

sequence there was a further weakening of working class militancy and efficiency.

The present state is highly pernicious and dangerous. Desertion, however justified, means a heavy damage to the whole class. So long as millions of proletarians remain unorganized, so long will the bloody system of exploitation continue in force.

#### Men and Women Workers!

You that are standing outside the unions and have for various reasons left worker organizations, remember you are committing against yourselves a great harm and against your class a great crime. *Your are supporting your chief enemies!* Refuse to remain unorganized. Join the Trade Unions. Lapsed members and deserters must also re-enter. Inside same, your wishes, determinations and energy will co-operate with that of your class brother and sisters already there fighting the reformists and cleansing the unions of all decayed and moth-eaten matter.

Unorganized workers! Don't be misled by the fact that the trade unions of many countries are still led by reformists, by people who yet believe in the good will of the ruling class. It is the duty of the trade union membership to decide whether the reactionary trade union leaders shall remain or resign! The members are entitled to chase out treacherous leaders. But the sanitation must be undertaken in a serious and persevering spirit.

Class comrades, men and women! not a single worker should remain outside the trade unions.

When the proletarians—head and hand workers, irrespective of sex and without exception—form mass organizations within the limits of the industry, when they organize unions embracing all the workers within the particular branch in question, then the working class will become an indomitable power capable of smashing the entire capitalist system.

It is for these reasons we call to you:—

Unorganized Workers! Organise!

Lapsed and Deserted Trade Union Members—rejoin your organizations! Time is precious—every hour of delay is sapping the power of the working class!

Make an End of Your tragic situation!

Get rid of your indolence and dissatisfaction!

The Central Committee of the R.I.L.U. summons you—men and women workers—to join your respective organizations and therein fight to a life or death finish the enemies of our class.

Long live the Revolutionary Labor Union Movement!

Central Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions.

### To the Revolutionary Workers of Japan

The Central Committee of the R.I.L.U. expresses its deepest sympathy with the workers of the revolutionary labor union movement in Japan, who have been thrown into prison by the government. The wholesale persecutions of workers in Japan have acquired a most cruel character. The courts of justice, police and army appear to be insufficient for the task of clubbing the labor movement.

The Japanese capitalists are, with the knowledge, co-operation and consent of the government, everywhere founding Fascist organizations. These are busy assaulting and killing workers.

The government, when it failed to carry a bill against revolutionaries, opened an era of violence and Fascist banditism.

The working class of Japan, however, is resolved to continue the class struggle in the manner shown them by the cruelly persecuted communists.

Neither fraud nor threats will succeed in making them quit the path. The working class of Japan will fight for its rights, and enforce the release of its leaders.

### Against the Sabotage of the International United Front of Transport Workers

To all Laborers and Active Workers.

Comrades!

The International Conference of Transport Workers which was held in Berlin at the end of May, has laid the foundation for a united front of the transport workers of every description. The revolutionary unions of transport workers, the Executive Council of the R.I.L.U., as well as the organizations

affiliated, heartily welcome the important stage entered upon and the work accomplished for the restoration of unity in the International Labor Union Movement.

The Central Council must, however, state that the reformists are taking up quite a different attitude towards the Conference, and its results. The first to oppose the decisions of said Conference are the Executives of the German Railwaymen's Union and also the German Transport Workers' Union. The leader of the French reformist union, Bidegarray has been sabotaging. In the noble pursuit of wrecking proletarian unity, the Bureau of the Amsterdam International also played its part. It adopted a jesuitical resolution calling for the suspension of the agreement concluded at Berlin.

On May 17th, a Session of the General Council of the International Federation of Transport Workers was convened at Amsterdam. It was to discuss the Berlin agreement.

Following a long period of silence, the General Council has at last issued two rather ambiguous resolutions. Essentially in theory these pious expressions favour the building of a united front. In practice they essentially and immediately go a long way towards splitting same. The resolutions are silent concerning the necessity of creating an international fighting fund against the terrors of Fascism. Nothing is said about the convening of an international conference for certain unity among the transport workers.

On the other hand, however, there is a demand on the R.I.L.U. and its organizations that they should "over the entire line suspend their fight against national and international reformism". Furthermore there is a demand that the Russian unions will express their willingness to fight war, reaction and Fascism in Soviet Russia with the same methods as are employed in other countries.

What does that mean?

Has not Russia, even with the help of the Labor Unions, made such a likelihood impossible? Has the Soviet Government that is marching hand in hand with the Russian unions not very often given proofs of its love of peace?

What then does this part of the resolution mean?

The originators had not the courage to say clearly what they meant. As to the "suspension of the fight upon the whole line", the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. declares decidedly and categorically that:—

The fight against co-operation, and coalition with the bourgeoisie, against nationalism in the rank and file, against transforming the workers' organizations into mere appendages of the imperialist governments will be continued to its successful conclusion.

In proposing a United Front to the reformists, the revolutionary unions do not demand them to *quit their principles*. We are for an objective platform, for objective cooperation on the basis of a concrete programme. The revolutionary unions that are accustomed to adhere to their obligations, and that see more in agreements and treaties than bits of paper, do not call upon the reformists to *suspend their struggle against capitalism, upon the whole line*. The revolutionary unions will, however, not allow such demands to be made upon them. The contest will be stopped at the moment when joint actions against the bourgeoisie have been entered upon and carried out.

The Central Council of the R.I.L.U. leaves it to the workers of the world to pass their sentence upon the attitude of those of the leaders of the Amsterdam International and of the International Transport Workers' Federation who are attempting to break the agreement which was concluded as the result of much effort and pain. In the names of the revolutionary unions of all countries, the Central Council protests against the mad actions of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Transport Workers which has torn the agreement like a scrap of paper.

Transport workers! Workers of all trades! Demand of your leaders that they explain why the unity of action among workers of all descriptions against war and Fascist reaction is being wrecked. Request them to show what is not acceptable in the Berlin decisions. Stick to the United Front in spite of its open and secret enemies! Go in for its extension!

Down with all or any attempt at smashing the United Front!

Long live the United Front of the Proletariat against War, Fascism and aggressive Capital!

Moscow, June 31st, 1923.

Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions.

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## Is it possible to fix a Definite Time for a Counter-Revolution or a Revolution?

By L. Trotsky.

"Of course it is not possible. It is only trains which start at certain times, and even they don't always . . ."

Exactitude of thought is necessary everywhere, and in questions of revolutionary strategy more than anywhere else. But as revolutions do not occur so very often, revolutionary conceptions and thought processes become slipshod, their outlines become vague, the questions are raised anyhow and solved anyhow.

Mussolini brought off his "revolution" (that is: his counter-revolution) at a definitely fixed time, made known publicly beforehand. He was able to do this successfully because the socialists had not accomplished the revolution at the right time. The Bulgarian Fascists achieved their "revolution" by means of a military conspiracy, the date being fixed and the rôles assigned. The same was the case with the Spanish officers' coup. Counter-revolutionary coups are almost always carried out along these lines. They are usually attempted at a moment when the disappointment of the masses in revolution or democracy has taken the form of indifference, and a favorable political milieu is thus created for an organized and technically prepared coup, the date of which is definitely fixed beforehand. One thing is clear: it is not possible to create a political situation favorable for a reactionary upheaval by any artificial means, much less to fix a certain point of time for it. But when the basic elements of this situation already exist, then the leading party seizes the most favorable moment, as we have seen, adapts its political, organizational and technical forces, and—if it has not miscalculated—deals the final and victorious blow.

The bourgeoisie has not always made counter-revolutions. In the past it also made revolutions. Did it fix any definite time

for these revolutions? It would be interesting, and in many respects instructive, to investigate from this standpoint the development of the classic and of the decadent bourgeois revolutions (a subject for our young Marxist savants!), but even without such a detailed analysis it is possible to establish the following fundamentals of the question. The propertied and educated bourgeoisie, that is, that section of the "people" which gained power, did not make the revolution, but waited until it was made. When the movement among the lower strata brought the cup to overflowing, and the old social order or political regime was overthrown, then power fell almost automatically into the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie. The liberal savants designated such a revolution as a "natural", an inevitable revolution. They gathered together a mighty collection of platitudes under the name of historical laws: revolution and counter-revolution (according to M. Karajev of blessed memory—action and reaction) are declared to be natural products of historical evolution and therefore incapable of being arranged according to the calendar, and so forth. These laws have never prevented well prepared counter-revolutionary coups from being carried out. But the nebulosity of the bourgeois-liberal mode of thought sometimes finds its way into the heads of revolutionists, when it plays havoc and causes much material damage . . .

But even bourgeois revolutions have not by any means invariably developed at every stage along the lines of the "natural" laws laid down by the liberal professors; when petty bourgeois plebian democracy has overthrown liberalism, it has done so by means of conspiracy and prepared insurrections, fixed beforehand for definite dates. This was done by the Jacobins—the extreme left wing of the French Revolution. This is perfectly



comprehensible. The liberal bourgeoisie (the French in the year 1789, the Russian in February, 1917) contents itself with waiting for the results of a mighty and elemental movement, in order to throw its wealth, its culture, and its connections with the state apparatus into the scale at the last moment, and thus to seize the main Party bourgeois democracy, under similar circumstances, has to proceed differently: it has neither wealth nor social influence and connections at its disposal. It finds itself obliged to replace these by a well thought-out and carefully prepared plan of revolutionary overthrow. A plan, however, implies a definite organization in respect of time, and, therefore, also the fixing of a definite time.

This applies all the more to proletarian revolution. The Communist Party cannot adopt a waiting attitude in face of the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Strictly speaking, this is the attitude taken by Menshevism: To hinder revolution so long as it is in process of development; to utilize its successes as soon as it is in any degree victorious; and to exert every effort to retard it. The Communist Party cannot seize power by utilizing the revolutionary movement and yet standing aside; but by means of a direct and immediate political, organizational and military-technical leadership of the revolutionary masses, both in the period of slow preparation and at the moment of decisive insurrection itself. For this reason the Communist Party has absolutely no use whatever for a liberal law according to which revolutions happen but are not made, and therefore cannot be fixed for a definite point of time. From the standpoint of the spectator this law is correct; from the standpoint of the leader it is however—a platitude and a banality.

Let us imagine a country in which the political conditions necessary for proletarian revolution are either already mature, or are obviously and distinctly maturing day by day. What attitude is to be taken under such circumstances by the Communist Party to the question of insurrection and the definite date at which it is to take place?

When the country is passing through an extraordinarily acute social crisis, when the antagonisms are aggravated to the highest degree, when the working masses are constantly at boiling point, when the Party is obviously supported by a certain majority of the working people, and, consequently, by all the most active, class-conscious, and devoted elements of the proletariat, then the task confronting the Party—its only possible task under these circumstances—is to fix a definite time in the immediate future, that is, a time prior to which the favorable revolutionary situation cannot react against us, and then to concentrate every effort on the preparations for the final struggle, to place the whole current policy and organization at the service of the military object in view, that the concentration of forces may justify the striking of the final blow.

To consider not merely an abstract country, let us take the Russian October revolution as an example. The country was in the throes of a great crisis, national and international. The state apparatus was paralysed. The workers streamed in ever increasing numbers into our Party. From the moment when the Bolsheviks were in the majority in the Petrograd Soviet, and afterwards in the Moscow Soviet, the Party was faced with the question—not of the struggle for power in general, but of preparing for the seizure of power according to a definite plan, and at a definite time. The date fixed was the day upon which the All-Russian Soviet Congress was to take place. One section of the members of the Central Committee was of the opinion that the moment of the insurrection should coincide with the political moment of the Soviet Congress. Other members of the C.C. feared that the bourgeoisie would have made its preparations by then, and would be able to disperse the congress; these wanted to have the congress held at an earlier date. The decision of the Central Committee fixed the date of the armed insurrection for October 15, at latest. This decision was carried out with a certain delay of ten days, as the course of agitational and organizational preparations showed that an insurrection independent of the Soviet Congress would have sown misunderstanding among important sections of the working class, as these connected the idea of the seizure of power with the Soviets, and not with the Party and its secret organizations. On the other hand, it was perfectly clear that the bourgeoisie was already too much demoralized to be able to organize any serious resistance for two or three weeks.

Thus, after the Party had gained the majority in the leading Soviets, and had in this way secured the basic political condition for the seizure of power, we were faced by the necessity of fixing a definite calendar date for the decision of the military question. Before we had won the majority, the organizational, technical plan was bound to be more or less qualified and elastic. For us the gauge of our revolutionary influence was the Soviets which had been called into existence

by the Menshevik and the social revolutionists at the beginning of the revolution. The Soviets furnished the back for our conspiratorial work, they were also able to serve as governmental organs after the actual seizure of power.

Where would our strategy have been if there had been no Soviets? It is obvious that we should have had to turn to other gauges of our revolutionary influence: the trade unions, strikes, street demonstrations, every description of democratic elections, etc. Although the Soviets represent the most accurate gauge of the actual activity of the masses during a revolutionary epoch, still even without the existence of the Soviets we should have been fully able to ascertain the precise moment at which the actual majority of the working class was on our side. Naturally, at this moment we should have had to issue the slogan of the formation of Soviets to the masses. But in doing this we should have already transferred the whole question to the plane of military conflicts; therefore before we issued the slogan on the formation of Soviets, we should have had to have a properly worked out plan for an armed insurrection at a certain fixed time.

If we had then had the majority of the working people on our side, or at least the majority in the decisive centres and districts, the formation of Soviets would have been secured by our appeal. The backward towns and provinces would have followed the leading centres with more or less delay. We should have then had the political task of establishing a Soviet Congress, and of securing for this congress by military measures, the possibility of assuming power. It is clear that these are only two aspects of one and the same task.

Let us now imagine that our Central Committee, in the above described situation—that is, there being no Soviets in existence—had met for a decisive session in the period when the masses had already begun to move, but had not yet ensured us a clear and overwhelming majority. How should we then have developed our further plan of action? Should we have fixed a definite point of time for the insurrection?

The reply may be adduced from the above. We should have said to ourselves: At the present moment we have no certain and unqualified majority. But the trend of feeling among the masses is such that the decisive and militant majority necessary for us is merely a matter of the next few weeks. Let us assume that it will take a month to win over the majority of the workers in Petrograd, in Moscow, in the Donetz basin; let us set ourselves this task, and concentrate the necessary forces in these centres. As soon as the majority has been gained—and we shall ascertain if this be the case after a month has elapsed—we shall summon the workers to form Soviets. This will require one to two weeks at most for Petrograd, Moscow, and the Donetz basin; it may be calculated with certainty that the remaining towns and provinces will follow the example of the chief centres within the next two or three weeks. Thus, the construction of a network of Soviets will require about a month. After Soviets exist in the important districts, in which we have of course the majority, we shall convene an All-Russian Soviet Congress. We shall require 14 days to assemble the Congress. We have, therefore, two and a half months at our disposal before the Congress. In the course of this time the seizure of power must not only be prepared, but actually accomplished.

We should accordingly have placed before our military organization a program allowing two months, at most two and a half, for the preparation of the insurrection in Petrograd, in Moscow, on the railways, etc. I am speaking in the conditional tense (we should have decided, we should have done this and that), for in reality, although our operations were by no means unskillful, still they were by no means so systematic, not because we were in any way disturbed by "historical laws", but because we were carrying out a proletarian insurrection for the first time.

But are not miscalculations likely to occur by such methods? Seizure of power signifies war, and in war there can be victories and defeats. But the systematic method here described is the best and most direct road to the goal, that is, in most instances the prospects of victory. Thus, for instance, should it have turned out a month after the Central Committee session of our above adduced example, that we had not yet the majority of the workers on our side, then we should, of course, not have issued the slogan calling for the formation of Soviets, for in this case the slogan would have miscarried (in our example we assume that the social revolutionists and Mensheviks are against the Soviets). And had the reverse been the case, and we had found a decisive and militant majority behind us in the course of 14 days, this would have abridged our plan and accelerated the decisive moment of insurrection. The same applies to the second and third stages of our plan: the formation of Soviets and the summoning of the Soviet Congress. We should not have issued the slogan of the Soviet Congress, as stated above, until we had

secured the actual establishment of Soviets at the most important points. In this manner the realization of every step in our plan is prepared and secured by the realization of the preceding steps. The work of military preparation proceeds parallel with that of the most definitely dated performance. In this way the Party has its military apparatus under complete control. To be sure, a revolution always brings much that is entirely unexpected, unforeseen, elemental; we have, of course, to allow for the occurrence of all these "accidents" and adapt ourselves to them; but we can do this with the greater success and certainty if our conspiracy is thoroughly worked out.

Revolution possesses a mighty power of improvisation, but it never improvises anything good for fatalists, idlers, and fools. Victory demands: correct political orientation, organization, and the will to deal the decisive blow.

## POLITICS

### The Situation in Germany

Berlin, October 7, 1923.

The Great Coalition which collapsed in fragments has been patched together again. The dream of the Great Coalition which was for so long the hope of certain intermediate political groups, which however possessed a certain political influence in the German Republic, is now at an end. It is not the extreme Right nor the extreme Left which makes this assertion, but the trust of the true among the supporters of Stresemann's Chancellorship. So writes Herr Bernhard in last Sunday's edition of the *Vossische Zeitung*:

The union of all parties standing between the German Nationals and the Communists was accomplished. Now, after the troubled experiences of the Cuno Government, there is rendered plain the obstacle on which Wirth was inevitably wrecked. The rejoicing was, however, short lived. For after a relatively short space of time, crisis appeared in the Coalition. A mere tremor caused the scarcely erected Cabinet structure to collapse. It is impossible to forget this now when the structure has been set up again. Its reerection was necessary if something yet worse was to be avoided. One will be able to understand, when the vexed question arises, whether the foundation stands now firmer than before."

If Herr Bernhard now believes that the breakdown of the Coalition is to be attributed to the fact that Herr Raumer was the representative of the manufacturing industries whose interests run counter to those of the iron and steel barons, that therefore Herr Hilferding has to be thrown overboard because he made the amendment of the coal tax conditional on the price of coal being thereby reduced, it is only correct in so far as these things played a part in the government crisis. But they were merely accompanying phenomena. The cause of the crisis lies much deeper. As a result of the proclamation of a state of siege, through the handing over of power into the hands of the Generals, there arose a situation which was incongruous with a coalition government. A semi-dictatorship of the Right, which to a great extent is directed against the social democratic workers and against the Social Democratic Party, is in no way compatible with a government which contains five social democratic ministers. Meanwhile the Right have launched their attack too prematurely for the moment and willingly seize upon the opportunity of allowing a pause, a temporary crystallizing of the situation which the social democrats desire, who do not possess the courage openly to say "What is the meaning of all this?"—because they do not possess the courage to draw the consequences of such a situation. Military dictatorship on the one side and a government with social democrats on the other—this is only a short interlude and suffices for better preparations on the part of the Right.

The latter know well how to make good use of the opportunity. Herr Kahr continues to issue his orders: He has forbidden the whole of the Communist press and also prohibited the propaganda and distribution of literature of the Communists in Bavaria. As, however, the Communist Party in Bavaria has only been able to work illegally up to now, this order has not greatly changed the existing situation. It is true the prohibition of the Communist press constitutes the introduction of the annihilation of Marxism. Meanwhile a Democratic and a Social Democratic paper has been forbidden and there exists no doubt that the *Münchener Post*, in spite of its moderate tone, will very soon in like manner join the victims of the state of siege. At the present time, in the rest of Germany, almost the whole of the

Communist press is forbidden and now it is already the turn of the Democratic press. Thus the Democratic paper the *Volkszeitung*, which has a wide circulation in Berlin, has at last been forbidden for eight days. Little by little it will become clear in what direction things are tending. Not only the Communists, not only the Social Democrats, but also all those who, since the revolution, have taken a hand in the so-called Democracy—these are all to be hunted down by the reaction.

There is gradually forming, therefore, a broad front against which the campaign of annihilation is directed. This recognition of the threatening danger is gradually transforming itself into a readiness to take up the defensive struggle. In the first place this is taking place among the proletariat, which in Saxony and Thuringia is consolidating its ranks into a firm fighting front. The same thing is happening also in the North. The district conference of the Social Democrats in Berlin declared by a majority that the Reichstag fraction of the party had acted wrongly. It should not have shirked the fight. From such a decision to the actual struggle there lies a good stretch of road, but the decision marks a stage in that direction. It will promote the fighting spirit of the social democratic workers and accelerate the propaganda among these workers.

In the meantime the economic collapse still proceeds further, unemployment increases, the workers are palmed off with starvation wages. The expropriation of the middle classes makes rapid progress. This situation is being intensified by the constant threats of French imperialism.

Today, Germany resembles a volcano which can break out at any time. But it will be the political insight, the capacity for action and the readiness for struggle on the part of the masses which will decide who shall bear the damages of this violent eruption.

### The Saxonian and Thuringian Workers' Governments

By Paul Böttcher.

Since this article was written our Comrade Paul Böttcher has been appointed Finance Minister in the Workers' Government in Saxony. Ed.

Dresden, 10. October 1923.

Step by step the Dictatorship of heavy industry is advancing its position forwards. The working class has not immediately answered the first thrust of Reaction, which began with the setting up of the state of siege and was to end with the establishment of a Directory, with a broad counter-attack. To many workers, the state of siege still appears as a necessary measure against Bavarian counter-revolution. Now, however, the fact of the state of siege being directed against the Left stands out with palpable clearness before the proletariat. The proletariat of central Germany, impelled by the Hitler guards in the South and the legal and illegal Reichswehr bands in the North, have been the first to prepare the counter-attack.

The Communist Party in Saxony has seized the initiative for the formation of a Workers' Government. The Party at the beginning of the state of siege came before the working masses with an emergency programme for the fight against Fascism. This emergency programme found enthusiastic endorsement among the working class. The seriousness of the situation was fully grasped in the workshops. Committees of Action for the defence against the Fascist attack were formed spontaneously. The central co-ordination of the Committees of Action throughout the whole of Saxony is proceeding. The working masses, who scent the danger, are streaming into the proletarian defence organizations. They are consolidating and extending these bodies and are demanding the arming of the hundred-thousands. Steadily and surely, the mass movement is growing from below. The counter-revolution has completed its preparations. It can launch its attack any day. Every hour which the proletariat delays in the organization of the defence, involves irreparable loss. The most prompt action is necessary. The Communist Party has therefore proposed that a Workers' Government be formed forthwith. The basis of this Government is the struggle, with all the means at our disposal, against reaction and counter-revolution. The Communists do not enter this Government as the heads of departments, but as the delegates of the militant proletariat. This Government will come into being as a fighting Government, which will undertake the most rapid mobilization of the masses and establish the United Front of the proletariat on the broadest basis. Even before the Workers' Government has actually come into existence,



the entire bourgeois press is already raising a great outcry. The concentrated attacks of the counter-revolution upon Saxony and Thüringia, show that the last positions of the German working class are to be destroyed. The Saxon proletariat cannot repel this onslaught unaided. The whole German proletariat must immediately solidarize with the advanced Saxonian and Thüringian fighting line. There must be no attack permitted on the part of the counter-revolution against Central Germany. The next few days will already bring decisions of the greatest import. Central Germany is delivered over to the military authorities who have organized the campaign against the hundred shafts, against the control committees and the factory councils. Tomorrow the proletarian fighting organizations are to be destroyed. The Central German workers will fight for every inch of the ground! The leadership of this defensive struggle now lies with the Saxon and Thüringian Workers' Governments. It is up to the masses to bring to nought all attempts to sabotage and hinder the Red Block in Central Germany.

## Germany and the World Revolution

Below we publish an article which recently appeared in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (a Stinnes' Paper). The article is of interest as being a very discerning criticism of German Social Democracy from a bourgeois source, while it strikingly confirms the following prediction made by Marx in 1873:

"The contradictions inherent in the movement of capitalist society impress themselves upon the practical bourgeoisie most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle, through which modern industry runs, and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although as yet in its preliminary stage; and by the universality of its theatre and the intensity of its action it will drum dialectics even into the heads of the mushroom-upstarts of the new, holy Prusso-German empire."

We would only add that so far as Social Democracy is concerned, the Universal Crisis foreseen by Marx appears to have had a contrary effect, and to have drummed dialectics completely out of the heads of the leaders and theoreticians of the 2nd. International. Ed.

For five years we have been standing "on the brink of the abyss", for five years it has been "five minutes to twelve", for five years we have been "plunging into chaos". These are the phrases which have characterized German public opinion concerning our situation since 1918. These melancholy metaphors fitly express the pessimistic feelings prevailing among the German people since the collapse, and have in themselves contributed not a little towards the maintenance of a general depression and apathy in the nation. That which is not merely methodologically false, but actually politically dangerous, in this kind of object lesson, is the representation of an inevitable progression towards a certain "end" towards a goal beyond which there is nothing, or beyond which at least nothing is imagined; and since Germany's position has been becoming worse and worse for some time, this "end" obviously appears to be either the "abyss" or "chaos".

But world history regards an abyss merely as something to be bridged, and when the famous "five minutes to twelve" have really expired, this does not signify the end of the history of the world, which will begin again at one o'clock. It is time to implant in the consciousness of our nation the dialectic conception of the essential nature of history, that is: the conviction that the history of the world is not the history of a permanent state, but of a process, an uninterrupted process of revolutionary evolution, without rest and without end, overthrowing today what it built up yesterday.

So long as Germany was one of the ruling nations of the earth, the idea of revolution was disagreeable to and suspect by its bourgeoisie. It left the principle of revolution to the social democrats, who as representatives of the rising class were fully competent to practise usury with this talent. But since social democracy has ceased to be a socialist party, and is nothing more than a petty bourgeois group filled with fears and hopes, it has lost the live-giving revolutionary idea, and with this loss it has simply ceased to exist, as a life-giving element, in the ideology of Germany. When the writer of these lines made the attempt, during the war, to represent the war in one of his writings as a process of upheaval appertaining to world revolution, and to draw practical conclusions from this for German politics, he at

once encountered complete incapacity for comprehension on the part of the social democrats. Social democracy had already abandoned the dialectic revolutionary conception of history, and the "state" of rest in which the world will find sufficiency, according to social democratic conceptions, had become pacifism, everlasting peace.

To such depths of stupidity had the dialectics of social democracy degenerated, that when this once great party entered the government in 1918, it was already incapable of imparting anything valuable or original to the political mental life of the German bourgeoisie. We must recollect the utter disappointment experienced by the German bourgeoisie when it became plain, shortly after 1918, that social democracy had failed all along the line. The nature of the party was not known, and high expectations had been placed upon it as an untried power capable of reviving our political energy. But the party had become old, and was no longer able to give the German bourgeoisie that which had been the pride and life-giving ardour of its young days—that of which Germany in her distress stood in such bitter need: that bold revolutionary conception of the history of the world which draws from today's misery the conclusion that tomorrow will be better, and which seizes upon the fruits of the coming victory even in the midst of the present defeat, finding in such defeat merely a spur to more energetic action. This conception is the view of life held by oppressed, fettered, and subjugated classes and peoples in whose breasts the divine spark of genius lives, and who know that they have still a task to fulfil upon earth. Since 1918 Germany has belonged to these oppressed peoples, since 1918 the Entente has been endeavoring to convert the whole German nation into the proletariat of western capitalism. But this proletarianized nation is now lacking in that element without which a suppressed class or nation sinks into a mere indifferent group of human beings with no place in history: the revolutionary idea, that is, the conviction that we have not only been living for years in an epoch of unceasing historical upheavals, but that Germany represents the revolutionary principle which has brought all this unrest into the world (by its former diligence, its greatness, and its growth), that it is therefore hated the world over, and yet cannot be overcome even by the entire world, despite all victories and conquests, despite Versailles and the Ruhr. Every victory won by international reaction over this revolutionary principle changes rapidly to a defeat. We have defied the world in arms, we have defied it with bared breast, it has vanquished us, it has flayed us, it has torn whole pieces from the quivering body of our country: but still we live, and our adversaries have no joy of their victory. Europe and the world have found no peace since the defeat of Germany, and great is the anxiety in Paris lest the "victory" in the Ruhr be rather the signal of greater and unending difficulties.

This prodigious dialectic play of history scorches us with its burning breath, we cannot see when it may come to an end, and under its influence not only the world is changing, but we are changing with it. We are undergoing fundamental changes, as a nation, as a social order, as an economic body, as a state. A painful process, it is true. But as little as it is possible to obtain a correct view of the great war if we regard it from the standpoint of a sick-nurse, so little is it possible to judge happenings of international revolutionary import from the viewpoint of a lamenting Job. We must suppress this Job within us day by day, and look out upon the world with the observant eyes of a politician who knows that he is passing through the greatest revolutionary process of upheaval which capitalist Europe has ever experienced, and that he and his nation have a task to fulfil in this upheaval, that Germany is unconquerable despite the heavy blows which fate has dealt her, that we are not on the verge of any "abyss" or "chaos", that it is not "five minutes to twelve", but that we are in the midst of a world revolution in which the wisdom of today is the folly of tomorrow, and that we have nothing to lose in this world but our chains. If the people of Germany are possessed by this national revolutionary consciousness and this determination, they will emerge from the hell which they are passing through, and their enemies will fear them.

## The Smouldering Spark in the Ruhr Army

By P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

The news which we have been able to glean from the French troops in the Ruhr, and covering the past two months, bespeaks of a certain dissatisfaction among the troops, and a characteristic nervousness among the staff of the commander in chief.

The confidential reports issued by the commander in chief are far from expressing unalloyed optimism. This is easily to be understood, for the task of the army staff becomes more difficult every day. The tactics pursued by the staff for the maintenance of the requisite spirit in the army are concentrated more and more in seeking to prevent any contact between the troops and the German working population—the same population which received so many declarations of affection in February and March of this year.

This attitude is the unavoidable result of Poincaré's new adjustment of the struggle in the Ruhr area. The gradual cessation of the tactics of passive resistance on the part of the German bourgeoisie, finally seals the compact entered into with the French commander in chief for the protection of the German bourgeoisie against the alleged "disturbers of the peace", that is, against the proletarian elements; in proportion as the relations between the army staff and the Fascist or separatist bourgeoisie become closer, in the same proportion endeavors are concentrated on isolating to the greatest possible extent the uniformed proletariat which is in the service of French and German capital.

Thus, in many places, the cafés are only open to soldiers at certain hours of the day. In other localities, certain refreshment houses may only be resorted to by soldiers, while all other places are forbidden them. We were able to establish these facts as regards Herne and Holthausen.

At once time troops remained for a considerable period in the same district, but now they are transferred from place to place after short periods.

All possible means are of course employed to mislead the uniformed proletariat as to the real significance of the working class demonstrations. The day before Anti-Fascist Day on July 29, the various units were assembled, and the soldiers informed by their commanders that "the German workers are arranging their own review of troops, preparatory to an attack against the French soldiers". It would be scarcely possible to adduce a more convincing proof of the fundamental agreement existing between the army staff and the Fascists.

There have been numerous cases in which the German police, despite the alleged passive resistance, have rendered good service in return by supervising the execution of the commands issued by the French military authorities, both with regard to the prohibition or dispersal of workers' meetings, and to the suppression of communist newspapers. This cooperation dates from the time of Cuno's chancellorship.

These collusions, which are entirely logical and whose inevitable appearance we predicted from the beginning, have reacted in arousing a certain resistance among the troops. And it is only natural that such resistance should increase in an army which is ill-fed, weary of the continual sentry go, placed at a great disadvantage by the fall of the mark, indignant at the doings of clericalism and at a system of favoritism which can be seen at work every day, and fearing that the whole of the 1922 recruits will have to undergo a prolonged term of service the sole purpose of which can only be the participation in a struggle against a revolution which possesses their entire sympathy. Further, there is no end to the complaints about insufficient or bad food. In Hombruch and Gerth those lodging complaints are simply silenced by being sent to prison.

But this is not all. Frequent cases of insubordination are reported. The Minister of War may deny the following reports if he can: Can he dispute the fact that on July 29, that is, on Anti-Fascist Day, 43 soldiers belonging to a colonial division in Wattenscheid refused to obey orders? Is it true that 5 men did the same thing at Herne? Is it not a fact that on the same day, in Hombruch, a whole machine gun division was deprived of cartridges because the authorities did not feel certain that the division would fight against the German proletariat? Can it be denied that the Communist daily paper, the *Ruhr Echo*, was prohibited because it published a report concerning a fund collected among the occupation troops in the month of August, totalling 28,000,000 marks? Is it true that on the occasion of the great strike at Oberhausen, the French commander had the streets barred off with barbed wire, and expressed his intention of sending out the French soldiers if the German police could not master the situation? We ask further, what crime had the 43 marines committed who were conducted under a powerful escort to Werden on August 23?

We are of the opinion that the publication of these facts, which are known not only by us in France, should cause the French ministry of war to give us more detailed information. At the same time we should like to put a few questions to our uniformed brothers, which they may answer with all due precaution through their comrades on leave or through their families:

1. What are your feelings towards the German proletariat, and in what relation do you stand to the German workers in the occupied territory?
2. Do your observations lead you to believe, that in the event of a communist revolution in Germany, your commanders would venture to demand that you attack the German communist workers, whom the great profiteers of their country are trying to force to pay the reparations?
3. Do you believe that such a command, which would have the effect of protecting the responsible capitalists of Germany from expropriation, could be well received by the French troops?

All Party and Youth comrades having personal connections with the occupation troops are begged to help us in this inquiry.

In the present situation nothing must be left undone in order to further the coalition between French and German communists, so that the efforts of a white army to throttle the German revolution may be effectually frustrated.

## The Ruhr Occupation and French and English Capitalism

By Jean Duplex (Paris).

How much is the Ruhr occupation costing France? According to the latest figures issued by the French government, the costs are 145 million francs for civil purposes, 176 million for military purposes, and 1,427,000,000 francs for the railways. The huge amount required by the railways is explained when it is remembered that there are 12,000 French railwaymen employed in the Ruhr area, where they receive free maintenance and double their normal wages. And what about the revenues from the Ruhr occupation? The report given by senator Bérenger, reporter for the financial commission of the senate, shows the income from the Ruhr occupation up to the June 1, to be as follows:

Coal tax	930,000 francs
Customs	1,111,000 francs
Fees for export licences	3,042,000 francs
Proceeds from forests	5,213,000 francs
Fines and confiscations	64,000,000 francs
Confiscated coal and coke	296,336,000 francs
Total	373,632,000 francs

Even these figures, which will certainly have been made to appear as optimistic as possible, show that the expenditure for the Ruhr occupation to greatly exceeds the attendant revenues. Up to June 20, France had obtained 528,000 tons of coke from

Even these figures, which will certainly have been made to appear as optimistic as possible, show that the expenditure for the Ruhr occupation greatly exceeds the attendant revenues. Up to June 20, France had obtained 528,000 tons of coke from the Ruhr valley. This signifies a daily average of 3,300 tons for the 160 days of the occupation, that is, one quarter of the quantity received by France before the occupation of the Ruhr! This diminished supply of coke has naturally greatly affected the French steel and iron production. Whilst in December of last year 116 blast furnaces were running in France, in June of this year there were only 99. In December last Steel production amounted to 415,000 tons, but in February of this year it had sunk to 290,000. In March it was 316,000, in April 355,000, and in May 338,000 tons. During the first 6 months of 1923, France was obliged to import foreign coal to the value of 1,682,000,000 francs, which is 482,000,000 francs more than in the corresponding period of the previous year.

The Comité des Forges, in its last annual report, especially emphasized the fact that the occupation of the Ruhr valley has made it clearer than ever before that French industry is dependent on the Ruhr coke. This admission again shows the influence exercised by the Comité des Forges on French politics. It is true that M. Romier recently asserted in the *Journée Industrielle*, the organ of French heavy industry, that the Comité des Forges is not responsible for Poincaré's policy, since the French heavy industrialists, especially the firm of de Wendel, have hitherto experienced more detriment than advantage from the Ruhr occupation. But these attempts at denial have deceived nobody. The leading English economic periodical, the *Financial Times* wrote for instance on July 10: "The French Ruhr policy is undoubtedly directed by the iron works committee, and it is the intention of the iron works committee to obtain for France the monopoly of steel and iron production in Europe. After the occupation of the Ruhr area, France controls three fifths



of the total production of iron and steel. Thus France's old dream of acquiring economic predominance in Europe appears to be realized."

That the English periodical expresses anxiety at these developments is easily understood. The commercial edition of the *Manchester Guardian* spoke even more plainly on February 25, of this year: "The Ruhr occupation may bring about the predominance of the French iron and steel industry over German and English industries. This would bring France on a level with the United States. France can attain this goal either by completely destroying German industry, or by creating a France-German steel trust. In either case British industry would be placed in a position of serious difficulty. English iron and steel industries would be crushed between Franco-German competition on the one side and American on the other."

Some assertions made by one of the leaders of the English electric industry, Mr. Hirst, general director of the General Electric Company, on the occasion of a general meeting held by his company on the July 12 in London, are exceedingly characteristic: "I believe that many of us gained temporary advantages by the French action in the Ruhr valley. The electrical industry has also received orders which Germany could not execute at the present time. But taken as a whole, the French action is bound to destroy the purchasing powers of Germany and of the whole of central Europe. The fall of the mark is the cause of the growing unemployment in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Would it not be better if Lancashire and Yorkshire had markets? The depreciation of the mark has had the result that India, China, Australia, Argentina, and Brazil, are unable to sell a great part of their raw materials. This implies their impoverishment, and they in turn are no longer able to buy the goods from us which we are obliged to sell in order to secure the existence of our population. But when France forces payments in kind to be made for the reparations, and is unable to make use of the goods herself, then she will throw them upon the markets of the world, and again damage our industries. When goods thus delivered on compulsion, or confiscated, are thrown upon the world's markets, regardless of the costs of production of these goods in other countries, the industries of these other countries are bound to suffer severely, and unemployment is bound to increase."

It is clear that the continuation of the Ruhr policy will put an end to the Entente between French and English capitalism.

## ECONOMICS

### The Ground Mark

The Resurrection of the Mandats Territoriaux.

By G. Fink (Berlin).

The mandats territoriaux of the French Directory are resurrected with due ceremony in the ground mark proposal of Dr. Hilferding, ex-minister for finance. When the assignats, the paper money of the French Revolution, although issued to an amount forming only an insignificant fraction of Germany's paper money circulation, had become completely depreciated in value, the Directory had the note printing press solemnly burnt at the beginning of the year 1796, and the printing of assignats was stopped. The Directory began to redeem the paper money previously in circulation by new paper money. This paper money consisted of mandats territoriaux, so named because they were secured by the estates which had been confiscated from the *émigrés*. It was said that the paper money economy was to be done away with, and only money of stable value, fully secured, was to be issued, the so-called mandats territoriaux. But the mandats territoriaux proved to be as little stable in value as the assignats. From the very beginning they were accepted at a certain low rate of exchange only, and suffered as complete depreciation as the other paper money, since the Directory had no possibility of actually selling the estates of the *émigrés*. Only the government could maintain the fiction of the stable value of the mandats territoriaux for a certain time and permit payments to the state exchequer at the full rate of exchange. But after a short time the state too accepted its own money at its market value only.

The German standard, the paper mark, has lost all value. Paper money is in circulation to the amount of about 2000 billions. Acceptance of this depreciated money is beginning to be refused. A new standard must be set up. Of the various projects and plans submitted to it, the German government as selected Hilferding's, which bears an all too close resemblance to the

mandats territoriaux. The plan adopted by the German government is briefly as follows: The printing of further paper marks ceases. A standard bank is to be founded for the issuing of a new standard. This bank is to be founded by the economic professions: agriculture, industry, trade, commerce, banks. The capital of this standard bank is to consist of 2400 million "ground marks". The standard bank acquires a mortgage made out in gold marks on all landed property, to the value of 3% of the national defence assessment. The interest to be paid on this mortgage by the debtors is 6%; those paying this are released from the factory tax. The owners of the mortgaged property become share-holders in the standard bank, and receive a share of the dividends. The standard bank issues annuity bonds on the mortgages; these annuity bonds are made out for 500 gold marks or a multiple of this sum, and serve as security for the ground mark notes issued by the standard bank. The standard bank places 300 million ground marks at the disposal of the Reich, without interest, this sum serving to redeem the treasury bonds discounted by the Reichsbank. The ground mark is to be declared to be the legal means of payment.

We see that the banknote printing press is to be destroyed, as in 1796, and the printing of paper marks stopped, in order that a commencement may be made with the printing of the new paper ground marks. This ground mark is also issued by the state with the object of covering its deficit, and is also secured by landed property only.

There are, however, various differences between the reform of the standard by the French Directory and the reform of the standard by the Great Coalition. We are not living seven years after the French Revolution, but five years after the German Revolution. Whilst the mandats territoriaux were secured by the confiscated estates of the French *émigrés*, the ground mark is not secured by real values actually seized by the state, but only by a guarantee, a mortgage debt of 3% of the alleged value of landed property, thus leaving the *nouveau riche*, the war profiteer and the Revolution profiteer, completely untouched. No confiscation, but more business for the capitalists. Whilst the French Directory issued its notes itself, the German minister for finance transfers the standard bank to the leading organizations of agriculture, industry, trade and commerce. The social democratic paper, the *Chemnitzer Volksstimme*, is right, when it speaks of: "The Trust as Master of the Mint and Collector of the Taxes."

The first French Republic had only one standard; the bourgeois-social-democratic coalition government has two, a good one and a bad one. A good one to be created by the Reichsbank on the basis of the gold reserve, on the basis of foreign bills and exchanges of goods for gold, in order to satisfy the credit requirements of the capitalists. The Ebert Republic supplements these fully secured gold notes with the ground mark for the exploited, the bad standard subject to fresh inflation, in order to impose a fresh inflation tax upon the workers, clerks and middle class.

The French Revolution exerted every endeavor to repel the attacks of powerful enemies, to preserve France in her integrity. The depreciation of the French paper money was partly the result of this struggle. But the government of the Great Coalition is ready to capitulate, at the very moment of its introduction of a reformed standard. It is expressly stated that the mortgage will take second place should a new mortgage be required "by any agreement made with other states for other purposes, in accordance with the treaty of Versailles". This signifies that the government holds a mortgage in readiness for the French imperialists, and is prepared to sacrifice the guarantee of the "ground" standard.

The security of the standard is certainly not thereby improved. But even apart from this new mortgage it is not clear why we should expect the ground mark, which is not secured by landed property like the mandats territoriaux, but merely by a mortgage on this, to meet with a different fate to its French predecessor. And more than this. Over any length of time, the security for the ground mark is much worse than that for the paper mark. For the paper mark is covered by the gold reserve of the Reichsbank and by commercial bills of exchange. In future, however, the gold reserve is to be kept for the gold notes of the rich. The standard bank is prohibited from transacting banking business outside of Germany.

It is now evident that the reform of the standard so loudly proclaimed will bring no improvement in the position of the workers of Germany. The working people cannot allow themselves to be fobbed off with such a "reform". It is of primary importance to show the social democratic workers that the social democratic ex-minister for finance, Hilferding, has acted in precisely the same manner as any German minister for

finance from the ranks of the German People's Party or the German National People's Party would have acted. It is expressly stated by the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* that he has simply adopted the plan drawn up by Helfferich, the notorious swindler of the people; he has merely replaced the word rye mark by ground mark, and, from the capitalist standpoint, bettered the original in many respects.

### The Russo-Persian Bank

By L. Perlin (Moscow).

The Russo-Persian bank in Teheran was opened in September of this year. This signifies the commencement of a new and fertile phase of Russian economic activity in Persia. The opening of this bank betokens beyond all doubt a further security for our economic basis in this country, to which we are closely bound by commercial ties; at the same time it represents the fulfilment of the long-felt wishes of the merchants of Persia, hitherto economically dependent on the monopoly held by an English bank, the Bank of Schachinschach.

Commerce between Soviet Russia and Persia, which has been resumed after so lengthy an interruption, and which plays a very important part in Persian economic life, could not possibly develop without a secure credit basis. It suffices to point out that before the war, approximately 60 per cent of the total foreign trade of Persia fell to Russia.

The Czarist government did not fail to recognize what an important rôle could be played in Russia's economic plans in Persia by means of a bank. The "Discount and Credit Bank" possessed in reality the functions of a state bank of the Persian Shah, although at the same time it financed the whole of the concessions of the Czarist government. The imperialist policy of Czarism, whose interest in the creation of economic fulcrums was based on purely strategic aims, found itself frequently compelled to force its own policy upon the Discount and Credit Bank, although this was often contrary to sound commercial principles. The broad basis upon which credits were granted, often deliberately without any real guarantee, caused the operations of the Discount and Credit bank to end with ever increasing losses from year to year. The speculative activity deprived the bank of every possibility which it could have utilized in this land of markets for the purchase of raw material and for the disposal of the products of Russian industry.

In the year 1921 the Soviet government made over the Discount and Credit bank by treaty to the Persian people. The resumption of commercial relations promoted, however, the formation of a special banking apparatus in Persia. The slackening of commercial relations between Persia and Russia during the war and the revolution was utilized by England, which not only gained possession of the whole trade with Persia, but also of the control over the economics and finances of the country. The Bank of Schachinschach utilized its advantageous position for the double purpose of first obtaining more and more thorough control of the finances of the Persian government, and secondly of systematically pillaging Persia of her stores of securities. Persian economics were greatly shackled by the fact that the English possessed the import monopoly, but exported practically nothing except carpets and precious metals. This led to an acute crisis in credits and securities, as a result of which Persia was threatened with the danger of financial bankruptcy. This policy encountered, however, the most obstinate resistance on the part of the chambers of commerce of all the towns of Persia. Mercantile circles got up an energetic agitation against the economic policy of the English, and determinedly demanded a law prohibiting the export of silver. They threatened to close the bazaars if their demands were not acceded to, this being the most powerful of all measures of protest in the East. This energetic action forced the parliament, and the Anglophile cabinet of Kawam-El-Raltan, to prohibit by law the export of any precious metal.

This did not, however, solve the question of a credit organ which would challenge the monopoly of the Bank of Schachinschach. The founding of the Russo-Persian Bank was therefore an extremely timely measure, one well calculated to promote the general development of this backward country, and to supply it with means, technical experience, and qualified labor. And this it will do without recourse to that ruthless form of exploitation which a West European or American imperialism would force upon Persia in its present condition of political impotence, but—as is proved by the economic events of recent times—in the form of a relation of ever increasing friendliness between the Russian and Persian peoples.

### An Anglo-Russian Company for the Raw Material Trade

By P.

The Council of People's Commissaries has confirmed the concession agreement regarding the formation of a new mixed company for the purpose of trading in raw materials, under the name of the "Russo-English Raw Materials Co."

The object of the company is purchase and sale in home and foreign markets, import and export to and from the Soviet Union, and the sale of the following goods in foreign markets: a) tobacco goods, b) horse hair, bristles, feathers, down, and raw leather.

The shareholders of the company are: the government of the Soviet Union, as represented by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and the English joint stock company "Arcos". The original capital of the company is 150,000 pounds sterling, divided into 1500 shares of 100 pounds each, all made out to names. The shares are divided equally between the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the "Arcos".

The original capital is covered in such a way that the "Arcos" buys shares to the value of 105,000 pounds sterling, and remits shares to the value of 30,000 pounds sterling from these to the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Trade. The People's Commissariat covers the remaining 45,000 pounds sterling from its share in the profits of the first two years.

The company has the right to employ private capital and credit. In order to promote the extension of operations in tobacco goods and raw materials, the "Arcos" undertakes—should this be required by the directors of the new company—to place at its disposal a foreign credit to the amount of 2,000,000 pounds sterling.

Customs and other duties, taxes, etc., are paid by the company in the same proportion as the independent state undertakings.

The headquarters of the directors are in Moscow.

The property of the company can only be requisitioned or confiscated in the cases provided by the Russian code of civil law.

The property of the company in Russia has to be insured in Soviet Russian insurance societies. The goods intended for export may also be insured in foreign insurance companies if this be desired by the company, the foreign insurance company assuming liability at the moment when the goods cross the frontier of Russia.

The company submits to the all the laws of the Soviet Union. All disagreements between the company and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade are to be settled by a board of arbitration composed of an equal number of representatives of each party. Should the parties not be able to agree on the selection of the chairman of the board of arbitration, he will be appointed by the Chairman of the Moscow Exchange Committee.

The agreement is concluded for a term of 10 years. After the expiration of this term the entire inventory of the company, as well as all its factories and workshops, pass free of charge into the hands of the Soviet government.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Strike Wave in Poland

By P. Tokarski.

After one and a half year's silence on the industrial field, a number of wages strikes broke out at the beginning of this year, ending for the most part in the defeat of the workers, and it became quite evident that Poland would presently be the scene of strikes carried on with double energy and intensity. And indeed we had not to wait very long. The summer, especially the month of July, was filled with economic struggles, equalling in extent, obstinacy, and intensity those of the year 1920 and the first half of 1921.

The causes of this rising tide of strikes were, for the most part, to be traced to the extraordinary worsening of the economic position of the workers, and in the reduction of their real wages. At the beginning of the year the average real working wage amounted to 30 to 40 per cent of pre-war wages, while in 1921 the proportion was still 50%. The comparison is best made between the prices of food and wages. In Warsaw the prices for the most important articles of food rose during the month of June from 2900 Polish marks for a loaf of bread



to 5250 Polish marks, sugar from 6500 to 15,000 Polish marks, milk from 900 to 2100 etc. As a general rule food prices rose by 100% and more, while the Statistical Office calculated the rise in the cost of maintenance of a worker's family during this period at only 49.99%. The workers in the provinces have always been, and still are, in the most wretched position; in July their daily wages frequently did not suffice to purchase a loaf of bread.

The general political conditions have also greatly contributed to swelling the wave of strikes. The new nationalist Right government, which promoted the export of the most important foodstuffs to foreign countries, unquestionably supported the speculation in high prices and profiteering in the country, persecuted the labor movement, and dispersed the radical workers' trade unions, afforded no hopes of a peaceful settlement of wages and working conditions through the labor inspectors. Every worker, no matter what political tendency, has felt and perceived that if he desires a better lot he will have to fight for it. The influence of the events and the growth of the revolutionary movement in Germany has also been very great.

The fermentation began as early as June. The miserably paid workers of the East Galician saw mills were the first to strike. But the actual strike movement did not begin until July, immediately after the publication by the Statistical Office of the index figures with its unfair reduction. In almost all industries the following demands were made: a general addition of 100% to the June wages (textile workers only 70%), the reckoning of wages in the "Zlity polski" (a newly introduced currency, corresponding approximately to the Swiss franc), publication of the index figure, settlement of rate of wages every two weeks, and finally, for Warsaw, an amount equal to 50% of the June wages to be paid as compensation for the insufficient wages received in June. The communists' demand for a stable wage has been extremely popular. The strike tactics followed have avoided any demonstration or solidarity strikes and the attempt has rather been made to unite the strike movements of separate groups, crafts, and factories. Thus in Warsaw it was possible to coordinate and combine the strikes by the general demand of a 50% addition to the June wages.

The strike movement exceeded all expectations. In the middle of July, almost the whole proletariat of Poland went simultaneously on strike. The sole exception were the miners, whose demands were at once granted by the employers at the beginning of the month, without resistance or long negotiations. The strike among the textile workers attained the greatest extent and the greatest intensity. All the factories in the Lodz district were involved in the strike, the leather factories and spinning mills in Czenstochau, a huge undertaking, employing over 8000 workers, in Zyrardow (near Warsaw), the spinning mill "Woła" at Warsaw, the textile factories in Zawiercie, Bialystok, and Teschen Silesia—over 100,000 workers in all. In the metal industry the struggles of the Warsaw metal workers were of the greatest importance, these comprising over 70 metal working concerns with 20,000 workers. Next in importance were the strikes in the great metal factories in Ostrowietz and Strachowitz, etc. In the building industry 15,000 workers went on strike in Warsaw, and work was also stopped on buildings in Lublin, Lodz, and Czenstochau. In the wood industry, not only the above mentioned saw mills in East Galicia were laid idle, but also the whole of the veneering and cabinet making factories in Warsaw and Noworadomsk.

In point of fact the leadership of the strike movement was in the hands of the red fractions, although the struggle was headed by the trade unions. In Warsaw, at the sessions held by the trade union council and at the mass meetings, when the strike movement was discussed, it was invariably the resolutions moved by the "Reds" which were passed, and these were regarded as the actual champions and leaders of the movement. In Lodz, the majority of the strike leaders were "red". The reformist committees felt it to be impossible to hold up the struggle, but were afraid to undertake its leadership, and hindered its breaking out. The greater part of the conflicts began without the agreement of the trade unions, and it was not until later that the leading trade unionists took up the struggle and commenced to "lead" it.

The metal workers strike in Warsaw was of a most determined and obstinate character. The government mobilized the soldiery and police for the protection of the employers. The metal factories at Ostrow and Strachowitz were occupied by the military, in Bielsk the workers who had been arrested were maltreated, in Lodz and Czenstochau a peaceful demonstration of the textile workers was dispersed by rifle fire. Many were left lying dead or wounded in the streets. As a reply to this treatment of their demonstration, and to the volleys fired into the ranks of the workers, the workers got up even

mightier demonstrations and great mass meetings. In Warsaw the number of those attending the mass meetings exceeded that of the year 1919. The protest demonstrations against the persecutions by the government were especially effective in Czenstochau. A one day's strike was proclaimed as a protest against the massacre in the workers' demonstration. In this town, a perfect nest of the priesthood, everything was brought to a perfect standstill. When all the delegates in the factories were afterwards arrested, a fresh strike broke out spontaneously, and the workers did not resume work until the released delegates appeared personally in the factories again.

The solidarity of the workers, the fighting spirit of the masses, bore fruit: The majority of the strikes ended victoriously. In Lodz the textile workers received a 67% rise in place of the 79% demanded, and they would have obtained all their demands had the trade union leaders not acceded too promptly to the terms offered. In Warsaw the greater part of the demands put forward by the metal workers were granted, and what is of still greater importance, it was decided to conclude a collective agreement every three months, a point on which the metal workers' union had been struggling for 2½ years. Here and there the workers succeeded in having the index figure calculated every two weeks and the wages adapted correspondingly. The results of the struggle have not been so good in the building and timber trades.

But the moral and general political results of this strike movement have been even greater than the material ones. The workers have been shaken out of the state of passivity in which they had long been sunk, and have found the strength to fight to a victory. At last the influence of the "Reds"—the communists—has become powerful among the masses. The communists have not fought for aims incomprehensible to the masses, but have stood for another piece of bread, for a better life for the working people. During these actions the working class has been able to realize that the communist, the "Red", is fighting for the proletariat, and knows how to fight. The estrangement of the masses from the conscious communist workers has vanished at last. One proof of the growth of the influence of the communists on the masses after the strike action is the victory won at the election to the textile workers congress at Lodz: not a single socialist was elected out of 20 delegates, but only members of the opposition.

The latest economic strikes have helped to break down the apathy hitherto shown by the working masses in Poland. The moment is approaching when the working masses will not merely fight for a morsel of bread, but for their complete social emancipation.

## The General Strike of the Czecho-Slovakian Miners

By Rudolf Kohn (Prague).

The wages strike being carried on by the miners in Czecho-Slovakia, participated in by the whole of the workers belonging to this category in all the colliery districts of the state, and conducted with such determination that up to now there has not been one single scab among 120,000 fighting colliery slaves, is one of the greatest and most instructive struggles in the history of the labor movement in this part of the world. Its issue will greatly influence the destinies of the Czecho-Slovakian working class. Should the miners succeed in repelling the attack of the mine owners, then there is a prospect that workers of other categories may be able to put an end to the offensive of capital against their standard of life. The working class and the bourgeoisie of Czecho-Slovakia are both fully aware of the importance of this struggle, and for this reason even the reformist leaders of the working class have been obliged to take up a definite position. The situation into which these leaders are driven compels some of them openly to take sides with the enemies of the working class, and others again are compelled to speak plainly against their own party comrades, and to accuse these of partiality for the bourgeoisie. We shall subsequently show that matters had developed to such a point by the third week of the strike that the deputy Brozik, the social democratic chairman of the coalesced miners' unions, was obliged to expose the social democratic minister for public works, Srba, to the whole working class as an agent of capitalism. That the fatal course of events forced precisely Brozik, who himself made every attempt to paralyze the strike during its first week, and to persuade the strikers to capitulate to the capitalists, to go so far to the left against his will, leaving his party friends behind, is a most entertaining spectacle, despite the decisive and important nature of the issues involved.

When, on July 5., the mine-owners of the Ostrau-Karwin district gave notice of their intention to terminate the collective agreement on August 3., there was no great inclination to fight among the miners. The Ostrau miners found themselves faced by their fifth wages struggle within two years. They knew that the four preceding strikes had been strangled by the reformist leaders and by the government, and felt but little desire to start a fresh isolated struggle, one certain from the beginning to end in defeat. It was therefore the duty of the communist miners to secure, by means of their propaganda, a general strike of the miners in the whole of Czecho-Slovakia on the day of the proclamation of the Ostrau strike. The sorry experience undergone by all the miners during the past two years in their isolated strikes greatly facilitated the propaganda of the communists. Every right and liberty gained since the war had been lost again since the second half of the year 1921, solely through the unhappy policy of separate struggles. Whilst the average wage of a married miner with two children amounted to 68.37 crowns in January 1921, it was only 39.33 crowns by June 1923, a reduction of 29.04 crowns or 42.47%. At the same time the output had increased by 37.3%. Thus the miners had paid dearly enough for their experience of the results of isolated struggles, and were easily won for the idea of the general strike, despite all the efforts of their leaders to dissuade them from it. And when the conference of the representatives of the Czech union met in Mährisch-Ostrau on June 30., the delegates sent by the organizations from every district were so unanimously in favor of the general strike idea, without difference of party, that the counter-arguments of the reformist leaders were powerless. At the same time the conference was unanimously of the opinion that there could be no question of even the slightest reduction of wages, and that the miners should not enter into negotiations at all on the subject of wage reductions in the future, unless the prices of food were correspondingly reduced.

It was speedily evidenced that the employers were deliberately provoking the miners. After all the sacrifices made by the miners, the colliery owners demanded a further reduction of 30% of their scanty wages, in the new collective agreement for the Ostrau district. This was the signal for the government to interfere in favor of the capitalists. The social democratic minister of labor, Srba, declared that the long waited opportunity had now come for reducing the price of Czecho-Slovakian coal to a point rendering it competitive. He brought forward a proposition that coal should be reduced in price by 5 crowns per cubic metre, and attempted to win the public for the idea that this cheapening of coal would put an immediate end to the severe economic crisis in Czecho-Slovakia. Of course, said the minister, the attainment of this great object involves sacrifices from all parties: The miners, the colliery owners, and the state (which would reduce the coal tax) would all have to bring offerings. Srba demanded from the miners that they sacrifice 20% of their wages, and declared that in this case, and assuming that the mine owners reduced the price of coal by 2 crowns of their own accord, then the government would be prepared so to reduce the coal tax that this would imply a further reduction of 2 crowns in the price of coal.

It need not be said that the social democratic minister of labor at once set the whole bourgeois and socialist governmental press in action in favor of this plan, and the reformist leaders of the miners, who a few days before had received the strictest instructions at the delegates' conference not to agree to the least reduction of wages, now began to vacillate again under the pressure of this governmental propaganda. A small experimental kite was first flown. In Mährisch-Ostrau a secret meeting was held by the social democratic confidence men of the colliery district, and here the secretary of the union, Brda, suggested that a further reduction of wages, at first of 10%, be agreed to on condition that the full working week be guaranteed to the miners. This confidential meeting, attended of course by reliable social democratic party functionaries only, was in favor of this plan, and it was resolved to have the project accepted at the joint district conference, and to use every means to thwart the opposition of the communists.

When the communists heard this news, they did not make use of it as propaganda against the reformist trade union leaders, but wrote in the press of this plan as a projected social democratic party putsch against the reformist trade union leaders. The tactics pursued by the communists on this occasion were not the exposure of the various errors committed by the reformist leaders but the paralyzing of reformist action by means of timely counter moves. But despite everything the reformist leaders submitted to the pressure exercised by the minister of labor and the prime minister, and entered into a compact on August 8., in opposition to all the decisions of their own authorities, in which they undertook to agree to an 18% reduc-

tion in wages, and this without the counter guarantee of the full working week. It was an unconditional surrender, for it was clear that when the colliery owners spoke of a 30% reduction, they were in reality thinking of 18 to 20%. The chairman of the coalesced miners' unions, Deputy Brozik, promised the Prime Minister, Svehla, that he would have this agreement accepted at the national conference of the coalesced miners' unions and at the district conference at Mährisch-Ostrau. Triumphant reports on the end of the wages struggle were published not only by the bourgeois press, but also by the socialist governmental press, and the wildest agitation was carried on against the communists for not being satisfied with the agreement.

The public regarded the conflict as settled. Then the Kladno district committee emerged from obscurity and accused the chairman of the coalesced miners' unions, Brozik, of having sacrificed the interests of the miners to the government policy of his own party. The Kladno district committee summoned the Ostrau workers to reject this compact, and assured them of the solidarity of the Kladno workers in accordance with the resolutions of the delegates' conference. This altered the situation again, and it was entirely reversed when the colliery owners of North West Bohemia, seeing that the Ostrau reformist leaders had capitulated, immediately gave notice of their intention to terminate the collective agreement for North West Bohemia, in order to share the spoil to be gained from the reduction in wages. This made it perfectly clear to the workers that what was going forward was not merely a local conflict in Ostrau, but the commencement of the second stage in the offensive of the Czecho-Slovakian capitalists against the standard of life of the whole working class. When the national conference of the coalesced miners' unions met on the following day, it rejected absolutely the agreements made by the deputy Brozik, and made the further proceedings of the miners dependent on the decisions of the district conferences. The whole of the districts are taking part in the strike, and, as has already been mentioned, even among the unorganized workers there is not a single blackleg. On the contrary, the strike committee finds it difficult to find enough men to work the pumps. The fires in the coke works are kept going, but without coke being produced; they will, however, probably go out within the next few days, as the coal reserves are exhausted. Many metal industrial and glass making works are about to close down. The prospects of a successful issue of the strike are therefore more and more favorable, so that the national conference of the miners' unions resolved, on September 6., that the negotiators were not to agree to a single per cent reduction in wages. The government, which maintained a passive attitude for three weeks after the failure of its first attempt at mediation, has again intervened in favor of the colliery owners, through the agency of the social democratic minister of labor, Srba. The national conference of the miners' unions has unanimously—and therefore with the votes of the social democratic delegates, including that of the chairman of the coalesced miners' unions, Deputy Brozik—stigmatized this partisanship on the part of the social democratic minister.

The whole working class of Czecho-Slovakia is well aware that the fate of all the workers in this state is bound up with this general strike. The workers have therefore been energetically demanding, since the beginning of the strike, that all other categories of the working class should also take part in the strike, in order that it may be shortened as much as possible, and its successful issue ensured. Ever since the first day of the strike, the communists have been calling for the convention of a general council of the trade union centrals, so that above all the railwaymen and transport workers, and if necessary other workers as well, may participate in the strike. They have, however, not yet succeeded in getting such a general council convened. Two railwaymen's unions have declared their readiness to make common cause with the miners' strike, and are only waiting for the summons of the strike committee. The council has, however, not yet eventuated, because an objection is felt against inviting the central of the Red Trade Unions, the International All-Trade-Unionist Federation, in which 200,000 workers are organized, to take part. Two joint consultations have already been held between the Czech and German Amsterdam centrals, but these have contented themselves with mere pious expressions of sympathy. Representatives of the Red trade unions appeared at both consultations, without an invitation, but were not admitted on either occasion. As the strike committee had issued an appeal to all socialist parties at the beginning of the strike, asking them not to interfere in any way with the leadership of the strike, and making various insinuations against the communists, the latter have previously endeavored to promote the idea of extending and intensifying the strike by internal methods only, through their representatives on the central strike committee and the local strike committees. But as a large number



of factories have already stopped work on account of shortage of coal, and the whole working class of Czecho-Slovakia is roused to a high pitch of excitement, the Party has felt it to be necessary to abandon its reserve, and publicly to demand the convening of a joint conference of all trade union centrals and proletarian parties. This conference was attended by the Red trade unions and the Czech Left National Socialists only, and it was resolved to hold great joint meetings in the course of the next few days, in favor of the miners' cause. The other parties and trade unions declined to take part in this joint conference, but declared themselves ready to participate in such a conference if it were convened by the miners' strike committee. This induces the communist representatives on the strike committee to urge the convening of the conference more imperatively than ever.

The issue of the miners' strike is of extraordinary significance for the development of the labor movement in Czecho-Slovakia. We communists are not the only ones who know this; it is equally well known to the bourgeoisie and its accomplices. It seems as if the government intends to stand aloof from the strike until after the municipal elections on September 16., as it does not venture to show its hand before then. After this date the government is free to suppress the strike by every means in its power. The government is only too well aware that the victory of the miners in this strike would greatly enhance the self-confidence and self-reliance of the whole working class of Czecho-Slovakia, a state of affairs highly undesirable for the government in view of the international position. So much the harder must we communists work for the victory of the miners, and therefore we are exerting our utmost efforts to bring about such an extension and intensification of the strike as will guarantee a complete victory to the mining slaves of Czecho-Slovakia.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Activities of the Eastern Section of the International Women's Secretariat

By W. Kasparova.

The Eastern Section of the International Women's Secretariat has maintained close relations with the countries of the Far East since the beginning of the year 1923. It is in receipt of direct reports on the women's movement in the Far East, in which reports we are gratified to observe the influence of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties take part in all conferences and sessions, and have many opportunities for exercising their influence. They lead the agitation among the women, and devote the greatest attention to the growing women's movement. This is plainly shown in the resolutions and theses of the Parties.

Up to the present our work in the Orient has been purely informative in character. We have had to content ourselves with observing the women's movement with the object of becoming thoroughly acquainted with it, for the movement differs economically, socially, and culturally in all the countries of the Near, Central, and Far East. But this year the International Women's Conference was arranged under our influence, and its results have shown that our Communist Parties are already actually at work everywhere in the Far East.

We append for the information of our readers the latest reports from the various countries:

#### Japan.

The activity of the women's section has been as follows:

- direction of the work done by the "Ioka Kai" (Party of Eighth of March—a socialist women's organization);
- organization of the working women;
- propaganda among the women of the proletariat.

The Ioka Kai is nothing more nor less than the reorganized "Sekiran Kai" (Red Wave Union), and is working in the same direction. A trade union organization was recently formed among the working women, and this organization publishes a newspaper called *Schokugio Fuschin* (Woman in the Trade Union). In April of this year a number of women members of the Party made a propaganda journey through the copper works district of Aschio. Other women comrades lent considerable support to the strikers during the workers' struggle against their employers at Noda. At the present time the women's section is working at the

organization of the workers occupied in the textile industry in Tokio.

#### Mongolia.

The women of Mongolia are the most oppressed section of the Mongolian population, the most entirely devoid of all rights. The unfavorable economic position of Mongolia takes fullest effect upon the Mongolian women. They are oppressed to such an extent that they know of nothing beyond their cattle and their Buchan (house idol). However, courageous women have been found, who have entered our union at the beginning of the year, and begun to learn reading and writing.

The cause of the movement thus beginning is that the Mongolian revolution is commencing to destroy all the traditions, opinions, customs, etc. of former times. At the present time about 40 women belong to the union; their number is increasing. It is intended to form a united women's and youth organization, as well as sections for work among women. The fundamental work of these sections consists of inducing women to join the movement, and to provide for the revolutionary education of women.

#### Corea.

According to reports from the Far East, the revolutionary movement in Corea has already passed the dead point. As early as 1919 the national liberty movement, expressed by an elemental uprising, had reached its climax. The oppressed masses of the Corean people were at that time completely under the influence of the liberal elements which bound up the fate of the Corean revolution with capitalist America, England, and France. In the course of the daily struggle a gradual separation of the masses from their former "leaders" was observable. Women take a most active part in the emancipation movement of the Corean people.

At the beginning of July of this year the frightful exploitation of Corean women in the factories and workshops of the Japanese capitalists led to the strike among the Corean women workers employed in working up india-rubber in the town of Seyl. Here one factor must be especially emphasized. This strike of working women was not only supported by the Corean working men, but also morally and materially by the Japanese workers of Seyl. This strike is an additional sign of the awakening of the working women of Corea to class consciousness, and has met with the liveliest sympathy among the Corean women and men of the farthest Soviet East.

#### China.

The importance of the rôle played by working women has frequently been demonstrated in the feverish strike movements of the past year. But at the same time the conflict between men and women has developed. This conflict is to be explained by the retention of the prejudices relating to women and their inferiority, which still remain as a residue of the patriarchal state of society. The working women feel that they are suppressed and deprived of their rights by the men, and have therefore formed their own organizations here and there, so that the working women's movement is split up. The Party must fight against this tendency, must appeal to the working men, develop solidarity between the sexes, and strive to overcome the deeply rooted prejudices concerning the inferiority of women. The first step towards union with the working women should be the establishment of schools for the children of working women, and of evening schools for women. The conditions must decide where such measures are to be taken.

The general women's movements for obtaining the suffrage, for combatting prostitution, etc., are also of importance. These movements have developed of recent years in various towns of the different countries. But the movements are not centralized and not active. Our women comrades should take a leading part in this movement, and unite the existing organizations. The slogans for this work should be: centralization of the national women's movement; down with the traditions and customs which enslave women; similar education for both sexes; rights of inheritance for women; equality of marriage and divorce between the sexes; protection of motherhood; assistance for working women. These slogans must be further accompanied by the national watchwords: Down with militarism! Down with imperialism! in order that the female population may be induced to join the revolutionary national movement.

## The International Congress of Working Women in Vienna

By Isle Kulscar (Vienna).

The International Working Women's Congress, convened by the International Federation of Working Women, was held in Vienna from 14. to 18. August. The very names of the delegates attending the congress sufficed to characterize it from the beginning, so that there was no possibility of disappointment in this direction.

The International Federation of Working Women, founded in October 1921 at Geneva, itself consists of trade union associations and working women's organizations which are either affiliated to the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation, or declare themselves in agreement with the aims of this body. One of the aims of the Federation is to further the trade union organization of women, and to promote the representation of women in organizations engaged in problems relating to "the welfare of the working class". Class war is not counted among these problems. When it is further mentioned that among the delegates sent by sister organizations, for instance, those from Japan or China, there were representatives of Christian Women's Associations, it will be seen that the petty bourgeois pacifist character of the congress, at best with a social democratic reformist veneer, was ensured from the very commencement. As the discussion on the various problems was carried on with an eye to the careful avoidance of the proletarian or fundamental standpoint, the only interest which it possesses for us is its ideological attitude, and some of the facts adduced during the debates.

The women delegates taking part in the congress possessing voting powers were from America, England, France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, and Roumania; but of these only the American, English, and Franco-Belgian group took active part.

After a deluge of welcoming addresses, the first speech was delivered by the president of the congress, Mrs. Raymond Robins, a Dutchwoman. Her address could have been delivered at any bourgeois pacifist congress. There was much talk of human dignity and humanity, of the masses anxious to develop themselves into individualities, of that democracy which signifies the beginning of this development, of a government of the people for the people. And then war was condemned because it negates the right of individuality, of personal conscience; because it is cruel and degrades humanity. War was spoken of as a superfluous excrescence, the speaker being apparently in a touching state of innocence as to the economic and social causes of war.

The report on the activity of women in the cause of peace also witnessed to the same spirit. The peace conference at The Hague had been attended; resolution had been passed on the cooperation of socialist women, teachers, and youth, for the prevention of future wars; pamphlets had been published and stamps sold.

The international secretary of the Federation Dr. Marion Philipps (General Secretary for the English "Women's Labour League") gave a general report on the work done by the Working Women's Federation since its founding. With the exception of participation in every imaginable congress—from the women's suffrage congress to the international socialist congress—and with the exception of work in cooperation with the International Trade Union Federation and the Geneva Labor Office, there is little of interest to record beyond some activity concerning the working conditions among women. It is interesting to note that the number of unions allied to the Federation has considerably diminished, and that the increasing political development of the trade unions, "even of the women's organizations" has greatly damaged the Federation, with its politically washed out form and attitude, scarcely worthy of being designated socialist.

After an informative report on German conditions, delivered by Adele Schreiber of Berlin, an address representing the official party policy, especially the "Grand Coalition", a report was given by Martha Mündt, on international legislation in its relation to women. While the rights and liberties won by the workers in different countries were here ascribed to parliamentary activity and to the work of the International Labor Office, the report given by a Roumanian comrade showed that these laws are frequently not kept by the governments. It is clear that social legislation can only be won through the power of the organized workers of a country—but the congress did not make this clear.

With respect to the question of the organization of women in the trade unions, the congress did not get beyond general and often repeated phrases. It spoke in favor of joint organizations

for both sexes, passed a resolution especially emphasizing educational work, under which the awakening of "social feeling" (not of class consciousness) is to be understood, and the awakening of sociability by means of dancing, tennis, etc.

With regard to the last point, settlement of the wages question for home workers, the congress resolved to obtain material from the International Labor Office as to the wages actually being paid in all countries, and to direct all efforts towards having the tariff regulations supervised by public organs, and not left to the workers. No decision was come to on the question of the amount of wages, and of the tasks incumbent on the trade unions for securing minimum wages, though these questions are of essential importance for the trade union struggle.

The congress came to a decision, if a somewhat vague one, on the question of additional wages for families. The congress demanded that the allowances for families be paid by the state, in contradistinction to the present system of payment by the employers themselves of different wages to bachelors and fathers of families, a system which splits up the class front of the workers. The question of the protection of motherhood, and of provision for mothers, was however passed over very superficially, although closely bound up with the family allowance question.

Among the resolutions upon which division was taken was the much contested statute question as to whether the Federation of Working Women should be affiliated to the Amsterdam trade union international. The American delegation, which stands outside of any international, was against affiliation. Although this point is a fundamental one in the labor movement, and touches the attitude adopted by the trade union movement to the political and socialist movement, the report given by the commission in favor of affiliation was accepted without discussion, the Americans abstaining from voting. Details of further organizational circumstances, as well as the form of future cooperation with the Americans were not given.

The resolution on work for peace seeks to solve the problem of peace within the confines of the existing state of society. The resolution is in favor of the reparations and of the evacuation of the Ruhr area; it demands the revision of the Versailles Peace Treaty. It demands a new international peace conference, which is to stand for disarmament, which shall declare all war to be "illegal", and appoint an international court of law against war. The Belgian delegate abstained from voting on this resolution, because the attitude taken by her organization made it impossible for her to vote for the immediate evacuation of the Ruhr area. This little incident shows the childish short-sightedness of the pacifist delusions. International capitalism is fighting for its existence, and the Federation of Working Women does not think of calling for revolutionary class war—even the word "revolution" never came before the congress, much less the spirit of revolution—but prefers to fight with the moral weapons of democracy. Truly, the Federation of Working Women will not find it difficult to affiliate itself with the International Trade Union Federation; in all essentials they are already one.

The new president of the Federation is a Belgian woman, comrade Burmis. The secretariat has moved to the premises of the Trade Union in London, and is in the hands of an English trade unionist, Edith Macdonald. The Federation will thus continue to work along the same lines.

Taking it all in all, it may be safely asserted that this congress will not give any impetus to fighting, not even to an extensive work of organization. But it has once more shown us communist women the wide field of work lying before us, if we are to convert the masses of women organized in trade unions, but in reality indifferent at heart, into real fighters for the cause.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### The Russian Trade Unions to the Amsterdamers.

For One Fighting Front of the International Proletariat!

We here append the most important passages from two communications directed by Russian trade unions to the addresses given below:

To the Executive Bureau of the International Federation of Transport Workers.

Dear Comrades,

Since the time that the resolutions were passed, at the Berlin conference of transport workers, on the formation of a



united front for the joint struggle against the offensive of capital, Fascism and war danger, the economic and political situation in the capitalist countries has become much worse. The capitalist and imperialist offensives increase more and more in intensity, and are converting economics, already shaken, into a chaos. They are placing millions of proletarians in direct danger of death by starvation. The lengthy occupation of the Ruhr area aggravates the social contradictions still further. The antagonism between England and France increases in acuteness. The extreme aggravation of class antagonisms in Germany renders the German proletariat liable to fresh combats at any moment. The Fascist movement has greatly extended during recent months.

At this moment, filled with the greatest dangers for millions of proletarians, the unity of and cooperation of all trade unions is not merely a matter of abstract solidarity, but a vital question for the whole working class.

The transport workers form the most important fighting troops of the whole international labor movement. At the present time their unity is more important than ever before. The international character of the class struggle has never been so evident as now. Never before has the linking up of the separate groups of the proletariat been such an urgent and vital question as precisely at the present time. The transport workers play a decisive part in settling this question. The international united front of the transport workers is capable of uniting the whole of the forces of the working class. Thus the whole present economic and political situation of the working class urgently demands the formation of a committee of action and the summoning of a world congress of all transport workers' organizations on the basis of the Berlin resolutions.

The broad masses of the transport workers of Soviet Russia accepted with great enthusiasm the resolutions passed by the Berlin Conference. Our union organs contribute large sums to the international funds, for the purpose of combatting Fascism and reaction, in accordance with the resolution of the Berlin Conference. We have succeeded, through the mediation of the International Propaganda Committee of the transport workers, in conducting a campaign for the formation of the united front among the transport workers' unions affiliated to the International Propaganda Committee in other countries.

We learned from the press of the session held by the Executive Bureau of the International Federation of Transport Workers, and of its attitude towards the Berlin Conference. We participants in the Berlin Conference have, however, received no clear and definite answer to the questions raised at this Conference, neither do we find any such replies in the resolutions published by the Executive Bureau of the International Federation of Transport Workers.

In consideration of the fact that a further delay in putting into practice the decision on the united front may have disastrous results for the working class, we are appealing to you in this present communication to inform us as to your attitude with regard to the resolutions of the Berlin Conference as a whole, and in particular with regard to the work of preparing for the convention of an international congress of transport workers, which the Berlin conference decided should take place in the autumn.

With international fraternal greetings.

Chairman of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Railwaymen: signed, *Andrejew*.  
Chairman of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Water Transport Workers: signed, *Atschkanov*.  
Chairman of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Local Traffic Workers: signed, *Sadovsky*.

To the Leaders of the Amsterdam Craft Internationals.

Help the German revolution!

In May of this year the Conference of the Transport Workers' International and of the All-Russian Railwaymen's, Transport Workers' and Seamen's Unions, directed an appeal to the workers of all countries, pointing out the great danger involved for the working class in the growth of reaction. At this Conference the Russian trade unions represented the whole of the transport workers' organizations affiliated to the RILU. It was resolved by this Conference that an international committee of action be formed by the seamen and railwaymen, for the purpose of combatting, by every means in its power the danger of imperialist war and Fascism.

In May, some days before the transport workers' conference, a consultation was held at Friedrichshafen between the representatives of the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union and the members of the Executive Bureau of the Berne Metal Workers' International, and it was here resolved that, should the Berlin transport workers' Conference adopt any positive resolutions on the united front against reaction, these should be sub-

mitted for discussion to the national unions of metal workers affiliated to the International. The Amsterdamers have assumed an attitude opposed to the formation of a committee of action, and opposed to the fulfilment of the duties incumbent on this committee of action. They have discovered a variety of sham reasons to explain their attitude.

We have not the intention of reawakening the strife over the resolutions passed by the Berlin transport workers' conference. The political events occurring all over the world, and especially in Germany, have reached such a point that the class organizations of the proletariat cannot occupy themselves at the present time with empty polemics. We must act!

Let us assume that the demands made by us in May did not appear to the Amsterdamers to be sufficiently justified by events. At that time European politics "merely" centred around Curzon's note to the Soviet government, and the hopelessly entangled Ruhr question. These were perhaps not sufficient to induce the Amsterdam International and its secretariats actively to intervene on behalf of millions of European workers.

What is the position in Europe at the present time?

We have seen the forerunner of a fresh imperialist massacre on the coast of the Adriatic. In Bulgaria the Zankoff government is shedding the blood of the peasants and workers resisting the military dictatorship. In Spain General Primo de Rivera establishes a military dictatorship whose first steps are the putting in "order" of the military campaign in Morocco and the persecution of revolutionary workers. And in Germany? General Ludendorff is arming to march from Bavaria, the hotbed of German reaction, to the North, in order to establish "order" in the German Reich with the aid of the bayonets of his followers. The German Fascists are openly preaching civil war, and declare that they will force the rebellious proletariat to its knees by fire and sword. The Great Coalition of German social democracy is bending at every joint. This last attempt to find the golden mean between the two classes confronting each other before the decisive struggle, is now approaching its sorry end. The concessions made by the German government have by no means conciliated Poincaré. The workers of Germany must defend themselves. They must crush White Guardist reaction or they will be defeated. They must defend themselves against the robbers of the third republic, for it brings them nothing but famine and misery.

Who will come to the aid of the German proletariat?

The workers of all countries. We do not doubt that 90% of the proletariat of the world is ready to hasten to the help of the German workers. The Amsterdam International includes in its ranks the majority of the proletariat today organized in trade unions. The workers of France (a section of them), the workers of Belgium, England, etc., are connected with Amsterdam through their trade union leaders. Should general active assistance for the German proletariat be intended, then the mere existence of sympathy—however profound—will not be sufficient for the working masses of the world; it is necessary that the Amsterdam machinery begin to work, and that its action be not directed against the interests of the world proletariat, but in the interests of the world proletariat.

We do not of course shut our eyes to the fact that the majority of the Amsterdam leaders do not want the revolution. But what if the revolution comes in spite of this? And it is approaching, it is inevitable. Every thinking human being, even if scarcely schooled in Marxism, sees plainly that even the most burning wishes of a revolutionist cannot be fulfilled if the objective prerequisites are lacking. And vice versa, even the greatest unwillingness on the part of Thomas and Leipart cannot stem the rising tide of revolution.

Can Amsterdam regard the present moment as unsuitable for an immediate mobilization of the proletarian organizations of the world? It appears improbable, but all the same it is possible. Bitter experience has taught the proletariat not to be astonished when the leaders of the organized proletariat fail to appear at the front at the decisive moment.

Should our fears be once more justified on this occasion, the German proletariat will be once more called upon to make great sacrifices. Until the proletariat of other countries can organize its aid without the help of its official leaders, much time will elapse and much blood be shed.

We Russian trade unionists, fully conscious of the readiness of the Russian proletariat to come to the help of the German working people, hold it to be necessary for all craft internationals, without delay, to promise their support and aid to the German proletariat. For this purpose a conference of the leaders of the different craft internationals with the corresponding Russian and other revolutionary unions must be convened. At this conference solutions must be found for the practical questions of international aid for the German workers, as well as for the Spanish, Bulgarian, and all other workers.

The moment is come; we must no longer hesitate or turn aside. We impatiently await the answer to all the questions here touched upon. We are firmly convinced that millions of workers of all nationalities and callings are at one with us in waiting for the answer.

*J. Josephowitsch*, Chairman of the All-Russian Leather Workers' Union.

*V. Vaksow*, Member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union.

*N. Lebedeff*, Secretary of the All-Russian Textile Workers' Union.

## Fimmen in Favor of International Fighting Solidarity with the German Revolution

On September 24, Fimmen gave a speech at a railwaymen's meeting in Prague.

Fimmen described the growth of international reaction, caused by the schisms in the working class. It was a great mistake for the two tendencies in the labor movement to enter into feud with one another after the war, in such a manner that the adherents of the one party were designated as hirelings of capitalism, the adherents of the other as hirelings of Moscow. It is now high time, said Fimmen, that the proletariat came to its senses and united again. In Germany the revolution is immediately impending, and the German workers will be defeated if the working people of the other countries cannot succeed in preventing their bourgeoisies from aiding the German bourgeoisie.

Accused by the working people of the whole world, said Fimmen, if they do not come to the help of their German brothers at the moment of need!

Fimmen expressed his gratification that a serious attempt is being made in Czecho-Slovakia to realize the resolutions passed by the Berlin conference on the formation of a united front among railwaymen. Should the Czecho-Slovakian railwaymen succeed in doing this, then the Czecho-Slovakian example will show the way for the whole working class of Europe.

In his concluding words, Edo Fimmen admitted that before the war it was only the left wing of social democracy which rightly estimated the situation and foresaw events. He again appealed for the united front, and addressed himself specially to the socialists of the Right: Comrades, if any of you sabotage the united front because you fear the Red dictatorship, you shall experience the White!

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Amalgamation of the two Communist Parties in Denmark

By *Karl V. Jensen* (Copenhagen).

The split in the Danish communist movement, which came about in February 1922, has now been finally liquidated. In accordance with the resolutions of the Enlarged Executive, passed in June of this year, in which the two communist parties in Denmark were repeatedly called upon to unite, negotiations were entered into between the parties, leading to the unanimous acceptance by the negotiating committee of the proposals for unity. This proposal has already been agreed to by the leaders of both parties.

From 1. October onwards the two party organs will be combined under the name of *Arbejder-Bladet* (Klassekampen). A provisional party central has been formed of representatives from both fractions for the preparation of an amalgamation conference to take place in three months. The latest number of the two party organs contained an appeal to the Danish working class regarding the amalgamation and the most immediate tasks incumbent on the united party.

The internal conflicts and schisms in the communist movement in Denmark have greatly damaged it of recent years, and have caused it to forfeit the confidence of the Danish workers. The amalgamation was absolutely imperative if any communist work is to be done in Denmark at all. It has been the more imperative in that the Danish working people will have important trade union and political conflicts to face in the year 1924. It

is only when the communist movement is united that it will be able to exercise any influence on these struggles.

The now united Communist Party of Denmark is still a very small party. But for the first time there exists in Denmark a revolutionary movement which has learnt a real lesson for its future work from the severe internal strifes which it has passed through, and through which it has attained to clarity.

It should not be forgotten, now that the amalgamation has been accomplished, that it has been the repeated endeavors on the part of the Executive of the Communist International which have mainly contributed to the liquidation of the Danish party conflict.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Cry for Help of the Bulgarian People!

The people's revolt in Bulgaria has been crushed with the help of artillery, machine guns and Wrangel troops, the Zankov Government is wreaking vengeance on the peaceable and unarmed population.

The wounded, the arrested and imprisoned are being murdered, the families of the insurgents are being massacred, whole villages are being burnt.

The cruelty of the bloodthirsty government hands beggars all description. Death and desolation reign over the unhappy country.

We, the undersigned Bulgarian members of Parliament, in the name of the working and peasant people of Bulgaria, raise the voice of protest before the conscience of all civilized people against these crimes against humanity, and call to you to make speedy intervention in defence of the thousands of victims against their torturers.

Members of Parliament belonging to the Peasants' League:

*Karadyoff, Gareff, Dr. Kossowski, Doneff, Staniyeff, Ivanoff.*

Communist Members of Parliament:

*W. Kolaroff, C. Dimitroff, Toscheff.*

## The White Terror in Spain

Despite the repeated treachery exercised by the socialist leaders of the old trade union organization, the miners of Biscaya have been carrying on an obstinate fight in defence of their scanty wages for several months.

A mighty strike again broke out recently in the Biscaya mining district, but we are unfortunately in possession of few details about it. On August 23, the whole working population of Bilbao expressed solidarity with their fellow workers from the mines by means of a determined general strike. This was the occasion of bloody street fighting, in which the Communist youth courageously stood up against the police and soldiery, and our brave comrade Oscar Perez Solis, member of the Spanish Communist Party, was left on the scene of the fight with a shot through his lungs.

The life of our comrade is seriously endangered.

Oscar Perez Solis is one of the founders of the Communist Party of Spain. He was at one time an officer, but having worked his way through to socialism, he was incapable of descending to the platitudes of reformism. He is not only the best journalist representative of the Spanish labor movement, but one of its most self-sacrificing organizers and most effective speakers.

The murder of the leader of the General Confederation of Labor, Segui, at Barcelona, has now been followed by the assassination of the leader of the Communist Party, Solis, at Bilbao. We must admit that Spanish reaction aims accurately when committing murder.

The Spanish proletariat has to pay dearly, very dearly indeed, for its inner disunity. May the blood of Segui and Solis, and of the anarchist trade unionists in Barcelona and the communists in Bilbao, enable the proletarian united front to at last be firmly and permanently cemented against the Spanish capitalists.



## OUR PROBLEMS

### Not Backwards, but Forwards!

The Right of Self-determination of the Peoples, and the United States of Europe.

By Karl Radek.

I.

The Versailles peace is unraveling in all directions. That which is proceeding in Germany is the dissolution of the Versailles peace. It means the end of the Versailles Peace in any event; whether the masses of the German people arise and take their emancipation into their own hands, or if they do not find the strength to fight, and leave the matter in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Versailles peace has torn portions of the old German empire from its body; the Versailles peace has forced the people to pay heavy tribute. But it at least left the outward semblance of an independent Germany. By forming at the same time the League of Nations, and leaving Germany the possibility of admission to this League later on, the Versailles treaty left a loophole for correcting itself later. Today, the League of Nations is a screen behind which France and England are fighting between themselves; it possesses not the slightest power of opposing these two leading powers and of putting a stop to the piratical raid in the Ruhr valley, it does not even possess sufficient power to enable it to call a halt when a third rate power like Italy cynically brushes the League of Nations treaty on one side with the brutal statement: "This is what I will—this is my command!" What hopes can the prospect of being permitted one day to enter the League of Nations now awaken in the German people when they see what a sorry protection the League can afford its original members? And does France content herself with the "rights" which the Versailles treaty grants to French imperialism? No! In direct violation of the clear wording of the Versailles treaty, France occupies the Ruhr area, the most important part of Germany, and declares: "Here I am, and here I intend to remain until you pay!" The Versailles treaty provided for periodical examination into the economic possibilities of payment, but it did not foresee that the examination into Germany's solvency was to be carried out by means of the bayonets of the French army of occupation. The government of the German republic approaches Poincaré with the proposal that the Ruhr pledges be released, and substituted by Germany herself being placed in pawn, by France participating in German industry. M. Poincaré is not inclined to agree to this; he prefers the bird in the hand to the two in the bush. But if Poincaré were to agree to the proposal made by the Stresemann government, the result would be that Germany would be dominated by France. The financial and economic independence of Germany, already so narrowed, would be reduced to a mere shadow.

The German people tugs at the chains of Versailles. If it succeed in breaking these chains, there is still no going back to the conditions obtaining before the war. That which we call the peace of Versailles is not merely the treaty with Germany, but all the treaties regulating the relations among the states of Central and South Eastern Europe. The conditions obtaining in the East have been greatly altered by the issue of the war. And the German and the international working class alike, must endeavor to obtain a clear conception of the essential character of the change wrought by the war. In their struggle against the chains of Versailles, they must form a clear idea of what is merely temporary in the decisions of the war, of what they themselves want to change, and what is the revolutionary fact which they must take as their starting point. It is not our intention here to unfold the map of the globe, and to discuss all the conditions which have arisen; we need only deal with those to be reckoned with by the European working class in the course of the next few years. The workers—including the communists—look down with a certain contempt on the newly formed states of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Lithuania and Yugoslavia. This contempt is mingled in the case of some states—Poland for instance—with the profoundest hate. The policy pursued by these states, which have made themselves vassals of the Entente, and treat their workers like slaves, tends to further nourish this hate. But it would be a very short-sighted policy to encourage this feeling of hate among the workers. The workers—before all the German workers—and also the Russian, must free themselves of this feeling. They must ask themselves how it comes about that broad masses of the Polish workers are today, not only on the side of the Polish socialist party, a party belonging to the 2. International, but are still under the banner

of the national labor union; they must ask themselves how it is that broad masses of peasants and workers in Czechoslovakia cling to their state? The fact expressed by these phenomena is, that the masses of the people see in these new state structures the expression of their emancipation from the national yoke. The Polish proletariat has not only suffered because it is a working class, it has also suffered beneath the yoke and pressure of German and Russian bureaucracy, simply for being Polish. The great majority of the working class in Upper Silesia was in favor of the affiliation of Upper Silesia to Poland, because the economic suppression in Upper Silesia was at the same time a national one. The Czechoslovakian people has been subjugated first under the oppression of the German landowners, and then of the German capitalists and bureaucrats, for 300 long years. Is it any wonder that it clings so determinedly to its independence? The proletarian parties must not only accept the fact of the emancipation of the masses of the people from the foreign national yoke in the South and East, but they must recognize it as a revolutionary fact, the secure establishment of which is a special task of the proletarian revolution. The international working class, when fighting against the chains forged at Versailles, must not forget that the chains of Versailles have, in many countries, taken the place of the chains of ancient dependence. It must not take part in any attempt at restoration of dominion over the Eastern peoples, at division of their national entities; on the contrary, it will seek to emancipate, by revolutionary means, those peoples who are still wholly or partially under a national yoke. Only when it has learnt to do this will its victorious forward march cease to encounter the resistance of the masses of the peoples.

II.

But does not this signify an increase of chaos, the Balkanization of Europe, her dismemberment into small states incapable of independent existence? No, the contrary is the case. Emancipation from the yoke of national suppression will render the masses of the people in these countries capable of overcoming their national narrow-mindedness, their national distrust, their national separatism. When these peoples are once masters in their own houses, when they have established their national administration, and freed their own culture from foreign subjugation, then they will approach the question as to how their economic endeavors can be best united for the purpose of reconstruction. And then they will see the folly of shutting themselves off from one another, of splitting up their economic forces. Even before the war, Europe was suffocating within her own boundaries. Today, these boundaries exist in Europe more than even before, and when the peoples are nationally free, they will be felt more and more as a noose around the neck of the masses of the people. When Wilson brought out the idea of the League of Nations, he had grasped, from a capitalist standpoint, a necessity of economic evolution. The bourgeoisie, whose fundamental idea is the struggle for profits, that is, competition, was incapable of carrying out the idea. The Fordney tariff now forms a higher barrier than ever before between England and America. Free-trade England is carrying on a protectionist policy in the form of "laws against unfair competition", and by means of a number of technical measures relating to the customs regulations. The small states imitate the larger ones. Germany alone, denied the most favored nation clause, is fair game for political customs impositions, just as she is to stand alone in first setting the example of disarmament. It will be the working class which—in order to clear away the ruins and begin economic reconstruction—will be able and obliged to convert Europe into an economic unity. It was a piece of bourgeois Utopianism when Kautsky, Renaudel, etc., attempted to harness the proletariat before the car of Wilson's ideas, and agitated for the idea of the United States of Europe under the rule of the bourgeoisie. The five years lying between us and the war have shown that this is a Utopia. Now, in the period of revolution, in the period when the greater part of the territory of the Czarist empire is now a free Union of Soviet republics, and great revolutionary struggles are in preparation in Central Europe and in the South, it is a realistic revolutionary action on Trotsky's part to raise the question of the United States of Europe. Every state in which the proletariat seizes power, whether in the form of a dictatorship, or in the transitional form of a workers' and peasants' government, is confronted by the question of finding economic and military support in the already existing proletarian states; and the proletariat of that territory which is emancipated from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, will be compelled to unchain the national forces of even the smallest nation living on this territory, which can only be accomplished by first setting this nation the independently constituted, by emancipating it from even the slightest remnants

of national suppression, and by their securing its affiliation to the union of the other workers' and peasants' states.

When a section of the Polish, German, and Dutch communists held a theoretical discussion with Lenin during the war, on the question of the right of self-determination of the peoples, we asked: "Will not socialism erase all frontiers and create one field of economics?" At that time we differed from Lenin in imagining the course of the world revolution as proceeding on much less concrete lines. We did not sufficiently comprehend the multiplicity of the conditions under which the proletariat is carrying on the fight for socialism. Perhaps the political frontiers between the peoples will disappear a hundred years after capitalism has been overcome, perhaps after a century of socialism not only Europe, but the whole world, will be divided solely into economic areas.—But so long as the struggle for power continues—and internationally this will last until at least the leading industrial countries have introduced the socialist organization of economics—the proletariat will have to organize the nations as independent units, and to organize them at the same time for economic and political aims. Otherwise, it will find itself opposed not only by the class interests of the bourgeoisie, but also by the national needs, the mistrust, and the inertia of the peoples.

III.

These questions play an important part in countries in which the proletariat belongs or belonged to the ruling states which have oppressed other peoples. It required Lenin's genius to accentuate with such passionate emphasis the necessity of the Russian proletariat's taking up action as the national emancipator of oppressed nations. The Russian workers, who had never been nationally suppressed, had but slight comprehension for this. Many years of educational work on the part of Lenin and the Communist Party were required to render the Communist Party fully conscious that the proletariat is strengthened or weakened, when it overcomes the inheritance of the policy of national suppression pursued by Czarism and the Russian bourgeoisie. It has been solely by doing this that the Russian proletariat, as emancipator of the nations hitherto suppressed, has been able to induce these nations voluntarily to join forces with the Russian proletariat for the struggle against international capital. This great educational work has not yet been completed in Russia. The German proletariat, the German CP., must take up this same line of educational work in Germany, with the greatest energy and determination. The German people is today the object of suppression on the part of the Entente and its vassals. But before the war, Germany and Austria were countries which carried on national suppression, and the hate which this suppression has aroused in the Polish and Czechoslovakian peoples is profound. Before the war, the German workers felt little sympathy for the Poles in their struggle against national suppression. German nationalism frequently even concealed itself behind a mask of internationalism with respect to the Poles and Czechs. Today, the workers in the Rhineland, in the Saar district, in the Ruhr, in parts of Poland, are feeling the knot of national suppression. And yet they have not been awakened to an understanding of the national mentality of the peoples formerly suppressed by the German bourgeoisie and the German junkers. They have not yet found the language in which they must speak to the Polish and Czech peasants and workers. And this language they must find if they themselves wish to be free. When the decisive hour strikes, the Polish bourgeoisie will unchain the dogs of nationalism, at the behest of French capitalism. It will prepare for the onslaught on the fighting German people by endeavouring to persuade the Polish people that the German workers are acting as executors of the wills of Frederick II. and Bismarck, and are threatening Polish independence; and it may easily succeed with this artifice. It must be the aim of the daily work of the German and Russian Communist Parties to exercise an opposite influence on the masses of the peoples, to prove that they not only do not threaten the independence of the Polish, Czech, Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian peoples, but that they rather see in this independence the foundation stone of the house to be built by the European proletariat after its victory. When Soviet Russia was in the midst of the severest struggle against the Polish bourgeoisie and nobility, a struggle commenced by the latter at a time when Soviet Russia appealed even to the national feelings of the non-communist elements, and said to these: "We, who recognize the right of self-determination of all peoples, shall not permit the right of self-determination of the Russian people to be destroyed"—at this same time Trotsky, as head of the Red Army, suppressed a military technical newspaper because a former officer of the Czarist army, who is today still a highly esteemed and devoted officer of the Soviet Army, had published in this paper an article of a chauvinist anti-Polish tendency. The

German worker, the German CP., is the sole party which can lead the German people forward in its struggle to shake off the yoke of Versailles. It calls not only upon the proletariat to take part in this struggle, but all those elements of the petty bourgeoisie who are sincerely anxious to strive for the future of the German people. The circle of non-communists, and even of one-time nationalists, who see in the working people the sole saviour of the German nation, and in the CP. the leader of these people, is widening every day. We stretch out our hand to them willingly if they will join us in the common struggle; but we must say to them: the question before us is not one of restoring the old German empire, nor one of a return to old times, but of the constitution of a new German state, which will free the German people from slavery, but lay no other nation in fetters.

The right of self-determination of the German people, and of all other suppressed peoples, is the fighting goal of the CP. of Germany. The first step is to shake off the chains; the second is the union of the masses of the peoples of the emancipated nations for the common struggle. Agitation for the United Workers' and Peasants' States of the whole of Europe,—this is the agitation which will not only win for us the hearts of the proletarians of every country, but will at the same time enable us to solve one of the most difficult problems ever set by history. We have been told by the social democrats that, if we raise the question of the right of self-determination of the peoples, we merely reflect the conditions obtaining in Eastern Europe and in Asia, where there are still national struggles. Well, in the midst of Europe there are 70 million Germans fighting for their right of self-determination. That which was held to be impossible is now an actual fact: the attempt is being made to establish brutal foreign rule over a great industrial people. The mere fact of this attempt compels the people to raise the banner of the right of self-determination. And it makes of this fighting people the friend of all who are oppressed, teaches it to understand the fear and mistrust of those who have been nationally suppressed by the German bourgeoisie and the German junkers. The fighting German people must not flourish the old Hohenzollern whip over the other nations, but stretch out a hand for fraternal alliance.

## THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### Women in the Cooperative Movement

By Karl Bittel (Weissenfels).

At the International Cooperative Conference held at Basle in 1921 the International Cooperative Women's Committee was founded. During the few years in which it has existed, the young organization has made every effort to gain a foothold in a number of countries. The Committee will hold its first session in Brussels during the next few days. The Women's Guild is best organized in England, where it has existed for many years. The most energetic work is being done in Soviet Russia, where the cooperatives lay special emphasis on the importance of the training and practical participation of women. In Germany a special cooperative women's conference took place this year for the first time. This conference in Gotha showed that women, though completely suppressed for many decades in the cooperative movement, have now developed an active and energetic group which stand in opposition to the bureaucracy, and will speedily compel recognition. Here it was most strongly urged that if women are to share in the work, they must no longer be deprived of complete right of participation in decisions.

The English Women's Guild held its annual congress in Cardiff in June, and over 700 delegates met there. At the present time the Guild comprises 1077 local groups with 51,292 members. In the spring of 1922 these cooperative women's guilds in England (like those of Holland and Norway) were very conspicuous in their active endeavors on behalf of famine relief for Soviet Russia. In England, especially, the guilds sent circulars to the local groups at the beginning of February, 1922, calling upon these to organize collections, and to convene meetings at which films from the famine regions were exhibited. At the end of March 252 groups sent in reports on their work; 194 groups sent money and clothing, whilst the others organized collections, or at least held public meetings in the towns.

Nevertheless, the "most interesting addresses" at the congress in Cardiff, according to the report of the *International Cooperative Bulletin*, were those delivered by Comrades



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

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

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

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

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### André Marty for the IWR.

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

Dear Comrades,

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

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

Please accept my heartiest greetings.

André Marty.

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

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

By *Ernst Meyer*.

Berlin, 12th October.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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