonment, and various other things, are regarded as a proof that the decisive conflict is certain to break out within a few days, as the dissolution of the proletarian defence units ordered by the Saxon Commander-in-Chief cannot be simply carried out without more ado. The communists believe that within a few days they will be faced with the duty of defending the Saxon and Thuringian workers against the Bolsheviks of the Right by a relief offensive."

The quiet and earnest attitude so aptly described by the writer of the this article as being the most disquieting circumstance at the meetings, is characteristic of other parts of Germany as well. The above mentioned paper concludes its article as follows:

"The slogan of 'Proletarian Defence' is also proclaimed in the 'Roten Sturmflagge' which is now appearing illegally as a substitute for the forbidden *Rote Fahne*. In this organ, which consists of a single sheet printed on both sides, one reads in the place where the names of those

responsible for the paper usually appear: "Responsible Editor: Ewald Kannomich, Printers and Publishers: Seeckthorn & Co., Berlin."

On Sunday the walls in the street were plastered with small communist appeals, summoning the masses to the struggle."

The indignation of the working class is being particularly aroused by the systematic work and outcry of the Right elements for the establishment of their open dictatorship. The latter no longer make any pretence of concealing their aims, and even calculate on making the starvation of the people, which they deliberately intensify, serve their own ends—for did not a representative of the German Nationalists declare in the Reichstag that the people would starve whilst the granaries were full? They are opponents of the Emergency Law, not on account of principle, but because it does not go far enough, and above all because the persons forming the present government are not chosen according to their desires. They are relying upon the "insight" of those holding military power, and will contrive to attain their ends by the aid of these. The latest measures taken by the military commanders—prohibition of the proletarian hundreds in Saxony and Thuringia—tend towards the fulfilment of their wishes, but on the other hand they give rise to immediate possibilities of conflict between the Saxon-Thuringian workers' government and the reaction, the more so that the Saxonian government has declared the promotion of the defence organizations to be one of its main tasks.

Thus, in Germany, everything is drifting towards a state of affairs which is pertinently characterized by the words above cited. The proletariat recognizes more and more the necessity for unity. Not only in Saxony and Thuringia, but also in Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and other parts of Germany, negotiations have been commenced, and in part brought to a satisfactory settlement, for the formation of a common defensive front. Reaction stands fully armed—the proletariat is preparing to oppose it by a united fighting front.

### Appeal of the Communist Party of Germany on the Occasion of the Formation of the Workers' Government in Saxony

To the Party!

Party Comrades!

The Central has sanctioned the entrance of three of its members, Comrades Böttcher, Brandler and Heckert into the Saxon Government. Opposed to the working population there stands the firm bloc of Great Capital, of the great landlords and of the monarchist generals. The great capitalist-military dictatorship for the bloody suppression and bludgeoning of the working class is on the march.

The communist members of the Saxon Government are instructed by the Party, to organize and to lead the energetic defence of the working class against the threatening serious dangers on the broadest basis along with the social democratic members of the government.

The Communist representatives of this government are under the constant supervision and control of the Party. The entry of our Party Comrades into the Saxon Government is not the outcome of the usual parliamentary bargaining. It is in line with the determined will of the working masses to meet the attack of large Capital with a firm proletarian fighting front.

For the Party, this occasion must serve as a stimulus to realize throughout the whole Republic the broadest proletarian fighting front and to organize the mass-defence of the working class.

The government of proletarian defence in Saxony is a signal for the whole of the German working class. It requires the support of the working class throughout Germany.

The attempt, first undertaken in Saxony, to form, in the hour of greatest danger, a joint government with the left Social Democrats and to organize the proletarian defence, will be successful if their party mobilizes the working class in the whole of the Republic and arrays it as a proletarian United Front against the class enemy.

Berlin, October 10, 1923.

Central of the Communist Party of Germany  
(Section of the Communist International).

### The Capitulation of the German Bourgeoisie

By Karl Radek.

Stresemann's government, in renouncing passive resistance in the Ruhr area, capitulates to French imperialism. It hopes, now that resistance has been abandoned, to settle by means of negotiations the questions in dispute which led to the Ruhr occupation. But if the Stresemann government is incapable of any resistance against Poincaré, on what does it base its hopes that Poincaré is more likely to give way now than before the occupation of the Ruhr area? The Ruhr struggle has ended with his complete victory. Resistance having been abandoned, the industrial and railway workers will be obliged, in order to live, to work for undertakings supplying coal to the French.

M. Poincaré is in a position to make far-reaching demands. The international relationships of power permit of his doing so. Will he encounter resistance on the part of England? No; it is only a few days ago that Mr. Baldwin, Prime Minister of England, paid a visit to Poincaré, after having first pointed out, in a note sent by the English government a few weeks ago, that the occupation of the Ruhr area is a breach of the Versailles treaty and nothing more or less than a piratical raid. After having pointed this out, Mr. Baldwin became the guest of the leader of this piratical raid, and an excellent breakfast was followed by the issue of an official communiqué announcing to the world that it was long since Poincaré has been in such a cheerful mood as after this excellent breakfast at the English embassy. And has he not good reason to be in a cheerful mood? Mr. Baldwin's visit signified: "To be sure you are robbers, but since you have got the best of it, an honest man like me cannot stand aside any longer. Let us divide the spoil. Poincaré does not know at present how much commission he will have to pay Mr. Baldwin, but he knows that it is not only Germany that has capitulated, but England as well.

M. Poincaré is fully aware of the limits of his own powers: He has not the strength to occupy Germany. And what would be the use of his doing so? He can remain quietly in the Ruhr area, and even reduce the number of his troops. Therefore Poincaré declines every proposal of Stresemann's which implies abandoning the Ruhr valley and in place thereof, accepting the right of exploitation of the whole of Germany. The Ruhr area lies conveniently to hand; it is much easier to keep his finger on it than to participate in the exploitation of the whole of Germany. M. Poincaré is not prepared to make the least real concession to the Stresemann government.

Germany has lost the second war. The Versailles peace exists no longer. There is, however, another peace which is even worse than the peace of Versailles—the peace which leaves the Ruhr valley, the main foundation of German industry, in the hands of France.

This is the course events have followed in the four years after the signing of the Versailles peace by Germany. During these four years, Germany's situation has worsened to an extraordinary degree. And this itself is a proof that the Versailles peace was not a manoeuvre on the part of the German bourgeoisie, but a capitulation. During these four years the German bourgeoisie has taken no steps to better its position in relation to the victorious allies; it has been unable to better this position, although the relations between the allies themselves have meanwhile become so much worse. The attempts made by the Cuno government, though supported by the whole of bourgeois and nationalist Germany, were a complete failure. They were a failure because the German bourgeoisie refused to make adequate material sacrifices; it was unable to finance the Ruhr struggle, apart from the fact that it was anxious to make a profit on the struggle itself.

The Ruhr struggle could have become a turning point in the post-war history of Germany; in fact it did become a turning point, but not in favor of Germany's international position—on the contrary, to its disadvantage. But the fact that this worsening of her position will cost the German people a great deal is not the worst aspect of the case. The worst point is that the ruling class of Germany has now given in, and not for the purpose of preparing for fresh struggles, but has capitulated without having the faintest idea of what is to come next. Herr Stresemann's policy is not only logical, but it arises at the same time from an historical ambition. Herr Stresemann is a German patriot, and has been anxious to find a way of escape. He capitulated solely because he could see no such way. He took over the financial bankruptcy of the state from the hands of the Cuno government, and once faced with this *fait accompli*, he could only have fought it by seizing by the throat the very class

to which he himself belonged. And this means that even after the capitulation Herr Stresemann will be incapable of accomplishing anything towards defending Germany. The whole of the German industrial and commercial bourgeoisie has gone bankrupt in the person of Stresemann.

And what is the position of Stresemann's opponents of the Right, who are carrying on the wildest agitation against him? The representatives of the landowning class in Germany, though they flourish their sabres, and shriek at the capitulation, are mere empty talkers. Stresemann is attacking the working class in order to defend the bourgeoisie, and is attacking it none the less that he does it under the cover of Social Democracy. If the Generals Ludendorff, Mackensen, Gallwitz, or any other of the numerous candidates for the German dictatorship, were to seize power, the first result of this White dictatorship would be the alliance of the German working class against these representatives of the old regime. The civil war now threatening would break out, and the lords of the White Dictatorship would be compelled first of all to call a truce with the external enemy in order to be able to cope with the enemy at home. And even assuming that they could vanquish the inner enemy, what then? How could they arm against the external enemy and hold down the working class at the same time? A White government might pose as being a government of revenge against France, but in reality it would be as much a government of capitulation as the Stresemann Government.

And this is the point of profoundest importance underlying events in Germany. The former ruling classes of Germany have ceased to fulfil the leading functions of a ruling class! They can no longer give any security to the masses of the people over whom they rule, and this incapacity does not merely relate to their conditions of human life; they are not only powerless to stop the increasing economic collapse, they not only have no plan for the structure of the state, but they have ceased to be a factor guaranteeing the independence of the country and securing the conditions of its national development. This signifies that they are condemned to extinction. So long as private property is the foundation of the existence of the bourgeois regime, the chief factor in the maintenance of power in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the consciousness present among the majority of the people that the ruling class is competent to defend the independence and preserve the fundamental national pillars of the country. It is solely this feeling which enables the bourgeoisie to find among the population its tools for the suppression of the dissatisfied exploited elements in the country. The German bourgeoisie is forced to render worse not only the position of the working masses, but of the petty bourgeoisie as well. In delivering over the country to pillage and oppression of foreign capital, it at the same time destroys the ties which enabled it to organize sufficient powers for the maintenance of its power.

A people of seventy millions, educated, and trained to industrial pursuits, cannot become the colonial slave of Entente capital. There is no means in the world capable of holding these millions in slavery for any length of time. The German bourgeoisie and the German landlords are incapable of organizing a national struggle for emancipation; they may cling to their power with the aid of hirelings, but it will not be for long, as the moral bases of their power have disappeared.

This is the great lesson to be learnt from the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie. It will speak of a Brest-Litovsk, but it will not be able to afford that pause for breath which the Brest treaty afforded Soviet Russia; it has simply capitulated. Five months after Brest-Litovsk, Soviet Russia was in a position to resume the struggle for existence. Four years after the Versailles peace, the ruling class of Germany capitulates finally.

But the German people cannot capitulate. M. Clemenceau once remarked that there are about twenty million Germans too many. But before these twenty millions of German proletarians and small bourgeoisie are exterminated, they will shake the foundations of the world, and even then it is a question as to who is going to be exterminated. Germany's development from the peasant people of the 18th. Century to the leading industrial nation of the 20th. Century has evoked forces which ensure the salvation and renaissance of Germany. These are forces which enable the working class, even at this moment of capitulation on the part of the German bourgeoisie, to raise the flag of defence for its own interests, for the interests of its people. For months the German bourgeoisie has maligned the vanguard of the German proletariat, the Communist Party, by the assertion that it has accepted bribes from the French occupation troops. Today, the German bourgeoisie prostrates itself before the foreign conqueror, but the German communists, in the midst of the bayonets and machine guns of the French, are proclaiming a protest strike against the capitulation.

This protest strike will not drive the French out of the country, nor will it annul the capitulation, but it will proclaim to the whole world: "We proletarians, whom bourgeois society deems to be mere cannon fodder, take the defence of the country our own hands." No greater security for the final victory of the German working class is possible than this deed. The working class will take over the dictatorship of the country, for it does not represent any special interests of the whole country. We do not know what periods of struggle and what suffering the German workers have still to undergo before they attain their final victory; but to the same extent as we are convinced that the great German people will not disappear, that it will not become the slaves of foreign capitalists, we are equally convinced that the German working class, the organizer of the struggle for national emancipation which is part and parcel of its class war, will be victorious.

In Germany the process of replacement of the ruling class by another is going forward. Nobody knows how long this process will last, but its course is already laid down by history. The bourgeoisie has ceased to be a class defending the independence of the nation. The proletariat takes into its hands the leadership of the struggle for independence. It absorbs the whole of the creative forces of the people, and becomes the leader of the country.

Moscow, September 28, 1923.

## Solidarity of the French and German Proletariat

The CGTU. Summons to the Fight.

As soon as the latest events in Germany became known in Paris, the Executive of the C.G.T.U., the Red Trade Union Confederation, issued the following appeal:

"The C.G.T.U. plainly exposed to the working masses, from the very beginning, the hypocrisy of the formula that Germany would pay; the C.G.T.U. has invariably taken sides against the Versailles' treaty. The C.G.T.U. has shown that in the end it will be the German proletariat only which has to bear the whole burden of the peace treaty, no matter what the conditions imposed on Germany. For this reason the C.G.T.U. raised the most energetic protest, in December 1922, against the projected occupation of the Ruhr area by French troops. On January 7, the C.G.T.U. participated in the International Conference at Essen, and exposed to the workers of our country the following possibilities likely to result from the French imperialist action: The occupation of the Ruhr area either brings revolution to Germany, or it brings the constant danger of a fresh war. We have therefore to prepare ourselves for the struggle against war and for the triumph of the revolution. We have to prepare for the general strike.

After nine months of occupation, after the most frightful deeds of violence fruitlessly committed against a proletariat reduced to the utmost misery, the Stresemann government has capitulated. Its object in doing this is to maintain the rule of German capitalism and to sell the Ruhr proletariat to the magnates of French and German industry and to French militarism. The consequences of this adventure will be speedily evident. In view of Stresemann's capitulation, the German nationalists are urging a war between France and Germany, that the treaty of Versailles may be torn up and the authority of the German capitalist class reestablished. In view of the development of German nationalism and of the power of French militarism, the German revolutionists declare themselves ready to secure peace by paying the war debts out of the pockets of the German bourgeoisie. The first solution is war, the second solution signifies proletarian revolution and peace. The question of the German revolution is approaching the crucial stage. The Poincaré Government will never conclude peace with a proletarian state arising out of the collapse of German capitalism. The Poincaré government is prepared to crush the rebellion of the workers. It is the duty of the French proletariat, now as on January 10., to fight against war, and unreservedly to support the revolution.

In view of the seriousness of the present emergency, the C.G.T.U. appeals to the whole of the proletarian organizations of France to organize resistance. The C.G.T.U. calls upon the working class to carry on a common propaganda against the Versailles peace treaty! Against the Ruhr occupation! For the evacuation of the occupied German territory by the Entente troops! Against the separatist policy! Against the intervention of French troops in the case of revolution in Germany!

We must prepare immediately for the possibility of a general strike. The idea of the general strike must be spread abroad in every trade union, in every dockyard, in every port,

in every state administrative service. At the same time the French proletariat must show itself capable of the highest discipline, must not be misled by any provocation, or induced to precipitate sectional action."

### Committee of Action formed despite Reformist Sabotage.

This appeal was fittingly followed up by an invitation issued by the Executive of the C.G.T.U. to the following organizations to take part in a joint conference in Paris on September 28: The Trade Union Confederation affiliated to Amsterdam (C.G.T.), the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist-Communist Group (Frossard Group), the Anarchist Union, and the League of Revolutionary Ex-Service Men (A.R.A.C.).

The conference was, however, only attended by the representatives of the Communist Party and of the League of Ex-Service Men.

The reformists failed to appear, thereby showing that they take no interest in promoting relief action on the part of the French proletariat for the German working class. A Committee of Action was formed regardless of these saboteurs of the proletarian united front. This consists at present of the Communist Party, the C.G.T.U., and the A.R.A.C. On September 29, the Committee of Action issued the following appeal to the French proletariat:

"In view of the events happening at the present time in Germany, the Committee of Action, which has come into being as a result of the appeal issued by the C.G.T.U., sends the German proletariat an assurance of its most active solidarity. The Committee of Action points out that the French Government is directly responsible for the misery of the German people. The Committee of Action calls upon the proletariat to protest with every means at its disposal against the throttling of the German revolution by hands of French militarism. The Committee of Action declares itself entirely in agreement with the program laid down in the appeal of the C.G.T.U. In order to prepare the masses for the general strike, the Committee of Action resolves to begin an immediate campaign of agitation all over the country. The Committee of Action counts upon the cooperation of all organizations and all individual comrades, to ensure the carrying out of its resolutions to the letter. The organizations forming the Committee of Action at the present time renew the invitation to all the organizations addressed in the original appeal of the C.G.T.U."

This obliges the reformists and reformist trade unions to make up their minds once more as to whether they will join in the action of the French proletariat or not.

### The Echo in the Red Trade Unions.

The various individual unions in France are beginning to decide on their attitude towards the situation in Germany. Thus the Executive of the Red Textile Workers' Union has issued an appeal to its members, pointing out the seriousness of the events in Germany. This appeal contains the passage: "Be prepared for every eventuality, be prepared for the general strike, should the C.G.T.U. summon you to this!" The Red Building Workers' Union also directs the attention of its members to the military reaction which has already gained the upper hand in various countries, and warns its members to be on their guard. The Red Metal Workers' Union in Paris is convening a conference at which the measures to be adopted by the union in view of the situation in Germany are to be discussed.

### Communist youth at Work on the Ruhr Front.

At the same time the Communist Youth organization of France issued an appeal to the French Ruhr army, from which we quote the following: "Comrades soldiers!

The German proletariat is dying of starvation. For nine months you have been spectators of the misery of the German proletariat in the Ruhr area. The Ruhr proletariat has borne the costs of the passive resistance. Now the industrialists have capitulated, and the German workers will have to continue to feed their capitalists in the future, and, in addition, to pay tribute to ours for the purpose of repairing damages for which they are not to blame. This burden is too heavy for the shoulders of the German proletariat. The German working class must shake off this load and make a revolution. What does this mean to you, you French proletarians keeping watch on the Rhine? When the German workers have got the power into their hands, they will take care that you are enabled to return to your homes. The German workers want peace, it is only the German nationalists who are anxious to prepare a war of revenge against France. But Poincaré's anxious for war as well. When the German workers rise, you will be sent to Berlin, and then you will be masters of the situation, you will have to decide whether you are the instruments of capitalist oppression, or whether you will help the

German proletarians in their struggle for emancipation, by not shooting upon them.

Comrades! Soldiers! The fate of the German workers among whom you are living is your fate, they are not your enemies, but your brothers. When you are ordered to fight against them, lower your weapons, and fraternize with the German revolutionists!"

The real trend of feeling prevailing amongst the French Ruhr troops with regard to the German proletariat is to be seen by the fact that the French soldiers in the Ruhr area are continuing to collect funds for the German workers. As recently reported by Comrade Vaillant-Couturier in *Humanité*, 33 million marks and 27 French francs were again lately collected for this purpose from French soldiers in one section of the Ruhr area. The sum is modest; but in view of the very slender pecuniary resources of the French soldier, the mere fact of the collection is in itself a significant expression of international solidarity.

### An Appeal of the CPF.

The Central of the Communist Party of France likewise issues an appeal describing the present situation in Germany. The following is an extract:

"It is clear that the entire sympathies of the French government are with the German nationalists in their struggle against the Communists. French capitalism must support German capitalism in the revolutionary crisis now beginning. Poincaré, as the agent of French capitalism, could adopt no other policy than Clemenceau's if confronted by a victorious German revolution. He would not tolerate the establishment of a Soviet government in Germany, a government which would expropriate that same German capitalism on which the French industrialists possess mortgages in the Ruhr area. Two things are then possible: either dismemberment of Germany or armed intervention. Either one or the other would signify an onslaught on the German revolution. The former would be the continuation of the manoeuvre already pursued by French imperialism with regard to Bavarian and Rhenish separatism. The latter would bring with it the march on Berlin, the invasion of Germany by a White Army, and the restoration of German capitalism by the French bayonet. In either case the gravest international complications must ensue, since the Russian Revolution cannot leave the German Revolution in the lurch. In either case the decision for peace lies in the hands of the French proletariat, of the workers, peasants, and soldiers of France. The defeat of the German revolution would signify the beginning of a long period of servitude for the international proletariat. The crushing of the German Revolution would mean a Franco-German intervention against Russia. But if the communist revolution in Germany is triumphant, then a death blow is dealt at all imperialism.

Workers, peasants, and soldiers of France! Do your part towards the victory of a workers' and peasants' government in Germany, a government determined to seize real values, to control production, to unite with Soviet Russia, and to end the Ruhr struggle at the expense of the bourgeoisie. Protest against the dismemberment of a revolutionary Germany, and against armed intervention against the German Revolution. Stand up for the securing of peace and for the success of international revolution. Be prepared to act. From today on every member of the Communist Party must regard himself as mobilized in the service of the revolution."

## POLITICS

### The Import of the Events in Bulgaria

By G. Zinoviev.

The September insurrection of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria has been crushed. A regime of cruel vengeance has set in, the lives of thousands of champions of the working class and the peasantry have already been sacrificed, and many more will still fall victims. The import of the September events can only be comprehended if regarded in the light of the June events of the earlier part of the year.

The White upheaval on 9. June 1923 took place whilst the situation was as follows: The leaders of the peasantry grouped around the Stambulisky government were carrying on a desperate struggle against the working class of the towns, which latter was headed by the Communist Party. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party did not grasp the call of the hour, and proved incompetent for the rapid regrouping of forces which would have enabled it to join hands with the peasantry against the Whites—which would have been rendered

even more possible as a result of the indignation aroused by the persecution of the Communists by Stambulisky. Stambulisky himself, and his closest friends, were blind. A few days before the White seizure of government, the officers who had remained faithful to Stambulisky drew his attention to the counter-revolution in preparation against him, but he was not concerned about it, and answered with perfect self-satisfaction that as he possessed the majority in Parliament—242 deputies—he had no need to fear being overthrown. But the masses of the peasantry, who had long retained their allegiance for Stambulisky on account of a past containing much merit in the eyes of the peasants, were now at the parting of the ways. At the time of the upheaval on 9 June, they had begun to lose their faith in their bankrupt party leaders surrounding Stambulisky, but had not yet sufficient confidence in the Communist Party, and this Communist Party had not yet learnt the requisite action to be taken for winning the faith of the peasantry.

The loose political relations among the peasantry, the objective impossibility of playing an independent political rôle, the political clumsiness and demoralization of the leaders of the peasants' party, with its simple-minded faith in the unshakability of "democracy"—these were one of the causes of the victory of the White upheaval on 9 June. The second cause of the victory of Zankoff's White revolution consisted of the fact that the Communist Party, reared for decades in the midst of peaceful propaganda work, found it difficult to change over to armed action. The doctrinaire attitude of the leading elements in the CP, is a part of this second cause, for it prevented them from grasping the necessity of joining forces with the peasantry against the Fascist town bourgeoisie.

The masses were against Zankoff. But the loose relations among these masses, their political immobility, and the incorrect tactics adopted by the communist leaders, enabled the few shock troops of the Fascist bourgeoisie to seize power.

But a very few months passed before opinions had undergone a radical change among the peasantry. Today the Bulgarian peasants are no longer at the parting of the ways. Their almost undivided sympathies are now with the Communist Party. The whole Bulgarian people, except a few rich villagers, regard the Zankoff government, which has robbed the peasants of their land, with the profoundest and most insuperable hate. An intense enmity against the White regime is spreading through all the villages of Bulgaria. Every peasant grinds his teeth with impatience, and longs for the moment when the hated regime can be overthrown. The Bulgarian peasants are beginning to take their political fate into their own hands, for they comprehend that if they try to steer a middle course between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, as Stambuliski tried to do, they rush inevitably to ruin, and they comprehend further that they can only shake off the yoke of the Zankoff regime if they ally themselves with the workers of the towns. The CP of Bulgaria has never before—so say Bulgarian communists—been able to boast of such general support among the peasantry as now.

"We believe in you only. We know that you alone are capable of leading us in the fight"; this is what the peasants are saying.

When the first reports arrived regarding the September insurrection, it almost appeared as if the Bulgarian communists, who were too late in taking action in June, had been too hasty in September. But it has now been ascertained that they found themselves in the dilemma of either succumbing without a struggle beneath the blows of Zankoff's savage persecution, or of exposing themselves to the possibility of a serious defeat by refusing to back out of fight at the moment when the Fascist government had resolved upon the annihilation of the Communist Party. Our Bulgarian brother party chose the latter course. And this was the right course, so far as it is possible to judge it from a distance. It did not carry off a direct victory. It suffered heavy losses, but it did not give way without a struggle. It showed not only the workers, but also the peasantry, that it is ready to place itself at the head of all the revolutionary forces in the country for the purpose of emancipating the country from the yoke of the bourgeoisie. All reports reaching us from Bulgaria go to show that the Bulgarian Communist Party, despite the severe defeat, has gained greatly in revolutionary prestige, especially in the villages. The September defeat is one of those defeats bearing within them the inevitability of the coming victory.

The peasantry is ready, almost without exception, to march with the Communist Party. Every peasant clenches his fist against the Kankoff government. The peasantry blockades the capital, refuses to supply food. The peasant youth plunges into the struggle. But—there are no weapons. Adversaries armed to the teeth have almost to be fought with bare fists. Stambulisky was simple-minded enough to leave the peasantry unarmed.

And thus the few shock troops again decided the conflict in this case: The Russian Wrangel troops took over the gendarm and espionage service, the small White Macedonian troops played a very important part.

But a fermentation has set in in Zankoff's regular army, consisting to a great extent of Boyards. And this is bound to be the case. The soldiers are bound by a thousand ties to the villages which hate Zankoff's regime, with an intense and irreconcilable hostility.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, having corrected its doctrinaire error, has opened out the path for victory in the near future. In a country like Bulgaria it is impossible for any single regime to rule in opposition to a peasantry with a revolutionary ideology, a peasantry which has recognized the necessity of joining forces with the workers and their Communist Party. A period of intense partizan war is beginning; this will spread steadily, and end with the victory of the workers and peasants. The CP of Bulgaria has issued the right slogan to the insurgents in those towns in which the rising ended unfavorably: to withdraw into the villages and mountains and to here begin a partizan war. No man in Zankoff's position can find sufficient forces to enable him to occupy the whole of the villages of Bulgaria by counter-revolutionary troops. Attempts to occupy revolutionary Bulgarian villages will have the effect of gaining the peasants in the army more rapidly than ever for the cause of the revolutionists.

Bulgarian White Social Democracy has played the most despicable rôle, and Noske may look to his laurels. Even the Russian SR began a campaign abroad against the Bulgarian Mensheviks who permitted themselves to be utilized as executioners against the Bulgarian peasantry. The yellow Second International preserves dead silence on the criminal rôle played by its Bulgarian section. That section of the railwaymen and post-office officials who had still been under the influence of the Bulgarian "socialists" until the September insurrection, is now beginning to understand the part it has been playing up to now.

The Bulgarian events in June-September 1923 are of profound significance, not only for Bulgaria, but for the general estimate of the importance of the peasantry. Together with a working class led by the Communist Party, the peasantry is everything. Without the working class, and endeavoring to take up an intermediate "independent" position between the bourgeoisie and the working class, the peasantry is nothing. And every such endeavor leads to the open dictatorship of unbounded landowning reaction. Peasants of all countries, learn a lesson from the sufferings of Bulgaria! The experience gained in Bulgaria must become the property of the active section of the peasantry of the whole world. The communists must utilize this experience for opening the eyes of the peasants whom the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties make use of demagogically for their own ends.

Class elements essentially hostile to the peasantry, invariably try to gain a hold over the peasants, and the communists must reply to this with intense propaganda for the workers' and peasants' government, and must make it clear to the active section of the peasantry of the whole world that the peasantry can only defend its real interests when allied to the working people of the towns. This is the import of the Bulgarian events.

This lesson is extremely difficult, and has been dearly bought. May it be of service to the Communist Parties of the whole world.

## The Action of the French Proletariat in Support of the German Revolution

On October 6, the French Committee of Action began its campaign in defence of the German revolution by a mighty meeting in Paris. The meeting was opened by Comrade Tommasi, who pointed out the seriousness of the present situation. Comrade Vaillant-Couturier then spoke on behalf of the A.R.A.C. (Ex-Service Men's League). He referred to the Congress of the International of Ex-Service Men held in Berlin. The speaker further emphasized the fact that "the French soldiers in the Ruhr area are already aware of the interests at stake. French soldiers may there be seen saluting the red flag on the occasion of workers' demonstrations, and even putting themselves at the head of these demonstrations. We must render their solidarity even more active. Solidarity between the French and German proletariat signifies the triumph of the German Revolution, and when the German and Russian Revolutions have joined hands, then a decisive step forwards has been taken in the history of the emancipation of the peoples!"

The next speaker was Comrade Cachin, who reported on his impressions in Germany. He described the Ruhr adventure, the activity of the Reichstag, the part played by the militia, the Putsch at Küstrin, and the advances made by the Communist Party of Germany. In order to characterize the position in Germany, Cachin referred to "those unhappy women in Berlin, who collect potatoes in the environs of the city by night, thereby exposing themselves to the bullets of the landowners. When the working class of a country has reached this stage, there is only one solution possible for it—insurrection!"

A representative of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party next addressed the meeting. The Czecho-Slovakian comrade, who was welcomed with enthusiastic applause, described the international situation, and declared that: "We, the revolutionists of Czecho-Slovakia, will fight together with the French workers for the victory of the German Revolution, and therefore at the same time for the victory of proletarian revolution in the whole of Europe".

The last speaker was Monmousseau. He described the action commenced by the French proletariat at the beginning of the Ruhr occupation: "Today the situation is much more serious than then. The German Revolution is upon us, and its fate lies much more in the hands of the French proletariat than of the German. When the German workers have vanquished their own capitalism, then they will find themselves confronted by Poincaré's army. At this juncture the French working class will have to prevent the French army from throttling the German Revolution. Let us cease our factional squabbles and think solely of the German Revolution. Yesterday our task consisted of giving aid to the Russian Revolution, and today we have to defend the German Revolution. We must employ the most determined means to prevent the annihilation of the German Revolution by French capitalism. We must spread everywhere the slogan of the general strike. We are fully convinced that the French workers will exert their utmost endeavors to assist the emancipation of the German workers."

The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution: "The workers of Paris, assembled at the meeting held on October 6, express their passionate sympathy for the German workers now in the thick of the struggle with their exploiters. For the French proletariat the Ruhr occupation has only brought higher prices and heavy taxation. Far from bringing in the reparations, the occupation of the Ruhr has merely increased France's burdens. The end of the Passive Resistance, represented as a victory, is nothing more than a sign of exhaustion on the part of the adversary rendered less solvent than ever by Poincaré's policy. The workers of Paris condemn the action of dismembering Germany, which did not occupy the Ruhr valley for the purpose of obtaining reparations, but for the purpose of annexing Germany, of annexing a part of the country, and of subjecting the workers of the Ruhr area to a system of political and economic enslavement, in the interests of the French and German big industrialists. The Parisian workers protest against the brutal measures victimizing the Ruhr workers, and against the interference of the army of occupation in social conflicts. The workers of Paris warn the whole proletariat of France to be prepared to prevent our government and our generals from taking action against the impending German Revolution. The meeting calls upon the soldiers, as sons of the workers of France, to do their duty by their brothers, the revolutionary workers of Germany. Those attending this meeting undertake to fight: For the evacuation of the Ruhr area and the Rhineland! For the payment of the reparations by the capitalists and war profiteers of all countries! Against the annexation policy of the French government, and against any intervention of the French army against the German Workers' Revolution!"

The resolution closes with the call: Long live the social revolution! Long live the international solidarity of the workers! The Committee of Action intends to hold meetings of a like nature in a large number of French towns during the next few days. Meetings will first be held in Marseilles, Lyons, Saint Etienne, Dijon, Belfort, Mühlhausen, Reims, Troyes, Nancy, Metz, Strassburg, Colmar, Le Havre, Rennes, Nantes, Limoges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Amiens, Lille, and Lens. The solidarity existing between the French and German workers was lately illustrated by the following incident: The French court martial at Witten sentenced two German comrades, one to 1 month's imprisonment, the other to 6 months, and both to a fine of 1000 gold marks, for carrying on Communist propaganda. Should these two comrades not succeed in raising the thousand gold marks, each receives 3½ years imprisonment. The *Humanité* has now issued an appeal to the French workers to raise the 2000 gold marks, equalling 7500 francs, by means of a collection. By October 7, 3543 francs had already been raised. The whole sum will have been raised within a few days. Among

the contributions was one of 20 francs from four Parisian workers, sent with the note: "To free our comrades from the hands of our common enemy." 10 francs were sent by some soldiers of the Paris garrison.

The Correspondent of *Humanité* in the Ruhr District makes the following noteworthy report over the fraternization of the Ruhr workers with the proletarian French soldiers: "In spite of the increasingly stringent decrees of the authorities, the French soldiers are continuing as before to show great friendliness to all the working population. At the very moment when it was intended quite openly to protect the property of the German capitalists by bayonets, it is of interest to report an incident which took place recently between Essen and Krag. As a demonstration of 2,000 mine workers was proceeding to Essen, they were greeted en route by the French military patrols who, at several points prevented pedestrians, waggons and street-cars from breaking through the ranks of our comrades. The campaign of the Communist Party of Germany which aims at protecting the lives of the French soldiers and of the German proletarians is bearing fruit."

## The All-Russian Trade Union Council on the International Situation and the German Crisis

The appended resolution was adopted at the Conference recently held by the All-Russian Trade Union Council:

After duly noting the report submitted on the activity of the Red International of Labor Unions, the Plenary Session of the All-Russian Central Council of the Trades Unions approves the work done by its representatives, as well as the policy of the Red International of Labor Unions, in the matter of the formation of a united front against war danger, against Fascist reaction, and against imperialism. The Plenary Session calls upon all Central Committees to continue the struggle for the uniting of the workers of all countries in accordance with the industrial principle, and as a transition measure, to strive for the establishment of unifying International Propaganda and Action Committees against war danger and Fascist reaction. The Plenary Session notes with disapproval the action taken by the right wing of the International Federation of Transport Workers, an action detrimental to the interests of the working class, and sabotaging the Berlin agreement. It stigmatizes the incredible hypocrisy of the heads of the Amsterdam International with respect to the proposals for a united front made by the Russian unions. The Amsterdam International, which sabotaged the united front of the transport workers, has rejected the proposition for joint work made to it by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions despite the serious events impending in Europe.

The Plenary Session of the All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions notes the continuous growth of Communism on the one hand and of Fascism on the other, showing that decisive struggles are impending. It calls upon the workers of all countries to continue the fight for the united front, and for the reinforcement and consolidation of their ranks, in order that the rule of the bourgeoisie may be overthrown.

The Russian proletariat, during its struggle against the bourgeoisie and the large land owners, was practically isolated, and for this reason its struggle was so painful, its sufferings so great. Made wise by their own experience, the Russian trade unions appeal to the workers of all countries to support, actively and self-sacrificingly, the German proletariat in its severe struggles against powerful counter-revolution at home and abroad. The workers of Russia and of the whole world must exert their utmost endeavors to prevent international reaction from triumphing over the German proletariat. The All-Russian Trade Union Council therefore calls upon the trade unions of all countries to begin at once an extensive campaign in aid of the German workers. This aid must above all be expressed in an energetic and relentless conflict against the bourgeoisie of their own country, and the trade unions must be prepared to prevent any intervention against the German workers, should these be successful. The All-Russian Trade Union Central Council regards with contempt those anarchist, reformist, and anarcho-syndicalist groups, in France and in Germany, which are renewing their agitation against the German Revolution, thereby preparing their own treason and, at the same time, creating a moral sanction for intervention, and for the strangulation of the German and Russian Revolutions. The All-Russian Trade Union Central Council appeals expressly to its fraternal organizations in France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Italy, not under any circumstances

to permit the bourgeoisie of their countries to crush the German Revolution. A tremendous responsibility rests on the workers of all countries with regard to the German Revolution. The suppression of the German Revolution would imply great danger for the Russian Revolution as well, and would be accompanied by excesses of Fascist Terror which would throw back the international labor movement several decades. The defense of the German Revolution signifies for the workers of all countries the simultaneous defense against their own annihilation. The workers of all countries must prepare their organizations for the most strenuous struggle in support of the fighting German proletariat.

## The Import of the British Imperial Conference

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The art of government peculiar to the British bourgeoisie has led to the opening of the British Imperial Conference, on October 1, in the historical house at No. 10 Downing Street. The British capitalists are only too anxious to flee from the crisis in Europe, far into the boundless spaces of the British empire. The idea that England can and must find compensation in other quarters of the globe for her losses and reverses in Europe, was what chiefly inspired the conservative propaganda at the last election to Parliament, which brought Bonar Law to the helm of state. Bonar Law's promise has been redeemed by Baldwin: the representatives of Canada and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, Newfoundland, India, and now even of Ireland, have met together in London for the purpose of consulting as to how the bourgeoisie of the British empire can best combine its powers in order to emerge successfully from the international crisis.

For this reason the British Imperial Conference is of considerable importance for the international proletariat. If it were possible to place international capital on a sound basis again, this operation would have to be started by England. A real and permanent economic recovery in Great Britain would fundamentally change the prospects of the world's evolution. And it is clear that the political discussions being held by the Imperial Conference in London are completely predominated by economic considerations.

It cannot be asserted that the consultations of the Imperial Conference have so far been distinguished by any exaggerated optimism. At the opening meeting Baldwin observed that: "If we look at Europe as it is today, and compare this picture with the hopes which we cherished four years ago, we find little to encourage us in our work." He added that today, the armies and the expenditure for war purposes are greater than in 1914. At the same session General Smuts, the representative of South Africa, laid his finger on one of the sorest spots in England's economics, the mighty burden which England has shouldered by undertaking to pay her debts to America. With regard to this Smuts said: "If the world does not really recover, if it does not prove possible to set trade and commerce going again in the world, then it will turn out that England has undertaken an unbearable burden." The agreement for the payment of the English debt to America had been regarded as the best means of forming a bloc between the two Anglo-Saxon powers. Today it becomes more and more evident that it is just this gigantic load of debt to America which is inevitably driving England into antagonism against the United States. The British bourgeoisie, if it is to continue to exist, must, by some means or other, shake off the tribute obligation to America. And what will follow? The *Times* remarks that the Imperial Conference will occupy itself in detail with the question of the naval base at Singapore. The Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand have already expressed their unqualified agreement to the construction of this new naval base. The decision of the English government to develop Singapore into a naval base of the first rank signifies, in actual practice, that the Washington disarmament conference is null and void, and that the English bourgeoisie is preparing for forthcoming armed conflicts in East Asia in the Pacific Ocean, within America's sphere of power.

Sober critics promise themselves nothing from this Imperial Conference. Thus the *Daily Herald* hits the nail on the head when it writes, on 2. October:

"It is an illusion, therefore, to base upon this Imperial Conference any hope of escape from our disastrous unemployment, due to the breakdown of Production for Profit. No doubt it would be some help to us if we could sell to the Dominions more of the products of our factories; but it is futile to suppose that fewer than 20,000,000 people, with growing manufactures

of their own, could, even if they dealt with none of our competitors, take the place of the 100,000,000 in central Europe with whom we did such valuable trade before the war."

This observation is exceedingly pertinent. The key to the present economic situation lies in Europe. The impoverishment of the greater part of Europe has brought about the English crisis, and the Dominions will never be able to attain to a superabundance of purchasing power compensating the English manufacturers for the loss of the European markets. The *Economist*, the leading English economic organ, also greeted the Imperial Conference with an extremely critical and sceptical article, published on 29. September. This periodical lays special emphasis on the fact that the British Empire cannot form in itself an adequate economic unit: "Many of its raw materials and industrial products are compelled to seek a foreign market, whilst it is necessarily obliged to obtain other goods from abroad. Should for instance, the import of maize and meat from Argentina into England be subjected to artificial limitations in the interests of Canadian and South African production, what would become of English exports to South America? Or, if it were possible to keep Scandinavian and French timber from the English market by means of other trading restrictions, it would then become more difficult to finance English exports to Scandinavia and France. This would be highly detrimental to our shipping, for three quarters of the cargoes leaving England consist of coal, and the English coal export to the Dominions and Colonies is quite insignificant."

In point of fact it is perfectly childish for anyone to persuade himself that the disease from which the British Empire is suffering is to be cured by means of preferential tariffs, or by means of creating a uniform tariff wall around the British Empire. These prescriptions of the elder Chamberlain are useless today, when it is a question of strengthening the buying powers of the world. If the British Empire buys less from foreign countries, it thereby weakens their buying powers, and indirectly increases its own difficulties. This is the endless circle from which it is impossible to escape by means of any tariff of imperial customs duties.

The complete futility of all attempts to form an artificial economic unit out of the British Empire is rendered sufficiently clear by the relations between Canada and the United States. The Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared to a representative of the *Times* that in the year 1914, the American capital invested in Canada amounted to 650 million dollars. Today it is 2½ milliard dollars! The English capital invested in Canada is however about the same today as it was in 1914, that is, about 2,700,000,000 dollars. Mr. King is of the opinion that English capital should interest itself more in Canada, and points out the favorable economic situation obtaining in Canada at the present time. But his declarations make it perfectly clear that Canada will become a colony exploited by New York big capital, should present developments continue for any length of time. This dispels all illusions concerning the idea of the economic and political unity of the British Empire.

The Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, as also Lord Curzon, consider it necessary to furnish the representatives of the Dominions with detailed reports on English foreign politics. The statesmen from Canada, South Africa, and Australia, will however, not content themselves with merely listening; they will demand guarantees that the Dominions will not some day be entangled in some of England's foreign political crises. When Lloyd George brought matters almost to the brink of war on the Dardanelles question, there was the greatest consternation everywhere in the Dominions. Probably these things will be very thoroughly discussed in the secret sessions of the Conference. It goes without saying that Australia and New Zealand will be very pleased to accept the help of the English fleet against any attack on the part of Japan, but on the whole the great Overseas Dominions have become more and more independent of late years, both economically and politically. In the great war, under essentially different conditions to those now prevailing, the British Empire was united. But what would become of the unity of the Empire if, for instance, there were a war between England and the United States?

Anyone who gives these economic and political facts an earnest consideration is bound to arrive at the conviction that the politicians from the five continents of the globe now assembled in London, will not accomplish more than eloquent word spinning. Capitalism in its hour of need will just as little find the philosopher's stone at the London Imperial Conference as it found it at the international conferences in Genoa and The Hague!

## The Spanish Reformists Cooperate with the Military Dictatorship

We have received from Madrid a report to the effect that the former social democratic deputy Planeza, secretary of the reformist miners' union, has recently had an interview with the head of the Military Directory, the pretext given for this meeting being the wish to come to an understanding with Primo de Rivera upon working conditions in the mines. After the declarations and actions of the present Spanish rulers, any cooperation whatever with these is treason to the proletariat. It will accordingly be easily understood that the greatest excitement has been aroused in Spain by this consultation between the socialist leader and the dictator. Even the bourgeois oppositional press condemns Planeza's action. The Executives of the Socialist Party and of the reformist Trade Union Federation have issued a lamentable explanation for the purpose of white-washing Planeza's action. They admit that Planeza has negotiated with General Primo de Rivera upon mining questions. But the legitimate interests of the working class were not endangered by such negotiations! The reformist leaders in Spain prefer cooperation with the bourgeoisie to that open fight against the military dictatorship which the communists, anarchists, and syndicalists of Spain have called upon them to begin!

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Splitting of the Roumanian Trade Union Movement by the Amsterdammers

(R.I.L.U.) Ever since the revolutionary labor movement was crushed in the year 1920, the Roumanian workers have been bleeding from a thousand wounds dealt them by the Boyars and the capitalists. Thanks to reaction, the movement has fallen into the hands of the Amsterdammers. The spirit of revolution is awakening more and more in the local organizations and in the masses of the workers. The conferences held in the course of this year have shown that the Amsterdammers have already been pushed aside in a considerable number of trade unions. They are gradually losing their influence in various unions, and the executives of these unions are composed in part of class conscious workers. The progressive revolutionizing of the trade unions has now induced the Amsterdam leaders to proceed to bring about a split in the organizations.

The Trade Union Council, in which the Amsterdammers are in the majority, convened a trade union congress for August 26-28, putting only one item on the agenda: Affiliation with Amsterdam. The class conscious workers were perfectly aware that the Trade Union Council was aiming exclusively at splitting the trade union movement. Many local administrations, especially those in Transylvania and Benat, which comprise about 80% of the workers organized in trade unions, therefore protested against the discussion of this question, and moved that it be substituted by a discussion on important organizational and tactical questions. They adopted resolutions in favor of the maintenance of the unity of the trade unions under all circumstances.

Although the delegate elections to the trade union congress resulted in an overwhelming majority in favor of removing the question of affiliation with Amsterdam from the agenda, the Trade Union Council adhered to its intention. First it postponed the congress until September 15, justifying this by the statement that the government had not yet granted free railway tickets for the delegates to the congress, and that the police had not yet given permission for the congress to be held. Then one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, Johann Sassenbach, a great gun in the German trade unions, of whom we have already heard more than enough, was called upon for aid. He arrived in Roumania a week before the congress, so that he might take the management into his own hands. He and his followers gave courses of instruction, accorded interviews to bourgeois journalists, and performed other offices of "statesmanship." The whole of the bourgeois press occupied itself with the forthcoming trade union congress, described with enthusiasm the rôle being played by the Amsterdam International and its leaders — and announced the schism in the trade unions.

The congress began on September 15. 270 delegates were present, holding 292 mandates from 52,112 members. The Trade Union Council took it upon itself, on its own initiative, to form the presidium of the congress and its commissions. A protest from the majority of the congress was simply disregarded. The commission examining the mandates proposed that 50 mandates, re-

presenting about 10,000 members, and held by the opposition against affiliation with Amsterdam, should be declared invalid. Upon this the majority of the congress accepted a motion proposed by the opposition, that every mandate declared to be invalid should be subjected to re-examination by the congress itself. The presidium, however, despotically prevented the execution of this decision by declaring that it "closed the discussion by virtue of its dictatorial power". The affiliation with Amsterdam was "at all costs to be achieved". Still further mandates were then declared invalid by the mandates' commission.

The first two days of the congress were passed in fruitless debates on points of order, the presidium being supported by the numerous police present. These debates served in reality solely as a means of discovering the opponents of affiliation with Amsterdam. As soon as this object had been attained, the debate on the actual agenda was fixed for the third day. The chairman declared that the session on the following day was "only to be attended by those in favor of affiliation". This most remarkable application of "democracy" and of the right of self-determination of the members was immediately accorded active support by the prefect of police, Popovici, who was present, and who declared that "In accordance with the decision of the chairman, the affiliation with Amsterdam is to be dealt with to-morrow. Those in favor of the affiliation may appear again tomorrow, but those opposed to it have to leave the town by the next train". And in point of fact the oppositional delegates were arrested the same evening, or expelled from the town; there is no doubt whatever but that the police made use of lists drawn up by the Trade Union Council for this purpose. On the following day the affiliation to Amsterdam was "unanimously" resolved upon, as triumphantly reported by the Amsterdammers.

Should anyone doubt the accuracy of the above account, he need only cast a glance at the report given by the *Bulletin* of the International Trade Union Federation (reprinted in part in the *Vorwaerts* of October 3, evening edition). In this report we read: "The composition of the congress was not favorable for tranquil negotiations. Not only the central unions were entitled to send delegates, but also the individual paying branches, the trade unions not affiliated to a central union and the trade union cartels. Thus there were many delegates representing only a small number of members, and many lawyers and other so-called intellectuals. These adhered for the most part to the communists, and made themselves particularly conspicuous." After the Amsterdam report has further stated that about 60 mandates were declared to be invalid, that the majority of the congress had protested against this, and that the chairman had thereupon declared all opponents of affiliation with Amsterdam to be excluded from the next session, it then attempts to justify these proceedings in the following characteristic manner:

"This action may appear at the first glance to be brutal and undemocratic, and would indeed have to be so designated under normal circumstances. (This sentence is missing in the *Vorwaerts* report! R.I.L.U.) But the general opinion was that this action was necessary if real trade union work was to be done; above all, it was rendered necessary by information received concerning the secret instructions which had been given to the communists to remain in the trade unions in any case—whatever the result of the division—and to continue their destructive activity."

Such actions simply defy all criticism. They belong to methods which at first sight, appear possible only in the Balkans—in the countries of "unlimited possibilities". In reality they are an expression of the typical Amsterdam policy, and that this has taken so crudely brutal a form here merely results from the assumption that in the Balkans it is not so necessary to keep up appearances. But the workers of all countries must recognize the fact that the Amsterdammers are working against the unity of the labor movement, against the interests of the workers.

## The International Congress of Food Workers

By A. Arn (Moscow).

This Congress is of special interest, for the reason that the Union of Food Workers belongs to the few international organizations including Russians in its ranks. The Congress was opened on September 30, in Brussels, and held sessions until October 2. The chairman of the International, as also the Belgian representative, laid special emphasis on the presence of the Russian delegation in their addresses of welcome. On behalf of this delegation, Comrade Kroll gave a survey of the political situation in his brief reply to the welcoming addresses. After this "preliminary skirmish", the first day was devoted to the question of the admission of the Russian union. Three groups made themselves particularly conspicuous in the fire of debate. The extreme right consisted of the Dutch, French, Belgians, and

a part of the Czechoslovakians. The centre was represented by the Swiss, the members of the executive (Schifferstein, Wilhelm, Büche, and others). And the left wing included, besides ourselves, one Swiss, the Norwegians, and a section of the Swedes. The English delegation was politically amorphous, and voted with the majority in all important divisions.

The right wing took a determined stand against the admission of the Russian union. The Dutch submitted to the delegates of the congress a memorandum against its admission, a piece of work recognizable at the first glance as emanating from Amsterdam, and obviously inspired by Oudegeest. This memorandum finds its highest expression in the sentence: If you give the Russians an inch, they take an ell.

The Frenchman Savoie gave his full support to the Dutch, and declared his opposition to the admission of the Russian union. The Centre showed anxiety to maintain relations with us. But as we declared decidedly that we could recognize no special preliminary conditions for the Russian union, Schifferstein, Wilhelm, and others drew up a formula aiming at satisfying us and at the same time keeping peace with the right. This formula was as follows: the Russian union is admitted, but the statutes are to be so altered that affiliated unions are not permitted to create any central points whatever, as for instance International Propaganda Committees, or to issue organs like the "Red Food Worker!". Before the preliminary negotiations with the presidium had been completed, the Russian delegation declared decidedly that it held any such formula to be impossible of acceptance. Schifferstein and Wilhelm finally suggested another formula, to the following effect: "The sole organs competent for the carrying out of the work of the union are those belonging to the union. Any formation of secondary centrals, or any organizational connection between individual bodies for the purpose of combatting the union, is not permissible. The affiliated organizations are prohibited from issuing publications of an international character."

Wilhelm declared officially that these are not terms imposed expressly on the Russian or Bulgarian union, but are merely an interpretation of statutes obligatory on the whole of the unions, affiliated to the International.

A division was twice taken on this proposition. The first division had for object the ascertainment of the opinion of the Congress on the question as to whether the Russian union should be admitted without any alteration in the statutes, or whether it should only be admitted in accordance with the proposals made by the executive. On this occasion 33 votes were cast in favor of the executive's proposals, and 10 against it (the votes of the right, which was opposed to the admission in any case). The debate was continued as a discussion on the interpretation of the statutes. The final division was taken after the Russian delegation had made its official declaration. This declaration again accentuated that the Russians claimed admission without conditions, and stated that the Russian delegates would express their opinion on the question of the statutes as soon as the Congress had arrived at the discussion of this point of the agenda. The second division yielded 22 votes for admission, the statutes being interpreted as proposed by the executive. 20 votes opposed admission. The German delegate Dirrmeier gave his 10 votes to the right, and voted with this against the admission of the Russian union. Those voting in favor of the admission were the whole of the Scandinavians, a part of the Czechoslovakians, the English, and some of the Swiss.

Next day *Le Peuple* published a report on the Congress, stating that the Russian union had been admitted on conditions. The Russian delegation thereupon demanded that the presidium officially deny this statement. Wilhelm gave the required declaration, and emphasized that the official correction would be given later. He again emphasized the fact that no preliminary conditions had been demanded of the Russian and Bulgarian unions.

After this decision had been reached in the Russo-Bulgarian question, the relations between the centre and the right became strained. The next conflict arose in the statutes' commission, the sole commission appointed by the Congress. At first the presidium wanted to appoint four men only to this commission. On the suggestion of the Russian delegation the commission was increased to 7 delegates, Comrade Kroll being included. It is characteristic that Dirrmeier, on behalf of the presidium, defended the necessity of a four man commission by asserting that a larger number of persons would be a hindrance to the work; in the same manner Schifferstein found arguments to support his disinclination to include a Russian on the presidium.

In the statutes' commission we submitted a draft of an interpretation of the statutes, on the whole similar in trend to the above mentioned proposition of the presidium, but giving the reformists less opportunity for arbitrary interpretation. This

brought the contending spirits into immediate conflict, every antagonism rose to the surface, and the commission split in twain. At the plenary meeting Schifferstein read the proposal as first drawn up by the presidium, and did not say a word on the "work" done by the commission. The members of the commission, its chairmen Büche and Dirrmeier, also preserved silence, but the Dutchmen and the Frenchman did not let their demands drop. Another debate ensued. Nielsen, an old social democrat and reformist, declared that Amsterdam had, in recent times, had many follies to answer for. He spoke against the blockade of the Russian trade unions, and informed the Congress that he, as a member of the Danish Parliament, had voted twice for the reestablishment of relations with Soviet Russia. The reactionary amendment proposed by the Dutch and French was finally rejected. After this there was a discussion on the proposal made by the Russian delegation with regard to the usual relations between the Union of Food Workers and the Amsterdam and Red Labor Union Internationals. The Food Workers' Union should not affiliate itself to either one or the other, but should maintain relations with both. This was accepted. The Dutchman and Belgians were beside themselves. The Belgian spokesman declared that if this line were going to be continued, his organization would be compelled to leave the union. The Russian motion was however carried despite this, and when the division was taken on the whole of the statutes, one Dutchman voted for the motion, and one against. The Russian delegation drew attention to the schismatic tendencies of the right wing, and voted for the statutes.

The Russian delegation proposed the deletion of the resolution relating to boycotting, in which the execution of any boycott is made subject to the confirmation of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. This again brought about a heated debate. It was decided that the execution of international actions must be coordinated with the *corresponding organizations*.

The systematic elimination of Amsterdam tendencies from the statutes and resolutions greatly aggravated the strained relations between the centre and the right. In the discussion of a Russian proposal, to the effect that the food workers of all countries be called upon to support the revolutionary movement in Germany, the reformists of the centre hastened forward with "concrete suggestions" regarding the giving of material assistance to the German food workers' unions. Schifferstein declared that the paper upon which even the longest resolution is written is of no practical benefit; the financial support of the unions was much more to the purpose. To this the Russian delegation replied that it was in perfect agreement with the support to be given to the German unions, but protested against confining the question to the trade unions only.

The Bulgarian question did not fare so well. The Russian and Scandinavian delegations submitted to the congress a draft of an appeal on behalf of the fighting Bulgarian proletariat. After renewed debate the appeal was rejected by 17 against 14 votes.

The Centre also vacillated upon another question. When the question of the Unitarian Federation in France was debated—although the representative of this body was still absent—it was decided to pass on to the next items on the agenda. The executive undertook, however, to enter into communication with both Federations in order that unity might be restored. By the time Comrade Jung, the representative of the Federation, had arrived, the question was regarded as "settled". The majority of the Congress prevented him from speaking, thanks to the action taken by the Centre. The results of the Congress may be summed up as follows: The Russians gained one seat on the presidium, the Bulgarians a candidature. Counting Comrade Ormianer (Zürich) and a Scandinavian, the number of executive members standing for the principle of the class struggle may be estimated at 3 or 4. It is to be hoped that the Union will take a left wing position in the ranks of the International.

## E. C. C. I.

### To the Workers of Japan and the Workers of all Countries!

The frightful catastrophe which has overwhelmed Japan, has rent the heart of all who are capable of feeling sympathy with the misfortunes of others. In a few hours, hundreds and thousands met their death, while millions have undergone the cruellest sufferings. Material sources have been destroyed which had cost millions of toilers many years of tenacious work to build up. The earthquake has caused Japan no less damage than the great war has to other countries of Europe.

The dead were not yet buried before the imperialist government of Japan made it plain to the whole world that class

warfare cannot cease in a capitalist state of society, not even under such circumstances as these. In the first place, hundreds of Koreans were arrested and murdered. Tens of thousands of Koreans were imprisoned in concentration camps. The population of Korea was practically outlawed. Japanese workers who have ventured to express their dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs have been shot as "Koreans".

The telegraph reports that the most prominent socialist leader of Japan, comrade Sakay, has been murdered for "attempting to escape". His family has been brutally slaughtered. Those who recollect the circumstance attending the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, those who have not forgotten the vengeance wreaked on the Bavarian, Hungarian, and Polish communists, will not doubt for a moment that the notorious "attempt at escape" is in this case again a mere pretext for simple murder.

The frightful catastrophe which has overwhelmed millions of the "faithful subjects" of the Japanese Emperor, does not prevent the Japanese government from utilizing the moment for ridding itself of an adversary which may become dangerous, now that the workers are plunged into want and misery.

Hundreds and thousands of workers are without shelter and without a crust of bread. But the imperial government of Japan, anxious to demonstrate that it is still a "firm power", is sending away the ships laden with food which have been sent to the succour of the Japanese workers. And all this is going on under the perfectly cynical pretext that communist literature is alleged to be sent with the food.

The Communist International appeals to the workers of Japan and to the workers of all countries. Is it possible to imagine a more frightful example of imperialist impudence, and of hate against the working class, than that which we observe today in Japan? How long will the working masses of Japan tolerate the yoke of the Japanese imperialist government. Is not the Japanese government shooting down thousands of workers and peasants at the present time? Truly the Japanese workers have nothing to lose but their chains!

The Communist International calls upon the Japanese workers, regardless of party, to form a United Committee of Action, to establish the United Front against the imperialist government. From now onwards the imperialist government of Japan is not to have a moment's peace! The just indignation of the working masses of Japan must be expressed in an organized struggle against the present regime. The working masses of Japan, and of the whole world, must learn that the Japanese bourgeoisie is trying to reconstitute its power by sucking the blood of the workers, by squeezing the last drop out of those who have survived the catastrophe! May the workers of the whole world express their indignation at the unheard of attitude adopted by the present Japanese government! The Japanese labor movement must not merely not decline as a result of the catastrophe, it must mount to the greatest heights!

The Japanese workers must create a mighty Communist Party and powerful trade unions, and these will lead the whole working class, and the working peasantry, into determined battle for the overthrow of the bourgeois government and for the formation of a workers' and peasants' government.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## OUR PROBLEMS

### On the Road to the Transformation of Morals

By L. Trotzky.

Communist theory is some dozen years in advance of our everyday Russian actuality—in some spheres perhaps even a century in advance. Were this not so, the Communist Party would be no great revolutionary power in history. Communist theory, by means of its realism and dialectic acuteness, finds the political methods for securing the influence of the party in any given situation. But the political idea is one thing, and the popular conception of morals another. Politics change rapidly, but morals cling tenaciously to the Past.

This explains many of the conflicts among the working class, where fresh knowledge struggles against tradition. These conflicts are the more severe that they do not find their expression in the publicity of social life. Literature and the press do not speak of them. The new literary tendencies, anxious to keep pace with the revolution, do not concern themselves with the usages and customs based on the existing conception of morals, for they want to transform life, not to describe life! But new morals cannot be produced out of nothing, they must be arrived at with the aid of elements already existing, but capable of development. It

is therefore necessary to recognize what are these elements. This applies not only to the transformation of morals, but to every form of conscious human activity. It is therefore necessary first to know what is already existing, and in what manner its change of form is proceeding, if we are to cooperate in the re-creation of morals.

We must first see what is really going on in the factory, among the workers, in the cooperative, in the club, the school, the public house, and in the street. All this we have to understand, that is, we must recognize the remnants of the past and the germs of the future. We must call upon our authors and journalists to work in this direction. They must describe Life for us as it emerges from the tempest of revolution. The study of the morals of the working people must become one of the main tasks of our journalists, at least of those who have eyes and ears for such things. Our press must see to it that the history of revolutionary morals is written. And the press must also draw the attention of its contributors among the working class to these questions. The majority of our newspapers could do much more and much better in this respect.

In order to reach a higher stage of culture, the working class—and above all its vanguard—must consciously alter its morals. It must work consciously towards this goal. Before the bourgeoisie came into power, it had fulfilled this task to a wide extent through its intellectuals. When the bourgeoisie was still an oppositional class, there were poets, painters, and writers already thinking for it. In France the Eighteenth Century, which has been named the century of enlightenment, was precisely the period in which the bourgeois philosophers were changing the conception of social and private morals, and were endeavoring to subordinate morals to the rule of reason. They occupied themselves with political questions, with the church, with the relations between man and woman, with education, etc. There is no doubt but that the mere fact of the discussion of these problems greatly contributed to raising the mental level of culture among the bourgeoisie. But all efforts made by the 18th Century philosophers towards subordinating social and private relations to the rule of reason were wrecked on one fact—the fact that the means of production were in private hands, and that this was the basis upon which society was to be built up according to the tenets of reason. For Private Property signifies free play to economic forces which are no means controlled by reason. These economic conditions determine the morals, and so long as the needs of the commodity market rule society, so long is it impossible to subordinate popular morals to reason. This explains the very slight practical results yielded by the ideas of the 18th Century philosophers, despite the ingenuity and boldness of their conclusions.

In Germany the period of enlightenment and criticism came about the middle of the last century. "Young Germany", under the leadership of Heine and Börne, placed itself at the head of the movement. We here see the work of criticism accomplished by the left wing of the bourgeoisie, which declared war on the spirit of servility, on petty bourgeois anti-enlightenment education, and to the prejudices of war, and which attempted to establish the rule of reason with even greater scepticism than its French predecessor. This movement amalgamated later with the petty bourgeois revolution of 1848, which, far from transforming all human life, was not even capable of sweeping away the many little German dynasties.

In our backward Russia the enlightenment, and the criticism of the existing state of society, did not reach any stage of importance until the second half of the 19th Century. Tschernischevsky, Pissarev, and Dobralyubov, educated by the Bielinsky school, directed their criticism much more against the backwardness and reactionary Asiatic character of morals, than against the economic conditions. They opposed the new realistic human being to the traditional type of man, the new human being who is determined to live according to reason, and who becomes a personality provided with the weapon of critical thought. This movement, connected with the so-called "popular" evolutionists (Naroniki), had but slight cultural significance. For if the French thinkers of the 18th Century were only able to gain a slight influence over morals—these being ruled by the economic conditions and not by philosophy,—and if the immediate cultural influence of the German critics of society was even less, the direct influence exercised by this Russian movement on popular morals was quite insignificant. The historical rôle played by these Russian thinkers, including the Narodniki, consisted in preparing for the formation of the party of the revolutionary proletariat.

It is only the seizure of power by the working class which creates the premises for a complete transformation of morals. Morals cannot be rationalized, that is, brought into congruity with the demands of reason, unless production is rationalized at the same time, for the roots of morals lie in production. Socialism aims at subordinating all production to human reason. But even the most advanced bourgeois thinkers have confined them-

selves to the ideas of rationalizing technics on the one hand (by the application of natural science, technology, chemistry inventions, machines), and politics on the other (by parliamentarism); but they have not sought to rationalize economics, which have remained the prey of blind competition. Thus the morals of bourgeois society remain dependent on a blind and non-rational element.

When the working class takes over power, it sets itself the task of subordinating the economic principles of social conditions to a control and to a conscious order. By this means, and only by this means is there a possibility of consciously transforming morals. The successes which we gain in this direction are dependent on our success in the sphere of economics. But even in our present economic situation we could introduce much more criticism, initiative, and reason, into our morals than we actually do. This is one of the tasks of our time. It is of course obvious that the complete change of morals: the emancipation of woman from household slavery, the social education of children, the emancipation of marriage from all economic compulsion, etc., will only be able to follow on a long period of development, and will come about in proportion to the extent to which the economic forces of socialism win the upper hand over the forces of capitalism. The critical transformation of morals is necessary, in order that the conservative traditional forms of life may not continue to exist in spite of the possibilities of progress which are already offered us today by our sources of economic aid, or will at least be offered tomorrow.

On the other hand, even the slightest successes in the sphere of morals, by raising the cultural level of the working man and woman, enhance our capacity for rationalizing production, and promoting socialist accumulation. This again gives us the possibility of making fresh conquests in the sphere of morals. Thus a dialectic dependence exists between the two spheres. The economic conditions are the fundamental factor of history, but we as a Communist Party, and as a Workers' State, can only influence economics with the aid of the working class, and to attain this we must work unceasingly to promote the technical and cultural capacity of the individual elements of the working class. In the Workers' State culture works for socialism, and socialism again offers the possibility of creating a new culture for humanity, one which knows nothing of class differences.

## The Peasantry and the Working Class in the Next Historical Period

By N. Bucharin (Moscow).

The slogan of slogans: alliance (smütshka) between the working class and the peasantry, is resounding all over Soviet Russia, throughout the whole Soviet Union. In Bulgaria the workers' and peasants' bloc is carrying on a heroic struggle against the Zankoff Government. In Germany, peasants' unions are forming, and marching hand in hand with the workers, with the Communist Party. In every section of the Comintern the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government has taken a foremost place. In the United States of America the workers' and farmers' bloc is a real fact of political life. In Japan the workers have the leadership of the movement among the small tenant farmers, etc. And finally, the whole working class of the industrial West is forming an alliance with the agricultural East.

It is worth while thinking over these facts. Their significance is so great that it is imperatively necessary for us to follow the question to its logical conclusion.

There is no doubt whatever that the working class and the peasantry form two different classes. There have been certain historical periods in which the peasantry has frequently taken sides with the bourgeoisie, and the village pariahs have often ground the city proletariat beneath their heel. Despite this, today the peasantry (here we leave aside the practically important question of the various strata within the peasantry itself), or at least a section of the peasantry, is with the proletariat.

Let us first consider an historical analogy. The industrial bourgeoisie and the landowning nobility are also two different classes. The landlord is a category of the feudal world, he is its representative, he is the social head of its civilization. The industrial bourgeois is the bearer of quite another, the capitalist social order, a society which he represents, rules, and leads. There was a time when the industrial bourgeoisie raised the flag of insurrection against the landowners, and when the peasants' unions set fire to the farm houses of the landowners (France). The struggle between the Whigs and Tories in England is an object lesson of class warfare between landlords and bourgeoisie. But today another historical connection exists, and the bloc between the capitalists and landowners, even the semi-

feudal landowners, has become an actual fact. The leading rôle is played by the capitalists. They have the state organization in their hands. They "lead" the whole of capitalist society with its semi-feudal following. And the junkers support their allies, stand up for them, aid them in every way. The further capitalist evolution advances, the more the feudal landowner adapts himself to the capitalist; and the more the landowner becomes "capitalised", the more rapid is the transformation of landowning economics into capitalist economics, in the natural course of evolution.

It has now become impossible for capitalism to lead society. This truth is making its way through wars, through symptoms of economic decay, through revolutions. And in proportion as the leadership of society passes into the hands of the proletariat, the more firmly is the bloc created and established between the two working classes, the proletariat and the peasantry.

The rôle of leader falls to the proletariat before and after the revolution, when the organization of the state is in its hands. The peasantry aids this ally, and forms a broad basis of support for it. The more rapidly economic life falls into normal lines, the more rapidly will the peasantry adapt itself to the proletariat. The natural process of evolution (by means of the process of circulation, of state credit, cooperatives, etc.) will enable the peasantry gradually to "grow into" the collective socialist organization of society. So long as the individualist character of the peasantry has not completely disappeared, socialized industry tugs the mighty mass of small peasants in its wake. In other words: If we regard the transition period (the period of conquest of state power by the proletariat, and the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat) from the standpoint of class regroupings, we may say that the landowning and bourgeois bloc is being substituted by the workers' and peasants' bloc.

A very long historical period of human development has thus to be passed through beneath the sign of the hammer and sickle. In the near future the workers' and peasants' bloc will become the decisive factor in the world's history.

## The Enemy in Our Midst

By E. Verney.

A policy to be met with on all sides, and with which we are familiar even among certain sections of the Comintern, is that we should not waste time and energy by bothering so much about the reformists, or our opponents within the Labor Camp, but should concentrate upon the main and all-important task of waging the objective war against Capitalism. This fallacy of regarding the Reformist politicians and Trade Union Bureaucracy simply as rivals, competitors, or opponents within the movement is extremely dangerous. In this respect the policy should be stated inversely as follows: "Do not be so engrossed with the struggle against the Capitalist objectives that you are blind to the danger beneath your very nose; i. e. the activities of the agents of the bourgeoisie inside your own lines".

Vigorous and drastic criticism of the Labor Fakirs and fat T.U. officials should not be confused with the wider propaganda of general revolutionary ideas. These attacks and criticisms should be regarded as the intelligence work within the Workers' Army. The more we advance the keener must be our vigilance over the traitors within the ranks of the Workers' movement. There are those who are timorous of attacking the reformist leaders with too much force, for fear of endangering the United Front. This is a totally erroneous conception and must be ruthlessly combated. Public denunciation of the leaders before their own rank and file is one of the best tactics for the furthering of the United Front policy, in so far as it enables the workers to realise how they are being duped, and leads them to force the Reformists to action. We say to the Labor fakirs "either join with us in the class struggle or clear out!". This interpretation of the U.F. policy is especially necessary when the masses in the Trade Unions are under the influence of the reformist leaders controlling the T.U. machine. At the same time the importance of the secondary tactic, i. e. that of getting to the masses over the heads of the leaders should not be minimized. There is enormous scope for this propaganda.

There should be ceaseless agitation amongst the rank and file Trade Union workers, amongst the unemployed, and especially among those workers who have abandoned the Unions—agitation supplementing the more theoretical lessons of the class struggle by simple, realistic, and concrete examples. Facts such as those dealing with the enormous salaries received by the Trade Union officials—who are paid from the meagre earnings of the workers—cannot be too often reiterated before the disgruntled Trade Unionists. Instead of leaving the Unions in despair, the workers should reenter them in order to kick the Yellow Leaders out.

There is also a class of comrades which condemns too harsh criticism of the Social Traitors, on the ground that we should show our superiority, by not stooping to the methods they employ. It is true that at times invective and abuse have no constructive use but it is a thoroughly pacifist and Menshevik conception to suggest that we should not pay back the Reformists with their own coin. There is no place for "turn the other cheek" on the revolutionary battle ground. We should be silent only when they begin abusing one another.

At the present moment, when the proletariat is being driven back all along the line, exposure of reformist treachery is more than ever necessary. In every country there is enormous scope for agitation. In England, the recent Trade Union Congress speaks volumes on the impotence and bankruptcy of the official leaders. The strength of the Unions has been reduced by about 2,000,000, and the whole of the past year has been marked by a series of defeats. Boilermakers, Farm-laborers, builders dockers—*ad infinitum*. The reformist leaders never change their spots, from the Right Hon. Mr. J. H. Thomas betraying the miners on Black Friday to that political rooster Mr. MacDonald taking tea *chez* Lady Astor, and crowing his double-faced demagoguery to the agricultural laborers. On every side we see the same thing. In Italy the reformists have in no way changed their coats. The flunkeying and submission to Mussolini on the part of D'Aragona, Turati etc. is but a continuation of their sabotage when they abandoned the fight for the factories in 1920. Stressemann's capitulation to French Capitalism and German Fascism furnishes but a further example of the bankruptcy of the 2nd International, except as an implement of the bourgeoisie for duping and betraying the workers. It is high time we woke the workers up to reality concerning the activity of the enemy within our midst.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### Family Law in Soviet Russia

By A. Goichbart (Moscow).

Our family law is completely separate from the marriage law. The fact whether the parents are living in a formally registered marriage state or not has, in general, no (juridical) bearing whatever on the rights of their child. The distinction made by all bourgeois codes of civil law between legitimate and illegitimate children is entirely unknown to our Soviet law. Every child possesses equal rights with respect to its parents, and the parents have like duties towards their children.

The lack of social prerequisites has, unfortunately, prevented us up to now from substituting individual education in the family by the much more purposeful and sensible social education. But individual family education, where it still exists, exists solely in the interests of the children, and not of the parents. In almost all bourgeois countries the relation between parents and children is based on the relics of a slaveholding and feudal state of society, in which the parents possessed the same rights over their children as over their slaves and serfs. Almost everywhere the power exercised over children by their parents, especially by the father, resembles the right of a slave owner over a slave. The laws concerning the relations between parents and children are everywhere the remains left over from the past dark centuries.

But our laws look to a future which is perhaps no longer so distant. We are not yet in a position to emancipate the children from the rights exercised over them by their parents. But we accord these rights to the parents solely in the interest of the children. As soon as the rights are abused, the parents are entirely deprived of them. The commission for the revision of our family and marriage laws, which is working under my chairmanship, has not only confirmed this principle of our family law, but established it even more firmly. It allows of proof and repudiation of paternity, as opposed to the existing registration, only in so far as this is in the interest of the child. Thus if a child is registered as being the child of the mother and her registered husband, the court can only consent to any proceedings for the establishment of the paternity of a third person if this change would be of advantage (socially, materially, or otherwise) and not of disadvantage to the child. If the registered father wishes to prove the incorrectness of the registration, proceedings on his evidence are only permissible if they would be to the advantage of the child, even if the truth of the assertion, that the registered person is not the father of the child, is incontestable.

The following limitation of parental rights is also in the interest of the child. The parents are not entitled to determine what religion is to be embraced by their children. The com-

mission unanimously passed an article to the following effect: "Until the children are of age they are regarded as belonging to no religion whatever. Any agreement made by parents as to their children belonging to one or another religion, is not legally binding."

Our family law not only obliterates all differences between all children, but also the differences between the relations of the two parents and the children. All bourgeois laws, made by men, accord privileges to the father which are not enjoyed by the mother. In our law this difference is unknown. At least the mother's position is not legally lower than the father's.

We are not yet able to impose the whole burden of maintenance of the children on society at large—the state. We are still obliged to impose a great part of the costs on the parents, especially the father. But how difficult it is, in other states, to obtain the fulfilment of this obligation on the part of the father. And even when it is possible to prove paternity, it is rendered exceedingly difficult for the mother to prove her assertions. In the hour of her greatest need she has no help. When is she most in need of support? Immediately after the birth of her child. And it is just at this moment that she has to apply to the law. Then a considerable time elapses before the court pronounces judgment. During this time the child can perish for lack of sustenance. According to our law, on the other hand, the expectant mother can, before the birth of the child, make a declaration to the registry office as to its paternity. And if the man named as being the father does not enter a protest against this, he is registered as the father. Should he however protest, it is at least possible for the mother to produce her evidence before the birth of the child, so that her claims for alimony may be already established by the time she is actually in need of help.

This provision on the part of the laws is a great alleviation of the position of mother and child, and no objection can be raised against it by anyone giving a more than superficial consideration to the question. Everyone has learnt from literature and consequently from life, that the "cooling off of love" usually takes place immediately after pregnancy has been discovered, that is, a considerable time before the birth. If the woman then makes her declaration at this point, the man has much less occasion and less possibility of denying his paternity. Although broad strata of the population as yet know very little about our family law, still there were more than 1700 such declarations of paternity before birth made in the year 1922. When the new laws become more generally known, the mothers will make wider use of this great amelioration of their position.

The commission has not only confirmed this enactment of the law, but has further extended it by the decree that the declaration can be made at the appropriate registry office for the place of residence of the mother. The commission further proposes to extend the code of criminal law by the enactment that the deliberate denial of paternity is to be punished in accordance with the law relating to perjury, that is, with imprisonment for not less than one year.

As will be seen from the above, our family law is permeated by the will to secure and alleviate the position of the children and of their mothers.

## THE COLONIES

### A New Attempt at the Subjugation of China

By S. Slepak.

Peking, End of August.

On 10. August the great powers sent a note to the Chinese government, referring to the attack by "banditti" on the express train belonging to the Tientsin-Pukouk railway, on 6. May of this year.

The note consists of three parts. The three separate sections are headed: "Losses", "Securities for the Future", and "Sanctions".

The first section contains various claims for compensation for the foreigners who fell "victims" to the attack, although nobody had invited these to come to China, and they had come for the sole purpose of coining profits out of the flesh and blood of the Chinese people.

The diplomatic corps demands 20,000 Mexican dollars for the Englishman murdered in the attack, 500 Mexican dollars daily for each prisoner for the first three days of their imprisonment, and 100 Mexican dollars daily for each prisoner during the week from 9. to 15. May etc. The Chinese government is also to pay compensation for lost luggage, for medical aid rendered to the prisoners, for the loss of liberty to the foreigners,

for "annoyances and insults", for permanent or temporary loss of working capacity, etc. In one word, a fresh noose of debt is to be thrown around the neck of the Chinese government by which the international robbers hope to lead China into complete slavery. The statesmen of London, Paris, New York, and Tokio, are quite clear on this point. They cannot help knowing that in Peking the teachers at various schools have received no salary for a long time, and that the same is the case with the members of the police and gendarmerie, the garrison troops, and the officials of nearly all the ministries. They are perfectly aware that every week brings the financial crisis nearer in China, that in Peking some action is expected every week either from the police, the gendarmerie, or the soldiery, not to speak of possible demonstrations for "peace" and "order" from the more peaceable professions in Peking. They are bound to be aware that all this leads to uprisings, to that "banditry" which they condemn with such noble indignation. They know all this very well indeed, and thus they joyfully welcome any opportunity which gives them the possibility of loading fresh debts upon China.

The second section, "The securities for the future", contains perfect gems of shameless extortion such as only international imperialism is capable of. "Should insurrections of a serious nature arise in consequence of negligence, deliberate omissions, or should the treaties be violated from these causes, and repressive or punitive measures be not immediately taken, then the responsible general governors, governors, and the local authorities subordinate to them, are to be dismissed from office etc. The Chinese government signed this paragraph after the Boxer risings, which were unfortunately not powerful enough to put an end to the exploitation being practised by world robbers. The treaty forced upon the Chinese government in the year 1901 at the point of the bayonet is now going to be utilized by international imperialists for dictating to China whom she is to discharge as responsible for the insurrections. What treaty China is supposed to have violated nobody in China knows...

The section on guarantees contains a paragraph on "measures for the protection of the railways". The diplomatic corps begins by lamenting that the present condition of the railways is very deficient, that China suffers as a result of this, and that the "diplomatic corps is thus of the opinion that reforms are indispensable, and that it is under the obligation (!) to aid the Chinese government to realize these reforms and to offer its cooperation (!)". "The reforms under consideration by the diplomatic corps relate to the reorganizing of the forces of the Chinese special police, which must be placed under the command of foreign officers." What this means is perfectly clear. Everyone knows that the international robbers are, before all else, intent on gaining control of China's railways, this first step facilitating every succeeding one.

World imperialism has already succeeded in exercising control over many railway lines in China; English imperialism especially having made great advances in this direction.

The last section, on "sanctions", is no less hypocritical, and is equally high-handed in its proposals as the two first sections. The diplomatic corps "makes the Chinese government the proposition" that the governor of the province of Shantung, as also three other less important personages, should be dismissed on the charge of being chiefly to blame for the attack. The diplomatic corps has, however, forgotten to name itself among those chiefly to blame, not only for the events at Lien-Tschien, but for all the disasters which have been brought upon the enslaved people of China, and concludes the note with the following words: "Should the Chinese government continue to sanction or to tolerate such abuses, and should it not suppress with the utmost severity the brigandage which is threatening the rights and interests of foreigners in China, then the diplomatic corps will be compelled to consider what measures are to be taken for the protection of the lives, property, rights, and interests of foreigners in the country."

Comment is superfluous. It need only be mentioned that, whilst citizens of only a few powers were involved in the attack, the note was signed by the whole diplomatic corps, that is, by the representatives of sixteen states. To this end, all the interests of the great powers, who otherwise are warring against one another in China, had to be brought into harmony. Japan had no intention whatever of taking sides with the other powers against China; in pursuance of its own ends it has recently adopted the role of "friend" to China; hence the Japanese press often opposed the foreign control over China. America has been playing the same game for a long time. But as soon as it is a question of the joint interests of the whole company of international robbers, of the exploitation of the Chinese people and its final subjugation, then the robbers come to an agreement.

The note has achieved the positive result of once more giving Chinese public opinion occasion to express its indignation

and hate against the international robbers. The whole press is unanimous in condemning this note, and the whole country is in agreement with the press.

## FASCISM

### The Crisis in Italian Fascism

By A. R.

Mussolini has prohibited any further discussion of the crisis in the Fascist party. But the number of the Fascist weekly *La Critica Fascista* which appeared on October 1, was printed before the prohibition was issued. It therefore contains two articles reproducing the viewpoint of the right wing, that is, of that group striving for the development of Fascism into a normal political party acting in the interests of big capital. One of the articles is from the pen of an intimate friend of Mussolini, Bettai. He holds that Fascism must lay aside its armour, which was good and useful during the time of battle, but highly unsuitable at the present time, when political action only comes in question. The power of the state should be greater than the power of the party. The men anxious to maintain the present state of affairs, and rejecting any change, must be removed. The second article is by the well known Massimo Rocca, who was expelled by the central of the Fascist party, an incident bringing the crisis to an open outbreak. Rocca reminds his readers of the situation in France after the fall of Robespierre, and before the assumption of power by Napoleon. He quotes a historian who wrote of this transitional period: "France was no longer revolutionary, but still continued to be revolutionized." Rocca declares that the case is the same in Italy. The country is in a state of excellent economic development, but it is still being "revolutionized" by the restless elements among the Fascisti. These elements must be removed, or public opinion will turn strongly against Fascism.

The Fascist Party Central which has now retired consisted of the younger and more passionate elements, naturally the particularly active elements. The Roman correspondent of the *Times* states that Mussolini himself is much more "moderate", and that he will come into conflict with the extremists sooner or later on this account. Mussolini wants to convert Fascism into a national Italian party, whilst the radical younger leaders want to maintain Fascism as the ruling class. These two conceptions are bound to collide with one another.

When the Central, in which the radical wing predominated, expelled Rocca on account of his views, Mussolini forced the Central to resign. The whole question will be decided on October 12, at the Session held by the Fascist Supreme Council. The *Times* correspondent lays special emphasis on the point that: "The crisis is extremely serious, and much is at stake for Mussolini when he speaks before the Supreme Council on October 12. His critics represent the struggle as a conflict between Fascism and Mussolinism. Mussolini's victory is certain, but his opponents are politically the most active section of the party, and it means much if Mussolini alienates them."

These remarks of an English bourgeois journalist are extremely pertinent. Ever since he assumed the reins of government, Mussolini has done nothing but disappoint the hopes of the petty bourgeois masses of his adherents. Thus he has raised against himself the opposition of precisely his best shock troops. Mussolini is now anxious to exclude these elements of Fascism, revolutionary in their way, for the purpose of transforming Fascism into an ordinary reactionary political party standing for the interests of big capital. Even if Mussolini wins the victory within the confines of the party apparatus, this victory will break the best powers of Fascism, and exceedingly favorable fighting conditions will be created for the Italian working class.

### "Shoot to Kill"

By I. Amter.

A state of war exists in one of the United States. The State of Oklahoma is "split wide open" by the acts of the Ku Klux Klan and the suppression of constitutional law by the governor of the State, Governor Walton. Martial law has been declared, papers are censored, the chief of police, three jury commissioners and the sheriff of a county have been removed from office. Six thousand soldiers have been called to arms. Machine guns have been planted round the important buildings in Oklahoma City, the principal city of the state. Strict regulations have been issued for the conduct of the people of the city. The governor of the State has given orders to "shoot to kill" in case an extra session of the legislature, which has been called by "underground channels" by the Ku Klux Klan is held.

The state is in an uproar. A war against the Ku Klux Klan, the "invisible empire" is under way. Claiming that the "cyclops" (the division commander) of the "empire" has usurped governmental power, that the Ku Klux Klan is guilty of innumerable floggings, beatings, tar and featherings, that a state of terror exists throughout the state of Oklahoma, and determined to uproot the organization, the governor has established martial law, despite the threats against his life.

Behind this condition of affairs is a story. Walton was elected governor of the State as a so-called "labor" candidate, and had the support of the Socialists. After his election, he repudiated the platform on which he was elected and lost the support of the Socialists, who look back upon this treachery as something unusual in American political life. Peace was not destined to reign in Oklahoma, however, for the fight against the Ku Klux Klan began and took on a formidable shape. For nearly two months a conflict has been gathering, and finally reached a climax in the abrogation of civil power.

The whole state is lined up on one side or the other. The Tulsa (an important city of Oklahoma) Chamber of Commerce has refused to support the call of the president of the Chamber, who asked the Ku Klux Klan to disband. The American Legion sides with the K.K.K. The deposed officials are accused of being members of the K.K.K. The Secretary of War of the United States has been appealed to, but has not yet responded. The Secretary of War will not answer: the United States government has no intention of suppressing the Ku Klux Klan. On the contrary, it is very much interested in the furtherance of this organization. It is not interested in constitutional law, it is not interested in the claims of the governor of the State. The Ku Klux Klan has defied the State of Oklahoma, the governor has replied with troops. The K.K.K. refuses to disband, it declares that the legislature will meet, whether the governor allows it or not, and it will impeach him. The governor has ordered all male citizens between the ages of 21 and 45 years of age to hold themselves in readiness for military service. But the K.K.K. claim that they control 90 per cent of the militia.

The Ku Klux Klan, as the American Fascisti, is today the distinct menace of the country. Not that the governor of Oklahoma is the person to fight it. Behind the K.K.K. stand the chamber of commerce, the American Legion, part of the press and of the clergy. The K.K.K. is growing rapidly. In the State of Indiana, they claim 400,000 members, many of them having been enrolled from among the farmers. In the State of Oregon they recently succeeded in getting the adoption of a city management plan by the voters of the State. In Georgia, members of the organization, accused of floggings, could not be convicted. City officials are charged with breaking the very laws they have sworn to uphold. The result is that the governor of Oklahoma has declared that he will pardon any man who "shoots down any member of a masked mob attempting to molest a citizen".

"There is no use looking for justice in Texas, as every official who has been elected in the last two years is a member of the Ku Klux Klan" says a citizen of the State. "Any one who is in any kind of business in Texas is compelled to join the Klan or be starved out. That is why I am in it. I have a small business and they were about to ruin me, so I joined to save myself. There are thousands in Texas in the same fix as I am in. Several hundred people have been murdered in this state for fighting the Klan, and the officials make no attempt to find the murderers as they know they are brother klansmen." A klansman who hires a Negro is not supposed to pay him unless he wishes to. If a Negro asks one of these farmers for his wages, he threatens him with the K.K.K. and the Negro leaves. "I am surprised that they did not murder the I.W.W. members in jail. That is what they generally do, under the pretence that they resisted an officer of the law or were trying to escape. Most of the ministers here are organizers, and if a member of a church does not join he is not wanted. . . . People do not know the conditions in the South, as our papers dare not publish anything against the Klan. One Texas paper tried it and was blown up with dynamite."

In Ohio, New-York, Pennsylvania (Pittsburg) and New Jersey, there have been armed fights between the K.K.K. and the people. In some of the agricultural sections of Ohio, more than 90 per cent of the adult men are members of the Klan. In fact it is a dominating force in Ohio outside of the industrial centers. The female organization of the K.K.K., the Kamelia, is growing in numbers. The two to three million members now comprising the K.K.K. represent a formidable Fascist organization in the United States.

Another organization has been formed—the "Knights of the Flaming Circle"—in which color and creed are supposed to be no test for eligibility for membership. It is also a 100 per cent

American organization and is likewise sworn to "uphold the law".

"Shoot to kill" is a motto for the United States, a motto underlying the activities of the K.K.K. and its opponents. Gary, steel magnate, Barnes, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and Childs, ambassador to Rome, are keen admirers of Mussolini. "Shoot to kill" is also Mussolini's watchword. Constitutional law? "To hell with the constitution", as a colonel of the United States army aptly said. The days of "democracy" are coming to a close. The rifle and the machine gun are the spokesmen of the capitalist State.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### To the Working Masses of the Whole World!

After the temporary suppression of the armed revolt of the working people in Bulgaria against the militarist and banking cliques who held power in their hands, a great portion of the revolutionary workers and peasants, pursued by the blood-thirsty revenge of the white guardist bands, were compelled to seek refuge in the neighbouring countries.

In Yugoslavia there are already about a thousand refugees, and their number is continually being added to. A great number of the refugees have gone over into Turkish and Greek territory. It is probable that some have succeeded in reaching Roumania and more distant countries. The refugees who have fled abroad, who do not feel themselves to be defeated—for the Cause of the Working People, in defence of which they took up arms, can never be defeated—and who from their places of exile will continue to serve the Common Cause, are exposed to two great dangers, which will be clear to every fighter for freedom, for the avoidance of which they look to the aid of their brothers, the workers and peasants of other countries, but in the first place to the neighbouring people in the Balkan countries. The first and greatest danger threatens from the international solidarity of the ruling classes. When the bourgeoisie see eye to eye with regard to the revolting masses, then they scorn all the rules of International Law, they forget their century-old liberal traditions and become the accomplices of the blood-thirsty hangmen of the people. Are not the Bulgarian refugees abroad threatened with the fearful danger of being delivered into the hands of their hangmen?

We do not know how the Bulgarian refugees will be received in Turkey and Greece.

With regard to the Roumanian Government we know that it has closed its frontiers to the Bulgarian revolutionaries. If, however, in spite of this some refugees have succeeded in reaching Roumanian territory, are they not then in continual danger of their lives? The Right of Asylum, which is sanctioned by law as well as by tradition in all civilized countries, can only be assured to the Bulgarian refugees if they are taken under the protection of the working masses of the other countries. The Bulgarian emigrants, in appealing expressly to you for brotherly support, hope to have on their side in this hour of trial the public opinion represented by the democratic and labor organizations. Their appeal goes yet further: the whole civilized world must know that in Bulgaria their rules a white-guardist and Fascist government, which has steeped its hands in the blood of countless victims and which, in its lust for vengeance, will not permit its opponents in foreign countries to remain in peace.

This government, after the 9th June, caused Stambulisky and a number of other peasants' leaders held in prison to be treacherously murdered. It had the communist leader, Kalat-sheff, brutally slaughtered in Plevna, and afterwards had the cynicism to pronounce the death sentence on his corpse. It sent abroad hired assassins in order to murder the peasants leaders who had fled, of whom the Ex-Minister Daskaloss (in Prague) and the member of parliament Matoff (in Constantinople) have already fallen victims. After the government, following on the suppression of the September uprising, had organized a tremendous blood-bath among the thousands of prisoners and wounded, after it had practised and continues to practise indescribable bestialities and cruelties on thousands of others held under arrest, it is sending out fresh hired murderers in order to murder the handful of leaders of the revolutionary movement, communists and peasants' leaders. According to positive information which we have, such bravos have already set out from Sofia.

At the moment, when certain governments, inspired by their egotistic imperialist aims, afford support to the Zankoff government, when they shut their eyes to the bloody suppression of the workers of Bulgaria, at this moment the sons of Bulgaria



expect that the masses of workers and peasants of the whole world will raise their voices in powerful protest against the prevailing bloody regime in Bulgaria, and will morally and politically ostracise its open and secret helpers.

The Bulgarian refugees have, however, to suffer misery and distress. The fighters who have had to flee the country, the great majority of whom are workers and poor peasants, find themselves in great need. Until they succeed in obtaining work, which, in view of the prevailing economic crisis and unemployment in the Balkan countries is a very difficult matter, they require material assistance from their foreign brothers. This is also required by their families, their wives and children who remain behind in Bulgaria without means of subsistence, surrounded by the class hate and the insatiable lust for vengeance of the Fascist bands. They appeal to you for prompt aid and are firmly convinced that it will be forthcoming.

To the Sofia Jesuits and hangmen who spread death, terror and desolation in the unhappy land, and who by thousands of lies and false accusations malign the heroic and self-sacrificing fighters for the freedom and well-being of the country, and who seek to destroy their leaders by means of hired mercenaries—the best answer which the working masses of the whole world can give, is to take the Balkan revolutionaries who have fled abroad under their political protection, and to afford material help to them and to their families.

Nish, 5. October 1923.

Vassil Kolaroff. Georgi Dimitroff.

### The Dato Trial

Death sentence Passed on Mateu and Nicolau.

The trial of the 8 syndicalists accused of participation in the murder of the Prime Minister Dato began on October 1. in Madrid. Trial by jury having been abolished by the present military dictatorship in Spain, the court was composed of 5 professional judges. A certain Senor Martin Perez held the position of chairman. At the beginning of the proceedings the counsel for the defence protested against the absence of jurymen, and demanded that a jury be at once called together in accordance with the law. The court withdrew to consult. After a consultation lasting 1½ hours the chairman announced that the claim made by the defence was refused. Then the examination of Mateu, one of the accused, was commenced. He was confronted with the confession made by him before the judge of the court of inquiry. Mateu revoked the confession, and emphasized that he had made this statement solely for the purpose of giving his friend Casanellas, who had assassinated Dato, time to fly the country.

On the 2. October Nicolau was examined. He too denied the confession which he was alleged to have made to the Berlin police. He emphasized that he had had nothing whatever to do with the assassination. The protocol on his Berlin confessions was written in German; he understands no German, and does not know what is contained in the protocols. The other six men under accusation also declared that they had become entangled in the affair, though perfectly innocent.

Nicolau further drew special attention to the fact that he had been maltreated by the police during his examination in Berlin.

It is characteristic of the spirit in which the Spanish authorities are conducting this trial, that the management of the prison, although the trial is not yet concluded, have had the two accused, Mateu and Nicolau, confined in the cells intended for prisoners under sentence of death.

On 3. and 4. October the witnesses against the prisoners were heard. The result of their evidence was lamentable for the authorities bringing the indictment. After these witnesses for the prosecution had been heard, the defending counsel declared that they dispensed with calling the witnesses for the defence, as no evidence had been produced against the accused. The prosecuting attorney replied that he had also changed his opinion, and that in view of the altered situation he moved that the trial be postponed. Postponement was then decided upon.

Meanwhile, the authorities supporting the indictment decided not to give way. At the proceedings held on 5. October the counsel for the crown proposed the death sentence for Mateu and Nicolau!

And although the evidence adduced by the prosecution was completely annihilated, the court of the Military Dictatorship pronounced this sentence on our two comrades. This shameful act has called forth wide-spread protest, even among bourgeois circles, such a paper as the Paris Temps being moved to express its disapproval.

The Spanish Syndicalist Trade Union Federation has appealed to the workers of all countries to save the lives of Mateu and Nicolau by a great protest movement. In this appeal the Spanish workers utter a warning to the workers of the other countries: "Your cry of protest must re-echo in the consulates and embassies of Spain. Organize meetings, send telegrams of protest to the Dictators who rule Spain." The working class of all countries must immediately organize demonstrations of protest and make the brutal government of Spain responsible for the lives of the accused. Only in this way will it be possible, at the last moment, to save the two comrades from the clutches of the Executioner.

### APPEALS

#### Appeal by the Japanese Workers to the International Proletariat

No doubt you are all aware that as a result of the earthquake, Tokyo, Yokohama and other places in Eastern Japan were destroyed. You know that the work of relief to the sufferers is conducted unsatisfactorily, in spite of the sympathies of the whole world.

In this hour of national calamity we appeal to the organized workers of your country, calling their attention to the following facts: Tokyo, Yokohama and also the district of Osaka and Kobe are considered the two principal industrial centres of Japan. According to a rough estimate, the country has about 2 million workers (exclusive of day-laborers), of which 400,000 are in the district of Tokyo-Yokohama and 500,000 in the district of Kobe-Osaka. The nucleus of the organized proletariat happens to be in these two industrial centres. Without including the miners, the total membership of the trade unions is about 120,000. Owing to the destruction of the aforesaid districts. *A great Number of Workers are now out of Work.* Large numbers of trade-union-members are taking part in the work of reconstruction.

But the system of hired labor as now practised in Japan is entirely inadequate, and it seems that a tendency exists to exclude all the trade-union-members from the lists of workers entitled to obtain work. You can easily imagine what the Japanese government intends to do, profiting by our silence; for you are aware, of course, that the Japanese government has crushed the working class and the trade unions by such oppressive police measures that are reminiscent of the anti-union laws which existed 100 years ago. You know that the Japanese government until quite recently denied the very existence of the trade unions, regardless of our affiliation with the international conference.

The very foundation of the trade union movement of Japan, which has taken many years of hard work to create, may now be demolished as a result of the actions of the Japanese Government. We are determined to exert all our strength to defend the cause of trade-unionism. Our first task in this regard was to furnish our afflicted comrades with the means for quitting the destroyed districts, and also to supply the prime necessities to those comrades who were left without clothing and shelter.

Furthermore, we are endeavoring to find work for the unemployed comrades. *The distress is great and the funds are few.* Our difficult financial condition is due to the short existence of the Japanese trade-unionist movement, and also to the severe governmental *Repressions* which prevented us from accumulating a sufficient reserve fund.

Now the government is doing everything possible to prevent us from collecting, by way of membership dues among our own members, the necessary funds for this work of relief. We are determined to fight to the utmost, to rescue the Japanese trade-union movement from its present crisis.

On the other hand, we are forced to appeal to you, the organized workers of Europe and America, requesting your financial support at this trying moment. *Every bit of help and assistance rendered by you will be accepted by us as the best proof of the alliance which exists between the trade unions of Japan and those of Europe and America, and will be the best stimulus for uniting these organizations.*

At the same time, as representatives of the organized workers of Japan, we must add that every bit of help on your part, apart from our profound gratitude, will enable us to emerge from the crisis, and to repay your present kindness by similar aid on some future occasion.

(Signed) Buidzi Suzuki,  
Chairman of the Workers' Relief Committee  
of the Japanese Federation of Labor.

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## The Problems of the German Revolution

The Classic Proletarian Character of the Approaching German Revolution.

By G. Zinoviev.

Events in Germany are developing with the inexorableness of fate. The road which the Russian revolution required 12 years to travel, from 1906 until 1917, has been covered by the German revolution in the space of 5 years, from 1918 until 1923. The simple "Coalition", the "Grand Coalition", the Kornilov period (the events in Bavaria), "business ministry", personal candidatures (like the Russian Kishkin and Borishkin), then again the great coalition—an unending change of ministers. This is what happened "at the top". And down below, among the broadest masses of the people, dissatisfaction has been seething, and the struggle is flaming up which, in the near future, will decide the fate of Germany, and he who does not see this must indeed be blind.

The approaching events will be of historical significance for the whole world. Time will prove to all that the autumn months of 1923 have been a turning point, not only in the history of Germany, but in the history of the whole of humanity, far beyond the boundaries of Germany. With trembling hands the German proletariat is turning the most important page in the history of the world struggle of the working class. The hour has struck. A fresh chapter is beginning in the history of the proletarian world revolution.

What will be the social import of the impending German revolution? What class will carry forward the revolution, and supply it with leaders? Let us cast a glance at the social composition of the German population. In the year 1920 Germany had a total of 59.4 million inhabitants. The adult population included in this total fall under the following categories:

Agriculture and forestry . . . . .	9,825,000
Mining and Industry . . . . .	14,510,000
Trade, traffic, and hotel keeping . . . . .	5,000,000
Personal service . . . . .	330,000
Public service and free professions . . . . .	2,440,000
Without profession . . . . .	1,700,000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>33,865,000*</b>

Those designating themselves "independent", that is, a large number of property owners, have been included in the group "without profession" or "without occupation". The survey is rendered even clearer if we adduce the figures showing the classification of the population within each of the groups in a more detailed form. The appended table gives a clear idea of Germany's social framework:

	Independent	Semi-proletarian	Employés	Workers
Agriculture . . . . .	1,180,750	1,275,500	196,500	7,172,000
Industry . . . . .	550,000	1,200,000	1,020,000	11,800,000
Trade . . . . .	500,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	2,500,000
Personal service . . . . .	—	—	—	330,000
Free professions . . . . .	500,000	—	1,000,000	950,000
Without profession . . . . .	1,700,000	—	—	—
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>4,430,750</b>	<b>3,475,500</b>	<b>3,216,500</b>	<b>22,752,000</b>

\* The figures adduced are taken from the "Annual for Economics Politics, and the Labor Movement 1922/23" (Communist International publishing office, Carl Hoym Successor,