

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

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

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

Nish, 5. October 1923.

Vassil Kolaroff. Georgi Dimitroff.

The Dato Trial

Death sentence Passed on Mateu and Nicolau.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPEALS

Appeal by the Japanese Workers to the International Proletariat

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Problems of the German Revolution

The Classic Proletarian Character of the Approaching German Revolution.

By G. Zinoviev.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus: 4½ million "independent", 3½ million semi-proletarians, 3¼ million employes, and 22¼ million workers. The number of workers, even apart from the employes and the semi-proletarian elements, is twice as large as that of the all other groups put together. In industry: ½ million owners, ½ million workers, over 1 million employes, and 1¼ million proletarians and semi-owners. In agriculture: Over 7 million landowners and large farmers, 1¼ million semi-proletarians and 200,000 employes. In trade: ¼ million owners, 2½ million workers and employes, 1 million semi-proletarians. In the free professions: ½ million independents, 2 million workers and employes.

The social basis of the coming revolution may be plainly seen. In the cities the workers are in the absolute majority. Up to now the working class in Germany has cooperated in one way or another with the counter-revolutionary German Social Democracy. So long as this gigantic class wandered along the path of "peace", in the attempt to avoid revolution and to secure its morsel of bread without civil war, so long could the German bourgeoisie sleep in peace. The whole essence of the "present moment" lies in the fact that the moment has come in which this gigantic class has arrived at the conviction that there is no possibility of avoiding the inevitable; that there is no other way of saving the country and the working class than by revolution. From the moment the working class of Germany turned its back on social democracy, and turned to the communists, from this moment Germany's destiny was decided. Small delays are possible. This or that variation in the order of the program of the coming events in Germany is also possible, but only within very narrow limits.

The seven million agricultural laborers will also contribute, in the German villages, to impress an indelible stamp on the course of the impending decisive events. When resistance of the landowners and large farmers impelled the proletarian revolution in Russia to carry on a real war against these classes, the Russian revolution had no other choice but to provide the city workers with weapons and to lead them into armed battle against the large peasantry. The armed troops of workers from the cities could only find support, even in the best of cases, among the poor peasantry, the ex-service men, etc. In this respect things will proceed much more smoothly in Germany. Here it will only be necessary to send proletarian leaders from the towns to the villages. The main work connected with rendering the landowning and large farming counter-revolution harmless (to speak more exactly, the work of annihilating it), will be carried out in the villages by the agricultural workers themselves. The great masses of these are already in sympathy with the communists. The German large farmers—in reality small landowners, are naturally excellently organized. They will attempt to oppose a furious resistance to the proletarian regime. But anyone bearing in mind the proportions of the above figures cannot be in doubt as to which side will carry off the victory.

The approaching German revolution will be a classic proletarian revolution. The 22 million workers form the core

Louis Cahnbley, Hamburg 8, pp. 613-614). In this same Annual we find Comrade Varga's statements (p. 226) with reference to Germany in his article on "Class Categories", as follows:

Ruling class	4,400,000
Semi-proletarian elements	3,500,000
Workers and proletarian employes	26,000,000

The last official census of trades in Germany was made in 1907. This census yielded the following figures:

Total number of Germany population	55,765,460
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Of these there are occupied:	
In production and commerce	26,176,168
Without profession	3,404,983

Those occupied in production are classified as under:

Independent	5,801,365
Workers	14,250,982
Members of workers' families, also occupied	
in production	4,287,883
Domestic servants	1,042,129
Total of proletarian population	19,580,994
Employes	1,588,994

As the population of Germany has increased by 10% since the year 1907, and the process of concentration of capital and the proletarianizing of the middle classes of the population has proceeded at a very rapid pace, the figures given in this annual can be regarded as fairly accurate.

We must mention in conclusion that the figures of the Annual include "Members of families also taking part in production"; besides this, these figures refer to the whole of Germany, including the territories at present occupied.

of the international proletariat; they represent the working capital of International Revolution. On a generous estimate, Russia had only 8 to 10 million workers in 1907, out of a total population of 160 millions. But Germany has more than 20 million workers out of a total population of 60 millions. In Russia, the working class was in reality but a fraction of the population, but in Germany it forms the main part, the majority. The German workers have almost all enjoyed the advantage of elementary schooling. The German workers have learnt organization in an excellent school. They are educated. Most of them took part in the imperialist war as members of the army, and will thus be the best of revolutionary soldiers. In Social Democracy they have passed through a hard, but a highly instructive school.

But the main point is that the German revolution has at its disposal a mighty industrial basis. It is true that German industry is in a critical situation at the moment. Alsace Lorraine with its enormous mineral wealth has been taken from Germany. She has lost a great part of East Prussia, Upper Silesia, Memel, Danzig, the Northern part of Schleswig, the Saar district, and finally the Ruhr area. Germany is naturally not in a position to pay the 132 milliard gold marks which the Entente demands from her under the terms of the Versailles Treaty. But nevertheless, German industry has mighty powers at its disposal. In this sense the pronouncement of Comrade Lenin, when he predicted that in Europe (especially in such European countries as Germany) it will be more difficult to begin the proletarian revolution, but much easier to continue it and bring it to a conclusion, still holds true. The German proletariat is superior in numbers, both in city industry and in agriculture. Technics have advanced in Germany as in no other country. The kernel of qualified workers, able to successfully take a position at the head of socialist economics, is nowhere so compact as in Germany.

Today it is no longer possible for the German proletariat to seize power too soon—in the historical sense of the word. This was once known to even Kautsky, who pointed it out as early as 1909 in his last revolutionary work "The Road to Power". The objective prerequisites for the victory of the German revolution have long since matured. And the war of 1914-18, as well as all the events connected with the war and the Versailles Peace, created the remaining prerequisites for the real victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany.

The German revolution will be a classic proletarian revolution. This does not however mean that the whole remainder of Germany's population will form a "reactionary mass". On the contrary! The new and distinguishing characteristic of the German proletarian revolution will consist precisely in the special rôle played in it by the "petty bourgeois masses", officials, lower and medium employes, small traders, etc. It may even be said that that same rôle which was played in the Russian revolution by the war-weary peasantry, will be played in the German revolution by the broad strata of the city bourgeoisie, exhausted by the devastation, and brought to the verge of economic ruin by the developments of capitalism. These strata are naturally vacillating between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the course of the revolution they will perhaps often enough side with the opponents of revolution. But they form the chief strength of the revolution. The main bearer of the revolutionary idea is naturally, now as ever, the proletariat in town and country. But the vacillating strata of city petty bourgeoisie none the less represent an important factor in the relationship of forces. In a certain sense they form the background of the picture. The revolutionary proletariat of Germany has already succeeded in neutralizing some sections of the petty bourgeoisie within a comparatively brief period, and even to a certain extent, in securing their support. There are already a number of employes, lower officials, etc., who take part in the illegal factory council meetings held under the leadership of the German Communist Party.

We knew—this has been taught us by Lenin—that every great revolution develops in a new country in its own peculiar way. We know that the German revolution cannot simply repeat that which we have seen in the Russian revolution, that it is bound to have its own characteristic features. Today, there can be no longer any doubt but that the unique feature in the German revolution is the part played by the petty bourgeoisie of the cities.

The classic proletarian character of the revolution—and a more favorable attitude of the city petty bourgeoisie towards the revolutionary proletariat—are these two things consistent? Is there no inner contradiction in this? By no means.

The attitude of the German city petty bourgeoisie results in the first place from the brutal policy of the Entente, which has done every possible thing calculated to drive this stratum

of the population into despair and indignation, and in the second place by the extreme narrow-mindedness of the class policy pursued by the German big bourgeoisie, which, caring nothing for the morrow, has, by its whole policy, driven the great masses of the city petty bourgeoisie to the brink of economic ruin. As Marxists we were also theoretically aware that big capital disintegrates and annihilates the petty bourgeoisie of the towns by the process of proletarianizing a large section of this bourgeoisie. This process may be most clearly observed when it takes place in a large state—and we are seeing it for the first time on such a large scale in Germany.

The impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie has attained immense proportions in Germany. And this is inducing one section of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia to side with the workers. There are considerable strata of city petty bourgeoisie, the same strata which Russian conditions rendered for so long a time our most irreconcilable opponents and the most reliable pillars of "social revolutionary" counter-revolution, which in Germany are in part so demoralized, that they will not be able to take any part as a serious factor in coming events; this group is in such a mood, that at the decisive moment it will remain neutral or take sides with the workers. The unheard of financial bankruptcy of Germany has dealt the petty bourgeoisie of the towns a severe blow. The fact the owner of a cigarette shop in Berlin closed his shop, and displayed a notice that his business having been ruined by the high prices and the depreciation of the mark, he was shutting up shop and going over to the Communist Party, is not an anecdote, but a characteristic symbol.

If a correct policy is pursued, a proletarian power in Germany can secure the permanent and complete victory of the German revolution, as the support lent by the German proletariat, plus that of a part of the city petty bourgeoisie insures for proletarian power the support of the majority of the population within the country. And this is the foremost condition for the maintenance of power.

The impending German revolution, as we have already said, will be a classic proletarian evolution. But this does not by any means exclude a far-sighted and conciliatory policy with regard to the petty bourgeoisie; indeed, it presupposes such a policy. The German revolution is utilizing the lessons taught by the Russian revolution, and will endeavor to avoid the errors committed in the latter. The proletarian revolution in Germany, when taking its first steps towards building the new structure of state, will bear in mind the tremendous importance of establishing satisfactory relations between town and country on the one hand, and between the proletariat and the city petty bourgeoisie on the other. The German proletarian revolution is hardly likely to proceed to a too hasty nationalization of trade and small industry, of small landed property, etc. Unless the resistance offered by the small and medium property owners forces the proletarian government in Germany to resort to extreme measures in the interests of the defence of the revolution, this government will doubtless pursue a correct, cautious, and considerate policy with regard to these strata of society. Revolutionary power in Germany will have to endeavor, from the very first, to pursue such a policy towards the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the small craftsmen and tradesmen, and the small and medium farmers, as will permanently secure the sympathies of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country in favor of the proletarian regime.

Because the proletarian revolution in Germany is built on such a firm foundation, precisely because the proletariat will so preponderate in the German revolution, will it be able to allow itself the luxury of avoiding anything which might repel the petty bourgeoisie. Just because in Germany today, the material prerequisites for the carrying out of a whole series of great economic measures of a socialist character are already mature, the German proletariat, at least at first, will not brutally brush aside the vital interests of the city petty bourgeoisie.

What miracles of energy the 20 million steeled, educated, and organized proletarians of Germany will perform when they step forward into decisive battle for Socialism, this is something of which today we cannot even form an idea.

GERMANY

The Situation in Germany

By Wilhelm Bartz.

Berlin, October 26, 1923.

The struggles in Hamburg, in which, as it now turns out, not only Communists but also Social Democratic workers have taken part, have been relinquished. Everywhere the attacking Police found the workers positions abandoned. It has not yet

come to a general strike in Hamburg." The strike of the dock-workers, however, is still going on. In the meantime extensive strikes are reported from Kiel and Bremen, while a general strike is reported from Frankfurt and from several cities in Saxony. The threatened strike of the printers, with its ultimatum demand for the abolition of the sale of siege and the removal of the prohibition of the *Rote Fahne*, has not been carried out. On the other hand, the committee of action of the free trade unions of Berlin have made the demand for the abolition of the state of siege their own, and have declared for the enforcement of this demand by all suitable means. It is obvious that this is only intended as a means of placating the workers, but with things as they are at present the workers will be asking tomorrow or the day after, what has become of these demands. From Saxony, reports arrive daily as to the sharpening of the situation. Not only leaders of the workers' "Centuries" are being arrested, but also government officials, and not a day passes without the military making use of their weapons.

Meanwhile the economic situation increases in intensity. The collapse of the finances proceeds with incredible rapidity. The increase in prices exceeds all bounds. The position of the workers grows worse every day to an extent which formerly would have been regarded as impossible. Workshops and factories are closing down and the number of unemployed and those on short time increases enormously. The feeding of the people through public agencies proves to have completely broken down and suffices to meet the needs of only the smallest fraction of the suffering population. People set out in droves for the potato fields and, in spite of all prohibitions and in spite of the police guards, attempts are made to remove potatoes from the fields in order to stay the pangs of hunger.

These conditions not only obtain in the "Bolshevik-tainted" North but also in the "true German and Marxist-free" kingdoms of Kahr, Ludendorff and Hitler. A telegram of the *Berliner Tageblatt* reports from Munich today:

"There are daily repeated in the markets of Munich those scenes of mute or eloquent desperation of which the whole of Germany is now full. A means of payment having a constant value is announced for Bavaria, but it has not yet materialized and up till now even the rapid and daily increasing wages of the manual workers fail to keep pace with the hourly increasing prices of food—not to speak of the incomes of the officials and professional men. The prices are enormously high and goods scarcely obtainable. The excited crowds demonstrate in front of the Bakers' shops which contain not a single loaf of bread, and in the Butchers' shops there hang a few sausages against the bare walls. In the cattle market only a quite insignificant quantity of cattle are offered for sale; the wholesale prices for swine and oxen are five times that of the previous week and for calves and sheep seven times. In spite of this, all the available cattle are sold in a few minutes. The middle classes have given up eating meat, except where they have been able to overcome their repugnance and dog flesh has appeared on the market. They have been long strangers to beer, tobacco and milk. It is true the manual worker is not held back by the milliard price demanded for beer—3½ to 5 Milliarden a pot—and between the work place and the beer shop the pots of beer pass and re-pass uninterrupted. The proclamations of the General State Uninterruption remain scraps of paper and fail to frighten the dullest clod of a peasant and the usurious trader."

Of special interest is the report concerning the misery of the so-called middle classes, i. e. those circles which have expected most from the Right Dictatorship and from whom the best supporters of Kahr and Hitler are recruited. In the North the feeling of the middle classes is already marked by a change in favor of the workers. They suffer from the same misery as the proletariat and realize that a betterment of their position can only result from a betterment of the position of the proletariat.

The hostility which the efforts of the workers previously met with from precisely these middle classes appears now to have disappeared. It is known that in Hamburg small traders and business people supplied the fighting workers with provisions, provided them with shelter, cared for the wounded and rendered them assistance during their retreat.

In the meanwhile there is another crisis in the Reich's government. There is a conflict raging on account of the attitude towards Bavaria. The Social Democrats are pressing for drastic action against the national traitors and mutinying Generals in Munich. They seek to persuade Siresemann and the bourgeois members of the cabinet not to make any concessions. They are quite unable to understand why the government shows such great forbearance, this same government which

proceeds so sharply against Saxony, where the constitution has not been infringed in the least. Indeed, the Social Democrats are often puzzled by what previously was perfectly clear even to the veriest infant in the Social Democracy. The conflict is finally not a question of the formal violation of the constitution and of the idea of national unity, but a question which is concerned with certain deep-laying interests of the classes. Kahr, Hitler and Ludendorff are the most rabid representatives of the Stinnes people, of the great ground landlords, of the feudal officers' corps—in a word—of the leading sections of the bourgeoisie. They wish to represent these interests by methods which are incompatible with the methods of government hitherto prevailing, of parliamentarism and of equal rights. Kahr and Stresemann, Luther and Knilling, Geßler and Ludendorff are united in their aims, they only differ as to methods. On the other hand, the Social-Democratic-Communist Government in Saxony represents—or at least is endeavoring to represent—the interests of the workers, at the expense of the war-profiteer, of the great land owners—in one word—the great bourgeoisie. The Reich's government will therefore, have nothing to do with the realizing of the aims of the Saxon government, nor even with the constitutional methods for the attainment of these aims. Hence its attitude towards Saxony and towards Bavaria. In Saxony, Müller, the dictator, is given a free hand to proceed against the government, against the working class. And in Munich, there of course, a Minister is sent in order to negotiate, in order to arrive at an agreement, where finally there only exists "differences concerning so-called personal questions". Hence the vain entreaties of the *Vorwärts* and of the Social Democratic ministers. Hence also there takes place what Bavaria and Ludendorff wish, not only in Bavaria but also in Saxony. And if the *Vorwärts* fails to comprehend this also, still it is being grasped by continually broader sections of the Social Democratic workers.

The Bavarian Social Democrats no longer believe in the help which is to come to them from Berlin, from the Republic. A portion of them sought to obtain shelter under the wing of the French, and wanted to proclaim the independence of Pfalz. It is characteristic that the leader of this movement is that Hoffmann who, at one time, was Minister President in Bavaria and who called the Reichswehr to Bavaria in order to crush the Soviet Republic there. He has saved the bourgeoisie, in return for which he has to seek refuge under the French bayonets! In the fate of these Social Democrats, one sees in a miniature form the fate of Social Democracy as a whole: four years of Social Democratic policy, which had all the state and social means of power at its disposal, and today, Germany stands on the verge of a White Dictatorship which will make an end of the Social Democrats just in the same way as it will the Communists. And the worst part of the whole business is, that even today, the Social Democrats do not possess the strength to pull themselves together and to offer a bold front and a strong fist to the threatening catastrophe. Nay, they hope by gratuitous service to the reaction, by sowing confusion in the ranks of the working class who are prepared to fight, to secure their right to existence.

The influence of the Social Democratic and trade union leaders is the greatest hindrance to united and determined action by the working class, namely, the influence which these leaders exercise over the so-called Left of the Party which has the masses of the Social Democratic workers behind it. For these, however, there remains no choice. The United Front from below is becoming continually stronger. The revolutionary mood of the workers increases day by day. The isolated outbreaks in which the present movement finds vent do not serve to cool off this mood, but on the contrary only foment it the more. The culminating point of the crisis has not yet been reached.

To all the Working People of Germany!

The following Appeal has been issued by the Central of the Communist Party of Germany.

The destruction of the German Nation is completed. German heavy industry, Bavarian Junkers and Monarchists, white generals and French Imperialism have, hand in hand, accomplished this criminal piece of work.

German heavy industry has sabotaged the struggle of the workers against Poincaré because it hopes, by bartering away the Ruhr District, to be able to conclude a more advantageous bargain with Poincaré. The Rhenish traitors were able to realize their plans with the support of the German foundry owners.

The Bavarian Junkers hope for a favorable commercial treaty with Poincaré if they help to starve and destroy the Republic and to realize Poincaré's plans. At the same time the economic chaos is complete. The same governing circles who destroy the national unity also destroy the German economy in the interests of their own profits. They look to increase their profits, not from the carrying on of steady production but as a result of absolute economic collapse.

The bourgeois Coalition Government, which assumed dictatorial powers in order, it was alleged, to avert this ruin, made use of these powers to accelerate this collapse in order to deliver over as cheap spoils to the profiteers the last remnants of the national economy.

The decline of the currency and of the state finances will not be checked, as the profiteers of heavy industry have no interest in this.

The supplying of food to the people will not be assured because Junkers and food speculators care for nothing else but their own profits. The Government does not support the people, but these money-grubbers.

The masses are starving and crying for bread. Industrial production is not increased. On the contrary, the industrial magnates are throwing the workers in shoals on the streets, as they will not permit production to be carried on unless the workers allow them to extract even greater profits from them by means of the ten hour day and starvation wages.

The ruling classes of Germany have mismanaged. They are no longer capable of governing the people, of providing food, of providing work or of organizing production. In order to maintain their bankrupt rule they are now attempting to beat down the working population, to load them with the whole burden of the bankruptcy and collapse.

In Saxony, where the working people in an entirely constitutional manner have set up a government which is attempting to erect a dam to stem the increasing misery, to protect the population against the attack of the usurers and profiteers, to keep production going, to provide work for the unemployed and bread for the hungry, the Reichswehr troops are marching in, in order to take the place of this government. General Müller proclaims martial law against this government, against the constitutional organizations of the workers, for the protection of the money bags.

Workers, Clerks, Officials, Small Business People, Intellectuals and professional men! German men and women, you who wish to live from your labor, these things must not go on any longer! You cannot look on inactively until the collapse is complete and you are buried beneath the ruins. You cannot bear this hunger and misery any longer. You cannot idly look on at the collapse of the German Nation! You must act, otherwise it is all up with your existence and the possibility of any economic reconstruction. You have the strength to prevent this catastrophe. Only you! But you must act quickly! Follow the example of the Russian workers! The working people of Russia have driven away their tyrants, banished the catastrophe, victoriously defended the unity of the nation and today are building up the national life. Everyone has bread, everyone has work, everyone has freedom. With them things are on the upgrade.

We call to you to make the final preparations for the deciding blow! The onslaught of the white generals on the Saxon working class compels your brothers in Saxony to take up the sharpest defensive struggle. They will enter determinedly into the general strike, but they must not be left isolated. You must, throughout the whole Republic, immediately advance forward and with powerful arms, with the weapon of the General Strike, overthrow these bankrupt rulers.

We appeal to you to assemble together in your places of work and to decide, from this moment on, to hold yourselves in readiness for the fight for your existence, for the immediate General Strike when the signal for it is given.

The aims of your fight must be:

- Immediate abolition of the state of siege!
- Down with the Military Dictatorship!
- Hands off Workers' Saxony!
- Disarming of the Counter-Revolution!
- Arming of the Centuries of the Working Class!
- No transport of White Guards!
- The provision and distribution of cheap and sufficient food for the working people!
- Securing of industrial production and carrying on of the workshops by the Factory Councils!
- Control of production!
- Absorption of the unemployed in the process of production!
- Down with the sabotage of production by the employers!
- Securing of decent human wages and salaries!

Securing of the eight hour day! Promptest help for all suffering need!

Down with the government of Bankrupts, Traitors, Blood-suckers and Oppressors!

Down with the government of Starvation, of Unemployment, of the Ten Hour Day, of Starvation Wages and Dictatorship of the Sabre!

Fight for the Government of the Working People, which assures Bread, Work, Peace and Freedom, which prevents the collapse, which secures National Unity and prepares the way for a better future!

Up with the Political Workers' Councils which represent the united will of the People!

Swift to your places! Everything is at stake!

Berlin, October 21, 1923.

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

French Imperialism and the Prospects in Germany

By Karl Radek.

The French press preserves a suspicious silence on the prospects of German development. It reports what this or that German statesman has said, prints reports of the most important events in Germany, but abstains from any expression of opinion on the general outlook. It was only week or two ago that M. Poincaré remarked that he was not alarmed at the spectre of anarchy in Germany. France is capable of protecting law and order against German anarchy. It is a country in which life runs on steady ordered lines. The French nationalist newspaper *Liberté* speaks in the same tone. We are of the opinion that the idea of mental strength thus expressed by M. Poincaré is more apparent than real.

M. Poincaré is at present in an unexampled contradictory position. He sees the progression of Germany's economic ruin. His press declares that this is all stuff and nonsense, the fact is that the German is a cunning fellow, and is destroying his own country in order to evade paying anything to France. It is not necessary to say that M. Poincaré does not believe a word of this fairy story. M. Poincaré knows perfectly well that what is going on in Germany is the complete disintegration of an economic system from which he has expected reparation payments. Economic ruin such as this leads to revolution. M. Poincaré must consider his relations towards the German revolution.

He might say to himself: I shall come to an understanding with the Stresemann government, which represents the last reserve of the German bourgeoisie. There are circles in France which are anxious to persuade him into this by pointing out that the Stresemann government is exposed to the attacks of the German nationalists, and is therefore a government which renounces the idea of revenge. But M. Poincaré is involved in doubt as to whether he shall place reliance on Herr Stresemann, who but yesterday was still a nationalist, or on General Seeckt, who is and remains General Seeckt. And in the second place M. Poincaré asks himself what sacrifices would be involved in the maintenance of this Stresemann government. It would involve the renunciation of the whole of the territorial aims of French imperialism, a considerable limitation of reparation demands, and a moratorium extending over several years. M. Poincaré himself is no great champion of the territorial aims of French imperialism. It is probable that he has grasped the fact that the modern aeroplane wipes out even the Rhine as a frontier. But M. Poincaré cannot definitely and finally cut himself off from the Foch clique, for he is not certain whether he will attain his main end or not. He is the representative of the rich farmers who do not want to pay any fresh taxes, he is the representative of masses of annuitants who bought the war loans and the 100 milliard franc loans for the restoration of the North, etc. What he needs is money, and again money. But if he cannot get money, he must at least produce pledges. What kind of pledges? Real tangible ones. Such pledges are: the Saar area, the Rhine province, and the Ruhr basin. Thus it is impossible for Poincaré to grant any concession, and thus the fate of every "fulfilment" cabinet is sealed. But, this being the case, the question arises: What next?

The bankruptcy of the Stresemann cabinet, which formed a buffer between open counter-revolution and open revolution, signifies civil war. And now M. Poincaré replies: we are not afraid of anarchy. What does this mean? Let the Whites fight with the Reds, the Reds with the Whites, and mutually weaken each other. Germany will then cease to exist as a political factor.

M. Poincaré imagines the matter somewhat after the manner of that English general who, on being asked after his return from the Baltic in the year 1919 to give his opinion on the future of Russia, replied as follows: The Whites are fighting with the Reds; we should arm Greens as well, so that these too can take part in the fight. M. Poincaré however, as a "sober statesman", thinks of possibilities which would be worse for him: a victory on the part of the Whites. If Germany were beneath the rule of the Hohenzollern generals, if Ludendorff and his like were the standard bearers of Germany, then Poincaré would have a free hand. Then he could mobilize the masses of French peasantry under the slogan: France in danger! Then he would encounter no resistance from the public opinion of England and America, where the masses of the people still feel an intense hatred for imperial Germany. Then he could separate South Germany from North Germany, and — by occupying the Maine line — he could face the South with the alternative: protectorate and separation, or the occupation of the whole of Germany. Then he would march the Polish troops not only into East Prussia, but also into Berlin and Oppeln, and the Czechoslovakian troops into Dresden and Leipzig. The spectre of Hohenzollern rule, having a paralysing effect upon the powers of the revolutionary working masses, would leave him a free field for action. If he occupies Germany, he will destroy her centralization, create a German federation in which Catholic Bavaria holds the ascendancy, and take the control of German industry into his own hands.

But what will he do in the case of a Red victory? In this case his position is ten times worse. The fear of revolution would no doubt stimulate the international bourgeoisie to action, but a German revolution would impart fresh courage to the working masses of France, England, and America. Although M. Poincaré boasts of the firmness and stability of law and order in France, he is fully aware that it will be no easy task to convince the grandchildren of the Paris communards, who are working in the munition factories of France, and who hold the railways and technical troops in their hands, that they are performing a good work in helping M. Poincaré.

M. Poincaré, when considering this possibility, consoles himself with the idea that South Germany, agrarian, Catholic, and separatist, will split off from the Red north; that either the Prussian junkers will come to an understanding with Poland, or that the Catholic counter-revolutionary elements in Bavaria, in return for the recognition of Bavaria's predominance, will work for the subjection of the Prussian Protestant landowning oligarchy by Poland. North Germany, cut off from the produce of German agriculture in the south and east, cannot maintain itself. Under such circumstances, it would only be necessary for Poincaré to divide the Rhine and Ruhr areas from the rest of Germany by a line of trenches, and to aid the Bavarians by the provision of arms, to enable the latter to establish themselves on the Danube or Maine line. And what then? If a revolution breaks out in the North, then the terrified bourgeoisie throughout Germany will lick the boots of the French bourgeoisie, and agree to any annexation, any re-arrangement of Germany's inner life. Germany, broken up into weak and semi-independent states, will not be in a position to feed herself; one section of the population will starve, another section will emigrate to South America and the British colonies.

In making this calculation, there is only one point which M. Poincaré does not care to face: how will it be if the German revolution, the revolution of millions of battle-hardened proletarians, aided by millions of ruined petty bourgeois and by hundreds of thousands of nationalists, desperate, militarily-trained intellectuals, finds sufficient strength in itself not only to take possession of the country of Germany, but at the same time to protect the German nation from the invasion of the French troops? If M. Poincaré thinks of this possibility, then he must admit to himself that in this case he will have lost the game when he marches on Berlin. He will not succeed in throttling Germany. Should he be compelled to take up arms against a revolutionary Germany, he will have to mobilize a mighty army and draw his eastern vassals into the struggle. Modern armies are superior to a hastily armed population to a much greater degree than the armies of the past, and it is possible that he would succeed in occupying Germany, and to crush the German revolution for the moment. But this would be a Pyrrhic victory. Poland is a composite state, its eastern districts are populated by Ukrainians, White Russians, and Lithuanians, who hate the Polish landowners; it has a powerful labor movement; it is a young state without a strong state apparatus. Czechoslovakia is occupied with a number of acute national questions, has a factory proletariat of three millions out of a total population of twelve millions, and has no territorial claims on Germany. M. Poincaré's command to march against Germany would signify

for these countries that they place their existence at stake. The more so that not only Soviet Russia, but no Russia of whatever constitution could look calmly on whilst the French frontier was pushed forward to the Beresina. And the position of the French army in Germany? Germany, which might be occupied if thus taken by surprise, would begin to fight against the French occupation. The German population is well educated, the percentage of Germans speaking the French language is very considerable, and intercourse between soldiery and population would constitute the greatest dangers. A modern army requires an extremely delicate communication apparatus. This apparatus would be destroyed by partisan troops. These partisan troops would comprise not merely hundreds or thousands, but hundreds of thousands. They would combine the fearlessness of the proletarian fighter with the science of war. The French army would feel the ground shaking beneath its feet. And behind it? Behind it would lie a country, forced to exert itself economically to the utmost, and to give its sons, while conscious at the same time that the cause for which these efforts are made is hopeless from the beginning, that it is impossible to keep a people of several tens of millions in slavery when it refuses to bear a foreign yoke. The Communist Party of France, at present still comparatively weak, would then become the centre of the revolutionary movement. And behind the French army there is again that island the rulers of which know that every loss to France is an advantage to them: England, which is contending against France for the hegemony over Europe. We are fully convinced that M. Poincaré, despite that great source of moral strength which the juridical code of the Versailles treaty constitutes for this lawyer, must feel a cold shiver when he considers these possibilities. We are aware that M. Poincaré aspires to the rôle of saviour of capitalist civilisation in France, but we doubt if he aspires to the rôle of the knight of the Red Star.

And therefore we say: If the German people only possesses will and determination enough, it need not be fair game for anyone with a weapon in their hand. We say: The German revolution is menaced by mighty dangers, but it is unchaining mighty powers among the German people, and though much suffering may be entailed, these powers will enable it to make any hand tremble which is raised against it.

Poincaré's Plan for the Dismemberment of Germany

I.

The Mobilization of the Rhenish Separatists.

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

The bloody happenings in Düsseldorf on Sunday September 30, intended to strike a preliminary note to the foundation of an independent Rhenish Republic, have once more thrown a bright light on the treacherous plans of French Imperialism, on the design of condemning Germany to impotence by dismembering her, and of thus degrading the separate states to the position of mere pawns moved at will on the chessboard of French strivings for hegemony.

These dismemberment designs on the part of France are by no means new, they have been in course of preparation for a long time. Even as early as the beginning of the war the French government made the formation of an autonomous Rhine state one of its secret aims. And whilst bargaining was still going on about the Versailles Treaty, the "Tiger" Clemenceau exerted his utmost power to obtain the ratification of the agreement on the Rhineland which had been arrived at by the Allies. But here he encountered violent resistance from Wilson, and consequently found himself obliged to disavow publicly the putsch preparations being made by his protégé General Mangin in the Rhineland.

But this enforced retreat did not by any means signify that French imperialism had abandoned its design of robbery and dismemberment. On the contrary, it carried on its shameful policy even more determinedly than before, though by other means, and with a great display of most disgusting hypocrisy. Sums amounting to millions were spent for the purchase of despicable individuals, whose task it was to carry on propaganda, as if spontaneously, in the Rhineland and in Bavaria, for an independent Rhineland Republic and for a monarchist Danubian Federation. The French government has always maintained the closest relations with the blackest Bavarian reaction. The revelations in the high treason trial of Fuchs and Machhaus form only a very small part of the cesspool of corruption which French imperialism has created in Bavaria, and in which per-

sons of the highest rank and station have been wallowing with great pleasure for years.

The same applies to the Rhineland in perhaps an even greater degree. Here a number of individuals with distinctly shady conceptions of honor, among them Messieurs Dorten and Smeets, have been found ready to transact the dirty business of French imperialism for payment in French gold. But since the Centre, which in the year 1918 had also cherished the idea of saving the rule of Rhenish capitalism by means of separation from Germany, has abandoned these separatist endeavors for the time being, the Dorten Rhineland policy has remained limited to the collection of small cohorts of morally disreputable persons and predatory politicians, attracted by French gold only. And this despite all the open and secret material and moral support which they have received from Poincaré, from French military circles, and from the occupation authorities, a support once more clearly revealed on the recent Bloody Sunday in Düsseldorf.

Although these are all things which have long been common talk, it is as well to accumulate actual proofs of the infamous policy of corruption and treachery pursued by French Imperialism. Especially at a time when the Rhenish bourgeoisie, full of the fear of a proletarian revolution in Germany, has been preparing systematically for weeks to go over into Poincaré's camp. This bourgeoisie is well aware that the victory of Communism in Germany would signify the termination of its rule and privileges, of its occupation of the mines and factories, and therefore it does not hesitate for a moment to deliver the Fatherland, for which it once professed so profound an affection, into the hands of that Poincaré against whom it could not find hard words enough yesterday.

The *Humanité*, the central organ of the Communist Party of France, published in its number of September 30, a few documents once more sharply emphasizing the infamous methods of French foreign policy, and the abysmal hypocrisy of the bought Rhenish separatists. These documents are letters and other papers from a certain Hans Eichhorn, of Landau, chairman of the "Union for a Free Palatinate".

The irresolute and lying attitude adopted by the bourgeoisie in the Rhineland, in the Ruhr area, and in the Palatinate, in past and present times alike, shows the German proletariat the greatness of the danger which threatens it should this bourgeoisie really succeed in placing these valuable and even irreplaceable areas beneath the protectorate and rule of the French bayonet. The unity of the Nation is only of concern to this bourgeoisie, only worthy of defence, so long as it offers an extensive and easy field for exploitation. It is now abandoned without a thought of patriotic or national regret, the bourgeoisie calmly sells the Fatherland to the "hereditary enemy" and to the conqueror, as soon as the toilers, that is, the real German nation, revolting against their lot of famine and misery, of darkness and degradation, show themselves anxious to put German soil and German economy completely at the service of their own defensive action.

But those who have betrayed the unity of Germany, those who have gone over into the camp of French Imperialism, must be told that the German working class will defend the German nation and German economy against them with tooth and nail, and will once more restore their country, even though they be temporarily defeated by the treachery of these deserters to a foreign camp.

Help the German Revolution!

The International Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Transport Workers to the Railwaymen, Seamen, and Transport Workers of all Countries!

The German workers are on the eve of revolution.

The unheard of robbery which has been practised by German big capital, combined with the robbery practised by Poincaré in the Ruhr, forces the German workers to take up the struggle for power, or to perish.

The mark depreciation swindle throws ever increasing milliards daily into the lap of the capitalists, and plunges the workers into misery and want which daily increases in intensity.

Prices in Germany have risen above those of the world market, but wages are less than those of Chinese coolies.

In spite of the enormous numbers of unemployed, the ten and twelve hour days are being introduced.

Behind the scenes of the democratic republic, aided by the social democratic ministers, capital is establishing its dictatorship with the help of Fascism and the lash of famine.

Coolie wages and the ten hour day in Germany mean coolie wages and the ten hour day in all European countries.

A Workers' and Peasants' Government in Germany means the United Workers' and Peasants' States of Europe.

International capital is well aware of this. And it is acting accordingly.

By the occupation of the Ruhr it dealt the first blow at the German revolution. As soon as the revolution breaks out, further blows will follow: The invasion of French, Polish and Czechoslovakian troops, blockade and sabotage of production and distribution.

This deadly peril finds the international working class scattered and without leaders. Some of the leaders such as Noske and Mussolini, have openly gone over into the camp of the enemy. Some of them, such as Oudegeest, Jouhaux, and Leipart, with a blindness no less criminal than treachery, are holding back the workers from fighting by means of bourgeois trickery, the "League of Nations" and "Collaboration". They are to blame for the fact that largest proletarian armies, the General German Trade Union Federation with its ten thousand members, the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation with its twenty million members, are standing aside inactive.

Again and again the Red International of Labor Unions, and the International Propaganda Committee of the revolutionary transport workers called in vain upon Amsterdam to participate in joint action.

Once again we appeal to this organization: Now or never is the moment to act! Those who sabotage the united front today commit a crime against the proletariat!

But at the same time we appeal to the transport workers of all countries, over the heads of their leaders:

Comrades! If your leaders fail to do their duty, you must take the matter of action and unity into your own hands.

You must exert your utmost energies to mobilize the masses in support of the German revolution. Make every preparation! Do not let yourselves be taken by surprise as in 1914.

Form local committees everywhere of representatives of all existing unions of railwaymen, seamen, and transport workers! This has already been done in many places in Germany, France and Czechoslovakia.

Form your own control centres in all important seaports, at all railway junctions, frontier stations, and at the sources of production itself, so that you may be able to prevent the transport of war material and troops! Establish direct connections between these control centres! Individual action is of no use!

Try to induce the munition workers and soldiers to join in your actions!

Transport workers! You hold strategic positions. Transport of munitions and troops for the slaughter of your German fellow-workers is worse than strike-breaking. It lies in your power to frustrate the plans of Capital! It lies in your power to protect the struggling German proletariat!

Up with the German Workers' and Peasants' Government!

Down with Capitalist Intervention!

Transport neither munitions nor men for the German Bourgeoisie!

The International Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Transport Workers.

The French Proletariat Ready to Support the German Proletariat!

On October 14, the National Council (Central Committee) of the French Communist Party met in Paris. The Council at once held a secret session dealing with the situation in Germany, and with the tasks incumbent on the proletariat in the event of a German Revolution. After the discussion had been closed, the following resolution was adopted: "The National Council, having heard the reports made by Comrades Cachin, Treint, and Sellier, on the situation, approves the tactics and proposals for action and organization as resolved upon at the last International Conference, and instructs the Party leaders to take all measures necessary for the execution of these resolutions."

Our French brother Party therefore stands ready to help. Comrade Cachin, writing in the *Humanité* on this secret session of the National Council, remarks: "This session, which was held for the purpose of discussing the present situation in Germany, bore such a solemn and earnest character that all present were obviously profoundly impressed. Every mind was fully conscious of the extreme gravity of the historical moment which we are passing through at present, and of the responsibility of every individual for the things to come. There were no speeches of an oratorical kind such as political opponents make for the purpose of controverting one another; but there were comrades ready to prepare unanimous action for the morrow. There were men determined to do their duty when the hour struck!"

The fund opened by the French workers for the two Communists condemned in the Ruhr area by the French court martial has been closed. It will be remembered that Degoutte's court martial had sentenced these two comrades to a fine of 1000 gold marks each, or, in default of payment, to 3½ years imprisonment. Upon this *L'Humanité* called upon the French working class to raise the 2000 gold marks by means of a collection. Within a few days the 7500 francs equivalent to the 2000 gold marks were subscribed. A gratifying fact, and a proof of the active solidarity of the French workers with the Ruhr proletariat!

POLITICS

The Foreign Political Significance of the Russian Agricultural Exhibition

Speech of Comrade Chicherin at the Exhibition in Moscow.

Every passing day makes the immense importance of our Exhibition for the international position of Russia more and more evident. The impression being made by our Exhibition in other countries becomes daily deeper and clearer. If we peruse the reports of the foreign press, and note the opinions expressed by the political functionaries of other countries, we see that the Exhibition is completely revolutionizing our relations to foreign lands. A few months ago we experienced a certain deterioration of our international position, to be attributed to what may be termed an "economic disappointment". Those business circles anxious to enter into relations with us, or to receive concessions from us, had found the process of development of our economic position too slow for their taste.

Such radical changes have now come about in this sphere that it may be confidently asserted that the Exhibition is the beginning of a new era in our international relations. The exhibition has shown to the whole world, for the first time, that the social order of a workers' and peasants' government is creative and constructive. Hitherto there has been a widespread opinion that we are living upon old stock, and that we should find ourselves in a state of complete economic bankruptcy as soon as these stocks were exhausted.

Our Exhibition has, however, proved that our reconstructive activity is again on the up-grade. Foreigners are so amazed at the picture unfolded before their eyes that they declare unanimously that they had no idea of the gigantic amount of positively creative work going on in the Soviet Republics. The organization and equipment of the Exhibition alone serve to demonstrate to the foreigner the enormous organizational possibilities latent in our country. Some foreigners, for instance the American Senator Lafolette, the most prominent personality in the so-called progressive group, declared that in Moscow he had been astonished most of all by the spirit of organization evident everywhere, and expressed in the increasingly organized condition of the entire society. Apart from its tremendous pedagogic importance, our exhibition forms an excellent example of that natural fraternization between peoples which results from our form of society.

We have always maintained that example is more important than theory, deeds more important than words. Our republic is a model example of the solidarity of different peoples, and in this respect our Exhibition plays a great agitational role throughout the world.

And, from our own point of view, our Exhibition permits us to look optimistically into the future, for it has disclosed the possibilities latent in our Republic; this evidence of the magnificent natural resources still awaiting development, is simply amazing to the visitors from abroad. The most influential newspapers of the world are already taking up this matter, and the relation of foreigners to us is changing proportionately. Representatives of all countries have here the opportunity of seeing what natural riches we actually possess, in what condition our forestry is maintained and how it can develop in the immediate future, what economic support we can expect from our agriculture, our cotton and silk production, and all the other various branches of our economy which we are now just beginning to develop, and which will unfold hitherto unknown possibilities with the application of new scientific methods and offer fresh and inexhaustible wealth, not only to our Republic, but to the whole world.

Our Exhibition offers the whole world, and offers us too, an ex-extraordinarily encouraging indication of the remarkable economic development soon to take place in our country. So much the more ready we must be to defend the social order which has given us all these magnificent possibilities on the

basis of the emancipation of labor, so much the more ready to repel every fresh attack made by international reaction upon our State. And when we see how the clouds are gathering over Germany, we cannot but be surprised at the indifference with which the French Government regards the possibility of an internal crisis in Germany. This indifference is explained by the fact that reactionary circles in France have made certain plans, unknown to us, to be executed in the event of great happenings in Germany.

The fact that the extreme monarchists, those who do not recognize the German Republic, assemble in Nuremberg and proclaim a national war quite openly, shows that these monarchist forces in Germany itself have, in course of preparation, some plan which they had not up to now, and which they are basing on the extraordinary aggravation of the internal crisis in Germany. This crisis itself is the result of the European crisis expressed in the Ruhr adventure.

We must not forget that a seizure of power by extreme reaction in Germany, which would be supported by international reaction, would mean fresh dangers to us. And we must prepare ourselves for fresh dangers and fresh struggles. This contradictory position is characteristic of the present moment. On the one hand there appears to be a complete change for the better in our relations with all other countries: business circles are realizing that we are doing actual productive work, are desirous of establishing business connections with us, and of maintaining more friendly political relations. But, on the other hand, extreme reaction is raising its head, and is preparing, amid the acutest aggravation of the crisis throughout Europe, to take fresh action.

And we, who although we are prepared to meet the economic advances of other countries, and are of the opinion that this rapprochement is not merely useful to us, but even indispensable, are still obliged to keep in mind at the same time the fact that, presently we may possibly have to rise in defence of all the revolutionary rights and liberties which the workers' and peasants' state has won for us. We must be on our guard, and observe with the utmost watchfulness the actions of international and German reaction, their common plans and intrigues.

We must never forget for an instant that we are the sole Red Republic, or, more strictly speaking, the sole Union of Red Republics in a world of capitalist states, that the danger is by no means over, and that we shall still have to sacrifice much in defence of our Revolution.

But the immense powers of vitality displayed by the creative work of the Soviet Republics, are the best guarantee that the toiling masses of the Soviet Republics will be able to withstand these possible fresh trials, as they have victoriously withstood those of the past. Holding fast to our faith in the future, and reassured by the proofs of our wealth as evinced at this Exhibition, we may state with full confidence that we have already won for ourselves a new social order, the order of the emancipation of labor, and that our order will speedily prevail in other countries as well. We know that the power of the workers has come into its own, and that it will not disappear again!

The Work of the French Communists in the Ruhr Army

By P. Vaillat-Couturier (Paris).

That the French bourgeois press preserves such strict silence on the documents distributed by the French Communist Party among the soldiers of the Ruhr Army is extremely characteristic. At other times we should have been treated to an outburst of indignation, combined with a demand for the immediate legal prosecution of the alleged originator of this propaganda. But this time it is obvious that a watchword has been issued to the effect that the propagation of our slogans among the armed proletariat is not to be enhanced by any discussion on the matter in the bourgeois press. We see here a fresh proof of the growing sympathy felt for us by the masses of the soldiers, and of the incompetence of the system of military espionage to do anything to hinder our agitation. Our slogan must be: "Go to the armed proletariat!"

For 7 months the *Humanité* has daily devoted certain of its columns to the life of the soldiers, and from this time onwards we have received proofs of ever increasing sympathy and understanding from the proletariat in arms, in the same way that we have received similar proofs from the proletariat in town and country. Our campaign for the release of the 1921 Class is still fresh in all memories. At that time we unmasked the official lies, and stigmatized the stupidity of a Minister for War who has become an object of derision among his own troops and officials.

We forced the government to keep its promises, despite the "unforeseen circumstances" arising out of the prolongation of the passive resistance. And that admirable proof of proletarian solidarity given by the soldiers, when these contributed their mite in aid of the strikers on the Moselle and in Paris, must not be forgotten. It will still be remembered that M. Poincaré sought to intimidate us by howls of rage from the Parliamentary tribune. But he could not conceal the fact of collaboration between German and French capitalists against the proletariat of both countries.

It will finally be remembered that the *Humanité* alone, of the whole press, has worked unceasingly for the establishment of friendly relations between the Westphalian workers and the French soldiers, these involuntary agents of the bourgeois state. In many cases our intervention has removed a scandal, improved the lot of the soldiers in some division of the troops, prevented the concealment of some affair compromising an officer, and accomplished the release of wrongfully punished comrades. We have not yet forgotten that our slogan of the soldiers' vote brought about that magnificent p'ebiscite which placed in our hands lists of signatures, in which 200 regiments and other troops expressed the solidarity of the 1921 class with the city and rural proletariat.

The publication of the program containing the demands of the proletariat in arms has contributed even further to rendering the *Humanité* popular as the "soldiers' newspaper". The natural result is that the reading of *L'Humanité* is strictly forbidden in the army, and severely punished. Only in the greatest secrecy, with the joy of slaves who catch a glimpse of freedom, may the proletarians of the army pass our newspaper from hand to hand, whole or in cuttings. For the indifferent the *Humanité* thus gains the attraction of forbidden fruit, and for every sincere human being it signifies the appeal to that truth which is suppressed by the authorities. It is folly to believe it to be possible to banish the *Humanité* from the army. To prohibit it means to promote its circulation.

The action initiated by the *Humanité* has assumed such proportions that the paper finds itself obliged further to extend its news service on "Soldiers' Life" from the coming month onwards. Our comrades engaged in this service find it increasingly difficult to accomplish all the work in connection with the masses of communications and reports which they receive. At this moment, when the government is preparing to retain the 1922 recruits in military service for the purpose of sending them against the German Revolution, our comrades among the soldiers turn to us with more sympathy than ever. The *Humanité* is now arranging two new columns. A "Military Letter-Box" for replies to the numerous questions reaching us daily, and a "Military and Proletarian Solidarity Fund" for recording the amounts received for the support of soldiers who are imprisoned or otherwise in need of aid.

Although we have already achieved excellent results, still we do not deceive ourselves as to the difficulty of the task before us. There is still much to be done. Up to now we have done no more than raise the corner of the veil concealing the actual task confronting the armed proletariat. But despite our consciousness of this we may confidently continue our action in the cause of peace. Events work in our favor, and the seed which we have sown will bear a rich harvest. The sole guarantee for the peace of the world in the months before us, consists in the triumph of the proletarian revolution from end to end of Germany. Every shot fired by a French soldier at a German proletarian is a source of rejoicing to the French capitalist, and the salvation of a German profiteer. And peace will only be assured when both sets of exploiters are exterminated.

From a People's Upheaval to a Class Movement

by John Pepper (New-York)

The class struggle creates ever clearer political expressions of the various classes. The American democratic tradition of coalition of various classes in the same political party is beginning to disappear. The most outstanding fact which proves this is the founding of a new mass organization in Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Federation, by representatives of 120,000 workers.

Minnesota was the first state where the farmers and workers broke with both of the old capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic, and set up their own party, the Farmer-Labor Party, as a mighty mass movement. The candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party, Shipstead and Magnus Johnson, were elected by a tremendous mass of three to four hundred thousand votes.

It was a *people's upheaval* against big capital, not a movement only of workers and exploited farmers, but also well-to-do farmers, small businessmen and even small-town bankers and small manufacturers who joined the camp of the discontented element.

It was a *people's upheaval*, not a *class movement*. That is its strong side and also its weak side. It is its strong side because it secured a quick victory. It is its weak side because, not being a real class movement it is dominated by the ideology of a narrow-minded lower middle class and by the hesitation and selfish interests of well-to-do farmers. The victory of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota against the capitalist parties was a tremendous defeat for our deadly enemy, the capitalist class, but it was not the workers and exploited farmers who were the real victors.

In the long run it is impossible for the same party to serve the interests of classes which are at such great variance as small manufacturers on the one hand and workers on the other hand, or exploited farmers on the one hand and on the other well-to-do farmers. It was clear from the very start that soon after the coalition of various classes going under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota had won a victory, the various classes would begin to fall apart. It was clear in advance that after the first revolutionary step had been made, that is, the break with the old Republican and Democratic Parties, the second revolutionary step would be inevitable, namely, the separation of workers and exploited farmers from small businessmen, small manufacturers and well-to-do farmers. After the election of Magnus Johnson I wrote in the *Inprecorr*: "The development in the immediate future will go much more quickly than in the past. Years were needed before the workers and farmers became convinced that the Republicans and Democrats did not wish to help them. Months will suffice to show them that La Follette and Magnus Johnson cannot help them. They know today that Coolidge is their enemy. Experience will show them that La Follette and Johnson are not their friends."

The formation of the Farmer-Labor Federation is the first organizational expression of discontent of the workers and exploited farmers with the old machine of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota.

A Small Machine or a Real Party?

It is interesting that the first struggle within the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, which is a struggle between various classes composing that party broke out over the form of organization, and not over questions of program.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is not a real party organization, but a small machine which controls the state, and besides that, three to four hundred thousand voters. The machine is superficial, and the voters are not organized locally in any sort of organization. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is nothing but a small state machine of politicians, lawyers, journalists and an unorganized vague sentiment of large masses. In the last victorious elections the masses were entirely unorganized as a Farmer-Labor Party—as a party; but there were three organized driving forces: 1. The small legal machine of the Farmer-Labor Party without any masses; 2. The Non-Partisan League which is made up of farmers' organizations; 3. The Working People's Non-Partisan League which is an organization of trade unions and other industrial labor organizations. These three organized elements have had frequent conflicts with one another and often clashed in their work during the election campaign. William Mahoney, editor of the *Minnesota Union Advocate*, characterized this situation very well: "The campaign of 1922 proved that there existed friction and conflict. A number of elements were working at cross purposes, and wasting the money and energy of the Party supporters in the effort to dominate the movement, The Non-Partisan League, and a part of the Working People's League and the official Farmer-Labor Party with other minor forces were engaged in semi-independent activity. It led to division and confusion." (*Minnesota Union Advocate* of September 13, 1923).

The Farmer-Labor Party cannot win in the next elections in 1924, if it remains in the present situation, with the workers separately organized, the farmers separately organized and the party itself, as a party, not organized at all—with a small legal machine which rules the party by playing up at one time the farmers against the workers, and at another time the workers against the farmers. The workers of St. Paul and Minneapolis for the first time realized the danger lurking in this situation and demanded a *real party organization* which is not merely a *small legal state machine*, but which embraces and organizes the revolutionary masses themselves. The legal machine of Pike, Shipstead, Magnus Johnson developed an energetic opposition to the plan for a real party organization, and attempted to sabotage the plan. But in view of the fact that not the workers alone but

also the radical portion of the farmers, the representatives of the exploited farmers, began to demand the organization of the party, the machine had to give way, and it was possible for a conference of the Working People's League and a conference of the Farmers' League to take place at the same time. The official machine of Pike, Shipstead and Magnus Johnson immediately changed tactic. These people no longer opposed altogether the organization of a party, but offered a plan of party organization which would have absolutely assured the rule and domination of the well-to-do farmers and small businessmen over the workers and exploited farmers.

A Party of Economic Organizations or of Voters?

The workers and exploited farmers offered and advocated a plan whereby the basis of the party organization shall be *economic organizations* of workers and farmers, the trade unions, cooperatives and farmers' organizations. The Pike-Shipstead-Magnus Johnson machine wants to organize the party on a *geographical basis*. The workers and exploited farmers have a plan whereby the trade unions, cooperatives and farmers' organizations shall elect delegates, and these delegates shall compose the convention of the party and decide upon officers, nominations and policies. The machine of the well-to-do farmers, small businessmen and lawyers advocate a plan whereby the representation would be based on the vote cast in the districts for Magnus Johnson at the last election. To all appearances the issue is only a question of better organization, but in reality it is a question of class-struggle. The question is whether the advanced part, the *organized workers* and *organized farmers* shall dominate in the party, or the uncertain, vague gellatine of *voting masses*. On the other hand the question is whether the well-to-do farmers and small businessmen shall be the leading elements of the party, or the workers and exploited farmers. The debate over this question, between the *Minnesota Union Advocate*, which is the official organ of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor representing 175,000 workers, and the *Minnesota Star*, which was at one time a labor paper but which sold out entirely to the business interests and is now the organ of the Pike machine, is highly instructive.

The *Minnesota Star* of September 14 says: "Between three and four hundred thousand voters of Minnesota have commissioned Senators Johnson and Shipstead to go to Washington and do something—or at least say something."

"If we could assemble a convention in Minnesota, really representative of the mass-mind of this state, it would be just and proper for this convention to tell our Senators what to say in Washington. This is entirely different from a Federation convention, based on a dues system impossible of fair apportionment, telling these Senators, the Congressmen and the other elected officials what they may or may not do."

"Such procedure may go in Russia where the franchise is perhaps wisely restricted at this time, but it won't go in the state of Minnesota where the electorate know how to read and write and are capable of at least same capacity to think."

"History has shown that the men of America whom we revere the most believed in mass democracy, not dictators' lip."

The *Minnesota Union Advocate* in its issue of September 13 made the following brilliant reply to the Pike machine and the *Minnesota Star*: "State chairman Pike favored a regular Farmer-Labor convention of the party delegates elected on the basis of the vote cast for the candidates . . . Such a gathering would be futile and foolish and was abandoned."

"It was then decided to call together those economic elements that gave the party its birth and sustenance: the organized farmers and organized workers, and other progressive economic elements . . . Mr. Pike's argument against the composition of the conference is based on a lack of understanding of political forces. Although he knows as a matter of fact that political movements are based on economic interests, and the Farmer-Labor Party had its origin in the struggle of the producing elements for political expression and legislative relief, he persists in the splendid fiction that pure "democracy" and "abstract justice" are the basis of political control."

"That is the kind of "dope" the politicians fed the people and have picked their pockets while under its influence, but the farmers and workers and other useful elements in Minnesota know that the Farmer-Labor Party is based on the economic interests of these elements, and are determined that they will not devote time and money and labor, building up a political movement to be diverted into innocuous channels or vicious ones by misguided persons."

The Disillusionment with Pure Democracy.

This debate over the form of party organization is one of the most important political events in the whole of the United States for the present moment. Its importance is not only for

Minnesota locally, but it has a tremendous national significance. It is the first sign in the United States that the laboring masses are spontaneously of their own accord beginning to see that pure democracy and abstract justice are nothing else than dope against the interest of the laboring masses, and that the only way the workers and exploited farmers can attain anything is to fight for their class interests—if necessary even against pure democracy and abstract justice. The process of disillusionment with democracy on the part of the masses of workers and exploited farmers has set in, in the United States. Minnesota shows the most advanced situation. Minnesota made the first organized split from the Republican and Democratic parties, and it is in Minnesota that we see now the first signs of a differentiation of the classes within the big people's movement. We see the first separate organization of workers and exploited farmers within the general people's movement, against the capitalists. The organization of the Farmer-Labor Federation in Minnesota is of national significance. True, it is not affiliated with the national organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The motion made at the convention for sending delegates to the January convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was withdrawn due to technical formalities. But the Farmer-Labor Federation of Minnesota is based upon the same principles as the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The Farmer-Labor Federation organized the left wing but at the same time it remained within the official Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, and will participate in the primaries of this party just as the national organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party organizes the left wing of the working class which it can reach, and at the same time serves as a propaganda instrument for a broader Labor Party.

Help to Split the Capitalist Class!

The revolutionary elements in the United States today have very complicated tasks. We must support the La Follette-Shipstead-Magnus Johnson movement in its struggle against the capitalist government. Yet at the same time we must criticize them thoroughly and mercilessly because their program is shallow, narrow-minded, and in the last analysis serves but the interests of the small businessmen and well-to-do farmers.

We must act as a driving force to compel the La Follette-Wheeler-Shipstead-Brookhart-Magnus Johnson forces to make an open split with the official Republican and Democratic parties, because that means that the farmers and small businessmen will separate politically from the trusts, big business and bank capital. But at the same time we must make every effort to organize the workers and exploited farmers separate and apart from the La Follette third party movement. We must exert ourselves to the utmost to create a powerful, broad Labor Party.

It would be a utopia to believe that the mighty, broad Labor Party could be organized at one stroke, within twenty-four hours, or at a single convention, and it is for this reason that we must do our utmost to help organize the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, which means to organize the left wing of the labor movement, and to use it as a driving force and propaganda instrument to win over the broad masses of workers and exploited farmers for a class party.

The Fiume Question in Relation to Italian Imperialism

By Josip Cicansky.

The Fiume question, which has remained open since the great war, has won ever-increasing significance of late, both from a national and an international standpoint. The crisis which culminated in the Italian ultimatum during the days preceding September 15 has now been somewhat relieved but it can by no means be regarded as solved. The question of the independence of Fiume, and of its relations to Yugoslavia on the one hand and to Italy on the other, is as unsettled as ever. There is no doubt whatever that the attitude taken by Yugoslavia is perfectly justified from the "legal" point of view, for Italy's imperialist intentions constitute the actual cause of the aggravation of the conflict.

If we examine the reasons for the attitude adopted by Italy in this question, we find two leading factors: in the first place we observe Italy's endeavors to gain predominance on the Adriatic, and in the second place we are struck by the extraordinarily favorable geographical and economic situation of Fiume. Even before the war Italy's endeavors to obtain dominance in the Adriatic were plainly evident in the Albanian question (in the year 1912). From this time right up to the present, Italy's whole foreign policy has been actuated by these endeavors. Italy's strivings after expansion in the Balkans determined Italy's whole policy during the great war. A great part of the coast of the

Adriatic, which before the war belonged to Austria and today belongs to Yugoslavia, as well as a considerable number of islands, had been promised to Italy by the Entente. The prospects offered by this promise induced the Italian rulers to abandon the idea of an alliance with the Central Powers, and to join the triple entente against the Central Powers. Even at that time the Fiume question had already been raised, and with it the question of the whole east coast of the Adriatic. But within the Entente itself there already existed two opinions on the subject: Italy regarded the war as a long-sought opportunity of obtaining her goal of "mare nostrum", and the Serbians fought for the "emancipation of their brothers" from Austrian rule. The demands and wishes of both states were simultaneously regarded as justified by the other states of the Entente, and each separate state—Italy and Serbia—received staunch support from the other "allies". But the realization of Yugoslavian wishes excluded the possibility of fulfilling those of Italy. But as in this case all the parties concerned were "allies", this internal contradiction could not immediately be more openly expressed.

Italy's strivings after expansion in Yugoslavia, and elsewhere in the Balkans, can be traced to economic causes. Italian capitalism—economically much weaker than its neighbours France, England, etc.—cannot compete with these countries in the international markets. The shortage of coal and cheap raw materials, as also the general low level in methods of production, renders Italian goods dearer, and at the same time of an inferior quality, than for instance French goods. For this reason, Italy is obliged to seek other markets for her goods, and the Balkans are regarded in the light of these potential markets. The Balkan markets won, they are to be further utilized as opening out to further possibilities in the East. The Balkan Peninsula represents a new America to Italy. Italy's goal is the economic conquest of the Balkans. The whole of her strivings are directed to this end. And for this end Italy employs not only economic means, but political means as well: she interferes in Balkan affairs. A brief survey suffices to prove this. It is no longer any secret that the June putsch in Bulgaria was not merely regarded with satisfaction in Italy, but received actual support from her. The Stambulisky regime was not agreeable to Italy. The fact that the peasants' party held power in Bulgaria implied the possible realization of the slogan, "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples". But Italy's whole Balkan policy was aiming at splitting off the various Balkan states from one another, at increasing the already existing dissensions. For this reason Italy has lent support to the Albanian bands which invade Yugoslavia from time to time. Italy is anxious to prevent any consolidation of relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, and is equally desirous of throwing stumbling blocks in the way of Greco-Albanian connections. The political means employed by Italy for the conquest of the Balkans are accompanied by others of an economic character. At the present time many of the banks and other enterprises in Yugoslavia are run by Italian capital. The penetration of Italian capital into the Balkans may be most clearly observed in the Bosnian forest and wood industry. It may be asserted without exaggeration, that one half of the total saw-mills in Bosnia and Herzegovina are in the hands of Italian firms. The same applies to the other parts of the Balkans, in greater or less degrees.

Italy's policy is further influenced by other reasons than those of the necessity of economic expansion. One of these reasons is Italy's strategic position. The Italian coast is one of the most unfavorable coasts imaginable, both as regards development of trade and possibilities of military defence. The Yugoslavian coast, with its bays, islands, and peninsulas, forms a complete contrast to this, offering many advantages from the strategic standpoint. Italy, if she is to rule the Mediterranean, must therefore first rule the Yugoslavian coast. This is the reason why Italy wants to make Avlona and the whole Albanian coast at the South end of the Adriatic, as well as the stretch of coast from Pola at the North end, into a naval basis. This was the sole motive for Italy's recent occupation of Corfu.

Italy's imperialist policy was especially accentuated at the beginning of September, on the occasion of the Italo-Grecian and Italo-Yugoslavian conflicts. The essence of the Italian Yugoslavian conflict lies in the question of Fiume and its boundaries. Fiume—a seaport town with 60,000 inhabitants—has a powerful attraction for Italy, for the reason that it is the sole commercial port, on the east coast of the Adriatic, with the exception of Trieste, which possesses good railway connections with the territory lying behind it. The whole of Yugoslavia's export is dependent on the port of Fiume. Yugoslavia possesses another port—Graveza—but there is only a narrow-gauge railway leading to this seaport, and it is only capable of undertaking the Bosnian export. Under these circumstances Fiume is at the present time the nearest goal of Italian ambitions. Fiume,

were it economically and politically in the hands of Italy, would signify for Italy the possession of the key to the Balkans: here lies the essence of the Fiume question.

To these reasons still others may be added, but these are of inferior importance. For instance, Fiume's relations to Trieste on the one hand and to the port of Barosch on the other, Trieste, politically separated from the territory behind it since the war, has a great local interest in the solution of the Fiume question. Should the Fiume question be solved in accordance with the Rapallo treaty, that is, should Fiume remain independent, this would damage the local interests of the Trieste capitalists, for all transit would be via Fiume. Should Fiume become Italian, some other means of escape from this possibility could be found. And this was also the reason why the Fascisti of Trieste were the first to storm against the independence of Fiume, and the first to promote the overthrow of the Zanella government in the independent state of Fiume in 1921. The Fascist actions against Fiume received the most powerful support from Trieste, whilst the official Fascist circles, and even Mussolini, did not regard these actions with any great favor.

The seaport of Barosch forms that part of the port of Fiume which falls to Yugoslavia in accordance with the Rapallo treaty. But it is precisely this paragraph of the treaty, which was signed at the time by Storza, which forms the sorest point to present day Italy. Barosch, in the hands of Yugoslavia, forms a great danger, alike to a "free" or to an Italian Fiume. Were the port of Barosch extended and developed on modern lines, its connection with the Yugoslavian Suschak would very quickly enable it to compete with Fiume and with every prospect of success. But this is not likely to happen within any measurable time. The antagonisms between Yugoslavia and Italy on this question are so extreme, that no final understanding will ever be arrived at between these two states within the frame of the present state of society.

The Macedonian Counter-Revolutionists

By Berkov (Sofia).

The events in Bulgaria in the second half of September have revealed the real nature and significance of the Macedonian autonomists. They carried on an obstinate struggle against Stambulisky's government, for the reason that this government was in agreement with the Serbian government in persecuting any organization threatening Serbian power in Macedonia. The Macedonian autonomists had a firmly disciplined apparatus at their disposal, and represented a state within a state. Thus, in South West Bulgaria for instance, they established their own police and taxation administration. Every traveller must obtain their permit, and the population is forced to pay taxes to them.

The Macedonian autonomists have instigated many assassinations and political murders. They were the firmest pillars of Zankoff's government at the time of the coup. The CP. of Bulgaria told them then that a government formed of the then existing bloc, would not adopt an attitude in any way more favorable towards the emancipation of the Macedonian people, but would on the contrary be always ready to betray Macedonian interests at the first opportunity, precisely as it had betrayed the interests of the Bulgarian people during the two wars, merely for the purpose of securing further possibilities of exploiting the Bulgarian people. The CP. of Bulgaria proposed to the autonomists, that they should join forces with the Macedonians fighting for emancipation, and with the fighting proletariat in the Balkans, for the conquest of political power, and for the establishment of the socialist Balkan federation. Macedonia would be a member of the Soviet federation, and possess equal rights with the other states of the union. Although many sincere Macedonians were in favor of this, the leaders and the majority of the autonomists did not agree to this proposal on the part of the communists.

The first action taken by the Serbian government with reference to the victorious putsch government was to apply to Zankoff with the demand that the Nisch agreement be fulfilled. This agreement had been concluded in the earlier months of this year between Stambulisky and Nintschitsch (minister of foreign affairs in Yugoslavia). The Zankoff government promised everything, but at the same time it placed large sums at the disposal of the Macedonian autonomists to enable them to carry out their aims. It is asserted that the total sum received by the autonomists from the Bulgarian government amounts to about 30 million levas. This double-dealing on the part of the Bulgarian government was of course discovered

before long by the Yugoslavian government. The Yugoslavian government therefore sent an ultimative demand to Zankoff's government a few weeks ago, stating that the latter must either fulfil the Nisch agreement, or the Yugoslavian government would take steps for the defence of its frontiers on its own account, and would do this without taking into consideration whether the Macedonian bands were on Bulgarian ground or not. At the same time, whilst a Bulgarian delegation travelled to Belgrade to negotiate on the Yugoslavian ultimatum, the Organ of the Macedonian autonomists in Bulgaria was confiscated, for sufficiently transparent reasons.

The determined attitude of Yugoslavia on the one hand, and the treachery of the Bulgarian government on the other, contributed to shake the faith of many Macedonians in the Zankoff government. For this reason the leaders of the autonomists found themselves compelled to seek a connection with the communists. They even went so far as to promise neutrality in the event of an armed insurrection among the peasants and workers. But the material support given by the Zankoff government was of greater importance in the eyes of the leaders of the autonomists than the sympathy and goodwill of their own followers. In the fight between Zankoff's government and the peasants and workers, Macedonian troops sided with the former. And this was not all. In many places it was precisely the autonomists who practised the worst maltreatment of the insurgents, and exposed their relations to unnecessary and senseless deprivations. In Sofia it was the autonomists in particular who tortured the functionaries of the Communist Party in order to force these to give unfavorable evidence and to betray their own comrades. On them lies great part of the responsibility for the unnecessary bloodshed.

These September days have unmasked the Macedonian autonomists as a band of robbers and murderers, bought by a criminal government. These September events have exposed the Macedonian autonomists in the eyes of the whole international proletariat, as criminal destroyers of the Balkan revolution. Put not your faith in Alexandrov and Co.—this is the lesson taught by these bloody September days to every Macedonian, to every Macedonian émigré in Bulgaria. The emancipation of the Macedonian people will only be realized when the Macedonians fight shoulder to shoulder with the those fighting for the emancipation of the proletariat and the peasantry, with the Communist Parties of the Balkans.

ECONOMICS

How Much Grain Can Soviet Russia Export?

By Frida Rubiner (Moscow).

The harvest of the year 1923 has been brought in. The weather was unfavorable to Russian agriculture during the summer just past. In Moscow and the whole of North Russia it rained almost uninterruptedly from the middle of June until the end of August. The excessive rain had a detrimental effect especially upon the quality of the corn: The rye has much smaller grains than is generally the case. The hot winds were even more injurious in effect in the South of Russia, in the Kirgisian Republic on the lower Volga, in the Don district, and in the splendid corn-bearing provinces of Samara, Saratov, Tambov, and Riasan. The principal corn crops were on an average 36% higher than in the famine year 1921, but were 20% behind last year's crops. Last year the yield of the most important descriptions of grain was 50.2 pud per desjatine, but this year the yield is only 42.3 pud per desjatine. Taken as a whole, the unfavorable weather may be said to have caused a loss of grain amounting to approximately 130 million pud (over 2 million tons).

But this decreased harvest has done the agriculture of the Soviet Republics no more harm than a stone harms a steep hill by rolling down its side. The loss caused by the unfavorable weather is fully compensated by the increased area under cultivation. The area cultivated in 1922/23 in the entire territory of the Soviet Republics may be compared with the area under cultivation in 1916 as follows: Winter corn—almost 84%; summer corn—68.7%. As compared with 1922, the area sown with winter corn in particular had increased, in Great Russia (R.S.F.S.R.) alone, from 13,442,400 desjatines to 16,605,000 desjatines. Conditions were even more favorable for summer corn: Here we find an increase of the area under cultivation, over the whole Soviet Republican territory, from 30,295,000 desjatines to 37,215,000 desjatines. This increase in the area cultivated is distributed over the various districts of Soviet Russia as follows:

District	Area under cultivation 1922	Area under cultivation 1923	Proportion in Percentages
(in thousands of desjatines)			
Consuming District *)	9,268	9,878	106
Producing District	18,921	23,080	123
South East	3,716	4,693	126
Kirgisian	1,832	1,865	102
Siberia	3,058	3,729	120
Ukraine	14,717	16,688	113
For all Soviet Russia	51,452	59,683	116

This gives an idea of the improvement in Russian agriculture as evidenced by the increase of area under cultivation.

The net yields of the most important kinds of corn were as follows:

District	Crop 1922 (in millions of puds)	Crop 1923 (in millions of puds)	Proportion in Percentages
Consuming District	486	447	92
Producing District	878	803	96
South East	239	226	94
Kirgisian	65	40	61
Siberia	155	144	93
Ukraine	947	1039	110
For all Soviet Russia	2790	2759	99

= over 44% mill. = over 44% mill. tons.

Thus, despite unfavorable meteorological conditions affecting the corn crops, the net yield of the most important kinds of grain in the Union of Soviet Republics is almost equal this year to last.

The harvest of 1923 has brought Soviet Russia 2,757 million pud of corn, over 44 million tons. The crops were not equally good in every part of Soviet Russia. Although the area cultivated has increased in every part of Russia, the Ukraine is the sole district boasting of an increased gross yield as compared with 1922. The Kirgisian Republic, which is still feeling the effects of the famine years, had much poorer crops this year than last. The successful crops of the Ukraine have compensated for the average crops or failures of the other districts.

What are the relations between the crops produced by the Soviet Republics and the needs of the population? What is needed is as follows:

Seed	510 million pud
Sustenance of the population	1427 million pud
Cattle fodder	304 million pud
Total	2286 million pud

This year's harvest therefore yields a corn surplus of 471 million pud, in round figures 7½ million tons. If the grain required by the towns is further deducted, an amount approximating 249 million pud (almost 4 million tons), the surplus yielded is 222 million pud or 3½ million tons.

Ever since last year, when the question of grain export to foreign countries became an actual problem of the hour, the White Guard press has been carrying on an agitation on this account against the Soviet Government: the Bolsheviks want to export corn to foreign countries, whilst their own people are still suffering famine. It is undoubtedly true that there is still a shortage of corn in certain parts of Russia. The Kirgisian Republic has, for instance, a shortage of 17 million pud, and Siberia a shortage of 19 million pud of grain.

The following is a survey of the total grain balance: (in millions of puds)

District	Surplus	Shortage
Producing District	—	45
Consuming District	—	157
South East	82	—
Kirgisian Republic	—	17
Siberia	—	19
Ukraine	378	—

The Ukraine and the South East—with their surplus totalling 460 million pud of grain—are the real granaries of Russia. As the Ukraine, the RSFSR, and the other parts of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics represent an economic whole, the grain surplus yielded by this year's crops, for this economic whole, is actually 222 million pud.

To this must be added the remainder of last year's harvest still in the country; this was estimated at 110 million pud on August 1, 1923. The Central Statistical Office in Moscow estimates the reserves of the organizations which have made no

*) Under "Consuming District" the industrial provinces concentrated around Moscow are understood; the "Producing Districts" are the agrarian provinces belonging to the R.S.F.S.R.

statement as to their stocks of corn, together with the registered corn supplies, at 180 million pud. At the present moment Soviet Russia has therefore a grain surplus of 400 million pud, or almost 6½ million tons.

Soviet Russia is in a position to export six and a half million tons of corn. Six and a half million tons of corn—this is the surplus which has been produced by Russian agriculture, in the 6th year of the Revolution, after the frightful ravages of the imperialist and civil wars, after the years of Czarism, after the years of catastrophic famine. The quantities of grain sent by the Russian proletariat to the proletariat of Japan, which has been so hard hit by the earthquake, and to the political prisoners in Germany, through the agency of the "Red Relief", represent only a small fraction of what Soviet Russia is able to export in corn.

Unemployment in France

By Georges Lévy (Paris).

It is impossible accurately to determine the number of unemployed in France. The official report on the situation in the labor market, published every Saturday, merely states the number of unemployed in receipt of unemployment benefit. But such benefit is only paid by a section of the municipalities in France. Besides this, the dole is only paid for three months. An out-of-work not in receipt of the dole is not mentioned in the official statistics. No statistics whatever are kept concerning part-timers.

The following fact may give an idea of the difference between the actual number of unemployed and the official statement. In February 1921 there were 47,000 unemployed in the whole of France, according to the official statistics. But at the same time the estimate of unemployment given in the Chamber by the Minister for Labor was a quarter of a million. In March 1921 the official statistics gave the number of unemployed as 91,000. The actual number was estimated at half a million. As a general rule we can assume that the official statistics do not comprise more than a fifth of the real number of unemployed.

There were about half a million unemployed in France before the war, in normal years. In the year 1918, when demobilization began, the number of unemployed in France naturally rose, and totalled 1,160,000. In the course of two years this crisis had been almost completely overcome. In May 1920 there were only 8,000 unemployed receiving the dole. Until March 1921 the number of unemployed again increased gradually, and by this time 91,800 were again in receipt of benefit. In the course of the year 1921 the number of unemployed again decreased. By December the number was only 9,800.

As compared with a total of 8½ million persons in receipt of wages, at present there are only 1,423 unemployed in France, registered as receiving benefit. In Paris there are 130 persons receiving the dole. This improvement in the labor market in comparison with pre-war conditions is due to the following causes: First, decrease in the number of workers owing to war losses; secondly, the introduction of the eight hour day; and thirdly, the recent economic recuperation. France is obliged to employ many foreign workers. In the year 1922 the agencies providing foreign labor found work for 117,000 workers. To these must be added the 53,000 foreign workers who have found employment through the direct agency of the municipal labor exchanges. This makes a total of 170,000 workers. The 117,000 workers procured through the special labor exchanges for foreigners belong to the following nations, in the following proportions: Italians 54,800; Poles 31,300; Spaniards 9,200; Portuguese 8,000; Russians 3,900; Belgians 3,200; Czechoslovakians 1,300; North Africans 700; Greeks 600. The remainder is divided among various small groups.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Situation in the Argentine Trade Union Movement

By Rodolfo Ghioldi (Buenos Aires).

Comrade Lozovsky recently wrote in one of his articles: "Amsterdam is backed up by 24 trade union centrals, four of which lie outside of Europe: Argentine, Peru, Canada, and South Africa". This is an error. The trade union central of Peru exists in the imagination of the Amsterdam leaders only. There are two trade union centrals in Argentina but neither adhere to Amsterdam. The Amsterdam International, whose speciality is statistics, has none the less placed on its lists the

trade union centrals of Argentine and Peru. In this manner it is possible to make up the 27 millions of organized workers alleged to be followers of Amsterdam.

With regard to Argentina, the trade union organizations here are, first, the Argentine Syndicalist Union (U.S.A.) and, secondly, the Regional Argentine Federation of Labor (F.O.R.A.).

The U.S.A. came into being at the amalgamation congress in 1922. It comprises the most powerful and best organized trade unions of the country. Unfortunately, the leadership of the U.S.A. is in the hands of the anarcho-syndicalists, who combine a boundless incapacity with the most express sectarianism. This sectarian spirit involves the worst consequences for the organization. The leaders, instead of occupying themselves seriously with opposing the capitalist offensive, with working for the firm establishment of the trade unions, and with attacking the problem of proletarian immigration from Europe, a problem of the utmost importance for Argentina, confine themselves to savagely combatting the communists. The periodical issued by the U.S.A. is much more an anti-communist than an anti-capitalist organ.

The same leaders are open or secret opponents of Soviet Russia. They proclaim themselves to be the enemies of every state and every government. They possess no sympathy for the R.I.L.U. They rather incline towards the Amsterdam International. This spirit prevailing among the syndicalist leaders is the spirit common to anarcho-syndicalists in every country, and has the effect of converting apparent revolutionists into opportunists and confused thinkers as soon as it is a question of real action. This spirit is a great hindrance to the development of the organization. We hope that by the time the next congress is held, which will be within the next few months, things will have changed for the better, at least to such an extent that the clique methods of the anarchists are put an end to.

With respect to the F.O.R.A., its powers are extremely slight. It stands for the so-called "anarchist communism", and its leaders are opposed to any proletarian discipline or good organization. The organization is based on federal principles, it represents the liberty of the individual against the organization, the liberty of the separate union against the local cartel, the liberty of the local cartel against the provincial cartel, and the liberty of the provincial cartel within the F.O.R.A. A few weeks ago the leaders of the F.O.R.A., in the face of a general strike, declared themselves to be "neutral". The F.O.R.A. belongs to the phantom "International" of Berlin.

Besides these two centrals, there are some autonomous trade unions, the most important of these being the metal workers' union.

What are the prospects of the R.I.L.U. in Argentina? We believe that the prospects are good. At its next congress the U.S.A. will have to decide to which International it is going to belong. Communists and revolutionary trade unionists will be in favor of affiliation with Moscow. The decision will depend upon whether the syndicalists sabotage the affiliation to the R.I.L.U. or not. One thing is certain, that the working masses are greatly in sympathy with Russia and with the F.I.L.U. Should the leaders resist affiliation to Moscow, then the masses of the workers will find the right path by themselves.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The 4th Women's National Conference of the C.P. of Germany

On October 4. of this year, at a moment when the German working class was preparing for immediate decisive battles, the Women's National Conference of the C.P. of Germany met in Berlin.

This conference had originally been convened for 27/28 October, but it was decided to hold it two weeks earlier, in order to give the leading party functionaries immediate political and organizational directions for their special tasks. The mobilization of the broad masses of the women, whose political importance had been sufficiently evidenced by the mass strike movement in August, is a vital question for the conquest and maintenance of political power by the proletariat. This idea which has become the common property of the Communist International during the last five years, completely dominated this conference.

In consequence of the existing situation, the course taken by the conference differed from that originally planned. The proceedings of two days were concentrated within a few hours. The agenda, which had provided for a detailed report of the Women's National Secretariat, an address on the most immediate

tasks, and a special discussion on the mobilization of working women in factories and trade unions, was now limited to one single point: The political situation and the tasks of proletarian women in the revolutionary struggles. There were no lengthy debates or reports on past work. These were replaced by short practical supplements and hints suggested by the experience won during work in the various districts. It was decided to give up the idea of sending delegations of numerous comrades from the 28 party districts. The strictly centralized and militarily disciplined party apparatus corresponded better with the delegation of one representative from each district only, these delegates being the comrades holding responsible positions as leaders among the women. With the exception of the South German districts, which were probably prevented by the military dictatorship, all the districts of the country were represented. The delegate from Cologne (Middle Rhine) arrived too late, as she had been arrested by the French in the course of her journey, and thus delayed. Representatives of the Communist Parties of Russia, France, England, and Switzerland, took part in the Conference as guests.

A representative of the Germany CP. Central gave a brief outline of the political situation. Mass famine—White Terror—bankruptcy of bourgeois Democracy and Parliamentarism,—the Communist Party as leader in the struggle now becoming daily more acute,—the participation of communists in the provincial diets of Saxony and Thuringia as the alarm signal to the whole German Party to be ready for the fight.

The Party Central is fully conscious of the exceedingly important part played by women in the revolutionary struggles, and showed this by taking part in the deliberations of the Women's Conference.

The program of action for the mobilization of the masses of women belonging to the working class and to the proletarianized middle class was the subject of an address by a representative of the Women's National Secretariat. The main object in view is to connect the women, alike whether working women or housewives, in the closest possible manner with all action taken by the working class. The profound stir and excitement now obtaining among these women must be further stimulated. Their despair must be transformed into a will to fight. Demonstrations made by women against high prices, to the authorities and in the factories, demonstrations by starving unemployed, war victims, and social pensioners, with their wives and children, are signs of the coming tempest, and at the same time a political preparation for meeting the storm. The women must take an active part in strikes. They participate in the factory council meetings, do picket duty, organize mass feeding for the strikers and their children. In the final battles their special duty will be ambulance service, food supplies, and care of the children. And even beyond this, women will not shrink from any revolutionary duty, not even from taking up arms.

From the organizational standpoint, the situation demands the utmost activity on the part of every women comrade in the Party. There must be energetic oral and written propaganda, increased action, greater independence, initiative, and responsibility on the part of the individual, within the confines of the general directions issued by the Party.

The discussion showed agreement with the program. It appeared that many districts had already made great progress along the lines above indicated, and have achieved excellent results. All reports declared that the revolutionary feeling among working women and housewives has never been so strong as now, that the influence exercised by the communists upon the indifferent masses may, for instance, be observed in the overfilled mass meetings of the CP. of Germany. The political awakening and revolutionizing of the great masses of women are also plainly observable in the strikes and demonstrations, at the markets, in the food queues, etc.

All party comrades present fully realized the greatness of the tasks before them, and were filled with confidence and faith in the leadership of the CP. of Germany, and in their own powers. Certain difficulties which had arisen, during the readjustment of the party, with regard to the introduction of the women comrades into all functions, were pointed out, but there was a general conviction that the women comrades would prove their competence in every sphere of Party work.

The close of the Conference took the form of a great demonstration of international class solidarity. The words of the woman comrade representing Russia sealed the fighting alliance between Soviet Russia, which has carried out its revolution successfully, and a workers' Germany still standing on the threshold of revolution. "Even should the struggle in Germany prove severe and bloody, our men and women comrades must remember that the German working class is not alone! It will receive the help of Russian corn and the Russian Red Army!" This declaration brought the first wave of enthusiasm into the

quiet and business-like seriousness of the conference, and in the exuberance born of the presentiment of coming victory, the session closed with cheers for the Russian and German revolutions, and for the Communist International!

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Lenin and the Youth

By L. Kamenev.

The Communist Youth League of Russia is publishing a collection of articles and speeches of Comrade Lenin on Youth. We append the preface written by Comrade Kamenev to this collection. *Ed.*

Vladimir Ilitch never occupied himself much with the youth movement. Still it has naturally been impossible for him to pass over, either in politico-economic works or in his political calculations, such an important factor of modern politics as the revolutionary youth organizations.

In old Russia, in pre-war Russia, the proletarian youth movement was an integral part of the whole proletarian movement; it had neither an organization of its own nor problems of its own. But at that time — especially until the year 1905 — a special political force was represented by intellectual youth, or, to speak more exactly, by the students. The role played by the youth of various social strata in Russia at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 20th, was one of the crassest examples of the backwardness of the country, of the primitiveness of its social conditions, of the comparative weakness of the class struggle. At the same time the students of this period may be said to have played their part excellently in the struggle against Czarism; their rôle was that of light cavalry, which harrasses the common enemy; and they also formed the reserves from which the political parties obtained the auxiliary powers which they required for "special arms of the service" (agitators, journalists, etc.)

Flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of the Russian intelligencia, the students of this period shared the ebb and flow of political feeling in common with this intelligencia, and after passing through a stage of passionate enthusiasm for the proletariat, they settled down gradually into the state of ideological confusion and sickly philanthropy common to anti-proletarian social revolutionists.

When the broad masses of the proletariat appeared on the stage of history, and when the political struggle assumed the sharp features of an open class struggle, intellectual youth retired further and further from politics, and by the year 1905 it had completely vanished from the political arena. At the same time that "struggle for the youth", of which the reader will find an echo in the first articles of this collection, entirely ceased. The history of Russian intellectual youth, the history of those "students" who for a time were regarded as synonymous with the revolutionary speakers and agitators, was at an end. The history of proletarian youth began.

The rôle played by proletarian youth, and the tasks incumbent upon it, have been set out by Vladimir Ilitch in such a way that his words not only exhaustively characterize working youth, but at the same time characterize Vladimir Ilitch himself, as a fighter against Capitalism and as an architect of Socialism.

The revolutionary student with whom Vladimir Ilitch came in contact during the first stages of the revolutionary movement was for him a scion of another class, who might be his ally for the time being; for him the revolutionary student was a phenomenon belonging to a past historical epoch. Proletarian youth is a real creator of history, a real worker on that true history of humanity of which Engels wrote that it will first begin after humanity has passed from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom. The words recently addressed by Comrade Lenin to the Communist Youth show plainly that Comrade Lenin — cut off from daily work, and occupying himself with the question of the structure of the future communist society — has been directing his thoughts (apart from the attention he has devoted to modern techniques) to the new human being, the new young generation which has not been infected by the miasma of capitalist society, which is free of the pestilential influence of slavery and degradation, and which is ready for the work of construction.

Vladimir Ilitch is no dreamer, but if he does dream of anything, it is of this new generation, this working youth, who will construct that for the sake of which the old generation was compelled to destroy. This is the reason why Vladimir Ilitch calls so insistently upon working youth to learn, to absorb knowledge. The soil is overgrown with weeds, the proletariat can only clear

it at the cost of much pains. The ground once cleared, it is the task of working youth to build upon it an edifice worthy of the free human being. Working youth must accumulate a fund of knowledge, must train itself in will and character for this great work of construction. This is approximately the purport of the attitude of our old leader to the young generation of proletarians.

But Comrade Lenin is no mere moralist. He is no believer in the power of moral precepts. He believes rather in the power of facts, in the power of that science which penetrates into the brain to the sound of hammer-blows and the thunder of cannon. Before the young generation of workers can begin on constructive work, it has to pass through the practical school of civil war. Engels' "Leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom" consists of years of hard, cruel relentless class struggle, of inevitable defeats and certain victories, of years of wars and revolutions.

In order that the young generation may be given the possibility of constructive work, that it may learn how to construct, that the generation which is to change the world may itself be changed — for these reasons it must join the ranks of the fighters to-day.

This is the meaning of the words addressed by Lenin to proletarian youth — that their duties of to-day and their tasks of to-morrow are blended in one consistent whole.

"Communist Youth International" Goods' Train

By Walter Schutz (Moscow).

On Saturday September 8, 1923 a goods train ran into the Kurskij Station, amidst the jubilant shouts of thousands of delegates from the Moscow Youth nuclei, and accompanied by the strains of the "International". The train had started from Nishni-Novgorod and its "load" consisted of 150 young working men, working women and "pioneers", members of the communist children's groups, who had accompanied the train from Nishni-Novgorod to Moscow—the "Communist Youth International" goods' train.

All of us who were privileged to share this moment experienced an emotion of victorious pride. There it stood: whistling, hissing, steaming—repaired, freshly painted—the mighty locomotive; and then the ten wooden goods' trucks, all thoroughly repaired, the axles provided with new substitute parts. On the front of the engine two youths were posted, firmly grasping their flags, and the boiler was decorated with the sign of the C.V.I. Red flags ornamented the sides of the steel monster, and the inscriptions could be read afar off: "We shall crush Fascism!" and "We shall conquer to the thunder of the machine!"

Comrade Vlanov, secretary of the youth nucleus of the railway workshops at Nishni-Novgorod, then addressed the assembly as follows:

"When we began our preparations for celebrating our 9th International Youth Conference at Nishni-Novgorod, we said to ourselves: Our Youth Congress is not a mere empty festival to us, a celebration consisting of merry making and noise, but a day upon which we call ourselves to account as to the work which we have accomplished. We did not want to come with mere words and empty hands, for we knew that our comrades in other countries expect from us that we do our duty, not merely rest on our laurels. We did not hesitate long. In our capacity of proletarian youth, of communist youth, it is our present work in Soviet Russia to aid in the reconstruction of the economic life destroyed by imperialist and civil war. And as we are railwaymen, we have done what lay nearest to hand. We took an old and useless engine, and put it thoroughly in order. There is no lack of demolished goods trucks. We have mended ten of them, repaired the frames. When Comrade Michalec, of the Executive of the Communist Youth International, visited us on September 2, we could say to him: "See, Comrade, what we have done. Here is a train, and we give it the name 'C.V.I.'; we dedicate it to the youth of the capitalist countries with the wish that they too may soon be engaged in thus working for themselves!"

They could scarcely believe it when they were called upon to take the train to Moscow themselves, to deliver it to the Executive. But they brought the train, and now they were in the midst of us. Thousands of people broke through the chains formed by the militia, climbed over the barriers, pressed up to the train. A comrade from the Executive then expressed the thanks of all, but could scarcely find fit terms, for the deed was too great, words too poor to thank those who stood there

so simply, surprised at the boundless enthusiasm with which they were received.

For a moment I thought of those people who held a so-called German "Labor Youth Day" at Nuremberg a few weeks ago, just at a moment when millions of German proletarians were in the midst of a mass strike, and when sabre and revolver, in the hands of savage security police, were dealing out death in the ranks of proletarian fighters in Berlin, Hamburg, Zeitz, and Aix-la-Chapelle. These were the so-called socialists who there in Nuremberg danced beneath black-red-gold insignia, sang folk songs, performed Hans Sachs plays, and swore allegiance to the Money-Bag Republic of Stinnes. And I remembered that among the distinguished guests at these ceremonies several Russians and Georgians had been present, who are travelling through the countries, full of gall and wormwood, spreading false reports of the economic slavery existing among the proletarian youth of Russia, and of the Russian Communist Youth League as a subjugating instrument in the hands of reviving capitalism.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Inferno in Macedonia

By K. N.

The whole press of Yugoslavia, official and bourgeois-national alike, is every day publishing reports from Macedonia on the invasions by Bulgarian Comitatchi bands, and the pursuit of these bands by the military and police authorities supposed to maintain "order" in Macedonia. But this same press, the hiring of of a bloody reactionary regime, preserves silence on what is happening in the interior of Macedonia, on the "order" reigning there.

Ever since the first day of the "emancipation" of Macedonian territory, the rulers in Belgrade have been governing by a system of the most savage terror and barbarity. An official apparatus consisting of utterly depraved individuals and spies is suppressing and pillaging the Macedonian population. The lives of the Macedonians are constantly endangered by this clique. This reign of Terror, combined with the financial burden imposed upon the population for the maintenance of the feudal system in Macedonia, has stirred the whole Christian and Muselman population into revolt. Under these circumstances it is easy to understand that the national movement in growing daily in power. The trend towards national independence thus aroused is again being suppressed by the most brutal measures.

The regime prevailing in Macedonia at the present time signifies nothing more or less than the complete outlawing of the whole population—men, women, and children—and that any representative of this regime is impowered to dispose at will of the property and lives of the Macedonians. A few examples will best show the means being employed by the Yugoslavian government to "win over" the Macedonian people.

The bourgeois press a short time ago reported that the police and soldiery has "cleared" the district of Stromitza of Comitatchis. This process of clearance was carried out somewhat as follows: The troops surrounded the different villages and drove the peasants together. An officer then made a speech against the Comitatchis, upon which the peasants were publicly flogged. Thus, in the village of Monosvikovo, 30 peasants were beaten in the most frightful manner, and then kept imprisoned for 2 days without food. During this time the hired mercenaries carried on a perfect orgie in the village. They devoured and drank everything they could lay hands on. But even this was not enough. The houses were looted, and the soldiers did not even shrink from the violation of the women, even of an old woman 60 years of age. Even among the soldiers themselves there were many who looked on with disgust at the actions of the rest. After this two houses were set on fire, and 40 peasants belonging to this village were carried off to prison in the same way. The vice-mayor was wounded by a number of bayonet thrusts and buried under a heap of stones, from where his relations drew him forth later, a corpse. — The village of Koleschin was completely sacked, and the women violated. Half of the inhabitants were carried off by the soldiers, the rest fled into the forest, so that the village is now completely deserted. — The village of Drazdovo has been reduced almost completely to ashes. A number of peasants were killed, whilst the rest fled.

Such instances might be multiplied, for this same Terror rules in the other districts of Macedonia. Everywhere the peasants are being beaten, maltreated until they die beneath the hands of the soldiers and their houses reduced to ashes. It is quite understood that the official press of Yugoslavia simply

preserves silence on these things. But the reign of Terror now being exercised by the Yugoslavian government over the Macedonian population is not going to be passed over in silence; the whole civilized world shall ring with it.

The White Terror against the Greek Proletariat

On the 13th September the Greek trade union federation issued an appeal to the workers of all countries, of which the following is an extract therefrom: For years, Terror and exceptional law have reigned in the Balkans, and Greece has formed no exception. Every bourgeois party assuming the reins of government has held itself bound to continue the anti-labor policy of its predecessors. But the Greek proletariat, which is comparatively stronger numerically than the working class of other Balkan countries, has developed its organizations despite all persecution, and has warded off the attacks of the bourgeoisie to the best of its ability. In 1918 the Greek proletariat created its united trade union federation, in 1919 the trade union federation received its baptism of fire in a 48 hours general strike, which was partially successful. In 1921 there were great strikes among the seamen, railwaymen, and electrical workers, but these were ruthlessly suppressed by the government. 500 railwaymen were sent to Asia Minor, to the fighting district, while 20 electrical workers were punished by 5 to 8 years imprisonment. But in spite of this the moral victory was on the side of the working people.

Since September 1922, Greece has been ruled by a so-called revolutionary government, which came into power after the collapse in Asia Minor. This is a military clique which took over power in order to save the bourgeoisie from anarchy. The new government immediately supported the industrialist in their attack on the wages of the workers. Greek paper money had depreciated greatly in value owing to the military defeats. The real wages of the workers diminished steadily, and many strikes broke out, but the increases in wages granted the workers did not in the least meet the rises in prices. Upon this the trade unions demanded that wages be stabilized on a gold basis. The so-called revolutionary government, whose minister of economics is an industrialist named Hadji Kiriakos, did its utmost to support the capitalists and to provoke the working class.

When after the a time, the Drachm began to rise in value again, the capitalists decided to bring about, with the aid of the government, an all-round wage-cut. Despite the self defence action of the working class, wages were greatly reduced. Thus the tobacco industry, employing 30,000 working men and women, reduced wages by almost a half. When the situation of the workers grew still worse, and the miners went on strike, the trade union federation decided on a general strike in aid of the miners. Such a strike as this had never been seen before in Greece. Over 70,000 were involved. The strike lasted a week.

The Greek bourgeoisie felt its rule threatened, and proceeded relentlessly against the workers. Sailors and soldiers were employed as scabs. The strikers were called up for military service. Meetings were prohibited. The prisons were filled with striking workers. As all this proved of no avail, machine guns and cannon were used against the strikers. The whole of the trade unions were dissolved and their funds confiscated. Neither Horthy nor Mussolini have done this in so brutal a form.

In this way the strike was suppressed. The workers were forced to return to work. A number of the strikers were refused reinstatement. The reductions in wages continue, and the government will only permit the reconstitution of the trade unions if these affiliate themselves to the bourgeois parties. But the working class is determined to carry on the struggle. The workers are already practising passive resistance again. If the workers of other countries come to the aid of the Greek proletariat, if they raise their voices in protest against the brutal measures of the so-called "revolutionists" of the Venizelos party, then the Greek working class will rapidly recuperate and renew the struggle. Long live international solidarity! Long live the united front of the proletariat against the capitalist dictatorship!

THE UNITED FRONT

Transport Workers, Close the Ranks!

We append the following passages from an appeal issued to the transport workers of all countries by the

Conference of representatives of the districts and of the local committees of the Moscow Railway Administration:

In the present dark hour of the greatest danger for millions of proletarians, it is no longer a question of abstract solidarity when we call for energetic struggle, for unity and cohesion among all trade unions; the question is one of life or death for the whole proletariat.

The railwaymen form the most important storm troops of the international labor movement. Their unity is more necessary than ever today. The international character of class war has never been so apparent as at the present time. Unity among the various sections of the proletariat was never such an imperative necessity as at the present time.

The railwaymen can play a decisive part in bringing about this unity. The international solidarity of the transport workers can be the means of bringing the whole working class into line.

And therefore the formation of a committee of action, the convention of an international congress of all transport workers' organizations on the basis of the Berlin resolutions, are actions dictated by the present general economic and political position of the working class.

The Conference of the representatives of the districts, local committees, and shop stewards—2000 representatives of 80,000 railwaymen belonging to the Moscow Railway Administration—stigmatizes indignantly the attitude taken by the right wing of the International Transport Workers' Federation, which has broken the Berlin agreement.

The Conference appeals to all the railwaymen of the world to continue the fight for the united front, so that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie may be defeated.

The Conference appeals to all brother organizations, in France, in England, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia, Roumania, Italy, and other countries, not to permit their bourgeoisies to throttle the German Revolution, for the responsibility for the German Revolution weighs heavily upon the workers of the whole world.

It must be realized that the strangulation of the German revolution would be followed by the defeat of the Russian Revolution. For then Fascist Terror will have a free hand, and the labor movement of all countries will be thrown back some decades. The defence of the German Revolution is simultaneously the self-defence of the workers of every country. Therefore the workers of all countries must make their organizations ready for the fight, and must give unlimited assistance to the fighting German proletariat.

Comrades! The working class wants peace. It is the sole class which gains nothing in a capitalist war, but can lose everything by it. It does not want war, which means growing misery for the workers of all countries, and which aims at the exploitation of the toilers, the securer forging of their chains.

Be ready in case of need to prevent a fresh war by every means at your disposal, as in the year 1920, when you boycotted White Hungary, and when you refused to transport the consignments of ammunition for Poland during the war with Russia.

War on war!

Down with reaction! Down with capitalism!

Long live the victorious German Revolution!

Long live the U.I. Communist International!

Presidium of the Conference of the Delegates of the Districts and Local Committees of the Moscow Railway Administration.

RED RELIEF

Relief from French Comrades for Prisoners in Class War

The Secretariat of the "International Red Relief" in Berlin is in receipt of the following communication from our French comrades:

Dear Comrades,

In agreement with the central committee of the I.R.R., we have the pleasure of forwarding you 3000 francs.

We are happy to have this opportunity of thus expressing the complete solidarity of the French workers with the German proletariat.

We should have been very glad if we could have sent more in support of the victims of your capitalism, but our means are unfortunately very limited. But be assured that we shall carry on the necessary propaganda enabling us to continue our efforts on a more extensive scale.

With revolutionary greetings.

Secretariat of the Red Relief.

In reply to this letter the secretariat of the "International Red Relief" addressed on October 5, the appended communication to the Central Committee of the Red Relief in France:

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Red Relief has received a gift of 3000 francs from the French comrades in aid of the victims of class justice. We thank the comrades for their generous gifts, and are confident that this act will bring not only material alleviation, but will be a great source of moral satisfaction to the workers of the whole world, for it is a sincere expression of international solidarity. May the other sections of the Internationale Red Relief prove equally active, so that this solidarity may continue to create fresh ties binding the workers still more closely together.

APPEALS

To the Workers and Peasants of Bulgaria!

We have heard, with indignation and anger, of the persecutions to which you are exposed, following on the temporary defeat of your common struggle.

Peasants of Bulgaria! You were in the happy position of being the sole peasant nation in the world which had conquered state power. With brotherly candour we now say to you: You have lost your power because you failed to recognize in time that the peasantry is only able to rule a state when it is allied with the working class. The state of today can only be ruled from the cities. But you have to earn your bread by constant work in the fields. Your work keeps you far away from the central points of power. In order to secure your rule, you should have made common cause with the workers, and entered into an alliance with them. You omitted to do this. You were taken by surprise by a small band of armed adventurers, and driven back into the old serfdom.

We are anxious to learn from your example. Assembled here from every part of the world in the capital city of the first workers' and peasants' state, we have resolved to form an alliance of the workers and peasants against the ruling classes, against the large landowners and capitalists, and for the emancipation of the workers and peasants, for the establishment of the joint power of the workers and peasants.

Peasants of Bulgaria! The happy example set by Russia, where peasants and workers wield joint power, and the example shown by Bulgaria, where the peasants' power, unsupported by the workers, was overthrown by a handful of adventurers, show us the right path. We working peasants in all countries will fight together with the working class. It shall be our endeavor to establish the power of the workers and peasants in many countries, so that we may be able to hasten to your aid. For you have been the first champions of the cause of the peasantry, and your defeat has been joyfully greeted by the ruling classes of all countries. Our victories shall be yours!

Peasants of Bulgaria! You must not be discouraged by the defeat you have suffered. Once the right way is found, once your alliance with the workers is firmly welded, then your defeat will be of but short duration. You must not lose your courage and your will to fight. The millions of toiling peasants and workers of the whole world are with you.

Down with the White bands and the hangmen officers!

Up with the alliance of the workers and peasants!

Long live the workers' and peasants' government of Bulgaria!

The First International Peasants Conference in Moscow.

To Our Readers

In his anxiety to make full use of the powers conferred on him by the State of Emergency, the Berlin District Commandant proceeded to close the Friedrichstadt Printery at the beginning of the present week. He thereby threw 200 men out of work, besides preventing the printing of much working class literature, including the *Inprecorr.* Action on the part of the typographical workers has now compelled the lifting of the ban on the Friedrichstadt Printery, and enables this week's *Inprecorr.* belatedly to appear.