

practical advantages through more purposeful organization, division of work, joint purchases, transport, etc.

To Question 5.

The awakening and realization of the consciousness of international solidarity of the proletarians, of the productive workers of all countries, and of the consciousness of their duty towards the first workers' and Peasants' state in the world.

Clara Zetkin.

To the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. Questions.

The I.W.R. is an instrument towards the uplift of the working classes in all countries, and is, as compared with the instruments of direct combat—as for instance the revolutionary organizations—an especially valuable means of training in economics, foreign politics, and transport-organization. Amidst the attempts at and possibilities for the reconstruction of Russia, it is incumbent on the I.W.R. to form the positive expression of the participation of all sections of workers in Russia's economic welfare and the role it will play will be independent and responsible in proportion to the extent to which it is supported by the working populations of the world. It needs the contributions, the offerings, the sympathy of wide circles, even those of the intelligentsia, as for instance artists, scholars, engineers, and educated tradespeople. Even if these circles, in their peculiar position between the classes, do not appear to be the forerunners of a classless state of society, they will none the less find it more and more necessary to rely on the working class, and to take part in the concrete tasks proceeding from the rise of the

working class. In Russia, the I.W.R. can undertake commercial enterprises and technical undertakings, which would disappear and prove a loss without its intervention. The tasks of systematizing, leading, and managing entirely different kinds of undertakings on lines of common economics, are ones demanding that the entire concern be unshakeable in its co-operative foundation, but exceedingly variable and elastic in its forms.

To the 4th. and 5th. Questions.

The tasks set the I.W.R. are fundamentally different from those of pure philanthropy, and thus any intervention by philanthropic organizations appears likely to detract from its purpose. In individual cases, in limited concrete spheres of activity, co-operation between the I.W.R. and the Nansen or Quaker organizations would appear to be highly recommendable. For, in the first place, there is much to be learned by this, and in addition there exists the possibility, even the probability, of one day entering into the heritage of these institutions. In my opinion the work of the I.W.R. should be specially based on the consciousness that the co-operative principle of working is still very little developed, at least in the world of Europe, but is still highly capable of development in various directions, particularly in that of non-state work. Originating in the immediate need of rapid aid for Russia, it is up to now a weak, but in its essence a correct beginning at an active co-operation of all peoples among themselves, and its further development, which is to be striven for with all energy, may enable it to rely on the natural need of all human beings for mutual help, and especially on the community of interests obtaining among all peoples suffering from exploitation or threatened by catastrophes.

Alfons Paquet.

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Have a Care Lord Curzon!

By A. Lozovsky.

The price for an English spy, according to Lord Curzon's exact calculations, is one hundred thousand gold roubles! Another English citizen, but of the female sex, costs, on the same calculation, thirty thousand gold roubles. The days in which activity of this nature was charged at the rate of thirty pieces of silver are long since past; in those times the noble lords did not occupy themselves with the defence of Judases of either sex, nor with the ascertainment of their value on a gold basis. But if we were of the opinion that Lord Curzon, and the most predatory circles of British imperialists who are backing him up, are raising the whole question merely for the sake of thirteen thousand pounds sterling, or on account of the right of English fishers to fish in Russian waters, and for the sake of the "honor and dignity" of the English people (!) which has been so offended by Weinstein's insulting notes, then we would be political children indeed. But in Russia there are very few political children to be found, even among the Communist Youth. All these trifles only serve to conceal two really serious questions of burning importance for the Britain bourgeoisie: 1. The influence exercised by the Russian revolution on the suppressed peoples of the East; 2. The restoration of property confiscated by the Russian revolution from English capitalists. But before proceeding to the discussion of these questions, we should like to introduce to our readers, the present English Minister for Foreign Affairs. At the International Transport Workers' Congress held recently, Robert Williams showed me his passport, upon the first page of which was written in large letters.

"We George Nathaniel Curzon, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Viscount Scarsdale, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, a Member of His Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Commander

of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, etc. etc. etc.,

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs . . ."

Unfortunately we do not know what this highly significant "etc." represents; in all likelihood it means: defender of the suppressed Oriental peoples, protector of injured property-holders, etc. But whatever further titles Lord Curzon may possess—those already adduced suffice for us to comprehend why the whole of slave-holding old England speaks through his lips. If England's demands with regard to the East are deciphered, it is seen that these not only imply that the Communist and Red Trade Union International be banished from all places outside the frontiers of Soviet Russia, but they aim at the conversion of Soviet Russia into an imperialist power. What does Soviet Russia's propaganda consist of? In the mere fact of its existence; in the fact that it represents the realization of its conception of the right of self-determination of the peoples. Compared with the mere fact of Soviet Russia's existence, and Soviet Russia's policy arising from the proletarian and socialist sources of our revolution, all Lord Curzon's stolen cipher telegrams are not worth a brass farthing.

This is the kernel of the whole matter. The English bourgeoisie turns to the Russian revolution and bids it, through the mouth of its Grand Commander, to simply "cease to be a socialist and Soviet republic!" We take the liberty of informing Lord Curzon, decorated with all his various orders, that the Russian revolution does not permit an English slave-holder to stipulate the lines on which it develops. With regard to the locality of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U., we have nothing against

both Internationals removing to London, provided the English government guarantee us full liberty of agitation and propaganda. In return for this we should undertake to furnish the English government with several copies of all our publications, so that the English Minister for Foreign Affairs need not spend so much money in future in getting hold of these. Should this arrangement not be acceptable to Lord Curzon, we can do no more than express our condolence at the exceeding sensitiveness of his Eastern colonial corns.

While Lord Curzon is spreading his nets on the Murman coast, he is aiming at more than a simple catch of fish; while demanding one hundred and thirty thousand gold roubles, he and those behind him are thinking of very different figures. The appetite of these Murman fishermen may best be judged from the appended declarations made by the not unknown Leslie Urquhart, who has never yet reconciled himself to the loss of his factories in the Ural. This enterprising and clever business man, was anxious to have his undertakings restored to him in the form of concessions, but this plan proved a failure. Mr. Urquhart has been cross ever since, but has never lost hope. At a meeting held by the creditors of Russia, Urquhart made the following declaration:

"If the Soviet government really intends settling the question of foreign private creditors, it can do this with the greatest ease. It must not be forgotten that the depreciation of the rouble has actually wiped out all inland debt, and that the one-time allies would probably agree to the annulment of war debts. For a country possessing Russia's natural riches, the financial obligations are but small, and could be settled. In all probability, the total amount of all foreign private claims does not exceed eight hundred million pounds sterling, of which five hundred and fifty millions are pre-war debts. Under the easy and even magnanimous (!) terms which would gladly be granted to the debtors, as soon as the confiscated property were restored to its foreign owners, the payment of such a sum would be perfectly within the limits of Russia's capacity to pay.

Only see how simple the matter is! It began with the fish and the thirteen thousand pounds sterling, and it ends with eight hundred million pounds sterling, or the round sum of eight milliard gold roubles. Many years ago a French journalist characterized the policy of the English bourgeoisie in the following brief words: tout prendre, toujours prendre, jamais rendre: (take everything, demand always, never give anything back).

There is only one thing we do not know, and that is: where did the Grand Commander and hereditary slave-driver Lord Curzon get the idea that the workers and peasants are prepared to pay the former and present exploiters ten milliards? In putting this question, we appeal least of all to so-called international right, or to the morality of the so-called civilized countries. We are aware that international rights are measured by the tonnage of the navy and by the range of the artillery; and we are also aware that the morality of the civilized countries consists in looting and oppressing smaller and weaker peoples. And if we reply to your claims by a counter-claim, Lord Curzon, if we reply to your demands for damages by ours, we do this because we are conscious of the vital connection between the Soviet power and the working masses of Russia and Europe. Imperialist Europe has often times made an error in calculation with regard to Soviet Russia. England's troops have already been in Archangel, Murmansk, and Baku, and have had to abandon ground rendered firm by revolution. Make no mistake, Lord Curzon, knight of 99 orders, and remember that the workers and peasants, though not desirous of war, will not permit you to command on the soil of our republic! Soviet Russia is neither Egypt nor India: Have a care, Sir Knight of the Most Exalted Order of the Garter!

POLITICS

England, France, and the German Memorandum

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

Facts are very hard things, and the occupation of the Ruhr area by Poincaré is one of these hard facts. This has been followed by the second equally hard fact of the bloodless, bloody Ruhr war, with its attendant disruption of European economics. Poincaré has thus a very strong trump card in his hand at the present time, one which he did not possess before the 11th of January: that is, the possibility of temporarily

relieving, at least, the worst confusion in European business life and European production, by means of a cessation of the Ruhr war. M. Poincaré intends to be well paid for any concession, and he presents his bills in London and Berlin alike.

It takes two to make a war, strictly speaking, or to make a peace either. But in this case one of the partners in the duel, the German bourgeoisie, need not be taken into account. The willingness of German capitalism to capitulate is already sufficiently obvious, and the leaders of the German Socialist Party, up to the very highest "ruling" powers, are resigned to the inevitable. Effective declamations are still being made, and these effusions are even being posted up on the boardings, to awaken the impression that they are to be taken seriously. But nobody with an idea of the situation can be deceived for a moment; the understanding between Schneider and Stinnes will not be wrecked on the famous "passive resistance" in the Ruhr.

But will England not intervene? Will Mr. Baldwin, in his capacity as the strong and practical man of finance, not call the "militarist" Poincaré to order. Will Cuno not be able to rely on British diplomacy in the forth-coming negotiations? Those who put such questions fail to observe that during the past half year the relations of the capitalist powers of the world to one another have fundamentally changed. Lloyd George's methods are truly a thing of the past; the days are gone when the English government worked against the French, and vice versa, on the banks of the Rhine, and in the Orient and Russia. Under Lloyd George, the Entente had degenerated into a community of persons agreed on one point only, i. e. that they could not agree at all. But now there is again a real possibility that the Entente may be restored from a mere caricature to a political actuality.

This change in England's relations to France has been brought about, to a great extent, by the appearance of a third competitor on the field of European Oriental affairs, namely, America. When the national assembly in Angora accepted the Chester concession, and when the French and English capitalists saw themselves deprived in common of the fruits of many years of exertion, sacrifice, and intrigue, then the Entente was again united in the Near East. The Lausanne solution of the Dardanelles question was the introduction of a fresh period of Russo-English conflicts; the non-confirmation of the Urquhart treaty by the Soviet Government followed, eventually resulting in Lord Curzon's ultimata. The essential point of this is, that the Russian line adopted by the London government now essentially coincides with the Russian line of the French government. Here again the Entente is a reality once more.

The English bourgeoisie was forced by the pressure of circumstances to undertake the settlement of its American debt. But no capitalist class will bear the burden of such payments for long, without at least trying to shake them off. The American capitalists are raking in the pounds sterling, without making any adequate return for them. The petroleum and shipping competition between England and the United States is keener than ever. At the present time, the English bourgeoisie is carrying on a very far-sighted policy: at the moment, with 14 million unemployed at home, it is not possible to risk a war adventure. But preparations are being made for what is to come; the "economical" conservative government of England is extending its air fleet in feverish haste, and is sacrificing many millions of pounds for the new naval base at Singapore, destined to serve as a fulcrum for the British squadrons in the Pacific during the next war.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Baldwin must endeavor to ensure an understanding with France along the whole line, including the Ruhr as well. He will make isolated attempts to modify the all too hot-headed projects of French anxiety for conquest. But Baldwin will not oppose Poincaré in any decisive question; on the contrary, the joint Anglo-French pressure will speedily put the German government in the desired position. And as regards the other countries of the Entente, the Belgian bourgeoisie is politically and economically bound up with the French, and Mussolini has so many cares at home at the present time, that the powerful Fascist foreign policy is only observable at banquets just now. Nothing more is to be heard of it outside the sphere of champagne and roast joints. Cuno's memorandum, as it now lies before us, the result of innumerable return-inquiries among all possible and impossible authorities abroad—the well informed Berlin correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* states that the note was altered 10 times before being despatched—will not suffice M. Poincaré. For, quite apart from passive resistance, the German government promises no payment whatever for the next 4 years; after this period the German national railways are to raise a surplus of 500 million gold marks (from what?). A tax on German property is to bring in a like sum (how well we know these taxes on German property!), and then there are certain other indirect taxes which are to bring it

certain other, but quite indefinite amounts of gold millions. In this form the thing is still very airy. But M. Poincaré, with the aid of Messrs Baldwin and Stinnes, will soon compress the Cuno air into liquid form. Entente capital will take good care that the guarantees offered it are really rendered "tangible". And the administration of the guaranteed revenues, beginning with the German railways, will be taken over by the German trust magnates according to the wishes of their French patrons.

It is not by accident that, precisely at the time when Cuno was preparing his memorandum, the co-operation of Schneider and Stinnes in the Alpine Mining Company became openly official. The German and French capitalist rulers are already working together in Austria, they are working together in Upper Silesia, and they will work together in the Ruhr.

The so-called solution of the reparation question, in the form now projected, will prove no solution. It will merely increase confusion in the end. The central European giant trust now forming will increase the misery of the proletariat everywhere, stimulate proletarian resistance, and accelerate the proletarian revolution.

The Baldwin Ministry

By J. T. W. Newbold.

When in the autumn of last year, the Tory *Die Hards* overthrew the Coalition Ministry and compelled Lloyd George to make way for a Conservative Government, the man whom they selected as their leader, Bonar Law, was only a stop-gap. He was to act as leader during the period of transition from rule by a continuation of the whole of the forces of big property in land, finance and industry, to rule by the forces of passive capitalism in league with the landed aristocracy and the clique around the King. When Lloyd George resigned office, there went with him those Conservatives who stood for a more aggressive imperialist policy, consonant with the interests of British industry and Commerce, rather than for a reactionary ascending policy defensive of the class rule of the old governing classes of Europe and of America. Bonar Law, *persona grata* as he was with American high finance was not so friendly disposed towards the imperialist assertiveness of France under its militarist-monarchist leadership. He was comparatively acceptable to the newly enriched land speculators, mining engineers and railway contractors around Lloyd George. They and the supporters of Bonar Law had made Lloyd George Prime Minister of Britain. Bonar Law continued to perpetuate within the new Tory Ministry something of the *nouveau riche* imperialist tradition of Lloyd George.

He and the Marquis Curzon stood for British self-assertion against France in all that affects the iron and steel trade and for assertiveness against France and everyone else who challenges British expansion in Asia.

The Marquis Curzon, an impoverished aristocrat until his cynical marriage with an American heiress, owed his advancement to his peculiarly intimate knowledge of the Middle East, particularly Persia. His Oriental scholarship and remarkable personal capacity obtained for him the chairmanship of the Imperial Bank of Persia, a British banking company, incorporating a syndicate of creditors of the State of Persia, who, in turn, owed their opportunities in that quarter to the fact that the two principals amongst them were Court favourites and financial friends of the late King Edward, viz.—Sir Edward Sassoon and Baron Reuter.

Curzon relinquished his directorship of the Imperial Bank of Persia when he became Viceroy of India. Every high placed Indian bureaucrat has friends in high financial circles and the Marquis Curzon has never been without his share of these useful aids to political advancement. At once, a man of brilliant attainments, of aloof disposition and of boundless ambition he has been elevated from rank to rank in the peerage until now he stands at a level to which no other tool of the imperialists, not even Milner or Balfour or Reading, has been raised. He is a Marquis. There is only one honour that he has yet to gain—a Dukedom.

To whom does he owe his advancement and for what services were his dignities conferred? He owes them to a King, personally and devotedly attached to his cousin Nicholas and his Aunt, the ex-Empress Dowager, fearful above all things of the spread of Bolshevism, never happy unless surrounded by his troops or escorted by our potential Fascisti, the British Legion i. e. a monarchist organisation of ex-servicemen whose motto is—"For King and Empire".

The Foreign Secretary has had vanity satiated by his King in order to make him the more willing to serve as a mask behind which the King, the Queen-Mother, the ex-Empress and all the

Court clique of generals, admirals and flunkies can carry on manoeuvring opposition to the recognition of Soviet Russia. In this country, the constitutional theory is that the King is not responsible for his actions. It is notorious that the actions of ill-will to Russia are those of the King and the Court, but the responsibility is the Marquis Curzon's.

The Marquis Curzon stands in our political life for unmitigated reaction abroad and at home. He stands for the patronage of Mussolini and the prosecution of relentless hostility to Sovietism or Socialism in any form other than that of the craven and treacherous opportunism of Snowden, Clynes and Thomas.

The menace to the British governing class and the whole property system is not however, as yet sufficiently grave to make it wise for the King, at this juncture, to appoint his mask as his Prime Minister.

The more immediate task is to practice economy in the public finances and to maintain British imperialist prestige, whilst not provoking the active opposition of either France or the United States.

The King and the collection of emigres and sycophants who crowd the Court, may desire to launch the diplomatic prestige and the strained man power of Britain at Moscow and Angora in an endeavour to restore the Danish brood to thrones and dignity in Russia and Greece, but the British bourgeoisie has no such intention of allowing its substance to be dissipated and its mastery over the masses to be shaken on a fool's errand of that character.

Therefore, whilst they may approve the King's patronage of Sir Benito Mussolini and are willing to exploit his inveterate hatred of the "Reds" to cajole Soviet Russia into making more and more concessions to Leslie Urquhart, the British banking and mercantile class has no desire to raise a hornet's nest throughout the entire East by breaking with Russia.

They may be pressed into doing so by their King or fooled into doing so by agencies operating in the press, whether consciously or unconsciously, on behalf of Standard Oil or the Banque de Paris. These latter would utilise a break-off of relations between Britain and Russia as an opportunity for themselves to take Britain's place in Moscow's good graces.

The British bourgeoisie, therefore, has demanded not Curzon, but Baldwin.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, was, until he became a Minister of the Crown, a Director of Lloyds Bank, of the largest railway company in Great Britain and of the family firm of Baldwin's Ltd. His father and grand-father before him had been successful iron-masters in the Midlands industrial area to the west of Birmingham.

Stanley Baldwin has been more associated with the financial manipulation of his family's economic power. Politically, he has been an attaché of Bonar Law, himself an attaché of Joseph Chamberlain and the rival of his son, Austen Chamberlain.

It will have been observed that Mr. Baldwin did not include in his Ministry Sir Robert Horne, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Mr. Lloyd George. Sir Robert Horne, there is reason to believe, was asked and refused to take office. The excuse he gave was that his business undertakings would not allow him to do so. Sir Robert Horne was and is a lawyer who owes his advancement in the world of politics to the fact that his father was the parish church minister in a mining area (Slamannan) where the all-powerful magnates were the most influential firm of Scottish iron and coal magnates, the Bairds of Coatbridge in Lanarkshire. He was known in business circles in Glasgow prior to becoming a member of Parliament, as "Bairds' man Friday". Lloyd George promoted him from office to office until he became his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Horne was and is a Unionist.

Sir Robert Horne is, now, chairman of the reconstructed firms of Baldwins Ltd. and a director of Lloyds Bank. His group of interests desires a settlement of the Reparations Question and a favorable conclusion to the negotiations in connection with the Russian Trade Agreement. He and they are shrewd enough to realise the foolishness of breaking off relations with Russia and, at the same time, to understand the value of such a threat in making a bargain with Russia.

Stanley Baldwin is, like Lord Derby and other conservative leaders, notoriously friendly towards France and desires a closer political *rapprochement* which, of course, means an understanding whereby British and French interests shall jointly take over and exploit the Ruhr in lieu of the payment of impossible Reparations claims. As is everywhere always the case, the *rentier* and other passive elements of the property class are willing here in Britain to enter into negotiations with the foreign banking interests of Paris, in order to drive a better bargain with the industrial and commercial interests of their own country.

Sir Robert Horne stands for a prominent British industrial control in an international consortium to exploit the Ruhr. Poincaré stands for a prominent French industrial consortium to exploit the Ruhr.

Stanley Baldwin—and, probably, Leucheur—stands for a 50/50 British and French interest in an international consortium to exploit the Ruhr. Since Lloyd George, the Earl Balfour and their colleagues were sent out into the political wilderness and aggressive British imperialism yielded place to an attitude of "tranquility" in foreign relations, there has been visible a distinct orientation of American and British imperialism towards each other and against France.

In the near East, France, which was the friend of the National Government of Turkey, has been losing influence in that quarter where her economic claims were being countered by those of the American concessionaire, Admiral Chester. Behind him was, undoubtedly, denials notwithstanding, the Standard Oil Company. Under the pressure of other circumstances connected with the British debt to the United States, the Government of the latter, was able to induce the British to make concessions of a political character, affecting the financial administration of Persia and to allow the Standard interests a participation in oil tracts in that country.

Meanwhile, Stanley Baldwin has been to America and has arranged a settlement of the British Treasury's debt to the United States Treasury and to the bankers of New York. When the United States Treasury has issued script to the New York bankers to the amount of the U. S. claim on the British Treasury, the said bankers will sell these to the investing class of the whole world and the bondholders will have secured a sixty years' claim on the British taxpayer guaranteed by the U. S. Government, a claim to be settled not in £ sterling—which may depreciate very rapidly "when Labour rules"—but in gold dollars.

Baldwin has made a contract with American high finance agreeable not only to the latter but, also, to Baldwin's own class, the British section of the international bondholding fraternity. Baldwin has, it is most important to observe, asked to become his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Reginald McKenna, the chairman of the largest of all the British joint stock banks, the London Joint City and Midland Bank. Mr. McKenna has been to America just after Lord Balfour wrote a very displeasing note concerning the British Debt to America. Immediately on his return to England, this life long Liberal, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Asquith's Ministry, went upon the platform of a political meeting addressed by Mr. Bonar Law in the City of London.

Now, passing over the conservative Austen Chamberlain, Baldwin has invited and secured as his second in command, Mr. McKenna.

Baldwin and McKenna, the two men who negotiated the contract with the American creditors, are to be the two men to administer "tranquility" in such a way as to assure "economy" and to make sure, not only that the creditors get their money, but that British finances are so re-organized as to ensure that the debtors have the best of the bargain so long as the British bourgeoisie maintains control of the British Government machine. By concerted action alike on the economic and the political planes, the banking oligarchy of this country, has been winning its way back to its former pre-eminence in the financial City of London and the governmental City of Westminster.

The Banking oligarchy is determined to consolidate its power at home and to prepare to assert once more its prestige abroad. Stanley Baldwin is orienting the policy of Britain towards France. This does not mean that either the problem of the Ruhr or the question of the Straits and of Mosul is near to a settlement. What it does mean is, that the triangular contest between Britain, France and the United States for the mastery of steel, coal and petroleum is entering upon another phase. France is in financial difficulties. She is being pressed by her creditors, i. e. by the United States. American steel capitalism has no intention of permitting French high finance to unite the iron ore of Normandy and Lorraine with the coking coal of the Ruhr unless American big business is permitted to enter as a participant.

British high finance knows this and knows that French high finance also knows it. Severally, they are each weaker than the American high finance. Together, they are, if weaker in volume of money, stronger in the experience of handling in conjunction money power and state power.

Already in the near East, a British group comprising Rothschild (the ally of "Shell" oil), Schroeder (the ally of Anglo-Persian, oil) and Lloyds Bank (the ally of big Indian interests) has acquired from a Swiss bank the reversion of certain German interests in the Anatolian (i. e. Bagdad) Railway which should, normally, have passed to France.

Following upon this, Venizelos, the political catspaw of Anglo-Hellenic capitalism, has come to an understanding with Ismet Pasha. The latter has waved the Turkish claim to an indemnity.

Britain and France are drawing together in the East. Britain and France will draw together in the Ruhr. Baldwin and McKenna are preparing to keep faith with the United States—just as long as it pays them to do so!

The Struggle in the Ruhr Area and the German Communist Party

The bloody events in Gelsenkirchen and other places in the occupied territory; the shameful application made by the Düsseldorf governmental representative Lutterbeck to the French, for aid in shooting down the starving and striking workers; the revolting agitative methods of the whole press against the Communist Party—in short, all the manoeuvres intended to cover the capitulation of the Cuno government to Poincaré, prompted the central of the Communist Party, conjointly with the national committee of Germany shop stewards, to make an appeal to the German proletariat, and to all the working strata of the German people.

In the course of the appeal it is pointed out how the millionaires of heavy industry regard the Ruhr struggle as a fresh opportunity for filling their pockets, aided by the Cuno government, how they are in receipt of milliards of credits from the government, and how they depressed the mark by means of these credits until it now stands incomparably lower than before the famous "stabilization", which swallowed up a great part of the gold reserve of the Reichsbank. But the Ruhr workers have had no rise in wages since February. The prices for necessities of life have doubled. The heavy industrialists having rejected the modest demands made by the workers, so that these latter had no other course than to go on strike. The heavy industrialists employed the police, the fire brigades, and troops of paid bandits, against the striking workers. The workers defended themselves, routed the rabble, and immediately undertook the maintenance of order and security, with the aid of trade union organizations of every party tendency. From this moment onwards, no-one suffered the slightest molestation.

In the Ruhr area—as the appeal points out—there is no rebellion; in the Ruhr area the starving workers are on strike, and they are maintaining perfect order.

This struggle could be ended tomorrow, if the industrialists would only give the workers the scrap of bread they demand; but these gentlemen do not intend to give it, not only because they grudge every farthing, crammed though they be with money from the public funds, but because they are actually desirous of the rebellion, because they long for armed conflicts, that they may shriek: We are forced to capitulate!

The appeals further states: The Cuno government is bankrupt. It has replaced the tribute paid to the Entente by the usurious exploitation of the German people by the land-owners and heavy industrialists. It is the laughing stock of the whole world. This government, which has done nothing else than carry on nationalist propaganda since the first days of the Ruhr struggle; this government, which places the pettiest tradesman on the boycott list if he sells a Frenchman a loaf of bread or a pound of sausage—this is the government which openly, before the eyes of the whole world, begs the French generals for permission to shoot down German workmen.

We ask—so runs the appeal—the German social democrats, we ask the General German Trade Union Federation: What do you, the representatives of the majority of the German working class, intend to do in order to render a bloodbath in the Ruhr area an impossibility; what do you intend to do to banish ghastly famine from the houses of the workers in occupied and unoccupied Germany—the starvation which paralyses all powers of resistance against French imperialism? What do you intend to do in order to make this government of national shame and betrayal of the people understand that it has to disappear with the utmost rapidity, that it is a disgrace to the earth?

We ask the nationally minded petty-bourgeois masses, the masses of German officials and intellectuals: what do you intend doing against a government which dares, with the shamelessness of a courtesan, to apply openly to the French generals for permission to butcher German fellow-countrymen? We are fully convinced that the nationalist masses of the people consist, in the great majority, of persons of sincere and honest convictions, but who are misled, and unaware that the Entente is not their sole enemy, and we ask these elements: Will you not open your eyes at last, can you not recognize that you are mere tools

in the hands of the greediest plunderers of the German people? Will you help the German people to free themselves of these parasites, and to thus render themselves capable of taking up the fight against the government of this profiteering rabble, which delivers Germany over to French capital, in order to maintain its own position, and gain the right to shoot down German workers?

We do not know what the social democrats will say, or the General German Trade Union Federation, or the petty-bourgeois nationalist masses; but we know what every honest German worker will say:

Away with the government of national disgrace and betrayal of the people.

Away with the government which appeals to the bailiffs of the Entente for leave to shoot German workers.

Away with the government which wants to hand over the railways to private capitalists!

Away with the government which lets the workers, craftsmen, and small officials starve, while it overfeeds the capitalists!

Give us the united front of all workers, of the brain and manual workers of town and country!

Give us the government of the toiling people, a government which would possess the confidence of the masses of the peoples abroad, which would be able to secure peace even if it involved a sacrifice, or to organize the resistance of the German people should French imperialism give no peace!

To jail with the governmental representative Dr. Lutterbeck, hail him before a people's court on the indictment of high treason!

Bring all before a people's court who gave him the order to appeal to the French generals with his shameful document!

Workers of the whole of Germany! Tell this government what you think of it, at mighty meetings and mighty demonstrations! Arm yourselves to aid the Ruhr workers! Arm yourselves to throw off the burdens which the bourgeois big-capitalist capitalists are thrusting upon you!

After the Mass Strikes in the Ruhr area

By A. Pragemeur.

The mass strike movement in the Ruhr area, which began on May 16, with a wage struggle breaking out in two collieries in the Dortmund district, and which extended until 360,000 workers were on strike, has now been temporarily settled. There are still a number of pits on strike, and local strikes among metal workers and other categories of workers continue to increase in numbers, but the main mass of miners obeyed the summons to take up work again on May 19. The pressure of the mass movement enabled the miners to gain a rise in wages of approximately 50%, granted them at the main negotiations in Berlin, and to obtain promises of considerable advances being paid on work being resumed. Thus, although these concessions are inadequate, the Communist Party, and the "Union of Brain and Manual Workers" affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, have had to solve the difficult task of maintaining discipline among the proletarian masses returning to work, of avoiding hopeless and despairing struggles among a few remaining strikers, and above all of frustrating the endeavors of the bourgeoisie towards finding a pretext for the bloody suppression of separate sections of the workers' army. This task has been carried out with eminent success by the above named revolutionary organizations.

There has been a very great deal at stake. The mass strike movement arose immediately out of the utter distress of the Ruhr workers, who have been involved in the severest struggles with French imperialism since the Ruhr occupation. But the want and misery suffered by the Ruhr proletariat was not the result of mere chance, it is a result of the unlimited profiteering which, in combination with the abandonment of the action for stabilizing the mark, and the open betrayal of the country by various colliery managements, such as the "Concordia", etc., characterize that period of the Ruhr action in which the German bourgeoisie abandoned all idea of serious resistance against French capitalism.

The first action of the bourgeoisie was the thrusting of the cost of the war on to the proletariat. The rising prices and the depreciation of real wages, which affected the whole country, took particularly disastrous effect in the Ruhr area, owing to the greater difficulties of the impaired traffic. But

the bourgeoisie, although it had so far succeeded in making the proletariat foot every bill, was now unwilling to sacrifice anything more for the Ruhr. The more so as the bourgeoisie was now anxious that the resistance of the workers against the French robbers should be broken down. The effect was striking enough when the pincer of the "Concordia" went on strike, and thus thwarted the agreement made with the French authorities for the removal of coal. And the more the open treachery of the coal barons increased, the more the capitalist treason was illuminated by the defensive strikes of the workers.

This resistance shown by the working class to the French imperialists was to be crushed. To this end, the Ruhr workers were systematically starved, and driven to the brink of despair. When the first wages strike broke out among the miners, the German bourgeoisie concentrated all available forces into the Ruhr area against the workers. Not a day passed without a workman being murdered. Unheard of methods of provocation were adopted, so that reports might be circulated as to workers' rising in the Ruhr, and the pretext given for bloody suppression. The Franco-German fraternity of arms was to lead to the Franco-German exploiters' compact, and thus across the dead bodies of tens of thousands of workers. The revolutionary workers were however, to bear the blame for the capitulation. And here the catchword was to be found for the bloody suppression of the whole German working class.

The Ruhr proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, utterly frustrated these villainous designs. Besides struggling against the French military authorities, and against the coal barons, the Ruhr workers found strength enough to carry on a successful fight against the enormous numbers of Fascist provocateurs, and against the spectre of starvation. The proletarian hundreds (defence units) thwarted the plans of the provocateurs, plunderers, and criminals; the control committees forced reductions in price and further sales where these were most urgent, and thus avoided the famine panic. The working masses preserved iron discipline. Even French militarism could find no pretext for shedding blood, at least on any great scale. The proletarian organs gained more and more authority. The working masses all over the country began to discern the truth through the fog of lies, they began to stir. The situation grew threatening for the German bourgeoisie. It relieved the tension by concessions, and hoped for a successful struggle with the proletarian rearguard. But this design was again wrecked on the iron discipline of the workers and the determined action of the Communist Party.

The Franco-German capitalist understanding has nevertheless made progress during the mass strike movement. Did not the governmental representative Lutterbeck, appeal to the occupation authorities for help, referring at the same time to Bismarck's action in aiding the butchery of the Paris Communards? But the German Gallifet, in calling for French help against disciplined strikers, made it plain to all eyes that this treason against people and country was committed by the German bourgeoisie. The broad masses have seen where the traitors are to be found, and the Communist Party gains daily in the confidence of all proletarian and proletarianized classes.

Forced by starvation, pitmen, in some cases, have taken up work again in collieries from which the occupation authorities are transporting coal. But the fighting courage of the Ruhr proletariat as a whole is unbroken. The resistance against Poincaré is being continued with the utmost energy, every attempt is being made to recover lost positions. It is incumbent on the French and Belgian proletariats to bring help to the Ruhr workers.

The German reformists are playing a pitiable role in the Ruhr struggle. By their passivity they are supporting all the plans of the German bourgeoisie, and in action they have actually agitated against the fighting working class, conjointly with the Fascists, and have even joined with the Fascists as brothers in arms. But the class betrayal of the reformist leaders is as clear today as the national betrayal of the German bourgeoisie. Both are already being called to account.

Demonstration of the Parisian Proletariat against Poincaré's Outrage of Justice

The important decision come to by the French Senate, which declared itself incompetent to pronounce judgment in the trial of Cachin and Hollein for high treason, was a result of direct pressure on the part of the working class. We take the following statements from the *Humanité*: During the Senate session held on May 24, the Senate building, the Luxembourg

Palace was guarded by the police. Early in the afternoon the Senate building was surrounded by groups excitedly discussing the situation, and condemning the policy of violence adopted by the national bloc against the communists. After 6 o'clock, the scene changed. The factories and shops had closed, and now the working masses streamed towards the Luxembourg gardens, which were speedily filled with demonstrators. At the same time the police, in uniform and plain clothes, were reinforced. Comrade Trient delivered a speech immediately before the Senate Palace, and was received with enthusiastic applause. A few senators could be observed at the palace windows, gazing earnestly down at the crowd. The majority of the comrades accused of high treason were among the demonstrating multitude. The police began to clear the gardens. The masses withdrew slowly singing the "International" and uttering cries against Poincaré. All the streets leading to the Luxembourg Palace were strongly guarded by armed police. The constabulary cleared several streets. They were however not able to break up the quiet but imposing demonstration of the proletariat. The demonstration showed that the Parisian proletariat is not willing to quietly accept Poincaré's despotism.

The Political Situation in the Balkans

By E. Arnoldi (Bucharest).

The situation in the Balkans becomes more acute from day to day. The danger of war increases rapidly. At the same time, the offensive of capital makes further advances. Reaction and Terror against the labor movement in all the countries of the Balkans are culminating in a point which renders the breaking out of a fresh wave of revolution inevitable.

In Bulgaria it is M. Stambulski, (The Balkan Mussolini), who is endeavoring to plunge the working people of Bulgaria into new disasters; this time in alliance with Yugoslavia, whose imperialist appetite has become insatiable.

But in order to attain his object he must first silence the revolutionary voice of the Bulgarian proletariat, the Communist Party of Bulgaria. Hence the reactionary alteration of the electoral law, hence the bloody Terror and persecution which has been going on for months against our organizations and comrades all over the country.

But for a fresh war, in which the Bulgarian workers and poor peasants are to shed their blood on the fields of Thrace and against Russia, soldiers are required. And these are being trained and mobilized in the official and unctious Fascist organizations. The Bulgarian workers, and the youth of the poorer peasantry, are forced to perform unpaid work classified under the heading of "general labor conscription", a veiled military institution intended to accustom our youth to barrack life again.

A few figures will serve to illustrate Roumanian militarism, which continues to arm energetically:

The budget for the nine months April to December, 1923, (totalling 15 milliards) provides no less than 3,200 millions, that is, more than one fifth of the whole budget, for the ministry of war and for the ministry of the interior, that is, for army, gendarmerie, police, and Siguranza (political police). These figures gain in significance when we learn that this is only a preliminary estimate, to be followed by supplementary credits, and that these figures do not include the secret funds amounting to hundreds of millions. The close proximity of the land ruled by workers and peasants robs the Roumanian oligarchy of its peaceful sleep. A war is the last resort of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. The whole country is in a state of ferment. The finances of the state are shattered. The high prices all over the country—one of the richest agrarian countries in Europe!—increase from day to day; the position of the working class is desperate.

In Yugoslavia the situation is similar to that in Roumania. The same imperialism, the same militarism (in the course of the last few weeks the Yugoslavian state raised a loan in France, to the tune of 2 milliard dinars, for war purposes), the same Terror against the working class, struggles between the bourgeoisies of the different provinces, national and state disintegration, bloody uprisings in Macedonia, which is fighting desperately for its independence, in a word—the picture of a bourgeois state condemned to destruction.

In Greece the bloody catastrophe of Asia Minor has merely resulted in a change of masters, but in no change of system. The fact that the Greek bourgeoisie eagerly continues to arm, and that the persecution of the revolutionary labor movement—a persecution by which the social traitors hope to profit—is stronger than ever, is a proof that, in this epoch of the decay of international capitalism, no bourgeoisie can find

any other weapon than that of savage Terror against the proletariat.

The strivings for national independence evinced by the populations of Macedonia, Thrace, and of the Cadreater (South Dobrudcha), which have now assumed a bloody character, demonstrate once more the impossibility of solving the nationality question within the confines of capitalist society.

Wherever we look in the entire Balkans, the same picture meets our eye. Frantic preparation for war and, hand in hand with this, the persecution of the working masses by a bourgeoisie which fears that these masses are no longer willing to be driven to the shambles! Collapse of the bourgeois state on all sides.

What are the immediate tasks which the present situation imposes on the working youth, in all the countries of the Balkans?

A fight, with every weapon, against the threatening war danger, against militarism, against the onslaught of reaction and against the offensive of capital!

Closest co-ordination of the struggles of the whole working youth of the Balkans into one single, uniform, and mighty action!

Increased cooperation between all youth unions in the Balkans, through the agency of the Balkan Federation of Communist Youth!

We will not be driven to the shambles again, like sheep, in the interests of foreign capitalists!

The national and social problems can only be solved by Communism, by the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics of the Balkans.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

Trade Union Tactics in France

We published an article by Comrade Trotzky in No. 35 (17) of the English *Inprecor*; entitled: "A necessary discussion with our Syndicalist Comrades". We here place before our readers a rejoinder sent by comrade Louzon to this article, and Comrade Trotzky's surrejoinder thereto.

Ed. *Inprecor*.

Trade Unions and Party

By R. Louzon (Paris).

Comrade Trotzky has expressed his conception of the tasks of the trade unions and of the Communist Party in his speech delivered at the IV. Congress of the Communist International, and also in a recently published article. Trotzky's fundamental idea is identical with the main line of thought of revolutionary syndicalism; the working class needs an organized class-conscious minority, whose task it is to undertake the leadership of the whole proletariat. The whole working class does not awaken simultaneously to class-consciousness. It is necessary that that section of the proletariat which first awakens to this consciousness should form a special organization, and should lead the remainder of the working class into action. This section of the proletariat is generally named the vanguard by our Russian comrades. The revolutionary syndicalists name it the active minority. It is only to this active minority that the revolutionary syndicalists have appealed to join the trade unions. As a matter of fact the trade unions of the C.G.T.U. are formed almost exclusively of this minority. As far as regards this principle of the necessity of gathering together the elite of the working class in a special organization, which then undertakes the leadership of the whole of the proletariat, Trotzky and the revolutionary syndicalists are in full agreement. An agreement which Trotzky himself emphasizes.

But there remains yet a second problem to be solved: On what basis and in what form, is the proletarian elite to be organized in France? In our opinion: in the form of trade unions—because the French trade union is a much purer class organization than the Party, and because the trade union has proved the sole form of organization capable of leading revolutionary action in France. The French trade union is an organization of the proletarian elite, and it is at the same time a purely proletarian organization. Its conditions of membership alone prove its strictly proletarian character. Persons belonging to the bourgeois class are not admitted to the trade unions, whatever their convictions may be. And it is to be hoped that such admittance to membership in the C.G.T.U. as that of the "Union for Social Medicine" and of the "Dramatic Actors" will remain exceptions. And with regard to action, syndicalism knows only direct action against the state. It ignores the political institutions of the bourgeoisie, and avoids them with the utmost

strictness. Syndicalism forbids participation in elections. And the majority of the trade unions do not permit their functionaries to be put up as parliamentary candidates. Should they allow themselves to be elected in spite of this, they must resign their functions. The French trade union is the strictest expression of class which it is possible to find. It signifies the most radical rupture between proletariat and bourgeoisie. In the trade unions there are no bourgeois and semi-bourgeois. The trade unions take no part in the political institutions of the bourgeoisie. The complete breach between the classes is attained. The working class suffices for itself. And it has nothing whatever to do with the bourgeoisie except to fight it.

The political party in France is entirely different. Any one can be a member, no matter to what class he belongs. His right to membership depends on his convictions, not on his profession. The result of this has been: the leadership of the Communist Party of France, like that of the socialist parties which preceded it, has fallen into the hands of petty bourgeois, intellectuals, artisans, tradespeople, farmers, officials, and is not controlled by real proletarians, by workers from the factories and workshops. It is from these elements that the party secretaries, deputies, etc. are drawn. In this respect the German party is quite different to the French. Some time ago I had the opportunity of attending a conference of shop stewards in Essen. There were about 100 comrades present, all workmen who had obviously been in the shops a few hours before. But never, even in the most proletarian districts of France, would a shop stewards' meeting of the Party have such a proletarian character. I may observe that our Russian comrades, at the last Moscow congress, were able to recognize the difficulties arising from this situation. A resolution had just been passed on the necessity of placing proletarians in leading positions in the French party. But the men chosen as representatives on the executive of the Communist International were, Frossard, a one-time state official and Party official of long standing; Souvarine, a journalist; and Duret, an academician. So long as an active revolutionary syndicalism continues to exist in France, this situation will remain the same. For the majority of active workers find ample fields for their revolutionary activity in the trade union.

It is necessary to also add, that the Party works within the confines of the political life of the bourgeoisie, and that in France these confines are those of democracy, that is, in the sphere in which it is most difficult to carry on the class struggle. It is an actual fact that in France, despite the efficiency of a Lafargue and a Guesde, no political party since the Commune has ever for a moment been a revolutionary party. The question of the relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions (I am still speaking only of France) is thus not a question of the relations between two sections of the same class, i. e. between the great mass and the vanguard of the proletariat, but it is a question of the relations between two different classes, between the elite of the working class on the one hand, and petty bourgeoisie, who have accepted revolutionary ideology to a greater or less extent, on the other. When the French working class shows such determined resistance against a close alliance between the trade union organizations and the Party, this is not the fear of a mass alarmed lest it be driven too rapidly forward by its vanguard, it is the fear of being driven into the abyss of democracy by the petty bourgeoisie.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Prejudices again!

By L. Trotzky.

Comrade Louzon's new article contains more errors than his earlier ones, although this time his main line of argument takes an entirely different turn.

In his former articles, Comrade Louzon's starting points were abstractions, which assumed that the trade unions represented the "working class as a whole". In my reply I put the question: "Where does Comrade Louzon write his articles—in France or on Sirius?" In his latest article Comrade Louzon deserts the shaky foundation of universal laws, and attempts to stand upon the national ground of French Syndicalism. He says that the French trade unions are not actually the working class as a whole, but only the active minority of the working class. That is, comrade Louzon acknowledges that the trade unions form a sort of revolutionary party. But this syndicalist party is distinguished by being purely proletarian in its constituents; here lies its tremendous advantage over the Communist Party. And it has still another advantage; the syndicalist party categorically rejects the bourgeois state institutions; it does not "recognize" democracy, and thus takes no part in the parliamentary struggles.

Comrade Louzon is never weary of repeating that we are dealing with the peculiarities of French development, and with these only. Beginning with a broad generalization, in the course of which he transformed Marx into a syndicalist, Louzon now sets England, Russia, and Germany on one side. He does not reply to our question, why he himself belongs to the Communist International, in company with the small English communist party, and not to the 2nd. International, in company with the English trade unions and the English Labor Party which is supported by them? Louzon began with a "superhistorical" law for all countries, and closes by claiming an exceptional law for France. In this new form Louzon's theory bears a purely national character. More than this, its essential character excludes the possibility of an International; how can common tactics be spoken of unless there are common fundamental premises? It is certainly very difficult to understand why comrade Louzon belongs to the Communist International. It is no less difficult to understand why he belongs to the French Communist Party, since there exists another party possessing all the advantages of the Communist, and none of its drawbacks.

But though comrade Louzon leaves international ground in the name of national, he systematically ignores that "national" question put him in our former article: What about the rôle played by the C.G.T. during the war? The rôle played by Jouhaux was by no means less treacherous and despicable than that played by Renaudel. The sole difference consisted in the fact that the social patriotic party arranged their views and actions in accordance with a certain system, while the trade union patriots acted purely empirically, and veiled their actions in lamentable and stupid improvisations. It may be said that as regards patriotic betrayal, the socialist party, with its definite character, surpassed the semi-definite syndicalist party. At bottom, Jouhaux was at one with Renaudel.

And how is it today? Does Louzon desire the union of the two confederations? We desire it. The International deems it necessary. We should not be alarmed even should the union give Jouhaux the majority. Naturally we should not say—as does Comrade Louzon—that Syndicalism, although headed by Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Merrheim, and their like, is the purest form of proletarian organization, that it incorporates "the working class as a whole", etc. etc.—for such a phrase would be a travesty of the facts. But we should consider the formation of a larger trade union organization, that is, the concentration of greater proletarian masses, forming a wider battle-field for the struggle for the ideas and tactics of Communism, to be a greater gain for the cause of revolution. But for this the first necessity is, that the ideas and tactics of Communism do not remain in mid air, but are organized in the form of a party. With regard to Comrade Louzon, he does not pursue his train of thought to an end, but his logical conclusion would be the substitution of the party by a trade union organization of the "active minority". The inevitable result of this would be a substitute party and a substitute trade union, for those trade unions required by comrade Louzon are too indefinite for the rôle of a Party, and too small for the rôle of a trade union.

Comrade Louzon's expositions, to the effect that the trade unions do not want to soil their fingers by contact with the organs of bourgeois democracy, already form a weak echo of anarchism. It may be assumed that the majority of the workers organized in the C.G.T.U. will vote at elections for the Communist Party (at least we hope that comrade Louzon, as a member of the Communist Party, will call upon them to do so), while the majority of the members of the yellow confederation will vote for the Blum-Renaudel party. The trade union, as a form of organization, is not adapted for parliamentary struggle, but the workers organized in the trade unions will none the less have their deputies. It is simply a case of division of labor on the same class foundation. Or is it perchance a matter of indifference to the French worker what happens in parliament? The workers do not think so. The trade unions have frequently reacted on the legislative work done by parliament, and will continue to do so in the future. And if there are, at the same time, communist deputies in parliament itself, who work hand in hand with the revolutionary trade unions against the deeds of violence and coups of imperialist "democracy", this is naturally a positive gain. French "tradition" says that deputies are traitors. But the Communist Party has been called into being for the express purpose of doing away with all tradition. Should any deputy think of retreating from the class line, he will be thrown out of the Party. Our French Party has learnt how to do this, and all distrust in it is completely unfounded.

But Louzon complains that the Party contains many petty bourgeois intellectuals. This is so. But the IV. Congress of the Communist International recognized and adopted resolutions

upon this, and the resolutions have not been without effect. Further work is required to establish the proletarian character of the Party. But we shall not attain this end with the self-contradictory trade union metaphysics of Comrade Louzon, but rather by means of systematic party work in the sphere of the trade unions, and in every other sphere of proletarian struggle. There is already a considerable number of workers in the Central Committee of our French Party. This is mirrored in the whole Party. The same tendency is at work in accordance with the resolutions passed by the IV. congress, in the parliamentary and municipal elections. By this the Party will win the confidence of the revolutionary proletariat. And this means that the shortage of really competent and active proletarians, willing to take the most important and responsible revolutionary posts, will be gradually made up. I greatly fear that comrade Louzon's views may exercise a retarding influence on this profound progressive evolution of the vanguard of the French working class. But I have no doubt but that Communism will succeed in overcoming this obstacle, like all others.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Budapest Verdict Over 100 Years Penal Servitude.

By Georg (Vienna).

On May 26, the verdict in the Budapest communist trial was proclaimed. The accused, for the most part young workmen, were divided into three groups. The first group consisted of those faced with the most serious accusations. They were declared guilty of "Plotting against the existing state and society, and of attempting to re-establish the proletarian dictatorship". Those condemned on this indictment were: comrade Ernst Singer, to 14 years penal servitude, Josef Breiner to 13, Heinrich Katzburg and Kornel Szabo to 12 years each, Franz Greiner and Géza Révész to 10 years each. The second and third groups—67 accused were brought before the Horthy tribunal—were found guilty of "crimes" of the same nature, and were condemned to imprisonment up to 2½ years.

The whole course of the trial allowed no milder verdict to be expected. The Horthy executioners did not quite venture to pass death sentences. The trial was too much under the observation of the working class for that. Although the central organ of the social democrats endeavored to dispose of the reports on the proceedings by a few lines in the "Court of Justice" column, thousands of workers followed every turn of the trial. Death sentences would have raised too great alarm in the working class. Even the social democrats could not have passed them over in silence, for the defending Counsel—in part well known social democratic lawyers and deputies—illuminated the political side of the trial in their speeches for the defence, and declared that a condemnation of the accused would be equivalent to a despicable legal murder.

It was not to the interests of the Horthy government to draw the special attention of the world to it again by fresh death sentences, and to call down upon itself the protests of, not only the international working class, but of the liberal petty bourgeoisie. The lessons taught the French and Italian governments by their liberal petty bourgeoisies have frightened the Horthy executioners from their bloody work. They need the approval of these liberal circles in the reparation question, and they need "inner consolidation" if they are to continue their mad piratical economic policy.

Therefore "only" heavy sentences of penal servitude have been imposed. This offers social democracy and liberal bourgeoisie, at home and abroad, the opportunity of preserving silence. They will gladly seize this opportunity and remain silent, and justify their attitude by the explanation that "it might have been worse".

But the working class must not be silent, and must realize that this judgment is a blood verdict of the severest description. Ten to fifteen years in Horthy gaols signifies certain death. The condemned comrades are to be slowly tortured to death, and their cries are not to penetrate through their prison walls. Under the Horthy regime all political offenders are thus secretly done to death.

The verdict does not apply solely to the persons of the accused, it applies to the class-conscious revolutionary working class, to the whole opposition now rising indignantly, within the trade unions and within the social democratic party, against the present corrupt leadership, against the daily betrayals of the leading clique. It applies to the working class which does not

permit mud to be thrown daily at the sacred traditions of the Hungarian labor revolution, at the memories of their leaders who have been murdered and executed, or who have fled before bloody Terror and are now active abroad; it applies to the working class which will not tolerate that its interests are daily betrayed for the sake of the comfort and tranquility of a few bureaucrats who have risen from their ranks. The verdict is not in respect of a "crime"—for even the widest limits of bourgeois civil law could not prove such against the accused—it is directed against the revolutionary idea. There is no other country in the world, not even those lands in which the White Terror rages at its worst, where terms of penal servitude ranging from 10 to 15 years are still imposed for the holding of communist opinions.

And therefore the working class cannot and will not be silent in the face of this bloody verdict, however silent the social democrats may be. It must raise its mighty voice; it must succeed in releasing the condemned comrades from the clutches of the Horthy executioners, as it has succeeded, with the aid of the Russian working class, in releasing so many victims of white justice in Hungary, Poland, Esthonia, and Latvia.

Take up the Cause of the Prisoners of the Roumanian Bourgeoisie!

The youthful comrades incarcerated in Roumania send the following cry of distress, which has reached us after some delay, to the proletariat of all countries.

Comrades!

Thirty eight proletarian fighters, imprisoned in the Clausenburg (Transylvania) prison, send you their revolutionary greetings today, on the 1st May. For seven days we have been hunger striking. For seven days and nights we have been bearing the manifold tortures of hunger, in order that we may at least obtain treatment worthy of human beings. Most of the comrades are young comrades. They are those comrades who, in their capacity as leaders and members of the Transylvanian Workers' Youth Union, have consistently stood for revolutionary class warfare against the Roumanian oligarchy, against Hungarian capitalism, and against the whole exploiting class. This is the "guilt" which has brought us into prison.

We shall not describe to you in detail the martyrdom which we have been suffering for two months. Every means employed by the inquisitions of the middle ages have been used against us; we have undergone every refinement of the modern and ancient arts of torture. We have already passed through two terrible hunger strikes. Now we have been forced into the third. We will rather die than continue to suffer those torments of mental and physical degradation. Here in the court martial prison we are treated like wild beasts, we have to perform the most abominable penal tasks, we have to conduct ourselves as the military subordinates of the prison staff, and we are not permitted to read newspapers. We are not allowed visitors, nor to spend a single moment in the fresh air. We demand that we shall be put on trial! We have no greater wish than to publicly prove how ridiculous and unfounded are the charges brought against us!

Comrades! We are not so foolish as to expect direct help from you. But we call upon you to expose everywhere the disgraceful Roumanian class justice; we call upon you to redouble your efforts in your own fight. Be warned by our fate, for a like fate awaits the whole proletariat if it wearies in the struggle. To grow lax means to go under!

Cluj-Clausenburg, May 1, 1923.

Signatures follow.

News received since show that the above 38 comrades were still hunger-striking on May 3, that is, on the 16th day. The intentions of the Roumanian ruling class are clear; they want to clear the best of the workers, especially those belonging to the youth movement, out of the way. Even should this hunger strike end with a partial success—it will not be long before fresh tortures are contrived for the prisoners. Thus we must join our forces; we must respond to the call, and stigmatize, in the whole proletarian press, the brutality of the Roumanian democratic liberal government towards political prisoners!

Nikolai Popesku-Doreanu, the general secretary of the Youth movement in the old state, is, along with some other youth comrades, kept behind the walls of the Konstantza prison, because they held it to be their human and proletarian duty to afford refuge to the fugitives Tkatchenko and Bubnovsky, who were in danger of being assassinated. All these comrades have been frightfully ill-treated for three weeks. Comrade Gheorghie

Nanadesku has lost his hearing through five blows he has received. Rosa Gilbert and Bubnovsky are being subjected to shameful treatment.

Comrades J. Zaharescu, Bercu, and Helena Filipovici, are accused of treason against the security of the state, simply because one of them was found to be in possession of a letter from Paris, dealing with the organization of students' groups.

In Bucarest, comrade Kummer was summoned to the police station, frightfully ill-treated there; his head was shaved; he was kicked and spat upon; the object of this was to induce him to give information on the international relations of the Youth movement.

On the occasion of a literary afternoon for apprentices arranged by the trade union commission in Bucarest, a troop of police invaded the hall, cudgelled those present, and confiscated all the newspapers and pamphlets which they could find.

Youthful workers who venture to make excursions in the environs are prevented from doing so by gendarmes, armed to the teeth. The youth groups are not even permitted to make a halt in the public gardens on their return home.

In Bessarabia six youthful comrades were lately shot on their way from Turatin to Culmi, on the ground that they were trying to "escape".

In conclusion, we must mention one fact which aptly characterizes the Roumanian oligarchy: In Bessarabia, all Russian libraries and books are confiscated and burned. In Transylvania, the importation of Hungarian books has been altogether prohibited. All this has been done in order to carry out the "mental and cultural unification" of the country.

All these facts will serve once more to make clear to the international proletariat, what it has to expect from the ruling class if it gives way one single step.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The Bloody Preparations for Capitulation in the Ruhr area Dortmund and Gelsenkirchen.

What is the game being played in the Ruhr area, in Dortmund and Gelsenkirchen? The unanimous cry of the bourgeois press over the "communist putsch", which has to be crushed; the atrocity propaganda of the press bureaus maintained by heavy industry—all this makes it perfectly clear to every workman that the bourgeoisie needs a "putsch" in the Ruhr area as urgently as it needs its daily bread. Facts prove that the bourgeoisie is systematically mobilizing the Fascist rabble and setting them on to the working class, in order to provoke resistance, to crush the workers with armed force, to destroy their self-defence organizations, and to establish the unlimited rule of the White bands in the Ruhr area.

These provocative tactics pursued by the employers have long been in preparation, the shameful reductions in wages, especially of miners' wages, being the beginning. While the coal barons are drawing enormous profits out of the revenues and credits of the country, while the collapse of the famous "mark support" has been accompanied by a tremendous wave of rising prices all over the country, and which is worse in the Ruhr area than in unoccupied territory—the capitalist vultures in the Ruhr valley are ruthlessly profiting by the exceptional shortage of food in the Ruhr area—at the same time wages are being forcibly kept down. From the 8th February till the 1st May the wages of the miners remained at the same height—or rather depth! On May 1, a magnificent 11% rise was granted. On May 15, the prices having meanwhile continued to rise like a flood, an award of a board of arbitration offered the miners a further 23%. Since February, prices have risen 100% and more, but colliery capital only offers the miners 34%. An impudent and well thought out provocation! The miners' unions have declined this proposal, and remain waiting, weapon in hand, whilst the wave of rising prices mounts higher and higher. The "national united front" obviously implies for them, the strengthening of the defensive front on the Ruhr by means of abandoning the workers to the starvation whip of the colliery owners! The pits Kaiserstuhl 1 and 2, Scharnhorst, and Minister Stein, and the great metal works, have entered upon spontaneous strikes. Now the moment has arrived for which the coal barons have been longing. Police, Pinkertons, Fascist bands, bourgeois self-defence organizations, all act as provocateurs, and fling themselves upon all workers' meetings. In Dortmund, the strikers

marched out on Tuesday to the number of 40,000, forming mighty demonstration processions. They demanded the immediate payment of a bonus of 150,000 marks for single men, 2,000,000 marks for married men, and in addition to this, a 50% rise in wages from May 1, and a further 50% from May 16. Their demands thus referred purely to wages, and do not even cover the actual rise in prices. The movement broke out with elementary force, born of the bitterest need; the trade unions leave the workers in the lurch; only the miners' shop stewards assume a certain leadership, and are attempting to give the movement a uniform character, to spread it, and to check the employers' provocation. The shop stewards continue to call upon the trade union leaders to recognize the movement.

The provocative actions committed by the employers and their Fascist hands in Dortmund have been outdone by their actions in Gelsenkirchen. Here, the starting point was the armed attack made by the bourgeois self-defence organization, the (Fascist) professional fire brigade, and the Pinkerton Bands, on the control committees occupied in inducing trades people in shops and markets to reduce their prices. This was followed by the prohibition of a communist meeting by the Fascists. The workers replied to these provocations, they struck down the Fascists, chased them out of the police presidency, where they had set up their head-quarters. Finally, the organized workers, with the aid of their trade union organization, took over the duty of keeping order, and suppressed the rioting and plundering of the Fascist rabble.

It is reported that the Fascist "Self-Defence", has been dissolved with the agreement of the bourgeois municipal administration, and that a proletarian security organization has been formed, composed of members of all trade union tendencies, and headed by a commission of four, consisting of one representative each from the General German Trade Union Federation, the Union of Hand and Brain Workers, the German Trade Union Federation (Christian), and the trade union ring (Hirsch-Dunker).

The strike movement itself has spread further, and has extended to the mining districts, and to the unoccupied territory.

The above are the most essential facts. And what do they tell us? The coal barons, by means of pressure on wages, and with the aid of their Fascist bands, have set in action a gigantic provocation of the working class. The workers have answered by a mass movement, and have checkmated the provocateurs by their determined front. The communist pogrom which was planned has failed. Despite the cowardly treachery of the trade unions, a broad united proletarian front has been formed from below, and the whole working class, without difference of party and trade union, has joined the ranks.

The action undertaken by the employers, intended to crush the workers of the Ruhr and establish Fascist rule, has led to the dispersion of the Fascists in Gelsenkirchen.

It is perfectly clear that the coal barons will not tolerate such a state of affairs, and will take unscrupulous steps towards fresh provocation of the working class.

The working class must energetically carry through the wages struggle, it must force the trade union leaders to do their duty, it must clearly recognize the provocative intentions of the bourgeoisie, which is now desirous of a "putsch" of a trial of arms; and it must thwart the capitalist provocations. Armed collisions only serve the ends of the bourgeoisie, and if bourgeois arms are defeated today, tomorrow they will fall upon the unarmed working class in overwhelming numbers.

The Communist Party, which is lending unqualified support to the workers of the Ruhr in their fight for their bare existence will exert its utmost endeavors to save the Ruhr proletariat from a blood bath.

What is the aim of the provocation? Nothing more nor less than a blood preparation, on the part of the bourgeoisie, for capitulation. The working class must be crushed, its growing powers and resultant increase of self confidence are to be shattered, in order that the workers may meekly bend beneath the yoke of increased exploitation, and that Stinnes and Loucheur and de Wendel may conclude their bargain.

This diabolical and treasonable plan must be shattered by the determination and clear insight of the working class. The working class is not only fighting for its elementary class interests, it is fighting simultaneously for the maintenance of the defensive front against Poincaré, the front which big capital is striving to break through by violence and cunning, by the lash of starvation, and with the machine guns of the Fascists.

APPEALS

International Relief for the Victims in the Ruhr District!

To the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

In the Ruhr District, Fascism is proceeding with unheard of acts of terror against the working class. The Ruhr workers had decided by means of powerful mass strikes to take up the struggle against the two-fold oppression of German and French Capitalism and against its attendant enormous impoverishment and misery. The Ruhr proletariat shows that its fighting forces are unweakened and is taking up the struggle for liberation afresh.

Fascist bands, hand in hand with French Imperialism, are instituting a systematic campaign of annihilation against the working class in the Ruhr, in order to break down the mass struggle. The White Terror is mobilizing. Ruhr workers have been slain by the murderous weapons of the Fascist bands, the wounded fill the hospitals, hundreds of victims are thrown into the prisons of the bourgeoisie. Every day fresh victims fall, their number increases continually.

International Fascism desires to make the Ruhr District the starting point for a Fascist dictatorship which shall extend over the whole German proletariat. Further misery and privation are approaching.

Working Men and Women of all countries! It is for you to awaken and assemble all the forces of the international proletariat in order to bring relief to the victims in the Ruhr area.

Collect funds instantly! Organize relief actions. Exercise practical solidarity. Give quickly—at once; remit all monies collected immediately to

The Central Committee of the International Red Relief.

Show to the proletarian fighters in the Ruhr district, that the whole international proletariat is standing behind them to help and protect.

Long live International Solidarity!

Moscow, June 7, 1923.

The Central Committee of the International Red Relief.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Child Misery in Moscow?

By Frieda Rubiner (Moscow).

During the years of revolution and civil war, during the dreadful years of blockade and famine, all strangers who visited Soviet Russia were full of praise for the manner in which the Soviet government provided for the children. At that time an English bourgeois journalist wrote, that Soviet Russia was a children's paradise. As a matter of fact, the Soviet government could not do enough for the care and education of the children. Creches, shelters for small children, kindergartens, etc. sprang up like mushrooms. Every factory, every large undertaking, held it to be its duty, to create a children's home for the children of the workers. The success was magnificent. But today circumstances have changed. Lack of means has forced the Soviet government to abandon many projects for the care of the children. It has even been found necessary in places to reduce the widely extending network of existing institutions. And the Menshevist and anti-Soviet press, which preserved the strictest silence as to the splendid provision made for children during the first period of the Soviet government, is now proclaiming, in the loudest tones, the most frightful tales of the "misery of the children" in Russia.

What is the real state of affairs?

The stranger who now arrives in Moscow is undoubtedly astonished at the number of neglected children and young people trading, begging, and loafing about in the more busy thoroughfares and railway stations of Moscow. It almost seems as if want were casting up these unhappy creatures from every hole and corner, and as if their existence casts satire on all good resolutions. We ask ourselves where have all these ragged and neglected children sprung from so abruptly? The answer is not far to seek. Soviet Russia is not only suffering from economic dislocation and impoverishment, but above all from the results of the catastrophic famine which held the country in its grip for a year. It is known that the famine effected most of all the coming generation, the children. When whole villages were decimated and deserted, children and young people were scattered all over the country. Thousands of

children were removed from the famine districts by the Soviet government. At that time a system was in vogue known as the "attachment" of a famine district to a district not suffering from the famine. The Tshuvashen Republic was thus attached to the government of Moscow. The stream of emigration from the famine districts was difficult to regulate. Moscow, as the junction and central point, was the centre of attraction for the orphaned and neglected children of the whole of Russia. At least eight or nine tenths of the young people and children whom one finds selling cigarettes or rolls, in the Tverskaya or in the theatre square, are from the famine districts. There are at present in Moscow the appalling number of 20,000 children and young people registered as "destitute". Only 4% of these really belong to Moscow. These as a rule are children who are sent into the streets by their parents, or—in rare cases, young people who seek their livelihood in the streets, owing to shortage of work in their real occupation. 96% of these children come from outside Moscow, especially from the famine districts.

The Soviet government is exerting every endeavor to alleviate the misery of the children. An "Extraordinary Commission" has been created to combat child neglect. Comrade Kaliniuk is at the head of this commission, which is aided by 900 so-called "Drushinniki", volunteer auxiliaries from every imaginable organization, young students, workers from women's organizations, young pioneers, etc. The children gathered from the streets are first taken to reception homes, where a further refuge is found for them, either in permanent children's homes, or with their parents or relations.

Our press has written much in praise of the Russian children's homes. We shall therefore describe here an institution which has been condemned as the worst of its kind. This is the reception home for destitute boys, the so-called Kaliniuk Home in Pakrovsky Street, No. 81.

The home accommodates 1,000 children, but there have been times when over 1,500 boys have had to find places there, so that it was unavoidable that two or three children had to sleep in one bed. During the famine months 17,595 children passed through this home; during the last five months 13,000. This home, or, to speak more exactly, this quarantine, is conducted by communists, who carry on the work with the greatest love and devotion. The state of the children when received may be imagined, ragged, covered with vermin, often suffering from scabies. Boys sleeping out in the streets at night are picked up and brought in. First their rags are removed, then they are bathed, washed, and shaved. The medical examination decides whether they are to remain in the home, or if they have to be consigned to the hospital department. The children then receive fresh clothing. The conditions obtaining in this home are far from ideal. There is a great scarcity of all necessities, of warm rugs, of towels, of under-linen, of clothing. The house, once a home for old people, is dilapidated and in need of repair. Despite all efforts and good will, it is impossible to observe the requisite degree of cleanliness and sanitary care. The task is rendered more difficult by the fact that an ever-changing current of human beings flows through the home. The children come and go. They remain in this home, on an average, for two to eight weeks. The children obviously feel content here. It is seldom that any run away, for the boys have already had the experience of life in the streets. As a rule, the children very quickly recover their health and have only one wish—to be accommodated in a permanent children's home. 22 physicians and 80 instructors are working in this home. The activity of the latter demands special self-sacrifice. The short sojourn of the children naturally makes any systematic instruction impossible. But instructresses occupy themselves with the children, play with them or tell them fairy tales, read to them, and thus contribute something to their moral education. I visited this home during the last week in April, and found it in the midst of May-day preparations. The children were working enthusiastically at cutting out letters and designs from colored paper, painting placards, etc. I saw, for instance, how two Tartar children were drawing a gigantic trumpeter on a piece of linen with the aid of red and black chalks; they explained to me that this was a "Trumpeter of Liberty". The others were learning how to sing, recite, etc. It may be said without exaggeration that the happy expression on these children's faces was sufficient proof that this home is a paradise of refuge to them, despite all the imperfections, drawbacks, and poverty of the institution. The amounts required to keep up this home are provided by the state, and the extent of these amounts may be judged by the fact that this home requires a working staff of 345 persons.

There are also a number of other reception homes, where children taken from the streets find a temporary refuge. Thus there is a reception home for 500 girls in the Domnikovskiy Alley, another reception home in the Olsufyev Alley, etc. These other homes are much better equipped, and superior to that in

Pakrovsky Street. We however intentionally visited this last, and studied it thoroughly, in order to be able to describe the less rosy side.

It is a gigantic task, this struggle against want and misery among the children, one of the most frightful effects of the famine catastrophe. The greatest hindrance to this task is naturally the poverty still prevailing in Soviet Russia today. But the country is mobilizing all its forces in the campaign against this suffering among the children.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

After the Women's Conference of the New International

By Hertha Sturm (Berlin).

The International Conference of Women, preceding the Hamburg Unity Congress of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals clearly reflected all those features characteristic of the Reformist Congress. But the more closely condensed agenda of the Conference, which was limited to one day, the less careful preparation and organization, the lesser political astuteness of both leaders and delegates served but to enhance the impression of the complete bankruptcy of the newly rigged up International.

While at the Congress Otto Bauer made an attempt, altogether remarkable in a social-democrat, towards analyzing the political and economic situation, so as to derive from it the tasks imposed on the international proletariat, the Women's Conference failed to make even the most transient survey of the actual situation in general, and of the specific conditions of the female-proletariat and the special forms of struggle that fall to them in particular. While the Congress did at least denounce the international reaction with its centres of danger, and pointed out the necessity of fighting against it, even though the ways and means proposed for that struggle were quite unsatisfactory, the Women's Conference seemed not to be aware of any hardships, of any suppression, or of any peril existing for the proletariat. Nor did one hear a word of class-struggle or revolution. All the resolutions agreed to by the conference were colorless and bore no relation to any of the urgent struggles of the working-class; in fact they could just as well have been accepted before the war. This was the case with regard to the resolution on Mother and Child protection as well as with regard to the Franchise for Women, the reconstitution of the International Women's Day, resolved upon in 1910 in Copenhagen, and Education for Peace. And these resolutions, drawn up by commissions, was all that the Conference had to say on the most important item of its agenda: "The Task of the Women Socialists in the International". There was no report on it, nor any declaration, based on principles, nor was any discussion of it entered upon. After having been read once, the resolutions were unanimously accepted.

If we look closely into this sole tangible result of the Conference, we arrive at two conclusions: First, we recognize the fact that the most urgent problems, which are of the keenest interest and affect most closely the life of the proletarian women, were completely excluded from the sphere of discussion. Not a word about the High Cost of Living, nor about the burden of taxes, the attacks upon the eight hour day, the occupation of the Ruhr district, the burden of the reparations. On the other hand, the way the problem elected to be dealt with was treated, showed an utter lack of appreciation of its importance, and a pitiable helplessness in the face of the problems entered upon.

The demand for the political enfranchisement of women in those countries, where it has not been granted, is certainly quite justified and necessary, especially as it is one of the most efficacious means of making the women politically interested. The opportunist position of the Conference with regard to this question not only appeared in the numerous accounts of the delegates, rejoicing jubilantly in the number of seats conquered by women in different national or provincial parliaments, and other public bodies, but stronger even in its actual position towards the problem of the women's franchise in Belgium, that had been denied the women by the Belgian Social Democrats (Parti Ouvrier Belge) at their Easter Congress. There was no refutation offered at the Conference when the Belgian deputy himself justified this resolution, saying that owing to the franchise for women the social democratic party had lost several seats, from their scanty majority, with the result that the realization of laws in the interest of the workers, might be hindered.

Such parliamentary idiocy will, of course, have the effect that the Social Democratic International will not be able to fight earnestly for Women's suffrage nor utilize this slogan for pointing out and sharpening class-opposition.

The demand for mother and child protection did not look so bad—on paper. With the Reformists however these demands are meant to form the object of mere parliamentary action. Considering that in many Parliaments the Social Democrats form a minority, and that even their majorities have, in numerous cases, sacrificed the most elementary measures of social welfare for the "good of the state", that is, to the saving of the State-finances in the interest of strengthening the military power and the police, one sees clearly through the hollowness and frivolity of drawing up "programs", whose only object is to make a sham action, thus sabotaging the actual and effective struggle.

The International Women's Day becomes equally a farce, if every section is expressly declared to be free to celebrate it on any day it chooses. It was highly necessary for Adelheid Popp, to declare that this was not what is meant by the "liberty" of the parties, to celebrate the Women's Day at will or otherwise.

The most catastrophic collapse of this Conference, however, was revealed through the resolution on education for peace. In face of the second and yet sterner ultimatum Curzon has addressed to Soviet Russia, with the vassal states of the Entente feverishly preparing for the most terrible of all imperialist wars, with the life and existence of Soviet Russia and of the proletariat at stake, these women recommend a better teaching of history in the schools! "When grown-up our children will reject the employment of brute force with disgust!" The policy of deliberate promoters of war could hardly be more criminal than this lulling of the working class by pacifist phrases, which will deliver the proletariat helplessly to its butchers. The wild accusations against Soviet Russia showed the same counter-revolutionary tendency. One was at a loss what to wonder at more: the impudence of these so-called Socialist women, perorating over the abolition of all the rights of the workers in Soviet Russia, since the days of the October-Revolution, or at the stupidity of the Conference, learning with indignation, that according to the new working-code in Russia, mothers working in the shops are only allowed half an hour's pause for nursing their babes every 3½ hours, instead of every 3 hours, while in all the capitalist countries, even in the most highly praised and most perfect democracies, such as Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Germany, in spite of all the genuine social-democrats in the Parliaments, there have never been any pauses for nursing purposes allowed to the working mother, and while only lately the minister of Labor, Braun (Germany) refused this request together with others contained in the Washington Agreement, as financially impossible.

A characteristic interlude, i. e. a political quarrel between the Second and the 2½ about democracy and socialism, that had broken out between two delegates from two of the five different socialist parties of Czecho-Slovakia, was quelled by the chairman. Even that was too much for a conference, that was only meant to treat of women's problems!

The organizational outcome of the Conference, the creation of an instrument for the international cooperation of the women Socialists is of a certain political importance. The plan of the work provides for the cooperation of the women politically organized in the new International, that is, the social democratic women with the trade-unionist women workers' International and the International Cooperative Women's Committee. The existence of the Communist International is not mentioned,—though some of the delegates at the conference had sadly to admit the existence of strong communist parties, with a considerable number of women members.

Another remarkable feature in the debates were the energetic efforts of the representative of the socialist Party of Germany for a very strict centralization of the work among the women in the sphere of the general work of the parties, as well as that of the new International Executive. With really convincing reasons they declined to elect a special International Women's Committee beside the general International Office, urging as their main point the acceptance of a woman secretary into the new Executive.

On the whole the Conference was the classical expression of the inability of the new International to lead the proletariat in its struggle for liberty, nor even to fight successfully for immediate demands. In this respect the women proletarians can expect as little from this International as can the whole proletariat. And yet this conference imposes upon the Communist International a new task: to denounce and to thwart those deceitful manoeuvres by which the Reformist International will try to confuse and to disorganize the great masses of the proletariat in its struggle for liberty. The Communist International will have to meet this danger by a keener activity, by systematic contact with all the needs of the women of the proletariat and by a still more decided espousal of their demands in all their every-day struggles.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Recent Developments in the English Co-operative Movement

By W. Colyer.

Until very recently the Co-operative movement in England was fond of regarding itself as the last word in working-class achievement. Perceiving that the power of the boss class rested on an economic foundation, multitudes of co-operators actually came to think that they could get rid of the boss simply by going into business and beating him at his own game. As, year by year, the English Co-operative Wholesale Society made larger and larger profits out of the manufacture of boots, soap, jam, etc., they felt that the workers were on the high road to emancipation. They entirely overlooked the fact that the co-operative societies were only able to compete with private capitalists by accepting the conditions of capitalism. Thus, the success of their tea plantations in India and Ceylon was based on the cruel exploitation of their coloured fellow-workers. At home the Wholesale Society had strikes and disputes with its employees, just like any other boss.

A similar admixture of clear-sightedness and stupidity is apparent in the attitude of old-style co-operators towards politics and the state. Avoiding the delusion that the co-operative commonwealth can be voted into existence by a bourgeois parliament, they fell, with the syndicalists, into the opposite error of supposing that the state is of little importance to the working class. They liked to quote the description applied to them by a famous capitalist statesman, that their movement was "a state within the state". It was their dream that one fine day they would wake up to find such an overwhelming proportion of the population organised in the co-operative movement that they would be able to say to the state authorities: "We don't need you any more. The time has come to substitute an administration of things for the old machinery of the state. From now onwards, the Co-operative Wholesale Society will manage the affairs of the country."

The doctrine of production for use and not for profit was misinterpreted in an equally muddle-headed fashion. Without consumers, it was argued, there would be no production; therefore the interests of the Consumer (with a capital "C") must take precedence of all else. Workers in the productive establishments of the Wholesale Society were made to feel that the only excuse for their existence was that they could be of service to "the Consumer". The whole system of wage labour was taken for granted. If surplus values were recognised at all, it was held that these belonged by right to "the Consumer". And, naturally, seeing that "the Consumer" was the only person who mattered, it was almost blasphemy to enquire whether those who consumed most were the most useful members of society.

Such, in brief, is the type of thinking which has been too prevalent in co-operative organisations. Admittedly things have not always worked out so badly on the practical side as might have been expected from such poor theorising. The greater number of co-operators are also trade unionists, and so we found the Wholesale Society vigorously assisting the efforts of English unions to feed the families of striking transport workers in Dublin during the great struggle of 1911. In the railway strike of 1920 and the miners' lockout of 1921 the co-operatives again played a creditable part.

Under the stress of post-war conditions, however, the entire co-operative movement is faced with the necessity of drastic revisions of policy and outlook. Some of the forces at work tend to drive it into closer alliance with the trade unions and the Labor Party, but it would be idle to deny that tendencies towards separation are also in evidence. Having glanced over the main positions hitherto taken up by co-operative orthodoxy, we shall be better able to estimate the significance of the changes now in progress.

In the first place, then, the post-war slump has revealed the futility of the idea of trying simply to beat the boss at his own game as a trader. The huge amalgamations of capitalist organisations, which were facilitated by the war, have left the Co-operative Wholesale Society in a relatively weaker position than the one it previously held. Its constitution prevented it from strengthening itself financially by war profiteering, and its customers were among the first to feel the effects of unemployment and wage-cuts, which have been the order of the day since 1921. In that year the Society had to face a loss of well over £ 4,000,000. Local retail societies were likewise badly hit, and "dividends" were conspicuous by their absence.

During such a crisis every society needed the utmost loyalty of its entire membership. What actually happened in many cases was a loss of members and the withdrawal of much share capital. By concentrating too much upon commercial success as the criterion by which the movement should be judged, the societies had created a psychology which they now had bitter reason to regret. They had posed as joint stock concerns catering specially for the needs of the small stock-holder, and when trading profits were not forthcoming, they were deserted by many of their members from the same motive as that which actuates an ordinary investor who gets rid of his holding in an unsuccessful company.

To meet the emergency thus created the co-operatives have been driven to all sorts of commercial shifts. Reserve funds have been drawn upon to provide "dividends" whereby new members might be attracted. The same goods have been retailed at different prices in different stores of the same society, according to the pressure of competition from private traders. Amalgamations of societies for trading purposes have made "democratic control"—of which the co-operatives used to be so jealous—as much a farce as it is in the bourgeois state. Nothing like 10 per cent of the 120,000 members of the London Co-operative Society, for example, attend its sectional business meetings; and as no member may attend more than one sectional meeting in the same half-year, it is obvious that no real opportunity is given for the exchange of ideas concerning policy and management.

On the political side of the movement, too, old landmarks are disappearing. Even those who lay most stress on trading success have been forced to recognise the need for political activity of some sort to resist governmental attacks on the co-operatives. Since 1914 the old political parties have taken less trouble than formerly to conceal their business connections; and with the development of the Federation of British Industries, which openly interests itself in political issues, the attitude of the Government in such matters as the taxation of co-operative trading has become more and more threatening. Accordingly we now have a small Co-operative Party, with a few members actually sitting in the House of Commons. The relations between this Party and the official Labor Party are very intimate, but it is by no means certain that this state of affairs will continue. While the Labor Party is already in possession of a powerful political machine, the Co-operative Party has still to justify its existence in the eyes of many co-operators. Under these circumstances, it is conceivable that a condition might arise in which, despite the conservative traditions of the co-operative movement, the new party might be more responsive to the demands of the rank and file than Macdonald and Co. It is, at any rate, significant that one or two of the Co-operative M.P.s also belong, as individuals, to the left wing of the Labor Party.

Nor must we overlook the possible political consequences of the growing tension between certain influential trade unions and the Co-operative Wholesale Society. In its efforts to serve "the Consumer" under the very difficult conditions now prevailing, the Wholesale Society has had to abandon its theoretically sympathetic attitude towards its employees. At the present moment it has on hand a particularly bitter fight with the employees in its Pelaw and Silvertown factories. These employees have come out on strike against wage reductions which the Society tried arbitrarily to enforce in defiance of a pledge given to the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. The union has secured the support of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and on May Day this year we had the painful spectacle of vanloads of striking co-operative employees taking part in the London demonstrations.

Many of the Co-operative Societies declined to close on May Day, and the reactionaries have seized the occasion to advocate the establishment of a "Co-operators' Day" in July. The official excuse for this move is as follows: "... the Central Committee of the International Alliance considered that it would not be advisable to hold the demonstration on Labor Day, because they maintained that all co-operators were not Labor members." This narrow view has been repudiated by many of the Men's Co-operative Guilds, and a number of Guilds have denounced the attitude of the Wholesale Society towards its employees. A struggle is also in progress between those who believe that co-operators should support the *Daily Herald*, at any rate until that paper is on a sound financial basis, and those who favour the establishment of a rival sheet at the earliest possible moment.

In short, there is as much ferment within the co-operatives as anywhere in the Labor Movement. It may be that the result will be a split, or even a triumph of the forces of the right, but the situation yet holds elements of hope for those who want to see the co-operatives participate consciously and definitely on the workers' side in the class war.

FASCISM

The Fascisti in America

By I. Amter.

America is the classic country of secret societies. There are innumerable lodges and orders, benevolent and otherwise, embracing all classes of the population. There are lodges, such as the Masons and Knights of Pythias, to which the bourgeoisie belongs, with a slight admixture of the aristocrats of labor. Others are exclusively of a middle class character, being composed chiefly of manufacturers and merchants; still others have a petty-bourgeois character.

These lodges, as secret organizations, have the effect of corrupting the upper strata of the workers who belong to them. Thus the railway men being brought into close contact with the "upper crust of society" in these organizations, completely lose their class point of view.

Shortly after the end of the War, the Ku Klux Klan, an organization established after the Civil War for the protection of the Whites against the Blacks, was revived. It adopted a program of hostility to Catholics, Jews and Negroes. Within a short period of two years it procured a membership of nearly 2,000,000 made up of bourgeois persons of all stations, including judges, politicians, officers of the law, business men, and clergymen. Although a secret organization and using the fantastic robe and mask that have distinguished it, it entered politics, electing public officials in the South, in Oregon and the Middle West. It was formed in the South but quickly spread to all parts of the country, and today is to be found in Massachusetts, Texas, Kansas as well as on the western coast.

The Ku Klux Klan has stirred up great antagonism throughout the country. It has been the most militant organization of its kind in the country and has not hesitated to use the most drastic methods to carry out its will. Whipping, tarring and feathering, deportation and murder are its favorite methods. Its tentacles reached so far that an investigation was demanded in the United States Congress. But this inquiry was never made, since it was found that U.S. Senators, Representatives, judges and high officials were among its members. Attorney General Daugherty promised to proceed against it, but did not do so, stating that it had agreed to disband. Instead, it engaged more extensively in politics, and has maintained its secret methods.

The Klan is passing through a transformation. A few months ago, it was suggested by Wm. J. Burns, head of the Department of Justice, that the Klan direct its activities against the radicals. This suggestion has been adopted; hence we know of an inner ring in the Ku Klux Klan organizing its forces particularly against the Communists. Although a secret organization practising violence, the Government has taken no steps to dissolve it. On the contrary, owing to its composition, it enjoys the support of the Government and is becoming an issue in many States.

The latest phase of Fascism has also taken a hold in America. This is Italian fascism, which is branching out into every country where Italians are to be found and is helping to form similar societies elsewhere. It is to be found in Germany, Hungary, Austria, Spain and is gaining power in Mexico.

Although the organization was formed in America only about two months ago, more than 70 Italian societies have joined. There are Fascist organizations in more than 200 cities in the United States. "No member of a Socialist, Communist or Syndicalist body is eligible for membership in the Fascisti of North America", stated the director of the New York branch, Prof. Bigongiari, who, in addition, is head of the Italian section of the department of romance languages at Columbia University. Under the leadership of Guido Podreca, a renegade socialist, formerly a deputy in the Italian Chamber, meetings of uniformed members have already taken place. Well-known politicians have formed "Defense Clubs" based on the Italian model and are employing the same demagogic methods that have distinguished Mussolini. They are making "social" demands and insist upon improving the position of the workers.

Shouting the battle cry of "Eya, Eya, Alala", and giving the Roman salute, the Fascisti pledge themselves to make war on Bolshevism. They are called upon to enter the labor movement and perform the same work that the Fascisti in Italy have done. This means to destroy the labor movement, and to make labor organizations playthings of the employers.

As a matter of course, the Fascisti are patriotic and are fighting against the "enemies not only of the American Government but of mankind generally". Prince Caetani, the Italian ambassador at Washington, has cautioned the Fascisti to be "non-political" and stated that "only the best Italian elements must be included and they must conform to the laws and spirit of the countries in which they are located". Hence they have the blessing of the bloody, murderous Italian government.

Although the Fascisti admit that they wish to transplant to America the methods of Mussolini and intend to collect funds for the aid of the brutal Mussolini Government, the organization has not been interfered with by the American Government. And why should it be? The organization has the full approval of Gary, head of the U.S. Steel Corporation. "If Premier Mussolini lives up to and carries into effect his declaration of rebuilding the nation, nobody will have reason to complain of his having assumed power. If he continues his campaign, he will be of benefit to the whole people. The entire world needs strong, honest men in the movement for preservation, not for the destruction of the world. *We Americans can learn something from the movement which has taken place in Italy.*" Mrs. Gary officially joined the Fascist party while in Rome, being formally presented with the symbol of the Fascist organization.

What is it that Gary wants Americans to learn from the Fascist movement in Italy? They must learn how to destroy labor offices, labor temples and lycums and labor presses, how to disrupt labor unions, clubs and Communist locals, and how to beat up and murder Communists and militant labor unionists. That is the function of Mussolini and his savage Fascisti, that is the function of his frank military dictatorship of the capitalist class, which Gary would transplant to America. America is adapted to such a dictatorship. As a movement that originates in the bourgeoisie and then forces its roots into the working class, the Fascisti of North America are adding the last link to the counter-revolutionary movement in the United States.

Already they have begun their work. Although Italian in origin, branches are forming among other nationalities so that the Fascisti will soon feel quite at home in America. They have already begun their attacks. Meetings of workers have been broken up and the workers attacked. This the Fascisti have done with police protection.

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party, a movement against the Fascisti has already begun in the United States. 150,000 organized Italian workers have formed an Anti-Fascisti Alliance, which is determined to meet the black-shirts on their own ground. The foreign-born workers, speaking all languages, are to be lined up in a powerful organization to meet the combined attack of the anti-labor organizations including the Fascisti. The contest has begun with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the aim of the workers, against the military dictatorship of the capitalist class, the last crumbling form of which is Fascism. The workers of all countries must unite internationally to fight against Fascism, just as the capitalists and their flunkies, even in the working class, are united in promoting Fascism. The very terror of Fascism will unite the workers.

OUR PROBLEMS

Africa's Awakening

By Ivon Jones.

The negro is the greatest living accuser of capitalist civilization. The wealth of England and America is built upon his bones. The slave ships of Bristol and New York, with good Quaker prayers to speed them, founded the fortunes of many a Christian home. Every capitalist Government is drenched with the blood of the negro. British Imperialism in South Africa, the French in the Cameroons, Belgium in the Congo, and the German Empire in Damaraland,—they all constitute the blackest record in human history of mass slaughters and violation of every primitive human right, continued up to the present day. Even the liberation of the American slaves was only an incident of a civil war between two factions of property holders engaged in a quarrel over the forms of exploitation, and was not the aim of that war as is commonly supposed. And as an aftermath of that war there was created a social attitude towards the negro race which leaves the one-time chattel slaves still degraded outcasts among the peoples of the earth.

This artificially generated race animosity towards the negro pervading the whole of Anglo-Saxon society, infects also

the large working masses. The African negro is the hewer of wood and the drawer of water even for the white workers of Europe. The workers of England are trained from childhood to regard the Zulu and Matabele wars as heroic exploits, rather than foul pages in English history. Hence, the apathy and social prejudice towards the negro race, for we hate most those we have injured most. But this period is passing, just as the days of the Second International are passing. The workers of Europe are no longer sharing the profits of their masters. The Communist International has appeared, and calls into the one great proletarian family the negroes of Africa as well as the peoples of the East, along with the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist countries.

This is the first ray of hope for the negroes throughout all the centuries of their oppression. For the first time, Negro Communists appeared at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and a resolution was passed declaring in favor of a World Congress of Negroes.

There have been World Congresses of Negroes before. But they have been composed of members of the very thin layer of Negro intelligentsia, who have placed vain hopes in professions of loyalty to their oppressors. The London Congress of 1921 greeted the recruitment of negroes into the French army as a mark of citizenship. Among the large toiling masses of negroes such a Congress passes by without notice.

There are also the Congresses held by the association headed by Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican negro who has captured the imagination of the negro masses in America and whose slogans "Back to Africa", and "Africa for the Africans" are even spreading into Africa itself. This organization is strongly flavoured with religious and racial charlatanism. The proletarian character of the negro mass is not so distinct in America as, for instance, in South Africa. In the latter country the negroes form a race of laborers, without any shopkeeping or small tenant element. Probably the small property psychology of the tenant farmers and the small trader element in America reflecting on the purely laboring negro masses, has a lot to do with what is now notoriously known as "Garveyism", a charlatan exploitation of awakening race consciousness; which, in so far as it takes anti-white forms, is secretly encouraged by the Capitalist class both in America and in South Africa. The number of Negro farmers, mostly with very small holdings, according to the last American census, was 949,889 which, with their families, represents a big proportion of the negro population in America.

But awakening race consciousness in Africa tends to have a positive side among the large industrial masses, namely the outliving of old tribal sectionalism. What the South African bourgeois calls a native boogman is one who, having worked some time in the towns, no longer recognizes the authority of his tribal chief. Race consciousness, in the case of the Negro in Africa, is a step towards class consciousness, because his race is a race of laborers. The coming World Congress will have to decide the question, how far the movement towards race consciousness can be directed into proletarian forms.

The foremost leader of the negro intelligentsia in America, Burghardt du Bois, a graduate of Harvard, stands apart from the Marcus Garvey organization. He is an author of several books of high literary merit, in which appears a glimmering apprehension of the truth that negro emancipation can only come through proletarian emancipation. But in action, the negro intelligentsia, including du Bois, pin their faith to mixed associations of negroes and white philanthropists. Their eagerness for immediate social contact on equal terms with white intelligentsia, cannot stand the long strain of waiting for proletarian emancipation. But the organization of negro Communists, known as the African Blood Brotherhood, has achieved considerable progress. Undoubtedly, America will supply the leaders of negro emancipation.

But negro emancipation is not an American question; it is a question of Africa, as our American comrades themselves have declared. Who is to get this great Africa, the capitalist class or the Comintern? And when is the European proletariat going to stretch out the hand of brotherhood to the masses of Africa, and wipe out centuries of capitalist wrong? The status of the American negro can not be raised without the awakening of Africa. But it is no less true that the European proletariat can not obtain a real link with Africa except through the more advanced negroes of America.

To the South African negro, every white man is an oppressor, a master, a "boss". Even the oppressed among the whites appears to the black the most violent curser of the negro. And therefore it is no wonder that news of class emancipation in Europe must appear to him a purely domestic affair of the whites. A few young industrial workers are beginning to hear news of the Communist Party and of its actions on behalf of the blacks,

and these are beginning to spread the idea. They see Communists jailed for declaring the solidarity of black and white workers. But a more imposing gesture is needed to convince the negro masses that a new dawn is breaking, that "white man" and "oppressor" are not one and the same thing, that there is an army of liberation coming to aid him, the revolutionary proletariat. Time is pressing, the negro armies of Imperialism are already on the Rhine. Only the Communist International can reconcile the negro and the white races, and only through proletarian solidarity can this reconciliation be achieved.

The Fourth Congress appointed a Committee to draw up the plans for a World Negro Congress. It is to be hoped that this Committee will report to the forthcoming Enlarged Executive, and that the delegates will be equipped with definite ideas on the subject. The Congress will undoubtedly be a proletarian Congress, but the extent to which non-proletarian representatives will be invited will also be a matter for the Enlarged Executive to decide.

The foregoing notes are written as part of the Committee's publicity campaign; the Committee hopes that the Party organs in Britain, America, Belgium etc. will devote special attention to the negro question and to the preliminary work necessary for the calling of a World Negro Congress under the banner of the Comintern.

E. C. C. I.

First Session of the Enlarged Executive

Moscow, June 11. The first session of the Enlarged Presidium of the Executive of the Communist International was held on Sunday June 10, in the Red Hall of the Comintern in the Mochovaya. Comrade Zinoviev was in the chair and there were present, in addition to Comrade Bucharin and the members of the Presidium, one member from each of the Delegations.

From the report of the Secretariat it appears that all the sections of the Comintern have sent strong delegations to the Enlarged Executive and that with one or two exceptions (Australia and South Africa) all the delegates have arrived in Moscow.

It was decided that the Enlarged Executive should commence its sittings on June 12, at 6 p.m. with the report of Comrade Zinoviev.

A lively discussion arose during the consideration of the detailed points of the agenda, in which practically all the delegates took part, and many proposals were made. The agenda decided on was agreed to unanimously. In addition to the points of the agenda already published it was decided to include the date of the next World Congress and the present situation in Russia.

The following is the agenda adopted by the Presidium:

1. a) Report of the Presidium.
- b) Practical measures for continuing the campaign for the United Front.
- c) Fusion of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals. Speaker: Comrade Zinoviev.
2. The World Political Situation. Speaker: Comrade Radek.
3. Fight against Fascism. Speaker: Comrade Clara Zetkin.
4. Trade Union and Factory Councils. Speakers: Lozovsky and a representative of the German Delegation.
5. The Limits of Centralism in the Comintern (Discussion with the Scandinavian comrades). Speaker: Comrade Bucharin.
6. The Labor Movement in England.
7. Preparatory work for the drawing up of a Program of the Communist International. Speaker: Comrade Bucharin.
8. The Problems of Sections.
9. Date of the next World Congress and the Congresses of the Individual Sections.
10. Report on the Situation in Russia.
11. Other business.

It was decided to set up a number of Commissions, their size varying with the importance of the question to be considered. The Political Commission which will be set up to discuss the first point on the Agenda, will consist of 21 members, and the remaining Commissions from 9 to 15 members.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Zinoviev invited the delegates to attend the deliberations of the Council of Leading Representatives dealing with the national question in the Federated Soviet Republics, since the national question was an important problem in practically every Section.

Comrade Zinoviev closed the sitting at 1 a.m.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Young Working Men and Women!

The Hamburg Socialist Youth Congress.

Comrades!

The Hamburg Socialist Youth congress is over. The 2½ International has been formally buried. A united "Socialist Working Youth International" has been created, and the social democratic youth leaders are full of praise for the "great work of unity" performed in Hamburg.

Upon all questions most important to the Youth Movement, the antagonisms between the socialists of the Right and the Centre were evidenced, and in all these questions the centrists have capitulated to the socialist leaders. All proposals dealing with the questions of the cultural tasks of the Youth Movement, its participation in the struggle against reaction, the economic struggles of working youth, etc., have been abandoned. After a violent struggle, the new bureau was elected, with a majority for the Right, and its headquarters removed to Berlin, the headquarters of the German socialist leaders. The Youth International founded in Hamburg is completely reformist in character, and from the day of its birth bears within it the seeds of disruption.

The Hamburg Congress either evaded any decision on the questions of vital importance to the proletarian youth, or formed decisions opposed to the interests of the youthful workers. It did not even touch on economic demands or fighting measures. It made no attempt to say anything concrete regarding the struggle against war danger and reaction, nor on the fresh reactionary campaign against Soviet Russia, but on the contrary, developed an anti-Bolshevist agitation. Speeches for the national defence of the bourgeois state were delivered at this "international" congress. Not a word was spoken regarding the nationalist agitation carried on by the German right socialist leaders.

The reformist youth international is characterized from its birth by the fear of real revolutionary action, and by national antagonisms, and thus it is condemned to utter impotence, and destined to be a hindrance to the revolutionary struggles of the working youth.

The "unity congress" held at Hamburg rejected the united front proposals, made by the Communist Youth International, for the struggle against war danger and reaction, and against economic impoverishment; the pretext for this rejection was that the wicked communists are disturbing the ears of the socialist youth leaders with their sharp criticisms, and that the young "socialist" counter-revolutionists, who are working for the re-establishment of capitalism in Russia against the first proletarian republic, are being subjected to persecution.

The fate of some few counter-revolutionary petty-bourgeois Russian students was thus of more interest to the congress than the issue of a fight involving the destinies of the youthful proletarians of all countries.

The delegation sent by the C.Y.I., as well as the delegates of the mass meetings of working youth, were not permitted to enter the congress at all. With this fact the Hamburg Congress truly testified how far its actual desire for unity went.

Comrades,

You have now to decide: either in favor of the reformist social patriotic "Socialist Working Youth International" of phrases, or in favor of the Communist Youth International, the fighting International of revolutionary deed. Either in favor of the fight against Soviet Russia, against the united front, against the Communist Youth International, which includes the majority of organized youthful workers, and for the bloc with the bourgeoisie as proposed by the bourgeoisie, or in favor of the Russian revolution, for the united front of the whole working youth, and against our deadly class enemy, as proposed by the C.Y.I.

Every youthful proletarian, and especially every youthful worker, now in the ranks of the socialist youth organizations, must now face this fateful question!

The Communist Youth International will fulfil its revolutionary duty: Fight to the last against war danger and Fascism, against the exploitation of working youth, for Soviet Russia and for the united front. If this is not possible with the leaders, then it must be against them, with the masses.

Down with the deceitful "unity" beneath the dictatorship of the social patriots!

Long live the C.Y.I. and Soviet Russia!

Long live the fighting united front of all working youth against impoverishment and reaction!

Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

THE UNITED FRONT

The CGTU. and the United Front of the Transport Workers

On the occasion of the Congress of the Berlin Transport Workers, the CGTU. published the following declaration which we reprint from *Humanité*:

"For the first time since the great war, there have met comrades representing organizations of the Amsterdam International and organizations of the Red Trade Union International. It is in view of the world-wide reaction which grows more dangerous day by day, in view of the dangers of war and the urgent necessity of opposing the peril menacing soviet Russia, that the Amsterdam International Transport Workers Union and the Russian Federations of Railwaymen and Seamen have come together. In spite of the theoretic, as well as the differences regarding tactics, separating them, those assembled have adopted common resolutions with regard to the serious international situation, and have signed a common manifesto. The Executive Committee of the CGTU. subscribes in all points to this manifesto. It requests all secretaries of the trade unions affiliated to it, to publish the manifesto of the Transport Workers and to make it known all over the country. The Berlin conference was a magnificent example of the possibility of preparing an international plan of action. It is necessary that all the workers' organizations who fully realize the great danger attendant on the shameful Versailles peace, take part in these preparations. What the transport workers, railwaymen and seamen have done, can also be done by the rest of the international unions. The United Front, that up to now has only been formed for the transport workers, must be made to comprise all proletarian organizations, and the whole of the exploited class the world over.