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The Situation in Germany

by Emil Hollein.

Berlin, November 7, 1923.

The counter-revolutionary putsch announced for today has not come off, and it is further scarcely to be expected that it will take place on November 9. However, that may be, the putsch announcements have had a stimulating effect, both upon the Social Democrats and upon a part of the bourgeois Democrats. In view of the feeling in these Parties, even the Central Government had occasion to address to the German people an appeal, in which warning of the *coup* is given. Characteristically, however, there was in this appeal not a single word about the Republic. The Social Democratic Party and the heads of the Trade Unions summon the workers to hold themselves in readiness to enlist, when the call of the State Governments goes out to them, in a regular organization of Security Police.

You have to trust your Magistrates,
 Who, good and loving, serve their States,
 Most wisely, and with gracious sway,
 You must be silent and obey.

In Berlin such an appeal has already been issued by the Chief of Police; in accordance with this, the shortage of Security Police—about 2,500 men—is immediately to be made good by the enrolment of citizens "of unquestionable fidelity to the Constitution".

Is that, at last, a step to the Left? Yes, at least to the extent that the Social Democrats, so long as they themselves sat in the Government, could not bring themselves to issue even such an appeal as this, but always strove to give their followers a sense of security by assuring them that the Reichswehr was faithful to the Constitution and would save the Republic. But

if a ray of light is beginning to penetrate the Social Democratic darkness, the development to the Right, on the other hand, is proceeding at a stormy tempo. On the Bavarian-Thuringian border the irregular troops of Hitler, Ludendorff and Kahr are drawn up. In the Reich the fighting bodies of the Nationalists have likewise been mobilized. The Democratic and Social Democratic papers are full of descriptions of the doings of the illegal Reichswehr organizations. At this very moment the Reichswehr marches into Thuringia. Is this, perchance, in order to prevent the invasion of that State by the bands of Hitler, Ehrhardt and Rossbach? By no means. We may read the official reason for sending Reichswehr into a State which hitherto has been a model of orderliness. Here it is bluntly stated that in Thuringia, law and order must be restored by the methods adopted in Saxony. Arrests, domiciliary searches, occupation of printing establishments, have already taken place. And, in the good old style, Police-Colonel Müller-Brandenburg has been placed under military supervision. It is only a question of hours before, after the manner of General Müller, a proclamation of General Reinhardt, the Commander of the Reichswehr in Thuringia, will appear, a proclamation which will simply order the resignation of the Social Democratic-Communist Government . . .

Under such circumstances it is hardly to be assumed that General Horn will calmly look on at the enrolling of reliable elements, who are faithful to the constitution, for the filling up of the ranks of the Berlin Security Police. For the proceeding of the Berlin Police Presidency, which has certainly only acted with the consent, or perhaps even on the direct instructions of Severing, has already been characterized by the Right as a summons for the formation of bands. The catchword for the

social

interference of the Military Dictatorship is therefore, already given. It remains to be seen therefore, whether the orders of Herr Richter will be fulfilled in the sense intended. One must in any case, also reckon with the fact that the orders of Messrs Richter and Severing could very easily be their last independent acts in their official capacities. For if General Horn does not himself proceed against Richter and Severing, the Right and Centre parties will do so. The German People's Party is already openly raging against the continued existence of the great Coalition in Prussia. At bottom it is entirely for the Right Dictatorship. It would like, however, if it were at all possible, to cloak this transformation under some sort of legal parliamentary form. Hitherto the German Nationalists have stood in opposition to this attempt. They desire the open proclamation of a plain unvarnished Right Dictatorship. For this reason they have, up to now, refused support to any kind of a parliamentary government. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of this morning, however, reports a change in the tactics of the German National Party. It is said it is even prepared to enter the Stresemann Government, solely in order to be able from there to launch a more successful blow. As the only condition for its entry, it demands from the German People's Party the expulsion of the Social Democrats from the Prussian Government.

How long it will be until the Right radicals, who in Germany already have the armed power in their hands and whose political program has already become the program of the Stresemann Government, not only become the dominating party but also the formal governing party, cannot be foretold with certainty. Today, the position of affairs is thus: the workers have indeed been forced back, but they are in no way beaten or discouraged. To summon them straightaway to the fight, would, at the moment, be a somewhat hazardous undertaking, as the Reaction could very easily bring in a terrible defeat. And it is this unstable equipoise in the relation of forces between the Left and Right, which renders it possible for the parliamentary hotch-potch to enjoy a further period of existence and successfully to act as a screen for the Military Dictatorship.

GERMANY

The Problems of the German Revolution

The Working Class, the Communists and the Social Democrats.

By G. Zinoviev.

In Germany the working class forms the numerically decisive power. The German proletariat holds the fate of its country in its own hands. Why then has power remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie up to now?

In the year 1918/19, only a minority of the German workers followed Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. And at the opposite pole, it was only a minority of the German workers who followed the bloodhound Noske. The main mass, the kernel of the German proletariat, stood irresolute. This kernel—the real mass of the workers—sought peaceful paths. This "middle" mass, which in reality determined the course of the struggle, did not want civil war at that time, it feared the Revolution, it calculated upon being able, gradually but surely, to improve its position by legal methods—through the trade unions, through universal suffrage, through the Social Democratic Party—and to secure itself its piece of bread and its work on peaceful lines.

German Social Democracy, supported by this frame of mind of the average worker, contrived by means of trickery and artifice to kill the first German Revolution, and to secure the victory of the bourgeoisie. We must not forget that in the year 1919 the German Social Democrats convened the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, and that at this Congress they succeeded in having a resolution passed dissolving the Councils and transferring all power into the hands of the National Assembly.

The Spartacists, the vanguard of the workers, were numerically still very weak in the year 1919. The prestige of the Spartacists was extremely great among the working people in the years 1918/19. Many of even the average workers tacitly recognized the courage of the Spartacist minority, and their splendid loyalty to the cause of the working class, for it was the Spartacists who received the cruellest blows of the counter-revolution, and who steadfastly pursued their object of defending the interests of the whole working class. But although the Spartacists were accorded the respect due to them, still they were not followed. The body of the working class regarded the bold Spartacists with a certain

degree of sympathy, but when it came to action, they supported Social Democracy.

This trend of feeling in the main mass of German workers, seeking feverishly for a peaceful way out, and shrinking above all from civil war, was skillfully utilized by the Social Democrats, who managed to secure a four years' pause for breath for the German bourgeoisie, from 1919 till 1923.

In March of the year 1921 the Spartacist advance guard of the working class again joined battle. The Communist advance guard attempted to substitute the main body of the working class by itself alone, since at that time the main body was almost exclusively under the influence of Social Democracy, and permitted itself to be kept quiet by the counter-revolutionary dope and foolish hopes of the Social Democracy. And once again there were many German workers who looked on with increasing sympathy whilst the daring revolutionists received once more the blows of counter-revolution. But once again these courageous few received no support from the main body of the workers. The avant garde had advanced too early—and was beaten back.

At the present juncture, everything depends upon whether Social Democracy will again succeed in saving the German bourgeoisie, if only for a short time. There is every reason to believe that this time it will not succeed.

The lesson has not been in vain.

The German Communist Party, aided by the III. World Congress of the Comintern, has been able to correctly estimate the errors of the past. The question of insurrection, of immediate fighting for the seizure of power, was set aside in the year 1921, and the accomplishment of another task was immediately resolved upon: the conquest of the majority of the workers.

To what extent has this task already been fulfilled? Are the majority of the workers already followers of Communism? On which side are the sympathies of the main body of the German proletariat? What influence does counter-revolutionary Social Democracy still possess among the German working class? What should be our relations at the present time to Social Democracy in general, and to its so-called "Left" Wing in particular?

There is no doubt whatever but that the united front tactic has been particularly successful in Germany, that the German Communist Party has applied these tactics properly, and that the doubts felt now as before by some "left" Communists are entirely unjustified. For the essence of the united front tactic consists in aiming at drawing even the backward categories into the struggle, at drawing the middle and the rear-guard towards the front line. And when the exponents of the united front are reproached with adapting themselves in many things to just these strata of workers, this is simply the result of a complete lack of comprehension of the essential nature of these tactics.

The German Communist Party has solved the problem set it by the III. World Congress. Or it is at least not far distant from its solution. The German Communists have conquered the Factory Council movement, and this as we shall subsequently see, plays to a great extent in present-day Germany the rôle which was played in Russia by the pre-revolutionary Workers' Councils (Soviets). In more than 2000 towns in Germany, in the most important industrial centres, the Factory Councils movement is exclusively under the influence of the German C.P.

The German C.P. can also record great advances in the trade unions. It has not yet gained control of the trade union apparatus, and it is probable that it will not do so until after the victory of the Proletarian Revolution. The task of taking the leadership of the trade unions out of the hands of their present bureaucratic leaders is no less difficult than that other task of depriving the bourgeoisie of political power. But on the day after the Proletarian Revolution it will frequently be necessary to seize trade union power by the identical means which have been employed for seizing the State institutions, or the factories and other undertakings. The German Communists have already gained an extensive sphere of influence in the lower strata of the trade union organizations.

The membership of the German C.P. increases steadily. It is not only the advance guard of the working class which is turning more and more to the Communists, but the great mass as well—those working masses who helped the German Social Democrats to victory in 1919. The working class itself, not merely its organized section, but its million-headed mass, is showing more and more inclination to follow the political leadership of the German C.P. During the great strike in August 1923, which overthrew the Cuno Government, the political leadership was entirely in the hands of the Communists. The leaders of the strike movement in Berlin (where about 800,000 workers went on strike), belonged for the most part to the C.P. of Germany. The Chairman was a communist, 17 of the 24 members of the Strike Committee were Communists, and the remainder Left Social Democrats and "Independents", but elected on the motion of the Communists and unreservedly with us. In

another important German centre, Hamburg, the Strike Committee was composed of 5 Communists, 2 Left Social Democrats, and a Revolutionary Syndicalist. The proportional forces were similar to this almost everywhere. Even in towns where the Communist organization had been numerically weak until the August strike, the working masses urged the small Communist groups to undertake the leadership of the August strike. "The Communists are the only Party giving the movement a unified lead throughout the country, therefore you must take over the leadership in our town too"; thus declared hundreds and thousands of non-partisan workers.

Is the majority thus gained permanent and secure? Perhaps it is not yet safe to assert this. But there is no doubt whatever but that it will become permanent and secure, and that within a very short time. There is still much vacillation and instability. Millions of workers do not come once and for all simultaneously to such decisions. One section of the workers is still considering, with one foot already in the Communist camp, but with the other still in the Social Democratic camp. This is inevitable during a period of transition. It would be ridiculous to demand, as the prerequisite of success, that the whole of the workers, down to the last man, should first swear allegiance to the Communist Party. The majority now in course of formation will be established during the struggle itself, and will line up firmly in the Communist ranks.

And German Social Democracy? It seems to have lost more than half its members already. Close observers inform us that the workers still in its ranks are chiefly those of a "staid" character. They represent a less active element; they are people who have maintained their connection with Social Democracy in accordance with a tradition of many years standing, and they find it difficult to break away. But the flower of the working class is leaving the ranks of German Social Democracy. And of the 600,000 to 700,000 party members still remaining to the Social Democratic Party, no small number is recruited from the petty bourgeoisie, and consists of followers who run with the crowd, without conviction. And very many workers who still belong to the Social Democratic Party are in reality in sympathy with the Communists. This we had ascertained more than six months ago, and now it is clearer than ever. At the illegal Factory Council Congresses held in Stuttgart, Berlin, and dozens of other towns, hundreds of workers, still formally members of the Social Democratic Party, conspired with the Communists against their own leaders, and surely this is sufficient proof that though these workers still call themselves Social Democrats in obedience to tradition, in reality they are already our comrades. And when many thousands of Social Democratic workers join forces with Communist workers—against the will of their own leaders—for the formation of proletarian "Hundreds" (the germ of the Red Guard); when hundreds and thousands of workers "belonging" to the SPD, join forces with us, and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, declare a political strike in contradiction to the resolutions of the S.P.D., then all this proves that the time is not far distant when a considerable section of the Social Democratic workers will finally break with their counter-revolutionary leaders, and follow the Communists unreservedly.

The present period of transition is familiar to us Russian Communists from the time when considerable numbers of Menshevik and Social Revolutionary workers continued to "belong" to these Parties, but in reality received guns from us, and joined forces with us to overthrow the Coalition Government. The S.P.D. is on the eve of passing through that period which the once "mightiest" Party in Russia, the "Social Revolutionary Party", passed through before our eyes. And before the eyes of the workers of the whole world that once so stately edifice, the German Social Democracy with its millions of adherents, the party which has determined Germany's political destinies for a whole epoch, is now crumbling into a heap of ruins. The simple-minded Ex-Minister Hilferding has every cause to sit down by the waters of Babylon and weep.

And the differences of opinion and beginnings of a split between the Right and "Left" Social Democrats—how are these to be estimated?

It is possible that the "Left" Social Democrats may at times play the same rôle in the history of the German Revolution as the Left Social Revolutionaries played in our Russian Revolution. That is, they may go a few steps along the road with us, but presently branch off into the camp of counter-revolution again. In the year 1917/18 it appeared at one time as if there were a tremendous political difference between the Right and "Left" Social Revolutionaries. By the year 1923 every impartial observer can see that the "Left" and the Right Social Revolutionaries—at least in so far as their leaders were concerned—were merely two different layers of the same unsteady and counter-revolutionary petty bourgeoisie.

The entire group of the present leaders of the "Left" Social Democrats in Germany, or at least almost the entire group, has long been well known to us; these are old acquaintances who have betrayed the German proletariat more than once in decisive moments, and they will betray the German proletariat often enough again in the future. The appearance of a "Left" undercurrent in the S.P.D. is naturally of immense importance as a symptom. The "Left" S.P.D. reflects in a distorted form the revolutionary sentiment spreading among the broadest masses of the German proletariat. But this is only a symptom. Should the so-called "Left" leaders of the S.P.D. really seriously entertain the idea of playing an independent political part, this might prove a tremendous source of danger for the German Revolution, it might even spell disaster for it. As soon as these gentlemen enter into a Revolutionary Government, they are perfectly certain to try and convert it into a debating society at some decisive moment. When the moment comes for iron dictatorship and determined action, they will be found vigorously applying the brake to the Revolutionary Government. Too much "support" on the part of the "Left" German Social Democrats might prove fatal for the Proletarian Revolution.

This does not imply that the Communists are to reject any understanding with the Left Social Democrats at the present stage of development. There are still certain categories of workers who adhere to Social Democracy. Left Social Democracy is one of the last delusions of a considerable section of German workers. One of the most important prerequisites for the success of further decisive action on the part of the Communists consists in the ability to help this section to rid itself of its illusions. May the German workers speedily convince themselves, by means of a last example, that the so-called "Left" Social Democracy is neither willing nor able to lead a decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the "Left" Social Democrats, all these Crispiens and Rosenfelds, will themselves do all that is necessary to compromise themselves with the utmost rapidity and thoroughness in the eyes of the workers. And we can aid them in this. The attitude taken by this so-called "Left" Wing of the Social Democratic Reichstag Fraction has recently shown with sufficient distinctness (the vote on the extension of the powers of the semi-Fascist Stresemann Government) the entire lack of principle and the counter-revolutionary treachery of the "Left" leaders of German Social Democracy. The hour is approaching in which the overwhelming majority of those German workers who still put some trust in the "Left" S.P.D. will finally become convinced that the decisive battle will have to be fought without and against the Left S.P.D.

The entry of Communists into the Saxon Government has a double object. In the first place the revolutionary advance guard of Saxony is to be aided in obtaining a firm foothold, in occupying a certain area, and in making Saxony a starting point for further combats. In the second place the Left S.P.D. is to be given the opportunity of showing what stuff it is really made of by means of actual deeds, so that the dispelling of the last illusions of the Social Democratic workers may be facilitated. The experiment thus made by the C.P. in Saxony, naturally with the agreement of the Comintern, is attended by grave danger. We need have no illusions on this point. But it would be a piece of sorry political cowardice to avoid the risk run by the entry of Communists into the Saxon Government. None the less it would be childish to fail to recognize the enormous political dangers involved in this experiment.*

Even before the Workers' Government was finally formed, the "Left" Saxon Social Democrats began to sabotage it. The German Communists, who have sent a group of their best workers into the Saxon Government, will be on their guard. Under no circumstances will they permit the German "Left" Social Democrats to continue their policy of vacillation, and to sabotage the Proletarian Revolution at the expense of the prestige of the German C.P. The entry of the German Communists into the Saxon Government only possesses real significance if it offers a certain guarantee that the apparatus of state power is really going to begin to serve the working class, that hundreds and thousands of workers are going to be armed for the fight against Bavarian and Pan-German Fascism, that the great mass of bourgeois officials is going to be swept out of the state apparatus in fact and not merely in words, instead of being permitted to remain as an inheritance from the days of the

*) The events which have occurred in Saxony since the writing of this article, involving the dispersal of the Communist-Socialist Government and the formation of a Right wing Social Democratic Government, serve to justify the warning given by Comrade Zinoviev as to the vacillating nature of the so-called Left wing Social Democratic leaders, and will certainly facilitate that desirable process of disillusioning the minds of the Social Democrat workers. Ed.

Kaiser, and that, further, immediate economic measures of a revolutionary character, directed decisively against the bourgeoisie, are going to be executed.

Should the present Saxon Government really succeed in converting Saxony into a Red land, one which can become a concentration centre for the whole of the revolutionary forces of the nation, if only in a certain degree, then the revolutionary German proletariat will understand and support the Saxon experiment. Should this not prove to be the case, then the German Communists must utilize the whole Saxon episode for the purpose of repeatedly impressing upon the working masses the entire lack of principle of the "Left" Social Democracy of Germany, and the counter-revolutionary treachery of the Left Social Democratic leaders. We refuse to have anything to do with a "united front" which obliterates the real tasks of Revolution.

To sum up: German Social Democracy no longer forms the centre of political life—the centre of gravity has shifted to the German C.P. The German Communists are already on the way to winning the majority of the many millions composing the German proletariat. The main task of the C.P. of Germany consists in convincing the majority of the German workers, by means of actual deeds, that the Communist Party of Germany is no longer a mere vanguard of the working class—as in the years 1919/21—but is beginning to carry the mass of the workers along with it. And, above all, the conviction must be imparted to the working masses that victory will be actually assured to the working class by the leadership of the Communist Party.

Legal Separatism in the Rhineland

By Walter Stoeker (Düsseldorf).

The advance made by the separatist group Matthes, Decker, Dor en and Smeets, has made the so-called putch separatism the subject of common talk. Everyone is speaking of the prospects of this Fascist separatist element, of its possibilities and impossibilities. However the advance made by this group may end, the impending separation of the Rhine and Ruhr areas from Germany must unfortunately be reckoned with, for the separatist tendencies are winning the upper hand more and more, thanks to the policy pursued by the Central Government, thanks to the political and economic collapse of the country, and above all on account of the policy adopted by the Rhinish-Westphalian big industrialists. Poincaré is on the high road to the attainment of his goal, the dismemberment of Germany. The Rhinish big industrialists, and the Rhinish bourgeoisie, are his pacemakers. The great Otto Wolff concern and other industrial undertakings are working openly and secretly, through their bought press, for the separation from Germany. The big industrialists, having drained the German Reich dry, are now trying to save themselves by way of a Rhinish-Westphalian Republic under the protection of Entente militarism. But separatism has also gained much ground among broad circles of the bourgeoisie during the last few weeks, especially among the middle class, the house owners, small tradesmen, artisans, and peasants. The Centre Party, owing to its federal tendencies, has always been a somewhat uncertain element in the question of a united Reich. It has long been working quietly for separation from Prussia, and for the creation of an independent Rhinish-Westphalian Federal State.

The attitude adopted by the French Government with reference to Berlin, the catastrophic ruin of the country, and the present putch-like advance, all appear to have combined greatly to promote the idea of an independent Rhinish-Westphalian Republic amongst wide circles of the Rhinish Westphalian bourgeoisie, and even among the social democrats, despite their repudiation of putch Separatism.

Thus, for instance, the *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, which sympathizes with the German People's Party, published a leading article containing the following passage, on the day after the putch at Aix-la-Chapelle:

"In obedience to necessity, special agreements are being made everywhere in the occupied territory, and are unfortunately awakening in the great mass of the population the impression that Berlin is abandoning the occupied territory to its own resources, that the Central Government is letting this territory go from sheer inability to do anything else. The psychological effect of this idea, especially among the Rhinish population, need only be outlined here. It suffices to mention a South German newspaper, which wrote a few days ago that nothing is lacking to the Rhinish Republic except its proclamation! The instinct of self-preservation, inherent in peoples as well as in individuals, and the right of self-determination now decisively recognized everywhere, can be made to explain, substantiate and excuse—not only economic measures, but also measures of constitutional

law. In whatever direction we look, we are warned by the signs of the coming storm!"

This is the first time that this paper speaks of those rights of self-determination which may be employed to excuse measures of constitutional law, which means, in plain language: the instinct of self-preservation, and the right of self-determination, permit the separation and independence of the Rhinish population to be "explained, substantiated and excused" from the standpoint of constitutional law.

On the day following the Aix-la-Chapelle putch the same paper wrote even more clearly, (No. 445):

"The attempts being made in separate towns forcibly to set up the Rhinish Republic, by means of putches, threatens to destroy the necessary unity of the Rhinish people, and to unchain party struggles in a sphere which has hitherto been influenced only by German interests in its demands and wishes, despite the great difficulties of its position. And when the political conditions call for separate negotiations and separate agreements in the sphere of economics, when fresh decisions of far-reaching importance are to be made, this task is incumbent on the parliamentary representatives of the Rhinish people, above all on the provincial Diet, which is alone authorized to take legislative measures."

Again, this is the first time that this paper makes any mention of the unity of the "Rhinish people", and the observation concerning "fresh decisions of far-reaching importance" merely indicates that, should the separation of the Rhineland take place, this is to be done through the parliamentary representatives. There is an entire absence of the formerly so decided and unequivocal repudiation of any separatist tendency.

The same paper then comes out quite openly on October 28, with the following:

"Should the Rhinish Republic become a political necessity, should the force of circumstances cause the Rhinish people to regard voluntary separation from the Prussian State or even from the Reich as the inevitable lesser evil, it would then become the national duty and political task of the parties and the Rhinish constitutional assembly to prepare for this important decision in a worthy and suitable manner. We can therefore very well imagine the possibility that the provincial diet, in its capacity of the authoritative representative of the Rhinish people, would meet together, and would appoint from its midst a committee possessing the powers of a ministry, until such time as a general election would chose a parliament legally entrusted with the formation of the new state with its constitution and government. An independent Rhineland thus founded would be valid according to national and international law, and would enter the family of European states as a recognized member, deserving of full confidence alike politically and economically."

It is scarcely possible for this newspaper, whose sympathies are with heavy industry, to speak more plainly than this.

A proclamation issued by all bourgeois and social democratic parties and organizations in Aix-la-Chapelle against "bandit separatism", contains the following enthusiastic passage:

"May all those for whom democracy and the free right of self-determination for the peoples are not mere empty phrases, raise their voices, in the old world and the new alike, in favor of the Rhineland, and demand that the Rhinish question, in so far as it exists, be solved solely by the clear and uninfluenced expression of the wishes of the population concerned, through the agency of its authorized representatives, in agreement with the Central and State Governments, and not through the agency of a handful of irresponsible putschists."

This proclamation was, on October 28, supplemented by the following shrewd comments of the organ of the German People's Party and heavy industry, the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

"The inhabitants of Aix-la-Chapelle are raising the demand that the Rhinish question, in so far as it exists, is to be decided solely by the clear and uninfluenced expression of the wishes of the population, through the agency of its authorized representatives, in agreement with the Central and State Governments, and not through the agency of a handful of irresponsible putschists. This demand has the support of the whole Rhinish population, with the exception of those elements who have mutually characterized one another as being the worst possible. If the representatives of the population now prepare to get in touch with the French occupation authorities, this can happen only by way of indignant protest and of the demand made in the Aix-la-Chapelle proclamation."

Out of the many similar expressions of opinion contained in other newspapers, we append an interesting statement made by the Centre press. Centre Party deputy, Joos, writes as follows in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (No. 783), under the characteristic headline of "Clear Will":

"The German Reich is still standing, its will to live is still powerful. Hence we cannot assume that it is unable to help us. But should it really be the case that the Central Government is only able to help within certain limits, then it must make it possible for us to help ourselves. Nothing without or against the consent of the Reich, but with its consent."

Joos, after having himself declined to take the initiative, continues:

"Today the attacks made by the sinister accomplices of the Separatists have been completely repulsed by the unequivocal will of the population, from the right to the extreme left. In Munich-Gladbach the Communists were in the forefront of those freeing the town hall. If work, bread and money are not obtained within a few weeks, then it is very easily possible that these same Communists and others will reappear at the town hall, not to free it, but to dictate. We are confronted by impending hunger revolts. The foolish experiment played by the Separatists has not retarded this development, but accelerated it. Let us take care that the rising wave does not wash us into anarchy and ruin."

This first question is for the moment the only one. All other questions come later. There are other ways and means, which we need not mention here, but which may be seriously discussed on the day when all other means have failed. The population of the Rhine has a right to life and the possibility of living. Of late years concepts and phrases have been formed and newly coined, phrases concerning freedom and justice and the right of self-determination of the peoples. These phrases are not to be passed by with a derisive smile; it is impossible to act against them. We are approaching prospects which will presently open out before us."

Here again we find the suggestion of the application of the conceptions of the right of self-determination of peoples, and of the "freedom of the Rhinish people", and we learn that these ideas are no longer to be passed by with a derisive smile. And that Joos speaks in this article of the Rhineland as a part of the Reich only, and not of Prussia, is not to be wondered at in a Centre Party leader, for this Party has long been in favor of a Rhinish-Westphalian Federal State within the German Reich, but separate from Prussia.

That the idea of legal separatism is also gaining ground among the Social Democrats of the Rhineland, is shown by a statement of the Cologne *Rheinische Zeitung* of October 25. The leading article is directed against the separatist attempt made by the Social Democrats of the Palatinate, and reproaches them for having made the attempt without first coming to an understanding with the bourgeois parties, and without the agreement of the Central Government. But then comes the following sentence:

"It may well be imagined that in an hour of the greatest need the overwhelming majority of a people presses forward to a decision calculated to free it, and to free it as a whole, from an unbearable foreign pressure, and seeks new paths for coming to an understanding with the oppressor."

Influential Social Democratic trade union leaders are expressing the opinion that the proclamation of the Rhinish-Westphalian Republic is inevitable, and that we have no other choice but to "face the facts". This they state to be also the opinion of "decisive" circles in the Rhineland.

That the separatist idea has already won much ground in the ranks of the leaders of the coalition parties is again shown by the declaration made by the Cologne coalition parties after the Aix-la-Chapelle incident, for this declaration makes no mention whatever of unqualified adherence to the Reich or to Prussia, but is merely a negative attack on the putch methods. Much may be read between the lines of this declaration.

The political circles of the Rhineland expected a "solution" of the Rhinish question in the separatist direction from the conferences with the Central Government at Hagen. The official report of the Hagen conference was extremely ambiguous. We are informed that the Berlin Governments have not entertained the idea of giving up the Rhineland, but no indication is given of the attitude adopted by the political leaders of the Rhineland at this conference, which appears to have lasted for several hours. We are, however, told that the parties of the occupied territory had already appointed a Commission of 15 persons for the pur-

pose of establishing "permanent contact with one another" and with the Central Government, and for cooperation in the "necessary negotiations in the sphere of economics".

Is it correct that at this Conference the Clerical Lord Mayor, Ademener, and numerous other bourgeois leaders of the Rhineland, stood for the establishment of a Rhinish-Westphalian Republic?

In view of these developments the proclamation of the Rhinish-Westphalian Republic is merely a matter of weeks, perhaps merely of days. The Social Democratic leaders are obviously abetting this.

The Communist workers in the Rhine and Ruhr areas will resist any attempt at separation with all their might, and we expect the same from our Social Democratic class comrades. The working class on the Rhine and in the Ruhr acts in its own interests in opposing its separation from the coming proletarian Germany.

Germany will lose its most important and valuable industrial area. The whole bourgeoisie, with the heavy industry at its head is deserting the sinking ship of the German Reich. It is only the Rhinish-Westphalian proletariat which will restore Rhine and Ruhr to Germany—but to a proletarian Germany.

The Latest Developments of the Ruhr and Reparations Crisis

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

In the Reparations question we must be more careful than ever today to differentiate between appearance and reality. On the one hand, we cannot fail to observe the apparent endeavor being made by the Entente Governments to obtain the reparation payments in cash. The place where this comedy is played is the Reparations Commission. On the other hand, we find the actual reality when we turn to the Ruhr, and see it annexed by French capitalism. The Reparations Commission here signifies General Degoutie and the Comité des Forges.

It is true enough that France, in view of her shaken financial situation, is desperately in need of German payments on account. And it is equally true that the confidence of the French middle class in the state papers and in the franc is chiefly maintained by means of the formula: "The German will pay." And when it becomes perfectly clear that the German cannot pay, then there will be a rough awakening indeed. The fact that Poincaré's Ruhr policy still meets with the support of broad strata of the French middle class is only explicable by their hope of obtaining payment from Germany. These circles hope that Poincaré's policy of the mailed fist in the Ruhr will compel the German to pay. Then the deficit in the French budget would vanish, the franc would rise in value, and the annuitants need not fear that the French state loans will melt into nothing in their hands, like the war loans of the German Empire.

We can, however, certainly assume that M. Poincaré himself, as also the mighty ones of the Comité des Forges, possess sufficient insight to see through the comedy of German solvency. Any bank clerk could teach the politicians of Europe that if one country is going to give another real payments, this can only be done in the form of goods. Should Germany really pay the reparation sums demanded, then woe to her creditors! Then the German reparation goods would flood the markets of the world, and many millions of families in the victorious countries would suffer from unemployment, which would show them very effectually what it means if Germany really pays. It is very characteristic that up to now every Franco-German agreement relating to deliveries in kind has been shipwrecked on the sabotage of French industrialists! How great the sensation aroused at the time by the Wiesbaden agreement between Rathenau and Loucheur, and again by the contract between Stinnes and Lubersack! But both agreements have proved worthless scraps of paper. The French big industrialists, who want to monopolize all the profits to be got out of the restoration of the devastated areas, have prevented the Germans from making payments in kind, to any extent worthy of mention, to the devastated provinces of northern France. This is the best proof that France cannot obtain German reparation payments, and in point of fact does not want them. The supplies of Ruhr coke to France are another matter. The bond which France holds against Germany, in the form of the reparation clauses of the Versailles Treaty, is merely the pretext for the subjugation of the West German colliery and iron ore areas by French heavy industry.

Those to whom all this is clear will be able to look on without much emotion at the latest endeavors of the Reparations Commission. The Passive Resistance in the Ruhr area having been abandoned, the Entente Governments have to keep up the

appearance of seeking seriously for a solution of the Reparations problem. For this purpose they are harking back to the well-known Belgian plan worked out last June. The English, French, and Italian Governments have declared themselves agreed that the Reparations Commission should base its next efforts on the Belgian plan. This Belgian plan contains all manner of combinations in connection with payments by Germany. It provides for the formation of certain international monopolies in Germany for the sale of sugar, salt, tobacco, wine, spirits, matches, etc. The exercise of the rights of monopoly is to fall to international syndicates, in which not only foreign capitalists are to be represented, but German capitalist circles as well. The German Railways are to be dealt with in a similar manner. The proceeds of all these undertakings are to flow into the Reparations exchequer. It is obvious that such a combination would enormously increase the cost of living for the working masses of Germany, and would at the same time provide very agreeable payments, in the way of commission and expenses of various descriptions, to the international capitalists participating in the administration of the monopolies. But of what assistance would all this be in the matter of reparation payments? The proceeds of all these monopolist administrations would naturally consist of paper marks, or of other German currency valid at the moment. But what are the Entente States to do with such quantities of German money? The possession of German money signifies the possibility of buying goods from Germany. We are therefore confronted by the old difficulty, that Germany is only able to pay the Reparations in goods. Besides this, German currency would have to be stabilized before such amounts of German marks would be of any use at all to the reparation creditors. But in spite of the Rentenmark, the stabilization of the German currency remains a castle in the air.

The Reparations Commission will weigh every possible consideration of this description, and perhaps the whole inquiry into German solvency will be renewed. Such considerations and inquiries require time, and time is what Poincaré is particularly anxious to gain. He is anxious to divert the current of British energies into the work of the Reparations Commission. Mr. Baldwin may rack his brains as to whether Germany's total debt should be assessed at 40 or 50 milliard gold marks, as to what percentage of interest is to be paid on the German Reparations debt, as to who is to have priority when Germany begins to pay, and similar speculations respecting the chickens which are not yet hatched. Meanwhile Poincaré takes action in the Ruhr.

The tendency of French Rhine and Ruhr policy is perfectly clear: The fate of the Rhine and Ruhr areas is not to be discussed any further with the Berlin Government. Poincaré finds ever fresh pretexts for avoiding any such discussions. At the present time he formally demands, very cleverly, that the conditions obtaining before the Ruhr occupation shall be restored with regard to the delivery of coal. But the German collieries only want to supply coal to France on the condition that the German Government pays them. And this is beyond the powers of German finance. The country is therefore incapable of fulfilling its obligations with regard to the delivery of coal and coke, and M. Poincaré need not negotiate with Stresemann.

An exceedingly simple series of conclusions. And what is the further logical conclusion? France will come to independent agreements with the separate concerns of Ruhr industry, after the manner of the Wolff agreement and the negotiations with Stinnes. Under some circumstances France may even advance cash to Ruhr industry in order to facilitate the sending of supplies. This will place Ruhr industry completely in the hands of France, the Comité des Forges will arrange all further details with Stinnes, Klöckner, and Wolff, and the economic affiliation of the Rhine and Ruhr country to France will become an actual fact. The French railway regime in the Rhine and Ruhr area will be made a permanency along the same lines, German industrialists participating in it, as suggested by Stinnes in his well known propositions to the German government. It need not be said that the French troops will meanwhile remain in the Ruhr valley, in order to cover all these manipulations. The exact political form which will be found for this actual separation of the Rhine and Ruhr area from Germany has not yet been settled, and is besides a matter of indifference. After the economic affiliation of the Ruhr and Rhineland to France has been accomplished, then Poincaré will condescend to negotiate with Stresemann again.

It will be seen at once that certain of the fundamental ideas of the Belgian Reparations plan coincide with Poincaré's practical Ruhr policy. The running of the railways, and of the collieries of the Ruhr and Rhineland, by groups of mixed French and German capitalists, fits excellently into the Belgian plan. The sole difference is that this re-arrangement of the economy of the Ruhr area will be for the benefit of the private capitalists participating, and that the Reparations account will receive no benefit.

However, after Poincaré has got the Ruhr area to this point, he will doubtless find the international formula enabling him to show the perfect harmony between his robberies and the Reparations paragraphs of the Versailles Treaty. And then the German Government will be forced to set its signature to the whole thing—if the German proletariat has not already cancelled the account.

The Insurrection in Hamburg

A Proletarian Thermopylae.

The following brief epitome of the recent events in Hamburg is taken from a report by an eye-witness:

The armed struggles in Hamburg began on Monday morning, October 22, at about 5 o'clock. The embittered workers stormed the Police Stations. By about 7 o'clock the workers, who were unarmed, had captured 13 stations and had commandeered from each 15 rifles with which they then proceeded to carry on the fight. The attitude of the Security Police was vacillating. After the first attack delivered on Monday in Schiffbeck and Barnbeck, the workers were able to construct barricades almost undisturbed. The Police spent the Monday in gathering together their forces and did not venture on any further attack. The Harbour and Dock Workers, numbering about 25,000, went on strike, but they did not take any active part in the fighting. On the barricades there fought only 250 to 300 men,—almost entirely Communists. In the auxiliary work of building barricades, obtaining provisions and munitions, there took part about 1000 workers. The Social Democratic workers, as well as even the petty bourgeoisie, maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality; they even sympathized with the fighters, but did not afford them active help. Already on Monday the Social Democratic Party and trade unions leaders instituted a violent campaign of incitement against the fighters. They took up an hostile attitude towards the action of the workers and to the extension of the strike, and this confused the Social Democratic workers.

Tuesday. The attack by the Police begins. Reichswehr and Marines aid in the attack. They open the attack with rifle and machine-gun fire. The workers extend the barricades and strengthen their positions. The number of those engaged in the fighting grows. Munitions are procured. Members of the petty bourgeoisie and Social Democratic workers afford help in supplying provisions. Although the workers have only rifles and are without machine guns, the attack is beaten off.

Wednesday. The enemy makes preparations for the general attack. Against 300 workers there are assembled 8,000 men—Police, Reichswehr and Marines. After preliminary heavy rifle and machine gun fire the enemy proceeds to the attack. The heroic workers again repel the assailants. The foe draws back.

Wednesday Night. The morale of the fighters is excellent. The violent incitement of the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, however, prevents the fighters from receiving fresh reinforcements from the ranks of the working class. The forces of the enemy are continually augmented. Reichswehr and Marine Troops continually arrive. It is necessary to decide upon the retreat. Ten Comrades voluntarily offer to cover the retreat. All the killed and wounded and the fighting material are removed. The workers enter on the retreat with the conviction that this is but the introduction to fresh struggles for the winning of final victory.

Thursday Morning. Heavy rifle and machine gun fire against the unoccupied barricades. Then: General attack. Police, Reichswehr and Marines storm with augmented forces. And they "capture" the undefended barricades.

The International Proletariat Hastens to the Aid of the German Working Class

By Willy Münzenberg.

All over the world a mighty solidarity movement has begun for the support of the German workers. The International Workers' Relief has issued an appeal calling upon the workers of the whole world to form Relief Committees at once, and systematically to collect funds in aid of the starving German working men and women, children, and old people. The appeal refers to the great wave of solidarity which swept over the international working class at the time of the famine catastrophe in Russia in 1921, and calls upon all productive workers to carry through the present action with the same energy and enthusiasm as was done in aid of the starving Russian workers and peasants. The appeal points out that the German famine

differs from the Russian in not being the result of a natural catastrophe, but of the complete dissolution of German economics and the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist economic system in Germany. It is accordingly the more important and the more necessary that the international working class comes to the help of the victims of this collapse.

The appeal made by the International Workers' Relief has not fallen upon deaf ears. Relief Committees have immediately been organized in all countries, and have already begun actively the work of collecting. The Russian Comrades are especially zealous. The workers and peasants of the various Russian towns and villages are competing with one another in the endeavor to repay with interest the fraternal help received from the international working class in the year 1921. Thanks to this immediate response to the passionate appeal of the International Workers' Relief, it has already been possible for the Central Committees of this body to distribute 200,000 hundredweight of corn, chiefly Russian rye, in the most needy industrial centres of Germany. 40,000 hundredweight was placed at the disposal of the Saxon Workers' Government for distribution to the unemployed and destitute, 15,000 hundredweight have been sent to Thuringia, and at the same time the International Workers' Relief has organized the distribution of food to 3000 working women daily in Berlin. The famine relief movement of the international proletariat, thus begun by these first actions of the International Workers' Relief in aid of the German working class, is to be greatly extended within the next few weeks. The German working class will receive fresh courage from the consciousness that it does not stand alone in the struggle, but is supported by the working class of all countries.

Poincaré's Preparations against the German Revolution

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

Great events cast their shadows before. In Germany the class state and Fascism are preparing feverishly, making ready to strangle the newborn social revolution. And in France, whose policy of violence in the Ruhr and on the Rhine is supposed to be going to force the unwilling Germans to pay the reparations, imperialism is also making every preparation for the immediate destruction of this same social revolution, by force of arms, should it survive the attempt made to strangle it by German capitalist rule. The French proletarians in uniform have been chosen by their imperialist lords to play the shameful part of executioners. But the class conscious working people of France rise in indignation against the rôle expected of them. M. Poincaré, however, whose dearest wish it is to shatter the German Reich, and to degrade the Rhine and Ruhr districts to French protectorates, is fully determined to force his class army to carry out his annexion plans. He is well aware that the social revolution in Germany would put an effectual stop to his knavish policy, and therefore he is determined to crush this revolution. Hence he has been obliged to resort once more to White Terror for the purpose of maintaining docility in the army, the instrument of his policy of pillage. And this in spite of the crushing defeats which he has suffered in the conspiracy trials of 1920 and 1923.

This time he has selected a great man, a man of international reputation, as the victim of his thirst for vengeance—the author Henri Barbusse. He brings an indictment against him because, at the last session of the III. Congress of the International of Ex-Service Men, held on October 4. of this year, he made a speech containing the following passage:

"Two years ago—at the time of the diplomatic friction between France and Germany on account of the so-called compensation question (as if any compensation were possible for the calamity of the war!)—I received a communication from Karl Tiedt, sent on behalf of the Ex-Service Men of Germany. He wrote to me in your names, that you had vowed rather to turn your weapons against your own leaders, should you be mobilized, than against your French brothers. I read this letter aloud at our national congress in Levallois, and never before did the importance and significance of the Ex-Service Men's International appear so evident as at this moment. The conditions under which we are now living have recalled these words of yours to my mind. I look beyond you to the French soldiers forming the Army of Occupation. I have no opportunity of entering into direct intercourse with them, but I know that the words which I here speak will reach them in one form or another. When I return to France I shall have these words printed, and my appeal to the French soldiers is:

If you are called upon to march against your German brothers, who carry the salvation of the proletariat in their hearts and hands, you must never do it! Consider first on which side your cause and your destiny really lie, before you commit the crime of obeying your superiors!"

This manly appeal to the French occupation troops for international proletarian solidarity has been too much for Poincaré. His hirelings of the law receive immediate orders to place the great Frenchman Barbusse under lock and key. And as Poincaré knows that neither the jury, which acquitted the victims of his policy of revenge in 1920, nor the Senate, which threw the torn fragments of his communist indictment at his feet on May 24. of this year, are any more likely now than then to oblige him by sentencing to order, he is this time going to have his victim condemned by his cowardly, career-hunting, and unworthy professional judges. The notorious II. Criminal Court of Paris is to be entrusted with the work of sentencing Barbusse, and the accursed anarchist law of 1894 is to be employed as the means to this end. For our comrade is accused of "inciting military persons to disobedience, for the purpose of aiding and abetting anarchist aims".

But this dishonorable trick of Poincaré's will not have the desired effect. On the contrary, it will mightily promote the object of the communists: the international solidarity between the French proletarians and the German revolutionary fighters. It will have the effect of carrying Barbusse's appeal to the French proletarians in uniform into the most out-of-the-way garrison towns, into the remotest village of France, and everywhere where the workers have not been infected by the diseases of capitalism and imperialism, it will awaken a mighty echo, and strengthen the determination to thwart the criminal plans of those who are ruling by might alone.

In France we can already see the rising tide of indignation among the masses. Already the tormented proletariat is uttering an irrepressible cry: In spite of everything! The fighting ranks of the revolutionary working class are already forming, preparations are being made to repel Poincaré's treacherous attack, and to erect an impassable and solid wall of practical international and revolutionary solidarity between the fighting social revolution in Germany and the bloody and piratical imperialism of France.

On the day following the summons to Barbusse to present himself before the Court of Inquiry, flaming appeals were published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, the Central Committee of the A.R.A.C. (Revolutionary Association of Ex-Service Men), and the Parisian District Committees, appeals signed by their entire membership, in which they declare themselves expressly and unreservedly in accord with Comrade Barbusse's words, and energetically demand that they be accused of the same crime by the bourgeois dictatorship.

Although Barbusse is to be dragged before that most contemptible of courts of law, the II. Paris Police Court, still his trial will prove an annihilating indictment of Poincaré, and of the imperialist policy of robbery so ruinous to the nation. And more than this, the trial will develop into a signal for all the exploited and oppressed in France, telling them that the moment has come for them to obey the inner voice which bids them aid the German revolution to the utmost limits of their capacity.

POLITICS

The United States Restores the State of War

by John Pepper (New York).

New dangers are looming over the workers and farmers of the United States.

Coolidge the strike-breaker, President of the Government, is welding tremendous plans to restore the State of War in the United States.

The Federal Government is planning three far-reaching measures: 1. The restoration of the United States War Grain Corporation. 2. A federal anti-syndicalist law. 3. A national registration of all aliens.

These three measures mean a complete restoration of the State of War in the United States. Coal mining and railroading are already in the clutches of the Federal Government, and the revival of the War Grain Corporation means the absolute rule of the government of bankers and trusts over farming industry. It means restoring the conditions obtaining in the world war, when the whole of industrial life was put under control of the Federal Government.

A federal anti-syndicalist law means the reviving of the Espionage Act, means the consolidation on a national scale of the existing thirty-eight state laws against sedition and overthrow of the government by force and violence.

The registration of all aliens in the United States means the restoration of the State of War, when the persons and property of foreigners were placed under control of the Federal Government, which meant that millions of immigrant workers were virtually outlawed.

The War Grain Corporation.

The bankers and trust Czars are the real rulers in the United States. It is therefore obvious that the initiative for these new bills and measures comes from the bankers, and of course, the public, the people of the United States, is informed of the new plans of the government and Congress only through the various conventions of the bankers.

The plan for a revival of the United States War Grain Corporation was drawn up and submitted to Coolidge by a committee of bankers, congressmen and some big landowners and proprietors of farmers' organizations posing as farmers. The statement these bankers and fake farmers submitted to President Coolidge was:

"We want it distinctly understood that our mission is not merely on behalf of the wheat growers and farmers of the Ninth District, but we speak for the wheat growers and farmers of the entire country. We wish to safeguard the investors in farm mortgages throughout the country, and we are especially interested in saving for thousands of farmers their rights of ownership in their land and in preventing farmers from being forced to leave their present location for other States and occupations."

The revival of the United War Grain Corporation is not in the interest of the farmers, but aims "to safeguard the investors in farm-mortgages throughout the country." The revival of the War Grain Corporation is not in the interest of the exploited farmers, but in the interest of the bankers! The committee of bankers itself admits this; and it is truly the worst kind of short-sightedness or betrayal, that politicians like Frazier or Magnus Johnson, elected by the masses of farmers, now howl together with the banking wolves, demanding the revival of the War Grain Corporation. The first War Grain Corporation during the world war helped to prepare the present bankruptcy of the farmers, and if Frazier or Magnus Johnson are today advocating the creation of a second grain corporation, it means that consciously or unconsciously they are delivering up the farmers to the bankers and to the Federal Government of trusts and bankers.

The farmers are demanding public ownership of the railroads, mines and big industries; and the answer of the government of railroad corporations and coal barons is to proclaim the government ownership of the farmers. The War Grain Corporation, headed by well known bankers, means nothing else than monopolistic power on a national scale over the products of the farmers. Frazier and Magnus Johnson were elected to oppose the bankers, and to overthrow the government of bankers; and now they are helping to complete the rule of the bankers over the farmers, they are helping to transform the farmers into the slaves of a capitalist government.

Federal Anti-Syndicalist Law and Registration of Aliens.

The Constitution of the United States speaks only of the House of Representatives and the Senate, but the unwritten constitution of reality, recognizes a third part of Congress—the American Bankers' Association. It is of course evident that the latest plans of the government effecting the vital interests of millions of workers are first introduced, not in the House of Representatives or the Senate, but at the convention of the American Bankers' Association. Solicitor-General James M. Beck in his big speech against the menace of Red Radicalism, at the Bankers' Convention, revealed the plans of the Coolidge government:

"The Federal Government has not been indifferent to the spread of such propaganda, and only the last week the Attorney General has taken steps, by cooperation with the State authorities, to establish a more effective supervision of the revolutionary and criminal elements in this country.

Nor is the next Congress likely to be indifferent to the danger which too many men have hitherto minimized. Two bills will be urged for passage—one to register all aliens in the country, and the other to make it a crime to conspire to overthrow the National Government by force and violence. Today it may be doubted whether there is any specific Federal statute which enables the Federal authorities to arrest an alien, even though he is carrying a bomb to blow up a customs house. The registration of aliens, if

adopted, will probably cause a speedy and welcome coming out of alien Communists who are now under cover and who are ceaselessly plotting day and night to destroy the ordered principles of liberty for which the Constitution stands. It may be that this peril is unduly exaggerated, but it is well to exaggerate, for forewarned is forearmed."

America is facing a new economic depression. Production in the steel and textile industries is declining. Many mills are closing down, and yet the remedies of the government against the menace of wholesale unemployment are: A federal anti-syndicalist law, registration and finger-printing of aliens, and wholesale deportations of Communists. But we know from experience that everybody is a Communist who is not humble servant of capitalism. Everybody is a Communist who fights for higher wages and shorter hours. Everybody is a Communist who participates in strikes against the rulers of the steel and textile mills or railroad corporations. And in the kingdom of Gary, the steel-king, everybody is even a Communist who tries to organize the hundreds of thousands of unorganized steel workers.

And just as the elected leaders of the farmers—Magnus Johnson, Frazier and the others—have betrayed the interests of the exploited farmers, in advocating government ownership of the farmers, in the same way, the elected leaders of the workers—Gompers, Lewis and the others—betray the interests of the workers, in advocating government ownership of the workers. The speeches of Gompers in the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor provide the best pretext for the government to persecute the foreign born workers—in other words, the overwhelming majority of the laboring masses in the basic industries. Registration of aliens is but the first step towards government ownership of the workers. Registration of aliens means that the capitalists are virtually making an inventory of their living possessions, in the same way as at the end of the business year they take an inventory of their stock in trade.

The reactionary bankers, trust-lords and government are crying out that Communism is a serious menace to the country. What is Communism? Simply public ownership of trusts, industries, banks, railroads, mines, and political rule by workers and farmers. What does President Coolidge offer with the help of Magnus Johnson, Frazier, Gompers and Lewis, to the farmers and workers? Nothing but government ownership of farmers and workers, and political rule by the big capitalists of industry, banks and railroads.

The workers and farmers must choose now. Do they want government ownership of the workers and farmers, or do they want public ownership of industries, banks and railroads by the workers and farmers?

The Election Results in Austria

By Josef Grün (Austria).

The elaborate second process of ascertaining the votes cast for the election to the National Council, and the disagreements connected with the interpretation of the new franchise conditions, have prevented the final results from being published up to now, although the election took place on October 21. The decisions of the head electoral authorities, who did not meet until October 29, are likely to be contested by the constitutional court of justice, and will probably undergo some slight alterations in consequence.

With regard to the distribution of seats, the sole final results as yet made known refer to the various Diets, which are elected simultaneously with the National Assembly. Of the new federal states, five participated in the election. In Vorarlberg the Christian Socialists retained the two thirds majority, in Steiermark they neared an absolute majority, in Burgenland they won more seats than the Social Democrats, who have hitherto held the lead, but without possessing the majority. In Kärnten, finally, the united bourgeois list, consisting of Christian Socialists, Pan-German, and Federalists, succeeded in gaining the absolute majority, and in depriving the Social Democrats of the relative majority. The result of the elections to the Diets, from among whom the delegates for the Federal Council are chosen, signifies that the bourgeois majority in the Federal Council, hitherto very small, will now be increased.

The most important Diet election, however was that to the Diet of Vienna, which is also the municipal council of Vienna, which is again the federal province and the largest municipality in Austria, and comprises almost 30 per cent of the inhabitants of Austria. Since the elections of May 4, 1919, the Social Democrats had possessed nearly a two thirds majority. The

ECONOMICS

The Economic Situation in Sweden

By Paul K. Ranun (Stockholm).

An economic depression, not noticeable until the year 1921, extended over Sweden from this time until the end of last year. It was a crisis arising out of antagonisms in the rate of exchange—similar to the developments which we have observed in England. Sweden has also had to pay for the high value of its currency by stagnation of markets and unemployment. The beginning of the economic crisis in Sweden coincided with the beginning of the rapid depreciation of the German mark. Trade and industry—and all political economic authorities—were in agreement in ascribing the sudden crisis to the bad effects of the swollen German export trade. As a matter of fact, the Swedish market was flooded with the goods exported by German industry. But commercial life suffered not only from German export, it was affected even more unfavorably by the stagnation of exports to the countries which had hitherto met their requirements in wood, cellulose, steel and iron goods, from Swedish production. It was not merely the so-called export supremacy of Germany, created by the depreciation of the German mark, which caused such great damage to Swedish economics; another factor was the Finnish mark, which stood much higher in value. For Sweden and Finland alike, the mine-timber market has always been of great importance. The English had hitherto almost exclusively obtained their mine-timber from Sweden, but now Finnish competition was successful in capturing much of this market.

The Swedish crisis lasted for about one and a half years. During this time the state was obliged to support almost 100,000 unemployed. 50,000 of these were employed in emergency work by the state: in forestry, in cutting timber, in building roads, in erecting water-power plant, etc. It need not be said that under these circumstances differences arose between the workers thus employed and the State employing them. The workers fought against the low rates of wages paid for the emergency work, as these threatened to be followed by a reduction of wages in the coming normal times.

The economic crisis in Sweden was accompanied by severe social upheavals. The railwaymen on the private railways came out on a great strike, the building workers were locked out, almost all the iron industries threw their workers into the streets.

During the period in which less mine-timber was sold to England, the amount of English coal imported into Sweden was below normal. Swedish industry had taken to importing Ruhr coal in place of English. The beginning of the Ruhr occupation put an end to the import of Ruhr coal. The abnormal economic conditions in Westphalia and the Rhineland, and the rise of German export prices to world market level, greatly decreased German exports, and economic conditions in Sweden took a turn. The disastrous occupation of the Ruhr had a favorable effect on Swedish economics. Since the spring of 1923 the number of unemployed has decreased slowly but surely. During the last few months the number of unemployed has decreased to such an extent that it is scarcely possible to speak of an economic crisis any longer in this respect. During the past week alone the number of the unemployed decreased by 4000. The number of the unemployed has decreased from 97,500 to approximately 9000. A steady increase of industrial production is to be observed. The markets for the wood industry have considerably improved, the great steel works are well provided with orders, and the machine industry, which suffered most from German competition, is now on the upgrade again, thanks to the decrease of exports from Germany. As result of this, the ready-made clothing and foodstuffs industries have recuperated to such an extent that they have almost attained their pre-war standards. Swedish wood export has increased to all European markets, except Germany, France, Belgium and Holland. The cellulose industry has received extensive orders from America, and the iron works are so busily engaged that 60% of the blast furnaces are working again. Freight traffic is flourishing, the mercantile marine is well employed. The only unfavorable point is agriculture, the crops being a failure this year. The trade balance is somewhat prejudiced by the necessity of increasing the import of grain, so that the trade balance for the first eight months of this year shows a gigantic surplus of imports. The value of the goods imported this year amounted to 166 million crowns as compared with 55 million crowns during the same period last year.

Social Democratic Party had carried on an extremely skilful electoral propaganda in Vienna, placing in the foreground the maintenance of the protection afforded to tenants, in opposition to the attempts being made to weaken this, and making many other promises with regard to housing questions. In the streets of Vienna the American posters of the Social Democratic Party predominated during the last few weeks of the election campaign. The Social Democrats maintained their position in the municipality: the municipal council, the membership of which was reduced from 165 to 120, is now composed of 78 Social Democrats, 41 Christian Socialists, and 1 representative of the Jewish electoral association; hitherto the council consisted of 100 Social Democrats, 50 Christian Socialists, 8 Czechs, 3 Pan-Germans, 3 Jewish Nationalists (Zionists), and one democrat. The elimination of the small fractions is due to the new electoral ordination, which has been of special advantage to the Social Democrats, enabling them to gain 65 per cent of the seats with 56 per cent of the votes, and to the Christian Socialists, who obtained one third of the seats with one third of the votes polled. At the election to the district representations (municipal councils of the 21 municipal districts of Vienna), no essential change in proportion of forces took place.

Just as the electoral conditions now in force have favored the Social Democrats in the Vienna municipal council, so they have been greatly to the advantage of the Christian Socialists in the election to the National Council: 43 per cent of the votes enabled them to gain almost 50 per cent of the seats; the Social Democrats received approximately 40 per cent of the vote and obtained 40 per cent of the seats. The smaller parties suffered all round. The bourgeois democratic labor party lost their only seat in the National Assembly, the Provincial Federation obtained two seats in Kärnten, but only thanks to the circumstance that in this province the bourgeois united list is valid for the National Council as well (in the other province this was not the case); the Pan-Germans sank from 21 seats to 13. The National Council originally consisted of 183 members, 168 of which were elected by primary election, and 15 seat were accorded to national residuary mandates; 85 Christian Socialists, 21 Pan-German, 7 Provincial Federalists, and one Democrat, formed the bourgeois majority to which was opposed 69 Social Democrats. The new National Council consists of 165 members. The votes are first ascertained by a preliminary electoral process in four electoral districts and the residual mandates resulting are divided among the electoral districts. Up to the present moment the residual mandates of the fourth electoral district are still contested, but it is generally assumed that the new National Council will be composed of 82 Christian Socialists, 68 Democrats, 13 Pan-Germans, and 2 Provincial Federalists. The bourgeois majority is thus relatively weakened, and within the bourgeois majority itself the preponderance of the Christian Socialists is increased.

With regard to the number of votes cast, a greatly increased participation in the elections is to be recorded. Taking the Federation as a whole, this increased participation is from 80% of those entitled to vote to approximately 86%; in Vienna participation in the election rose from 80 per cent to 90%, in some proletarian electoral districts from 90 to 95% and upwards. It follows therefore that the last reserves were called up, the Social Democrats being able to increase their votes by almost 25%, and the Christian Socialists by almost 20%, whilst the Pan-Germans lost nearly 30% of their votes, the Provincial Federation almost as many, the democrats more than half, and the Czechs almost four-fifths.

The Communist Party of Austria has no success to record at this election. It has not only failed to gain seats, although it nearly approached success in this respect in several district representations, but it did not even succeed in regaining the number of votes which it had in the year 1920. It would have practically regained the 27,500 votes cast in its favor at that time, as is proved by the results in those electoral districts in which the Party crisis did not take full effect, and in which a not inconsiderable increase of votes may be recorded; but the Party crisis cost the Party 5000 votes, in Graz, Upper Austria (where the crisis prevented candidates being set up in four out of five electoral districts), and in Salzburg and Tyrol, where the consequences of the Upper Austrian Party crisis have been particularly felt. It will therefore be the task of the Communist Party of Austria to finally liquidate the Party crisis which has been so greatly hampering its activity for the better part of a year. The Party Committee has been attempting to do so for some time, but unfortunately without complete success. This once accomplished, the present set-back will be overcome, and the struggle against parliamentary illusions, still obsessing the overwhelming majority of the working people of Austria, will be taken up again with renewed energy.

The improvement in Swedish economics has been accompanied by an increase of the real income of the Swedish worker. For this reason a certain state of peace between employers and workers may be observed at the present time in Sweden. Among the questions at present occupying Swedish economic circles, wide attention is already being devoted to the question of resuming regular economic relations with Russia, and this question is arousing interest in circles beyond those actually engaged in business. This question is particularly urgent, as not only Germany, but also Sweden's immediate neighbours—Denmark, Finland and Norway—have already resumed commercial relations with Russia.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Edo Fimmen and the Amsterdam International

By Z. Leder.

Telegrams from Amsterdam report that Edo Fimmen, hitherto first general secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, who sent in his resignation some time ago, is relieved of his office from the first of November.

Edo Fimmen drew upon himself the severest disapproval of the Amsterdamers in the spring of this year, when he came to Germany for the purpose of delivering addresses in a number of towns, and of upholding the tactics of class struggle as the sole effectual strategy, as opposed to the tactics of the national united front preached to the working masses by the German Amsterdamers. Leipart and Company could not pardon Fimmen for this "crime" against the welfare of the Amsterdamers' fatherland, and complained about him to their old friends of pre-war times: Mr. J. H. Thomas, Privy Councillor to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India, M. L. Jouhaux, privy councillor to his plutocratic majesty Loucheur, and the other authorities to whom Fimmen was subject. And when Fimmen shortly afterwards pointed out, in the Bulletin of the International Transport Workers' Federation edited by him, that the leaders had not fulfilled the duties undertaken by them at the Hague, then his honorable colleague Oudegeest, second secretary of the International Trade Union Federation and at the same time general representative of this body at the court of his democratic militarist majesty Albert Thomas, could find no other excuse for Fimmen's running off the rails in this manner than the assumption that he must be "ill".

But Fimmen was so far from being ill that he has been able to develop his activities further to the advantage of the proletariat—and not of the bankrupt Amsterdam clique any longer—although still retaining, his position as secretary of the International Trade Union Federation. The honor is his that the Berlin Transport Workers' Congress could be held, and could awaken such resounding echoes among the revolutionary working masses. His speeches at the conference of the Czechoslovakian railwaymen, his speech at the English trade union congress at Plymouth, the last, as he rightly assumed at the time, which he would be able to make at a great trade union meeting in his capacity of secretary of the Amsterdam International—these were courageous and valuable contributions to that help which the international revolutionary proletariat of the world is prepared to give Germany. "The German revolution is on the march"—so said Edo Fimmen at Plymouth—"place yourselves on its side! Do not ask whether it will be democratic or undemocratic. The ruling class has never cared a penny for democracy."

With these words Fimmen placed himself in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, even though he does not belong to any revolutionary proletarian organization, so far as we are aware. The fact that the Amsterdamers have expelled him from their midst will make him the more welcome in these ranks. It depends solely on himself whether he actually joins the revolutionary proletarian ranks.

Karl Radek, speaking in July at the session of the Enlarged Executive of the C.I., spoke as follows: "Edo Fimmen is without doubt a man who stands sincerely for the standpoint of the class struggle. Edo Fimmen has been so unfortunate as to have taken the phrases of the Amsterdamers seriously. Edo Fimmen does not fight for communism, but for the principles which the Amsterdamers have undertaken to follow, but have betrayed,—the principles of the class struggle. We do not know along what lines Edo Fimmen's development will follow. We do not know what conflicts we may have with him. But Fimmen's action is an honorable revolutionary action. And for

us it is an action of great significance, for it proves that something is changing among the masses of the Amsterdamers".

Today we are in a position fully to confirm Radek's words. At the moment when J. H. Thomas, Jouhaux, Mertens, Leipart, and the rest, are expelling Fimmen from their midst as a "traitor", we greet him, despite the difference between his political views and ours, as a man of sincere revolutionary will. His expulsion from the "temple" of the Amsterdam Pharisees we may welcome as an infallible sign that the Amsterdamers are becoming alarmed at the revolutionizing of their own troops.

Splitting Activities of the Reactionaries in the American Labor Movement

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

Cynically and cold-bloodedly, the reactionary officialdom of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have engaged in a campaign of expulsions, disfranchisements, and Czaristic dictatorship, which threatens the very life of that great organization. Under the direct leadership of Abe Cahane, of the Jewish *Daily Forward*, and in close cooperation with Gompers, this conspiracy has reached its height in the expulsion of 11 old-time members of the Chicago unions, the forcible removal of 19 out of 25 officers of Local 22, New York, expulsions and suspensions in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other places, the use of thugs and gunmen, the breaking up of local union meetings, denial of the right to talk, to read, to think, and even to work. Along with this has gone the most vicious newspaper campaign of lies, slander, intimidation, and intellectual prostitution that has ever been witnessed in the American labor movement.

The reactionaries felt around in New York and Philadelphia to find the most favorable place to start their expulsions. But the workers in those cities were on their guard, owing to previous attacks by the right-wing elements. So Mayer Perlstein, vice-president, was sent to Chicago to begin the war. There he found the Unions running along in comparative harmony, organizational work being carried on, and the left-wing militants taking a most active part in the work of the union, devoting their efforts outside of shop-hours to the union without pay. Perlstein is on record himself to this effect. It is also on record that he came to Chicago for the specific purpose of starting expulsions of these same workers. He called for an organization campaign, and the left-wing elements immediately took him at his word and intensified the campaign to bring the unorganized into the union. But this manoeuvre of Perlstein's was only a means of putting the workers off their guard.

In the midst of the organization campaign, elections occurred. The left-wing advocates of amalgamation and the labor party, were elected in a majority of the offices, all of them members of years standing and trusted in the work of the union. Perlstein immediately began his disruption. He brought charges against G. Davidson and Alex Kanevsky, and had a trial committee appointed. In the proceedings that followed, Perlstein violated every safeguard thrown up for protection of the membership by the Laws of the Union. In spite of his threats and violations of the law, the Committee returned a verdict in favor of the left-wing militants by a vote of 5 to 1. But by disfranchising 16 out of 35 members of the Joint Board, Perlstein succeeded, through coercion and corruption, in getting 11 of the remaining 19 to overthrow the decision of the trial committee. Then he expelled the members by executive order. Immediately after he expelled 9 more, including Dora Lipshutz, I. Litvinsky, J. Terry, J. Goldman, Jennie Schwartz, Clara Gabin, Sam Cohen, Nathan Bosen, and Hymen Fogel, all of them without trial or even pretence of trial.

This opening gun in the war against progress was quickly followed by a general letter from the International Executive Board, signed by Sigman and Baroff, president and secretary, calling upon all locals to expel members of the Trade Union Educational League. But everywhere the rank and file refused to follow the reactionaries. In not a single instance did any local union take action against the left-wingers—and a logical thing that is, because in the local unions the left wing is respected and trusted. So the bureaucracy swung into action again. In New York they arbitrarily removed Rose Wolkowitz from the Joint Board. In Boston, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, they rushed about cooking up charges to place against the advocates of amalgamation. The whole union was thrown into a turmoil of protest.

The expelled members in Chicago appealed to their local unions to enter protest against Perlstein's strong-arm methods.

His answer was the appointment of a "Committee of Ten" to prevent all discussion of his Czarist rule. His agents broke up the local union meetings to prevent motions of protest from being adopted. As a final recourse to bring their case before the membership, the expelled members called a mass meeting in Ashland Auditorium, also known as Carmen's Hall.

The meeting in Carmen's Hall was an historic one. Those in charge had not expected more than 400 or 500 members, about the number of regular attendants at local meetings. Instead of that, and in spite of an exceedingly stormy night, fully half the membership of Chicago appeared, and the committee had hastily to arrange to open the great Auditorium to accommodate the crowd. The officials had their "Committee of Ten" on hand, together with a collection of Chicago's notorious gunmen. These endeavored to break up the meeting by interruptions and disturbances, and kept matters in a turmoil of noise and confusion for over an hour, until the manager of the hall threatened to call the police if they were not quiet. The meeting proceeded under difficulties, with great demonstrations from the 2,000 people present, and culminated in the base attempt to shoot Wm. Z. Foster, the story of which has already made the round of the world.

But if Sigman, Perlstein & Co. expected to intimidate the amalgamationists by their rough-stuff, they were sorely disappointed. Great mass meetings of protest were held in every needle trades center. The one in New York City, held in Rutgers Square on Sept. 8., was attended by 10,000 workers. The reactionaries had over-reached themselves, and the rank and file were united into a great demonstration against the Fascist-like tactics and against the expulsions.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the growing storm of resentment in the membership and their own public discredit, the bureaucrats continue the war against the militant rank and file. The local unions have stood solid against the wrecking tactics, and refused to approve them. Meeting after meeting has been broken up by the officials to prevent the passage of motions of protest. In Local 22, New York, the president Sigman, himself attending to obtain approval for his course, the membership voted him down overwhelmingly. In Philadelphia the dressmakers voted 3 to 1 to repudiate his demands. In Cleveland the Joint Board laid his communication on the table.

But with arbitrary ruling, disregarding all constitutional limitations on their power, the administration continues to lay charges against members, deprive them of office, rule them off the union floor, place fines of \$25 to \$100 against them, and terrorize them in every conceivable way. In Local 18 of Chicago, J. Gerber was fined \$50 by ruling of Perlstein for signing a petition for reinstatement of the expelled, and M. Kreindell was fined \$25 for handing out a circular. Both were deprived of the floor and privilege of holding office for 2 years. This is but a sample of a thousand happenings of a similar nature, unexampled in their audacity and cynicism, occurring throughout the I.L.G.W.U. In Local 22, New York, 19 out of 25 members of the Joint Board recently elected, have been removed by Executive order.

Probably the most outrageous proceeding of all, however, has been the suppression of the right to petition the General Executive Board. Even the Czar of Russia allowed his miserable serfs to petition for redress of grievances. But not so Sigman, Perlstein & Co. When friends of the expelled members in Chicago, denied all democratic procedure in the unions, began to circulate petitions for their re-instatement, the first move to stop it was the publication in the *Forward*, reactionary Jewish daily, of a "warning" that agents of the manufacturers were endeavoring to procure an injunction by getting signatures from the shops and that no one should sign anything as it would probably be for that purpose but disguised as a petition for the expelled members. Next Perlstein published an advertisement over his name, ordering all shop-chairmen to prevent the circulation of petitions, leaflets, etc. and sale of tickets of solicitation for subscriptions to the *Freiheit*, and to stop from work any one violating the order. He also prohibited all members from reading, talking, or in any way acting in regard to the expulsions, on pain of dismissal from the shops. He backed this order up by placing fines against some members who disobeyed the instructions.

From the local unions the fight is now being carried into the shops. The union officials declare that they are going to push through their arbitrary policy even if it is necessary to smash the union in so doing. All shop meetings are now being broken up if the officials are questioned in any way or called to account for their wild issuing of "orders" and "rulings". Threats are freely strewn about that there will soon begin wholesale discharges from employment unless the orders are obeyed unquestioningly. An open alliance with the employers is in

preparation for the purpose of carrying out this disgraceful program.

In this crisis in the I.L.G.W.U., the honest workers are joining hands together in a great movement under the slogan: "For the Unity of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union". Against expulsions and disruption, and for defeat of the union-wrecking officialdom, there is arising a powerful movement of the rank and file. Soon no man or woman will be able to be elected to any position of trust in the I.L.G.W.U. until he or she has repudiated the policy of expulsions and disfranchisements. The union-wreckers will be swept into oblivion by the righteous wrath and overwhelming votes of an outraged rank and file. The officers of the I.L.G.W.U. will be brought down from their high seats of Czarist rulership, and will either be made again the servants of the garment workers and not their masters, or will be sent to join their aristocratic prototypes who once arrogantly ruled over the workers of Europe as Sigman, Perlstein, Baroff & Co. now seek to rule over the I.L.G.W.U.

Labor Activity in Cyprus

There are indications that there is an awakening Labor Movement in the island of Cyprus, which is wont to be regarded as lying more or less isolated from happenings in the Labor World. On the 11th October last the various trade unions celebrated their annual festival in Limassol. This was planned and organized by the Cyprus Labor Party and was participated in by a considerable number of labor organizations, all affiliated to the Labor Party. An imposing demonstration was held in the morning in the precincts of the St. Napa Cathedral. Comrade Panos Phasoulotis, the President of the Party, delivered an address in which he outlined the principles of Communism and launched an attack on the capitalist class and its ideals, which class he declared, backed up by capitalist jurisprudence, was bringing about the destruction of the rural population. It is the first occasion on which a speech of this nature has been delivered in public in Cyprus and its conclusion was marked by prolonged applause. The meeting formally expressed its appreciation of the Communist Party of Cyprus, of Soviet Russia and of Lenin.

A resolution outlining a program of immediate demands, including settlement of the rural question in the interest of the peasants and the setting up of an agricultural credit bank, the reform of elementary education, revenue reform, including the imposition of an inheritance tax on all estates exceeding £500 in value, legal recognition of the workers organizations, introduction of the legal eight hours day, the passing of legislation for the protection of child labor and the provision of workmen's compensation. On the passing of this resolution the demonstrators joined in procession and proceeded to the Commissioner's Offices, where a copy of the resolution was handed to the Commissioner.

FASCISM

How is Fascism to be Vanquished?

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The Socialists, with the help of mutilated fragments of quotations torn from their original context, are trying to make the world believe that an alliance exists between the Communists and the Fascisti for the purpose of carrying on a war of revenge against France. Poincaré and his adherents are also endeavoring to alarm French public opinion, which they know to be pacifically inclined, with the scarecrow of the "monstrous" coalition between Communists and Fascisti. Poincaré and his semi-official newspapers are thus preparing public opinion for armed counter-revolutionary intervention against the German Revolution. And now, as usual, the Socialists are again proving themselves to be the faithful accomplices of French imperialism.

But the sound common sense of our proletariat will see through all the concealments and trickeries of Grumbach and his consorts, and will perceive the truth in spite of all efforts to hide it. Above all, the French workers thoroughly realize that whilst the assertion that any alliance has ever been dreamt of between the Communists and the Fascisti is completely false, it is on the other hand an indisputable fact that Social Democratic ministers have formed a government of the Great Coalition in collaboration with Stresemann, and that this Government has benevolently supported Fascism on the one hand, and

carried on the utmost suppression of the working class on the other. The German Communist Party has fought Fascism weapon in hand; it has incurred the loss of many hundreds of killed and wounded in these fights. Where Social Democratic workers have fought side by side with the Communists in these struggles, it has been against the express commands of the Social Democratic leaders.

There is no doubt but that in the eyes of the Social Democrats, the crime committed by the German Communist Party consists of the fact that this Party has learnt from international experience, especially from the experience gained in Italy, that Fascism is not to be vanquished by recourse to arms alone, but that in every case it is imperatively necessary to combine the political with the armed struggle.

Fascism organizes the discontent of the middle classes which have suffered severely through the war. It exploits their national ideology and their fears for their small bits of property, for the purpose of rousing their antagonism against the workers' organizations, which are represented as anti-national, and as ready to attack small property. After burning down the trade union buildings, pillaging the workers' newspaper offices, and destroying or terrorizing the labor organizations, Fascism lures the middle classes into the wake of big capitalism and its international profit combinations, which have nothing whatever in common with the conception of Fatherland.

The Communist Party of Germany has now shown this middle class that it is not anti-national, but international; that it does not want to socialize the small property constituting the means of livelihood of those engaged in real work, but solely that big capital based on the exploitation of the proletariat, and, in the natural course of its development, expropriating in the most brutal manner, all these small tradesmen etc. who still possessed their own means of production. The German Communist Party has denounced the Capitalism of heavy industry represented by Stinnes, Thyssen, Krupp, Klöckner, etc., who are not carrying on a struggle against Poincaré's Imperialism in order to defend national interests, but solely for the purpose of grasping for themselves a favorable basis for participation in the forth-coming amalgamation of French and German heavy industry. And this amalgamation is directed immediately against the German nation of workers, whose interests coincide with the interests of the workers of the whole world. The Communist Party of Germany has exposed the political aims of Fascism at thousands of public meetings, and in hundreds of newspaper articles and pamphlets. The *Rote Fahne* opened its columns to a discussion with Count Reventlow, in the course of which our Comrades Radek and Frölich completely refuted the arguments of the old leader of reaction. The efforts of the German CP. have been successful. It has been able to detach broad masses of the middle class in town and country from the influence of Fascism, and to convert these into followers of the revolutionary proletariat.

Is not the victory of the working class better served when the middle classes fight on the side of the proletariat instead of on the side of the bourgeoisie? Those gentlemen of the French and German Social Democracy who fight on the side of the bourgeoisie, are not able, apparently, to form so clear an idea on this matter as the Communists, who are fighting on the side of the proletariat. To be sure the nation of working people, who will take over power in Germany tomorrow, will not accede to every demand laid down by French Imperialism. But our Communist comrades in Germany have invariably stood for the view that the first prerequisite for effectual combat against Poincaré is the overthrow of that German Capitalism which is striving to force the working people of Germany into joint exploitation at the hands of Entente and German Capitalism. Once proletarian state power has been established in Germany, its first duty will be to rally all the forces in the country for the defence of the revolution. When the White Guardist General Yudenitch threatened Petrograd, the Russian revolution had recourse to the services of the former General Brussilov, although he had by no means become a Communist. And it acted rightly in this. It need not be said that the Bolshevik Government had taken all precautionary measures to make sure that Brussilov could only act as the instrument of the workers' power, and was excluded from the possibility of turning his weapons against it.

The gentlemen of the French Socialist Party, who are continually citing the example of the Paris Commune, will do well to accord serious consideration to the lessons taught by our own revolutionary past. For the Paris Commune too, made the attempt to utilize the middle classes with their patriotic ideology in the service of the revolution. Thus they carried on the struggle against Thiers and Bismarck, who were playing into one another's hands. The error committed by the Paris Commune lay in the fact that the internationally minded working class elements did not understand how to make use of the patriotic forces of the petty trading bourgeoisie for the carrying out of their own revolutionary purposes. The Commune was not only defeated by the bayonets of Versailles, left over to Thiers by Bismarck, but its defeat was also partly due to the confusion in its own ranks, and to the absence of any communist party which could have led the struggle.

It seems as if the Social Democrats in France, Germany, and elsewhere, were incapable of grasping this fact. In Italy, d'Arragona bends beneath the yoke of Mussolini. In Spain, Ilanzera is negotiating as to the terms of his submission to the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. In Germany, there are several Social Democratic ministers in a bourgeois coalition government, a government which imposes a state of siege and demands dictatorial powers for Stresemann. At the same time, however, the Workers' Governments in Saxony and Thuringia are preparing, under the pressure of the Communists, to support the armed struggle against Fascist Bavaria.

Against Fascism! Against the Reign of Reaction and White Terror!

Fascism has for some time been no longer a mere party question, but a question concerning the general culture and rights of all sections of society. The conditions prevailing after the Fascist seizure of power in Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria, Spain and Bavaria have made it clear to all progressive and freedom-loving people, that Fascism is not only—as it alleges—an enemy of Communism, but it is an enemy of the Socialist Labor Movement, an enemy of the whole working class. Everywhere where Fascism has succeeded in gaining power, it has proceeded with the most brutal means against all political labor organizations, against all trade unions, against the co-operatives, even against the Youth and Children's Groups which are carrying on purely educational work. To its rage for destruction there fall as victims: Labor secretariats, People's Houses, Trade Union buildings, Co-operative establishments, workers' libraries, workers' clubs and educational establishments; thousands of workers are arrested, ill-treated and imprisoned, hundreds of workers are executed and assassinated. But it is not only the working class which is hated by Fascism, but the whole democratic and left liberal movement. All freedom ceases where Fascism comes into power.

Today, the Fascist danger threatens the whole world, and, above all, Germany.

The prohibition of the Social Democratic and Democratic press in Bavaria, and the advance of reaction throughout Germany, are sure signs of the headway that Fascism is making in Germany. Fascism is today an international danger, which is financed by reactionaries of the blackest kind. These facts, which are becoming more clear and obvious with every day, are compelling continually wider sections of society to consider what defensive measures must be adopted against the Fascist danger. In France, America and Sweden, anti-Fascist organizations have already been created by members of the socialistic workers' parties, trade unions, co-operative societies and bourgeois radical organizations.

The undersigned initiatory Committee addresses itself today to all workers, to all freedom-loving and progressive-minded men and women, with the urgent appeal to follow this example and everywhere, in all countries, to form anti-Fascist organizations. The first task of such organizations must be to carry out a broad and systematic work of enlightenment as to the nature of, and the disastrous destruction of culture which follows Fascist rule, and to unite all organizations and groups for an energetic and united struggle against Fascism.

The undersigned Committee directs its appeal to all existing Anti-Fascist Committees, and those in the course of formation, and to all persons who are willing to join in this struggle,

to get into communication with it, and with it to set up a common international anti-Fascist front.

All communications are for the time being to be addressed to: The Initiatory Committee for the organizing of an International Anti-Fascist League, c/o Herr Brommert, Amsterdam Prinz Hendrikkade 10 (Holland).

Initiatory Committee for the Organization of an International Anti-Fascist League.

Clara Zetkin (Germany); Henri Barbusse, Henri Guillebeaux, Romain Rolland, Anatole France, André Marty (France); George Gross, Ernst Toller, G. G. L. Alexander, Max Barthel, Willy Münzenberg, Dr. Leo Klauber, Wilhelm Herzog (Germany); Edo Fimmen, Henriette Roland-Holst, Brommert (Holland); Upton Sinclair (America); Ture Nermann, Z. Höglund, Oscar Samuelsen (Sweden); Willi Trostel, Fritz Platten (Switzerland); Eugen Ollausen (Norway); Franz Koritschoner, Professor Dr. Karl Grünberg (Vienna).

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Letter from the Comintern to all Members of the Norwegian Labor Party

Dear Comrades!

The present leaders of the majority of your Central Committee have, without previous consultation with the Comintern, convoked an extraordinary Party Conference for the 2. November 1923, for the purpose of discussing the differences of opinion between these leaders and the Communist International. There is every reason to believe that some of these leaders are deliberately working for a split in your Party, and for a break with the Communist International. Those who have followed the history of the present internal struggles can come to no other conclusion. Each of you must bear in mind that the present leaders of the majority, headed by Bull and Falk, contrived to get a motion passed, before the last congress at Christiania, which implied a rupture with the Communist International, and that it was solely the pressure brought to bear by the Norwegian workers which compelled these leaders to abandon their openly schismatic policy at that time. This open advocacy of a split policy was later changed to a clandestine one. And now the splitters think that the right moment has come for driving matters to a rupture.

Bull, Falk, and it is regrettable to say, Comrade Tranmael as well, maintain that the Communist International is mistaken on three points: 1. on the question of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, 2. on the question of religion, and 3. on the question of the relations to the Red International of Labor Unions.

1. The Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The Communist International decided to issue the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government. All the parties affiliated to the C.I. (56 in number) joyfully welcomed this slogan, and are already able to record certain political successes along these lines. The whole of the Social Democratic parties of the Second International are gnashing their teeth at this slogan of the C.I., for they have realized that it opens up the way for the Communists to the broadest masses of the workers and peasants. And now Falk and Bull (and regrettably Comrade Tranmael as well) come forward and declare that this slogan is adopted for the whole world, with one single exception: in Norway it is impossible of acceptance at the present time. And not content with this, they declare that the acceptance of this slogan in Norway would signify a Social Democratic over-estimation of parliamentarism and a danger of the ordinary ministerial socialism.

Comrades, consider the matter: why should this slogan be impossible of acceptance in a country like Norway? The Norwegian Party only counts about 60,000 members. The small and medium farmers, with the fishermen, form a very great part of the population. Those who are sincerely desirous of vanquishing the bourgeoisie, and of securing power for the proletariat, can do no other than make it their task to win over these sections of the population for the cause of the proletariat. It is only those who are desirous of forming a close select party, and who have no serious intention of actually overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing state power in the hands of the proletariat, who can ignore the task of winning over the peasants and fishermen. It is not necessary to emphasize that in your country, as in all others, only the workers can and must be the main factor of

socialist revolution, and will form a proletarian government. But they can only do this if they are able to carry the great masses of small holders and fishermen along with them in the struggle against the rich, against the exploiters, against the bourgeoisie.

When the Communist International is accused of a Social Democratic over-estimation of parliamentarism, we may point out the following fact. Whilst the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government was being substantiated at the session of the Enlarged Executive, the chairman of the C.I. declared, amid universal agreement, that any interpretation of this slogan in a "parliamentary" sense would be a violation of the spirit of the Communist International.

The most important task incumbent on the Communist International, consists of sending Communists to carry the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government to the masses out in the country, to obtain an audience here, to agitate for Communism among the broadest masses of the small farmers, and to arouse these for the preparation for a joint struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. The entirely wrong construction put upon this slogan by some of the leaders of the present Norwegian majority, is only possible to those who are ready to grasp at any means to split their own party, and to bring discredit upon the Communist International.

2. The Question of Religion.

The same applies to the religious question. How has this question evolved? Before the session of the Enlarged Executive, the Swedish comrade Hoeglund, brought out an article which created general surprise in the Communist International. The Communist International passed an almost unanimous resolution—against a few Swedish and Norwegian votes—in which the A.B.C. of Communism was again called to mind. There is no thought of repulsing religious or semi-religious workers. The Communists must and will win over the whole working class, including those workers still organized in the Christian trade unions, etc. But that the class conscious section of the working class, and especially the leading strata of our Party, have to combat religious prejudices and priestcraft, is so obvious that we are ashamed to have to defend such a platitude. We have unfortunately been obliged to remind leading comrades in the Norwegian and Swedish parties of this platitude. The attempt made by these comrades to refer to Marx on this subject is extraordinary. Every Marxist is familiar with the words: religion is the opium of the people. We Communists demand from the bourgeois state the freedom of every religion, the non-interference of the authorities in matters of creed. But this does not by any means signify that we are going to permit the workers in the ranks of our Party to be stupefied by religious fogs. Comrades, read the resolution passed by the session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, and you will be able to convince yourselves of the weapons being employed by Bull, Falk, and their consorts, against the international organization of the world's proletariat.

3. The Red International of Labor Unions.

The overwhelming majority of the workers in your country, organized in the trade unions, are against the traitorous yellow Amsterdam International, and are heart and soul with the Red International of Labor Unions, with the Profintern. But Bull and Falk, aided even by Lian and Tranmael, are attempting by every possible means to hold the Norwegian trade unions back from affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. At a moment when even the left wing of the Amsterdam trade unions are working for affiliation to the R.I.L.U., at a time when trade unions belonging to most important countries of the labor movement are joining the R.I.L.U., there are men to be found among your leaders, calling themselves Communists, who are working against affiliation.

What is the Red International of Labor Unions? It is the international association of all sections of the proletariat, organized in trade unions, who really stand for class warfare, and who are really prepared to carry the struggle against the bourgeoisie through to the end. What reason can there be for preventing the sincere revolutionists from joining such an organization? There is nothing but petty diplomacy behind this policy: diplomacy which constitutes treason against the idea of the international alliance of the fighting working class.

4. "Mot Dag".

The more-than doubtful rôle played by the Right elements of the "Mot Dag" group in this regrettable conflict is now plain to all. People who have only been in the labor movement for a few years at most, and who have done nothing as yet to prove their fidelity to the cause of the proletariat, venture to direct

an old and tried labor party, after first bringing this to the verge of a split. We all know and appreciate comrade Tranmael as an old fighter. With regard to him personally we have been prepared to make every possible concession. But for such ambiguous elements as Falk and Hakon Meyer, the Communist International has nothing but the deepest mistrust. Things have come to such a pass that in the Norwegian labor party expressly outside elements have not only obtained the rights enjoyed by members, but even lay claim to the position of leaders. Does the class conscious working class of Norway intend to tolerate such a degradation of their Party any longer?

5. Expulsion of Comrades Jeanette, Olsen, and Torneas.

The Tranmael group maintains that too little democracy prevails in the Communist International, and too strict a centralism. But the statutes of the C.I. have been unanimously confirmed by all the Communist Parties. The leaders of the Communist International give an account of their activity twice annually to the whole of the sections, and up to now our Parties have unanimously approved of this policy.

But what do Falk, Bull, and even Tranmael, do in actual practice? It sufficed for an old and tried comrade to write a sharp article against Tranmael, when he was at once dictatorially expelled from the party, without any opportunity of justifying himself. This is not the way to preserve the unity of a party, but to shatter it. Such means are only used by those ready to resort to any medium for the splitting up of the Party. At the last Party congress at Christiania, the majority fraction won by two votes only. This sufficed to enable it to forcibly suppress the minority, and to actually sabotage the resolution providing that all decisions of the Communist International were to be carried out.

Comrades, the decisive moment has arrived. Now is the time to prove your faithfulness to the Communist International, and to the idea of the unity of your own Party. Call the split politicians to order! Call those to order who will not submit to international proletarian discipline, and who are endeavoring to introduce among you the practices of the treacherous 2. International. You must prepare such a crushing defeat for Falk, Bull, and their adherents, you must see to it that they find themselves in such a hopeless minority, that they lose all taste for disrupting a workers' party. Settle accounts with the opportunist elements of your party, and concentrate your attention on the questions which are today the main questions for every thinking, sincere, and revolutionary worker in the world: above all, concentrate on the German Revolution! At the moment when one of the most important parties of the Communist International, the German brother party, is fighting for life or death, the leaders of the present majority of your Party are attacking the Communist International from behind. The yellow Social Democrats rub their hands with joy. The bourgeoisie are lauding comrade Tranmael to the skies, because he has permitted himself of late to be led astray into the great error of pursuing an anti-Communist policy.

Unity in the Party at any price! Real fidelity towards the Communist International! Fervent and enthusiastic support for the German Proletarian Revolution!

Down with the splitters and opportunists. This should be the import of your Party conference.

Elect as delegates only such comrades as undertake to stand for these slogans. Take the fate of your Party into your own hands—the Party which has been brought into being at the cost of such pains and sacrifices, which has hitherto enjoyed the love and respect of the Communist International, and which is now threatened with disruption and decay.

Long live the unity of the Norwegian brother Party!

Long live the consistent Communist policy of the Norwegian working people.

May the Norwegian brother Party become a strong and faithful section of the Communist International!

The Executive of the Communist International.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Campaign of White Vengeance in Bulgaria

By Armin.

Sofia, October 1923.

The military-bourgeois clique of conspirators which overthrew the Stambulisky Cabinet on June 9, by means of a putsch, seized upon state power, constituted itself as a government

of "national unity". This government set itself the task of re-establishing and securing the unlimited rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie. For this purpose it was anxious to clear out of the way the two great political organizations of the working people: the Peasants' League and the Communist Party. Its first act was to shatter the Peasants' League, and then to prepare for the attack on the much more dangerous enemy—the C.P. This action was systematically prepared by a campaign of savage agitation in the whole bourgeois press, including that of the Social Democrats. Even at this time it could be plainly foreseen that the C.P. would not be able, merely by a defensive struggle, to overcome this deliberate campaign for its destruction, for the government had had time to organize its forces. Unfortunately, just at this time conditions were so unfavorable for the C.P. that it could not carry on the struggle with any certainty of success. Our class enemies were well aware of this, and seized the opportunity for an open challenge. On September 12, the Minister for Internal Affairs, General Russev, ordered the arrest of many Communists in Sofia and all over the country. In this manner almost the whole of the Party and trade union leaders and functionaries and all active comrades in town and country, were put under lock and key; the workers' clubs and cooperatives were closed, the Party and trade union press suppressed, and finally, all Communist literature and propaganda prohibited. In Sofia alone, over one thousand comrades were arrested, including D. Blagoev, one of the founders of the Party, now old and in failing health, and the General Secretary of the Party, Chr. Kabaktschieff. The arrest of these members of the Central Committee of the Party was followed by a wild hunt for Communists. The barracks and police station prisons were crowded. Here our comrades were subjected to the most frightful physical and mental tortures. Several of them were shot during the night, or succumbed to the brutal inquisition.

The profound excitement aroused among the communist inclined working class was first expressed by the spontaneous general strike which broke out in Sofia on September 14; this did not however have any special effect, as it was not properly prepared, either from an organizational or a propagandist standpoint. It was not until five days later, in the night from 19. to 20. September, that an armed insurrection broke out in the Stara-Zagora district. Communists and members of the Peasants' League at once seized the village municipalities, united with the groups of insurgent peasants from the neighbouring villages, and formed troops of several hundred men each, which then proceeded together against the nearest district towns of Stara Zagora, Nova Zagora, Kazanlik and Tschirpan, and attempted—with the aid of the workers in these towns—to take the towns by storm. Despite the great heroism and self-sacrifice shown, the attempt failed however in the end, and not solely because the revolutionists were inadequately armed, but because they were betrayed. The insurgents then withdrew into the mountains, whither they could not be so easily pursued. During the days following, the rebellion movement extended to some country places in the adjacent districts of Burgas and Philippopol. On September 23, it extended further, to the North West of Bulgaria, to the Widdin and Vratza districts. A very considerable area, including the towns of Berkovitz, Ferdinand, and the large country places of Varhchetz, Lopuschna, Tschiprovtzi, Brussarzi Boitschinovitz and Alexandrovo, the last three railway stations, and the whole of the villages situated in this district, were in a state of insurrection. Unfortunately the masses here had neither the weapons nor the time which would have enabled them to be organized into troops capable of fighting. The arms carried by these insurgents consisted for the main part of pitch-forks and axes, or of rusty old muskets from the Russo-Turkish war (1877). When the insurgents took Ferdinand and Berkovitz, however, they succeeded in capturing two mountain cannon and six machine guns, as well as several hundred infantry rifles, and were able to employ these in the great fights following.

The situation of the government had become extremely critical. All reliable officers and sergeants of the reserve, as also the officials and employees of the state institutions, were hastily mobilized. Wrangel officers and soldiers, Fascist bourgeois elements, and every description of such shady personalities numbered among the "volunteers" forming the newly formed punitive battalions. Railway trains and motor cars, packed with these bloodthirsty heroes, laden with horses, artillery, and machine guns, were sent off daily from Sofia to the rebel regions.

Here many obstinate battles were fought, lasting 10 days. The insurrection was crushed in blood. "Order" was restored in the most horrible manner. No pardon was given, no prisoners made. Whole villages were reduced to ashes as punishment, the houses of leading communists and peasant League members, Communist Workers' Homes were destroyed

and Communist women and children brutally massacred. Especially frightful were the ravages of the Fascist bands in North West Bulgaria, in the Berkovitz Ferdinand-Verschezt-Tschiprovtzi district, where the insurgent masses fought most determinedly. Here there was a frightful massacre. Thousands fell in the fighting, thousands of prisoners were mown down by machine guns, or slaughtered with knives like sheep. Girls and women, among them Communist elementary school teachers, were first violated and then murdered. The long suffering Bulgarian people has only undergone such an experience under the Turkish yoke, when the blood-thirsty robber janitshar bands ravaged the country.

The workers' quarter of the town of Lom, where obstinate fighting went on for three days, was completely destroyed, the wives and children of Communist workers slain. A tremendous fire broke out in the district town of Vratza, exploding the ammunition depot stocked with ammunition for crushing the rebellion, and reducing over 400 houses completely to ashes. With an insatiable lust for revenge, the raging Fascist beasts threw themselves everywhere upon the Communist youth fighting bravely in the front ranks. In the reconquered towns the youthful peasants were cut down in droves.

These bloody orgies were blessed and approved by the so-called "holy synod" even beforehand. During the civil war (September 26.) this synod addressed a message, published in the press, to "the beloved sons of the Bulgarian people", in which it damned on behalf of "mother church" our brothers and sons "reared in unbelief and heartlessness" and "actuated and led by hate and malice against state order and law". But when the men in the government were steeped to the neck in the streams of blood, then they began to be afraid. The bourgeois press began to shed crocodile's tears over the "fratricidal war". Days passed, but the butchery continued. The press controlled by the governmental parties continues to cry "Enough bloodshed!" The champions of state law and order—all of them democrats, radical democrats, and social democrats—are beginning to be terrified at this unheard of slaughter of Communists, workers, and peasants. In order to soothe excited spirits to a certain extent—for the elections to parliament take place in a month!—the government now hastens to promise a speedy amnesty for the "mised" masses now languishing in the prisons. Only the "leaders", the "ring-leaders", and executive elements are to be punished "with the whole relentless severity of the law". This last obviously refers to the most active Party and trade union comrades, which means that over two thousand persons are threatened with the death sentence or to long terms of imprisonment. For the right capitalist press, down to the Social Democratic press, never cease to demand the complete extermination and annihilation of the Communist Party and the "communist pestilence".

Bulgarian Social Democracy celebrates its triumph. It participates to the utmost of its powers in the bloody campaign against the workers' and peasants' insurrection, and in the savage hunting down of Communists. The Social Democratic Minister of Traffic, Kazassov, is earnestly attempting to hold in the railwaymen and postal and telegraph employees under his authority. He publishes in the press an ordination calling upon them to aid in the "salvation of the fatherland" against the "betrayers of the people", against the "paid agents of foreign countries", and to put their utmost services at the disposal of this cause. The government grants them extra bonuses for this purpose. The committees of the Social Democratic Party, and of the Social Democratic unions of railwaymen and post office employees, have also published similar appeals to their members. Social Democratic members take part as volunteers in the Fascist punitive expeditions. And Social Democracy rejoices to see its wishes fulfilled and its goal achieved: The rebellion of the workers against the capitalist exploiter and the Fascist dictatorship has been bloodily crushed! This is placed to the "credit" of Social Democracy by not only Zankov's government, but also by the whole bourgeois press. An electoral agreement applying to the whole country has been made with the government party, the so-called "Democratic Unity" (consisting of the military bourgeois Fascists of the so-called "National Unity", of the Democratic Party of Malinov, of the Russophile Progressivist Party of Dr. Danev, of the conservative People's Party of Geschev, and of the Radical Democratic Party), in view of the approaching election, which secures to the Social Democrats no fewer than 33 votes, whilst at the last election to parliament, in April of this year, they were not able to carry off a single seat! (The two parties of the opposition—the Peasants' League and the Communist Party—are outlawed; they are not permitted to take part in the election. The government is certain of obtaining 226 seats, and thus it is able to distribute these in advance!)

But all the sufferings now being endured by the Bulgarian workers and peasants will burn deeply into their minds, will cause them to think of the day when their oppressors are to be called to account, and also to prepare for that day. And this day will come, despite everything, despite the severe defeat suffered by the Bulgarian revolutionary movement. The guarantee is given us by the heroic struggle which the Bulgarian workers and small holding peasants have fought together for two weeks, shoulder to shoulder, in the attempt to establish a workers' and peasants' government. They have lacked revolutionary experience and adequate preparation; and the conditions were unfavorable for them. As a result they were defeated in this unequal struggle. But they will learn the lessons it has taught, and will lead the coming fight to victory!

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The E.C. of the Communist Youth International to the Proletarian Youth of the Whole World!

To the Worker, Peasant and Student Youth of Japan!

Comrades!

In the first days of the fearful misfortune of the Japanese people, in the first days of the terrible earthquake, which caused many hundreds of thousands of workers to perish, the Japanese Government, the government of the Samurai, of the land-owners and capitalists, instead of affording help to the Japanese masses in their misfortune, proclaimed the *White Terror* and organized a cruel mass slaughter of the leaders of the Labor Movement.

Among others, there was murdered the Secretary of the Central Bureau of the Japanese Communist Youth League, Comrade Eschutora Kawai. This cruel act of murder, carried out with an unheard of cynicism, was already prepared in the month of August, long before the earthquake, for the Japanese Government got into touch with criminal bandit elements and organized these into black bands for the suppression of the demonstration planned for the 2nd September on the occasion of the 9th. International Youth Day. The chief of this bandit organization created by the government, was the notorious criminal Yamagutschi, who has now been again arrested on account of robbery.

On the 30th August, only a few days before the 2nd September, the Japanese Government had a provocative announcement published in its press regarding the "conspiracy of the Communist Youth International" and as to its action for the 2nd September.

This provocative announcement, which set forth the peaceable demonstration planned to celebrate the international solidarity of the working youth to be a conspiracy, had for its object the preparation of public opinion for the violent suppression of this demonstration.

On September 2, Japan was not shaken by the "conspiracy of the Communist Youth International", but by the fearful and unheard of earthquake. During the earthquake, in the days of the most terrible misery of the Japanese masses, the Government, in alliance with its bandits, carried out their cruel and dastardly plan and tortured the leaders of the Working Youth to death.

At the same time the Soviet ship "Lenin", which brought a cargo of corn for the Japanese working masses, was refused permission to unload.

The Japanese Working Youth will never forget, that the Government, in the days of the most terrible misery of the Japanese people—instead of providing food for the starving and perishing masses—considered it its task to murder in a most cruel manner the leaders of the Japanese Working Youth.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International protests in the name of the working youth of the whole world, against the heinous, provocative and criminal acts of the Japanese Government and of the white terror.

Young workers, peasants and students of Japan! Close your ranks more firmly together under the banner of Communism! Do not lose courage! Hold aloft the flag of those martyrs who have been cruelly done to death. The day of reckoning is not far distant.

Down with the government of the militarists and bandits! Down with the white terror!—Long live the Communist Youth International!

Moscow, October 30., 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International, by violence, off the yoke of

APPEALS

To the Anti-Militarists of all Countries!

Dear Friends:

We, the active Russian anti-militarists of the Imperialist war of 1914-17, took an active part during the great Russian Revolution of 1917-23 in the creation of a peaceful communist structure in Russia and have worked unceasingly to this day in its behalf. We believe that it is conceivable and possible to work together with the Communist Party of Russia, since it serves the interests of the proletarian dictatorship. We are supporting the proletarian dictatorship, because the ruling classes of the world have oppressed the workers and peasants for thousands of years, and declared that "common blood" must always serve and "noble blood" must always dominate.

We were highly indignant over this inequality of the classes; we protested unceasingly during the height of the war-hysteria in 1914, and refused to take part in the murderous fratricidal war, instigated by the war-mongering diplomats and sanctioned by the kaisers and kings. As a result, we were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by the Czarist government.

In March, 1917, we were released from prison by the will of the people. We had hardly become free when the Kerensky Government tried anew to enroll us in the army. Not until the great October Revolution, which overthrew the Kerensky Government, took place, were we entirely freed from military duty. The decree of Jan. 1, 1919 was issued, according to which all persons who, for religious or ethical reasons, were honest anti-militarists, were to be exempt from military service. But at the present time, the conviction is steadily growing among us that, together with the workers and peasants, we must serve the Proletarian Revolution in the Red Army, and several of us are already in its ranks.

We are convinced that the hour is near in which the people of Europe, Asia and America will also rise against their bourgeois leaders and take the administration of affairs into their own hands.

The recent developments in Germany show clearly that it is necessary to concentrate all the forces and bring together all the representatives of civilized humanity, and that only in this way can the toiling masses of all countries, and especially of Germany, issue victoriously from the impending ordeal.

The episode in Bulgaria clearly proves that the working-class, if it continues to remain servile and submissive, exposes itself to the danger of extreme suffering under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and that the defeat of the working-class in all countries must inevitably lead to a succession of imperialist wars.

For this reason, we are opposing the Fascists, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, as well as the bourgeois pacifists, who are trying with all their might and with all the means at their disposal to obstruct the triumphal march of the Proletarian Revolution all over the world.

It is gratifying to observe that the honest and best elements of humanity have gone resolutely to battle against these powers of darkness. This is shown by the enormous number of anti-militarists who are languishing in prison in such highly civilized countries as America, India, France, Italy and Bulgaria. On this account, we are appealing to the anti-militarists of all countries, and the honest religious sectarians of the whole world, to assist the fighters for universal peace, the fighters for the happiness of the whole of mankind, through the International Red Relief (MO.P.R.).

Signed: A. S. Sasonev,
I. G. Allimov,
M. S. Yevlanov,
M. A. Vikhvatyuk,
G. B. Gerasim

Moscow, October 13, 1923.

Support the Bulgarian Revolutionaries!

To the Workers of all Countries!

The International Committee of Action of the Communist International and of the Red Trade Union International addresses to you with the energetic and earnest appeal to hasten to the aid of the Bulgarian revolutionaries and their families, and of the Counter-Revolution.

The military Communists—workers and peasants—have thrown the Stamboulist have been arrested, while 5,000 have had their property seized upon state.

to flee the country: 2,000 to Yugoslavia and 3,000 to Roumania, Turkey, Greece and other countries of the Balkans. These are the results of the victory of the Whites.

The refugees of the "Bulgarian Commune" stand in need of immediate help. The "International Organization for the Support of the Revolutionaries" has not sufficient means at its disposal to enable it to meet the first requirements of these revolutionaries. International revolutionary solidarity must immediately come into action. All organizations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. and to the Comintern must, without losing a minute, afford all possible support to the refugees. Everywhere—in the factories, mines, workshops etc.—collections must be organized. Five thousand prisoners are threatened with death from torture by the Whites. The only hope of the refugees is the aid of the International Proletariat. More than 10,000 have been robbed of all their belongings and are living in the most desperate misery in a land of White Terror. Give promptly and generously!

To the Support of the Bulgarian Revolutionaries!
Support the Committee of Action of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U.!

Protest against the Death Sentence on Nikolau and Mateu!

To the Proletariat of All Countries!

Nikolau and Mateu, two innocent men, have been condemned to death for alleged participation in the murder of the Prime Minister Dato, the bloody hangman of the Spanish workers. This sentence has been passed by a court of justice which is a mere tool in the hands of the military dictators of Spain. The verdict was pronounced without any proofs whatever being adduced. It is possible that before this appears these two innocent proletarians may already have been executed. But if there is still time, then do everything that lies in your power to prevent this horrible crime!

Raise a mighty protest against this cynical verdict: organize meetings and demonstrations before the buildings of the Spanish Embassies.

Even should the crime already have been committed, let the cries of protest of the world's proletariat be heard.

The workers of the whole world must show their powers, and bring strong pressure to bear on the Spanish Government, so that fresh crimes against the Spanish proletariat may be prevented.

Down with the Spanish dictators!

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International,
The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The First International Peasants' Conference in Moscow to the Poor Peasants of the Colonies

The First International Peasants' Conference, held a short time ago in Moscow, addressed the following appeal to the peasants of the colonial countries:

"Peasants of the Colonies, you slaves who, in your millions in the fields and forests, bear the double yoke laid upon you by foreign Capitalism and by the rulers of your own countries! The International Agricultural Conference, meeting for the first time in Moscow for the purpose of organizing the struggle of the agricultural workers, makes this appeal to your class consciousness. You are suffering even more than the rural population of the mother countries from poverty and long working hours. Often you are compelled to perform forced labor, and are weighed down by intolerable burdens. You are overburdened with taxation. Exploiting capitalism keeps you in ignorance, and decimates your race with alcohol and opium. The disgraceful native policy of capitalist imperialism deprives you of every personal liberty, of every political and social right. You are worse off than animals. But Capitalism is not satisfied with thus plunging you into misery. It tears you from your huts and fields, that you may serve as cannon fodder in murderous wars against other natives of colonial countries, or against the workers and peasants of the mother countries. Pariahs of the colonies, unite! Organize yourselves! Join your forces to ours! Let us fight together for our emancipation! Long live the emancipation of the natives of the colonies! Long live the International of the workers! Long live the International Peasants' Council!"

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GERMANY

The Situation in Germany

By Emil Höllein.

Berlin, November 14, 1923.

The Nationalist Socialist demonstrations of the last few days have not been confined to Munich and the Bavarian towns. They have also taken place here and there in north Germany. These demonstrations, however, do not form the starting point for a fresh struggle for power on the part of National Socialism. They appear much rather to be the last spasms of a dying movement. At any rate, it can already be said today that the national socialist movement is played out as a ruling power which could determine the future of Germany. Hitler would never make a German Mussolini, and the National Socialist "Labor" Party will never be a Fascist party capable of government.

The cause for this lies of course not merely with the persons, but obviously in the first place in the social and economic limitations of the national socialist movement in Germany itself. The Fascist tendency represented by Hitler and Ludendorff wished to be nothing else than Italian Fascism. As in the case of the latter, the petty bourgeoisie was to form the kernel, about which there would group themselves, both on the left and right, the disappointed sections of the population in order to lend it the appearance of being a broad united people's movement which would claim to stand above the classes. But in Germany the petty bourgeoisie, in relation to the capitalist, and especially to the proletarian class, is numerically far too small to be able to act as a central attractive power for any length of time. The Hitler movement could have grown to be a decisive force if it had succeeded in attracting to it large masses of the proletariat. But the social program of German national socialism was far too colorless and inadequate for this purpose. It was only against one form of capital that Hitler took the field, namely, usury capital. And even in this he was compelled, having an eye to those who were financing him, to exercise the greatest moderation and to limit himself solely to opposing Jewish usury capital. Hitler's second slogan had reference to the fight against national suppression. But here also he had no positive program for liberating the nation from the grip of foreign imperialism. Here he limited himself much more to the purely negative slogan: "Settlement with the November criminals who are to blame for the national misfortune."

The destruction of the Labor Movement, in consequence of the counter-revolutionary policy of Social Democracy and of the trade union bureaucracy, would be of the highest benefit to a broad minded petty bourgeois Fascism. But Germany is not Italy. In Germany there is still a compact

mass of workers who have for decades been organized in the Social Democracy, and in spite of all disappointments, hold fast to their organization. In addition to this, the Communist Party has succeeded in the highest degree in gathering under its banner ever-increasing masses of the sound elements among the disappointed workers. And not only the workers, but even a large section of the petty bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals and of the professional middle classes. And this precisely because the Communist Party has not conducted a policy of a narrow-minded labor party actuated by mere craft interests, but has advocated a far-reaching social and national program. It has done this in the full consciousness that it is today the representative of all the healthy elements in the German nation and of its vital endeavours. In this hour of the defeat of Hitler, it first becomes apparent what an enormous success the Communists have achieved in the national question.

The so-called national socialist labor party became more and more a resort for career-hunting students, for disappointed ex-officers, out-of-work commercial clerks, political adventurers and swell mobsmen. Of real working class elements within it ranks there was practically none. This petty bourgeois tendency of German Fascism therefore, looked to industry and agriculture for reliance and support. And its efforts in this direction were not without success. Generous funds were supplied to it both by agriculture and industry. The "national minded" employers even granted leave of absence to their staffs in order that they might be able to fill the ranks of the national socialist forces.

The influence of Hitler and Ludendorff was in the next place, fairly strong in agrarian and heavy industry circles. But their star began to pale the moment the state of siege was proclaimed throughout the Reich, whereby the executive power was transferred to the Reichswehr, as a result of which, a far-reaching change took place, not only in the relations of state power but also in politics. The Great Coalition had already set up a purely Fascist program which it realized by means of decrees. No Fascist government could have done the job better or with less disturbance. After the expulsion of the Social Democrats from the Reich Cabinet, even every appearance of the working class having any sort of voice in the government disappeared. The capitalists and the agrarians are by no means inseparably bound to Hitler and Ludendorff. As soon as someone else is found who can do their business better and on cheaper terms, why should they not avail themselves of his services? Before all, why should they engage in an open struggle? It is not to be wondered at therefore, that Admiral von Tirpitz already, on November 1., addressed a letter to Hitler in which occur these words:

"I conjure you to do everything in your power to avert a violent action of the fighting leagues, for the process of sanitation is not to be anticipated by violence. Prussia too is in a fair way to throw off the yoke of