

English Edition.

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# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 59 [37]

WORKERS SCHOOL LIBRARY  
September 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address: Wilhelm Bartz, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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## The "Last Reserve" of the Bourgeoisie at Work

By A. Thalheimer.

The "Great Coalition" in the form of the Stresemann-Hilferding Cabinet has now been on the job for more than two weeks. It styles itself the "last reserve" of the bourgeoisie, the last constitutional government which Germany can have.

This expression must not be taken too literally. According to the historical experiences of other countries and also according to the present organization of political forces in Germany, the possibility, indeed the probability, must be reckoned with, that while the bourgeois-socialist coalition is the last reserve of bourgeoisie rule, still other bourgeois-socialist or even "pure socialist" combinations can follow the Stresemann-Hilferding Cabinet.

A comparison with the Russian Kerensky period is very instructive in this respect. The signs of the period of the death-struggle of the Kerensky Republic were precisely these quick changes in the composition of the Cabinet, the hasty alteration of the personal and the party composition. It would certainly be rash to assume that the German bourgeoisie could not overcome some of the next revolutionary uprisings by setting up new cabinets or changing the personnel of the existing one. Stresemann and Hilferding may consider themselves the last cards in the hand of the German bourgeoisie, but it will still make half a dozen new governmental combinations, will throw overboard its "undesirables" as cumbersome cargo and will also take on board its leaky vessel the present leaders of the social democratic opposition, Messrs Paul Levi, Disssmann, Crispian, etc., if it believes that it can thereby keep afloat.

What is still possible in the way of bourgeois-socialist governmental combinations, depends entirely upon the tempo in which the now moving popular masses go through the political development which will lead them to a radical break with the bourgeoisie and with bourgeois "democracy".

The fact that the Cuno administration could be followed by that of Stresemann-Hilferding, the "Great Coalition", proves, above all, that only a minority of the working class was ready to fight for the Workers' and Peasants' Government,

although, apparently, the majority of the working class has already had its fill of the "Great Coalition".

The hour for the Workers' and Peasants' Government for the first step to the proletarian dictatorship, has come when the overwhelming majority of the working class not only desires a break with the bourgeois coalition, but is also ready to fight for the Workers' and Peasants' Government with the most extreme means.

Secondly, it is necessary that at least a strong section of the petty bourgeoisie be sympathetically neutral. Thirdly, that there be a deep cleft in the great bourgeoisie itself.

Organizationally, the class organs of the proletariat, the factory councils, control committees and the defence units must be already comprehensively developed and must have acquired for themselves a commanding authority among the masses.

The organizational positions of reformism must be in an advanced stage of disintegration.

Therefore, politically and organizationally, there is still a good stretch of ground to be covered before the conditions will be ripe enough to secure victory for the working class.

How much time is necessary for this only history will decide. That the conditions for the victory of the working class in Germany are rapidly ripening is shown by thousands of facts.

The Stresemann-Hilferding Cabinet embodies the attempt of the middle bourgeoisie, with the help of the reformist party and the trade union bureaucracy, to effect the liquidation of the Ruhr struggle and an internal consolidation by imposing some sacrifices upon the great bourgeoisie.

It is self-evident that no government can transform the deep-rooted chaos of Germany into order in two weeks.

But two weeks suffice to judge whether the government has its eyes fixed on the right goal, and whether it has the strength to reach it.



In this respect a decisive judgment concerning the Stresemann-Hilferding government can already be delivered.

The first step to be taken is the attempt to extract from the industrialists and bankers a definite fund of foreign bills in order to support the exchange of the Mark and, further, to put the standard of currency on a new basis. It is clear that only complete national confiscation of foreign bills can accomplish this purpose. The government did not dare to take this step, it has limited itself to calling for voluntary donations of securities. The Exchange already cold-bloodedly anticipates, not in words, but in cry hard figures, the absolute futility of this proceeding.

A confiscation of foreign bills would certainly run foul of the bureaucratic apparatus of finance and taxation administration which has for a long time now been objecting to any such action.

The class organs of the workers, the factory councils and control committees could create a new apparatus, but—to appeal to them, that would be tantamount to declaring the middle class state ripe for abolition.

This would be unacceptable to the bourgeoisie and therefore could not be considered by any bourgeois-socialist coalition government. The same hold good for foreign trade and price control.

The tax reforms which the government announced with a great fan-fare of trumpets are already as good as dead.

The employers replied to the new taxation laws, which are by no means drastic (they are only gold taxes), in two ways:—

First, by transferring the burden to prices, even before the taxes are paid (as a matter of fact, they never will be paid). In most industries the level of the world-market prices has already been exceeded; in the heavy industries, many times over.

Secondly, by the stoppage of production. The so-called factory tax, which is calculated according to the number of employees working in the factory, is the immediate occasion of this step. Further motives behind it are: To lower wages and to pauperize the working class generally.

The bourgeoisie as a class thus distinguishes itself from the bourgeoisie as a government.

This signifies practically the preparation for a *coup*, for the dictatorship of the right wing bourgeoisie, under cover, and with the timely co-operation, of the present government. That is the significance of Gessler's remaining in the government.

Gessler is the official connecting link with the Right dictatorship towards which the great bourgeoisie is steering.

The liquidation of the Ruhr conflict is naturally dependent upon the success of the attempt, be it by the bourgeoisie, or by the working class, to get the sums necessary to pay Poincaré.

The government will never get these sums from the bourgeoisie, and in order to obtain them exclusively from the working class—the victorious dictatorship of the right is necessary.

The prospects of the Stresemann-Hilferding government liquidating the Ruhr struggle are therefore not great, although its urgency to have done with the business is certainly very great and the essence of its foreign policy is: The will to liquidate the Ruhr struggle.

But it is well known that good or bad will alone accomplish nothing in this wicked world.

Meanwhile real wages have fallen further, inflation has increased, and the currency has further deteriorated.

The next wave of the mass movement is already beginning to rise. The "last reserve" of the German bourgeoisie has in these two weeks already crumbled to a marked degree.

## POLITICS

### The Opposition in the German Social Democracy and the Tasks of the CP. of Germany

By Karl Radek.

The conference held by the opposition social democrats at Weimar, and the article by Crispian in the *Vorwärts*, are facts which the German CP. cannot simply ignore. These events raise three questions. The first question is:

What does this opposition in the social democracy represent?

The opposition of a section of the social democratic leaders is a weak reflection of the ferment at work among the broad masses of social democrats. This ferment expresses itself,

in part in a great feeling of discouragement prevalent among the social democratic masses, causing them to stand aside from the conflicts between social democracy and German CP. (Elections in the trade unions, elections to the provincial diets, etc.) It further expresses itself in the influx of social democratic workers into our party. And, finally, it has found expression in the recent opposition of great social democratic organizations to the policy of secret support for Cuno's government, and in the present opposition to the policy of open coalition with the bourgeois parties. This opposition among the social democratic masses is still extremely indefinite. One section is against the Great Coalition with Stinnes, but in favor of the Little Coalition, the restoration of the Wirth government. The section opposed to both Little and Great Coalitions is afraid of a fight; it does not yet trust our leadership. We have not yet made it quite clear that we alone have represented the interests of the working class during these years of ebb-tide in the revolution. The battles which we have fought within our own ranks, and our defeats, have still left the impression on these masses that we have pursued a zig-zag course. We have not yet made it clear to these masses that it has been precisely these inner conflicts which have enabled us to struggle through to perfect clarity and increased strength. Our tactics with regard to the petty bourgeoisie are still inexplicable to these masses. Therefore this opposition within the social democratic ranks may, for some time still, be the object of political manoeuvres on the part of politicians who have sufficiently proved that they are neither capable nor desirous of being the leaders of a revolutionary movement.

#### The Leaders of the Opposition Movement in the Social Democracy.

The leaders of the opposition movement in the social democracy are, with a few exceptions, not plain social democratic workers who, taught by experience, have progressed from the standpoint of coalition with the bourgeoisie to that of the united front with the communists. Leaders of this type are lacking, a fact proving that the masses from which such leaders would rise are not yet deeply enough affected by the movement. Their spokesmen are such men as Breitscheidt, Rosenfeld, Crispian, and Levi.

It need not be said that the Communist Party pursues no policy of rancor. Whatever great sins against the labor movement Levi, Rosenfeld, Crispian, and Breitscheidt may have committed in the past, we should offer our hand to them the moment they brought actual proofs that they sincerely desire to serve the working class. But until such proof has been given, the Party must remind the masses that Levi, Rosenfeld, Crispian, and their colleagues, have once before gone through the development to revolutionary policy, only to fall back into reformism again. Not only was Levi a communist at one time, but Crispian and Rosenfeld also once stood for the dictatorship, to desert this standpoint most ignominiously later on. The Party must demonstrate to the left social democratic masses, by means of the historical facts of the German revolutionary movement, that hitherto their leaders have not been champions of the proletariat, but weather-cocks turning with the wind. When the wave of revolution rose, they went with the revolutionary workers. When the wave fell, they deserted the revolutionary proletariat and drove it into the camp of the Scheidemanns. But the importance of the past of the social democratic opposition leaders is not so great as the importance of their present policy, of the proposals which they are now laying before the masses of social democratic workers.

Up to the present the social democratic opposition has pursued no single line. Apart from Breitscheidt, who demanded opposition to Cuno, but did not dare to raise the slogan of the overthrow of the Cuno government, we see two groups in the opposition at the present time. The first is represented by Crispian, who issued, in the *Vorwärts* of August 2, the slogan of: Dissolution of the Reichstag, refusal of any coalition with the bourgeoisie, and a struggle for a purely "socialist" government. Some vague allusions to the "great coalition of the workers" convey the idea that he would be in favor of a coalition with the communists. But some passages at the close of his article show that Crispian, in spite of his big talk, does not seriously dream for a moment of a real fighting community with the Communist Party. To do this he would have to formulate a concrete criticism of the errors of the C.P. of Germany, and to offer concrete propositions for common action. Properly considered, Crispian's thunders against the coalition with the bourgeoisie, and his calls for courageous deeds, are in the end nothing more than a mask hiding the longing felt by the one-time Independent for a policy of opposition without consequences. This has always been the policy of the Independent Social Democratic Party of

Germany. It has only felt happy when able to give loud expression, in its capacity of a parliamentary opposition, to its dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions. It enjoyed the rôle of hero, it made the air tremble—and no more. Should we be in error, we shall be very pleased. But in this case Crispian and his followers must state clearly and distinctly their attitude towards the C.P., and what attitude they want to adopt in order that the proletariat may replace the government by a workers' government. Or does Crispian hope that all this will be done by his convincing Papa Ebert that "better business can be done in socialism than in capitalism"? And further: it does not suffice merely to form a government. We must know what this government is going to do, what social measures it is going to take to alleviate the misery of the working class and petty bourgeoisie, what foreign policy it is going to pursue, what attitude it is going to take towards the masses of the petty bourgeoisie. Crispian leaves us entirely in the dark about all this. He merely shows himself on a pedestal full of detestation against a coalition with capitalism and of anxiety to perform courageous deeds. This is all very well in the theatre, when "Wilhelm Tell" is being played. But it is not politics.

The second document of the social democratic opposition consists of the resolutions passed by the Weimar conference. These are to the following effect:

Social democracy enters into opposition against the Cuno government. It demands various things of this government. These are refused by the Reichstag and the Cuno government. And what then? A fight for the workers' government? God forbid. Levi, Rosenfeld, and the others, demand: "Rejection of every coalition as long as the party has not secured, by means of a clear and independent proletarian policy, a degree of power securing it the supremacy in any coalition."

What does this signify? That which we guessed in Crispian's case is perfectly clear in Levi's and Rosenfeld's. They see that social democracy is losing its prestige with the masses, and for this reason they are desirous of going over to the opposition, that they may regain their influence with the working class through the opposition. This once attained, then they may outstrip Crispian and once more enter into a coalition with the bourgeoisie. They do not even reject the idea of a coalition with Stinnes. Their object is to be able to play a leading rôle in any future coalition.

We see that Levi and Rosenfeld do not represent any rejection of social democratic policy; all that they ask is a pause for breath before resuming the betrayal of the workers' interests with renewed vigor.

They differ from Crispian in expressing themselves in favor of a possible cooperation with the communists for the attainment of the most immediate proletarian aims. This is all very well. But do the most immediate proletarian aims consist in freshening up the somewhat damaged appearance of social democracy, in order to put this in a position enabling it once more to join forces with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat? We are ready to cooperate, not only with Levi and Rosenfeld, but with the devil and his grandmother as well, for the sake of strengthening the power of the German working class. But if these clever persons imagine that we are going to let them climb over our backs into new secure positions in a coalition with the bourgeoisie, they are very much mistaken.

We thus see that the social democratic masses, at present in a state of ferment, are still confused and unclear, but that the leaders of the social democratic opposition, though equally confused and unclear in what they say, are striving for a very clearly defined end. And the aim of their strivings is not a struggle for power, not an honorable coalition with the communist workers, not a united front with the suffering petty bourgeoisie in a struggle against the big bourgeoisie, but a mere parliamentary opposition, a few demonstrations and newspaper campaigns intended to arrest the decay and disintegration of the social democracy, and then a return, with renewed powers, into a coalition with the big bourgeoisie.

The task of enlightening the social democratic working masses as to these aims of the social democratic opposition is incumbent on the Communist Party; these masses must be asked if they are going to allow themselves to be again made use of, in such a way as to enable a fresh set of social democratic leaders to enter a fresh bourgeois coalition government. We are convinced that the social democratic masses will not allow this, and that the Communist Party will succeed in winning them for the united front which will, at no distant date, realize the workers' and peasants' government in Germany, so that the fight may be begun, by the forces of the united working class and of the suffering petty bourgeois masses, for their emancipation from the yoke of German and foreign capital.

Without rejecting the idea of agreement with the opposition social democrats in given circumstances, it must be our first endeavor to approach the broad masses of social democratic workers now in a state of ferment, and to win these for the common struggle.

### English Gentlemen at Work

By A. Lozovsky.

What do the former owners of factories and works in Russia think about when they cannot get to sleep at night? They think about how they can manage to have these factories returned to their "rightful" owners. This is the root of all Anglo-Russian conflicts, and this is the explanation of the latest Rakovsky incident. Everything seemed to be quite settled, when that dirtiest of reactionary newspapers, the *Morning Post*, dutifully reported to the authorities: "Your Excellencies! They are making communes, preaching proletarian, spreading proclamations!" This eloquent declaration gave the English government cause enough to instigate investigations as to whether Rakovsky was really writing pamphlets, making speeches, and "preaching proletarian". The Russian department of the English ministry for foreign affairs is engaged in examining into Rakovsky's career. It is not difficult to guess that these researches will actually result in the discovery that Rakovsky is really "making communes", for the Bolsheviks differ from all European statesmen in not moulting their political leathers.

The English government would, of course, not have the slightest objection to raise against Rakovsky's distant past, or the past of other Russian diplomats. Was not Briand a socialist of the extreme left at one time, a propagator of the general strike, and did he not begin speaking and acting in exact opposition to his former tactics as soon as he was seated on the ministerial benches? At one time Millerand was also a member of the Socialist Party, but as President of the French Republic he has become more sensible, and is transformed into a raging reactionary and imperialist. "Socialists" of this type are naturally acceptable to the honorable and god-fearing English exploiters. But that a minister or ambassador, after holding office in a high state position for six years, should stick to his old socialist convictions—this is an unheard of scandal for the whole diplomatic world. And then, this Rakovsky's calling is perfectly inexplicable. Here is a man who has occupied himself for thirty years with revolution, has had power in his hands for several years, and still goes on occupying himself with such matters. How can anybody feel confidence in a man who does not possess any property, an obviously frivolous person who has not managed to scrape something together in the course of fifty years?

Other ministers and ambassadors are so very different! There is for instance the French ambassador in Germany, Laurent, representative of the well known association of French metal industrialists which is determined to gain possession of the Ruhr basin at any price. Or let us take English diplomats and ministers. For example, there is in England a law prohibiting ministers from being directors of private commercial and financial companies. This law is, of course, loyally obeyed. Every joint stock company is naturally broad-minded enough to grant its directors sufficient leave of absence to enable them to fulfil their ministerial duties. Thus Sir Robert Horne leaves his post as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Stanley Baldwin succeeds him, and Horne is immediately chosen for the position of chairman of a commercial company controlled by Stanley Baldwin, and possessing a capital of over 9 million pounds sterling. Sir Eric Geddes, head of a ministry in the coalition cabinet, resigns his post at the same time as Sir Robert Horne gives up his, and is at once converted into a director of the Marconi telegraph company. A safe wire connects this wireless telegraph with certain ministers. McKenna, after giving up his ministerial post, became chairman of directors of one of the great banks. If we subject every English minister and ambassador to a thorough examination under the magnifying glass, and reckon up their various capitals, a very considerable sum would come to light, for they are one and all connected in one form or another with some description of industrial or financial undertaking. For all these gentlemen, politics are the continuation of their commercial transactions.

How is it possible to draw any comparison between such important (in millions sterling) ministers and diplomats and the Soviet diplomat Rakovsky, who has not even had enough sense to pfer a few millions for himself? What kind of minister or diplomat does he think himself, that he does not even know the most elementary rules of civilized diplomacy? Did anybody ever hear of a minister or diplomat who wrote pamphlets and made speeches in favor of revolution? Is it not one of the



sacred traditions of international diplomacy that when ministers and ambassadors write anything, it is invariably against revolution and against the emancipation of the masses?

And then this Soviet diplomat possesses another exceedingly disagreeable characteristic—the lack of any court-bestowed title of nobility. In place of the pleasing designation of Lord, Baron, or Marquis, we find the sinister title—*Comrade!* Can the Bolshevik, who are their own ancestors, tell us anything about what their grandfathers and grandmothers were doing one or two hundred years ago? No doubt their forefathers were foiling at the work of tilling other people's ground, bending their backs under the yoke of slavery. But if their ancestors had been flunkies or ostlers to the ruling house, if these had evinced at the time of Catherine the First, Elizabeth or Catherine the Second, those characteristics which were regarded at that time as proving their ability to become a "capable guardsman", and had been rewarded for this by offices, orders, and estates, then they would have been held in high esteem by their English colleagues for their "services" to their native country, for their origin would also have been "noble", and they could have been acknowledged as worthy to hold a high diplomatic position. But the recognition as ambassador of a person who cannot change his convictions like his gloves, who has not accumulated millions by devious stratagems, and who, above all, cannot boast of ancestors who were flunkies to the ruling parasites of their day—how can a hypocritically pious, pedantically sanctimonious English gentleman, raising his eyes to heaven and feeling in other people's pockets, be expected to put up with such a violation of all human and divine rights? Certainly he cannot be expected to do so. Let but the slightest opportunity occur, and these titled knights of straw utter a fervent prayer to sacred democracy, and then whisper threateningly: "Bolshevik, you give those factories back again!"

We have not the slightest doubt as to the solvency of the firm of "Baldwin, Curzon, & Co."—Baldwin alone possesses, as we have seen, about ten million pounds sterling—but we permit ourselves to ask those ministers who are imitating the ink-slingers of the *Morning Post*, if they really think they can regain the irrevocably lost by these means? We had a better opinion of the good sense of the directors of that joint stock company, with unlimited non-liability, which is called the British Empire.

## The Murder Organization against Vorovsky

By E. Arnold (Basle).

On July 24 the Lausanne Conference closed with a success for the Turks. The President of the Swiss Federal Council, the peasants' advocate Scheurer, took the opportunity of delivering a speech calculated to make any decent person's blood boil. He spoke unctuously of the share of Turkey in the "development of civilization", of its years of "heroic struggle", and merely forgot to mention the Armenian atrocities, or to point out the representatives present of those European powers against which Turkey has had to defend its independence and right of self-determination by force of arms. This spokesman of the Swiss republic of hotel-keepers adorned his speech with the phrase . . . "When ideas clash, a spark is emitted". The representative of England must have been somewhat irritated by such passages in the Swiss Federal President's speech, and no doubt mentally put to himself the question whether Scheurer was not perhaps referring to the sparks from the revolver shots fired at Comrade Vorovsky in the Hotel Cecil. But the lackey of the Swiss farming landowners, like everybody else, carefully avoided the utterance of as much as *one* word in memory of Vorovsky! Vorovsky has been shot, his collaborators wounded—this shuts them out of further negotiations, but it is not worth mentioning! The "solemn" hour of the so-called conclusion of peace is not to be disturbed by any remembrance of a murdered man.

But despite this suggestive silence, the spirit of our dead Comrade Vorovsky could not be banished from the hall! The trial of the murderer Conradi and his accomplice Palouine is close upon us. Even though the bourgeois public would like to preserve a conspiracy of silence with regard to the facts brought to light by the investigations so far made, it cannot do so! The inquiry has been concluded, the 1500 pages of documents referring to the case are in the hands of the public prosecutor, and at the beginning of September the trial is to take place in the court of justice at Lausanne.

During the first days after the assassination, even bourgeois jurists demanded that the trial be conducted before Federal judges; but even this demand sufficed to place them under suspicion, by the bourgeois press, of being Bolsheviks. It was found advisable to bring the case before a provincial criminal court.

Who is Conradi?

The inquiry has enabled the personality of the murderer Conradi to be ascertained. At the time of his arrest he carried a written document in his pocket, now placed among the documents pertaining to the case, and bearing the title "My confession". According to this document he was born in Petrograd as the son of a rich Russo-Swiss, owning a confectioner's business. His studies at the Technical College at Petrograd were interrupted by the outbreak of the war. In his own words, his "ideal enthusiasm for the knightly" caused him to volunteer for Russian war service. "Permission was required from the Czar in order to go to the front". At the front he was commander of a company in a guards regiment, and took part in the war in this capacity until the end of 1917. After the out-break of the revolution he joined 500 officers—"friends of the French and English"—in Jassy (Roumania). They made their way through to Caucasia to the "great Russian patriot Kornilov", and fought in his anti-Bolshevik army. After Kornilov's defeat Conradi fled with his wife to Turkey.

According to Conradi's "confession" "hundreds of millions (!) of innocent persons are perishing through the inhumanity of the Bolsheviks". He alleges that this father and his uncle were shot, which is not impossible, but also not proved. His letter concludes with a reference to the "red hounds", and to its being "time that all the anti-Bolsheviks in the world unite to cast their contempt in the faces of this international band of criminals".—"If we had such dangerous internationalists in our own country, I should exterminate these as well. Perhaps our posterity will understand, and will be grateful to me for being the first to enter into the lists against the Bolsheviks. I am happy, though the service I render to mankind is but a small one. God help me! (!) Maurice Conradi." Conradi, this emancipator of humanity, a member of the bourgeoisie imported into Russia, who was reared in "good Russian society" and who seems to have taken his origin from the obscure environment of Rasputin and of the Czar's court, is a genuine Black Hundred figure! He matches the Czarist Ochrana against which—in better days—the contempt of the liberal and radical bourgeoisie was directed. The social democratic national councillor Nicole (Geneva), who had the opportunity of looking through the documents of the case, wrote as follows: "Conradi is extremely proud of his criminal deed, which he described in detail (before the judge of the court of inquiry). The hooligan declared: 'I held the revolver in the right hand pocket of my coat, stood up, cocked the weapon still in my pocket, stepped behind Vorovsky, and aimed precisely behind his left ear, for I knew that a shot fired at this spot was certain to cause death!'"

He then fired six further shots at those accompanying Vorovsky, requested the hotel band to play a piece of music, bought two books, and was not arrested by the police until 20 minutes afterwards. On being asked if it did not go against the grain with him, as an officer, to shoot a man from behind without giving him the opportunity to defend himself, the "hero" replied: "It was not a duel, and I did not regard Vorovsky as a human being, for the Soviet adherents, and indeed all internationalists, are not human beings at all, but dogs!" He had cold-bloodedly thought out the most effectual shot; he also admitted having employed filed bullets. "I wanted to make sure, should I be obliged to shoot Vorovsky in the body, that the bullet would remain in the body. An operation would then have been almost certain to be fatal. I only regret that Vorovsky's two companions, Chicherin and Krassin, were not there as well."

The White Guard fame of Lieutenant Vogel and others pales before the depravity of this murderous villain, who murders with a cold smile, with perfect nonchalance! But he has at least the courage to say openly that which the majority of bourgeois politicians only think, or whisper in one another's ears; internationalists are dogs, to be shot down as such!

It was evident from the beginning, that Maurice Conradi had not acted alone. "It is the comprehensible and justifiable act of a man persecuted by the Bolsheviks"—thus shrieked the press in every key after the assassination. This is not so! The real truth was expressed by the Communist Party in its first appeal on the night of the murder; it is a deed of international reaction! Conradi is the tool of a Czarist plot!

The Russo-Monarchist central in Paris possesses a branch in Geneva. A certain Dr. Lodigensky acts here under the name of the "Russian Red Cross". He is not recognized by the international Red Cross, but this does not prevent him from representing the "interests" of the Russian monarchists in this city of the League of Nations. When Lodigensky required assistants for his "red cross" office, he applied to General Wrangel, and requested to be provided with a reliable secretary. This fact was admitted by L. himself in an interview. Wrangel sent Lodigensky the officer Palouine. Shortly before the bloody deed of Lausanne, Conradi was in Geneva on the pretext of a "medical consulta-

tion". Lodigensky has however no legal right to set up a practice in Switzerland. In Geneva the murderers arranged their plans. According to his own confession, Conradi's intention was to kill "Krassin, Chicherin, Ahrens, or all of them together". Supplied with money by Palouine, Conradi and his wife were in Berlin on April 13, 1923. On the following day he presented himself at the Russian embassy in Berlin, and pretended to have been sent by Colonel Arnold Bopp, a well-known propagandist, with reference to Russo-Swiss commercial relations. He asked to see Chicherin, Krassin, or Ahrens! Happily for these comrades, they had left Berlin. Conradi went to the Maassenstrasse and again asked to see Krassin, but did not find him there either. The murder having thus failed in Berlin, the couple returned to Zürich. On the 17th they sent in a report to Palouine regretting the "unsuccessful" journey to Berlin. On this the murder of Vorovsky was decided upon. Palouine again provided the necessary money for travelling expenses. On May 6, Conradi asked for 200 francs, and received this sum on May 8. He sent the required receipt and wrote: "I am setting off. God help me!" Palouine, the Russian patriot, made the following statement before the court of inquiry: "I admit that I had come to an understanding with Conradi that he was to kill one of the heads of Soviet Russia when opportunity should offer. It was I who instructed him as to the positions occupied by the various heads, and as to the degree of their importance. I spoke of three persons in particular: Chicherin, Krassin, and Vorovsky. I drew special attention to Vorovsky, as I was of the opinion that he was especially competent to represent the interests of Soviet Russia at Lausanne, and to obtain the recognition of the Russian delegation from the conference."

The bourgeois newspapers of Switzerland denied most energetically that the deed had anything to do with Fascism. The leaders of the Swiss militia also made a declaration denying this. But the Lausanne section of the militia, the "Ligue nationale Vaudoise" had taken steps parallel, with those of the "Russian Red Cross" in Switzerland. This White Guard organization, founded and led by chemists, officers, and other Helvetic petty citizens, contrived to stir up a pogrom atmosphere against the Russian delegation in Lausanne just before the assassination. Despite this, the Russian delegates remained courageously at their posts. A few days before the murder, delegates sent by this league called upon Vorovsky, and demanded that he and his collaborators should leave the country immediately! When they were sent away they went about the town threatening to compel the Russians to leave by force: Conradi denies having been in communication with this league: "But I should have joined it if I had known of its existence." It is difficult to believe that there was no connection between these two groups, their aims being so identical. If Conradi had not fired this shot, then it would certainly have been fired by the Entente-servile petty citizens of the "national league".

We do not believe that the whole of the secrets of the murder organization will be brought to light at the trial. Nothing has as yet been heard of the arrest of Lodigensky, or of the expulsion of the whole murder organization from Geneva. The attorney of the Swiss confederacy is fully occupied with keeping an eye on the communists at home. Besides, such action would doubtless give rise to frowns on the part of Poincaré in Paris and of the friends of the Swiss bourgeoisie in London, and a real Swiss bourgeois republican is always extremely anxious to avoid anything of this kind. The murder was committed by monarchist Czarist elements, who have themselves declared it to be an act of political vengeance. The Russian "patriot" did not want the interests of the Russian people to be efficiently represented at Lausanne. But the murder was committed at a time, and under circumstances, which must lead us to assume that the murderers were instigated by other elements beside Russo-Czarist ones. The social democratic *Volksrecht* (Zürich), led by the renegade Nobs, designated the protest action of the Communist Party after the murder as a "revolting farce". This same paper is obliged to ask today, under the pressure of facts, if Palouine's thought processes are not the same as those of the West European imperialists who have hitherto acted the part of "financial supporters of the Czarist exiles, and especially of the one-time Russian Red Cross!" This flash of insight on the part of the social democratic periodical shows that even in these circles there is a growing recognition that the Entente backed up the assassination of Vorovsky, for the Entente was anxious to have the inconvenient representative of Soviet Russia put out of the way! Monarchists and Fascists alike are mere tools of Entente policy. English diplomacy still employs its various methods of bribery, murder, or open warfare! Entente capital made use of the second of these methods at Lausanne, a fact obvious to all who have eyes to see.

## The Defeat of England and America in the Ruhr

By I. Amter.

The Ruhr adventure is generally considered exclusively the property of the French and Belgian governments, with the implied support or toleration of Great Britain and Italy. But the fact is that America has had very much to do with the whole enterprise, both tacitly and more lately openly.

It has long been known that two American groups of bankers were directly interested in the Ruhr occupation. Harriman has been siding with Schneider-Creusot, while Morgan has aided his ally, the British Government. The occupation, with its resultant passive resistance on the part of Germany, has been a severe blow to British trade. It is true that the seizure of the collieries by the French and the shifting of all coal supplies and all coal mined to French mills has compelled Germany to make large purchases of coal in England. Hence the increased mining in England, which has meant further profits for the British mine owners and considerable work for the miners. But Germany has been one of England's best customers. The decline of the mark and the consequent closing of the German market has been a serious matter to English industry. Hence the British have been greatly interested in an early settlement of the Ruhr question.

Furthermore, the French occupation has given France every excuse for continuing to expand and strengthen her military establishment, much to the despair of the British nation. The result is that officially it is admitted by the British Government that there is no government in Europe that militarily can compare with France at the present moment.

Not being able to interfere, the British Government has been obliged to seek assistance. This aid she sought from the American Government. The settlement of the British debt—which is said to have "sent a shiver down the spine of every Britisher"—nevertheless was excellent business. For several decades there has not been keen sympathy between England and America. The economic antagonisms, the sympathy of the American people with the Irish in their struggles against British imperialism, have tended to create a chasm between the two nations. America was convinced that she won the war for the Allies—and should be duly rewarded for it. The huge debts which the Allies owe America have acted as a lever for American interference, openly or covertly, in all European affairs. But the divided attitude of American finance in the Ruhr controversy has kept the American Government from taking active part in the matter.

The advances of the steel industry of France, and particularly the strengthening of the military arm of the French Government, especially in the aviation department, have raised great apprehensions in the minds of American capitalists. Hence the appeals of the British Government have not been in vain. The "friends and associates" of the Great War have separated. England did not and could not agree to the plans of the French in the Ruhr nor to the method proposed by the French Government for the settlement of the German reparation question. Poincaré indicated clearly that he would go ahead regardless of British opinion: France was in the Ruhr to stay until she received adequate guarantees. Recognizing her weakness and helplessness, England declared she would make a separate proposal, which she would submit to the Allies—and to the *United States Government*. The American Government had to make a decision—it made a Morgan decision. American unity was established—and England and America decided to cooperate. An alliance was formed for the presentation of different demands and forms of settlement.

France was not to be intimidated—particularly since, in the negotiations, the "inveterate foe", the Germans, were open to persuasion. The German industrialists of the Ruhr—Stinnes, Thyssen, Krupp and Co.—recognized that a complete victory of the Allies—not over Germany, but over themselves—would cripple themselves and German industry. Hence for months they have been negotiating with Loucheur, Schneider, de Wendel, and Creusot—and came to an arrangement. French and German industry were to cooperate, and a government favorable to such cooperation was to be put in power in Berlin. The cries of the Nationalists and of the Communists have been too much for Cuno, who is a weakling. A strong man was to be installed, a man favorable to a concern composed of these Rhenish and French magnates—if not openly, at least silently.

How was this trick to be performed? Very simply. The demands for the resignation of Cuno were growing; the time for his retirement and for a Stinnes man to be put in his place was approaching. The demands of the workers grew louder and their meaning became clear. Cuno was forced to resign—



and Stresemann became the Chancellor. The coalition of the French and German industrialists economically has been extended to the political sphere. France is the victor.

Hence, despite their combined debts against France, despite their overbearing economic power, despite the semi-acquiescent attitude of Italy, and the disgruntled stand of Belgium, England and America have been defeated in the Ruhr. French bayonets will remain in the Ruhr; the British proposition will not be realized: France has established her hegemony over Europe.

True, politics is not conducted in this pristine manner: there is no such thing as a complete supremacy of one nation. France will finally have to compromise: but France will determine the extent of the compromise and not England and America. In all probability, an Inter-Allied Commission will be appointed to determine the fate of Germany. Germany will probably be reduced to the status of a colony, the same as Austria has been. French guns will remain in the Ruhr: the French air fleet commands the world. The occupation of the Ruhr, which very belatedly England decided to pronounce "illegal", will become "legal."

America has been highly interested in the whole matter of the Ruhr, but the occupation of France and England with this problem has given her a free hand to gain power elsewhere. The Western world, the Near East, where America has successfully concluded a treaty with Turkey, and the Far East (China), where America has found sufficient excuse for intervention, have furnished fields enough for immediate exploitation. Hence the American Government hesitated about intervention in Europe. Declining export trade and the need of the German market, which has always been one of the most valuable for American industry, have forced the American Government to act. The determination not to become "embroiled in European affairs" has become a dead shibboleth: Business needs it and the American flag follows business. As a consequence, the "influence of the United States was put squarely behind the efforts of Premier Baldwin to force France to an accounting of her stewardship over Germany". But it came too late: France established herself and, with the aid of Stinnes' political power, rules Germany today.

Her rule will be short-lived—not because of the superior power of the Anglo-Saxon Allies. It cannot last because of the impasse into which capitalism has advanced, its inability to stabilize the market and finances and to feed the workers, and the new rising tide of Revolution. France went further in preparing for her domination. She knew that a coalition with Stinnes would arouse the German masses and increase the influence and power of the Communist Party. Hence she prepared all the border States. The raids on the Finnish Communists and the suppression of the Finnish Labor Party; the raids on the Lettish Communists; the repression against the Communists of Poland; the attacks on the workers of Hungary—all show a preconcerted plan to have the French vassals ready for action against Germany.

Irrespective of the turn that events will take in Germany—with the German Communists in the ascendancy—England and America have been beaten. France is the master for the moment in Europe.

## Political Parties in Spain

By Joaquin Maurin (Barcelona).

The evolution from feudalism to capitalism was a somewhat slow process in Spain. The large landowners were successful in gaining decisive influence upon the policy of the country. The antagonism between the agrarian government and the interests of gradually growing industry constantly increased in intensity. Industry developed most rapidly in the province of Catalonia. The conflict between the agrarians and the industrialists had the effect of inclining the industrial bourgeoisie of Catalonia to the idea of separation; Catalonia opposed Spain. The war favored the industrial development of Spain, and brought about great changes in the relative powers of the various social strata. Industry became more powerful. In 1917 it seemed as if there would be an upheaval, and that the industrialists would deprive the agrarians of power. But the increased strength of the proletarian movement tended to cause the industrialists to come to an understanding with the agrarians. Since this time there has been a retardation in the progress made by Spanish industry. At the present time, Spain cannot work up its raw materials. It exports them in exchange for industrial goods. The most important industries today are the textile industry in Catalonia, and the metal industry in Biscaya. But the machinery in the Spanish factories is out-of-date, and the goods produced are of an inferior quality, unable to bear comparison with those of other capitalist countries. Under these circumstances, Spanish industry is only kept going with the aid of a exceedingly heavy protective duties.

Crisis has become a chronic condition. Industry demands continual further rises in the customs tariffs. Reductions of wages and abolition of the eight hours day in many undertakings have not been able to improve the situation. Many branches of industry, as for instance the railways and the bourgeois press enterprises, can only carry on with the aid of state subsidies.

Spanish agriculture is still carried on along feudal lines. Hundreds of thousands of Landowners rule the nation. The majority of the large farmed estates are to be found in the middle and south of the country. Some of these landowners possess 1000 square kilometres of land. There are many smallholders and tenant farmers who have to deliver up one third or one half of their crops to the landlord. From a technical point of view Spanish agriculture is also extremely backward, but it is protected from foreign competition by protective duties.

The landowners are divided politically into two parties. The conservative and the liberal. Whenever the state has been in danger, the conservative party has taken the necessary repressive measures. Until the end of the nineteenth century, this party was led by Canovas, who bears the responsibility for the colonial defeats suffered by Spain, and for the atrocities of Montjuich. Canovas was killed by the anarchist Angillo, and the leadership of the party passed into the hands of Maura, notorious for plunging Spain into the Morocco adventure, and for having Ferrer shot. During recent years Maura has lost much of his prestige in his own party. As party leader he was replaced by Dato, who introduced an atrocious system of White Terror. On March 9, 1921, Dato was shot at Madrid by Casanellas, who is living at Moscow at the present time. The conservative party has now broken up into several groups at feud with one another.

After the downfall of Maura in 1909, the liberal party came into power. The post of prime minister was filled by Canallejas, a former revolutionist, whose radicalism was however only evinced by a moderate anti-clericalism after he was prime minister. Besides this, he energetically suppressed the labor movement. On the 12th November 1912 Canallejas was murdered. At the present time the liberal party is once more in possession of power. In reality there is no serious difference between the conservative and liberal parties. The two form actually one party, only that this party has divided into two fractions in order to be better able to maintain its power and to hold the ministerial seats alternately. In practice the program of both parties consists in maintaining the power of the landlords. These two parties will carry on their little game until the political power of industry and of the proletariat destroys the balance.

The party representing Catalonian industry is the Catalonian League which has existed for 20 years. It inclines to separatism, and would not be opposed to Catalonia being attached to France. Economic difficulties and terrorism induced the league to come to an understanding with the agrarian parties, and to participate with them in the government after 1917. The main interest of the Catalonian League lies in the increase of the protective duties, and in the improvement of the commercial treaties. The leader of the Catalonian League is Cambó, the cleverest politician belonging to the Spanish bourgeoisie, and the most deadly enemy of the proletariat. The name of Cambó is inseparably bound up with Terror. He is held to be the moral originator of the murder of Seguí.

When the industrialists founded their separatist party in Catalonia, the agrarians in Barcelona attempted to form a counter party. This task was undertaken by Lerroux. He founded the party by making use of powerful revolutionary phraseology. The radical party considerably damaged the party of the Catalonian industrialists, and drew many workers into its ranks. Its importance has greatly declined since the year 1912.

The middle strata of Spain, combining with a section of the proletariat, founded the republican party. In 1913 the reform party split off from the republicans. This reform party is prepared to cooperate with monarchist governments. The republican party is equally disunited, and falling into decay.

At one time there also existed the so-called Jaimist party, the party of the pretender Don Jaime of Bourbon. This party was monarchist and absolutist. Its fighting troops have now been absorbed into the so-called "Free Trade Unions", yellow unions whose chief aim it is to murder the revolutionary workers. Schism and decreasing influence mark the whole of the bourgeois parties of Spain.

Besides the political parties, there is another force which ruled the politics of the country from 1917 until 1920—the military Juntas, the officers' leagues cooperating with King Alphonso XIII for ultra-constitutional action. The Juntas furthered the catastrophic Moroccan enterprise to the utmost of their power. The Juntas and the King hold together, but the Spanish defeats in Morocco in 1921-22 have much diminished their influence.

A further article will deal with the parties of the Spanish proletariat.

## The Electoral Struggle in Austria and the Austrian CP.

By Josef Grün (Vienna).

For some time political life in Austria has been mainly influenced by the elections to a number of parliamentary bodies. Some of these bodies meet again for short sessions in the autumn; and the elections were not officially announced until July 31. But as they have been impending for some time, the political activity of all parties has long been directed to organizational and agitational preparation for the electoral struggle.

The national council of the Austrian republic, elected on October 17, 1920, and having a life of three years by virtue of a transitory enactment of the federal constitution adopted at that time, will be re-elected in the autumn for a further period of four years. The treaty of Geneva, which ordains the economic and political subordination of Austria to the League of Nations, puts plenary powers in the hands of the general commissary of the League of Nations, and limits the influence of the parliament to a minimum. Until the autumn of 1924 the parliament has practically no influence whatever on the majority of decisions, especially those referring to financial policy. It is not unlikely that the Geneva treaty will be prolonged beyond this period, but unless extraordinary international or internecine events interfere, the national council may attain great importance at least before the termination of its normal legislative life. The struggle for the increase of the influence possessed by the national council is thus exceedingly violent.

The Christian socialists and the pan-Germans, who together now form the majority, are endeavoring to increase their numbers until they obtain a two-thirds majority over the social democrats, and are above all anxious to increase their own power. The social democrats, on the other hand, are striving to prevent the possibility of this two-thirds majority, required by law for a number of important decisions, and hope to regain a position in the coalition with the Christian socialists, or, if necessary, with the much smaller pan-German People's Party. The three parties named have, however, joined forces to prevent all smaller parties from being represented in the national council in proportion to the numbers of their votes, or from being represented at all. The suffrage system, which has been recast, as is customary before every new election, represents a new form of robbery of suffrage rights practised on the inhabitants of the towns and industrial centres in general, and on the electors of the smaller parties in particular. The number of seats has been reduced from 183 to 165, but the number of electoral districts has been left the same as before; the large number of small electoral districts permits the advantages of the system of proportional representation to be enjoyed by the large parties only, and besides favors the rural districts; the regulations upon the method of ascertaining results are also framed in favor of the larger parties. The regulation that no residuary votes or residuary vote mandates can be granted unless a mandate has already been obtained in one electoral district renders it extremely difficult for small parties, not represented with particular strength in any one district, to obtain representation at all. The new method of ascertaining the results further increases this difficulty.

A number of provincial diets will be elected at the same time as the national council (Carinthia, Tyrol, and perhaps others as well); the diet of Vienna is also to be re-elected. This last is at the same time the municipal council of Vienna, as this city forms both a municipality and a federal province since its separation from Lower Austria. Vienna possesses almost one third of the population of Austria; one half of the trade unionists and of the politically organized proletariat lives in Vienna. Since the municipal council elections of May 4, 1923, there has been a social democratic majority in the municipal council. The special importance of the forthcoming elections is therefore evident, for they also involve the re-election of all the district representations of the 21 municipal districts of Vienna, each composed of 30 members, and each district comprising a town of 50,000 to 150,000 inhabitants. The Social Democratic Party of Austria is exerting every effort to maintain its majority in the municipal council, and has even created a new system of municipal suffrage to this end. The number of municipal councillors has been reduced from 165 to 120, but the 21 municipal districts remain electoral districts as before, represented by 2 to 11 mandates, a state of affairs favoring the larger parties, especially the Social Democratic Party.

Despite these electoral difficulties of a technical nature, and despite many other great obstacles, the Communist Party of Austria is independently entering this electoral struggle in the case of every parliamentary body we have mentioned, with all the energy at its command, and with the object of utilizing the elections not only as a propaganda campaign against the reactionary

Seipel government, against the projected coalition government of the social democrats and bourgeoisie, and for the government of the workers and landless peasantry, but beyond this for the purpose of gaining points of support for conducting the class struggle within the parliamentary bodies. The results of the factory council elections, extremely successful for the Party, as well as the excellent results yielded by the municipal council elections in various provincial districts during the present year, justify the hope that the CP. of Austria will not only greatly increase its quota of votes, but will gain seats in a number of the bodies being re-elected. The Communist Party is nominating its own candidates in every electoral division and district, and is putting all its available forces at the disposal of what will doubtless be an exceedingly severe electoral struggle, from which, however, it confidently hopes to emerge victorious, despite the great difficulties thrown in its way.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### The General Strike in Germany, its Development, its Effect and its Lessons

By Fritz Heckert.

On the anniversary of the founding of the German Republic, 12,000 shop stewards representing the workers of Greater Berlin assembled in Berlin, and resolved to enter upon a general strike, and to call upon the workers in town and country to participate in it. The strike was called for three days; its demands included political and economic aims. Now the strike has terminated without all the demands having been realized, the bourgeoisie and social democracy haste to exclaim: "The general strike action has completely collapsed, the workers have been lured to ruin by the communists, but the collapse of the general strike has at least had the beneficial effect that the Communist Party is completely done for and the workers have been cured of all ideas of communist putsches". At the same moment, when all bourgeois and social democratic newspapers are writing in this fashion, the minister of police, Severing, issues a Ukase declaring the National Committee of the Factory Councils and all its sub-committees to be dissolved. Words and deeds are here completely at variance. If the workers have completely rejected communism, if the Communist Party is absolutely dead—then whence the necessity of an exceptional law against a committee of shop stewards which has entirely lost all influence owing to the outcome of the movement? The bourgeois papers and the social democrats are forced into such contradictions. They must keep up their own courage and that of their readers.

If we desire to form a correct estimate of the last general strike, we must accord it a somewhat more thorough attention than the social democratic and bourgeois newspapers care to give it.

The *Vossische Zeitung* writes: "The communists enjoyed an incredible boom last week (before the general strike), but they have lost the entire game by their foolishness. If they had waited, the ripe fruit would have fallen into their mouths. They have lost everything by their stupid general strike. The social democratic *Vorwärts* expounds at great length that such a general strike was destined to fall from the beginning, as the trade union leaders had not organized and led it. No general strike has any prospect of success unless properly prepared, and less its demands have been thoroughly examined as to their expediency by the competent authorities. We need not be offended when the *Vossische Zeitung* and all the other press duennas write such foolish nonsense about the labor movement. But we have a right to expect more from a social democratic paper.

As early as 1906, when the problem of the mass strike was pushed into the foreground by the first Russian revolution, our murdered comrade, Rosa Luxemburg, overwhelmed the trade union leaders and party bureaucrats with biting irony and ridicule, because they condemned the mass strike as not fitting into their famous strike formula. She showed that the mass strike is based on other conditions and other laws than the ordinary wages strikes, and that a mass strike, when formulating its aims, will not hold to conditions devised in the conference rooms of trade union bureaucrats.

Mass strikes do not fall from the sky. They have to be made by the workers. But before the working masses grasp the initiative for a mass strike movement, a number of prerequisites are necessary. Were these prerequisites given in this last strike movement? To this question we can reply in the



affirmative. The working class of Germany is living under the most wretched conditions imaginable. The bankrupt bourgeoisie plunges the working class into daily increasing misery and poverty. This unbearable misery forces the workers into continuous economic struggles. But the results of these economic struggles are always annulled again by the policy of the ruling class. The Cuno government was a government which had proved itself entirely incapable of saving German economics, and with them the German working class, from falling over the precipice. The workers knew from experience that so long as this government held the reins there was no hope of emerging from their misery. But experience has also taught them something else in the course of the last few months, i. e., that the social democratic party and the trade union leaders have been tolerating or even supporting this bankrupt bourgeois policy. Thus the working class not only lost its confidence in Cuno's government, but became very distrustful of the trade union leaders. During the last few weeks the workers have entered into a number of strikes. The net result of these strikes has been that wages had a lower purchasing power at the end of the strike period than at the beginning, that the government ruthlessly employed its forces for the suppression of all strikes, and that the social democratic bureaucracy sabotaged or even combated the strikes. The working class, owing to these experiences, felt itself thrown on its own resources.

When the Cuno government was compelled to convene parliament in order to create for itself a basis for its further rule, the workers in all cities and villages of Germany felt: This government cannot be tolerated any longer. It must go! A workers' deputation expressed this feeling of the masses by the sentence: "It is no longer possible to place any confidence in this government. If another government comes, there is at least a hope that it will be better than Cuno's government." There was no need for the workers to hold any great consultations before formulating their demands: Wages with a constant value—but first of all the overthrow of Cuno's government. Resolutions and motions to this effect were passed at thousands of meetings. When the Reichstag met, hundreds of workers' deputations came and demanded of the leading organizations that they should fight energetically for the aims formulated by the masses. But social democracy, and the General German Trade Unions Federation, would not for a moment entertain the idea of a joint struggle of the workers for the realization of the workers' demands. By Friday, August 10., the head organizations had still not decided to accede to the will of the masses. The proposal made by the Communists, that the General German Trade Union Federation should place itself at the head of the now unpreventable mass movement, and should fight with the masses for the realization of their demands, was scornfully rejected. On Saturday August 11., at 1 o'clock p. m., there was still a threequarters majority in the social democratic Reichstag fraction for the retention of the Cuno government. The higher bureaucracy still believed that it was possible to hold the workers back from fighting. But when a "wild" plenary factory council meeting, attended by 12,000 shop stewards, resolved on the general strike; when the tramway workers ceased work and the electrical workers at Golpa turned off the current, then the social democrats saw that they could no longer maintain the Cuno government. The mass storm broke the resistance of the social democratic leaders, and swept away Cuno's government. The bourgeoisie found itself obliged to make great material concessions to the workers in many places. Thus the mass strike brought about the realization of many of the demands made, even before its effects were fully felt.

And how was its leadership, its organizational and technical executive? On Friday, August 10., the trade unions declined to put themselves at the head of the inevitable movement. And yet it was perfectly plain to the trade union bureaucrats that their standing aside could not stem the movement. Their sole consolation was that neither had the communists sufficient power to lead the movement and bring it to a good end. We were told: "The masses are already beyond your control. By next Wednesday the whole movement will be a heap of debris, and we trade union leaders will once more be called upon to help the workers out of the unhappy situation into which you communists have led them."

The plenary factory council meeting had therefore no choice but itself to form a central strike leadership for the purpose of securing the united and uniform advance of the movement. Trade union bureaucracy and social democracy immediately called upon the workers to ignore the instructions issued by the strike central, and to remain at work. Despite this, the strike leaders were able to keep perfected control of the fighting masses. All provocations on the part of the bourgeoisie, the police, and the trade union and social democratic bureaucracy, were successfully warded off.

In order to undermine the general strike, and to disunite the fighting masses, every available means were employed by the government, the bourgeoisie, and the social democrats. The committees of the national trade union of railwaymen, and of the German railwaymen's union, declared to the ministers Stresemann and Hilferding that the minister for traffic for the whole German Republic, the notorious General Groner, must not be permitted to enter the cabinet, or they would not be able to hold the workers back from striking. Under this pressure the new ministers made this concession, followed by further concessions with respect to higher wages. The workers on the overhead railways and tramways were granted large additions to their wages for coping with the rising prices, in order to induce them to desert the ranks. This manoeuvre met with considerable success. The printers, who were also on strike were granted enormous payments per hour; by this they were bought off and the bourgeoisie and the government were enabled to publish their press and poison public opinion. In this strike the electricians did not prove so powerful a factor as has been the case in former movements. This is due to the fact that a number of large power stations connected their systems with one another, while there was no un'ited down tools policy in this whole network of electric works, for coordination among the electrical workers was extremely deficient. These were circumstances very prejudicial to the strike. To this must be added that the provincial districts were insufficiently prepared for participation in a general strike. The appeal issued by the Berlin factory councils did not reach the ears of the workers throughout Germany until Monday, so that the provinces could not join the movement until Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning. This deprived the strike movement of the impetus of a simultaneous beginning. And a third factor calculated to interfere with the coherence and progress of the movement was the fact that the main political demand—overthrow of Cuno's government—had already been realized on Saturday evening, 36 hours before the provinces received the summons to take part in the general strike.

The strike leaders devoted every attention to all these difficulties and defects in the movement. At a fresh plenary factory council meeting, attended by 13,000 shop stewards, they advised that the strike be broken off on Tuesday evening, the term fixed from the beginning of the strike. In making this proposition, the strike leaders felt that the growing united front of the workers must not be destroyed; that it would be unwise to let one section of the workers continue in the struggle whilst others had returned to work. The strike leaders were anxious to avoid the possibility of the section of the proletariat which had resumed work being played off against the section which continued the fight. Fresh schisms among the workers were to be prevented by every possible means. Trade union bureaucracy and social democracy should be given no opportunity of keeping up their pretence of being the saviours of the proletariat. It was important to gain time, to gather force, to prepare for future struggles, to enlighten those workers who took no part in the strike, to fill up the gaps in the united front, and to learn the real lessons taught by the errors and short-comings of the movement.

The 13,000 shop stewards assembled, showed complete understanding of the position of the strike leaders. With hearts filled with anger at the despicable behaviour of the leaders of the trade union organizations, and at the fresh treacheries of the social democratic leaders, the shop stewards decided that the fight be discontinued all round. Very few votes were cast against this proposition of the strike central. The meeting listened in perfect silence to the many speeches on the deficiencies in the movement, and the resolve matured in every heart to carry on the work with the utmost energy, to utilize the lessons taught by the movement in the interests of the proletariat, and thus to step forward into fresh battles with greater unity and strength than ever before. The leaders of a great struggle have never before received such a mighty and unanimous vote of confidence as that accorded to the improvised strike leadership of the general strike by the plenary meeting of the Berlin factory councils.

There have been many cases in which the trade union bureaucracy and social democracy have practised shameful treachery, and in these cases there have always been thousands and thousands of trade union members who have thrown aside their trade union books and given up their membership; but this is not the case this time. The fighting workers have recognized that they must keep their trade unions united, and that it is their duty to rid themselves as rapidly as possible of the treacherous functionaries. Those social democrats and trade union bureaucrats who are calculating on being able to resume their rôle as saviours of the proletariat are doomed to disappointment. The masses are filled with an unexampled hate of bureaucracy. And when the social democratic newspaper scribes

assert that the communists will be called to account by the masses for the "senseless putsch", their words are flatly contradicted by the events in the trade unions and factories. This general strike has enormously increased the feeling of self-reliance among the workers. The Communist Party has won many tens of thousands of members. The masses recognize the Communist Party as the sole leader of the revolutionary proletariat, and the prohibition of the activity of the national committee of factory councils by the social democrat Severing, is the proof that the social democrats have lost all confidence in being able to regain the masses.

The general strike has brought us the coalition between the social democracy and the bourgeoisie: the alliance of bankrupt bourgeoisie with bankrupt reformism. These two partners can only work together for their common ruin. For a certain time they can rule with the aid of martial law, and at the points of Fascist and national army bayonets. The next general strike of the workers will make a clean sweep of these methods of governing a working people, and will shatter to pieces the throne of the coalition confraternity. We share the opinion of the social democratic *Chemnitzer Volksstimme*, that: "The coalition signifies for social democracy and reformism the last move before checkmate". Meanwhile we leave it to the bourgeoisie and to the social democrats to continue to philosophize over the "breakdown" of the Communist Party and the general strike. The German working class will march forwards and act.

## E. C. C. I.

### Rally to the Support of the German Proletariat!

To the Workingmen and Workingwomen of all Countries!

Comrades!

The German working-class and the entire working population of Germany now stand in the greatest danger. The armies of French Imperialism occupy the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany. The French occupation officers forbid the export of coal and iron from the Ruhr into Germany, whereby unemployment in the Ruhr must result. Now they begin to interfere with the supply of money which is necessary to pay the proletariat in the Ruhr! Ever more shameless becomes the pressure of French Imperialism's bayonets upon the breasts of the Ruhr proletariat. The Ruhr is now a powder-house which any spark can blow into the air. There is the danger of bloody massacre.

In unoccupied Germany economic anarchy is on the increase. The German bourgeoisie will not pay taxes and allows the German Government to satisfy the needs of the state by means of the bank-note press. The mark falls every day; costs rise every day. The position of the proletariat is becoming more and more unbearable.

Despite all the efforts of the leaders of the social-democracy and the industrial bureaucracy to quieten the working-class with promises of radical deeds, the German proletariat aroused itself and by means of a strike-uprising overthrew the capitalist Cuno Government. Its place has been taken by the Stresemann-Hilferding Government, a coalition of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats. They promised to tax the bourgeoisie, they promised to better the position of the working-class, but their first act was to dissolve the Central of the Factory Councils, their first act was threats against the revolutionary proletariat.

Whilst the bourgeois and social-democratic Government dissolved the Central Council which alone was in a position to comprehend the spontaneous movements of the proletariat, to prevent anarchy, to prevent unnecessary conflicts, organized capital began its attack upon the working-class. As a protest against the taxes, it threatens to close the factories. In Berlin the crippling of the city transportation threatens us. The workers are to be discharged so that municipal undertakings may be leased to private capitalists. Then the capitalists would make good the deficit, meanwhile allowing half the workers to roam the streets, and lower the wages of the other half. The purpose of all these manoeuvres is clear. *The working-class must be brought to despair, it must be drawn into battle, before it has brought its forces into battle array.*

In the meanwhile the bands of Fascists are being organized and aroused to a burning hatred so that, at the given moment, armed to the teeth, they can hurl themselves upon the unarmed German proletariat.

Comrades! The German proletariat which has behind it the revolution of 1918-19, the sad experiences of the rule of "democracy", which was nothing else but a mask for the dicta-

torship of capitalism—the German proletariat will certainly not allow itself to be surprised, provoked, or shot down. In ever increasing masses the proletariat crowds into the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany, which is growing steadily into a great party of the masses.

The social-democrats are receiving retribution for all their traitorous acts, for the unatoned murder of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogisches, for the slaughter of 20,000 proletarians by the white guards under Noske, for all the services which they have performed for capital. A large part of their working-class membership is deserting them, another part demands an end to the traitorous policy of coalition with the capitalist bourgeoisie, and a return to the class-politics of the proletariat. The more decisive the struggles of the German proletariat become, just so much more does the social-democratic party crumble. And with it crumbles the strongest support of the German bourgeoisie.

The conditions in Germany are ever rushing toward a climax; and unless all signs are false, revolution is the goal.

The German proletariat will in these struggles not only be faced by the armed forces of the German bourgeoisie, but also there is the menacing danger that, in the moment when the German proletariat is suddenly attacked by the German bourgeoisie, when it finds itself in the decisive struggle with the capitalists, the bourgeoisie of the Entente and their vassals will forget their hostility to the German bourgeoisie and hasten to its aid. There is the danger that France, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia will attempt to occupy Germany in order to subjugate the working-class and to conclude a definite pact with the German bourgeoisie over the bodies of the German proletariat. There is the danger that English Imperialism and the vassals of the Entente will attempt by blockade to prevent the import of foodstuffs into Germany.

Comrades! Proletarians of the entire World!

We call upon you to hold your protecting hand over the German proletariat. By means of mass meetings throughout the world, fasten the attention of the international proletariat upon the conditions in Germany, above all collect money to support strikers, now beaten to the pavement, to support the fighting proletarian press and organization in Germany. Demonstrate on the streets under the battle-cry: "Peace for the German working-class! Hands off Proletarian Germany! Out with the occupational armies in the Ruhr, Saar, and Rhineland!" Explain to the soldiers of France, Belgium, and England that they only strengthen their own exploiters when they allow themselves to be used as the hangmen of the German proletariat.

With the revolutionary workers, with the Communists of France, Belgium, England, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, lies the great, historic task of erecting a wall separating their bourgeoisie from the embattled German proletariat. Upon the proletariat of all lands where currency has a high value lies the duty of making the greatest efforts to help their German brothers in a material way.

Long live the struggle which shall deliver the German proletariat, from the yoke of Entente and German capitalism!

Down with capitalist intervention directed against the working-class of Germany!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

Long live support for the German proletariat!

Long live the German Workers' and Peasants' Government!

Long live the Communist International!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International  
of Labor Unions.

### Open Letter to the 2. International and to the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation

To the Executive Committee of the 2. International.  
To the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Trade Union  
Federation.

The Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions addresses the following open letter to you:

The events in Germany confront the international labor movement with a most serious historical task. Twenty million German proletarians, the flower of the international proletariat, are entering into the struggle against the German capitalists and against the imperialists of the Entente. The approaching struggles will fill the whole political history of the next period. The outcome of these struggles will decide the fate of the inter-



national labor movement for many years. All the events of the political history of the next epoch and in particular the whole labor movement of the world will turn upon the fate of the German crisis which is now developing.

The events in Germany have, in the most obvious manner, an enormous importance outside of Germany. In no country can the workers hold aloof from happenings in Germany. Every proletarian whose heart beats true for his class must hasten to the help of the German proletariat fighting under the red flag. The cause of the German workers is the cause of the workers of the whole world.

We approach you with the proposal to consider in common all practical measures which can, shall and must be undertaken by all international organizations of the proletariat for the support of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. And this support can take many forms.

1. In Germany, Fascism is rearing its head. The international organizations of the proletariat must help the German revolutionary workers in repelling Fascism;
2. The German capitalists are flinging thousands of revolutionary workers upon the streets. These workers are left without a crust of bread.

The task of the international labor organizations consists in hastening to the aid of these proletarian victims of the class struggle.

Tomorrow, perhaps, the French and Polish Bourgeoisie will attempt to afford open assistance to the German capitalists in the armed overthrowing of the German labor movement. The international workers' organizations must be ready to render all these attempts unavailing. The fight for peace is the chief task of everyone to whom the life and well-being of the workers is dear.

The international proletarian organizations must be on the watch. At your Hague conference you issued the call to fight against war and for the preservation of peace. The danger of war is now undoubtedly imminent.

In view of all this we suggest to you to hold along with us a joint international conference which shall be devoted to the following questions: 1. Organizing of all round support of the German workers by the international proletariat; appropriate measures for conducting the struggle for peace.

We propose to call this conference for not later than the 10th of September.

The crisis is developing with such rapidity that every day is precious. We suggest that the place of the conference be Moscow, but we are ready to hold this conference in any other suitable town.

Moscow, 25th. August 1923.

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

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### To All Organizations Affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions

Comrades,

The German proletariat is again entering a fresh period of desperate struggle.

Whilst the social democratic party and the reformist trade unions are helping the bourgeoisie to retain power, the police and Fascist forces of this same bourgeoisie are ill-treating and shooting starving workers. A strike movement was inflamed in a large number of towns in Germany, accompanied by bloody collisions with the organizations of bourgeois order.

The workers went on strike in the hope of improving their wretched position, and of putting a stop to the unending orgies of speculation being carried on by the big capitalists, and by a whole army of impromptu profiteers. The working class of Germany has not succeeded in attaining its object. The mobilization of the revolutionary forces is not yet completed, and thus the bourgeois Stresemann and the social democrat Hilferding will be able to continue the work of the director Cuno for a time. The number of victims increases. The frightened bourgeoisie is cruel and revengeful. The active leaders of the movement are being arrested by the police. The revolutionary press is exposed to the despotism of reactionary police. It is the duty of the Red International of Labor Unions, and of all organizations affiliated to it, as well as of all class conscious proletarians, to hasten to the aid of the fighting workers of Germany before it be too late. We must not permit the vanguard

of the revolutionary movement to be shattered; we must not allow the thousands of workers discharged from the factories and workshops on account of active participation in protest demonstrations to be abandoned to the hazards of fate and the Fascist bands.

The Red International of Labor Unions, in the name of the international revolutionary trade union movement, contributes one million gold marks to the support of the locked out and persecuted workers of Germany. This money will be placed at the disposal of the Central of the Factory Councils of Germany.

The Red International of Labor Unions calls upon all organizations and all workers sympathizing with it to hasten to the aid of the workers of Germany.

*Long live the German proletariat!*  
*Long live the social revolution!*  
*Long live international solidarity!*

The Executive Bureau of the Red International  
of Labor Unions.

## APPEALS

### To the Co-operators of all Countries!

Comrades!

The working masses of Germany are passing through decisive and fateful hours. The policy of the bourgeoisie and of the social democratic leaders has plunged the masses into hunger and misery. The Fascists are preparing to launch a decisive blow against the proletarian organizations. The destruction of the German workers' organizations implies, however, a severe defeat for the whole international Proletariat. The Fascist acts of violence in Italy and Hungary have proved that the heaviest blows of victorious Fascism fall on the Co-operative organizations.

Co-operative organized workers of all countries, forward to the help of your German class comrades! There is a danger to be averted which threatens you also! Stand on the defence against the Fascist danger. Be on the alert, for armed Fascism is ready at any moment to proceed to the attack. Provide real relief for the starving workers of Germany. Insist that your co-operative societies subscribe from their funds for relief action on behalf of the German workers. Subscribe yourselves according to your means, proclaim your solidarity with your German comrades!

The III Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions have proposed that an International Conference of all labor organizations be convened in September for the purpose of discussing measures for providing relief for the German working class and to deal with the fight against the danger of war. The International Co-operative Movement was also represented at the World Peace Conference held at the Hague in December last year along with the political and trade union organizations of the proletariat. The decisions of that conference demand active participation in the struggle against the danger of war. Urge therefore in the general meetings, committee sittings and other organs of your co-operative societies, that the co-operative organizations of the working class take part in the international workers' conference. Only the united front of the whole of the workers' organizations can lead the fighting ranks of the proletariat to victory.

*Long live the revolutionary Co-operative Movement!*  
*Long live the international solidarity of the working class!*  
*Long live the Communist International!*

The Co-operative Section of the Comintern.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The New Legislation in Soviet Russia

By Pierre Pascal (Moscow).

For the past year or so our writers have liked to speak of revolutionary "legality". In point of fact, we are already in possession of a civil code of laws, a code of criminal law, a code of agrarian law, a regulation on the guarantee and limits of the right of property, and a number of other fundamental enactments. Each of the last sessions of the Central Executive Committee (our supreme legislative organ) has contributed another stone to this building, an edifice which, when regarded

later from a proper perspective, will excellently serve to characterize the astonishing transitional period through which we are passing.

Among these laws we find many survivals from olden times, many truly revolutionary paragraphs, and finally many reflecting the reappearance of capital. The more this intermingled legislation develops the less need is there for the application of the old principle laid down in 1918, according to which the judge, in face of lack of new juridical regulations, is to be influenced by his "revolutionary consciousness of right". Today, the judge utters his verdicts on a basis of: 1. an adequately developed assemblage of laws, and 2., a system of justice which is being enriched every day. We possess a higher "institute" for the study of that extremely original legal system designated as "Soviet justice".

The session of the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR, held from June 29, till July 7, of this year, first dealt with legal questions: The constitution of the Soviet Union, the code of forestry laws, the enactments on civil causes, several amendments to the code of criminal law, disciplinary jurisdiction, the law on natural treasures. This was followed by the settlement of financial questions: the simplification of district administration, the limitation of the right to issue banknotes, the financing of industry and state finance.

The SSSR.

It may perhaps be recollected that in December 1922, after the All-Russian Soviet congress (Russian abbreviation: RSFSR.) the first constitution-forming congress took place, that of the "Union of Russian Soviet Republics" (SSSR.) As is well known, on this occasion a declaration and contract were agreed to, according to which the Russian Federation, Ukraine, White Russia, and the Trans-Caucasian Federation, (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia) joined together to form the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics". These new United States possess no national character. The name of Russia has disappeared. Every Soviet state newly coming into existence finds its natural place and equal rights in this union. There remained nothing more to be done than to decide on the definite wording, which had been carefully worked out in the course of five months activity by a commission composed of representatives of the whole of the republics concerned. The central executive committees of the Ukraine, of White Russia, and of Trans-Caucasia, had already published their standpoint; it was now turn of the Russian Federation.

The ordinations finally decided upon by the commission differ considerably from the first project of December. Saprionov, the secretary of the CEC., and speaker for this subject, discussed in detail the proposed amendments, which laid more definite limitations on the competency of the Union and of the separate republics belonging to the Union. Foreign affairs, war office and admiralty, foreign trade, traffic and posts, are to be controlled exclusively by the Union in future. The corresponding commissariats in the separate republics cease to exist. These are to be substituted by the delegates of the Union, the delegates possessing advisory votes at least in the local council of people's commissariats. The matter is easily comprehensible, for the object of the Union is the concentration of these essential functions. The constitution enacts that the republics may be authorized by the Union to float foreign loans, independently and for their own account, even when this involves the granting of concessions. The workers' and peasants' inspection, the nationalized economics, the ministry of labor, the public food supply, and finance, are simultaneously subordinate to the competency of the Union and of the separate republics. The people's commissariats (and the chairman of the Supreme National Economic Council) of these republics are subordinate only to those of the Union. It is, for instance, necessary that a currency and financial unit exist within the Union. Each republic receives its previously allotted share of the total amount raised by taxation.

Finally, each republic possesses six commissariats which do not exist within the Union: agriculture, internal affairs, justice, public education, health, and social welfare. These are spheres in which each nationality is granted the fullest liberty of independent development in accordance with its physical conditions, cultural level, traditions, and social peculiarities. Thus, for instance, every republic has the right of granting pardon on its own state territory. The Supreme Court of Justice of the Union solely controls the observation of the enactments of the constitution, and of the laws relating to the whole Union.

The sovereignty of each republic is respected by the Union not only in the sense that every republic may freely withdraw from the Union at any time, but the Union defends this sovereignty against any attack. The frontiers between the separate republics can only be altered by mutual agreement.

The supreme power of the Union is held by the congress of the Soviet Union. This is composed not only of representatives from the national congresses, but also from the provincial congresses, and thus comes into much closer contact with the population. The plenum of the Union congress elects from its midst a "union council", representing one of the two chambers of the Central Executive Committee. The other chamber, also known as the "nationality council", is nominated by the separate nationalities in the proportion of 5 representatives per republic and one representative for each autonomous district, and is confirmed by the congress. The two chambers possess equal reciprocal rights; a law does not come into force until agreed to by both chambers. Any conflicts which may arise will be settled by a board of arbitration containing proportional representatives, or as final court of appeal by the regular or extraordinary Union congress. Each chamber possesses its own presidium or inner bureau, which, however, possesses no legislative or administrative power. The presidium of the Central Executive Committee, which incorporates state power in the intervals between two sessions, consists of 7 members from each of the two chamber presidiums, and 7 representatives elected jointly by these; thus 21 persons in all. The Central Executive Committee of the Union possesses the right to annul the decisions of the central executive committees of the separate republics, or even of their Soviet congresses, should these contradict the constitution or the laws of the Union. The Union presidium, on the other hand, can only suspend such decisions.

The coat of arms of the Soviet Union consists of hammer and sickle emblazoned on the globe and encircled by the inscription: "Proletarians of the World, Unite!", in the six customary languages of the Union. This coat-of-arms, on a red ground without any further inscription, forms the standard of the Soviet Union. The capital of the Union is Moscow.

This new constitution was thus accepted without debate at the last session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and was then further accepted, on July 6, by the Central Executive Committee of the Union, which assembled especially for this purpose in the hall of the Kremlin. This assembly was also attended by the diplomatic corps. Since this date the RSFSR. has disappeared as a subject of international law, and is absorbed by the SSSR., although in actual practice it continues to exist in the new Union as its principal member. Lenin was elected as the new president of the Ukrainian central executive committee, and Orakschelachvili from Trans-Caucasia as president of the people's commissariats of the Union. Chicherin, Trotzky, Krassin, Dserchinsky, and Smirnov remain as before at the head of the common People's Commissariats of the Union. In every republic a council for labor and one for national defence will be formed, a commission for national survey work, a statistical federal office, and a federal state bank, all on the basis of the bodies already existing. Finally, all former decrees referring to the whole country remain in force under the Union.

The Forestry Law.

The forestry law, now accepted in its fundamentals, replaces the law of May, 1918. The object of the reform is to enable the peasants, according to the desire expressed by the X. Soviet Congress, to obtain the wood which they require. The forests remain national property now as before, but are divided into two categories: one remains in the hands of the Soviet Union, whilst the other is given over to the countries concerned and made accessible to the population, which is thus accorded the right of exploiting the forests on condition that the wood consumed does not exceed the annual production. The forests in question are for the most part the former estate forests, and a few woods lying in the midst of arable land. For the state forests the great question to be decided was the ascertainment of the relations between their exploitation and the interests of the industries concerned, as, for instance, paper manufacture, and also the fixing of the proper tariffs to be employed in each case. In any case wood is supplied free to schools and hospitals, as well as to districts intended for settlers. Others requiring wood are subject to the tender system.

The speaker further directed the attention of the CFC to the almost virgin area represented by the wealth of forests in the North and in Siberia. Russia possesses one third of the total forests of the world, but up to the year 1913 only 50 million hectares had been surveyed and registered. Since then 18 million hectares more have been surveyed. In the South and centre of Russia, where there is already a considerable shortage of wood, it has been found necessary to limit tree felling. As a substitute for this, foreign capital is to be supplied to the North, and the exploitation of the forests combined with the obligation to build roads and open up the country. The forestry revenues for 1914 amounted to 43 million gold roubles, a fact showing that



the present revenue from this source, which does not amount to half of this sum, may be greatly increased.

#### Enactments regarding Civil Law.

The code of civil law enactments consists of 317 paragraphs. This is five times less than were contained in the old law, without doubt a great simplification. Its distinguishing characteristic is the cancellation of all prescriptive law; up to now no revolutionary prescriptive right has come into existence, and thus the existing one would have merely been the prescriptive right of the Czarist regime, entirely undesirable. As a third innovation in civil law we may adduce the fact that, in future, civil suits are not to be carried through exclusively between the two parties concerned. It may very easily occur that one party is weaker than the other, and in need of advice and help. In every case the proletarian judge has to act. He directs the law-suit, has the proper witnesses called, determines the evidence to be given, and arranges the necessary confrontations. In a word, the proletarian finds in him a certain support for securing his rights. In the same manner, should one party be prevented for any reason, out of ignorance for instance, from protecting his rights, the state lawyer can conduct his case. These new regulations are entirely contradictory to the old code of civil law. They have been introduced by an amendment moved by the council of people's commissaries to the motion of the justice commissariat, which of course at once supported it.

Law-suits are carried on in the Russian language, or in the language of the inhabitants of the juridical district concerned.

#### The Responsibility of the Officials.

One of the most interesting additions to the existing code of criminal law, proposed by Krylenko, is a paragraph providing that no absolute immunity can be acquired five years after the commission of a crime or offence, but merely immunity from the application of the highest degree of legal punishment. The paragraphs referring to counter-revolution have now been made to include actions aiming at "weakening the Soviet power", so that a basis is provided for combatting even indirect, that is, economic counter-revolution. The punishment for smugglers has been increased from three to six months incarceration.

The main reform in this sphere is, however, the formation of disciplinary courts of justice. Hitherto responsible officials have only been subject to the ordinary courts of justice and the general legal punishments. No possibility existed of differentiating between cases which, though representing a serious delinquency from duty, neither caused special injury to the state nor evidenced criminal intentions, and cases obviously causing injury to the state, and evincing an abuse of office or a punishable neglect of duty. As a result of this, the former offences almost invariably escaped punishment in actual practice. In future they will be brought before the disciplinary courts, each of which will be supported by a provincial executive committee. The punishments imposed are punitive removal to other districts, imprisonment up to the term of one month, and punitive discharge. The members of the people's commissariats, or of the central executive committees can also be prosecuted, with the agreement of their assemblies, by these courts of justice.

#### The Decree Relating to Natural Wealth.

Sverdlov brought in a new decree on natural treasures, on behalf of the council of people's commissaries. The Soviet government has always done its utmost to encourage the discovery and utilization of the natural riches to be found in Russian soil. The new decree pursues the same object. Every individual citizen, and every corporation, possess the right to seek for minerals without special permission. Several seekers may work on the same tract of land. Actual extraction is then allowed gratis for a period of five years. But only for one definite ore, so that discoveries of other minerals are permissible on the same ground. Finally, the miners are afterwards accorded the right of winning the minerals under special conditions. The principle which has been accepted thus culminates in granting the greatest possible liberty as opposed to the Czarist regulations hitherto in force, which were a severe hindrance to the discovery and exploitation of natural riches. Sverdlov was right in emphasizing the immense importance of the role which will be played in the near future by the Soviet Union, with its stores, already discovered but not yet opened up, of metals of every description, naphtha, coal, etc, at a moment when the supplies in Europe and America are approaching exhaustion. The extremely free ordinances of the new law are applicable to all districts except those already being fully exploited, or possessing some special strategic or political value.

#### State Finance.

When Sapranov spoke of the simplification of the district administration, he paved the way for the fundamental idea of

Sokolnikov's report: economy, economy, and again economy. The central executive committees of the separate republics have already worked out numerous plans of reorganization to this end. The commissions have mutually exchanged these plans among themselves for months. Expressions of opinion have also been obtained from the provinces. The final conclusion came to was to combine the departments for public food supplies and finances in the district executive committees, and to dissolve the administrative departments; the departments for agriculture and statistics, whose existence was also threatened, were to be retained. All this has been done in the expectation of great reform in the new division of districts, which is to introduce even greater economy.

Sokolnikov, the reconstructor of the financial system of the Soviet state, dealt with the savings possible in state finances. The regular state budget of this year shows a great advance on that of other years in the clear dividing line which has been drawn between the state and industry. Hitherto nobody has ever known what the state and industry were giving or taking from one another. In point of fact the state lived at the expense of the reserves of goods and the working capital of industry. Today the state pays for everything which it obtains from industry. It has even been paying for coal and naphtha for some months at market prices.

For the first time, Russia possesses a really transparent budget. After various groping attempts, the limits of revenue and expenditure have now been ascertained. During the course of the last financial year, the amounts raised by taxation have increased from month to month, and have now reached their maximum. It is now a question of finding the most rational and unified form of tax. In the country this has already been done. It is intended to combine the taxes into one in the towns as well, the four existing taxes being unified. And the local budgets are now to be put in order as well. Here it is of special importance to improve the non-fiscal resources, to increase the revenues from the sites and buildings of the towns.

I have already treated of the financial improvement which has been attained, and shall therefore not enter further into this question today. We shall only consider the problem of the best employment of the funds, a problem which played a leading part in the session of the central executive committee. For five years a great electric central has been in construction on the Volkhov, which is to supply Petrograd with current, free the capital from its yearly tribute of coal which it has to buy in England at gold prices, secure a regular supply of energy, and, in short, ensure the greatest advantages. Repeated resolutions have decided that all sums required for the completion of this project by the year 1925 are to be put at the disposal of the undertaking. Should this work be continued, or should its retardation be risked in the name of economy? The financial commissariat was of the opinion that the state was not rich enough to privilege in this manner an enterprise whose utility would not be felt for two years. The Volkhov works were, however, defended by an engineer, Grafio, and the whole executive committee agreed with his expositions. The credits were granted, and adapted to the current rises in prices of industrial articles. Thus the dictatorship of the financial commissariat is by no means absolute. Despite all difficulties, the republic contrives to undertake great enterprises for securing its future welfare.

In considering the financial question, attention must be given to the road which has been travelled since the conference at the Hague. At that time the preliminary proposals for the state budget submitted by Sokolnikov to the experts of the capitalist powers appeared to these to be fantastic and problematic in the extreme. "Where are you going to get these stated revenues?" they said, "since your taxes are not coming in and cannot come in? It is not possible to improvise a state financial apparatus, and yours is completely shattered. You possess no internal credit, your corn loan was raised by artificial means only. How can you expect to get a foreign loan?"

It was difficult at that time to meet these arguments with anything except expressions of hope. But these things, which appeared at that time to the wise men of capital to be perfectly impossible, are today actual facts. 12% only of the state budget is covered by the issue of banknotes, whilst all other expenditure is covered by the taxes and other revenue of the state. The flood of paper money has ebbed, and been conducted into a proper channel. The Russian state banknote will soon be quoted on every exchange. The Soviet rouble has its value in London today, and is indeed valued somewhat higher than the English pound in Moscow. In future the Soviet budget will scarcely call forth more smiles than, for instance, the French budget. And yet scarcely a year has passed. May we not permit ourselves to be infected with Sokolnikov's optimism, when he declares that within a year or a year and a half the whole deficit will have vanished?

The latest session held by the Central Executive Committee has proved exceedingly fertile. But it had been prepared for with the greatest care. The news codes of law, and all the resolutions already accepted in principle, were the result of the work of numerous commissions, of inquiries made among provincial authorities, experts, and persons of practical experience, and had been further subjected to a political examination on the part of the Council of People's Commissaries. After the close of the debates of the Central Executive Committee, these results were returned to the commissions to be finally formulated. The period of well considered and judicious legislation has begun.

## The Trade Unions and the High Schools in the Soviet Republic

By F. Senushkin.

The trade unions in Russia devoted great attention to the high school. They considered it their duty to give it a class character by means of working-class students from the workshops and from the farms. This was rendered necessary by the fact that the high school, after the October revolution, remained partly in the hands of the middle-class professors and student bodies who were hostile to the October revolution and the Soviet government.

The new tasks of economic reconstruction demanded from the proletariat their own engineers and specialists, and raised the question of the control of the high school, and this question could only be solved by sending proletarian students to the higher institutions of learning. The state carried this out with the help of the unions.

To straightaway fill the high schools with workers and workers' children was not possible, since the former were unprepared. Therefore the preparatory schools, the so-called "workers-faculties" ("Kafkaf"), were created.

The organizing of the "workers-faculties" began in the year 1920. In 1921 the unions sent 17,000 of their membership to attend the "workers-faculties". At the beginning of 1922 the number of students in the 89 "workers-faculties" was 40,000. A part of this 40,000 came from middle-class circles and therefore later on had to be excluded. The cause of this was that in 1920 the attendance at the "workers-faculties" could not be completely made up of workers, since the proletarian youth was fighting on many fronts in the red army. Only with the changed relations and the peace-time work on the economic front could the proletariat attend the "workers-faculties", and devote themselves completely to science. At the beginning of 1923 there remained—after a little clearing up and reduction in the interests of better utilization of the teaching staff and of material security for the students—of the 89 "workers-faculties", only 72, with an attendance of 32,120 composed as follows:—Workers 62%; from agriculture, 26.7%, non-manual workers etc. 11.3%, (Members of the CPR, 26.8%; members of the Young Communist League, 18.9%; and members of no party, 54.3%).

The trade unions sent about 12,500, about 40%; the others were sent by the party, the Young Communist League, the national minorities, and the army.

This working youth which came into the high schools direct from industry, from the land, or from the trenches, bringing with it the enthusiasm of the masses, was thirsty for scientific knowledge and strove tenaciously toward the desired goals. For the first time the walls of the high schools saw, instead of well-dressed students, youthful workers, some even in torn boots and ragged clothes, but all diligent and tenacious; men who had withstood the fire of civil war, hunger and cold, and innumerable other trials; men who were filled with the flaming faith in the ultimate victory of the revolution, of communism.

These worker students, who were members of unions, have often not given up their calling but have worked through the day in the workshop and of an evening in the technical laboratory, or have laid their books aside and busied themselves with repairing the buildings in which they studied. There were among them also older workers who have spent decades in the factories and mines. These old workers have done better than the students of earlier days. According to the professors, the students of the "workers-faculties" have compelled them within one year to use entirely different methods of teaching. For instead of the former student youngster who swallowed the professor's every word as gospel and who could never judge as to the correctness of what was said, there now appeared the critical student, the practical student who required more than mere authority as proof.

The students of the "workers-faculties" formed the first troops of that youthful army which stormed the high schools, and they were followed by those proletarian youths who were sent by the unions directly into the higher institutions of learning.

The attendance of the high schools by the proletarian youth was still fairly moderate. Among the 35,000 students who matriculated into the high schools in the school year of 1922—23, 10,300 were under orders from the unions.

Of the "workers-faculties" graduates, about 3,000 came into the high schools. To these were added the following proletarian students:

From the party about 3,300; from the young Communist League 1,000; from the Peoples' Commissariat and the national minorities, about 2,000; and from the military authorities, about 800. The remainder, about 15,000, were graduates of intermediary schools.

Of the total number of high school students, 130,000, (in 1918 there were only 60,000) 16.1% were laborers; 26.8%, peasants; 20%, active "intelligentsia"; 14.9%, Soviet employees, 17.5 undefined; 1.4%, non-laboring element; and 3.1%, middle-class. As is evident from these figures, the number of working-class students is still not very great, but it increases decidedly from year to year. The working-class students play a more and more controlling role as opposed to the rest of the student body. Already in the year 1922—23 the student organizations were replaced by organizations of the proletarian students, similar to unions, the so-called "trade sections". To the "trade sections" belonged such students as were members of the unions, and in the meantime they remained members of the union, forming a trade union cell in the high school, which occupied itself, not only with the questions of mutual aid and of organization for the students, but also with the academic life of the high school concerned. The "trade sections" of the high schools have a central bureau, the so-called executive bureau of the trade sections. Within the cities these bureaus are connected up through the city union council. At present the organization of a central student bureau in the All-Russian Union Central is in progress, and this is to comprehend the activity of all the "trade sections" in the Russian high schools.

The trade unions give these "trade sections" extensive material support. Besides influencing the high schools through the "trade sections", the unions also have their direct representatives in the high schools, who are members of the high school committees, and also of the faculty councils. With the aid of the union representatives it was possible some time ago to obviate conflicts between the professors orienting toward the right, and the student body, and to bring about comradely relations with the teaching staff.

The new school is already beginning to supply the first proletarian specialists and technical-scientific workers in all realms of science, specialists who work with all their might for soviet supremacy.

The "proletarianizing" of the high schools will be accomplished through the direct influence of the unions, which, under the new living conditions in the Soviet Republic, are called upon to work actively and energetically in the atmosphere of intellectually creative work where previously in capitalist society the unions had nothing to say.

To-day, the fate of the high school in Soviet Russia and the fate of the new student body are closely bound up with the fate of the Russian working class, which has set itself the task of mastering science, and, when this is accomplished, the task of building the new structure of communist society.

## The Russian Industrial Bank

By T.

The financial needs of Russian industry rendered the founding of an industrial bank an urgent question in the spring of 1922. On November 1. of the same year this bank was called into existence, though not without a struggle. In the differences arising over the industrial bank question, the trade unions were in favor of the establishment of an industrial bank.

Today it is already possible to make a survey of the bank's activity. The results only cover six months of work—but they are sufficiently characteristic.

The balance of the bank is as follows: Turnover until December 1., 1922, 31.56 million roubles (1923), until May 1, 1923, 1432.42 million roubles. These figures show that the rôle played by the industrial bank in the cash circulation of the country has considerably increased in importance. At the commencement of its activity, the balance of the bank represented 2.1% of the



total state and banknote issue; by the end of six months' activity this had risen to 16.2 per cent.

The deposits at the bank amounted on December 1. to 70,542 Tschervonetz (1 Tschervonetz—about one pound sterling), on May 1., 1923, to 2,056,078 Tschervonetz. An increase of 2,900 per cent. These figures prove the growing confidence placed in the industrial bank by the economic organs.

The active operations of the bank are mirrored in the following figures: Bills of exchange and obligations to the value of 1,454,970 Tschervonetz were discounted during the half year. The goods credits granted during this period amounted to 1,252,695 Tschervonetz, the proportions being 55,829 in November and 450,533 in April.

The main function of the bank is the concentration and distribution of ready money, the accumulation of free capital for the purpose of placing it in circulation in the form of loans. The above figures show that the industrial bank is fulfilling this function to an ever-increasing extent. This fact demonstrates its soundness and justifies its existence.

The industrial bank is naturally still deficient in some respects. Above all, the discount rate is too high (18 to 24%). The operating expenses are also too high. The bank has still many difficulties to face, but it will overcome these if it receives the necessary and well-deserved support. The industrial bank will have to devote its chief attention to cheapening credits, to inducing participation on the part of small depositors, and to reducing its own running expenses.

## FASCISM

### Fascism does not Capitulate!

By Rossi (Rome).

A few weeks ago it almost appeared as if Fascism in Italy was seriously considering the possibility, if not of returning to an actual constitutional system and to that which the bourgeois constitutional opposition calls the "normal" life of the country, at least of showing a certain degree of readiness to recognize the right of those Italian citizens belonging to other parties and organizations to also express their wishes and to say a word in political life, and even to hope to have these wishes and opinions taken slightly into consideration in legislative and other political activity. The *Stampa* devoted a leading article to this phenomenon, adducing three facts—the attitude of the government to the chamber and to the opposition; the behavior of the government after its intention of abolishing the liberty of the press had encountered general opposition; and finally the attempt being made to restore what the *Stampa* calls "normal", that is, peaceful, relations between the government and the free trade unions—and concluding from these facts that the important change mentioned above had really begun to take place in Fascism. The *Stampa* naturally welcomed the change with delight.

As a matter of fact, events seemed to indicate this. Twice, on the occasion of the debate on the suffrage law, Mussolini put the question of confidence before the chamber, as if he were no dictator, but simply a parliamentary prime minister, needing the confidence of the majority of the chamber for the maintenance of his government. When his measure restricting the liberty of the press aroused protest even in quarters from which he was accustomed to meet with blind obedience, he abstained from the proclamation of the enactment, so that it is not yet law. Most significant of all, Mussolini suddenly declared in the chamber that he would be pleased to have immediate representatives of the working class in his government, and shortly afterwards he gave an audience to d'Aragona, the general secretary of the General Labor Confederation, who has been derided and attacked a hundred times in the *Popolo d'Italia*, in order to discuss with him the possibility of freedom for the work of the trade union organizations.

A number of combinations were immediately conjectured as likely to follow this visit of the leader of the free trade unions to Mussolini. A representative of the workers' organizations was at once imagined in the government, and there was much talk of reciprocal respect between Fascist and free trade union organizations in the course of their organizational work. The hopes roused by the idea of Fascism taking a peaceful turn, went even further. When the Fascist "Supreme Council" assembled, and the question of the national militia came up for discussion—this militia being notoriously a purely Fascist body of troops, at the personal disposition of the prime minister—a highly sensi-

official Rome journal published the exact ordinations by which the militia was to be rendered non-political and incorporated into the rest of the army. The rest of the press naturally followed suit, and before long it was asserted that there was going to be a reduction from 300,000 to 100,000 men. In a word: an idyll. The magical speeches of the constitutional opposition transform the Fascist wolf into a lamb, and Fascism continues to hold the reins of government solely for the fun of the thing, or perhaps with the intention of saving Italy and the bourgeois parties from the disastrous effects of a quarrel as to who is to succeed it. This entrancing dream was, unfortunately, all too soon dispelled by the hard Fascist reality. And it was precisely the decisions of the "Supreme Council", in which Fascism again reveals its true countenance, which dispelled the delusion.

Trade union liberty? The "Supreme Council" passed a resolution expressing satisfaction at the growth of the national trade unions, in which the "working masses are weaned from the anti-economic and destructive ideology of Marxism" and persuaded to cooperate as closely as possible with the Fascist political organizations (whilst complete rupture with all proletarian parties is always demanded from the free trade unions). The secretaries of the industrial union, Benni and Olveti, had taken part in the session of the "Supreme Council" as representatives of their organization, for the purpose of discussing the possibility of constant contact between Fascist trade unions and the general industrial union. The resolution passed, expressed entire belief in the serviceableness of this contact. There was not a word with regard to respecting oppositional organizations, no mention of their cooperation in the government. And Rossini, the general secretary of the Fascist trade unions, spoke even more clearly in the course of an interview, stating that the General Labor Confederation has only two alternatives: either it finally abandons the "anti-economic" teachings of Marx, a course compelling it to dissolve altogether and to send its members into the Fascist organizations, or it refuses to renounce these "anti-economic" theories, and need not then complain if it is subjected to persecution. Trade union liberty thus remains, as before, the monopoly of those trade unions who substitute the "anti-economic" theories of Marx in their program by cooperation with the industrial union.

And what about neutralizing the militia? What progress is this making? The "Supreme Council", this highest body in the Fascist state passed a resolution which reads as follows:

1. Until the state has become completely Fascist, that is, until it is assured that in every branch of administration and all institutions the ruling class of yesterday will be succeeded by Fascist rulers, or by rulers subject to Fascism; and until every endeavor towards the restoration of rule to the anti-national elements has been irrevocably abandoned; until then Fascism—party and government—having carried through the revolution and taken upon itself the resultant responsibility, cannot forego the armed assistance of the Black Shirts.

2. The Black Shirts represent the flower of the party, the faithful guard of the Fascist revolution which culminated in the march on Rome, and an inexhaustible reserve of enthusiasm and firm belief in the destiny of the fatherland, symbolized by the high person of the king."

Paragraph 3 increases the number of the militia to half a million men, and paragraph 4, dealing with the tasks incumbent on this new army, proceeds as follows:

4. The militia is a great body of political police. Its task is to render any disturbance of public order impossible, to prevent the slightest movement or attempt at a rising against the Fascist government, and to do this with or without the aid of the regular police, thus securing the permanent normal condition of the productive and social life of the nation."

Paragraph 9, is of particular importance for the "neutralizing" of the militia:

9. That the ties binding the leaders of the party to the heads of the militia may become closer, a representative of the executive committee of the party will participate in the sessions of the chief command of the militia, and a representative of the chief command in the sessions of the executive committee of the party."

It should here be observed that no mention is made of the government, but of the party!

And instead of an attitude of reconciliation towards the parties of the opposition, an appeal is issued to the Fascists throughout Italy, couched in terms which are an affront to all those who have not yet gone over into the Fascist Camp. The decisive passage of this appeal is as follows:

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Horthy's Socialist Bullies

Peyer, the social democratic deputy and miners' leader, delivered an address in the Horthy parliament on secret organizations, in the course of which he spoke as follows:

"I beg the government to take equally energetic steps against illegal organizations of the right and of the left. I do not wish to conceal the fact that I am also demanding that energetic steps be taken against illegal organizations tending to the left. I mean the so-called communist organizations. These have been called into existence by the Vienna emigrants, in order to sow dissension in the ranks of the working people and to incite them against their leaders. The activity of these illegal communist organizations is carried on in the interests of the communist emigrants and the Budapest police (!), which always has a supply of communist assassinations and movements up its sleeve. This movement is actually pampered (!) by the police, which takes the greatest care that it does not die out.

A short time ago some young communists were arrested, and compromising instructions found in their possession. At that time I was informed by the police that the communists working in Hungary had received special instructions to act against my person. The police took no steps at the time, and did not even make the matter public. If the government and the authorities do nothing in the matter of the illegal organizations of the right, they also leave the communists in peace, or even incite them to action against the social democrats and the trade unions (!). But when we lodge complaints against the communists (!), then they are actually protected by the authorities. It has happened that the communists were able to organize five successive strike movements without the slightest obstacle being thrown in their way by the police (!)."

The persecution being carried on against the revolutionary workers is not severe enough for the Horthy socialists. They make frequent complaints, and, as the above quotation shows, call upon Horthy to take more energetic action!

## POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Looking for New Illusions

By Evelyn Roy.

It is matter for some surprise that Indian nationalists of the spiritual school have not discovered the great contribution made to the literature of their creed by the celebrated French writer, Romain Rolland. In a series of articles, published early in the present year in the French magazine *Europe*, under the title of "Mahatma Gandhi", M. Rolland describes the progress of the Non-Cooperation Movement throughout the time of Mr. Gandhi's leadership up to the moment of his arrest, and upon this movement as a background, he constructs an image of the Mahatmaji as a new Messiah, come to save not India alone, but the entire world, and particularly warring Europe, by his doctrine of Suffering, Self-Sacrifice and Soul-Force.

Such an unexpected reinforcement from so distinguished an individual will doubtless add strength to the conviction of those who are already convinced that India's peculiar mission is to spiritualize the world. To those who have begun to doubt and waver in this fond belief, M. Rolland's articles will bring renewed faith. How can so famous a man be mistaken, they will ask. Having probed the knowledge and experience of the West to its depths, only to arrive at despair and disillusionment, M. Rolland and his school have turned their faces to the East in search of inspiration, and lo! they have discovered a new Evangel. Listen to the tired Intellectualism of post-war European decadence:

"In this crumbling world, there is no refuge, no hope. There is no great light. The Church drugs us with soothing and virtuous counsel, but guards carefully against embroiling herself with the powerful; moreover, she gives advice, but sets no example. Vapid pacifists bleat languishingly, and one feels that they hesitate; they speak of a faith which they are not sure of having. Who will prove this faith for them? And how, in the midst of a world that denies it? In the only way that faith may prove itself—by action!

"The present impotence of the opposition must not bring about any slackening in the fighting spirit of the Fascists. The masks now falling show us the faces of fresh enemies, at last confessing themselves openly as such. This sinister and cowardly Sicilian priest, and the party which he leads (This refers to Don Sturzo and the Catholic people's party) must be recognised as the enemy of the government and of Fascism. The same must be said of the unitarian socialism grouping itself around the demoralized marionettes of reformism. Some fractions of democracy and liberalism adhere to their formal opposition. All this gives us reason to maintain our firm hold, and to keep courageous watch.

Fascisti!

Fascism must attain its goal at any price! Let this oath rise from the midst of the mighty chorus of your legions. The leader who has led us since the year 1919 is still at his post of command, and neither treacherous calm nor unchained storm can hold him back from fulfilling his harsh duty. We have obeyed him, we obey him now, and we shall continue to obey him blindly. In life and in death. For he is governed by one passion only, and that is our passion, the greatness of the fatherland. Long live Fascism!"

This does not much resemble the language of reconciliation. This is the language of a party conscious of growing strength, and preparing to sweep away the last of its adversaries.

The publication of these resolutions has naturally met with consternation in the oppositional press, but the *Popolo d'Italia* derided the amazed commentary of the "disappointed", and declared it to be a perfectly grotesque idea to assert that the chamber, had it had to carry out the division on the suffrage reform in accordance with the decisions of the "Supreme Council", could have been able to come to any other decision, for the chamber can only pursue one course with regard to the Fascist revolution, that of accommodating itself to events which are already historical. And as an explanation of the contradiction between these decisions of the "Supreme Council" and Mussolini's previous attitude, the *Popolo d'Italia* publishes a notice from Rome stating that Mussolini is one of those strategists who do not believe in clinging obstinately to one single method, but rather take the adversary by the arm today, attack him from the front tomorrow, and pave the way for the possibility of organizing an annihilating movement behind his back. Thus it is possible that Mussolini, after proposing a conciliatory solution, may return to harsher methods again, and may increase the national militia to a million men. The final result will be that those who do not want to be treated as friends will be destroyed as enemies.

Here lies the key to recent Fascist policy, and of all Fascist policy since the seizure of power. Fascism makes it its endeavor to monopolize the whole political life of Italy. Its goal, the "Fascistification" of the whole of Italy, involves the destruction of all other parties and the absorption of their remains in the great united Fascist party. Any remaining resistance is then to be crushed by the national militia, the mailed fist of Fascism. The Fascists regard themselves as a new ruling class—it would go beyond the scope of this article to show that the designation "class" is impossible for a party trying to unite in its ranks the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, since it is lacking in the social-economic basis of a real class—which took over power in Italy by the march on Rome. They permit participation in this power solely to those who are willing to become a part of this new ruling class. For the others there is not even the most elementary liberty, nothing but bloody suppression. Fascism knows no opposition which it tolerates, but only that which it combats.

But there are still many in Italy who have not yet grasped this fact. Thus the Catholic People's Party thought to break the teeth of Fascism by sending representatives into the Fascist government. Today it has to pay for this error with a split, and by being placed on the proscription list of "anti-national" parties. D'Aragona imagined that negotiations would enable him to induce Fascism to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards him and the organizations which he represents, and did not know that Mussolini, in accordance with the ideal of a strategist as depicted by the *Popolo d'Italia*, was offering him his hand and at the same time perhaps preparing to deal him an annihilating blow from behind.

Fascism does not capitulate. The hope that it will become peaceful in character, that it will agree to self-disarmament by means of the neutralization of the militia, and that it will submit to any reversion to constitutional conditions, has been proved by recent events to be a dangerous delusion.



"There is the 'Message to the World', as Gandhi calls it, the message of India: 'Sacrifice ourselves! The highway to peace is the sacrifice of self.' This is the message of Gandhi!"

One can imagine how gratified must be Tagore, Arabinda Ghose and the whole school of Spiritual Imperialists to read this confirmation of their creed, written in such lyrical words by the master-hand of a French romanticist. Perhaps they would be better pleased had Romain Rolland seen in them, instead of Gandhi, the new Saviour of Humanity, but even in this he leaves ground for hope. Concluding his panegyric on India's spiritualizing mission, he declares:

"The great religious manifestations in the Orient have a rhythm. One of two things must be; either the Gandhi Avatar will conquer, or will repeat itself—just as, centuries before, came the Messiah and the Buddha—unto the complete incarnation in a mortal demi-god of the Life-Principle that will lead us towards the new stage of the new Humanity."

So, if India and the world are to be saved by the rhythmic advent of mortal demi-gods, it is high time that one of these spiritual leaders takes up the role of Avatar, left vacant since the arrest of the Mahatma, and finishes his job, which is, according to M. Rolland, to bring Swaraj to the Indian people by Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force, thus proving to the rest of the world that it can be done. Naturally, when the armed nations of the West behold that great moral victory, they will cast away their weapons and accept the new Gospel, even as they accepted (with ample reservations), the similar gospel of Christ two thousand years ago. M. Rolland speaks pessimistically of the Christian Church as it exists today, but does not despair if a new Church may be founded, to begin anew the work of proselytism. Truly, hope springs eternal in the pacifist breast.

In the eyes of M. Rolland, Gandhi has already scored a moral victory, which will very soon be followed (on this point he is vague but positive) by the granting of Home Rule for India, on the part of the British Government. "I am of the opinion, moreover," he declares, "that this political ideal (Swaraj) will be attained promptly." Of course, such a consummation is devoutly to be wished for, and, besides, it is essential to prove his whole thesis,—namely, that Non-violence is superior to Violence, and is the only path to salvation. If M. Rolland can prove that the Mahatma won Swaraj for India by non-violent means, then he hopes also to prove that Europe must abandon her wars and revolutions, in favour of spiritual weapons. "The world is swept by the winds of violence," he declares, "each people devours the other, in the name of the same principles, which conceal the same interests and the same instincts of Cain: Nationalists, Fascists, Bolsheviks, oppressed classes and peoples, oppressing peoples and classes,—all claim for themselves, while refusing it to others, the right to be violent, which appears to them the Law. Half a century ago, Force preceded Law. Today it is far worse; Force is Law. One has devoured the other."

All this is true, and M. Rolland is to be congratulated on having pierced the tissue of lies that, in the name of Bourgeois Democracy, conceals the Dictatorship of the Capitalist class. He does not like it, any more than he likes the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which exists in Russia. Hence, in order to escape from these cruel realities, he flies to the Orient, whose softening perspectives offer him room for hope that there may be found another world, built upon other laws. He suddenly finds in Gandhi a new Messiah, preaching a gospel of Love and Non-Resistance, which sweeps everything before it, evokes a vast popular following, compels a powerful Empire to listen and concede. Here is fresh hope for the tired intellectuals of war-stricken Europe. They behold in Gandhi a brother-pacifist, a Super-Pacifist, who has translated theory into action, words into deeds, and who has conducted a mighty movement that was heading towards violent Revolution, into the channels of non-violent Non-cooperation, based upon Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force.

Well may the pacifists rejoice, whether of East or West. For the first time in modern history, it has been given to one of their creed to guide a movement according to the principles of Non-violence. Well may the Reverend John Maynes Holmes of New York acclaim Gandhi as the greatest man in the world: well may Romain Rolland hail him as the new Messiah. As pacifists, they could not do otherwise; Mahatma Gandhi is their proof, their single illustration, of the efficacy of pacifist theories applied to real conditions. Yet in the midst of their adulation and mystic joy, they forget one single, small, but all-important fact, namely, that the non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement of India, headed by Mr. Gandhi and conducted upon the principles of Suffering, Self-Sacrifice and Soul-Force, has not as yet succeeded

in its objective, plainly stated to be the attainment of Swaraj; that its leaders, including Mr. Gandhi and some twenty-five thousand more, were arrested and sent to jail for various terms of imprisonment, many of which have not yet expired; that the movement, seriously crippled by government repression and its own mistaken tactics, has suffered a serious set-back in the last fourteen months, and is only just beginning to go forward once more, under the very mundane guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and the Swaraj Party, who have given up all talk about Soul-Force, and are sticking to Non-violence, not as a religion, but as a tactic forced upon them by the exigencies of the situation. Far from being won, "Swaraj" is "further away today than it appeared in the critical days of 1921-22, when the gigantic mass-movement of the Indian workers and peasants threatened to break away from spiritual leading-strings and become aggressively revolutionary. It was in that crisis that "Round Table Conferences" were spoken of, between the Government and the leaders; that Mahatma Gandhi toured the length and breadth of the country, a free man, challenging the existence of the "Satanic Government" openly, yet the latter feared to lay hands upon him, lest the rebellious masses rise in his defense. Romain Rolland speaks more truly than he knows when he declares:

"Three years earlier, India would have been soaked in blood by the arrest of Gandhi. But the sentence of Ahmedabad was received by the religious silence of India."

Petty-bourgeois pacifism is full of illusions, and hugs them ever more tightly to its breast as the cold blasts of Reality whistle more and more chill. The "religious" silence of India at the arrest of its Mahatma was the silence of inaction, despair and disillusionment; it was the last proof, if proof were still needed, that the non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement, based upon Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force, had divorced itself utterly from the dynamics of mass-energy by adopting the Bardoli Programme, which repudiated all direct action of the masses. Swaraj, which had hovered almost within call, fled away once more like a mocking shadow, and the Mahatma was led off to jail for six years, amid the "religious" silence of India. Let M. Rolland rejoice, if it please him, in the "moral victory" of Gandhism; that does not bring Swaraj any closer to the hungering workers and peasants who had followed the Mahatma so blindly believing when he told them that Swaraj would come within a year—the Swaraj of Non-payment of Rent and Taxes, and a better life for all. Was it not this same Mahatma who denounced the riotous villagers of Chauri Chaura, and ordered them to give themselves up for judgment, which they did, and two hundred and twenty-eight of them were condemned to death! Was it not the Mahatma who called a halt to Civil Disobedience, and who forced through the Bardoli Resolutions, which order the peasants to pay rent to the Zemindars, and which tell the Zemindars that their property-rights will be respected? Yet M. Rolland, hugging his illusions more tightly to him, exclaims:

"I can scarcely believe that Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-Cooperators would accept association in the same Assembly with European and Indian capitalists. But it appears certain that Indian Home Rule is no longer in question. In one shape or another, it is inevitable. India has conquered morally."

There are more things in this world of realities than are dreamed of in the philosophy of Pacifism. It appears certain that the Non-cooperators will very shortly sit in the same Assembly with European and Indian capitalists, if the programme of the Swaraj Party is fulfilled. But Home Rule is still far-distant, and Swaraj has become a meaningless term. The advent of a second Incarnation is still necessary to save India, and thereafter the world. The tired intellectuals of Europe are roaming the Orient in search of new illusions to replace the rags of those torn from them by the holocaust of War and Revolution, but they refuse to see there the same inexorable laws that operate throughout the natural world, whether it be East or West. They speak of "moral" victories and "spiritual" battles and the advent of a new Messiah, without knowing whereof they speak, nor caring to know that beneath the talk about Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force, a people of 320,000,000 souls is struggling to free itself from political, social and economic bondage, by any weapons that come to hand. The laws of economic determinism are at work there as here, and the time will come when this mighty people, tired at last of being slaves, will rise and throw off its shackles, striking great blows for freedom that will shake the world, even as did the great revolutions of the past. When this time comes, heaven help the tired intellectuals of Europe, and the petty-bourgeois pacifists, both East and West, for another, perhaps the last, cherished illusion will be gone!

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW 48.

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 60 [38]

13th September 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address: Wilhelm Bartz, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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## Lenin and Imperialism

By Victor Serge (Kieff).

At the time of the II Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin made the journey to Petrograd in order to speak at the opening session of the congress. He spoke at some length, for two to three hours if I am not mistaken. Not in the manner of a public speaker, but like someone talking easily on a subject with which he is perfectly familiar, and who is anxious to hammer home an idea into the brains of his audience with blows of ever increasing strength. He made no oratorical efforts. But he analysed, described, appealed again and again to pure reason, and even more to sound ordinary common sense. He expressed no sentiments, but only adduced facts, impressive facts. He spoke with humor, and frequently concluded his demonstrations by expressive gestures of both hands. "Do you understand?" He smiled often, and his face, conspicuous with its prominent cheek bones and powerful forehead, was constantly lit up by a sharp laughing glance, full of wisdom, which swept across the meeting, sought out faces, and received understanding from the faces when found.

I listened to Lenin, and as an old anarchist I had the impression that here the greatness of revolutionary socialism was revealed to me in a much more effective form than in the most convincingly written book.

In a few brief strokes, Lenin outlined truly colossal pictures. The word "millions" was on his lips oftener than any other. The abstract human being, the metaphysician, the individual of the anarchist, scarcely existed for him. He calculated with millions and again with millions of human beings, with world-wide humanity, with the mighty social reality. He spoke constantly of the masses, and brought the different races before our mental vision. Armed with Keynes' book, but seeing much further than this, he set forth the calamities which the Versailles peace treaty had already brought upon Europe, and those it is likely to bring in the future. Then he showed the surging up to new forms of social life of the races of Asia: 330 million Chinese, 320 million Hindus, 80 million Japanese, 45 million Malays . . . millions and again millions of human beings, impelled forward by the lash of the plantation owner, the whip of the slaveholder, and the machine guns of the agents of "civil-

ization" . . . masses of human beings setting themselves slowly in motion . . .

And suddenly we asked ourselves in amazement: "How is it possible that we socialists, anarchists, people of good will, could have failed to recognize all these great things for so many years?" . . .

Those comrades who read Lenin's short work: "Imperialism as the last stage of capitalism", now at last published in the French language, will receive, I believe, a similar impression to mine. This work which was written in the year 1915 has lost nothing of its value since. The war, the "peace" of Versailles, the post-war period, the decay of reformist socialism, are only further confirmations of all Lenin's arguments of the year 1915. The scientific value of the methods employed by him is thus brilliantly demonstrated; for only one who is thoroughly conversant with and understands the play of natural and social laws can foresee events as Lenin has done.

Prewar times! The "socialists" pursued a miserable policy of vote catching. Party functionaries and deputies capable of seeing beyond the narrow limits of their constituencies or of parliamentary intrigue were few and far between. The anarchists declaimed the beautiful unsophisticated truths which they had learnt from Grave, Kropotkin, and Réclus, they fought against the old bourgeois society as isolated franc-tireurs, as dreamers, artists, vegetarians, or bandits. Syndicalism, joined by the most revolutionary elements of both tendencies, gradually developed simultaneously a theory and a practice of class warfare. The world hastened along a clearly mapped out path towards war. The majority of those who held themselves to be revolutionists were in reality carelessly and blindly drifting towards it.

They were lacking in a scientific method of research and thought. But this method already existed: revolutionary Marxism. But with the exception of the Russians, a minority of Germans, and a tiny minority of comrades to be met with here and there, scarcely anyone knew, or much less applied, this method. But that great things may be accomplished by its aid is clearly and indisputably shown by this little work of