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## GERMANY

### The Situation in Germany

By Emil Höllein.

Berlin, October 31, 1923.

The rejection of the Stresemann-Sollmann ultimatum by the Socialist-Communist Government in Saxony was immediately answered by deeds. Stresemann appointed one of his party colleagues, the notorious former Minister of Justice for the Republic, Dr. Heinze, as Reich's Commissar for Saxony. The latter forthwith declared the Saxon Government to be dismissed. To the accompanying strains of a military band, General Müller trained his machine guns on the Ministry in Dresden. He had the constitutional Government removed from office by military violence, and at the same time forbade the appointed session of the Diet.

This action called forth great excitement. At one stroke there was set up in Saxony the united fighting front of all the workers. The Social Democrats, in common with the Communist Party and the heads of the trade unions, proclaimed a three days demonstration strike. Throughout the Republic a stormy movement broke out in the camp of the Social Democracy, furiously demanding the immediate breaking away from the Great Coalition and a common fight of all workers against the open attack of Fascist reaction. But this movement embraced only the lower sections of the Social Democracy, only the broad masses of the workers. The leaders immediately sought for a more comfortable way out of the situation. They straightaway introduced a furious

campaign against the Communists. They adopted entirely the standpoint of the Fascists, according to which the Communist Ministers must be got rid of, and in this campaign the Right leaders of the Social Democrats differed from the Left only in their methods. Wels and Dittmann were somewhat more vehement, while Wurm and Künstler were somewhat more moderate in the fight against the Communists. And so it came about that—while the Saxon proletariat stood shoulder to shoulder with the Communists in the open struggle against the Fascist reaction—the Right leaders of the Social Democrats, with the support of the Democrats and with the benevolent neutrality of the Stinnes' party, formed a Right Social Democratic Government in Saxony. This "statesmanlike" act will only serve to ensure the continued existence of the Great Coalition in the Republic. As the occasion of the crisis has now disappeared, so the threatening Government crisis will also be removed.

If things proceed according to the wishes of the Social Democrats, further developments will turn out somewhat as follows: General Müller remains the uncrowned monarch in Saxony. He continues his campaign against the workers as before. And in contradistinction to the attitude of the dismissed Socialist-Communist Government, his actions will meet with no resistance on the part of the new Government. On the contrary, this government will approve of all the measures of the Reichswehr general, in exactly the same manner as they have hitherto been sanctioned by the Social Democratic Civil Commissar Meyer-Zwickau, member of the Reichstag. And in the same way, in the Republic, Gessler remains absolute ruler as heretofore. The legal Dictatorship can prepare the way for Fascism at the same rate as hitherto. Not with too great haste, but with all the more certainty. And all this with the covert cooperation of Social Democracy.

Meanwhile things are not turning out entirely according to the wishes of Solimans and Weis, of Dittmann and Künstler. The Social Democratic working class certainly puts up with a great deal, but it cannot accept without more ado the recent doings in Saxony. And not merely in Saxony. In addition to this the economic situation, as well as the latest intentions of the Government with regard to the so-called measures in the interests of economy, are not well calculated to bring about a peaceful state of affairs. The so-called constant valuta money, has already in the first week of its issue lost over 50 per cent of its value. For when the gold loan is officially kept at 65 milliard marks, while the international value of the Dollar at the same time has exceeded 100 milliard marks, this simply means a total fiasco for this money of a constant valuta.

The price of food increases continually in spite of the unchanging rate of the officially set prices of the foreign valuta. The latest collapse of the mark on the international market will result in a new soaring of prices, which, in turn, must lead to further social repercussions. The economies decreed by the Government have roused enormous excitement among the employees and officials in the administration, as well as in the state undertakings, namely, among the Railway workers and Postal employees. Without the least regard to the interests of the families affected, there is to be an almost complete sweep of the employees in the civil service, and at the same time the number of officials is to be reduced by about 25 per cent. It is a foregone conclusion that the Social Democratic and Democratic employees will be the first victims of this reduction. In any case, the employees have already threatened to reply to these measures with the general strike.

But even the reaction itself cannot wait any longer. The mobilization and filling of the ranks of the legal and illegal fighting organizations swallow up enormous sums which cannot be kept up for any length of time without great difficulties. The Bavarian government is working systematically for the intensification of the crisis. It not only renders invalid the laws of the Republic, it even forbids the finance officials of the Republic in Bavaria to collect the gold levy on agriculture and the factory taxes. As is known, the gold depot of the branch of the Reichsbank in Bavaria has been confiscated by Kahr. Meanwhile the impoverishment of the working masses and of the middle classes is also going on in Bavaria, and Herr Kahr must renew the hopes of his adherents by demonstrating that a change of the situation can only be brought about by a radical abolition of "Marxism" in the Republic. This abolition is for him a question of immediate urgency. Finally, and in addition to all this, the Inter-Allied Military Control will again be set up in Germany, whereby the existence, and before all the arming of the fighting unions must be immediately threatened.

Everything in Germany therefore is pressing towards a violent solution of the antagonisms. It is true things are not developing in a straight line, but in a complex zig-zag course and often interrupted by temporary retreats. Nevertheless, the final result is an objective sharpening of the whole situation.

## The Problems of the German Revolution

The Cunning Legend of the "Alliance" between Communists and National Socialists.

By G. Zinoviev.

The German working class is marching forward to the seizure of power. The only political party in Germany on the up-grade is the Communist Party, which is growing in strength and numbers daily, despite all persecution. All other political parties are on the down-grade, they are losing influence, dying out.

A much "respected" German Menshevik (P. Herzig) recently wrote in *Der sozialistische Bote*: "As Social Democracy, even together with communism, comprises a section of the working class only, whilst a considerable section of proletarian intellectuals and non-propertied middle class elements are in the bourgeois camp, the socialist labor movement in Germany is not in a position, even from the purely numerical point of view, to seize power."

This "profound" sentence is worthy of a Menshevik. Every Menshevik with any respect for himself always has a stock of a thousand and one reasons upon which he can draw when he wants to strike a blow against Revolution. Even if we present to him 99% of the members organized in the social democratic party, all knowing the Erfurt Program and Kautsky's complete works by heart, he will still demand that the remaining one per cent first be called upon to settle, by means of a general, direct, and secret ballot, what "Revolution" really is, if it is necessary at the present juncture, and what is to be

preferred: the constitutional assembly or the proletarian dictatorship.

In reality the 20 million German proletarians have already passed through a school of organization more than sufficing to enable them to carry through their Revolution. And they will carry it through. The whole import of the events which have taken place within the working class, beginning with the conquest of the factory councils by the communists, and continuing with the election to the metal workers' conference, with the August strike of this year, and all the other various complications of the struggle, consists of the fact that the German working class has bestowed the leadership of the movement upon the Communist Party.

The sorry heroes of the Second International hide their heads in the sand like the cowards they are, and pretend not to notice this fundamental fact, though this determines the whole course of the world revolution for the coming period. But this does not by any means imply that these socialist gentlemen are letting their hands lie idle in their laps, and are going to be resigned to their fate. No. International Menshevism sees (or feels) the inevitable victory of the German proletariat in the impending revolutionary battle, and is taking its measures. And international Menshevism has invented the legend of the alleged "alliance" between German Communism and Nationalism; it could not hit upon a better idea.

The more violent the struggle of the German working class under the leadership of the German Communist Party, the nearer the German proletariat approaches to victory, the more obvious does the treachery of international Menshevist policy become, and the more clearly can we recognize the diabolical plans of the leaders of the Second International against the German Revolution.

Everyone knows that armed conflicts have been taking place for some months between German Communism and Fascism. Scarcely a day passes without direct armed struggles between Communists and Fascists—struggles which cost dozens and hundreds of lives not only to the Fascists, but also to the Communist workers of Germany. Everyone knows that when the German Communist Party—anticipating a general struggle against Fascism—attempted to arrange an anti-Fascist day during the past summer, this demonstration was prohibited by the German Social Democrats of the Second International. Everyone knows that Gessler, the black Minister for War, is the right hand man of the Social Democrat Ebert, and that General Seeckt belongs in reality to the coalition bloc which includes the leaders of the Social Democratic Party; everyone knows that the nationalist upheaval in Bavaria is in point of fact the result of the "activity" of the social democratic leaders; everyone knows that for years the S.P.D. and the German nationalist bourgeoisie have been expressly cooperating against the German working class. But none the less the German Social Democrats are crying from the housetops the news of the alleged alliance between Communists and Nationalists.

Why?

The best answer to this question is the action being taken by the friends of the German Social Democrats—the French Social Chauvinists.

The French "Socialists" of the Second International are very well aware, and the leaders of German Social Democracy are also aware, that the victory of the German proletariat and the establishment of a proletarian government led by the Communists are near and inevitable in Germany. These gentlemen are calculating very accurately that the French bourgeoisie, headed by Poincaré, will attempt to throttle the German Proletarian Revolution by force of arms. Despite all "differences of opinion" with Poincaré, both German and French Social Democrats hold him to be the Messiah, the future redeemer of Germany and the whole of Europe from the "terrors of the Bolshevik dictatorship". In order to give Poincaré the possibility of sending troops against the German Proletarian Revolution at the decisive moment, the "soil" must be already "prepared"; it is necessary to create the corresponding moral atmosphere. One of the means to this end is the legend of the alleged alliance between Communists and Nationalists. The French and the German Social Democrats, as well as the leaders of the Second International, want to be able to say to the French soldiers, on the day after the victory of the German proletariat: That which is now happening in Germany is no Proletarian Revolution, it is a nationalist movement, that is, a kind of monstrous hybrid between Nationalism and Communism, that is, the preparation for a war of revenge against France, etc. The same traitorous rôle which was played in the year 1914 by the slogan of "defence of the fatherland" in the imperialist war, is now to be played by the legend of the alleged alliance between Communism and Nationalism. Every effort is being made to discredit the great Proletarian Revolution in Germany in ad-

vance. Its true import is already being distorted, lies and slanders are already being spread abroad about it, just as they were spread years ago about the Russian Revolution.

What the French "Socialist" Party is now engaged upon is simply a piece of trickery on a large scale. Every day there are perfect orgies of trickery in Renaudel's organ the *Populaire*, and not only in this paper, but also in the organ issued by the renegade Frossard—the same Frossard who was counted but lately among the communists, but sold himself to the bourgeoisie (see the *Egalité*, published at the expense of the bourgeoisie). The principal actor in all this is the notorious rogue and ink-slinger Grumbach, who is now engaged on the same "work" as he performed in 1914 to the orders of the bourgeoisie. Quotations are perverted from their real meaning, facts falsified, fairy stories fabricated. The mighty movement of the German proletariat is represented as a turgid flood of Nationalism. The "alliance" between German Communists and German Fascists is the constant subject of speech and writing. This poisonous lie makes its way from the columns of the "socialist" press into the bourgeois press with its hundred tongues, and is carried into the villages and into the barracks.

Poincaré may well be satisfied with his servants. The legend thus fabricated by the leaders of the Second International is nothing more nor less than a preparation for the overthrow of the German Proletarian revolution by international imperialism, nothing more nor less than a moral justification of the new imperialist war already in course of preparation, a war which will be directed against the German Revolution and against any allies of this Revolution. This must be known to the workers of the whole world.

Germany is a vanquished country. The Imperialism of the Entente is pressing its advantage to the utmost. Not only the 20 millions of the working class are daily experiencing the effects of the pressure being exercised by the foreign bourgeoisie, but wide circles of the population of the small towns and of the rural districts are suffering as well. The events of the past few years have shaken petty bourgeois Germany to its foundations. The black leaders of German Nationalism, the kindred spirits of Poincaré and Co., have long been fishing in troubled waters. The Fascists utilize the atmosphere of excitement, unrest and despair prevailing among the petty bourgeois strata of the population, for their own ends. They have endeavored, and continue to endeavor, to distract the attention of the people from the questions of the internal conflict, and to draw it to the foreign enemy. They stir up nationalist passions as the most effective means to this end. Existing conditions have made it possible for the German counter-revolutionists to lure into their net many people in poor circumstances in town and country. The German Communists are not only justified in removing from the influence of the bourgeois Nationalists all those non-propertied sections who have been following the Fascists from motives of just or unjust hate of the Entente oppressors, but it is absolutely their duty to do so.

Was the Paris Commune not right in attempting to mobilize against the Prussians that section of the town and country petty bourgeoisie which followed the Commune out of hate of the foreign oppressors and of the French bourgeoisie which had sold France wholesale and retail?

Had the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, in the years 1917/1919/1920, not the moral right to mobilize against English, French and German imperialism all those strata of the population who were mainly influenced by their hostility to intervention when they offered their aid to the Red Army?

Have the Socialists of the Second International not themselves admitted that anti-Semitism is the "Socialism of stupid fellows", and that it is the duty of the Socialists to emancipate from nationalist folly all those sections of the workers who have come under the influence of anti-Semitism for one reason or another?

The German Communists have fulfilled this task to the utmost of their ability, and their success has been great. The German working class, under the leadership of the CP., has already neutralized a section of the petty bourgeoisie, and is now engaged in winning the sympathies of the rest. Here is the guarantee for the victory of the German Revolution.

And the war of revenge? Is there perhaps a grain of truth in this? Is the German Revolution really preparing for war?

Everything depends on the attitude taken by the European imperialist bourgeoisie itself. If Poincaré and Co. lead their troops against the German Proletarian Revolution, there is no doubt whatever but that they will sooner or later bring about a war of independence on the part of Socialist Germany against bourgeois intervention. Messieurs Grumbach and Frossard may inform their patron Poincaré: The more brutal and base the form of foreign bourgeois intervention against the German Revolution,

the greater will be the storm of protest which it will raise, and the sooner will every living force in the country gather round the working class in the common endeavor to repel the foreign oppressor.

At the 7th Party Congress of the C. P. of Russia, which was held at the time of the Brest negotiations (at the beginning of the year 1918), Comrade Lenin characterized the draft of the Brest Treaty as a Treaty of Tilsit and declared on behalf of all the Communist workers in Russia that there was only one salvation for the Proletarian Revolution from the intervention of the foreign bourgeoisie: for the whole country to rally round the working class, and to grasp the first opportunity to begin a Socialist patriotic war—(precisely a patriotic war—Comrade Lenin rightly made use of this word—for we not only should, but must defend the Socialist Fatherland to the last drop of blood) against the foreign oppressor.

The Revolution signifies peace; so say the German communists. The German working class, led by the Communist Party, desires peace. When Communist speakers tell overcrowded meetings of workers in Germany that they will save Germany from war if they seize power, as they could then, in the last resort, buy their freedom from the Entente at the expense of the expropriated German bourgeoisie, these declarations are received with thunders of applause. When Communist speakers declare that Germany will enter into an alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and that the peace of the whole of Europe will be secured by this alliance, this arouses even greater enthusiasm.

The working class in Germany wants peace. The German and French bourgeoisie want war. And the German and French Social Democratic Parties both aid their own bourgeoisie. That is the essence of the question at issue.

The parties of the Second International have long been following in the wake of the counter-revolution. Now they will go even further. They are becoming transformed into the active guard of the most irreconcilable section of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The social democratic leaders are becoming open organizers of pogroms. Anyone inclined to doubt this should remember the executioner's rôle played by the Bulgarian Mensheviks during the latest events in Bulgaria. Even the aged Kautsky recently wrote, in a letter to the Jews of Russia, that they must help to overthrow the Soviet Government if they want to avoid pogroms.

When the Russian Mensheviks fabricate the legend of the alleged "Red Imperialism" of the Kremlin, they are in reality striving to prepare a fresh intervention of the foreign bourgeoisie against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. When the leaders of the French and German Social Democratic Parties fabricate the legend of the alleged "alliance" between German Communists and German Nationalists, they are preparing poison gas for the war against the German workers, to the orders of international imperialist reaction.

The leaders of the Second International have openly become the police of international counter-revolution. The Menshevik *Sozialistischer Bote* let a valuable admission escape recently (No. 16):

"In point of fact the parties in the countries "most interested" have gradually changed from representatives of a uniform international policy to benevolent representatives of "their" native countries, whose sole care is to work out the most "acceptable possible" compromise from the various national points of view. It goes without saying that the diplomatists of Socialism are actuated by incomparably more good will, sincere love of peace, humanity, and respect for their adversaries, when carrying on this activity in the cause of compromise, than are shown by the diplomatists of the ruling classes".

This, coming from the lips of Russian Mensheviks, is truly no very flattering compliment to the leaders of the Second International. The very stones appear to speak at last. Even among the Russian Mensheviks voices are raised against the treachery of the leaders of the Second International; but this does not of course prevent Dan and Abramovitch from playing the same part in relation to the Russian Communists as that played in France by Frossard and Grumbach.

Fresh treason is being prepared against the German and international working class, a treason which will be even more monstrous than that which we experienced in the Summer of 1914. The legend of "defence of the fatherland" cost the international working class many millions of human lives during the imperialist war. The advanced workers of the whole world must look to it that they take their measures in good time on this occasion, and put an effectual stop to the proceedings of the counterfeiter of the Second International when they begin to fabricate a new legend threatening disaster to the international working class!

## The Role played by the General German Trade Union Federation in the present Situation in Germany

By A. Enderle.

The struggle between Capital and Labor for political power has entered on its decisive stage. Germany possesses the largest and best trade unions in the world, and the question of the rôle being played in this mighty struggle by the trade unions, that is, by their main organs, the A.D.G.B. (General German Trade Union Federation), the Afa (General Free Employés' Union), and the A.D.B. (General German Officials' Union), who have in their hands the leadership over more than 9 millions of organized workers, is one which concerns the whole international proletariat.

Anyone who has followed the activity of these bodies within the last few years will not have placed any too extravagant hopes upon their helping the proletariat when the day of decisive struggle should arrive. But the actual degree of cowardice, passivity, and treachery evinced by these organizations has exceeded even the most pessimistic anticipations, now that a situation so decisive for the working class has arrived. Their treacherous attitude at the time of Cuno's overthrow, when they attacked the mass of workers engaged in the general strike from behind by calling for scab work, has been followed up by a series of equally despicable actions.

Immediately after the formation of the Grand Coalition government, the wages question came to the forefront of the struggle. The general strike in Berlin, which was almost complete, had struck alarm into the hearts of the employers, and in the middle of August they felt themselves compelled to grant rises in wages which in some cases even more than balanced the higher prices. Naturally there was a great outcry in the camp of the employers, and in the bourgeois press. The A.D.G.B. rushed hurriedly to the aid of Capital in this "emergency". Index wages had always been the end and aim of the trade union leaders, and in the Central Working Union they came to an agreement with the employers on "Rules for wage negotiations". This realized the principle of the index wage, but in a form even worse than the Austrian system, which is certainly wretched enough. For the basic wage, which has to be multiplied by the index figure, is to be fixed, according to these rules "in accordance with the state of the market and the economic necessities". In other words, not even the basic wage is to be adapted to the vital needs of the working class, but to the interests of the employers. To this must be added the index figure swindle, for when prices rise by almost 100% from one day to another, the index figure comes too late. The practical result of this agreement is therefore, that the wages actually paid scarcely amount to 10-15% of an actual living wage. Even the *Vorwärts* of October 11, is compelled to stigmatize this trade union policy by the words: "the index wages are developing more and more into a deceptive object of speculation". But now that every day is plunging the German working class deeper and deeper into the abyss of want and despair, the A.D.G.B. does nothing whatever. The capitalist system in Germany has only one firm footing today, and this is the Grand Coalition, i. e., the fact that the German Socialist Party is participating in the government. This government is, however, merely a screen for heavy industry and militarism. There are already many things to be placed to the account of the Grand Coalition: the imposition of the state of siege, the establishment of the military dictatorship, the delivery of all power into the hands of the black Reichswehr maintained by Stinnes, the impending abolition of the eight hour day, the "reform" of the provision made for the unemployed, the annulment of the demobilization orders. The A.D.G.B. shares the responsibility for this attack on the proletariat, for the German socialist party could not have taken part in the government against the will of the A.D.G.B.

But even here the A.D.G.B. is carrying on a demagogic double game. Although in fact it is as culpable as the government—indeed, it is mainly culpable—for the disgraceful actions of the government and for the present wretched conditions, still it issues an appeal every few days, severely criticising the actions of the capitalists and reactionaries, and making the most radical possible demands. Thus on September 8, the A.D.G.B., when dealing with the "currency question, unemployment, and insufficient wages", categorically demanded *gold currency* based on "real objects of value placed in the hands of the state". But all the while the coalition government is calmly allowing the workers to be fobbed off with worthless scraps of paper, whilst the capitalists and big agrarians sell for gold

prices only. Increased opportunity for work, and a dole "guaranteeing the necessary minimum", are demanded for the unemployed. And another passage says: "In private undertakings, the rapid discharge of workers is to be prevented by the extension and strict application of the enactment of November 1920 with regard to the closing down of undertakings". But all the same the ministerial consorts of the A.D.G.B. vote calmly for the reduction and cessation of unemployed benefit, for the mass discharge of workers and officials, and for the annulment of those ordinations which throw difficulties in the way of closing down of undertakings.

The A.D.G.B. issued an appeal on September 29, under the title of "Taxation Program of the Trade Unions", and was again very radical, as it always is when making demands with respect to taxation. Though it does not demand the 51% seizure of real values proposed by the C.P. of Germany, it at least demands 25% as well as an increase in death duties, and a very severe tax on the proceeds of the big agrarians. — But the government, including the Social Democratic Ministers, continues to tolerate the disgraceful state of affairs in which 90% of the total revenues are drawn from the workers, employés, and officials, and almost the whole of state expenditure is covered by the printing of bank notes, that is, by an inflation tax, which converts the poor into beggars, and at the same time places the property of the nation in the hands of a few hundred big capitalists. Instead of seizing the real values in the hands of private capital, the government is making every preparation for delivering over the state undertakings to private capital.

It is clear that all the appeals issued by the A.D.G.B., with their radical phrases and demands, are solely intended to delude the masses into the belief that the A.D.G.B. is fighting in their interests, and thus to prevent them from joining the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.

In reply to the dictatorial proceedings of the Ruhr industrialists, who simply posted notices informing the miners, iron workers, etc., that the 7 hours shift or eight hour day had been done away with, and the 8½ or 10-12 hour working day introduced, while wages were to remain the same, the A.D.G.B. issued an energetic summons on 5. October, under the title of "Workers, be on your guard". In this appeal the whole working class is called upon to fight against the enemies of the workers "even with the most extreme measures". The workers are told that: "Now is not the time for carrying on political conflicts in your own ranks. . . . The united power of the German proletariat must be pitted against the enemies of the working class." But if any body believes that this means that the A.D.G.B. is at last going to give up its policy of class collaboration, and to work energetically for the establishment of the united front which it has hitherto invariably sabotaged, or fight for the maintenance of the eight hour day, he will find himself very much mistaken. Although the employers have trampled upon the working unity agreement, the A.D.G.B. still declines to withdraw from the Central Working Union.

With respect to the attack made by the employers on the 7 hours shift of the miners, and on the eight hour day, the A.D.G.B. declared in the *Vorwärts* that the 7 hours shift must be formally retained, but that "the miners are always ready to work overtime", the A.D.G.B. has always been in favor of other working longer than 8 hours, in the form of overtime.

The repeated call for the proletarian united front, issued again and again centrally and locally by the C.P. of Germany, encounters now as ever the most violent resistance on the part of the A.D.G.B. It is true that the A.D.G.B., or its local sub-organs, are now forced by the pressure of the masses to discontinue their refusal to negotiate with the C.P. of Germany on the matter, but entirely impossible demands are always placed before the CP. during local negotiations (central negotiations have so far not been entered into at all), obviously on the instructions of the A.D.G.B. committee, such as "no political influence on the factory councils", "abstinence from any criticism or initiative in wages questions", etc. in order to prevent unity being achieved. And where the united front has been established in many places in spite of this, it is either because the trade unions concerned have themselves been revolutionary, or have been so urgently pressed by the masses that further sabotage was impossible.

The slogan: "Formation of joint committees of action" for defence against Capital and Fascism, has become so much the common property of the working class today that even the A.D.G.B. cannot stand apart from it any longer. As a fresh means of deceiving the masses, it immediately appointed a committee of action of its own, on October 11, consisting however of representatives of the main unions only, the A.D.G.B., the Afa, and the A.D.B. This has been resorted to as a means of avoiding joint action with the German C.P., and

for the purpose of seizing leadership should actual struggles ensue.

To sum up, it may be said that the leaders of the main unions and of the A.D.G.B. are still clinging convulsively to the idea of the reconstitution of Capitalism, and are ready to adopt any measures for warding off the "left dictatorship". But the possibility of escaping economic chaos has now become so exceedingly remote in Germany; the working masses, driven by want and despair, are exercising such heavy pressure on the trade unions; big capital, which during the November days relied upon the trade unions as the sole pillars of "order" warding off impending "chaos", is now so obviously at war with them and relying upon the Fascist bands which it maintains; that the trade union leaders are forced, though against their will, to take up the gauntlet thrown at their feet. How far they will go in this struggle—this depends in a great degree on the extent to which the masses backing them up are made class conscious and ready to fight by means of communist propaganda and agitation, and on the extent to which our party itself succeeds in showing these masses the ways and means for effective action.

## The Workers' Conference at Chemnitz

By Fritz Müller (Chemnitz).

On Sunday October 21., 1923, a Conference was held in Chemnitz by the Factory Councils, Trade Unions, Control Committees, and Cooperative societies; this conference was convened by the Saxon Ministries for Labor, Finance, and Economy, for the purpose of coming to decisions on the question of the provision of food and work in the Free State of Saxony.

In Saxony the question of food supplies is extremely difficult. On one side there is Fascist Bavaria, which is doubtless in a position to supply corn, potatoes, and above all dairy produce, but which systematically refuses to deliver as much as a single sack of potatoes to Red Saxony—and on the other side there are the agrarian districts of Silesia and East Prussia, which are ordered by the Reichswehr Generals not to export any food whatever. Saxony is in point of fact blockaded. Saxony itself is unable to produce food enough for the sustenance of its population. It is an over-industrialized country, and three times more densely populated than Prussia.

Confronted by this difficult situation, the Social Democratic and Communist Ministers of Saxony applied to capitalist circles, to industry, trade, and the banks, to aid the government in its efforts to provide bread and work for the suffering population. The result of this appeal may be imagined. These gentlemen did not stir a finger to furnish employment for even one out-of-work, they did not sacrifice a single wretched paper mark to give bread to the starving. Upon this the Workers' Congress was convened by the three ministries concerned.

It was a strange coincidence that this Congress took place just on the day after General Müller's proclamation to the Saxon population. The General stated that he wanted to restore law and order in Saxony with the aid of the Reichswehr troops. The economic chaos in Saxony, greater in his opinion than anywhere else in the country, he intended to remove by the sword. He would prevent the use of force against employers and workers. Constitutional conditions are to be restored. The Conference in Chemnitz was held in the face of these ideas. The Social Democratic Minister for Labor, Graupe, and the two Communist Ministers, the Minister for Finance, Böttcher, and the Minister for Economy, Heckert, gave addresses. Comrade Heckert gave a heartrending picture of the want and misery being suffered by the working population of Saxony. More than 12% of the total inhabitants have to be assisted by the State. Comrade Böttcher described the measures hitherto taken by the government at least partially to alleviate this misery. During the past week the Government made eight billion marks available for the purchase of potatoes. When the negotiations with the representatives of capital were frustrated by the unbounded egotism of these circles, and by their fanatical hate against the Saxon Workers Government, the Government applied through its Minister of Finance to a proletarian organization, to the International Workers' Relief, in order to consult with it on the question of providing bread. The I. W. R. immediately declared itself ready to supply 2000 tons of corn. This corn has already been partially delivered to Saxony, and on Thursday over 20,000 six pound loaves made from it will be distributed gratis to the starving population of Dresden. During the course of this week about 800,000 persons in Saxony will receive a free six pound loaf. The government has also made every endeavor to provide work, and is about to conclude a contract with Soviet Russia

ensuring work for Saxon industry, and 30,000 tons of corn to be supplied to the Saxon population in exchange by the end of November.

Graupe, the Minister for Labor, gave the right answer to General Müller's proclamation. Yes, in Saxony the economic and food questions are indeed becoming more involved from day to day. The Saxon buyers are purchasing no more goods, and it is true that this economic chaos has been deliberately created. But at whose instigation? It is not the working class which is responsible for these conditions. Those who are responsible are those same circles which drove Germany into the world war, and which—not satisfied with the defeat of Germany in the great war—contrived to bring about a fresh war, the Ruhr conflict, which has now completely ruined German economy. The responsibility is borne by those agricultural, industrial, and high financial circles which are systematically working for the starvation of Saxony, which are closing down the undertakings and refusing any credit whatever to the Government, solely for the reason that the Government reflects the will of the working class, of the majority of the population of Saxony. Documentary proofs can be brought that factory owners have closed down their enterprises because they will not pay the new Factory Tax, because they are no longer permitted to buy foreign bills, because they have received instructions from their Syndicates to cease production in order to maintain prices. Could there be a more annihilating indictment against the propertied classes?

As against this, the Saxon Government will now itself grant credits to the Cooperative Societies, enabling these to purchase goods. Within the next few days a complete inventory will be taken of the foodstuffs still in Saxony. The control of production must be accompanied by a control over the banks. The commercial agreement with Russia must be concluded, that work and bread may be secured to the population.

All these suggestions met with the enthusiastic approval of all present, and the Saxon Government may be assured that it finds complete understanding and energetic support of its efforts among the working population of Saxony.

But the participators in the Conference demanded even more!

The debate on bread and work passed far beyond the confines of these questions, into the realm of politics. One speaker after another rose and declared: nothing but a fight can rescue us from this situation. The General Strike must be proclaimed at once. The character of the Conference, whose delegates were chiefly from economic organizations (Cooperative Societies, Control Committees, etc.) precluded a resolution for immediate battle from being adopted. A preliminary proposal was accepted providing for the election of a Commission on which the various bodies were equally represented, and which was instructed to call upon the Saxon Social Democratic-Communist Government, the C.P. of Germany, the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, and the Trade Unions, immediately to proclaim the General Strike in order to repel the attack of the Central Government upon Saxony. The Commission is fully authorized itself to take the necessary steps for organizing the General Strike, should the bodies mentioned refuse to proclaim it. This motion was accepted. The Communist comrades also voted in its favor for the sake of securing a firmly united front, although the majority of the Conference, comprising both Communists and revolutionary Social Democrats, demanded the immediate proclamation of the General Strike.

## The Conference of the Berlin Trade Union Committees

On Wednesday, October 17, the committees of the Berlin trade unions held a meeting in Friedrichshain, and after hearing the addresses of Grassmann, representing the General German Trade Union Federation, and of the speaker following him, Walcher, the committees passed the following resolution by an overwhelming majority (in round numbers 1500 versus 50 votes):

"In view of the tremendous dangers threatening the whole working class, in view of the boundless misery of the broad masses, and the attempts being made to crush by force the workers' government in Saxony and Thuringia, in order that the working class of the whole country may be politically enslaved, this meeting declares: Should the German government, which calmly permits the law and constitution to be violated in Bavaria, venture to send armed forces against the Saxon and Thuringian workers, then the meeting expects that such an attack be immediately replied to by the trade union leaders with the sole possible answer: the immediate proclamation of the general strike!

At the eleventh hour the meeting calls upon the working class of the whole country to form an iron emergency

front, and to form committees of action for this purpose in every workshop and factory, in all localities.

The advance being made by Stinnes capital, which demands in a provocative manner that the eight hour day be done away with, proves that capitalist circles are pressing forward to the decisive struggle. The working people are confronted with the question, whether they will succumb without resistance and permit themselves to be cast in chains, or if they will put forth their mighty powers and smite their adversaries to the earth.

When the workers are united among themselves, when the workers, employes, and officials, all form one solid phalanx, then their victory is assured. Unite with the cry:

Down with the state of siege! Hands off the eight hour day! Hands off Red Central Germany! Up with the united front! Arm for battle! Arm for the general strike! The questions at stake are matters of life and death to the working class!

## French Delegation at the International Peasants' Conference supports the German Workers and Peasants

The French delegation at the International Peasants' Conference, actuated by the feeling of solidarity dominating the whole of the working peasants attending the International Peasants Conference, declares:

All wars between bourgeois states are invariably fought by the working masses, by the workers and peasants, and invariably originate in the contradictions inherent in capitalist economics. On the pretext of making good the damage caused by war, the bourgeois states are solely endeavoring to serve their own capitalist interests. The invasion into the Ruhr area, originating in the main in the separatist and monarchist movements in the Rhineland and Bavaria, is being utilized so as to enable the revolutionary movement in Europe to be annihilated by direct intervention.

The delegation calls upon the French workers and peasants to raise their energetic protest against these intentions of the capitalist exploiters, and to frustrate every attempt made to destroy the German Workers' and Peasants' Revolution.

The delegation of French peasants will, on their return to France, inaugurate an energetic campaign of agitation in town and country, for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' bloc against war, and against the imperialist leaders of French capitalism.

## To the Workers of the Whole World!

Famine on a frightful scale has descended upon Germany. The most important and most densely populated industrial districts of Saxony, Thuringia, the Rhine area, Silesia, and Berlin, are without of food.

The German working class, after suffering four years of starvation during the great war, and five years of want and deprivation since the close of the war, is now confronted by an empty void. Deprivation and under-nourishment have developed into open and brutal famine.

In the course of the next few days, millions of German workers will have practically nothing to eat.

Millions of the women and children of the German working class have to do without the barest necessities of life.

The consequences of the catastrophe are beyond all prediction. Hundreds and thousands of children are dying. Hundreds and thousands are condemned to weakness and disease. The mothers are weak and ill, unable to nourish their children.

It is the workers and their families who are the greatest sufferers in this collapse of German economics, they must endure the greatest sacrifices, they are exposed to the greatest deprivations. The famine now descending upon Germany threatens to be greater and more cruel than that in Russia in 1921. But the causes of this famine catastrophe are the result of the bankruptcy of German capitalist management, of the complete breakdown of German bourgeois economics. The more urgent, prompt, and extensive therefore, is the help required from the workers of the whole world for the victims of the German bourgeois political economy.

The undersigned Committee, which in the year 1921 organized the great relief action for the starving Russian workers and peasants, with the aid of the workers of the whole world, now sends forth a most urgent and passionate appeal to all workers, employes, officials, small-holders, small farmers, to the

productive workers of all countries, to organize, immediately and without delay, a broad and far-reaching relief action to save the German workers and their families from starvation.

There is not a day, not an hour to be lost. Committees must be formed at once in every town and village, composed of representatives of all professions, social strata, parties, and trade unions, and the systematic collection of food, clothes, and money must be organized. Collections for the German proletariat are being made today in every town and village in Russia. The workers of America, Australia, and Europe, must do no less. Organize at once, help immediately. Send even the smallest amount, but at once, to the Central of the International Workers' Relief. Every hour is precious.

The undersigned committee is fully convinced that the broad masses of the proletariat, today as in 1921, will respond to its appeal, and full of fraternal love, will hasten to the aid of the German proletariat.

The results of the first collections are already in our hands. The relief action has begun. The undersigned committee has already been able to send 5,000 tons of Russian corn to Berlin, Saxony, and Thuringia, where the bread is distributed gratis to the unemployed, social pensioners, and poorer classes.

This is the first step, and further ones must be taken without delay.

Collect! Give! Awaken the interest of your neighbours! Organize! Send food and money to the National and International Committees of the Workers' Relief!

Long live the International Solidarity of all Workers!

The Foreign Committee:

(Signed): Klara Zetkin, Käthe Kollwitz, Prof. Eitzbacher, Dr. Alfons Paquet, Prof. Oesterreich, Ernst Toller, G. G. L. Alexander, Edwin Hoernle, Paul Scholze, Willi Münzenberg, Max Barthel, Theodor Liebknecht (Germany). Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Vaillant-Couturier, André Marty (France). Henriette Roland-Holst, Edo Fimmen, J. W. Kruyt, J. Brommert (Holland). Martin Andersen Nexø (Denmark). Ture Neumann, Mayor Lindhagen, Z. Höglund (Sweden). S. Sievertson (Norway). J. Matthieu, Pasteel (Belgium). Prof. Forel, Fritz Platten (Switzerland). Smeral, Kreibisch (Czechoslovakia). Prof. Graziadei, Misiano (Italy). Upton Sinclair, A. Davis (America). Helen Crawford, E. T. Whitehead (England).

## Poincaré's Plans for the Dismemberment of Germany

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

II.

Systematic Cooperation between Bavarian Separatism and French Imperialism.

The *Humanité*, the central organ of the French Communist Party, is continuing its revelations as to Poincaré's plans for the dismemberment of Germany. In its issue of October 1, there appeared extracts from two further important documents, which sharply emphasize not only the despicable plans of French imperialism for the dismemberment of Germany, but at the same time expose the shameful high treason being committed by the Bavarian "patriots", their abyssmal hypocrisy, venality, and corruption.

The first of these documents is a report of the Rhenish separatist Dr. Dorten, sent on 20th September 1920 to General Mangin, and relating to a conversation which had been held on August 22 with Dr. Heim, leader of the peasants' unions within the Bavarian People's party. In this report, which furnishes the clearest and most striking proof of the unqualified agreement existing between the so-called German "Fatherland Unions" and French imperialism for the purpose of dismembering Germany, we find the following passages:

"Dr. Heim explains as follows the attitude which he has taken since the last parliamentary elections:

a) The Prime Minister von Kahr has so skilfully accomplished the task assigned him in the most difficult situations, that it appears desirable to retain him at the head of the government, the more so as Dr. Heim is not available at the present time, being occupied in parliament as leader of the Bavarian People's Party and of the peasants' leagues.

b) Dr. Heim has been obliged to renounce for the time being the idea of founding a "federal fraction" in the Reichstag, as this might lead to differences in the Bavarian People's Party, some members of which are still philandering with the Centre, and liable to go over to this party. The preliminary negotiations with the German Hanoverian fraction and the other federalists have meanwhile been

brought to a satisfactory conclusion. At the party conference of the Bavarian People's Party, which is to take place on September 15, Dr Heim will report on his negotiations, and propose the formation of a federalist fraction. The acceptance of this proposal is as good as certain. After this decision on the part of the party conference, it will no longer be possible for any member of the fraction to go over to the Centre.

With reference to foreign politics, Dr Heim expressed himself as follows:

a) He expresses his satisfaction that France has clearly recognized the dangers of Bolshevism for Germany and France, and intends immediately to adopt every measure required for averting this danger.

He is of the opinion that the sole possible remedy is the development of federalism in Germany. As far as Bavaria is concerned, he himself undertakes to fully guarantee that, should the Bolsheviks make an attack, with or without Russian aid, 60 per cent. of the Bavarian people are ready to march against the Bolsheviks, and to unreservedly separate themselves from soil infected with Bolshevism. But a necessary prerequisite is permission from the Entente for the mobilization of the Bavarian fighting unions. It need not be said that every desired guarantee will be given that the mobilization is carried out solely for this purpose. The most rigid control could be exercised.

Dr Heim formally declares that the occupation of areas interested in federalism is desirable. Bavaria, however, could undertake the protection of its own territory.

b) He is of the opinion that the Escherich organizations of people's guards can be completely relied upon, and most decidedly repudiates the assertion that these organizations tend to national Bolshevism. He undertakes personal responsibility for the correctness of this opinion. Dr Heim is prepared to enter into negotiations with the government (the French government!! Ed.) with reference to the maintenance and reorganization of these unions.

c) He would be extremely pleased if the French government would employ for instance, the services of the "Mixed Bureau" for investigating the question as to whether it is not possible for Bavaria to exchange Saar coal for wood. In his opinion this would make an excellent impression on public opinion in Bavaria. The Bavarian people would thus be able to draw the conclusion that France only adopts an irreconcilable attitude towards the Berlin government. He is prepared to stand personally for this matter."

These are the contents of the first document, and no comment is needed to throw further light on its treasonable character, its deliberate designs for the dismemberment of Germany, and the Jesuitical mendacity of its author, revealed at every turn through his cloak of super-patriotism for Bavaria.

The second document is however of even greater interest, and characterizes even more clearly the criminal clique in Bavaria. It is a report drawn up by one actually present at a conversation held at Speier, on 27th April 1920, between the French Colonel de Metz, delegate of the High Commission of the Palatinate, assisted by Captain Boulaye, and the chairman of the Bavarian Royalist Party, J. Meyer-Koy, and some other representatives of Bavarian reaction. This report lights up vividly the bargaining going on between the French government and the "dirty Boches", suddenly advanced to the rôle of friends and allies in the struggle against "Bolshevism".

We here cite but a few of the most striking passages from this report:

*Colonel de Metz:* And who would be the representative of the new Bavarian monarchy?"

*Meyer-Koy:* "Crown Prince Rupprecht."

*Colonel de Metz:* "But why then does the Bavarian royal house not support your party to the extent desired?"

*Meyer-Koy:* "The house of Bavaria is giving 50,000 marks at present. But this amount is much too small for enabling any adequate and effective propaganda to be carried on."

Meyer-Koy then passed on to the question of whether the party could not receive more extensive support from the French. The struggle against Prussia and Berlin, and the struggle for the continental policy, could be pursued as a joint policy. Both points were to the common interest of Bavaria and France. The continental policy was especially to the interest of France, as England is endeavoring to expand her interests on the continent.

In the course of his expositions, Colonel de Metz contrasted two mental tendencies with one another: that of Napoleon Bonaparte and that of Lenin! Bolshevism must be combatted, for its victory would imply the ruin of the whole of Europe.

*Meyer-Koy:* "The Bavarian royalist party, like the rest of Bavaria, is fighting Bolshevism with every available means. If North Germany continues to allow itself to be infected with Bolshevism at the present rate, the day is not far distant when Bavaria will completely break away from a Bolshevized Prusso-Germany."

*Colonel de Metz:* "That is very good."

*Meyer-Koy:* "The struggle against Bolshevism is the first item on our program. Bolshevism can never secure a firm foothold in Bavaria. To be sure we must not permit the slightest weakening in our agitation for the royalist idea. Unfortunately we are not in a pecuniary position to carry on this propaganda adequately."

*Colonel de Metz:* "How much do you require?"

*Meyer-Koy:* "25,000 marks would suffice us for the present."

*Colonel de Metz:* "It is easier to obtain millions than mere thousands. Do you not need millions?"

*Meyer-Koy:* "To be sure we do, if our propaganda is to be carried on on an extensive scale!"

There followed a long discussion on this financial question. Colonel de Metz declared that he himself was not authorized to make a decision, but would pass on the demands submitted.

Meyer-Koy drew attention to the fact that intermediaries had already applied to him, on behalf of the English, promising to subsidize the Bavarian royalist party.

This blackmail did not fail of effect. Colonel de Metz, much interested, asked: "When was this?"

*Meyer-Koy:* "Some time ago, but only so as to be taken seriously within the last few days. I have been called upon to decide in one way or another. I have been sent for to come to Cologne on Saturday to take up negotiations. But I am an adherent of the theory of continental policy. It was desirous of consulting with you before deciding. England is not a friend to France in every respect."

*Colonel de Metz:* "We both have two enemies: Prussia and England."

These documents, the genuineness of which cannot be contested or denied, not only show the obstinacy and tenacity with which French imperialism pursues its plans for the dismemberment of Germany, what enormous sums it expends for the purpose of successfully destroying the unity of the German realm, but it shows at the same time who the scoundrels are who are masquerading under the cloak of faithful patriots in Bavaria, but who do not hesitate for a moment to betray their country for the sake of French gold—to betray it ten times before the cock has crowed once.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### A Reply to M. Faure and the Other Socialist Agents of Poincaré

By Karl Radek.

We take the appended article by Comrade Radek from the *Pravda* of October 16., No. 234. Ed.

M. Poincaré has gained the victory in the Ruhr war. He has not only vanquished Stinnes and Krupp, but also the miners of the Ruhr. M. Poincaré triumphs, for he holds in his hands the pledge for the German payments. This pledge consists not only of the mines, but of the German miners themselves. Without the miners the mines are of no value. It is only by means of the work done by the miners, by their hard labor, that M. Poincaré can obtain what he wants.

The French Socialists, headed by Messieurs Renaudel, Faure and Longuet, and the French Right Syndicalists under the leadership of M. Jouhaux, "protested" at the Hague World Congress against the occupation of the Ruhr which had already begun at that time. At the Hamburg Amalgamation Congress of the Second and Vienna Internationals they welcomed the Passive Resistance of the German workers. But did they summon the French working masses to decisive battle against that French Imperialism which overran Germany's frontiers as far as Ems, and seized the Ruhr miners by the throat? No! Today they are telling the French proletariat, through their spokesmen Grumbach und Faure, that "Today there exist two dangers to peace: Radek and Poincaré". Imagine this: It is above all Radek who threatens peace, Poincaré only in the second place. It must be realized that it is here not a question of Radek, but of the German Revolution and Soviet Russia. These form the chief source of danger to peace. M. Poincaré is, to be sure, also dangerous, but if it were not for this confounded German

Revolution, contrived by Soviet Russia (we learn from a report published in the *Populaire* on September 28, that no fewer than 2000 Bolshevik agents have been sent from Moscow, and are engaged in propaganda work in Germany), then Poincaré would not be able to fight, for nobody can fight without having some one to fight against. He would simply continue to press his knee on the chest of the German proletariat, and everything would be in the best of order.

Since the time when the idea of Socialism first arose, the world has never been confronted on any single occasion by a like piece of impudence, by a baseness so immeasurable. 200,000 French bayonets are on German soil, French courts martial are shooting German citizens, the German Communist press is prohibited by French military authorities, and the French Socialists become panic-stricken at the thought that there might be people among the German proletariat who would venture to think of defending their lives and country—a country of which they will assume the government tomorrow. Renaudel, who but yesterday was defending his fatherland against the attacks of the Kaiser, is today raising an outcry because the German Communist workers threaten to destroy peace by declaring that—after they have taken over power in Germany—they will defend the country to the utmost of their ability. Faure and Longuet, who discovered the secret of happiness in Wilson's 14 Points, are preaching peace today to the German workers, though at this very moment there are 200,000 French soldiers on German soil.

But we did not take up our pen for the purpose of once more expressing our profound contempt for these despicable traitors. We wish to examine a few facts.

The *Populaire* tries to show an antagonism between myself and Comrade Humbert-Droz. Humbert-Droz—so says the *Populaire*—declares that the German Revolution will exert every endeavor to prevent a war with France—Radck, on the other hand, preaches war. You lie, M. Faure, you lie deliberately! In the year 1919, in view of the piratical peace forced upon Germany at Versailles, I conducted a public polemic against my then Party Comrades Wolfheim and Lauffenberg, who had demanded that the Party should undertake to repudiate the Versailles obligations immediately after seizing power. In the year 1923, in the course of a public discussion with the Nationalist newspaper *Gewissen*, I twice repeated that the Communist Party, on coming into power, would seek every possible means of avoiding war. My Comrade Humbert-Droz and I are in complete agreement. But can M. Faure prove that such an agreement exists between the German Revolution and M. Poincaré? M. Poincaré permits M. Faure to lick the dirt off the former's boots. But Poincaré pays about as much attention to all these attentions on the part of Messieurs Renaudel and Faure, as Buddha pays to the prayers of his worshippers. Therefore the German Communist Party declares to the French people, and the whole world may hear it: We want peace at any price. But if M. Poincaré is going to take our lives, then the German proletariat will show that we are no Renaudels, no Faures, no old women, but men, who defend their homes, their children, their lives, and their land. This is all the war propaganda that we preach. You may denounce this to M. Poincaré, M. Faure; perhaps he will lend your expiring *Populaire* a little aid in return.

But—thus Faure and Company continue their denunciation—it is a beautiful Revolution that is made with the assistance of Nationalists and Fascists! M. Faure, you are not only a second-rate informer, but a chuckle-head as well!\*) Your party comrades, your Hilferdings and Solimanns, sat until recently, and some of them are still sitting, in a joint Government with General Seeckt, the real leader of German Fascism. You helped him to attain power. Only recently your Comrade Severing dissolved the Red Proletarian Centuries in Berlin, precisely at the moment when the White bands of Bavaria were arming to the teeth. At the moment at which I write these lines, your comrades are demanding from the German Government the disarmament of the Red Centuries in Saxony, and our comrades entered the Saxon Government for the purpose of organizing resistance to Ludendorff. And therefore you deserve to be called a chuckle-head; for what French workers will still believe you, in the face of these facts? You say that all this has nothing to do with the fact my German friends and I carry on a

\*) M. Faure apparently is not the only chuckle-head. Mr H. N. Brailsford, the Editor of *The New Leader*, the organ of the English Mensheviks, wrote some weeks ago in that journal: "If the democratic republic collapses, the alternative is either a Monarchist or Communist Workers' and Peasants' Germany. That I think impossible, but it might just be possible as the last and maddest invention of red strategy—some sort of alliance, however temporary, between left and right." Ed.

discussion with the Fascists, and offer to join forces with them against France. But here you lie again. There live in Germany 9 million petty bourgeois, and the Hohenzollerns and Wittelsbachers, the Ludendorffs and Stinnes, are trying to utilize these for the organization of a fighting guard of counter-revolution. The French General Staff, speculating on a White *coup* in Germany, which it hopes will enable it to occupy and dismember that unhappy country, is expending millions of francs on financing German Fascism.

But the German Communists approach the impoverished and sufferings masses of the petty bourgeoisie, and say to them: Your sufferings are not caused by the Versailles Peace alone, but also by the Reparation hyenas Stinnes, Klöckner and Krupp, and the Prussian junkers. They are exploiting you. And they are not satisfied with this—they want to use you as cannon fodder. Leave them and join the working class in a common struggle for the future of the German people, for the fight against world reaction, against world imperialism—but also against reaction and robbery at home! That is the nature of the alliance between Communists and Fascists. In reality it is an alliance between the German working class and everyone in Germany who suffers, and seeks for emancipation.

And Soviet Russia?—inquires M. Faure finally. We can settle this matter very quickly. Soviet Russia is a land of work, a land of peace. Soviet Russia, which receives no aid from any other country in its work of reconstruction, would be mad if it were to aim at a war which would retard this reconstruction. But we may inform M. Faure, and he may tell it to Poincaré, that Soviet Russia is a land of armed workers and peasants, and those who seek to facilitate the strangulation of the workers of Germany by letting loose upon them the vassals of France, those who seek to push the French frontier across Germany to the Beresina, will discover that Russian bayonets have not yet grown rusty.

Tell all this to Poincaré, you contemptible and still unpaid hirelings and informers of French Imperialism! We are not afraid, for our cause can bear the light, and we have nothing to conceal.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The End of the Czecho-Slovakian Mining Strike

By Rudolf Kohn (Prague).

After a severe struggle extending over seven weeks, the Czecho-Slovakian miners have been obliged to end the general strike carried on against the colliery owners in all colliery districts by agreeing to further wage reduction of from 10 to 13%. The socialist governmental press of Czecho-Slovakia views this result as a victory for the miners, having regard to the original demands made by the colliery owners; the communist press regards it as a plain defeat. On one point the daily papers of both parties are agreed: they unanimously declare that the miners have to thank the Czecho-Slovakian government for the issue of this struggle. The governmental socialist papers mean by this that without the intervention of the government the defeat of the miners would have been much greater; the communist papers, on the other hand, point out that the strike would have ended this time with the victory of the miners, had the government not brought pressure to bear in favor of the coal magnates. We will let the facts speak for themselves, in order that the international working class may see to what lengths a coalition government, one half of whose members are socialists, is prepared to go.

As is well known, the strike just ended was the fifth wages struggle entered upon by the Czecho-Slovakian workers in the course of the past two years. After the four preceding strikes, all of which ended in defeat, it never occurred to the government to inquire if the reductions of wages forced upon the miners had been expressed in any corresponding reduction in the price of coal. The government had two years in which to check the costs of production in the coal mines, and to ascertain which of the two factors participating in production—capital or labor—is still in a position to sacrifice something in order to bring about a reduction in the price of coal. It is an actual fact that the government, when investigating this question, ascertained that the greater part of the reduced wages had not got beyond the coffers of the colliery owners. But scarcely had notice been given in July to terminate the collective agreement in the Mährish-Ostrau coal basin and the conflict between employers and workers broken out, when the government came forward with a plan to seize this opportunity for "regulating" the price of coal. The Social Democratic Minister



of Labor Srba declared, on the occasion of a consultation with the mining magnates of Ostrau, that the government was prepared to reduce the state coal levy, the most unpopular indirect tax and one which should long ago have been done away with, on the condition that the colliery owners and the workers contribute in a corresponding degree to the reduction of prices. Later on this minister brought up a mediatory proposal according to which the coal prices were to be reduced by 5 crowns per 100 kilograms; for this purpose the government was to contribute by reducing the coal tax by 2 crowns, the colliery owners by a like decrease of 2 crowns in their profits, and the miners by 1 crown, to be obtained by a further 10% reduction in wages. This "mediatory proposal", with which the Social Democratic chairman of the miners' organization, deputy Brozikl, declared himself in agreement, was rejected by the miners, and the fight against the mine owners began.

Although it was perfectly clear that this struggle was the beginning of a second offensive on the part of Czecho-Slovakian Capitalism against the whole working class, the interference of the government was successful in rendering the struggle unpopular among broad masses of the population, and in creating among the indifferent masses the impression that the miners, by their strike, were preventing a reduction in the price of coal.

After the struggle had once begun, and the employers had declared that they would not negotiate with the miners during the struggle, it might have been assumed that the leaders of the fighting organizations, at least at the beginning of the struggle, would have adopted the same tactics. But even during the first week of the strike the Czech Social Democratic miners' secretary Pohl, made overtures to the colliery owners, declaring themselves ready to accept 5-8% wage reductions. It was at once obvious that the government, whose first intermediary proposal had been unsuccessful, would not make a second intermediary proposal until the miners were completely exhausted, and that this second proposition would take a middle course between its first proposal and the offer made by the miners' secretaries, that is, between 10 and 13%. Nobody had authorized the miners' secretaries to make this offer to the colliery owners, in which offer the reformist trade union functionaries conceded much to the wishes of the government.

After seven weeks both the government and the reformist leaders considered the two miners' unions to be so far exhausted that the throttling of the strike could begin. Although there was absolutely no scab work performed in any single colliery district, although the miners declared themselves ready to continue the fight, although it could be plainly seen in the eighth and ninth week of the strike that, even should the strike remain isolated and not spread to other categories of labor, it was beginning to have great effect, especially in the sugar industry, where it was becoming impossible to postpone further the work of preparing the beets, and must lead to unbearable calamity—still the strike leaders, when they declared after seven weeks of struggle and deprivation that they could not undertake to be responsible for the continuation of the struggle, could calculate upon the majority of the delegates obeying their dictates. Even in the sixth week of the strike the representatives of the miners had rejected every attempt to persuade them to end the strike. But when they were told by deputy Brozik, at the national conference, that the conditions upon which the strike was to be ended were to be dictated by the government, and that the trade union centrals would afford no support to the strike, the delegates had no choice but to give in. The termination of the strike was resolved upon by 58 votes against 13 votes of the communist delegates.

The reformist trade union leaders are entirely to blame for this capitulation on the part of the miners. Both of the Amsterdam trade union centrals, the Czech and the German, as also the Czech national socialist trade union centrals, had consistently sabotaged every appeal sent them by the Red International of Labor Unions and the International All Trade Unionist Federation, urging them to place the aid of the rest of the working class at the disposal of the miners; it was not until the strike had already been going on for six weeks that the pressure exercised by the working class succeeded in bringing about the first consultation of the centrals. But even at this consultation no resolutions were passed, and all motions brought by the International All Trade Unionists were rejected. And it was not until the seventh week of the strike, a few days before its end, that it was resolved to begin with the collection of funds in aid of the strikers, and to seek intervention on the part of the government. Active interference on behalf of the strikers was, however, not contemplated, and the proposals made by the International All Trade Unionists were rejected. And yet this last organization merely demanded as a first measure that no coal be transported by the railways, and that all the workers of Czecho-Slovakia should strike for one day as a

manifestation of solidarity with the miners. These proposals were combatted as being demagogic and hostile to the state, and met with the utmost opposition from the whole governmental socialist press.

At the same time, the papers issued by the reformist and nationalist railway organizations had to admit that reductions in wages among the miners would be signal for corresponding reductions among the railwaymen. But mutual distrust prevented these organizations from undertaking even the slightest joint action. The largest of these organizations, the national socialist Jednota, has to pay more regard to that member of its party, the present minister of railways Stribrny, than to any interests common to the working people.

In the course of this strike, therefore, it has been clearly demonstrated to the working people of Czecho-Slovakia that the political coalition of socialists with the bourgeoisie binds the hands of their party members in the strike leaderships and trade union centrals, and compels them to ignore the wishes of the working class and to accede to the wishes of the capitalists. The workers have paid dearly for this knowledge. But every such fresh experience serves to dispel the delusions as to class peace among many of the workers.

## The International of the Peasants and Farmers

By I. Amter.

An International of the Peasants and Farmers has been achieved!

Assembled in the St. Andrews Hall of the Kremlin, the gold ceiling of which, as a Ukrainian peasant most eloquently said, is made of the "blood of the workers and peasants", representatives of peasants' and farmers' organizations in fourteen countries participated in this event of world-wide importance. Delegates from all States of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Germany, France, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Esthonia, Norway, Sweden, Bulgaria, Lithuania, United States, Mexico and Japan, participated in the conference which launched a movement that will unite the peasants and farmers with the workers of the city in struggle for the emancipation of the producing classes.

The peasants and the farmers today are suffering under the yoke of capitalism. High taxes, high mortgages, interest, low prices for their produce in exchange for the high cost of industrial products monopolized by the industrial barons, the danger of war, the burdens that the peasantry and farmers must bear—in blood during the war, in economic and political burdens after the war—the obligations and loans, the complete disorganization and destruction of their social life, the denial of opportunities to their children—these are some of the burdens that the peasants must tolerate. This is their lot as a result of the power that the capitalists and landowners possess.

The capitalists have demonstrated that they will do nothing to alleviate the situation of the workers. In Germany the masses of the workers are literally starving, while the capitalists and financiers gather bigger profits and build up more gigantic fortunes. The small and middle peasantry of Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Poland, even of the United States, stand face to face with positive destruction, if the struggle against capitalism is not taken up with militancy and carried through to victory. Capitalism has no intention of relieving the peasants of their burdens: peasants and workers do not exist to produce goods for the producers to consume. *They exist only to create profits for the capitalists and landowners.*

The peasants and farmers assembled in the Kremlin resolved to take up the struggle—not alone—but together with the workers, for the liberation of both classes. The peasants alone cannot free themselves. History has shown that unless the peasants unite with the workers in the struggle against capitalism, they will be beaten. In Bulgaria, they had power; but they were under the influence and control of the big peasants and landowners. Overnight a military clique overthrew the peasant government, murdered the premier Stambulisky, and instituted a White Terror against the peasants and workers. In Italy, the workers could not attain power because they were unaided by the peasants. In the industrial countries, the workers will not be able to hold power, if they succeed in obtaining it, unless they are helped by the peasants. Both of them face the same enemy: capitalism. Together, therefore, they must combat this enemy for the attainment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government, to replace the capitalist dictatorship that holds the world of producers in its bloody grip today.

What can the peasant and the farmer expect from capitalism? What has capitalism to offer? The aim of capitalism is profits—not production, not consumption by the producers.

Capitalism is not interested in raising the economic and social status of the producing class. On the contrary, capitalism seeks the improvement of the situation of the producers only if this improvement means an increase of profit. In the mines of Corea, work is done in the most primitive manner, because human labor is cheaper than machinery. On the plantations of the southern part of the United States, modern machinery is not copious, for the labor of the Negroes and "poor whites" is far cheaper. Capitalism is interested in monopoly prices, which mean high profits. It is indifferent to the sufferings or happiness of the hundreds of millions of workers and peasants on whose lives these profits are built up.

Today the capitalists themselves are forcing the issue. Determined to retain the right to exploit and oppress, they have overthrown constitutional law in most states of Europe. In Spain, Bulgaria, Italy, military rule prevails; in Finland, Estonia, Rumania, Japan, reaction is in the saddle. In so-called "democratic" countries, like the United States and South American states, constitutionalism is becoming a joke. Fascism, Ku Kluxism in its multitudinous forms, armed with guns, tanks, and airplanes, are ready to shoot down the workers and peasants who rebel against the conditions that are forced upon them. Germany stands in the throes of a revolution against these intolerable conditions. The capitalist governments are making ready to call to arms the sons of the peasants, farmers and workers: the German workers and peasants must be drowned in blood.

The war must be resisted with all the power at the disposal of the united workers and peasants. The capitalist governments must be told that the peasants and workers and their sons will refuse to march against their German brothers. The unity of the workers and peasants, nationally and internationally, and the destruction of international capitalism is the goal of the revolutionary peasants and workers of the world.

This will be no light struggle. The peasants are still greatly under the influence of the reactionary forces of capitalism. The church, the press, the school, the moving pictures, attachment to old customs are holding the peasants down. The capitalists hold up the flag of revolution as a bogey by which to frighten the peasants. The emblem of Fascism, the "Hakenkreuz", is the star of the international bourgeoisie. Against that, the workers and peasants raise the flag of revolution.

What will they attain by the revolution? They will throttle capitalism. They will institute a society wherein only the producing classes will benefit. Soviet Russia is the emblem in the sign of which the peasants and workers will become free. Soviet Russia is not yet free. The Soviet Government has still to cope with capitalism. The black reaction has made it impossible for this huge agricultural country to build up its economy separate and apart from capitalism. The invasions and the counter-revolution attempted to destroy Russia's industry; Soviet Russia has been obliged to depend on her low state of industrial production and on her primitive agriculture, to reconstruct what has been destroyed, and to widen and deepen her agriculture. *But the peasant of Soviet Russia has received the land. He has no mortgages, no interest to pay. Out of his produce he pays a tax to maintain the government and to provide for the social institutions that the Workers' and Peasants' Government provides. The peasant knows that the Soviet Government is the government of the peasants and workers; that its only aim is to promote the welfare of the producers. Soviet Russia has not yet reached her goal; but she is on the upgrade, while all the States of Europe are driving to destruction.*

In Soviet Russia the peasants have learned the great message of cooperation. The cooperatives are a tremendous power not only for production, but also for consumption. The consumers' leagues in the city and country work in close contact with one another. In capitalist countries, the farmers' cooperatives must build up their power as one of the effective means of fighting the economic battle. Just as capitalism is international, the peasants of the different countries must cooperate internationally. The peasants of Soviet Russia, for instance, could furnish fodder and fertilizers to the peasants of Germany. The cooperatives of the industrial countries could supply machinery and other mechanical means of production to the Russian peasants. Through their cooperatives, the peasants and farmers must assist the industrial workers in their struggles against the employers—during strikes, lockouts etc.

The peasants and farmers belong to many kinds of organizations, which are under the influence of the big peasants and farmers, and of the land owners and city capitalists. In order to make these organizations effective weapons in the struggle against capitalism, the small peasants and farmers must get control. They must instill a fighting spirit into the organizations: the big peasants and farmers are in league with the exploiters. In Europe, they have special privileges: they cut off public roads and declare them private; they own large woods, and

woe to the peasant whose cow or calf walks into the woods. They are at the head of the local tax board and put themselves into a low tax class. As a result of this fact, the small peasant has to pay a far higher proportionate tax than the big peasant. This is just as true of America and Canada. In America, furthermore, the farmers have the railroads and grain speculators at their throats. As a result of the control that the food speculators have over the market, the peasants and farmers all over the world are forced to sell their products at a low figure. Through manipulation of the exchange, the speculators raise the prices, so that the consumer has to pay a manifold price for agricultural produce. This is purest robbery of the peasant and of the worker.

What is the significance of the International Peasants' Council that has been formed amid the enthusiasm of all the delegates present? Sixty years ago, the International Working Men's Association was formed, to take up the fight of the workers against capitalism. Sixty years later, the revolutionary peasants and farmers assembled in Moscow and decided to take up the fight *together with the workers* against the joint enemy.

The peasants and the farmers who sat in the Kremlin were real peasants and farmers. The presidium of the conference consisted of Ukrainian, German, Mexican, Polish, Czechoslovakian, French, Bulgarian and Scandinavian peasants and an American farmer. Internationalism dominated the conference. Complying with a request of the conference, a delegation called upon Comrade Gregory Zinoviev of the Communist International to address the conference. Tremendous enthusiasm greeted his appearance. In his address, Comrade Zinoviev pointed out the significance of the conference, which is bound to unite the peasants and farmers in action all over the world. Comrade Clara Zetkin also spoke a few words. The peasants and farmers debated each point on the agenda like experts: they have suffered and out of their sufferings have come the decisions of the conference.

The conference elected a Council embracing all the countries represented, but is free to add to its number as other countries affiliate. It also elected a Presidium of eleven members. At the meeting of the Council the day after the closing of the Conference, a General Secretary and Assistant were elected. For the time being, the seat of the Council will be Moscow.

An International of the Peasants has been formed. Long live the unity of the peasants and workers of the world!

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### A Letter from the E. C. C. I. to the Italian Socialist Party

Dear Comrades,

The Italian Socialist Party is a striking example of how treacherous leaders ruin a labor party. This rôle was once played by Nenni and Vella. Is it possible to imagine worse treason to the cause of the proletariat?

As is known to you, comrades, the Enlarged Session of the Executive of the Comintern has already declared itself ready to make the greatest concessions to the Italian Socialist Party. The Comintern was prepared to admit the Socialist Party at once to its ranks, as a sympathizing party, despite the anti-revolutionary attitude of the present leaders. It need not be said that these concessions were not made for the sake of all these Nenni and Vellas. The Comintern knew very well that Italy is passing through extraordinary conditions at the present time. The Italian working class is bound by Mussolini's chains. It is hard to imagine a more difficult position for our class. We know that you workers who have joined the ranks of the Italian Socialist Party, and who feel attached to this party, sympathize wholeheartedly with the Comintern. And we know that it is only the White Fascist Terror and the cunning machinations of your so-called leaders which hold you back from affiliation to the Comintern. And we know too that the chief task to be undertaken in Italy today is the collection of the whole of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. And therefore we were ready to do our utmost to facilitate your affiliation to our International.

Nenni and Vella have the intention, in the future as in the past, of unscrupulously and insolently serving the interests of the bourgeoisie. They are prepared to go to any lengths to prevent the affiliation of the Italian Socialist Party with the revolutionary proletariat, and are trying to paralyze the forces of the party. In order that Signors Nenni and Vella might not find it so easy to execute their traitorous designs, the Comintern carried on lengthy negotiations with the present Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, and refuted all the arguments adduced against affiliation with the Comintern. The situation is now perfectly

clear: Nenni and Vella are consciously acting as scabs towards the international organization of the proletariat. Such comrades as Serrati and Maffi have been excluded from the party by the flunkies of the bourgeoisie, solely for the reason that they stood honestly for the Comintern. Those who talk loudest about democracy do not even permit Serrati and Maffi to publish a paper reproducing the opinions of the Italian workers.

Comrades! Let one point be clear to you! So long as you tolerate men like Nenni and Vella at the head of your party, so long the Italian Socialist Party will fail to be a revolutionary factor, and will be deprived of the possibility of affiliation to the Comintern. That which consistent reformists do openly is done in a veiled form by the semi-reformists of the Nenni and Vella stamp. In words: radicalism; in actual practice: the execution of Mussolini's orders. For to shatter party unity in an hour so fateful for the party, as Nenni and Vella are now doing, and to prevent by every available means the alliance of the Italian Socialist Party with the Comintern, signifies nothing more nor less than executing Mussolini's orders.

And at this moment, when the German Revolution is marching onward, when sincere proletarians throughout the world are endeavoring to aid the German Revolution, when the Comintern alone has remained true to the cause of Proletarian Revolution, and the II. International is in a state of decomposition, at this moment when in Italy itself the orgies of Fascism have reached their utmost limit and no day passes on which proletarian blood does not flow and the best of our proletarian fighters are thrown into prison—at this very moment Nenni and Vella transform their newspaper, the *Avanti*, into a plaything of the bourgeoisie and undermine the forces of the party.

The Comintern calls upon you to close the ranks! Fight hand in hand with the Communist Party of Italy, but without leaving the Socialist Party. The Communist Party is the sole party which will serve the cause of the proletariat to the last drop of blood. The majority of your party is already far from being on the side of those agents of the bourgeoisie, Nenni and Vella. Force these men to resign their posts, and take the fate of the party into your own hands. Tolerate it no longer that a few servants of the bourgeoisie, calling themselves socialists, but preparing a Fascist putsch within the party, should be permitted to call themselves your leaders any longer. Save the honor of the Italian Socialist Party! The Comintern thoroughly realizes the difficulty of your position. It is doing its utmost to facilitate your admission into the international family of the workers.

Down with the splitters!

Down with the agents of the bourgeoisie who have found their way into the Italian Socialist Party!

Long live the union of all the revolutionary workers of Italy, for the fight against Fascism and reformism of every description!

Raise your voices for the unity of the Italian Socialist Party, for the revolutionary tactics of your party, for purging your ranks of scabs and semi-reformists, for the cooperation of all the revolutionary proletarians in Italy, for immediate affiliation to the Comintern.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### Letter from Soviet Russia

The Question of the Organization of Time in Soviet Russia.  
By Frida Rubiner (Moscow).

For Soviet Russia, economic reconstruction not only signifies the endeavor to restore the economics of capitalist Russia, but to far surpass these economics. This in every respect, is the import of the proletarian revolution; it is only when work is rendered free that it attains its full cultural value. Whilst work in Czarist Russia was conducted with a waste of time and energy unexampled over the whole world, Soviet Russia is making the organization of work its leading task. "The scientific organization of work" is the watchword of the day. To be sure there are still many points in which Russia has yet to catch up with the West, but in certain directions Soviet Russia has already outstripped Western Europe. Among these is that of the utilization of the workers' time. Comrade G. Strumilin opens up new paths in his latest work: "The Time Budget of the Russian Worker".

The bourgeois savant is interested only in the price of labor-power, that is, in the wage to be paid; G. Strumilin does not follow the customary course of occupying himself with the financial budget, but examines into the budget of the worker. What does the worker do with his time; that is the question. Eight hours work, eight hours of recreation, eight hours of sleep—this old threefold formula of the workers' day

has of course long since been realized in Soviet Russia by legislation. But how are things in reality? What does the worker do in his "spare time", and to what extent can "spare" time be spoken of at all? The eight hours which the working man or woman spends in the workshop or factory do not by any means comprise the whole day's work. Besides the time expended in going to and from work, and besides a large amount of "housework"—preparation of food, care of children, house cleaning, washing, shopping, etc.—the working people have also to perform for themselves all those petty duties which the propertied classes can pay a whole staff of servants to do for them.

G. Strumilin's inquiry deals with the industrial cities of Petrograd, Moscow, and Ivanovo-Voznyesensk, and includes 75 families totalling 267 persons, 145 of which are workers. The statistics were compiled by causing each person to record exactly, in hours and minutes, the way in which his or her time was spent during a certain period of considerable length. G. Strumilin differentiates between obligatory work and voluntary or "free" work, under which last category activity in social work is also classified. If the triple division of work, recreation, and sleep, is adhered to, we obtain the following survey (in hours and minutes):

	Wage Earners		Housewives	Helpers in the family
	Men	Women		
Work . . . . .	12.34	14.55	11.46	3.38
Recreation . . . . .	3.27	2.21	4.21	5.22
Sleep . . . . .	7.59	6.44	7.53	8.30

We thus see that those who get the least sleep are those women who go to work, and are at the same time responsible for the whole burden of housework. Obligatory work occupies as a general rule no less than 11 3/4 hours, and in the case of the working woman even 15 hours. The result of the inquiry shows that: For every 100 hours of obligatory work done for payment, 142 hours of unpaid work are done. If 16 hours for social activity and voluntary mental work be subtracted from these 142 hours, there still remain 125 hours of other work. If the workers were actually to perform no more than 8 hours work, under the conditions above described they could at most only work 3 1/2 hours in the factories or workshops. This is impossible. Social legislation has therefore no other choice than to shorten and organize the non-productive individual work now scattered in such an irrational manner. Statistics show that 20.3 % of the city population to which this inquiry refers are occupied exclusively with house-work (cooks, charwomen, wet-nurses, washerwomen, domestic servants of every kind). Out of 20 million city inhabitants, 4 millions are occupied with work serving private needs, to the exclusion of productive work. To this must be added the enormous quantities of work performed "by the way" by non-experts. Were all the work thus incidentally performed to be added together, and its money value calculated, an enormous sum would be arrived at, imposing a tremendous burden on the production budget.

But is it necessary now-a-days, to expend such enormous amounts of labor on satisfying the private needs of humanity, now that technics have reached their present state of perfection? 60 % of the housework performed is in connection with the cooking and preparation of food. The task confronting a civilized state is therefore that of the rationalization, mechanization, and reduction of housework.

"Free" work may be classified under two headings: social activity and education. The Russian worker devotes 50 % of his free time, that is, of the time really at his own disposal, to social activity (party and trade union work, participation in associations, attendance at meetings, etc.). The following gives an idea (in minutes daily) of the amount of time spent by various categories of workers in this manner

	Wage Earners		Housewives	Helpers in the family
	Men	Women		
Education . . . . .	75.4	56.7	26.7	66.7
Social activity . . . . .	68.9	66.7	4.4	22.2

The Russian worker therefore employs on an average no more than 1 1/4 hours daily in self-education and instruction, although the state makes every effort to render education and knowledge accessible to him. Again, it is the housewives who are worst off. The inquiry shows: the more highly qualified the worker, the more time he expends on self-culture.

To the question of rest and recreation the answer is equally unsatisfactory. The organs of culture and enlightenment are struggling to raise the general level of culture of the proletariat, but the first task is to so rationalize and organize the expenditure of labor and time, that leisure is won for rest and recreation.

"Time is money"—this phrase, so often on the lips of the American business man, is now for the first time beginning to possess a meaning for the Russians, now that they are in the

midst of intense reconstructive activity. Such work as that done by comrade Strumilin is of extreme value. In addition to this, practical efforts are being made towards an actual improvement in the utilization of time. Thus a "Time League" has existed for some time, named after the initial letters "L.V." (Liga Vremja), founded and led by comrade Kerschentziv. The "Elwists" (El We), as the members of this association call themselves, conduct a campaign against waste of time and slovenliness, only too often found in Russian daily life. Who troubles about the fact that work at the office really begins at ten o'clock? If we arrive at eleven, it is still time enough. But the new human being in Soviet Russia, the Bolshevik in the leather tunic, differs as greatly from the old Oblomov type, the man who drinks tea and argues, as an electric plough differs from the primitive wooden plough. The "Time League" demands that every minute be properly utilized. Clocks are to be provided, non-punctuality is to be punished, and so forth.

The "Time League" is founding "nuclei" in all factories and offices. With the zeal of the proselyte the knights of this League are setting to work to realize in actual life the saying that "Time is money". The founding of such an association, quite apart from its practical results, is extremely symptomatic of present day Soviet Russia. If Russia is really to become the proletarian America, to borrow a phrase of Comrade Bucharin's, then the organization of time—whether carried out scientifically, as in works like Strumilin's, or practically—will form one chapter in the history of the growth of this "America".

## The Alliance between Workers and Peasants in Soviet Russia

The Russian word "Smütschka"\*) has won a wider and profounder meaning among the ranks of the communists since Comrade Lenin employed it in his famous slogan of: "Smütschka between peasants and workers, Smütschka between town and country". This slogan, upon the proper realization of which a great part of the victory of the Russian revolution depends, forms therefore a leading part of the daily work of every conscious communist. "Smütschka" is the title of a special newspaper now being published during the great agricultural exhibition in Moscow. Every factory nucleus talks about the Smütschka, and seeks to realize it by each taking a village nucleus under its protection, thereby enabling the factory nuclei to aid the peasantry to the utmost of their power and abilities. The peasant who has come from the farthest corners of Russia, and visits Moscow for the first time to see the agricultural exhibition, is deeply moved when he speaks of the Smütschka. He who has hitherto known no other aid in his arduous work of tilling the soil except the primitive wooden plough, now sees for the first time the mighty tractors, the steam and electric ploughs, which are going to help him to extract enormous yields from the all bountiful Mother Earth, and he suddenly recognizes the deep importance of this little insignificant word, which sounds almost as a term of endearment when uttered. Full of simple-minded amazement, he recognizes that these mechanical monsters can only be suitably employed in the vast plains of his native home, and when his incredulous questions are again and again replied to with the assurance that these things have truly been made for him, a feeling of boundless brotherliness awakens in him for his brother the worker, who has fought and starved for and with him, and now constructs for him such wonderful implements. This is the essential meaning of the "Smütschka" which, recognized by but few at first, is now laying the foundations day by day, with ever increasing security, for the mighty edifice of communism in Russia.

## THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Ninth Session of the Zentrosojus

By Karl Bittel (Moscow).

The 9th Session of the All-Russian Central Union of Cooperative Societies gave a graphic survey of the intensity of Cooperative activity in Soviet Russia at the present time. This Conference was held on September 20. and 21., in the club rooms of the "Zentrosojus" in Moscow. Those delegated to the Conference were deputies from the provinces and representatives of all the larger Cooperatives.

The address delivered by the President, Comrade Chschintschuk, on the work done in the period covered by the report, from May to August 1923, sufficed in itself to demonstrate the rapid growth of this important factor in

Russian economics, Cooperation. As compared with the first quarter of the year, the amount of goods sold in the second quarter increased by 47.2%, only 2.2% of these being sold to private institutions. The "Zentrosojus" has thus become the largest dealer, and its turnover in manufactured articles rivals that of the Textile Syndicate. The Nishni-Novgorod Fair was a great success, the purchases made amounting to 2.5 million Tschervonetz (equal to 5 dollars each) in value. The export of the Zentrosojus increased by 137.7% in the second quarter of the year, and the increase in July and August was again considerable. This is proved by the following interesting statistics:

Description of goods	2. Quarter, 1923	July, 1923
Fibre materials . . . . .	270,184	98,794
Tobacco goods . . . . .	444,794	314,378
Animal raw materials . . . . .	16,900	5,587
Rags . . . . .	15,935	17,886
Caviare . . . . .	1,916	—
Eggs . . . . .	386	20,445
Butter . . . . .	—	4,500
Cheese . . . . .	—	1,050
Raffia mats . . . . .	—	10,130
Oil-cake . . . . .	16,339	13,077
Oats . . . . .	6,843	—
Rye . . . . .	10,836	—
Barley . . . . .	10,845	1,146
Buckwheat . . . . .	4,894	—
Millet . . . . .	2,325	3,330
Bran . . . . .	7,374	5,164
	<b>809,571</b>	<b>495,447</b>

The imports of the Zentrosojus are substantially less, so that an active trade balance to the amount of 766,000 pounds sterling has been attained. The chief articles imported are agricultural machines, leather, herrings, rice, and dyes. With reference to the export of grain, the important question arises of the extent to which the individual Agricultural Cooperatives, the actual producers of raw materials and agricultural products, will themselves be able to share directly in the profits. There are already provincial associations which contract to secure a share of the profits to their Cooperatives, amounting to 20, 40 and 60% on the goods exported.

The relations between the Zentrosojus and the state productive associations (Trusts) have been established much more firmly and on a better basis, whilst relations with the state trading associations (Syndicates) have been somewhat disturbed in places, as some of these have, in their competitive zeal, attempted to supplant the Zentrosojus. In conclusion, reports were given on the extensive participation of the Zentrosojus, and of the Cooperatives as a whole, in the present great Exhibition at Moscow.

Extremely interesting problems were dealt with by Comrade Tschomirov in his address on the activity of the members of the Cooperatives, and on the organizatory questions of the Cooperative movement. He reported a great increase in the energy of the masses of the members, especially in the industrial districts. As is well known, the Free Cooperatives with voluntary membership have been developing again since the spring of 1921. To-day they have 4.3 million members who pay shares and subscriptions. Special propaganda is now being carried on within the Trade Unions in favor of active participation in the Cooperatives. The address furnished a multitude of details on the organizatory work being done. Tschomirov recommended a standard entrance fee of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a gold rouble, and a cooperative share not exceeding 5 gold roubles (1 gold rouble approximately =  $\frac{1}{2}$  dollar).

Comrade Nekrassov spoke on the financial situation of the Cooperatives. His expositions showed the tremendous work accomplished by Soviet Russia in the stabilization of the Tschervonetz. It is now possible to restore order in the chaos of the prices of goods, to stabilize the prices which have run riot during the rapid depreciation in the value of currency, and once more to draw up a proper budget and make accurate calculations. The speaker gave various instances of the development of State credits and of the Cooperative Bank credits on the one hand, and of the granting of credit to the individual members of the Cooperatives on the other. Systematic work is now being done towards combining the growing activity of the members with their participation in the business, and thus creating a secure financial basis. In some cases even the relations with the Trusts have already proved so advantageous from a financial standpoint, that the manufactured goods department, for instance, hopes to base its credits in the near future on state industry. The returns have increased so enormously that it has become possible to embark on gigantic undertakings, such as the erection of the great warehouses along the railway lines. The

\*) smutschka—meaning alliance, union.

speaker complained energetically of the negligence in payment of which various Cooperatives have been guilty. There are some Cooperatives which are continually "borrowing" from the Central, and regard this as a milch cow. Energetic protest was raised against such uncooperative conduct, which expects the Zentrosojus to prolong bills, whilst at the same time cash has to be paid in the open markets. It is easy to imagine that this address called forth a lively discussion, in which special attention was drawn to the disharmony between the high prices of industrial products and the low prices of agricultural products. The remaining questions on the agenda referred to special matters.

The address given by a Cooperative member from Germany was listened to with great interest. The speaker described the catastrophic situation of the German Cooperatives. They are not only short of capital, but their leaders are lacking in that "revolutionary talent" enabling them to become masters of the situation. The existing cooperative apparatus is being further ruined by the obsolete methods of the reformists and the wrong methods of the opportunists. The bank credits have brought the Stinnesization of Leipzig's great Cooperative to such a point that foreign capitalists have shares in its Meat Department. The political "neutrality" of the cooperatives has developed into a coalition with the enemies of the working class as far as general economic and taxation policy is concerned. The lack of influence possessed by the Cooperatives on the market has led to a new form of proletarian self-help, the Control Committees.

The German comrade emphasized the necessity of collaboration between the growing Russian Cooperative movement and the German, and expressed the hope that the erection of the Children's Home in the Thuringian Forest, a work being undertaken by the Russian Cooperatives, would prove a good omen for the forthcoming intimate joint work to be accomplished by the Russian and German Cooperatives.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### The Murder of Comrade Sakay

By G. Vojtinsky.

A brief telegram from Japan, dated September 3, informs us that comrade Sakay, who was released from prison after the earthquake in company with other comrades arrested in June, and who was again arrested on the following day, was murdered by a soldier on the way back to the prison. The provocative methods pursued by the hangmen of the working class are alike in all countries.

The government which has caused the murder of this most popular of the leaders of the Japanese labor movement substantiates its bloody deed with the time-worn phrase of: "attempt at escape and resistance". Everyone who knows the part played by comrade Sakay in the political life of Japan, realize the declaration made by the government to be an impudent lie, for this celebrated political economist, who was well known throughout the country, and enjoyed the respect of all sections of the population, naturally could not have contrived to conceal himself and live illegally. Even when comrade Sakay was first arrested in June, the arrest was carried out in such a manner that comrade Sakay knew beforehand when this would take place, but still did not think of hiding himself or seeking flight.

The murder of comrade Sakay is of great political significance for Japan. The fact that the Japanese government committed this bloody deed immediately after the earthquake, proves that it is determined to suppress with an iron hand any attempt at a rising on the part of the starving and shelterless working millions, and that it will continue its policy of ruthless annihilation of any labor movement.

The Japanese labor movement during the past year has had to pass through a period of the most bitter offensive on the part of the government and the capitalists. The number of trade union members decreased considerably during this time. But now that the labor organizations have withstood this attack on the part of the state power and of the separate capitalists, they have emerged from the struggle with increased strength and greater political experience. At the time when the economic and financial crisis in Japan began to abate, that is, at the beginning of this year, a fresh fighting spirit pervaded the labor movement, which spread to the most important industrial centres such as, Tokio, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, to the mining districts, and to the islands of Hokaido and Kiu-Siu.

The revival in the Japanese labor movement expressed itself in a strike movement and in a general revolutionary movement. The Communist movement has acquired fresh strength from the trade union and political labor organizations alike. In the Spring of this year a number of trade union congresses were held, and these passed many resolutions concerning the new

forms under which the working masses are to be gathered together to fight for their economic and political rights. At the same time an energetic campaign was started in Japan for the united front within the working class itself, and between the working class and the agricultural proletariat and small tenant farmers. This campaign had remarkable results. The Association of Tenant Farmers, on the occasion of its congress on February 20, resolved to enter into communication with the trade union organizations of the industrial proletariat, and to enter protests against the draft of the Anti-Communist Law and against the limitation of the right of combination and of holding meetings. The workers for their part resolved, at the congress held by the General Labor Federation, to support the tenant farmers in their struggles with the landowners.

The Japanese government, which is opposed by a fairly powerful middle and petty bourgeois opposition, opened a fierce attack upon the working class, the development of whose movement alarmed even the oppositional elements of the bourgeois class. The government, recognizing that the most important tendencies in the labor movement were aiming at concentrating and centralizing the trade unions, at immediately associating with the revolutionary movement headed by old socialists of the type of comrade Sakay, and at the setting up of a common united front with the tenant farmers struggling to rid themselves of the landowners' yoke, launched its blow precisely against these points of the labor movement.

The main object of the Japanese government has been to separate the labor movement from the communist movement, and from the tenant farmers' movement. In order to attain this end, the government arms and incites the Fascist bands composed of the disreputable bourgeoisie, ex-officers, and out of work officials, against the labor organizations and against the organizations of the tenant farmers.

At the same time, the Japanese militarists are preparing for a decisive blow against the communist movement all over the country. In June of this year numerous leaders of the revolutionary and labor movements were arrested and imprisoned. The pretext for this action was the great students' demonstration made by the University of Vaseda against the militarist attempt to introduce military instruction into the high and middle schools. The murder of comrade Sakay is, in a sense, the finale of the attack made by the ruling clique of Japan against the labor and peasant movement.

After the earthquake catastrophe, the results of which are as disastrous as those of a lost war, the Japanese people are threatened by complete enslavement at the hands of Anglo-American capital. All the existing forces in the nation are to be mobilized for the restoration of the economic powers of the country. The national bourgeoisie will gain an ever-increasing economic importance during the restoration of the country, and will naturally gain a corresponding position of importance in political life. This means that the feudal pillars of Japan will break down. It is only necessary to cast a glance at the budget of the Japanese government in order to observe the striking contradiction between the economic importance and the political impotence of the Japanese bourgeoisie. In Japan, this agricultural country, the whole yield from agriculture to the government amounts to only 75 million yen out of a total revenue of 1600 million yen. Naturally the cost of restoring the districts devastated by the earthquake will have to be covered, not only by foreign loans, but also by an increase in the burden of taxation: and here the bourgeoisie will oppose a desperate resistance to the government of the agrarians. It will endeavor to bring about an enhanced exploitation of the working class on the one hand, and a casting of the load on to the landowners on the other.

The government of the agrarians represents a reactionary force in this respect, and will drive the country towards subjugation by Anglo-American capital, for it is anxious to base its plans for reconstruction mainly on foreign loans, and on a still greater oppression of the colonies. With regard to Soviet Russia, this government will probably continue its old policy of threats and extortions, though perhaps with less militarist pressure.

This is inevitably bound to increase the enmity of the industrial bourgeoisie and the broad masses of the workers against the government. But the Japanese bourgeoisie will only be able to successfully combat the power of the agrarians, if it allows free play to the energies of the working masses, if it does not destroy the labor organizations, and discontinues its policy of preventing the concentration of the workers' forces.

The main forces upon which the restoration of Japan is based, are the Japanese working class and the working peasantry, and these are the sole forces which can save the country from enslavement by international imperialism.

The murder of workers' leaders by Japanese militarism is a heinous crime against the whole nation, against the whole Japanese people.

## THE COLONIES

### The Capitalist Offensive and the Persecution of Communists in Australia

By W. P. Earsman.

During the past two years the capitalists have failed in their attack on the workers' conditions in the key industries of Australia; that is, on those of the coal miners and the transport workers.

During the last few months there was a lull, but it was only a breathing space, so that the capitalists might get their second wind and renew the attack. They were busy planning and scheming to prepare the stage for the second and third acts.

The labor movement was not idle and it too took the opportunity to repair its defences. Particularly was this so with the Communist Party, which was busy consolidating its forces by way of the United Front, in the political as well as in the economic field.

The Trade Unions were working splendidly together along with the Communists and, as a result of this, the C.P. affiliation was accepted by the Labor Party. It was well that this was accomplished, as we shall see.

During July the mine owners of New South Wales decided to make a concerted attack on the coal miners, with the object of breaking their resistance and their organisation. They did not come out in the open this time by attacking wages and conditions but used divers means to attain their ends. At this time there were a number of minor local disputes on hand—as there will always be in the mining industry under capitalism—and the mine owners came along with the plea that they must have peace in the industry and laid down the conditions under which the industry must be carried on. Among those conditions there was a statement that the men who were known to be "reds" and members of the C.P. must be dismissed from the industry. The rank and file of the union refused to accept the conditions and particularly the victimizing of their fellow workers. The result was, the coal owners closed the mines.

The lock out lasted some weeks and during that time the workers' officials tried to effect some compromises but the workers would not have them. The C.P. actively assisted the miners in their trouble and demanded from the miners' officials a call for a general strike. Instead of getting consideration for this demand, it brought forth the vilest attack upon the Central Committee of the Party from some of the miners' leaders, who claimed that this attack was in the interests of the United Front.

Eventually the strike was settled, but out of it comes an important sequel. While the strike was at its height, a member of the C.P. was approached by an agent of the Government and offered £500 to manufacture and give evidence against the Communist Party.

This particular member of the C.P. not only spoke with the Government agent but met and discussed the whole project with Mr Weaver, a Nationalist member of Parliament and Minister in the Cabinet. The latter's proposal was, that it should be shown that the Communist Party was financing the coal miners on strike and that the C.P. in turn was receiving from Moscow the money for this purpose.

The Government and the coal owners finding that the scheme had been upset were soon busy in another direction. This time the attack was openly declared against the C.P. and its members.

During this period the C.P. was busy amongst the unemployed, whose numbers were increasing every day. It was organising and assisting them in their demands for maintenance from the Government. Parliament was about to open and the C.P., with the assistance of the Labour Council, decided to hold a mass demonstration outside of Parliament House on the opening day.

There was no secret about it, in fact it was advertised in all the daily newspapers. No objection was raised by the authorities and it appeared as though all would pass off well and perhaps to the advantage of some of the unemployed, by compelling the Government to listen to their demands. But the Government with its police had decided otherwise.

On the arrival of the demonstration at Parliament House, the speakers mounted the platform and began to address the crowd. The police tried to break up the meeting by forcing the people to move on and preventing them from standing in one place. In this they failed. Their next effort was more successful and gave the police the opportunity of carrying out the work that they had been sent to perform.

Motor-cars began to appear and drive through the crowd, which meant that the huge crowd had little chance of paying attention to the speakers. But after a few motors had driven through it was realised that this was part of the Government's program. No less than fifty motor cars were sent through the crowd and some of them passed through 3 and 4 times during the evening. The numbers of the cars were taken by a member of the Party and on an examination of the registered numbers they were found to be police or Government cars.

Even by this tactic the police failed, so they proceeded to the next step, which was to arrest the speakers. The result was that 10 prominent Communists have been sent to jail along with several trade union officials. Still the fight goes on, and each day sees more Communists and workers sent to prison. The latest to be sent along are two Labor Members of Parliament.

The Communist Party of Australia is receiving its baptism of fire and the workers of Australia are confronted with those conditions which have been the lot of the workers of Europe for the past few years. The fight has just begun. It will be long and bitter, but the working-class of Australia, with the help of the Communist Party, will make good and assist in the emancipation of the World's Proletariat.

## WORKER'S RELIEF

### Relief for Japan organized by the International Workers' Relief

A short time ago an appeal was published by the Red International of Labor Unions, in which the working class was called upon to lend rapid and energetic aid to the Japanese population suffering through the earthquake. The action taken by the Red International of Labor Unions has now been united to that of the International Workers Relief, and the executive of this latter body resolved, at its last session, to put its apparatus at the service of the Japanese proletariat condemned to such suffering by this natural catastrophe.

The appended appeal to all workers, peasants, and toilers throughout world has already been crowned with success. The funds collected already amount to a sum of 15,000 dollars:

"The undersigned Committee, which came into existence in 1921, was formed to mobilize working-class aid to the Russian Workers' and Peasants', then heavily menaced by the Volga Famine.

By the aid of world-wide support of the Working Masses of all countries, this Committee succeeded in carrying through Relief Measures on a large scale, more than 40,000 tons of foodstuffs, medicines, and other goods necessary for relief purposes being imported under our care into the Famine territory.

At the moment, this relief campaign is still being continued, and Food Stores, Clothing, and other materials are supplied by us to the Children's Homes and educational institutions in Russia.

At the same time the Committee is controlling several large agricultural and industrial undertakings in Russia, and in this way helping in the regeneration of the economic life of the Workers' Republic.

It is now some months since actual famine conditions in Russia have been wiped out. Russia is on the way to recovery—but there is another land which in its turn has been visited by a most formidable natural catastrophe.

The seismic disturbance in Japan has transformed its chief cities into heaps of ruins, killing thousands of men and women, and leaving millions without shelter and in misery. As at the time of the Volga Famine, the whole World hastens to help the victims of this frightful disaster.

The Japanese Government, supported by help from many sources, has organized a large-scale relief action. In England, America, and other countries, committees and relief organizations have been formed for this purpose.

But it is especially the Japanese working class on whose shoulders falls the greatest burden of this distress and misery. In view of these facts, and in accordance with our principles of relieving distress and feeding the starving without distinction of religious or political belief, the undersigned Committee decided to organize a great international working-class campaign to accomplish the first and most urgent task of supplying Food, Clothing, and other relief to the Workers and Peasants of Japan.

We have no doubt that our appeal will meet with the same whole-hearted and generous response from all sections of the Labor Movement as in the Famine period of 1921-2. The crisis of a whole nation in imminent danger demands immediate assistance.

Working masses of all countries unite in this work of giving aid to the suffering Japanese Workers and Peasants. Signed on behalf of the International Committee of the Workers' International Relief:—

Helen Crawford, E. T. Whitehead (England), Upton Sinclair, J. Davis (U.S.A.), Clara Zetkin, Kaihe Kollwitz, Prof. Eltzbacher, Dr. Alfons Paquet, Prof. Oesterreicher, Ernst Toller, G. G. L. Alexander, Edwin Hoernle, Paul Scholze, Willi Münzenberg, Max Barthel, Theodor Liebknecht (Germany), Anatole France, Vaillant-Couturier, Henri Barbusse, André Marty (France), Henriette Roland Holst, Edo Finnen, J. W. Kruyt, J. Bronnert (Holland), Martin Anderson Nexö (Denmark), Ture Nerman, Lindhagen, Z. Höglund (Sweden), S. Sievertson (Norway), J. Mattias, Pasteel (Belgium), Prof. Forel, F. Platten (Switzerland), Smeral, Kreibich (Czecho-Slovakia), Prof. Grassiadiet, Misiano (Italy)."

## The International Workers' Relief and the Relief Action in Aid of Japan

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

The International Workers' Relief came into being as an organization of international proletarian solidarity at the time of the famine in Russia. Its energetic help, rendered possible by the readiness for self-sacrifice shown by the whole proletariat, saved hundreds and thousands of lives, and was the first magnificent proof that the workers of the world do not regard international solidarity merely as an accepted tenet, but that they are prepared to bring actual proofs of readiness for self-sacrifice.

The Japanese working class rendered excellent aid in this international relief action. Despite all suppression on the part of the Takahashi government, the Japanese proletariat did its best to collect money for the starving Russian workers and peasants. Workers and poor peasants, artists, writers, musicians, all offered their services to the Japanese auxiliary committee of the International Workers' Relief, and the self-sacrificing action of the Japanese workers resulted in the collection of the sum of 30,000 dollars for the starving workers of Russia.

When news of the frightful earthquake reached Russia, the Russian workers unanimously felt that the moment had come to repay the help sent them by the Japanese proletariat during the famine in Russia, and to repay it with more than interest.

The Russian proletariat is daily expending large sums for the alleviation of the misery in Japan. The international proletariat encounters great financial difficulties in ameliorating the consequence of the earthquake for the Japanese working people, for the general economic situation is unfavorable. But provision must be made to bring help where it is most needed.

The Executive Committee of the International Workers' Relief has appointed a commission to deal with the collections being made for the Japanese working people. This commission regards the following as the most immediate imperative tasks in the various countries:

1. Special committees are to be formed everywhere by representatives of the various labor parties, trade unions, cooperatives, intellectuals, and artists who are ready to work for the proletarian relief action in order that the organization of the Japanese Relief may be taken energetically in hand.

2. The committees are to conduct extensive propaganda work for the Japanese Relief. The public, especially the working class, is to be enlightened concerning the consequences of the earthquake for the Japanese workers.

3. Funds are to be collected at once, in part by means of agitation at meetings and in the press, in part by personal agitation. The Youth organizations, the women's committees, the local organizations of the various parties, can render excellent service in this work. The auxiliary committees are to issue collection sheets, and to provide for the public acknowledgment of all sums sent in.

4. The various auxiliary committees are to enter into immediate communication with the Japanese Relief Committee of the International Workers' Relief in Berlin, and to send to these headquarters all material relating to the Japanese Relief action.

The Foreign Committee of the International Workers' Relief assumes that every worker is thoroughly aware of the enormous importance of this relief action. Even though the difficulties in the way of rendering aid to Japan are very obvious, still we must not forget the old Russian proverb which says that: "If everyone in the village gives but one thread, the naked will have a shirt to cover him."

We must prove that despite the thousands of miles distance separating us from our Japanese comrades, we none the less recognize the necessity of further maintaining the Japanese labor organizations, and of alleviating the hard fate of the workers of Japan, crushed by the frightful earthquake which has visited their country.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### A Greeting from the Russian Working and Peasant Women

By Frida Rubiner (Moscow).

If women in general have most to suffer under the pressure of social and economic conditions, this is doubly the case with the Russian working woman. Out of the bells of capitalist factories, out of the famine and disease of villages far away in the country, the Russian working and peasant women came into the Revolution. The frightful years of the civil war followed, with all their deprivations, hunger, and want, bringing the greatest suffering to the women, as housewives and mothers. These hard years are past. War and civil war are over. The working woman of Russia can pause to draw breath; she can satisfy her hunger, she need not tremble for her life, she can buy a few things . . . . But does this signify that the Russian working woman is now "content", that she has no desire to know anything further, has no more interest in politics, revolution, and struggle? No! Quite the contrary. The Russian working woman has become much more receptive of everything appertaining to revolution and struggle, and not only in so far as these things concern her own country, but also in the matter of the struggle being fought by her foreign brothers and sisters. And it is to be recorded to the honor of the Russian Revolution that it has made the Russian proletariat international.

The international solidarity of the Russian working and peasant women has never been so beautifully exemplified as at the delegates' meeting held on October 8, in Moscow.

The meeting (in the Sizin theatre) brought together no fewer than 4000 women—all working and peasant women from Moscow, and visitors to the great Agricultural Exhibition. Comrade Clara Zetkin spoke on the situation in Germany (the first subject on the agenda was the question of the Gold Loan). Comrade Zetkin is still in very poor health. After she had concluded her speech, the Russian proletarians gave their opinions on the German Revolution. One working woman after another from the factories stepped upon the platform, and one peasant woman after another, and declared in plain and simple language: "When the German working woman takes up the struggle, then we shall not merely stand by as idle onlookers. We shall come to your help, we shall help you with everything we have." It did not in the least sound like mere words when an old peasant woman, with weather-beaten countenance, shouted energetically: "If I am told: Go at once and help the German revolution, I should start on the spot, and leave my husband and son . . . ."

The women were not content with mere words. They had come to this meeting laden with rich gifts. In the first place they had brought flags, red flags, which they presented to the German proletariat as a symbol of the sisterly ties binding German and Russian working women in the coming struggle. Comrade Clara Zetkin was then honored as the representative of the German proletariat. In accordance with the custom of the Russian Communist Party, she was given the title of honorary workwoman in various factories: honorary weaver in a textile factory, honorary solderer in an incandescent lamp factory, and honorary tailoress. The manner in which this was done was extremely touching; the venerable champion of the German proletariat was forthwith provided with an apron, a tumbler was placed upon her finger, and so on. The women had also brought many presents with them, every trade offering what it could, a shawl, an embroidered coat, a cake, cigarettes, etc. It was a symbol of the help which the Russian proletariat can give the German with its corn, when a peasant woman handed Comrade Zetkin a sheaf of ears of wheat and a sickle. This peasant woman gave her present with evident depth of feeling, as if she were giving her very best. Every woman ascending the platform fulfilled a higher duty. Every eye sparkled, every heart beat faster. Every working and peasant woman whom Clara Zetkin gave her hand or embraced, became at this moment physically and spiritually one with the German proletariat . . . . Quite spontaneously a working woman tore her wedding ring from her finger, and sent it up to the platform as a gift to the revolutionary fighters in Germany. And speedily it began to rain gifts and money from all sides. The women tore the ear-rings from their ears, the rings from their fingers. A heap of gold articles was collected. And what gold articles does the proletarian woman possess? A poor pair of ear-rings, perhaps, bought in better days, in the hopeful season of youth. Or the cheap narrow wedding ring, given her in the happiest moment of her life. And now these women gave the best they had, their dearest remembrances, to the Revolution, to their highest ideal . . . .

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### The Youth Movement in Soviet Russia

By Otto Unger.

Three characteristics distinguished the International Youth Day of the C.Y.I. within the domain of the S.S.S.R.: The formation of the "Smütschka" (alliance) with the working youth of the West, the formation of the Smütschka with the working and peasant youth within the confines of the S.S.S.R., and the impending proletarian revolution in Germany. The fermenting proletarian revolution in Germany—for weeks its growing force has been felt even by us over here, for weeks the Russian proletariat and its devoted and enthusiastic youth, accustomed to fighting, have observed how their brothers in Germany are arising, slowly and with infinite pains, and are preparing to gather together their utmost forces and to crush their enemies. With bated breath the Russian working class, and especially the Russian proletarian youth watches every movement of the German proletariat. Under these circumstances the Youth Day in Russia became an enthusiastic demonstration for the struggle and victory of the proletariat in Germany. Full of enthusiasm were the greetings which the working and peasant youths assembled on 2. September, sent over to Germany, where the struggle being fought by the German proletariat simultaneously prepares and decides the struggle of the international proletariat. And every individual in these gigantic demonstrations (in Moscow alone they were participated in by two hundred and fifty thousand) inwardly registered the solemn vow: My life belongs to the proletarian revolution which is now fighting its decisive battles in Germany.

In this connection the slogan issued by the Russian Communist Youth Union: "Smütschka with the working youth in the capitalist states" was of great significance. For many weeks the groups and nuclei in the factories, in the towns and villages, had been carrying on an energetic campaign of enlightenment on the situation and the struggles of the proletarian youth in the capitalist countries. The proletarian and peasant youth of Russia had been given a comprehensive survey of the life and struggles of the communist youth unions of the west, by means of lantern lectures on the economic situation of the working youth in these countries, addresses on the communist youth unions and the Communist Youth International and their bourgeois and socialist opponents, lantern lectures on Fascism, on the situation in the Ruhr, etc. Here and there the members of the factory nuclei joined forces, and arranged for the presentation of a flag to some factory nucleus in the West. A large number of such flags have already been received by representatives of the E.C. of the C.Y.I., or are on the way to us.

The millions of young workers and peasants who gathered together for the 9. International Youth Day in Russia, mobilized themselves as the reserves of this revolution; this was the profound import of the slogan of Smütschka with the working youth of the West.

## APPEALS

### The First International Peasants' Conference to the Working Peasants of all Countries!

Brothers and comrades! We, the representatives of the working peasants of all countries, assembled here together for the first time, send you our fraternal greetings from the capital city of the first workers' and peasants' state!

Brothers and comrades! Since primeval times we have been winning the fruits of the soil at the price of heavy labor. At first we did this in free comradeship: each for all and all for each. The ground was free; forest and meadow, hunting and fishing, belonged to each and all. But the power seized by the nobility robbed us of our freedom, degraded us to slaves. For a thousand years we bore the yoke. Then came the emancipation of the peasantry. But this brought us no release from serfdom. We were robbed of our right to forest and meadow, hunting and fishing. Broad tracts of the best land remained the property of the great landowners, whose sole activity con-

sisted in extorting high rent from us, in leading the feudal lords, and in hunting over our fields.

A new race of lords has sprung up beside the capitalists. And these too live from our blood. They join together in cartels and trusts, that they may dictate to us high prices. In autumn the speculators come and buy up our crops at low prices, and sell them again in the spring at double prices. In America the usurious tariffs of the railroads deprive the farmers of one half of their income. On every side we are encompassed by deceit, usury, robbery. The broad masses of the colonial peoples are impoverished beneath the yoke of the foreign capitalist robbers.

The large landowners and capitalists are backed up by the bourgeois state with its bureaucrats, police, and officers. A mighty organization opposes us. It forces our sons to fill the barracks: it carries on wars for the division of the spoil, in which wars we working peasants are driven in millions to our death. These privileged classes lived in quiet and luxury all through the war, but we shed our blood, and our women, children, and old men worked themselves nearly to death in the fields. The old wounds are not yet healed, but already Capitalism, greedy for gold, is arming for fresh mass murder.

Brothers and comrades! The working peasantry is beginning to awaken at last, it is beginning to realize that it must no longer entrust its fate to the landlords and capitalists. It has already attempted to organize parties in various countries, and to seize state power. But it has not yet struck the right path. It has attempted to govern in collaboration with the enemy, with the ruling class; but the cunning business politicians of the ruling class have outwitted, corrupted, and bought the leaders of the peasantry. The peasants' parties have thus been tools of the ruling class, instead of weapons aiding the working peasants in their struggle. In Bulgaria, where the peasantry attempted to seize state power for themselves alone, it was taken by surprise by a small band of conspirators, one-time officers and rulers; the peasants were driven from their position of power, crushed, and thousands of them thrown into prison or murdered.

The peasantry cannot wield state power, either in cooperation with the ruling classes or alone. If it is to rule, it must have an honorable ally in the cities, for in the state of today the cities form the centre of power: Those who rule the cities rule the country. But the working peasant lives in the village, his companions are scattered over the fields. And the honest city ally—this is the working class, which suffers as much from exploitation by the ruling class as does the peasantry. But the working class of the cities, dependent on its own resources, is too weak to carry on a victorious fight against the ruling class, against the bourgeois state. City workers and peasantry must fight together for their joint victory.

The overthrow of the ruling class! The establishment of the workers and peasants' government! This is the immediate goal. Hitherto the ruling classes have adopted the successful tactics of inciting peasants and town workers against one another. They have persuaded the peasantry that increased power on the part of the workers would imply that more land would be taken from the peasants, that property would be divided, all liberties suppressed. We have been able to convince ourselves with our own eyes, in the workers' and peasants' state of Russia, that all these assertions are falsehoods. The peasants of Russia have not only retained their land, but have received that of the former great landowners as well. They enjoy perfect liberty. Their property is protected, they can sell their products without restriction. They administer the affairs of their villages by means of their own Soviets. Nobody offends their national feelings, or interferes with them in the exercise of their religion. Emancipated from Czarist, landowning, and capitalist oppression, they are cooperating with the city workers to become free, creative, and cultured human beings. We must follow their example.

In order to facilitate the work, we have here resolved to found an International Council of Working Peasants. It will be the task of this council to promote the alliance of the workers and peasants of the whole world, and to aid the working peasantry by word and deed. You may turn to this council with the fullest reliance!

But the main work has to be accomplished by you yourselves. You must emancipate yourselves from the dictatorship of the ruling class. You must learn to regard the workers as your allies and comrades in the battle. You must fight together with them to crush the power of the ruling class, and to establish the government of the workers and peasants all over the world.

Long live the alliance between the working peasants and the workers! Long live the workers' and peasants' government! Peasants and workers of all countries, unite!

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