

prove of great importance even outside the Exhibition, implying as it does systematic joint work among the whole of the cooperative organizations of Soviet Russia, and thus forming a strong rampart against the economic system of private commercial enterprise.

THE WHITE TERROR

Events in Turkey in July

By Henri Paulmier.

The month of July brought victory to the Kemalists in Turkey. Wherever candidates of the so-called "People's Party" were nominated, they were victorious in the election. The opposition had been deprived of any possibility of defending its program before the masses of electors, and it will be as well here to draw public attention to the methods used by the Kemalists agents in pursuance of their aims.

When the voters approached the ballot box, they were given a sealed envelope containing a voting paper of the People's Party, and were obliged to throw this into the box under the supervision of the polling clerks who consisted of spies. In this manner they were forced to vote for Kemal and his followers.

The signing of the peace treaty was celebrated with unprecedented pomp. The governor of the city gave 3000 francs to the national socialist organization for the arrangement of a demonstration. And this demonstration was then arranged with all possible promptitude. Tramway traffic was stopped for several hours, in order to allow the workers to take part in the demonstration.

The persecution of the communists continues. Thus comrade Riazim, already indicted at the last alleged communist conspiracy, was refused leave to quit Constantinople to go to his place of employment in Kerazunde. This practically amounts to a sentence to death by starvation as the gates of every factory here are closed to him. On the application of the state attorney, the conspiracy trial was passed on to the court of cassation in Sivas. This has now quashed the decision for acquittal pronounced by the court of justice in Constantinople in favor of the 18 imprisoned comrades. The communist trial will thus begin all over again.

Party comrades in all other countries must now concentrate their attention on Angora and Constantinople, which will presently be the scene of two trials of a class character. The law upon which the indictment of our comrades is based provides for hard labor as a minimum sentence and a maximum sentence of capital punishment.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Labor Year Book 1921-1922

By I. Amler.

The fourth issue of the American Labor Year Book made its appearance some little time ago. First published in 1916, the Year Book has been a good survey of the labor movement, especially of the United States.

This fourth issue gives one a comprehensive review of conditions in America, of labor legislation, unemployment, the open shop movement, espionage, cooperation, the situation of the Negro, the farmers, the labor organizations, of the socialist and labor movement abroad and of the Internationals. The last section is a lengthy review of the Socialist and radical movement of the United States.

The editors of the Year Book are Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg. And therein lies a tale. The title "Year Book 1921-1922" is a fraud. It is a fraud perpetrated by the Socialist Party and the Rand School of Social Science, which recently had to give up its ghost as a socialist school and become the educational center of the New York Central Trade and Labor Council as a trade union school.

The book was compiled in 1921, when Trachtenberg and Glassberg were still teaching at the Rand School and covered the year 1920 to 1921. At that time, the Socialist Party did not

dare proceed to the demand that all members of the board of directors of the Rand School must be members of the Socialist Party. But the fight between the Communists and those constituting the "Workers' Council" group on the one hand, and the Socialist Party on the other, became acute, and the S.P. knew no better way to conduct the fight than to cut off its own nose and cause Trachtenberg and Glassberg to leave. The manuscripts were finished and in the hands of Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School in October 1921. And in his hands they remained for more than a year, then to be published as the annual of 1921-1922.

The mental lethargy of these "proponents of revolution" is manifest in this book. They were too lazy, too irresponsible to attempt even to bring the book up to date. Instead, they have published statistics of 1920, while those of 1921 were easily available. Even the big strikes of the summer of 1922 are not mentioned; nor are the statistics of the A.F. of L. for 1921-1922, which could easily have been procured, since the convention of the A.F. of L. and a meeting of the Executive Council took place in 1922. Even statistics of the Socialist Party are limited to 1921.

It is amusing to read in this book an article on the 2½ International, by Fritz Adler, containing the following statements: "Those parties which left the Second International, but could not join the Third without coming into conflict with their Socialist consciences, are not deluding themselves that their international federation constitutes a new International. They refuse to call themselves the 'Fourth International' and leave it to their opponents to speak of them in cheap mockery as the 'Two-and-a-half International.' The newly established 'International of Socialist Parties' takes the position that it is little as the so-called Second and the so-called Third International fulfills the requirements of a real International". And two years later, the 2½ joined that so-called Second International, which, we agree, does not "fulfill the requirements of a real International". It is unnecessary to take up his quarrel with the Third International: these pseudo-revolutionists have found that revolution is a much sterner, more serious matter than they believed and therefore want to get back safely into the fold wherein lies security under the protection of the bourgeoisie—at least for a short while.

But the height of stupidity and of impudence in the Year Book is attained in the article on the Communist International. After enumerating the 21 points, the Year Book continues: "The thesis adopted at the Fourth Congress of the International, meeting late in December, 1921 (sic!), nullified these demands, declaring the imperative necessity of working class unity and the desire of the workers of the world to effect such unity (sic!)." The mixing of dates is pardonable; one should not ask too much of a socialist brain. That the Communist International nullified the 21 points will come as a revelation to socialists in other parts of the world. Unfortunately these hair-brained socialists of the United States cannot understand the difference between the United Front policy of the Communist International, which has met with tremendous success and was the spirit that led to the Frankfurt Conference and the conference of the International Transport Workers in Berlin, and organic unity, which the Communist International rejects unless based upon the 21 points, which have not been nullified. On the contrary, the Fourth Congress, which met on Nov. 7, 1922, confirmed the 21 points and demanded of the future Executive Committee that "it enforces these most strictly."

That socialists make such small mistakes is to be expected; that is quite in line with the other mistakes and omissions and commissions they have been guilty of since 1914. But the article on the Communist International is unsigned, so that it may be attributed to the authors of the Year Book. This is a lie. The authors of the Year Book are members of the Workers' Party—Trachtenberg is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Party. The real author of the article is Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School, one of the "leaders" of the Socialist Party. The same Algernon Lee, who as a member of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York, voted for an arch commemorating the deeds of American soldiers in the World War, an arch bearing the inscription *Murmansk, where American soldiers shot down Russian workers!*

To be sure, the honor and self-respect of Socialists is not very high—and this should be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, it is necessary to apprise the intelligent workers of the world of the omissions and commissions of these "emancipators of the proletariat".

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POLITICS

The German Junkers take Command

By Karl Radek.

The German Chancellor, Herr Stresemann, first made his bow to the sovereign Reichstag, but after having fulfilled this duty he boarded a train and proceeded to Mittelwald in Bavaria, where the Bavarian Prime Minister, Herr von Knilling, is spending his holidays. The Fascist *Völkische Beobachter* asks derisively why Herr Stresemann did not first visit the Saxon Prime Minister, the social democrat Zeigner, but gave precedence to one of the heads of German counter-revolution, the head of that Bavarian government which publicly expressed its lack of confidence in the Stresemann government immediately after it was formed.

Herr Stresemann was able to reply to this that the Social Democratic Party Committee, was quite capable of itself keeping the worthy Zeigner within bounds, but that it was incumbent on the chancellor himself to come to an understanding with the counter-revolutionary elements.

In order to facilitate this task, the coalition government has communist organizations dissolved, communist newspapers prohibited and factory councils persecuted, although the Minister for Finance, Herr Hilferding, declared at the recent conference of the Second International in Hamburg that socialism is no longer a final goal, but is already being attained by the factory workers who are endeavoring to take control of production.

All the efforts made by the Stresemann-Hilferding government to pacify the German counter-revolutionists have not only been entirely unsuccessful, but have encouraged the counter-revolutionists to such an extent that they are openly preparing to overthrow the Stresemann government. Here we do not speak of the press of the German National and National Socialist Parties, which have stated their attitude to the Stresemann-Hilferding government with refreshing candour. Candour has always been a virtue of these counter-revolutionary organizations.

We speak of the decision arrived at by the German National People's Party, which met on August 28 in the Reichstag and, after first hearing the speeches of Messrs Hergt, Helfferich, Schiele and Reichert, adopted an official program of subversion.

What does this program contain? With reference to foreign politics it makes the following demands: Annulment of the Versailles Peace, arming of the German people, continuation of the resistance in the Ruhr by every means available. This foreign political program is, however, a mere blind. When Kapp chased the Ebert government out of Berlin in 1920, he at once announced that his government would fulfil the terms of the Versailles Peace as far as possible. And Kapp's advisers at that time were the same Dr. Helfferich who is now the political leader of the German National People's Party, and the same Colonel Bauer who is now the leading strategist of the nationalist military secret societies. And there is no doubt whatever that if the Fascist coup were successful, Herren Hergt and Helfferich would try to come to an understanding with the Entente. They have now drawn up a fighting program against the Entente, hoping thus to regain the support of the masses of officers and nationalist intelligentsia who left the junker party to join the extreme nationalist organizations.

The main item of the program is to be found in the domain of economic policy. When the workers left the factories in the first week of August, the junkers granted the new taxes in their alarm lest there might be a revolution. Now they declare with characteristic impudence that this was done solely for the purpose of reinforcing the defensive struggle in the Ruhr and on the Rhine, and of enabling better order to be maintained at home. "The premises are no longer the same" The French are still in the Ruhr and on the Rhine; order at home is threatened more than ever; only one thing is changed: the reactionaries have got over their fright, and therefore the German Nationalists declare that they demand postponement of tax payments, and that the national food supplies can only be assured if the present government is replaced by one capable of gaining the confidence of the junkers. At the same time they demand that the creation of a really valid currency should be placed in the hands of the economic professions.

What does this mean, in reality? That the junkers are declaring a tax and food boycott of the Stresemann-Hilferding government, and demand that the attempt be made to create a currency by the alliance of the large landowners with the iron and coal barons.

In order to win the petty bourgeoisie for this real program, it is made to contain a demand for the provision of housing and fuel for the winter for the poorer population, the banishment of the Jews and placing of their dwellings at the disposal of the war-disabled and the victims of the Ruhr war (Herr Helfferich is going to keep his villa at Grunewald). Finally, the program demands war against all profiteers and spendthrifts, the junkers of course excepted.

And how is this program going to be realized? A dictator is to be appointed, and, should the Reichstag not agree to this, the people shall decide the matter. The gentlemen do not state how the people are going to decide. But this may be gathered from the explanation: "Where state protection fails, the order-loving and really working population will take the protection of their home and work into their own hands." As this same resolution contains the passage, "we shall meet the attempt at a second revolution with relentless resistance", we can infer with a high degree of probability that Herr Helfferich does not intend to place himself under the protection of the proletarian defence units, but of the Fascists.

This declaration acquires its greatest significance if we remember the cautious attitude of Herr Helfferich and Herr Hergt during the Kapp Putsch. They risked gaol by acting as advisers to the counter-revolutionary rebels, but they did not place themselves openly at the head of the Putsch. They did not think that the right moment had come. And at the time when the German National Party was formed by Wulle, Gräfe and Henning, they still did not think that the moment had come to take up an open programmatic attitude. They excluded Wulle, Gräfe and Henning from their party. But now they are of the opinion that the hour has struck, the moment come for them to place themselves at the head of the counter-revolution.

The Fascist press is pretending to adopt a waiting attitude in regard to this decision. It opines that the question is not what the German Nationals say, but what they will do. All this is merely a manoeuvre intended to conceal from the petty bourgeois masses the fact that the old guard of bread profiteers is taking over the leadership of the German National and National Socialist movements. This fact is, however, extraordinarily important for the characterization not only of the acuteness of the social antagonisms, but also of the nature of the German National movement. It is a petty bourgeois movement, but it merely forms a means for the seizure of power by the junkers. The junkers themselves have already coalesced, in their party, with heavy industry and finance capital. The names of Helfferich and Reichert alone suffice to tell us this. Stinnes and his press are still holding back, but it will not be long before they reply to the appeal, and the Fascist front will be in marching order. But the same moment will unmask and destroy it. The petty bourgeois masses will recognize whom they are serving: the bread and coal profiteers.

Stresemann's New Program Speech and the Situation in Germany

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

Speeches are following one another in rapid succession from the heads of the new government which has presented itself as the last reserve of constitutional government in Germany, which speeches are intended to prepare the atmosphere for the last attempt at salvation of capitalist rule.

Dr. Rudolf Hilferding, a late member of the Independent Socialist Party who has sought refuge with the Stinnes coalition, made a beginning in his address to the Chief Committee of the Reichstag. He painted the financial situation of the state in the blackest hues, and announced that "frightfully drastic measures" were going to be taken for the salvation of the state. But these drastic measures have turned out to be lamentable and ineffective pieces of quackery.

The day following came the speech by Dr. Stresemann, the new chancellor, at a banquet given by the German Industrial and Commercial Conference. Following in the same strain as that of his social democratic minister of finance, he cautiously proceeded to sketch the first tentative outlines of his capitulation program with regard to foreign policy and his fighting program with reference to internal affairs.

The third one to put in an appearance for the Stinnes government was Dr. Raumer, the new minister of economics, who spoke at two committee meetings held by the Economic Council

of the Republic. He again emphasized the "catastrophe which overwhelms Germany", and drew from it the conclusion that if Germany is to be saved, the first thing to be done is to bring the Ruhr struggle to a speedy end, and the second, to create a "people's unity" in the country, a "solidarity among all those working side by side in economic activity".

After this artillery preparation, Mr Stresemann could venture upon a further advance. Therefore he—the one-time national hero!—went to the capital of the Swabian free state, choosing the anniversary of Sedan for his visit, and there further unfolded and elaborated the capitalist "salvation program" of the new bourgeois-social-democratic government coalition to an audience consisting of members of the Württemberg government and representatives of industry, commerce, and trade unions.

And this time—we allow him that—Mr. Stresemann spoke with tolerable clearness. The whole import of his speech can be concentrated into the one characteristic sentence:

The state, the capitalist class state, is in great danger. It has to be saved at all costs. Even at the cost of intrenching on capitalist substance itself. For the maintenance of the substance of economics demands as a first and last prerequisite, the maintenance and continuation of a capitalist state of society.

And how does Herr Stresemann expect to carry out his salvation of the state? He is going to attack the matter from both sides at once, from the foreign political side and from the home and economic side.

But for the gentlemen of the Great Coalition the foreign political side presents a very difficult task which is not without its dangers. For here the factors to be reckoned with are not merely the resistance of the working masses, who are forced in order to maintain their own existence, if for no other reason, to fight against the surrender of the German Ruhr to French imperialism and capitalism, and against their increased exploitation and enslavement at the hands of Franco-German capital. Here it is necessary to be prepared for the elementary protest of petty bourgeois nationalism, which represents a very real political power in Germany at the present time, and has obtained this position of power thanks to the contemptibly cowardly home and foreign policies pursued by the social democrats, and particularly owing to the undignified abandonment and discrediting of all socialist principles by the Social Democratic Party and by the trade union bureaucracy.

With reference to internal and economic affairs, the coalition government is more confident of being able easily to realize its plans for saving the state, as here it has no need to reckon with any serious resistance on the part of the nationalist and Fascist organizations. It cherishes the hope that here at least, with the aid of the open support of the reformist party and trade union bureaucracy, it will succeed in at least temporarily throttling the communist movement, the sole source of resistive force against its infamous policy of pillage and enslavement of the masses of hand and brain workers.

In order to save the capitalist class state, the new chancellor is determined to bring about the liquidation of the Ruhr struggle by every available means, and he and his ministerial colleagues let slip no opportunity of drawing public attention, to the ruinous effects of the Ruhr occupation.

Herr Stresemann is not only prepared to abandon the passive resistance in the Ruhr, but is actually longing to do so, so long as M. Poincaré enables him to cloak his capitulation in the public eye. If Poincaré is willing to thus aid him in getting rid of internal nationalist dangers, Stresemann will return the compliment by not only recognizing Poincaré's principle of productive pledges, but will be prepared to go the length of submissively laying at the feet of French imperialism the pledges of all property in Germany, the railways and the whole of German private economics. And in order that this pledging of German property might be made sufficiently alluring to French capital, Herr Stresemann hastened to declare further that he is a believer in the principle of "economic alliance" between Germany and France. In other words, that he will grant his unqualified blessing and unquestioning ratification to the delivery contracts for Ruhr coal concluded between Loucher, de Wendel, and Schneider on the one side, and Stinnes, Thyssen, and Krupp on the other—in short, that he is ready to approve the Franco-German mining trust under French hegemony, regardless of the inevitably resulting international complications. And in order to give this last promise the useful solemnity, Herr Stresemann not only once more emphasizes the compulsory political ties of reciprocal interests arising from the cooperation of French and German heavy industry, but at the same time formally offers, a political alliance between French imperialism and the Ebert republic in the form of a so-called guarantee compact.

So much for the foreign political salvation of the country. For the purpose of attaining the same salvation at home and in economics, Herr Stresemann promises to tackle the ruinous dangers of mark depreciation and inflation. He first expends much eloquence on the "conscription of property", in order that it may be understood that the policy hitherto pursued of exempting property from taxation cannot be carried on any longer, and that in this case the obligation of saving the state compels even capital to be taxed. In order to soothe the murmurs arising among the capitalists at such an unheard of demand, he impresses upon these gentlemen that if they permit the present state to go to pieces, they allow the destruction of the sole power capable of securing them their property at all, for unless the capitalist class state is maintained, it will mean the loss of not merely a small part of their "substance", that is, of their capital, but of the whole of this substance, of the whole capitalist state of society. This is what he implied when he declared: "What remains of the substance of economics when the substance of the state has not been maintained?"

But Herr Stresemann does not merely wave the red flag of social revolution. He does not fail at the same time to offer his capitalist friends a real consolation for the slight sacrifice which he regretfully requires of them. He offers them certain prospects of security for their invested capital by means of a new gold currency, and hopes that as soon as he has succeeded, with the aid of social democracy, in heaping the gigantic loads intended for the proletariat on to the back of that beast of burden, he will be able to "simplify the existing tax conglomerate, and reduce it to a primitive form of single taxes", that is, to restore exemption from taxation among economic circles.

But all this is still not enough. Herr Stresemann goes even further, and not only mentions the problematic "conscription of property", but proclaims the more tangible "conscription of labor". Here we at once all know where we are: lengthened working hours, increased exploitation, reduction of wages and salaries, dismissal of all so-called superfluous workers, in order that the balance may be restored in state finances by means of reduced expenditure, diminution of the "unproductive and demoralizing" unemployment dole, and the right of the state "to impose on every recipient of unemployed benefit the work needed by the state". And here in Germany, we are not faced by mere plans, but by cruel reality. Capital has already adopted the offensive all along the line, and is cooperating with trade union bureaucracy, approved by the governmental social democrats, in the effort to render the masses docile for the tremendous new sacrifices required for the salvation of the capitalist state, by means of systematic stoppages and shortening of work, lockouts, "Regulations" of index figures, and the like.

The whole import of the salvation program of the Stresemann coalition government, whether with regard to foreign politics, home affairs, or economics, is therefore to burden the proletariat with all the costs entailed by the capitulation of capital to French imperialism, and by the restoration of the currency and state finances, but at the same time, to maintain the state apparatus in so strong a condition that it remains capable of suppressing any attempt at rebellion on the part of a proletariat whose last drop of blood is being squeezed from it.

In order to justify his offer of capitulation, Mr Stresemann declares to the international public that: "Germany stands alone in the world, she has no seconds in foreign politics". But this assertion is false and misleading. Germany could have a true friend and ally at any moment if she would only take her place honorably in the defensive front of suppressed nations against West European imperialism, and would pursue an honorable national policy for the international solidarity of labor: and this ally would be Soviet Russia. But it is easily comprehensible that the German Stinnes government does not want to hear anything of this friend and ally. To its capitalist instincts even capitulation to French imperialism for the maintenance of bourgeois rule appears much more advantageous and purposeful than faithful and united collaboration with the great workers' and peasants' republic of the East. Even in this hour, so fateful for the German democratic republic, even now the impassable class chasm between bourgeoisie and proletariat yawns wider than ever. In its alarm lest the proletariat should seize its substance, the German bourgeoisie prefers to sacrifice, willingly and without regret, the liberty, dignity, existence, and future of the German working nation, solely for the sake of being able to continue to play its role of exploiter and ruler.

This shameful surrender of Germany's future on the part of Stresemann's government meets with the unqualified support and agreement of the whole liberal bourgeoisie, the united social democrats, the trade union bureaucrats, and of their press. All these coalition parties are competing with one another at the present time in a systematic and infamous campaign of agitation against Soviet Russia, and against everyone sympathizing with

Soviet Russia. The object of all this agitation is plain: Cooperation with Soviet Russia, the sole real hope of salvation, is to be discredited in the eyes of the masses, and capitulation to French heavy capital, which will bring the people nothing but increased exploitation and suppression, and before long the renewal of international murder, is to be represented as the sole possible road to salvation, though the most it can save is the temporary maintenance of the capitalist state of exploitation and suppression.

The parties of the Right are inclined to be rather aggressive with their opposition. But this opposition is somewhat ambiguous. Although party political reasons oblige them to raise more or less objection to the sale of the German Ruhr to French imperialism, since they themselves owe their existence to the exploitation of the national feeling of the petty bourgeoisie, at the same time they find the proclamation of conscription of labor and of pressure on the working class entirely inadequate and lacking in energy. Above all, they are anxious to take active part in the salvation of the class state, social democracy being set entirely aside.

Meanwhile Fascism, especially in Bavaria, is openly preparing to seize power. And no Stresemann government will venture to oppose Fascism with the necessary energy and tenacity. In this period of state salvation it is impossible to know whether we may not require the aid of the Hitler and Rossbach bands at any moment for striking down the starving masses of head and hand workers now sinking daily deeper into poverty. But this same government, on the other hand, is not slow to evince an intense increase of activity against communism, in which activity the social democrats take the lead. Prohibition and suppression of the revolutionary shop stewards movement, visitations of the police to the German C.P. offices, mass arrests of communist functionaries, institution of class justice trials of the worst sort for alleged high treason, and systematic throttling of the communist press. These are the weapons being used by the Stresemann government, until such time as it may seize the opportunity for bloody provocation, in its attempts to save the class state, the guarantor of capitalist substance, from utter collapse and from the anger of proletarian masses.

May the capitalists shriek in a perversity of delight at the blows showered upon the scarred backs of the German revolutionary proletariat by the knouts of the social democratic police. The dialectics of the process of capitalist decay, and the clear aims and determined policy of our Party, are our guarantee that even this desperate attempt at salvation on the part of the Stresemann-Hilferding government, will be speedily shattered on the hard facts of reality and that the war of the classes will end with the victorious establishment of the class state of the proletariat.

The French Proletariat and the Situation in Germany

By Boris Souvarine.

The first German revolution was crushed, and this was not only due to the treachery of the social democracy, which took sides with the defenders of capital, and joined forces with the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of accomplishing the bloody suppression of the working class vanguard gathered around the Spartacus group, but it was also due to the fact that the foreign aid which could have freed it from the pressure of the imperialist armies of the Entente was not given. In the years 1918 and 1919 the then majority of the French Socialist Party still made common cause with the bourgeoisie. And the then left wing of the Party, which gained the majority later on and developed into the Communist Party, was incapable of any foreign political action. Things were practically the same in the trade unions, although here the left wing was considerably more powerful.

Neither the Party nor the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) was at that time inclined to manifest practically its solidarity with the German working class, although, theoretically, they proclaimed such solidarity very eloquently in their congress resolutions. But even had they been so inclined, they were not in a position to do so. As to the proletariat as a whole, the great majority of this class was completely under the influence of every kind of nationalist feeling. It was tired of war, in need of rest, and remained for the most part deaf to the warnings and appeals issued by the revolutionary minorities in the Party and the trade unions.

Five years have passed since then, and the tide of revolution is rising again in Germany. But now the small Spartacus group has become a great Communist Party, counting over 300,000 members. The German bourgeoisie is divided against itself,

social democracy becomes weaker from day to day, falls more and more into discredit, and loses more and more the confidence of the broad masses of the workers. The impending civil war begins under very different conditions to those of the years 1918 and 1919.

But what changes have taken place since then outside of Germany, and, in particular, in France?

One striking fact at once forces itself upon our attention—the existence of a Communist Party which did not exist at all five years ago, a proletarian party well disciplined and led as no labor party in France has been led since the Commune. A party which has been taught and tempered by several internal crises, which has already given many proofs of its fighting capacity and initiative, and which is developing from day to day into a really militant section of the Communist International. Without doubt, this fact is in itself an excellent witness to the awakening of revolutionary consciousness in an important part of the French proletariat, and is at the same time a guarantee of its real solidarity with the German proletariat. Neither friend nor foe has any right to doubt that the Communist Party of France will at all costs do its duty when the time comes.

But what can this party, with its 60,000 members, do against the powerful, rich and well organized bourgeoisie, unless it finds allies among the other political or so-called non-political tendencies of the French working class, particularly of the revolutionary trade unions? What role does the C.G.T.U. think to play in the coming struggle? Up to now our comrades in the C.G.T.U., or at least a part of them, do not seem to have clearly recognized the situation in Central Europe. While at the present time there could be nothing more important than the solution of the question as to how best and most effectually to aid the German proletariat in its hard struggle, the latest conference of the national committee of the C.G.T.U. did not even adopt any definite attitude with regard to this problem, but permitted itself to be completely dominated by internal conflicts. There is no doubt that the C.G.T.U. possesses a large majority fully aware of its duties and responsibilities, and this will not allow itself to be led astray by the immoral anti-communist coalition. And France possesses today a Communist Party which has already shown itself capable of taking the initiative against reaction and imperialism under the united front of the proletariat. The influence of this party on the unorganized masses increases from day to day, and it will be able to mobilize a magnificent army for the defence of the German revolution.

This task is doubtless very difficult in a country where the working class has not yet suffered in its own person the effects of the post-war crisis, where natural egoism easily gains the upper hand over the spirit of solidarity and self-sacrifice, where the reformists of the Socialist Party and of the C.G.T. increase the inertia of the masses by every available means, and the demagogues of every shade of opinion are united in throwing dirt at every truly revolutionary fighter and in spreading confusion. But events have also an eloquence of their own. They shed such a bright light on the actual situation that any attempt to sabotage the struggle being carried on by the Communist Party is bound to appear to the class conscious workers in its true colors—as a purely counter-revolutionary action.

The Process of Dissolution in Georgian Menshevism

Extract from the speech delivered by Comrade Martinov before the Moscow Party Functionaries.

As is well known, during the course of the last few months many hundreds of the best and oldest members of the Georgian Menshevik party resolved at various meetings to leave their party and to join the Communist International. Comrade Martinov, who was a leading theoretician and politician of the Mensheviks for a quarter of a century, and who has also recently joined the Communist Party, attended these meetings. His appended observations on the course taken by these meetings, and on the immediate causes of the disintegration of Georgian Menshevism, can unfortunately only here be given in an abbreviated form, owing to lack of space, but are worthy of the more attention in that the foreign representatives of the Georgian Mensheviks miss no opportunity of spreading abroad their slanders on "Bolshevik violence in Georgia." (Ed.)

I. At the end of June I received a telegram from Kutayetz, from the one-time Menshevik, inviting me to take part in their conferences. I traveled through the whole of Georgia, and gave several addresses at well attended meetings. During my journey

I was able to form a fairly objective idea of what had been going on in Georgia of recent years, as I derived plenty of data from books, newspapers, and reports, the many speeches I heard and the numerous inquiries addressed to me at meetings, while I was able to observe much with my own eyes.

The first thing which fell into my hands during my sojourn at Tiflis was a circular issued by the illegal central committee of the Georgian Mensheviks. This circular stated that the Tscheka compels the Mensheviks to leave the party by force, that those who leave the party are betrayers who sell the Georgian people for money, for gold, for motor-cars, etc. This circular raised a storm of indignation among the former Mensheviks. Their reply to the circular was: "You slander us by saying that we leave the party under the pressure of force. Good; now we shall arrange public meetings, and shall proclaim to the whole world openly what has been going on in our party of recent years, and what has induced us to break with it."

The majority of the conferences passed unanimous resolutions approving the liquidation of the Menshevik party and the affiliation to the C.P. We first encountered resistance in Tiflis, the intellectual centre of Menshevism. The conference held in the great theatre at Tiflis lasted three days. The delegates sat in the pit, the audience in the gallery. There were rabid Mensheviks, apparently, among the latter. The difference between pit and gallery was striking: the former Mensheviks in the pit were, almost without exception, workers, the rowdy Mensheviks in the gallery almost without exception intellectuals. Whilst at other meetings the questions put to me were solely requests for information, here the written questions thrown from the gallery were obviously of a malicious intent.

One question was as follows: "The Bolsheviks made concessions to Curzon; they were willing to bargain with this imperialist. Why do you object when the Mensheviks do the same thing?"

To this I replied: "Circumstances alter cases. At the time of the Anglo-Russian conflict I was in Moscow, and saw the effect of Curzon's ultimatum on the Moscow proletariat. I saw how the workers carried a gallows with a dummy of Curzon about the streets. And notwithstanding they gave way to him, you say. Yes, when it was a question whether it was worth while to shed the blood of workers and peasants in the matter of two English spies and the three mile fishing zone, the Bolsheviks answered: No! But if Curzon had demanded that the factories were to be returned to their former owners, then the Bolsheviks would have fought to the death. But the Mensheviks requested German and English generals, in the end even Turkish generals, to occupy Georgia for the purpose of emancipating it from "anarchy", that is, from the Soviet power."

In another question I was asked: "Why has the 2½ International joined the 2., and not the 3.?" I replied that this was no argument against the 3. International, but against those people who wanted to sit on two stools at the same time. Their retreat merely confirms the fact that those who are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat are bound to find themselves sooner or later in the camp of counter-revolution. Many other questions were put, many of them such that I could only reply to them by an anecdote.

What trend of feeling prevailed among the delegates themselves? Were these docile sheep? Timid creatures capitulating before the victors? Judge for yourselves, comrades, from their conduct. When the declaratory resolution was read out with its frequently occurring phrase: "We are to blame", the workers interjected shouts of protest: "We do not feel ourselves to blame!" And when the division was taken, only 50 voted for the motion, the remainder abstained from voting. The workers were not willing to sign a declaration in which the former activity is described as counter-revolutionary. And in the course of personal talks, old workmen declared to me that they could not wallow in the mire of the past, that there had been a time when they would have performed great revolutionary deeds. I spoke to the following effect on the declaratory resolution: "I have carefully perused the draft, and am myself of the opinion that its formulation is unhappy. It need not be said that every member of the party is responsible for the sins of the party. But the responsibility held by the ordinary members and by the leaders is not equal. Your dissatisfaction with the declaration is the more comprehensible to me as many despicable actions were performed during the Menshevik regime in Georgia, against the wish and under the protest of the working class members of the Menshevik party. After my speech the declaration was accepted by 97 votes against 13 abstentions. The same procedure took place with regard to the other resolutions. The workers considered every word of their resolutions from all sides, and the resultant resolutions were therefore clear, definite, and decisive."

I scarcely believe, comrades, that anyone visiting this conference would venture to repeat those slanders issued by the central committee—that the Georgian Mensheviks are forsaking their party because they are frightened sheep who sign without demur anything presented to them by the powers that be. It is not fear which actuates the Georgian Mensheviks when they leave the party, but a feeling of shame that they have delayed so long in doing so. I had to console them: "Don't be down-hearted! There are plenty of equally violent battles before us. You need not fear that you are going to rest on others' laurels. The red flag only waves over one sixth of the world. There are still five sixths to be won." Speaking further in the same strain, an old workman out of the meeting said: "Comrades! We have let three years of revolutionary struggle pass without doing anything to help. This only means that where the Bolsheviks lay one brick, we have now to lay three."

This is the mood prevailing among the one-time Mensheviks of Georgia. The collective impressions of my Georgian journey led me to the conclusion that the Menshevik party is on the eve of a disastrous breakdown. Its members are leaving it in crowds. Every fighting element is deserting it. The causes of this sudden catastrophe must now be investigated.

(Conclusion follows.)

ECONOMICS

The Hopeless Economic Position in Germany and the Remedies of the Great Coalition

By G. Fink (Berlin).

Even the most superficial observation suffices to show that during the four weeks of the Stresemann-Hilferding government there has been a further worsening of Germany's economic position, an increased obviousness of the hopelessness of the German economic crisis. There is no intention of asserting that the existence of the Stresemann-Hilferding government is to blame for the fresh depreciation of the mark, for the closing down of works, for the increase of unemployment, but the present situation and the helpless attempts at betterment are the best proof that the government of the Great Coalition is as little able as any other capitalist government to master the German economic crisis.

Prices have risen above the level of the world market in an increased number of branches of industry. This signifies a further decay of German export. Diminished export is the cause of the extensive closing down of works and factories which has already taken place or is impending, and of the increased unemployment. Within the next few days and weeks the numbers out of work will increase still more. The prices of German industrial products are rising above the level of the world market prices, despite a depreciation of the mark only to be compared with the rate of depreciation during the last days of the Cuno government. The value of the mark is sinking at a speed unknown to the Russ an rouble, and has reached a stage at which a mark is not worth 10 old roubles.

The depreciation of the mark is thus no longer able to revive German export. The artificial boom of 1921-22 is over at last. Germany's economic crisis breaks out in full force. For years German industry and agriculture have been consuming their own substance. The greatest fault has lain in the fact the profits gained through export have not been expended on the technical improvement of the undertakings; all profits have been sent abroad by the German capitalists and advantageously invested there. It has been a typical sign of capitalist decay that the composition of capital has become lower—a process only compensated by the ceaseless reduction of real wages. During this artificial boom, German capital has been able to make profits because a part of the workers' share in the total social production has flowed into its coffers; the inflation, the depreciation of the mark, enabled the workers to be deprived, in the interests of the capitalist, of a part of their share. And it was also due to the depreciation of the mark that, for a long time, German industrialists could under cut foreign competitors. It was, however, plain that, sooner or later, not even the most rapid rate of depreciation of the mark could maintain German competition in face of the falling composition of capital, the technical backwardness as compared with competitors, the growing unproductive apparatus, and the continuous under-nourishment of the working classes.

The factor most to blame for the fall of the mark is the tremendous flight of capital. Otherwise such a degree of de-

preciation could not have taken place in view of the active trade balance of the year 1922 and the first quarter of 1923, and of the cessation of reparation payments. In proportion as the economic crisis in Germany became more acute, and the danger of a social revolution approached, the flight of capital increased, and is now no longer confined to the export profits, but has extended until even profits on home business are invested abroad.

It is impossible to overcome the German economic crisis within the capitalist economic system, and if capitalist profit making and the policy of capitalist production are continued, but a government with the very least idea of taking its task seriously, and really doing something to ameliorate the economic ruin, should attempt at least to set a limit to the flight of capital, and to introduce some alteration in the present policy of production. But it is an established fact that the Stresemann-Hilferding government is trying to tinker with trivial financial-technical means. At first the social democrats fancied that they had won a mighty victory by the new taxation laws, and restored the equilibrium of state finance. But a few days sufficed to show that the taxes, even when raised, are not able to cover any essential part of the expenditure. German state finance is completely bankrupt. A new levy on foreign bills was proclaimed with much clamour. But this new decree merely provides that every person liable to subscribe to the compulsory loan has to deliver up one gold mark in foreign bills for every thousand marks of the compulsory loan, if he possess foreign bills. In this manner a new foreign bills fund is to be created. But a great part of the possessors of foreign bills have never been liable to the compulsory loan. And even should a certain sum be thus raised in foreign bills, the country will merely start on another useless action in support of the mark, just as the Reichsbank has, with this object, been futilely squandering millions of gold marks daily during the last few days.

The latest plan, the latest ordination, is the seizure of all "foreign bills serving unproductive purpose". This signifies that people in humble circumstances, who have bought foreign bills as the sole means of saving anything, are to be deprived of their few foreign bills, whilst those possessing these on a large scale, and of course employing them "productively", are not to be touched.

The tremendous depreciation of the mark has killed the paper mark. For calculations and estimates, in industry and trade, it no longer exists, and it is practically dead as a means of payment. The transition to a new currency must be carried out. But the many advantages offered to the different groups of capitalists by the plans for a gold standard and a gold note bank, do not make the realization of such a gold standard in the least possible under the given economic conditions. It is impossible either to balance the state finances, or for the government to have any influence on production, prices, and the control of foreign trade. The first prerequisites for the introduction of gold mark calculation or a new gold standard are not given in Germany within the capitalist economic system.

As a result of the taxation sabotage exercised by the capitalists, the floating debt of the Republic has increased twentyfold in August, and has only been covered to the extent of 1 to 2% by revenues. The control of foreign trade exercised by the government is not to be strengthened, but the reverse is to take place, export control and export levies being abolished. The economic program of the Great Coalition consists of satisfying the wishes of capital after first lengthening working hours and reducing wages. The German capitalists imagine that by these means they can prolong the life of German capital. Stinnes, in an article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* openly and brutally, demands the ten hour day.

The financial-technical measures and remedies attempted by the government have no prospect of success. The government can only continually try to find new measures, and to laud every new measure as an infallible remedy. The position of the German economy is hopeless from the capitalist standpoint. Even the government of the Great Coalition cannot alter this fact.

France's Financial Crisis in the Year 1923

By George Lévy (Paris).

France's Minister for Finance, de Lasteyrie, is well satisfied with the financial situation of his country. For, during the first seven months of the year 1923, 11,762 million francs were raised by the taxes. The corresponding figures for the year 1922 were 10,441 million francs. The increased revenue is therefore 1321 millions. Reckoning the extraordinary revenues as amounting to 1298 millions, the total income of the first seven

months of this year has been 13,060 francs. Should the revenues remain at the same level during the remaining five months, the income derived from taxation during 1923 may be reckoned at a total of 22,304 million francs. The ordinary budget, however, counted on an income of 23,400 millions, so that here there is already a deficit of 1 100 million francs.

Besides this, the whole calculation is based on the assumption that the official figures are correct. Authorities possessing an intimate knowledge of the financial situation of the country are of the opinion that France is not in a position to raise more than 20 milliard francs annually on the present system of taxation. The actual expenditure of the state is about 25 milliards. The regular budget of the current year has thus a real deficit of 5 milliard francs, and it is only by the aid of a series of arithmetical artifices that an apparent equilibrium between revenue and expenditure is established on paper.

To this regular state budget we must, however, add the sums classified in the budget under the heading of "sums to be reimbursed by Germany". This special budget amounts to 14 milliards for the year 1923—13 milliards for restoration and pensions, and 1 milliard for the maintenance of the occupation troops. But this sum does not exhaust the reparation expenditure for the current year; a further loan of 10 milliards will be required for this purpose. France thus requires, in the year 1923, for the regular state expenditure, for the budget covering the sums to be reimbursed, and for other reparation purposes, the sum of 25 milliards plus 14 milliards plus 10 milliards, a total of 49 milliards. The income raised in 1923 amounts, however, to 22 milliards only, even at the most optimistic estimate. The real deficit therefore amounts to 27 milliard francs, to be covered by loans. France seeks to find salvation from her financial troubles by ruining Germany economically through such operations as that of the Ruhr occupation. But debtors have never yet been rendered solvent by being ruined!

With regard to France's national debt, this amounts to 390 milliard francs. The internal debts amount to 282 milliards. This sum is made up of 145 milliards in long term debts, 114 milliards in short term debts, and 23 milliards in advances from the Bank of France. Foreign debts amount to 30 milliard gold francs, or 108 milliard paper francs. 17 milliard francs are required annually to pay the interest on these debts. This forms the greater part of the sum raised by taxation. It is not possible to leave the interest due to England and America unpaid for ever. Both these Anglo-Saxon countries have again reminded France of her obligations. What will the situation be like when not only the interest on these debts is to be paid, but the principal as well? The reality is very different to the fancy picture drawn by the French Minister for Finance. But if the Minister and his colleagues, and the Chamber of the Bloc National, all close their eyes deliberately to the facts; if the country still permits itself to be doped by the bribed writers of the government press—it is our task to open the eyes of the masses to the actual financial position of France. And this financial position is in fact one of bankruptcy.

The Economic Significance of the Japanese Catastrophe

By B. St.

Moscow, Sept. 6.

The earthquake catastrophe has struck Japanese political economy just at a period when Japan was working her way upwards to the position of an imperialist great power. The rôle played by Japan in the Far East has increased extraordinarily in importance during and since the war. Japan took part in the war on the side of the Entente, but contented herself with the taking of Kiautschau, and abstained from any further belligerent action during the whole of the remaining period of the war. In the place of warlike action she directed the whole of her economic powers towards conquering those world's markets abandoned by England during the war, the sale of English manufactures practically ceasing in the markets of the Far East. America, occupied with delivering war material to warring Europe, and later on itself taking part in the war, exported considerably less to the Far East. Japanese goods penetrated particularly extensively into the markets of Australia and New Zealand—to say nothing of the markets of China.

The total returns of Japanese foreign trade increased from 1186 million yen to 4286 million yen in the period between 1914 and 1920. The crisis experienced in 1920 was immediately noticeable in the imports and especially in the exports. The year 1921 brought a greatly reduced return to Japanese foreign trade. In 1922 the figure of 3527 was again reached. In the

first half year of 1923 just past, about the same level was maintained, 1820 million yen.

The character of Japanese foreign trade is determined by the natural resources of the country. Japan is lacking in the most important kinds of industrial raw materials, and these are therefore the articles the import of which is greatest. Japanese exports are almost exclusively manufactured articles. Japanese industry has been able to maintain with the greatest ease the positions which it has conquered in foreign markets, thanks to cheap labor power and its unlimited exploitation. But of late there have been considerable changes in this respect, resulting in a crisis in Japanese industry. When the prices in England and America rose, the corresponding rise in Japan was 20 to 30% greater, and the growing labor movement, in successfully fighting for a certain increase of wages and shortening of working hours, deprived Japan of some "natural advantages". Japan passed through a severe commercial and industrial crisis recently. This crisis was one of the motives inducing her to take up negotiations with Soviet Russia.

The extremely brisk trade carried on between Japan and Russia before the war is now at an almost complete standstill in consequence of the five years of intervention policy. Thus the restoration of trade relations with the markets of the Far East is an extraordinarily important question for Japan.

The main problem facing Japan, in her character of an imperialist great power, has been her competition with America. This competition extended over the whole of the Far East, from the islands of the Pacific Ocean to China. The Chinese market has been a special bone of contention between Japan and America. Japan has constantly interfered in China's internal affairs, and has always openly supported one of the warring Chinese parties. She assumed in China the position of the sole concessionary, possessing special privileges and a special sphere of influence. America fought for the Chinese market under the slogan of the "open door". At the Washington Conference held at the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922, the decisive battle between Japan and America was fought. Supported by France, Japan encountered the combined resistance of America and England in the question of Chinese politics. She was obliged to make concessions. The Five States' Treaty contained Japan's undertaking to return Shantung to China, and to recognize the principle of the "open door".

This treaty plays an exceedingly important rôle in the history of Japanese-American conflicts. Japan did not cease her activity in China, and did not lose hope of regaining and consolidating her positions there.

The catastrophic earthquake has upset the calculations of the Japanese politicians and their competitors alike. The industrial power of Japan, weakened by the serious internal crisis of the last eighteen months, is now wiped out. Even though she succeed in restoring her military and naval power within a comparatively short period, she will by no means succeed in rebuilding the economic foundations of this fighting capacity with equal rapidity.

Considering the mutual relations of Japan and America, this new situation cannot possibly be without consequences. In China, where Japan has only maintained her position by means of her military and economic power, a new situation may be created.

With regard to the mutual relations of Japan and the Soviet Union, it may be assumed that the catastrophe will conduce to a rapprochement between the two countries. If Japan's industrial crisis was already the cause of inducing her to take up negotiations with the Soviet Union, this tremendous injury now done to Japanese industrial power must influence Japanese policy in the same direction. Japan, economically weakened, will have to seek a source of support in the Far East against the considerably enhanced influence of her American competitor.

The catastrophe has other consequences as well: the industrialization of Japan, which has made rapid progress since the war, has been attended by an equally rapid growth of the working class and of the Labor Movement. The catastrophe has dealt the Labor Movement a terrible blow. Hundreds of thousands of workers are involved in the ruin of industry. There is no doubt whatever but that the disaster will have a profound effect on the power and importance of the Japanese Labor Movement. The struggle for higher wages and shorter working hours, of recent times fairly successful in Japan, receives a great setback. There is no doubt but that the Japanese bourgeoisie will attempt to rebuild Japan's economics at the expense of the working class.

These are the probable consequences of the catastrophe, so far as a judgment can be formed on the scanty reports received up to the present from Japan.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Second General Conference of the Trade Union Educational League

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The left-wing movement in the American trade unions, expressed in the Trade Union Educational League, demonstrated at the Second General Conference, held in Chicago, Sept. 1-2, that it has firmly established itself as a permanent factor in the labor movement. There were 143 delegates elected and more than 100 present from 90 industrial centers including Canada and Mexico, who met for two days of strenuous work, unifying the forces of progress and mapping out programs to rejuvenate and remodel the unions to meet the "open shop" assault of the employers and overthrow the reactionary bureaucracy which is strangling the labor movement.

Facing the conference were the fights now going on in three great industries for the right of the militants to remain and carry on their work within the unions. In the Shoe and Leather industry, the Secretary of the Amalgamation Committee and several of his co-workers are on trial, the Union officials demanding their expulsion. Their local union has given them a trial, and returned a verdict of "not guilty" and rebuking the officials who are trying to throw them out. The officials are threatening to expel the entire union. In the needle industry (garment manufacturing) an unprecedented campaign of violence and expulsion against the left-wing is in progress, which culminated in an attempt upon the life of W. Z. Foster, secretary of the T.U.E.L., just a few days before the conference opened.

The Conference opened with telegrams of greetings from League groups all over the country, and a message from Eugene V. Debs. A cable from Lozovsky arrived after the Conference adjourned.

The National Committee presented a report, covering the activities of the past year, organization and finance problems, and statements of policies. The economic situation was analyzed, and it was shown that the trade unions have been decidedly on the retreat, in spite of the favorable economic conditions; while industrial depression is imminent which threatens the very life of the labor movement if new leadership and new policies are not established. A statement on the United Front laid down the fundamental policies of the T.U.E.L., in accord with the R.I.L.U., calling for the unification of the labor unions by amalgamation into great industrial organizations, and the federation of the political forces of Labor in a Federated Party. It was pointed out that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, by directly bringing the trade unions into the political struggle, is the most efficacious weapon for combatting the idea of trade union neutrality in politics. The function of the League, as a minority within the unions, was clearly outlined, and the charge that the League is a dual union conclusively repudiated in a detailed statement to be published in leaflet form. Tactics for fighting expulsions, disfranchisements, and violence against the left-wing, were developed in detail. The Conference unanimously adopted the proposed policies, and the organizational questions were referred to a Committee to study them and report back to the Conference.

Reports were then made by the District Organizations of the League. Comrade Manley, of the Eastern District, reported the great progress made by the League in the past year in that great industrial area. The many conferences held in that section had greatly strengthened and unified the left-wing. The Canadian District, reported by Comrade Tim Buck, showed the greatest concrete achievements; in Canada the labor movement has adopted amalgamation in principle in more than half of the unions, and the R.I.L.U. has become an immediate fighting issue there. The reactionary officials are on the defensive and fighting desperately, in conjunction with the U.S. reactionaries, against the League. The Central District, centering in Chicago, has stabilized and centralized its work; as this District was the first one to receive intensive organization, it did not have such great advances to record as the others. The Pacific Coast District is still largely unorganized, being still affected by the old dualistic tendencies inherited from the past; but prospects are good when the National League can give it more attention.

A report from the newly-organized T.U.E.L. of Mexico was given, which explained fully the industrial, political, and trade unionist situation there. The report was adopted as one of the important documents of the Conference.

Delegates to the Second Congress of the R.I.L.U. rendered a long report of that important gathering, followed by the report of Comrade Johnson of the Enlarged Executive meeting in June. The National Committee then presented a statement on International Affiliations, which condemned the Amsterdam and Berlin Internationals and called upon the American labor movement to affiliate to the R.I.L.U. After a thorough discussion, these reports and the statement were unanimously adopted.

Secretary Foster reported on the organization and work of the Red International Committee (Committee of Action), formed under the decision of the Second Congress, to unite the T.U.E.L. and the independent affiliates of the R.I.L.U. and co-ordinate the work of all revolutionaries in the labor struggle. The report was adopted.

The Resolutions Committee reported on a large number of documents submitted to the Conference, and after thorough discussion the following were adopted: 1. Pointing out the unorganized condition of large masses of the workers in America, and calling for a great organization drive to bring them into the trade unions; 2. Declaration of solidarity with the class-war prisoners in the various prisons of America; 3. Special statements on the Mooney-Billings, the Sacco-Vanzetti, and the Michigan Communist Cases; 4. Declaration of solidarity with the I.W.W. fight against the California injunction, and calling for a united front in the fight against criminal syndicalist laws; 5. A statement of solidarity with Soviet Russia, and calling for a campaign for aligning the labor movement for its recognition; 6. Endorsing the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia; 7. Denouncing the American Legion; 8. Endorsing the World War Veterans; 9. Against the Fascists; 10. Endorsing the Federated Farmer-Labor Party; 11. Endorsing the dictatorship of the proletariat; 12. Solidarity with the Irish workers, etc.

The United Front of the International Transport Workers was reported upon by the Organization Committee, which recommended an intensive propaganda to acquaint all transport workers with this great step forward achieved by the R.I.L.U. The various International Propaganda Committees in the industrial sections were commended to the industrial section of the League, and all were instructed to establish closest connections. Various other organization matters were handled and decisions arrived at to strengthen and consolidate the left-wing movement.

Industrial sections of the League, which held their meetings between the general sessions of the Conference, reported in full on their progress and problems. These included the Railroad Industry, the Metal Industry, the Building Trades, the Needle Trades, the Mining Industry, Printing Trades, Food Industry, and others. The industrial conferences, and their reports, were participated in by the delegates as the most interesting and vital part of the proceedings. In these were crystallized the practical programs and fighting methods developed in the various fields of struggle during the past year.

At the close of the Conference a National Committee of seven was elected for the coming year; these were, Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer; J. W. Johnstone, Sam T. Hammersmark, Ben Gitlow, A. Obermeier, Earl R. Browder, and Tim Buck.

The Conference closed a year of intense struggle, during which, for the first time in America, a closely-knit national left-wing movement was permanently established in the American labor movement. The League has many great victories to its credit, from which it has gained much confidence; it has met a few minor defeats from which it has learned how to gain new victories. The Conference was dominated throughout by the determination to face squarely the tremendous difficulties before it, coupled with the utmost determination and confidence in the ability of the League to continue its successful work of unifying the American working class in the international struggle against capitalism. The Conference has given renewed courage to the militants, strengthened their organization, clarified their policies, united them yet closer together, and sent them back to the struggle doubly armed to fight for the principles of the R.I.L.U.

The Congress of the C. G. T. U. at Limoges

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The last conference held by the national committee of the C.G.T.U. has shown that the C.G.T.U. has a solid majority at its disposal, which is fully devoted to the interests of the R.I.L.U. and the Russian revolution. But at the same time it has clearly disclosed the danger of schism brought about by the anti-communist minority.

The above mentioned majority is composed of two main groups: of the communists belonging to the C.P. of France, and the group gathered around the "Vie Ouvrière". This latter group

partly consists of party members, and partly of comrades in sympathy with communism, such as Monmousseau, who recognize the necessity of the existence of a Communist party, but will probably only become members when the party has proved its value as such, and has further proved that it is cured of the old obsession of elections. Comrades are also represented in this group, Dudillieux for instance, who do not dispute the right of the members of the party to join together in fractions within the trade unions, but are not yet able to recognize the need for the formation of such fractions. And finally, this group contains comrades who hold the opinion that the existence of a Communist Party is not an absolute necessity for the victory of revolution in France. But in any event it is quite certain that the group surrounding the "Vie Ouvrière", as at present composed, is wholeheartedly in favor of affiliation to the R.I.L.U., despite all internal differences of opinion, and is on the side of the Russian revolution.

The anti-communist minority is composed of anarchists and the so-called "Syndicalist Defence Committee", this again being composed of decidedly "anti-Moscow" and anarchist "trade union only" trade unionists. This anarcho-syndicalist bloc, in which the greatest confusion reigns, follows the lead of a few persons like Besnard and Quinon. It represents in a certain sense an extension of the famous "pact organization" which, secretly and strictly centralized, operated like a kind of syndicalist free masonry within the trade union movement at the end of the war, and endeavored to entangle the workers under the pretext of preserving federalism.

In addition to this, this committee proclaimed itself to be the devoted champions of trade union autonomy in opposition to the political parties.

But now a third tendency has crystallized between the adherents of the R.I.L.U. and the syndicalist defence committee, which designates itself as "revolutionary syndicalist groups". These groups, under the leadership of Lartigue, comprise not only the "trade union only" unionists who do not want to break radically with either the Russian revolution or the R.I.L.U., but also numerous one-time followers of the Communist Party, particularly adherents of the Frossard group.

The revolutionary syndicalist groups represent a trade union centrism lacking in inner coherence and inevitably destined to self-disintegration. A portion of their adherents will doubtless go over to the syndicalist defence committee, many of them being already actively engaged in its service. The others, however, are certain to return to the majority in favor of the R.I.L.U.

At the Paris conference of the national committee of the C.G.T.U. the majority, as a practical proof of its will to unity, and in face of the scarcely concealed threats of a split uttered by the syndicalist defence committee, was obliged to make concessions regarding the convocation of an extraordinary general trade union congress at Limoges in the latter half of November.

We shall not here enter further into the scandalous fact that at the Paris conference, the minority of the syndicalist defence committee attempted to force the delegates to pass certain resolutions by threats of violence. We shall only refer to the remarkable contradiction contained in the fact that those who have declared themselves to be opposed to any sort of dictatorship should feel no scruples in forcing their ideas on those differing from them in opinion, even if they have to resort to the dictatorship of the bludgeon as a means of persuasion. We must emphatically state here also that the anti-communist minority is guilty of systematic sabotage of the whole trade union movement by its disgraceful exploitation of the will to unity of the majority; by the constant resistance against the resolutions passed by the properly elected organs of the C.G.T.U.; the unceasing demands for the convocation of extraordinary trade union congresses, although it is plain to the whole world that the majority of the national committee is in perfect agreement with the majority of the organized workers; the enhancement of the varying tendencies, leading to an enormous waste of energy, and thus preventing the majority from concentrating its whole energies on the struggle against the capitalist offensive and French imperialism at a moment when capitalist exploitation is becoming more and more acute in the country itself, and the French occupation generals in the Ruhr are making all preparations for crushing the first signs of proletarian revolution in Germany.

The congress at Limoges will represent the greatest battle which the French trade union movement has as yet fought. The significance of this battle will by far exceed that of the struggle waged at the trade union congress in Amiens in 1906. For the prospects of world revolution, historically viewed, are now much nearer than then.

The trade union congress at Amiens saved the syndicalists, not because the formulas passed at that time can lay claim to

being correct for all time, but because they were actually able to shut out, for a certain period, the influence of the political parties whose sole function, however radical they might be in words, was to act as electioneering machines for returning deputies to the chamber. Thus Amiens saved the trade union movement from succumbing to the electoral malady afflicting the socialist party.

Though the congress at Amiens did not change the C.G.T.U. into a trade union mass organization, it at least raised it to the level of that party which, despite all confusion of thought, was the only party pursuing practical revolutionary daily policy.

The residue of influence still possessed by the syndicalist defence committee in the trade unions is due to the fact that the mechanical repetition of the formulas resolved upon at Amiens, represents to a certain extent a kow-towing before the traditions of the French labor movement.

But today, the war and the Russian revolution, which we have to thank for many valuable experiences, compel us to re-examine our old traditions.

The war has given us proof that the trade unions, just like the political electoral organizations of the proletariat, failed miserably in the fulfilment on their class duty.

The lessons taught the world proletariat by the Russian revolution may be concentrated in one sentence: "A group of select workers, devoted to their class for life or death, relying on Marxist teachings and principles, strictly disciplined, and capable of developing adequate mobility enabling it to determine at any moment on the best tactics for advancing the growing masses of workers on the road to revolution—in short—a Communist Party, forms the imperative prerequisite for the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

The impotence of the German trade union movement was inevitably bound up with the fact that its mass organizations were ruled and led exclusively by a reformist electoral body.

The impotence of the French trade union movement, on the other hand, was due to the fact that it neither comprised really large mass organizations, nor was it supported by a firmly established and determined party possessing clear and sound principles.

Today, we are in a position to define clearly and lucidly the relations between Party and trade unions. The trade union movement gathers the workers together on the common ground of their proletarian existence. The Communist Party, on the other hand, constitutes the alliance of those workers who have become conscious of the necessity of proletarian class war, and of the conditions of revolutionary victory. The Party and its members are not in the least led by the idea of forcing the non-communist workers to recognize their supremacy *a priori* as holders of an unalterable infallible dogma. On the contrary, all other tendencies in the trade unions have equal rights to try and maintain themselves in the trade unions.

In the trade unions the communists ask no more than equal rights with all other tendencies. They cannot tolerate being regarded and treated as trade unionists with lesser rights merely because they are communists.

The communists are fighting for trade union unity, for trade union mass organization, in order that the trade unions may offer the broadest possible field for their work in the service of the proletariat.

The anarcho-syndicalists, on the contrary, proclaim by their schismatic tendencies, and their instinctive inclination to sectarian trade unions, even though they are themselves not clearly conscious of it, that they have no faith in themselves, and fear the judgment of the broad masses.

The opponents of communism are anxious to form a new "model" trade union which would represent the negation of every trade union movement. According to their views, as expressed by the resolution lately passed by the national committee of the building workers' union, the communists should be subjected to every sort of pettifoggery so long as they are in the minority. However great the confidence possessed by a communist in his trade union, he must not be permitted to perform any function in it, simply for the reason that he belongs to the minority in the union. But where the communists are in the majority, still they are blindly to obey the behests of the minority, for the latter makes no bones about threatening a split for the purpose of extorting agreement to its resolutions. Is it not absolutely plain that the anarcho-syndicalists can bring about nothing else than the destruction of the trade unions by such a course of action?

The trade union movement can only gather the working masses together on the principle of complete equality of rights among all the members organized. What is there to induce a worker to enter a trade union, if he is to be tricked out of his rights by accidental majorities? The trade unions will only be

able to draw the broad masses of the proletariat into their ranks when their organizations cease to be haunted by the constant spectre of schism.

In the trade unions the majority decides, whether at the moment it be communist, reformist, or anarchist, and no one has a right to jump to the conclusion that the trade union is therefore subordinate to the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, or the Anarchist Union.

The autonomy of the trade union lies in the possibility which it possesses of sweeping away, at any time, any majority with which it is not in agreement. If trade union autonomy is not to be a mere unintelligible myth, it can and must imply this possibility.

At the Limoges trade union congress the communists will make it their chief endeavor to maintain the unity of the C.G.T.U., and beyond this to realize unity in the whole French trade union movement.

They will also energetically lay claim to their perfect equality of right with all other tendencies in the organization of their fractions, and in the propagation of their slogans and ideas in the discussion, up to the moment of division.

After the division has been taken by the competent organs of the trade union movement, the communists will invariably devote themselves to the successful execution of the resolutions, whether they be in the majority or not.

The communists will thereby evince that they expect nothing more for themselves than the free play of trade union democracy. And they will judge this democracy less in accordance with the academic and learned expositions which may be given, than in accordance with the practical work performed.

At Limoges the communists will exert their utmost powers for the R.I.L.U. for the Russian revolution, against the offensive of capital, and for the impending revolution in Germany.

They will carry on this struggle conjointly with the majority in the C.G.T.U. Until the congress takes place in Limoges in November of this year, our most important duty is to clearly enlighten the trade unions. Even today the majority is assured for the R.I.L.U. at the Limoges conference. But it is not merely a question of having the majority there; it must be such an overwhelming majority that it borders on unanimity, and condemns any split to failure beforehand.

The manoeuvre for a split being carried on by Frossard in the *Egalité*, and behind the scenes in some of the trade unions, must be frustrated under all circumstances.

The masses organized in the C.G.T.U. must not and will not allow that this renegade, at the moment of the Ruhr occupation and immediately before the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in Germany, should carry on his work for the destruction of the trade unions.

Two Agricultural Laborers' Congresses

By H. Rau (Berlin).

In the second half of September two agricultural laborers' congresses will take place, both worthy of note. Two balances will be drawn in the agricultural labor movement.

In Moscow an International Conference of representatives of the revolutionary rural proletariat will be held.

In the course of a few years, more than a million organized revolutionary working men and women engaged in agricultural labor have united beneath the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions. Around this organized revolutionary élite of agricultural workers there is gathering a vast number of sympathizers, a vast number of agricultural laborers, belonging ideologically to the R.I.L.U. and siding with the revolution. The army of agricultural laborers who belong ideologically and organizationally to the R.I.L.U. grows daily and hourly. This is a most important security for the victory of proletarian revolution.

The international conference of revolutionary agricultural workers will and must lay down lines for the further activity of the red agricultural workers, after first thoroughly analysing the economic and political conditions, and after according due consideration to the relations of the forces at work.

The exchange of strategic experience gained in the different countries in wage struggles, and in repulsing the offensive of agrarian capital, will be exceedingly fruitful for the international agricultural movement.

In this connection the question of combating Fascism must also be mentioned, and the conference will adopt a definite attitude towards it. The importance of the rural proletariat in this

question is too evident to require special emphasis. It is generally known that the agrarian capitalists not only house Fascist officers on their estates and make it possible for them to organize Fascist troops, but also provide extensive supplies of weapons. The conference will have to draw the special attention of agricultural workers to this.

It is, above all, of the greatest importance that the agricultural workers should counter the violence of the Fascist bands, Fascist terror, and the Fascist shock troops, by means of proletarian defense organizations.

On the other hand, agricultural labor must not ignore the fact that Fascism is also a movement of a middle class which finds itself in a desperate situation, without prospect of escape. This fact imposes important tasks on agricultural labor. Impoverished village schoolmasters, post office and railway officials, farm employees, small rentiers and, above all, small peasants—these are to be torn from the clutches of Fascism and enlisted in the ranks of the proletarian class front. The conference devotes on this occasion a special item of the agenda to the relations between agricultural laborers and small peasants.

It need not be said that the conference will devote its attention to the need for the closest connection between the struggles of the urban and rural proletariats. It may be stated that as a general rule this connection is still very inadequate in all capitalist states; for the most part there are only mere beginnings to be observed, though very promising ones.

In the interests of the international revolutionary labor movement, the conference will at the same time not close its eyes to the defects existing within the Red Agricultural Workers' International. To be sure many of the defects and faults are merely the phenomena which accompany every young movement. This is, however, no reason for passing them over. They must be removed as far as possible. The first imperative necessity is a better and stricter centralization. The connections between the different countries are still inadequate. The exchange of experiences must be kept up continually and must not be solely dependent on conferences taking place at long intervals. The international leadership of the revolutionary agricultural workers must be evidenced in future by greater activity, and this is only possible after the above premises have been created. It is just here that the agricultural workers must show the fundamental difference between the Moscow Agricultural Workers' International, with its growing strength and power, and the decadent Amsterdam International.

Whilst the conference at Moscow draws the balance of the progress of the revolutionary agricultural labor movement, the second conference shows the balance of hopeless decadence of the reformist agricultural labor movement.

Although the latter conference is not an international congress of agricultural laborers, still it is of great international significance. The national conference, the general meeting of the German Agricultural Workers' Union, beginning on September 17, is of international importance not only for the reason that Germany is at the present moment the focus of the revolutionary struggle, but also because the German Agricultural Workers' Union (D.L.V.) is the most powerful organization of the reformist Agricultural Labor Confederation (I.L.K.).

The last congress held by the I.L.K. established the fact that it possessed a membership of 1.2 million men and women engaged in agricultural labor. Of these, 624,000 members belonged to the D.L.V. And what balance has the D.L.V. to show after the three years' interval since its last conference? In the summer of 1920, the D.L.V. counted 860,000 members. By the end of 1921, the number of members, according to official statements, had sunk to 626,000. Since then the Central Committee of the D.L.V. has contented itself with the statement that the membership is still "more than half a million". As a matter of fact, it is not likely that there are more than 350,000 agricultural workers, men and women, still members of the D.L.V. The German agricultural labor front is disorganized. This is the plain balance of the work of "development" performed by the reformist trade unions.

No doubt the bureaucrats of the D.L.V. will utter loud complaints about the destruction of the union by the communists, no doubt they will forget to mention their despicable treachery to the agricultural laborers in every struggle, the result of their collaboration policy. But today the agricultural workers are not to be deceived by such complaints. The German agricultural laborer of today is generally capable of clearly recognizing the causes of the decay of the D.L.V.

An end must be put to the collaboration policy. An end must be put to the dictatorship of the bureaucrats over the members. All those supporting the Technical Emergency Aid must be expelled (a part of the reformist D.L.V. leaders are among these). The revolutionary agricultural workers expelled

must be readmitted"—these are the main issues to be submitted to the forth-coming general meeting by a number of local group meetings and district conferences.

The reformist agricultural labor movement is attempting to bind up the fate of agricultural labor with the fate of the decadent capitalist economy, and is therefore historically condemned to share in the decay of capitalism. The future—the victory!—belongs to the revolutionary agricultural labor movement. The two congresses are plainly symptomatic of this.

An Appeal from the Union of Hand and Brain Workers on behalf of the Striking Miners in Czecho-Slovakia

The Union of Hand and Brain Workers, Mining Section, makes the following appeal to its members to support the Czecho-Slovakian miners in their severe struggle:

Miners, Comrades!

Our fellow workers, the miners of Czecho-Slovakia, are in the midst of a struggle. The colliery owners across the frontier crack the whip of starvation! During the last two years wages have already been reduced by 40%, and now there is to be a further reduction of 20% to 30%. This reduction of wages has been accompanied by an increased amount of work! An ingenious system of piece-work and speeding up has enabled the labor performed by the miners to be increased by 40%.

Comrades! Our fellow workers in Czecho-Slovakia were obliged to take up the fight or sink into abject slavery. The struggle has been taken up determinedly and unitedly by all the miners, however organized. It now remains for us to do our share in supporting the comrades in Czecho-Slovakia in their struggle.

During the strike not a pound of coal must go to Czecho-Slovakia!

We will no longer tolerate that fighting miners should be defeated with the help of scab coal from other countries, as was the case in the English and American miners' strikes. We are resolved to act in full consciousness of our international solidarity as miners and class brothers.

But this alone does not suffice: we must begin at once with the collection of funds in support of our class brothers in their heroic struggle. A collection committee must be formed at once in every colliery. We must aid our comrades in their fight with every means at our disposal, for their victory is our victory, and their defeat is our defeat!

Up comrades, and act!

No scab coal for Czecho-Slovakia!

Every comrade must give as much as he can to the collections!

Long live international solidarity!

For the wretched position of the miners will only improve when we have defeated our class enemy, international trustified mining capital, by international revolutionary class struggle.

Union of Hand and Brain Workers of Germany.
Mining Section.

An Appeal to the Toilers of the Marine Industry

The Seamen's Section of the International Propaganda Committee of Transport Workers of the Red International of Labor Unions have issued an appeal, of which the following are the principal contents:

Fellow Workers of the sea! Have you forgotten 1914? We know you will never forget the period that followed until "armistice day". But do you realize we are living in a period when one or other of the rival capitalist groups are committing acts, almost daily, that may at any moment plunge the world's workers into another sea of blood? Shall we allow this? Positively no!

Constant War since 1914.

The fine phrases of "War to end war", "Freedom of small nations", etc. etc. were inventions to satisfy the unthinking mass. Our governments have constantly lied and deceived us. War has never ceased since 1914. War against Soviet Russia for years: the only workers republic; war for possession of Silesian coal fields; battles fought for control of Memel and Vilna; Spaniards against Moroccans in Africa; the British soldiery butchered Egyptians and Irish, and continues to murder the Indians; the bankers of Lombard Street send the Greeks to their

defeat against the Turks; the French carry on their war of attrition, coupled with ghastly violence, in the Ruhr, with disastrous result to the economy of all nations; and now comes the blustering archdictator Mussolini, defiant to all, occupying Greek Islands. All these wars, and many more, the workers carry on for oil fields, iron ore mines, coal fields, railway concessions etc. etc. We are dying in battles in order that our imperialist masters may exploit more of the world's workers in their attempt to become richer.

Italo-Greek Crisis.

The latest Italian-Greek crisis reflects the imperialist designs of Italian capitalists. Mussolini, the premier, and idol of all "big business", defies the League of Nations. Just as he crushed the Italian labour movement with the aid of the timid and cringing reactionary union leaders, by burning down hundreds of union and labour newspaper offices; smashing to scrap-iron printing presses; imprisoning and murdering thousands of Italy's best workers, so he pounces upon Corfu and surrounding islands and commits similar acts, to fortify Italian capitalism in the Mediterranean. Mounting guns and occupying Greek harbours with battleships he ironically remarks that his acts are "peaceful".

This crisis cannot be isolated from the world's situation. It is a reflex of the angry conflicting capitalist interests. Immediately sides are taken. England backs Greece, for British capitalism needs mercenaries in the Balkans and the Near East in the fight for concessions. France agrees with Italy. She seeks the support of Italy in her Ruhr adventure and to strengthen herself against Great Britain. The "Little Entente", made up of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia, see another Balkan war and intimate their readiness to fight. All have economic reasons for their acts of threatening a further slaughter of the workers.

Shall we have Unity?

The International Federation of Trade Unions was resurrected at the end of the war. As in 1914 they have done nothing. The International Transport Workers Federation, a unit of the I.F. of T.U., has shown a willingness to consider the possibility of action, by pledging itself for cooperation with the Russian Transport Unions who are a part of the transport workers section of the Red International of Labour Unions. This decision was made in Berlin last May. We call on them for action now. Everything will be done by the Transport Workers of the R.I.L.U. to give effect to the I.T.F. resolutions, for a general strike against war, passed at Christiania, Geneva and Vienna.

We cannot wait until all union officials agree.—We may be plunged into war any day. We must form our committees of action in every country. Let all seamen who are not desirous of turning each merchant fleet into armed cruisers, form their vigilance committees ashore, and ships' committees afloat, immediately, to stop all ships loaded with war material and troops. The dock workers should also have their committees to see no munitions of war are loaded. If the railwaymen will do likewise we can stop capitalist wars by a general strike of transport workers. The seamen hold a strategic position internationally. No great war can go on without the aid of the seamen. Let us prepare to refuse to man ships of piracy.

Committees of Action.

Every local union branch should immediately summon its membership to discuss how to prevent war. They must form a Committee of Action. Each city and town should have a centralised Committee of Action composed of delegates from all local committees of the labour unions. All should coordinate their activities into national committees. The dock workers must have a job committee of action. Every hatch of the ship must have a representative on the committee. They must be prepared to immediately stop loading any ship taking in war material to be used against the workers of other countries. Each vessel must form a ships' committee as soon as the sailors sign articles, composed of delegates from each department. This committee should receive a clearance from the dock workers' committee of action before sailing. No ship should leave a dock without a clearance from the shore workers. This is how the rank and file of marine workers can prevent their leaders using them as pawns in an imperialist war for more oil, coal, rubber and iron ore etc. Let our slogan be: "He who supports capitalist wars is a scab."

International Action—Class War.

The seamen and transport workers have nothing to gain by war and their lives to lose. If we must fight let us do so for ourselves. We must emancipate ourselves from the greedy land sharks and exploiters. Assert our manhood! Take our wives and

dependents from the door of the pawnbroker, while we risk our lives on the seven seas, and work their cargoes under the rusty rigging of an uninspected ship. Internationally we have not got an understanding with each other. Let us begin by initiating action locally, which will lead to international action. If unemployment, starvation, misery, degradation and death is to be our lot under capitalism, let us make the first act of war a signal for us to initiate a class-war to release ourselves from the chains of mammon.

An International Union of all seamen; an All-inclusive United International of the world's transport workers; a Workers' Government, and the United States of Europe within a Workers' World Commonwealth is our goal.

Introduce the following resolution at your branch meeting and on board ship:

"Resolved: that, in view of the constant and imminent danger of the world being plunged into war, we favour the immediate creation of a committee of action to prevent war by the use of the general strike; and that we communicate our desire to our National Executive."

International Seamen against War

An International Mass Meeting of Seamen of many nations was held in Hamburg on September 15., at the "Wulf's Gesellschaftshaus". Comrades from Holland, Russia, Germany and Great Britain spoke. The meeting was called under the auspices of the International Harbour Bureau to protest against the workers' entry into capitalist wars.

Comrade Bouwman from Holland, President of the Nederlandsche Federatie van Transportarbeiders stated that: "Holland, although a small country compared with England and America etc., was nevertheless just as imperialistic and was equally determined in its endeavours towards imperialistic colonisation, which is at the root of nearly all capitalist wars. The Javanese were suppressed, it they protested, with the equally vigorous and ruthless methods that all other natives are who come under the iron heel of the imperialistic exploiters of larger states. And although Holland did not directly participate in the slaughter of the working class in the last war, it nevertheless was an indirect participant because Dutch industry was used on the side of those who gave it the largest profits out of the war. The only way the workers can prevent war is by creating sufficient solidarity amongst all workers, especially the seamen and transport workers, so that they can force the reformist leaders to use the weapon of the general strike against war and to build up a spirit of determination amongst the workers which will result in action being taken by themselves, if the leaders of organized labour place themselves at the disposal of the master class as they did in 1914."

"Germany is rapidly approaching a revolution which must place the working class in control of industry" said Comrade Walter of the German Schiffahrtsbund. "The financiers of Germany told the workers during the war they were for a united Germany, that they knew of no divisions amongst Germans. But, just as in the past, Stinnes, Wolf and Krupp etc. are now shifting the burden of reparations to the bent shoulders of the proletariat. They tell us the French are our enemies, and secretly make agreements with the French capitalist class for the exploitation of both the French and the German workers. The workers of all countries have no quarrel with each other. Only when our masters quarrel are the workers used to slaughter each other."

A speaker from England declared:

"We had an International Federation of Trade Unions in 1914, but like a house of cards it fell, because no preparation was made to maintain the solidarity of labour. Daily we are faced with the danger of war. We must prepare the rank and file of labor to safeguard their own interests. The debacle of 1914 must never be repeated. If the Council of Ambassadors or the "League of Nations" send their jackbooted generals with an imperialistic yard stick measuring off oil, coal and mineral properties of some other capitalists, and they get killed, this is no concern of the workers. Mussolini pounces on the island of Corfu, fortifies it, kills the protesting men and women and then calls out "All our designs are peaceful". Let us make the first act of war for oil, coal, wheat or iron a signal for the class war."

A Russian Comrade who was received with great enthusiasm declared: "With the exception of the revolutionary workers of all countries, who are conscious of the dangerous period in which we are living, the real causes of war are only considered seriously by a small caste of diplomats. We blame the

reformist leaders for taking no action to prevent war in 1914, but we lose sight of the responsibility resting upon the working class in general to prevent war. If we do not build up a labor movement capable of taking the initiative against war, and should we be betrayed in the future, then we shall be as guilty as the reformists were in 1914. The Seamen hold a strategic position in the world's industry and by using the weapon of the general strike with the co-operation of the dock workers, they will be able to deal capital a smashing blow in the event of it attempting to lead us to mutual slaughter in its quest after more profits.

Each of the speakers pointed out the necessity of creating Committees of Action, and emphasized the importance of the general strike as a weapon against war, while the formation of Workers' Governments in all countries with the establishment of a United States of Europe within a Proletarian world Commonwealth was held out as the goal for which all workers should strive.

A resolution was passed calling for the formation of Committees of Action locally, nationally and internationally and demanding that the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red International of Labor Unions, with the assistance of the International Transport Workers' Federation form a joint committee for the prevention of war by the calling of a general strike of all workers occupying strategic positions in industry.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Tasks of the International Youth

By G. Zinoviev.

The Party Press is specially requested to reprint this article. (Ed.)

The present times are full of the deepest import for the International Youth. Further violent tempests are brewing. The German Party is entering upon great struggles. It is long since we felt their very breath so near as now. The German Party in action! Twenty million proletarians raise their voices—the main army of the International Proletariat, the bearers of the international proletarian revolution advance!

The new struggles of the proletariat in Germany can assume such proportions that they will be capable of bringing us the commencement of the socialist era in one of the most important parts of the World.

There is no power on Earth which could vanquish twenty million proletarians! Twenty million proletarians, every one of whom is able to read and write, who have passed through the severe school of social democratic treachery and have drunk to the dregs of the preparatory cup of defeat!

In perusing the chronicle of the revolutionary struggles of the working class of the various countries, one is often forced to the conclusion that the working class is unable to vanquish the bourgeoisie before the workers have endured defeat in one or another of its forms. Without the events of the years 1905 and 1906, the victory of the Russian proletariat in 1917 would have been scarcely possible, or this victory would have been much harder of attainment. The German proletariat has also passed through its testing time. In the year 1918/19, in the famous Spartacus revolts and in the beginning of 1921 in the March action, the German proletariat underwent its tempering process and received the lessons which now render it capable of not only rising in revolt but also of being victorious.

The events, which are now preparing in Germany may well lead us to the most important age in the history of the struggles of the international proletariat and of the destiny of the whole of mankind. The proletarian youth in particular turns to this page with trembling hands.

Let us be clear on the matter—the struggles which have already begun in Germany and which can wax fiercer every day, perhaps also mean the acceleration of that new series of wars against the socialist states, whose inevitability was predicted by Comrade Lenin some years ago. Powerful events are in course of preparation! We dare not for a moment shut our eyes to the dangers bound up with these events.

The young generation of the proletarian youth which has grown up in the period following the great victorious Russian revolution of 1917 and of the abortive first German revolution of 1918, will essentially decide the fate of the crisis which is now ripening.

An especially heavy, but nevertheless glorious task now lies with the German youth. The German Youth League which, we will not hide ourselves from the fact, during the last years has on many occasions remained behind events, must now strain

every muscle in order to rise to the grandiose events now approaching. The German Youth League must be the most sound, the most active and the most self-sacrificing—in one world—the most illustrious troops of the German Communist Party in the battles of the future. The German Youth League must be the light cavalry of the proletarian army which is entering into new fierce struggles with capitalism.

An equally great task lies before the French Youth. Tomorrow, the French armies will be launched against the German workers. An attempt will be made to convert them into the hangmen of the German workers. The French Communist Party, and before all, the French Youth League must proclaim this aloud throughout the whole of France and set itself against it.

The Communist Youth of Russia, and with it the other sections of the Communist Youth International, must reward it as their greatest honour to aid their brother troops in the youth of Germany and through them the German revolution. The proletarian youth can be thoroughly convinced of the fact that in any event their generation will witness the decisive battles of the world proletariat. The best cohorts of our youthful comrades will in any case have opportunity of engaging in combat with the bourgeoisie and their Fascist sons, not only in the streets of their native towns, but also in the streets of the chief cities of Europe. The oppressive atmosphere of bourgeois reaction of the last days is beginning to get lighter. The era of the retreat of the workers' army is drawing to a close. The unbearable torturing epoch of contempt and scorn of the workers on the part of international capital is approaching its end. The thunder clouds are lowering. Not today perhaps—but tomorrow the purifying storm can burst forth. Let us be ready! May the proletarian youth which has been wont to receive the first blows of reaction be the undaunted herald of the coming battles.

We declare right out: The Comintern is proud of the fact that in its years of severest work and struggle, never once has there been any serious differences of opinion between the Comintern as a whole and its International Communist Youth troops. While in all other international organizations, disputes between "Father and Son" are a quite usual phenomenon, it is not so in the Comintern, not even in thought, and will not be so. One exception does not count. Only in an outlying corner of Europe (in Sweden) we witness a case where some "old" comrades who have become prematurely aged (we mean, of course, politically), mutter their peevish senile criticisms against the communist youth which call to mind the good "Papas" of the 2. and 2½ International. This is an exceptional case. In all countries where the Comintern has come into conflict with the remnant of the opposition in our sections, we have had the good fortune of witnessing the communist youth on the side of the Comintern. This was the case recently in France. It is so in Italy at the present time, and that is how the matter also stands in Norway and Sweden.

Put forth your energies, young proletarians. Deep into the masses! With the full glow of youthful fervour, with the firm conviction of communists must we anchor ourselves in the masses! May there be no factory, no mine or workshop without its promising nucleus of the International Communist Youth. Let us go also into the villages. The village youth is the great reserve of the international working class in the international revolution. Tenfold, a hundredfold, a thousandfold more energy to the capturing of the youth in town and country!

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Resolution on the Sabotage of the United Front by the Amsterdam International

Adopted by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions at its Session of August 20, 1923.

After discussing the resolution adopted on August 3, and 4, by the Executive Committee of the International Trade Union Federation, the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions points out that, despite the important events taking place in Europe at the present time, events demanding more urgently than ever the adoption of the united front tactics, the International Trade Union Federation continues to reject these tactics, and to sabotage the first successes of the International Federation of Transport Workers.

At the precise moment when the fate of the world revolution and of the international working class is at stake in Germany, and when the struggle now raging may end with the

triumph of either Fascism or of the proletariat, at this moment the leaders of the International Trade Union Federation take a grave responsibility upon themselves before history and the proletariat, in rejecting on the flimsiest pretexts a united front of the workers against Fascism and war danger.

The International Trade Union Federation deems it to be an absolute prerequisite for the unity of the trade union movement that every hostility to and attack on the International Trade Union Federation, its organizations, and members, cease, and that the Russian workers declare themselves ready to fight in Russia too against war danger and reaction.

These two conditions are perfectly ridiculous. The critical attitude taken by the revolutionists to the leaders of the Amsterdam International is justified by the relations of the latter to the international bourgeoisie, and by its cooperation with international capitalism. Let the Amsterdam International first cease this cooperation and break off these relations; then we too shall cease our "criticisms" and "attacks". Let it once more employ the methods of class struggle; and the "atmosphere of mutual respect and mutual confidence" will be restored. But even should these conditions be fulfilled, trade union unity does not exclude the right of criticism.

At the present time, when reaction is raging in every country, the refusal of the Amsterdam leaders to form the united front proves that these leaders share the views of the bourgeoisie, and this fact completely justifies our criticisms and attacks.

The second condition made by the International Trade Union Federation is simply ridiculous in the eyes of all those who know that the Russian workers have successfully combated every expression of reaction and counter-revolution, that they are continuing the struggle thus begun, and are relentlessly frustrating every machination of the reactionaries. This condition is ridiculous for another reason as well, for the competent authority of Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Trade Union Federation, has pronounced Soviet Russia to be the strongest bulwark against Fascism.

The endeavors of the Russian proletariat and its government in the struggle for universal peace, and for the cessation of the world war, are known to all. The Red International of Labor Unions cherishes the hope that the leaders of the Amsterdam International will not confuse the defence of the Russian Revolution against the attacks of international capitalism with such wars as break out through the fault of capitalist governments, and inevitably end in the repression of the proletariat. The Russian workers have carried the revolution through—are they not to defend it?

The leaders of the Amsterdam International are very well aware of all this, but as they are equally well aware that the broad masses of the proletariat join us in demanding a united front and common action on the part of the trade unions, they attempt to cloak their refusal by demagogic arguments, and by making conditions whose absurdity it is not difficult to demonstrate.

The Red International of Labor Unions is firmly convinced that international reaction can only be conquered when a proletarian united front has been established. It declares that, despite the efforts being made by the leaders of the International Trade Union Federation, it will continue its propaganda in favor of the united front, and will realize this, if need be, against the will of those leaders who have again proved themselves to be conscious agents of capitalism.

Executive Bureau
of the Red International of Labor Unions.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

"The Lost Leader"

The *New Leader*, the organ of the English Independent Labour Party, has, to put it mildly, been hopelessly astray of late in regard to its news and comments upon political events in Germany. In fact some of its articles and notes read like nothing else than a series of "howlers" to anyone with a first-hand acquaintance with present-day political happenings in Germany. Perhaps the most charitable explanation of this is that the Editor has an implicit faith in everything appearing in the social democratic *Vorwärts*, while at the same time he loyally desires to place in as favorable a light as possible the action of his colleagues in the German social democratic party in entering into coalition with the most reactionary bourgeois politicians.

In a recent issue of the *New Leader*, its readers were provided with the following edifying piece of information:

"She (Germany), has got at last an energetic Government, which will tax 'brutally' (inverted commas in original) and honestly. It has applied the drastic remedies which Socialists had suggested long ago. It is not sparing the rich, and it is raiding their hoards of foreign currency and bills."

To what extent this "energetic" government is "brutally" and "honestly" extorting taxes from the rich and raiding their hoards of wealth may be judged from the following incident reported in the *Rote Fahne* of September 16:

"There was a sensation yesterday in Berlin banking and Stock Exchange speculating circles. It was announced that during the afternoon, officials from the Devisen (Foreign Valuta) Commissar appeared in the Königstrasse Deposit Branch of the Commerz und Privat Bank and took possession of all the steel safes, as well as the packets which have been placed in charge of the Bank for safe custody. The Deposit Branch was informed that no one would be allowed to tamper with the objects taken over by the authorities. The owners of the safes and of the sealed packages were informed that they would have to attend on Monday and open them in the presence of the revising officials of the Devisen Commissar.

Upon this news, states the bourgeois press, the telephones became feverishly active in Berlin and the news of the seizure spread like wildfire. In all parts of Berlin the deposit safes were rapidly cleared of their contents. The speculators conveyed their possessions into places of safety. But the best is yet to come. In the *B. Z. am Mittag*, the Devisen Dictator, Privy Councillor Fellingner, announced that the confiscation described above had been carried out without his knowledge and against his will. It is a case here of a recently appointed official having exceeded his duties. Herr Fellingner holds to the principle that such attacks upon private property are to be repudiated both upon foreign and domestic political grounds. He has at once given instructions that the order for seizure be withdrawn."

Mr. Philip Snowden, a prominent member of the Independent Labor Party has recently been at pains to explain to the privileged classes, through the medium of the *Morning Post*, that all will be well with them in the event of a Labor government coming into office. Property owners in England certainly have little to fear at the hands of a future Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer if his taxation policy is only marked with the same degree of "energy", "brutality" and "honesty" as that of his social democratic colleague Herr Dr. Hilferding.

It may also be remarked that the *New Leader* is discreetly silent regarding the policy of suppression being pursued against the working class by the two social democratic ministers, Herr Severing (Minister of the Interior for Prussia) and Herr Solmann (Minister of the Interior for the Reich). Perhaps it is waiting for authentic news from the veracious *Vorwärts* before venturing to inform its readers of the government's dissolution of the National Council of the Shop's Stewards, of the wholesale arrests of the leading functionaries of the Berlin Section of the Communist Party, of the arbitrary suppression of the *Rote Fahne* for eight days, along with a whole series of other Communist papers, not to mention the daily shooting down of unemployed and starving workers in quest of food. Meanwhile the *New Leader* has just concluded a series of articles by the Hon. Bertrand Russell on the very debatable question: "Is Society based on Force?"

THE WHITE TERROR

Yugoslavian Reaction

By K. N.

The Great Serbian radical government has entered on a new phase; it has legalized reaction and white terror. No government in Yugoslavia has ever carried out its reactionary designs with such ruthlessness as the present one. Although it commands only 130 votes in Parliament out of a total of 313 seats, it has contrived to obtain the "majority" by means of the expulsion of the 69 members of the Radic party. In this manner it has succeeded in having even the most reactionary laws passed. One of its first successes was the acceptance of the so-called finance law, which granted the government an extraordinary credit to the value of one milliard two hundred millions for the year 1922/23, one half of this sum to be expended on the army. The law relating to officials has also been passed.

enabling the government to discharge, after a lapse of three years, all officials who proved to be "unreliable" in the eyes of the government. And even more. A special provision of this law gives the government the right to immediately dismiss all officials belonging to a party "against the present regime". This means that the government will not tolerate any opposition, and this is the real substance of this law: communists, and even members of the independent labor party, are to be completely excluded from the official apparatus. That the officials are thus robbed of their civic rights and condemned to poverty does not concern the government in the least. It has other affairs to attend to. With tender solicitude it gives heed to the claims of those ministers who reap substantial advantages from this self-same law, which permits one year of service to be reckoned as three for the calculation of their pensions. The military law is another expression of the reactionary spirit of the government. This law strengthens reaction in the army and binds it to the present regime.

The government has new laws in course of preparation for the September session of the Skuptschina. For instance, a law alleged to introduce an agrarian reform, and a law concerning the press. The nature of the "agrarian reform" may be well imagined when we recollect the brutal force with which the government suppressed the rising among the Dalmatian peasants, who refused to deliver up the levies for the last three years to the feudal lords. Precisely as the government has protected the feudal lords on this and other occasions, in the same manner this "reform" will be nothing more nor less than a protective law for the parasitic caste of large landowners. The government intends to secure to the large landowners and the feudal lords no less than five-sixths of the great landed estates, and promises them generous compensation for the remaining sixth. Some time ago the new minister of culture protested to the representatives of the press against the confiscation of a part of the great monastic properties. Landownership is therefore to be protected in every form. What will be left over for the land-starved small holders?

The greatest attack on civic rights is that which the government is mediating by its projected press law. The text of this bill was published in the Belgrade newspaper *Pravda*. The main points are to the following effect:

"Article 20. The distribution and sale of all newspapers and other printed matter which propagate the following is prohibited:

1. Lese majesté or libel of the members of the royal house; 2. libel against the heads of foreign states; 3. libel against the national assembly (parliament); 4. direct appeals to the population to alter the constitution of the state or the laws of the country by means of force; 5. flagrant violation of morality.

Article 24. Not only the distribution and sale of newspapers and other printed matter (article 20) can be prohibited, but in the following cases their further publication also: 1. When they rouse hate against the state, against religion, and between the various nationalities; 2. when they call indirectly upon the population to resort to force for the alteration of the constitution of the state and the laws of the country; 3. when the headlines themselves constitute such an appeal to the population."

According to article 25, courts of justice are empowered to prohibit the publication of newspapers when this is "to the interest of the state". Thus a purely political function is imposed upon the courts of justice. In the same passage we find the following: "The enactment on the distribution and sale of other printed matter and other things empowers the police to prohibit their further publication, their printing and reproduction. In no case can the prohibition of a publication be used as a preventive measure. According to this the courts are entitled to prohibit the publication of a newspaper on account of that which may be written. When the offence has actually been committed in the press, those held responsible are: authors, editors, printers, publishers, and sellers. When an editor has been punished three times, he may not act as editor of a newspaper for 5 years. Should he be punished again after the lapse of 5 years, he is not permitted to act as editor again.

Reaction culminates in article 51 of the bill, which provides as follows:

"Any one spreading hate and contempt against individual officers and the officer class by means of the press, anyone propagating distrust and schism in the army, anyone restraining persons of the military profession from fulfilling their duty, anyone inciting one class of society against another, anyone causing distrust, contempt, or ridicule of the state institutions, will be punished by 1 month to 2 years imprisonment and by a fine not exceeding 20,000 dinars."

By means of these laws the radical government forges new and heavy chains for the whole working people of Yugoslavia, for all oppositional elements, and especially for all subordinate nations. The reactionary radical government, in combination with the court and the officers' clique, has never shrunk from the most brutal measures in order to stifle opposition. This is best proved by the continual bloody suppressions of strikes, of the peasant movements in Dalmatia and Croatia, and even of the small movement in Macedonia. It is easy to imagine the brutality with which this government will proceed against its political enemies once the above named laws come into force.

The revolutionary proletariat must be ready for even more violent attacks, and must exert its utmost energy for the formation of the united front of the whole working class, the masses of poor peasantry, and all socially and nationally oppressed working masses in Yugoslavia. These masses must concentrate for the fight for the overthrow of the existing regime, and for the creation of a federal Yugoslavian republic in the form of a federal Balkan republic of workers and peasants. The slogan of a workers' and peasants' government must be widely spread abroad in town and country. The whole future struggle of the class conscious proletariat depends on the present organization of the fight against the Great Serbian, court-military radical regime.

Raging Reaction in Bulgaria

By B. Lučoff (Sofia).

Reaction and White Terror continue to rage in Bulgaria. The government which seized power during the last upheaval has lost all influence among the masses of the population, and is striving to maintain itself per medium of Terrorism and ruthless reaction. The distrust of the government and the bourgeoisie felt by the working masses, is to be drowned in blood. Already the government is openly taking steps to exterminate its opponents, either by shooting them "while attempting to escape", by sending Fascist punitive expeditions to various towns and villages, or by having recourse to "justice", which pronounces innumerable death sentences.

The court of justice convened in Plevna to try the "robbers", has already pronounced its terrorist verdict. Without having the slightest proof of guilt laid before it, this court of exceptional law condemned four communists, Comrades Kazamunsky, Aronoff, Raikoff and Halatscheff, to death by hanging! Comrade Halatscheff had already been tortured to death in prison. In order to conceal this shameful deed, the government enacted a disgraceful farce, announcing that Halatscheff had "escaped", and was condemned to death in his absence. Comrade Zonkoff, mayor of the town of Plevna, and Comrade Gradinaroff, deputy-mayor of the town, were sentenced to imprisonment for life; 7 other comrades were condemned to 12½ years hard labor, 71 comrades to 3 years hard labor. Besides this, all those under sentence have to pay a fine of 250,000 leva.

The object of these sentences is obvious: The communist movement is to be strangled here where it is strongest, and Terror is to be employed in dealing with the masses in the country who follow the Communist Party.

The government has still further similar trials in preparation, and is contriving similar verdicts. On August 24, the trials in Sevlievo began. 40 communists from Gabrovo having been charged according to the "law against robbery". The state attorney demands the death sentence for ten of these comrades, and many years of hard labor for the others.

And this is not enough. The government, thirsting for blood and vengeance, makes use of the Office for Public Safety for the purpose of sending out bands of well armed civilians into the provinces. Some of these bands, who regard it as their sole task to persecute active communists throughout the country, and to ill-treat and murder them, commit their despicable crimes in the guise of Macedonian rebels.

A band of this description appeared in the town of Berkovitz, where they lodged at an inn, loafed about the bars during the day, and forced their way, armed, into the communists' homes at night, arresting and ill-treating them. The communists arrested by this band were brought to the inn to be "examined" by a "committee", and were there fettered and tortured to death. A few of the comrades hunted by this band succeeded in hiding themselves. The result of this was that the brutes ill-treated the wives and children of those they sought, in order to force them to tell where their husbands and fathers were. They threatened to kill the hidden comrades' dependents, threw their furniture into the yards and burnt it, and threatened to burn down their houses if they did not appear before a certain time.

All this takes place before the eyes of the authorities, who give the bandits complete licence. The adherents of the

government rub their hands delightedly and declare that all this is the work of Macedonian autonomists.

These atrocities arouse the indignation of even those strata of the population who welcomed the advent of the new government with a certain sense of relief, since they expected that this government would attempt to do something towards satisfying the needs of the majority of the people, plunged in misery and want. The path of reaction, violence and cruelty, which the government pursues unites the toiling masses in a common front against the reactionary bourgeoisie and its government.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

New Principles in the Development of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union

By K. Mechoschin (Moscow).

One of the most important tasks of military organization at the present time is the training of those "reserves of millions of working peasants" of which comrade Trotsky wrote in his articles on the fifth anniversary of the Red Army.

These articles showed that the Red Army, at its present numerical strength, is not adapted to wage war. Should war break out, the army would be reinforced by supplementary forces far exceeding its present strength. It is therefore comprehensible that the fighting capacity of the army will mainly depend on the degree of preparation of the reserves in the country at large. Comrade Trotsky sees a way to realizing the desired capacity by means of a broad application of the principles of the militia system.

Out of our armed forces we must create an organization involving the least possible expenditure, requiring the least possible deviation from normal life among the working population, and yet corresponding to two essential conditions: it must assure fighting capacity at any moment and the normal course of military training among the working masses; and it must render these capable of defending the Soviet Union by force of arms.

The militia is a military organization of the population on the territorial principle, with a small staff of active war specialists (military organizers), corresponding to the economic organization of the country. The military service necessary for such an army does not take the population from their work. The organization of the army in case of war is based on the previous organization, in time of peace, of all persons fit for active military service, in the corresponding military units of the districts in which they reside.

All citizens eligible to be members of the Red Army, and physically fit for military service, are Red Army soldiers belonging to this or that fighting unit, members of a uniform military organization.

The system of military training required by an army of this structure consists of the following elements:

- The preliminary military training of youths before they are called up for active service;
- The period of active military service for the troops of the first order;
- Service for the troops of the second order, and
- Reserve.

Besides the regular troops of the Red Army, the territorial divisions must be troops of the first order, and must not be inferior in capacity and readiness to fight. These divisions will differ from the regular troops in that the latter are all under arms during the whole period of military service, while only an inconsiderable part of the territorial divisions undergoes service with the standing part of the Red Army, the greater part, the main body, consisting of citizens who only come up periodically for short terms of one month annually. These then follow their customary occupations during the rest of the year.

Two points must be mentioned. Through the territorial troops the Red Army comprises the whole population; military service permeates the daily life of the masses. The performance of military duties alternates with the productive activity of the citizens. It is therefore imperative that the activity of the territorial divisions be made to harmonize with the local conditions, without prejudice to military interests.

The introduction of the militia system is something undoubtedly requiring a considerable time. All measures in this direction must be undertaken in such a manner that they do not detract from the general military capacity of the country.

The transition from the system of the standing army to the militia system is directly dependent on the development of the productive forces of the country, on the condition of railway

transportation and of the traffic services generally, etc. The growth of the productive forces will secure the new relations between the citizens, and their social and productive discipline. These relations form—under a militia system—the basis of military discipline, the attainment of which, under these conditions, will not require such a long period of military service as it does today.

The second point is the following: The formation of the army, under a militia system, cannot by any means be regarded as a task incumbent on the military authorities alone. It is of the essence of the militia system that the military tasks are performed in the course of the collective the totality of economic and cultural work, by the united forces of all organizations of the working population.

Preparations for organizing the territorial divisions were commenced long before the decree of the Executive Committee of the Union was issued. The formation of the staff has already been completed; its personnel consists of the best commanders of the army. Lists have already been drawn up of the citizens liable to service in the territorial troops.

This bringing of military service nearer to their homes, factories and villages, meets with understanding from the masses. Our first enlistment is about to begin. Its significance is enormous. It is the first practical step, and all further steps depend on its success.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Propaganda among Working and Peasant Women in the Russian Soviet Republics

Since the beginning of 1922 the activity of the CP. of Russia has been making great progress among the masses of working women. The sections of the Party committees for work among the women have gained a much firmer footing, and their activity has become an inseparable part of the total Party work. In the apparatus of the Party committees for work among women there are 360 provincial women functionaries occupied, 1505 district functionaries, and 300 for the localities. Besides this there are organizers of work among women in a considerable number of nuclei in the factories and workshops, not paid by the Party.

A special form of activity is still the delegate meetings of working and peasant women. The activity of these delegate meetings has become more systematic and thorough-going. In the autumn of 1922 city delegates were re-elected over the whole territory of the Soviet republics. The general number of delegates, now as before, amounts to 60,000.

In order that the delegates may take part in practical work within the various spheres of Soviet construction, the Council of People's Commissaries has decreed the participation of the delegates in the section work of the city Soviets, with equal rights to those of the Soviet members. In these sections the female delegates gain a thorough knowledge of the corresponding branch of the Soviet structure, and take part in the practical activity of the various institutions. Reports from 25 provinces show 972 delegates to be working in the sections of the Soviets. Where there are no sections in the city Soviets, the delegate meeting itself is divided into such. There are such sections in 16 provinces. In the majority of the provinces the following sections have been organized: protection of mothers and children, public enlightenment, labor protection, and trade union and cooperative sections. The sections are under the supervision of women comrades working in the corresponding organizations. As a result of inducing working women to take part in Soviet work, many of them have risen to high positions in various branches of the apparatus. In the year 1921 there were 15% working women among the leaders of the provincial sub-departments for the protection of mothers and children, and 32% in the districts, in 35 provinces. In 1923, 15% working women were to be counted among the leaders of provincial sub-departments in 60 provinces. These have judiciously utilized the knowledge of the medical specialists, and have gradually developed into organizers and administrators.

An increase in the number of female members may be noted in the Soviets. In the year 1921-22 there were 7.2% women among the total number of Soviet members in the city Soviets of the provincial towns. In the year 1922-23 this percentage rose to 11.3%. In the municipal Soviets of the district towns 7% of the members were women in the year 1921-22. According to reports from 27 provinces, the general average at the present time is 8.3%; but in certain towns the number of

women members in the Soviets is particularly great. In Saratov the percentage of women in the city Soviet is 40, in Petrograd 20. According to reports from 49 provinces, there are 14,469 working and peasant women in the city and local Soviets.

Since 1922 the trade union organs have been carrying on a systematic campaign among the women members of the trade union associations. A member of the All-Russian Central Council of the trade union associations has been given the task of stimulating activity among the women members of the trade unions. This comrade acts as instructor for work among women in the instruction department of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Union Associations, and belongs to the leading collegium of the Central Women's Section. In the trade union councils of the provinces this activity has been placed in the hands of a responsible organizing functionary, connected with the local women's section. In the trade union nuclei of the factory committees and of the local committees, this work is generally undertaken by organizers who are in most cases simultaneously nucleus organizers of the Russian C.P. The result of this activity has been an increase in the number of women belonging to the administration of the unions, although the number of women engaged in production has decreased. The number of women in the administrations of the textile workers' unions rose in the year 1922 to 7.2%, in those of the tailoring industry to 6.4%. In the same manner the participation of women in the All-Russian Trade Union Congress rose in the year 1922: among the textile workers to 12.1%, among the mining workers to 3%. At the IV. All-Russian Trade Union Congress 8.3% of the representatives were women, at the V. Congress this number had already increased to 9.9%.

Efforts are being made in the sphere of cooperation to induce the participation of working and peasant women in the cooperatives. The women's section of the Central Committee of the Russian C.P. has appointed an instructor commissioned to maintain contact with the cooperative organs, and to induce the masses of working women to take part in cooperative work. Propaganda work has been carried on upon a large scale. In 37 provinces 436 working and peasant women have taken up work in the administrative and managing organs of the consumers' cooperatives. In 14 provinces 128 women were sent to take part in courses of cooperative instruction. According to reports from 39 provinces, the number of women probationers employed by cooperative organs is 287.

Besides performing the above work, the women's section devotes special attention to questions of improving industrial qualification for women's work, of the liquidation of illiteracy among the masses of women, and of the improvement of the living conditions among working women.

One measure for the improvement of women's industrial qualifications is the securing to women of a definite percentage of places in the technical and other trade union schools. This measure is also intended to alleviate female unemployment, and to improve the status of female work in production.

Work towards the abolition of illiteracy is carried on for the most part among the organized women—delegates and trade union members—the women's sections participating. The whole of the 60,000 delegates whose term of delegation expires in the year 1923 will have a knowledge of reading and writing.

The improvement of the living conditions of working women is the object of the organized endeavors of the Soviet, trade union, and cooperative organizations. The work of organizing crèches, kindergarten schools, and refectories, much hindered during the time of transition to the New Economic Policy, now begins to expand again. Communal institutions are put to a great extent at the disposal of the women employed in large undertakings.

The special lines of activity to be pursued among the women of the Soviet East, where feudal and patriarchal views still predominate, have to be accorded particular consideration among the women of the Tumen people. In March, 1923, the central section convened a special conference of the functionaries for the women of the Eastern republics, at which the balance of the work already accomplished was drawn, and lines for further work laid down. During the course of the past year considerable successes have been gained amongst these most backward masses of women. Thus, in the year 1922, 112 congresses and conferences were held, which were attended by working women from the South Eastern territory, about 1500 from the Mountain Republic, 1300 Turkish women from Azerbaïdjan, etc. 282 people's schools were opened, 28 women's clubs organized, etc.

The publication of periodicals and literature for working and peasant women has recently been established on a much broader basis than before, both in the central section and in the provinces. The *Kommunistka* (The Woman Communist) has been appearing since 1920 as the leading organ of the central section.

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

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

RED RELIEF

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

By Ehrenfried Wagner (Moscow).

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 gold roubles = about 1 dollar.

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

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

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The Foreign Policy of German Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Communism and the Nationalist Movement in Germany.

By Karl Radek.

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

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