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# - INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 5

12th Jan. 1923

43

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

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## The Political Somersault in Egypt

By M. N. Roy.

The correspondent of the London "Times" wrote on December 3, from Cairo reporting the resignation of Sarwat Pasha and the consent of the pro-Zaghlulist Nessim Pasha to form a new cabinet. Zaghlul himself is reported to have wired from Gibraltar, protesting loyalty to the King, whose authority as the sovereign he had before refused to recognize. It looks very strange; and the changes are all too bewildering. But a retrospective glance at history proves that this political somersault of bourgeois nationalism was to be expected.

It is evident that the government, controlled by the Sarwat clique, is overthrown by a new combination of forces, namely an unexpected alliance between the Palace and the *Waft-el-Mosri* (Zaghlulist Deputation). The event that immediately preceded the resignation of the Sarwat Cabinet was a manifesto issued by the *Waft*. This manifesto, which was exceptionally hostile to the government, was launched immediately after the acting president of the *Waft* had had a long and mysterious interview with the King. What is the moral of this apparently strange combination? The none too comfortable experience of the last twenty months has convinced the Imperialist of the necessity of striking his roots deeper into the organism of the native society. It has been found that the thin strata of feudal lords and upper bourgeoisie, represented by those Pashas, who signed the agreement of "Independence", is not a strong enough support for the continuance of British domination. The concessions made to this class failed to reconcile the rich agrarians and bourgeoisie represented by the Zaghlulist *Waft*, not to mention the rebellious lower middle and small peasantry, operating through the militant ranks of the *Khizb-el-Watani* (Nationalist Party). The mysterious interview in the palace was evidently held for the purpose of intimating to the Centrist Zaghlulist *Waft* that embarrassed Imperialism, was now in the market bidding for its support. What is amazing was the quickness with which the bargain was struck. King Fuad has proved himself to be a clever bargain maker. But there have been other reasons of deeper social significance which led up to the successful conclusion of this bargain.

The social composition of the Zaghlulist Party proves that the present compromise was logically to be expected of it. Zaghlul Pasha, who had taken part in the Nationalist rebellion led by Colonel Arabi in 1882, was one of the leaders of the *Khizb-el-Uma* (Peoples' Party) organized in 1906. This first political party of Egypt was mainly composed of big landowners, high officials and the intelligentsia. It also included in its ranks a considerable

number of the upper middle class, rich agrarians, merchants, students and some sections of the clergy. The object pursued by the party was not a revolution against British Imperialism, but the sharing of the right of exploitation and power with the latter. The *Khizb-el-Uma*, at least its leading elements, was very closely connected with Khedive Abbaz II, who exploited its British agitation in order to strengthen his position as the absolute ruler of the country. His policy was secretly to help and encourage the landowning and official elements, but to persecute the more democratic middle class leaders. The compromising policy of the Right Wing became too much for the middle democratic elements, when Zaghlul in 1907 became a Vizir (minister) of the reactionary monarchy.

The social differentiation in the ranks of the nationalists was then marked by a split in the *Khizb-el-Uma*. It was found that the "people" were not a homogeneous whole with identical interests. The middle class found its interests incompatible with those of the landlords and upper bourgeoisie, and repudiated the latter's leadership. The radical Left Wing of the Peoples' Party broke away and formed the *Khizb-el-Watani* (the Nationalist Party), with a program of revolutionary struggle against the British occupation. Although he could not remain in office for long in the midst of rank feudal reaction, Zaghlul did not, however, sever his political connection with the bankrupt *Khizb-el-Uma*, because his social affiliation did not permit him to endorse the petty bourgeois Extremism of the new party. He waited for the chance of playing a Centrist role. In spite of the heavy load of repression that came down upon it from the very beginning, the *Khizb-el-Watani* carried on a strong anti-British propaganda both at home and abroad, but only to be proved impotent in actual revolutionary struggle, as is always the case with petty bourgeois nationalism, which is prone to pronounce formidable phrases, but ever incapable of putting them into action. Therefore when, on the morrow of the Imperialist War, a spontaneous mass revolt broke out all over the country, the talkative petty bourgeois extremists were found entirely lacking in political leadership.

The moment came for Zaghlul to appear on the field. He wanted to utilize the acute revolutionary situation in order to impose upon England the demands of the class of progressive landlords, agrarians and upper bourgeoisie, which he represented. These classes demanded more than could satisfy the reactionary feudals, in league with the corrupt ruling dynasty. The *Waft-el-*

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Mosri headed by Zaghlul, was formed in order to bargain with British Imperialism over the "independence" of Egypt. In order to secure the backing of the rebellious people, the Waft had to take up such demands as would reflect their revolutionary will. Thus, we found the Watanists putting forward such radical slogans as "Abolition of the Protectorate", "Removal of the British Army of Occupation", "Complete Internal Autonomy", etc. But the fact that the agreement subsequently arrived at between the Zaghlulist Waft and Lord Milner differed essentially very little from the "independence" accepted by the Adly-Sarwat combination, proves that the Waft-el-Mosri was not serious in putting forward these slogans. It was done simply to secure popular support.

The British government however, was so terrified by the revolutionary mass upheaval, that it failed to see the artificial tie that bound the popular movement with Zaghlulist leadership; consequently, it took some steps which strengthened that tie. The Delegation was refused permission to proceed to England. This stupidity of Imperialism made of Zaghlul, who only wanted to negotiate a *modus vivendi*, a popular hero. The mandate of the nation was immediately given to the Zaghlulist Delegation, in the form of a declaration. The subjective blunder of Imperialism, coupled with the objective situation, forced Zaghlul and his colleagues to head a revolutionary movement. They were arrested and deported to Malta. This was simply fanning the fire. The discontent of the masses broke out into open revolt which spread all through the Nile Valley. But the Zaghlulist Waft, which was brought into the limelight by a queer combination of forces and became the formal leader of the Nationalist movement in those eventful days, did not by any means constitute the dynamics of the revolt. The peasant uprising was the crux of the situation, and the leadership of this agrarian revolt was in the hands of the Left Wing of the *Khizb-el-Watani* which, as a party however, was swallowed up by the Waft. This revolutionary factor in the nationalist movement, which subsequently forced Zaghlul to break up his negotiations in London, was composed of de-classed intellectuals, (students) the economically bankrupt lower middle class; the pauperized peasantry, and above all, the city workers.

During the revolutionary struggle of 1919-1920, a social re-grouping took place in the nationalist ranks; the Right Wing of the *Khizb-el-Watani* joined the Centrist Waft, whose program was to force the British government to compromise under the pressure of mass revolt, while the Left Wing understood the necessity of coming closer to the toiling masses, in order to carry out its program of complete destruction of British Imperialism. It was the revolutionary action of the latter that forced the British government to release Zaghlul and his Delegation and let them proceed to London. It was not long before Imperialism recognized its mistake, and started on the astute policy of exploiting the conflict of class interests within the nationalist ranks. There was very little in common between the landlords, rich agrarians and upper bourgeoisie, represented by the Waft, and the reorganized and rejuvenated *Khizb-el-Watani*, whose social foundation had been shifted onto the petty traders, pauperized intellectuals, exploited artisans, poor peasantry and the proletariat. Lord Milner recommended that the first should be bought off with some concessions.

But this was not to be. The revolutionary movement was still very strong and Zaghlul did not dare accept the conditions without risking his popularity, which it was yet too early to do. The present somersault of the Zaghlulist Waft ceases to be a mystery when it is known that the agreement reached in August 1920, hardly differed from the present "independence" and that Zaghlul Pasha would not have rejected these compromising conditions had he not been forced to do so under the pressure of the revolutionary mass movement at home. The Left Wing of the *Khizb-el-Watani* was quick in understanding what would be the result of such a half-way measure: it would satisfy the demands of the big bourgeoisie, rich agrarians and higher officials represented by the Zaghlulist Waft, but the condition of those classes represented by the revolutionary nationalists of the *Khizb-el-Watani*, would not be improved in any way. Therefore, the Watanists carried on their agitation among the peasant masses, and compelled Zaghlul to break up the diplomatic negotiation and return home. The policy of the Zaghlulist party during the risings of 1919-1920 also reveals how far from revolution was its objects. On many an occasion, it restrained the rebellious masses from active armed struggle, on the ground that it was harmful to the nationalist cause. It shows that the bourgeoisie was very anxious to see that the movement did not go so far as to make negotiation and compromise with Imperialism impossible.

The politics of bourgeois nationalism were at a crisis when the Waft returned to Egypt. By rejecting the agreement arrived

at with Lord Milner, the Waft had practically committed itself to revolution, because a greater measure of self-government could not be conquered without a violent struggle, and such a struggle could not be carried on unless the social basis of the movement was shifted to the working and peasant masses. But such a revolutionary step was not to be expected from the Zaghlulist party. It failed the movement at this critical period, and the leadership passed to the petty-bourgeois *Khizb-el-Watani*, which talked in violent terms, but could only take very feeble steps towards organizing a revolutionary mass struggle. All the Watanists could do was to declare a boycott of British goods and banks, and to make some half-hearted attempts at organizing Trade Unions. The deportation of Zaghlul eliminated the social class represented by him from the political arena, and the reactionary feudal and corrupt bureaucratic elements appeared on the scene, to become the prop of Imperialism. Or in other words, the Kingdom of Heaven conquered by the Zaghlulists was inherited by their political opponents. Hence the opposition of the former to the "independence" accepted by the Adly-Sarwat combination. It was not the revolutionary question of national liberation, but the conflict of class interests that underlay this opposition. It is a struggle for power. The real question is, which section of the propertied upper class shall reap the fruits of the compromise with Imperialism,—the feudal bureaucrats or the capitalists and agrarians? There is a third factor intervening in this struggle for power. It is Imperialism, which has found in bourgeois nationalism a more powerful ally. An alliance was concluded behind the closed doors of the Palace, and led to the resignation, more correctly dismissal, of the Sarwat Cabinet.

The latest political events in Egypt signify the collapse of opportunist centrism. They prove how history has deprived the colonial bourgeoisie of a consistent revolutionary role. In fact, its unwillingness to head a revolutionary struggle on its return from London in September, 1920, marked the exhaustion of the little revolutionary significance that the Zaghlulist party possessed. It was not long before the revolutionary social forces repudiated its leadership. A general strike of the railway workers, called on the occasion of the second deportation of Zaghlul Pasha in December, 1920, was not responded to by the workers. This was the first sign of the breach between bourgeois nationalism and the forces of mass revolution, which alone are capable and destined to win the independence of Egypt. Therefore, bourgeois nationalism eventually landed in the lap of Imperialism, after a spectacular career of a few eventful months, during which it was caught in the whirlwind of a spontaneous revolutionary struggle.

In a rather peculiar way, Egypt is enjoying all the sensations of a bourgeois revolution. Feudalism and reactionary bureaucracy are defeated; imperial exploitation will be carried on in the future through the medium of the native bourgeoisie. The basis of imperial rule is widened, but the revolutionary consciousness of the anti-imperialist hosts will also be quickened. Thus grows the struggle, and the day is drawing nearer when the people of Egypt will be free, in spite of the fact that British Imperialism, embodied in King Fuad, has secured the loyalty of Zaghlul Pasha. It will simply help the revolutionary forces to lose another illusion.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The International Conference of Revolutionary Metal Workers

By W. Waxow (Moscow).

Our second conference was held in Moscow from December 4. till 7. Strictly speaking, it was the first conference, for last year we had only a consultation of the metal workers' delegates of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U.

46 delegates, representing 18 countries, took part in the conference; 38 of these delegates, being official representatives of the revolutionary minorities of metal workers' unions, and of the central organs of metal workers' unions affiliated with the R.I.L.U., had deciding votes; 8 delegates, not possessing special authority, were admitted with advisory votes.

The delegates belonged to the following countries and organizations: United States of America 2 delegates (1 from the minority of the Engineers' Association, 1 from the Union of United Metal Workers of America); Canada 1 (local union); England 5 (minority of the Amalgamated Engineering Union); Germany 7 (minority of the German Metal Workers' Union and the section of the Union); France 4 (Unitarian Metal Workers

Federation and the Federation of Aviation Workers Cartwrights, and Smiths); Italy 2 (minority of the Metal Workers' Federation); Australia 1 (section of the Amalgamated Engineering Union); Belgium 1 (minority of the Metal Workers' Union); Sweden 2 (minority of the Metal Workers' Union); Austria 1 (minority of the Metal Workers' Union); Czechoslovakia 2 (section of the Metal Workers' Associated Union and minority of the reformist Metal Workers' union); Yugoslavia 1 (Metal Workers' Union); Bulgaria 1 (Metal Workers' Union); Japan 1 (Metal Workers' Union Tokio); Finland 2 (Metal Workers' Union); Estonia 1 (Metal Workers' Union); Russia 10 (All Russian Metal Workers' Union); Latvia 1 (Metal Workers' Union). There were thus represented at the conference: 11 independent organizations with a membership of about 550,000, and revolutionary minorities comprising, at the most modest calculation, about 600,000 organized metal workers.

At the conference the fundamental questions of the further struggle, and of the agitative and organizational work of the revolutionary metal workers were discussed. The theses accepted show the conference to have completely rejected the idea of a split in the metal workers' union, and of the formation of an independent international. The conference took due note of the obvious aggressiveness of the Amsterdamers against the revolutionary workers, of their reactionary course during the ever-increasing attack of the capitalists of all countries against the vanguard of the international proletariat the metal workers, and at the same time confirmed the correctness of the united front tactics and of the conflict against the schismatic tendencies of the Amsterdamers. This resolution was passed unanimously by all delegates. Only the delegate of the French Unitarian Metal Workers' Union — a syndicalist, and in addition to this just freshly impressed by the conflict at Le Havre and by the treachery of the reformists, who laid the blame for the victims of Le Havre on the revolutionists, and not on the bourgeoisie — demanded the immediate formation of a revolutionary metal workers' international. The unanimous persuasions of the whole conference were however successful in inducing the French delegate to join the majority. The conference, although expressing opposition to a split, and to the formation of an independent international, emphasized in its resolutions that the time is come for the utmost endeavour towards gathering together the revolutionary elements among the metal workers of all countries.

The process of accumulating class-conscious revolutionary forces now developing in the revolutionary metal workers' unions, and outside of these, must be expressed in the union of all revolutionary elements on the basis of a uniform program of action.

The resolutions of the conference require that the activity of the revolutionary metal workers' groups is not to consist entirely of anti-reformist propaganda under general political slogans. Various concrete and essential demands of the present-day labor movement must be taken up and fought for. As a first task the revolutionary metal workers' must attain the abolition of the craft form of union organization, and the transition to the most advanced form of union organization, to the principle of industrial unions. A characteristic comparison may be made between this conference resolution and that submitted to the metal workers' international, by its general secretary Konrad Illk, on the question of organization. According to his point of view, the question of form of organization can be determined by the International merely by means of comrade-like advice (Swiss metal workers' periodical of Nov. 25, 1922). This comrade-like advice, which represents in its essence nothing more nor less than lack of desire and capability competent to fight, must be opposed by the clear demand of the revolutionary metal workers: one industry, one union.

Finally, an indispensable factor is the fight for the shop stewards, and the enhancement of the significance of the shop stewards as important organs of the labor movement. The German conditions, for instance, imperatively demand that the revolutionary metal workers take part in the shop steward movement, while French and English conditions demand that initiative be taken for introducing shop stewards councils as institutions fully capable of offering resistance. It is a matter of course that in the daily conflicts against the attacks of capital, in which the fight is for the defence of the rate of wages and of the eight hour day, the followers of the R.I.L.U. among the metal workers must fight in the first ranks. These are the lines indicated by the international conference.

The conference formed an international fraction centre; without in the least presuming to adopt the name or rôle of a metal workers' international, and with the intention of setting an example of international proletarian solidarity. This centre will contribute to the establishment of the closest relations and nearer acquaintance between the revolutionary metal workers of all countries. It will follow with the closest attention all events

of the class war over the whole world, and will make it its endeavour to render every conflict between metal workers and capital the common cause of all the metal workers of all countries.

We repeat: The international centre of the revolutionary metal workers does not in the least aspire to the rôle of a metal workers international, but it is doubtless possessed with the ambition of fulfilling the rôle of an ideal example of a future international, that is, of a genuine revolutionary international metal workers organization, already developing within the old Berne International.

Computed in years the Berne International is not old. But it was condemned at birth to ideological senility and impotence.

## The Eight Hour Day in France

By Georges Levy (France).

In France, as in all countries at present, the fight against the eight hour day continues. Capitalism has just come off victorious in the merchant marine and on the railways. In the merchant marine, the law of August 2, 1919, which came into effect on February 24, 1920, decreed that the hours of labor of employees of both sexes and all ages, working on a ship, including of course, general employees, should not exceed either eight hours a day, forty eight hours a week, or any equivalent limitation established over a period of time other than a week. (Law of April 23, 1919, over the eight hour day. Art. 1.) It was an eight hour day for all ship workers. By the new decree of September 4, 1919, the twelve hour day and the substitution of two shifts for three shifts became legal for all employees except those at work on machines. It is the return of the law of 1907. The seamen have attempted to resist by a strike, but in spite of their organization and their unbroken unity, they have been defeated. The question has come before the chamber of deputies, the government has obtained its majority, and the eight hour law has been abolished in the merchant marine.

The eight-hour-day law was introduced on the railways in 1919 by common consent, by so-called agreements entered into by the representatives of the railways and the unions. These agreements were signed by an underdirector of the P.L.M. (Paris-Lyon-Marseille) Company, by the secretary of the National Federation of Railroad Workers and a representative of the Minister of Public Works. These agreements had the force of law. They established the eight hour day for the great majority of railroad workers. There were, it is true, certain specified exceptions where the twelve hour day and even the fourteen hour day was permitted, but they were exceptions. But with the decree of September 14, 1922 modifying these agreements, the eight hour day becomes the exception and the ten, twelve and fifteen hour day the rule. But in adding to this allowance for overtime and seasonal labor, the working day may be as much as sixteen or seventeen hours. This is actually an aggravation of conditions which prevailed in the railroads before the introduction of the eight hour day. The syndicalist federations of railroad workers have protested, all unions, from the Christian Federation to the railroad unions of the C.G.T.U. have entered their protests. But the lack of unity in the trade unions and their weakened condition since the strikes of May 1920 permit no stronger resistance. The question has been carried before parliament, but the minister of public works has been supported by a majority of the national bloc. This means, the abolition of the eight-hour day on the railroads.

In both of these cases the government has not dared to abolish the law openly, but has succeeded in doing so by introducing in the application of the law the distinction between "Actual labor" and "Time spent at work". The latter term does not exist in the eight hour law of April 23, 1919, it only appears in paragraph 4, article 8: "Permanent allowances should be permitted for preparatory or subsidiary work which must necessarily be executed outside the assigned limit of general work of the establishment, or for certain categories of workers for whom work is essentially intermittent." It is an abuse of this paragraph which has permitted the minister of public works to abolish the eight hour day on the railways. Now the struggle is especially directed against the eight-hour day in the mines. One legal proposal for its suppression has already been placed before parliament. It concerns the introductions into the law of June 24, 1919, regarding the duration of labor in the mines, of allowances which practically amount to the establishing of a nine hour day for the miners.

The industrial and general commercial organizations which already violate the eight hour day by illegal over-time work do not doubt that, once the law is suppressed under the pressure of the great economic organizations, it will be easy to obtain a general abolition of the law by abusing the privilege of exceptions.



## The Capitalist Offensive and the Working Class in Belgium

By J. Jacquemotte (Brussels).

In Belgium, as in all other capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie is striving to restore the economic equilibrium of its system by destroying the ambiguous peace pact between capital and labor, and by taking up an open offensive against wages, the eight hour day, the right to strike and the right of combination of the workers.

As early as 1921 capitalism began to utilize the beginning economic crisis for opening the fight, this crisis throwing many thousands of workers out of work in all the factories and workshops throughout the industrial centres.

In May 1921 the number of officially registered unemployed amounted to 204,119. Of these 91,582 were completely unemployed, the remaining 112,537 being on short time. This is 32.9 per cent of all the workers participating in the unemployed insurance scheme. A comparison with other countries shows that in Belgium, unemployment is greater than anywhere else. Unemployment amounted in:

Belgium in May 1921 . . . . .	32.3%
United States in December 1920 . . . . .	29.2%
Sweden in November 1921 . . . . .	28.2%
Denmark in December 1921 . . . . .	25.2%
Norway in June 1921 . . . . .	24.5%
Great Britain in June 1921 . . . . .	23.1%
Holland in January 1921 . . . . .	16.5%
Canada in March 1921 . . . . .	16.5%
Australia in January 1921 . . . . .	12.5%
Germany in February 1921 . . . . .	4.7%

### Against wages and the eight hour day.

This economic crisis, unheard of in the annals of capitalism, was regarded by the Belgian capitalists as an exceedingly favorable opportunity for a concentrated attack upon wages and the eight hour day. This offensive was rendered particularly dangerous for the workers by reason that the reformist trade union leaders recognized the principle of reduction of wages.

Although wages in large industry were regulated on the basis of the index figures as to cost of living, the employers now refused to keep to the engagements they had entered into, and reduced wages quite arbitrarily, giving as a reason that this would bring about a general reduction in the cost of living!

But capital had still further aims in view, besides the mere reduction of wages. A special attack was prepared on the eight hour day. Capital was well aware that, to a certain extent, the best way to suppress the resistance of the workers to longer working hours is to reduce the hourly wage. But to-day the attack on the eight hour day is being openly attempted. First a preparatory campaign has raged through the bourgeois press, and now the bourgeoisie openly demands from parliament that the law regulating working hours shall be suspended for five years. A bill having this object has just been introduced into the chamber, though without the signatures of the clerical and liberal deputies. In an award regarding an extension of the law—provided in the law itself—to various categories of the proletariat excluded from its effects, the bourgeoisie represented in the supreme Industrial and Commercial Council makes the following declaration, amongst others:

"Once and for all an end must be put to the chimeras pursued by our trade union leaders and politicians, who prefer mere phrases to useful productive work."

One can clearly see from this what kind of treatment the Belgian capitalists accord to their allies of yesterday and to-day the reformist trade union leaders.

The following conclusion reveals their aims even more clearly:

"The war has not only swallowed up the tremendous and incalculable masses of capital accumulated by former generations, but at the same time the equally tremendous masses of capital which the coming generation has still got to work for, and which the war has bequeathed in the form of debt. This burden on future work is imposed by means of raising loans, and by the issue of gigantic amounts of paper money. As the tremendous burden of interest weighing upon capital effectually prevents its revival, European civilization will collapse into chaos, and will irrevocably bury beneath its ruins workers and employers alike."

The real import of this utterance is that the workers are to pay the whole cost of the imperialist war by an enslavement of daily increasing acuteness.

### The first signs of awakening.

After a certain period of steadiness, the cost of living now continues to rise, a fact which has been felt with particular acuteness since the month of October 1922.

For this reason we are experiencing at the present time an unmistakable revival of the fighting spirit among the proletarian masses, who are pressing forward to the offensive in every part of the country. In the mining industry, the 8 per cent wages reduction forced upon the workers, in May 1922, by the mutual action of the employers and the social-democratic trade union leaders, has been withdrawn. The miners have been drawing their original wages again since the 15th of October. But the communist miners, who committed the frightful crime of signing a proclamation issued by the Communist Party, in which the miners were called upon to demand the withdrawal of the forced reduction of wages, have been threatened with expulsion from the trade union by the reformist leaders.

In the meanwhile, the further increase in the cost of living, as established in November, has again swallowed up the effects of the recovery of the 8 per cent wage reduction. In the metal industry the majority of the metal workers had also permitted a 10 per cent reduction of wages to be imposed upon them, this reduction being carried out in two instalments, on May 1. and June 1. At the present time however, they are demanding the restoration of their former rates of wages, but are being resisted by the employers. These latter indeed proclaim their intention of entirely disregarding the index figures when fixing wages in the future, and of paying a social wage in accordance with the size of the families. There is no doubt whatever that there will be great conflicts in the metal industry in the near future. A mill workers' strike took place recently, involving 10 mills and 1000 workers out of the 85 power-driven mills existing in Belgium employing 25,000 workers. The employers succeeded, however, in finding sufficient black-legs. Technicians and clerks sprang to the aid of the capitalists, and the strike was lost.

The case of the teachers in the Brussels municipal schools is one of great interest. The salaries of the teaching staff are regulated by a scheme of payment applied to the whole country. The teachers of the Greater Brussels district demanded, however, from the municipal authorities, that they pay a suitable addition to them, beyond the salary paid by the state. The authorities of the city of Brussels refused however to consider this request, in view of the necessity of keeping down municipal expenses, but at the same time they decided to grant the abolition of the head tax on employees, and the road-making levies, this abolition being carried through by the clerical-liberal majority of the municipal council, and entails a reduced revenue of 8,500,000 francs for the city. These two taxes had been combatted with the utmost ferocity by the industrial undertakings, manufacturers, and house-owners. The taxes on illuminated advertisements were also reduced by 40 per cent, again lessening the municipal revenues by 80,000 francs.

Upon this, the teachers carried out a one hour's strike in a great number of schools on the 6th, 7th and 8th of December. The workmen and employees of the city administration in Brussels also demanded increased wages, basing this demand on the increased cost of living.

On the 11th of December the municipal council had to decide on certain disciplinary measures moved by the magistracy. During the consultation the whole of the municipal staff demonstrated before the town hall. The mayor ordered police and gendarmes to the spot in order to maintain the law and order which was threatened by nobody, but no recourse to force occurred. The strikers were punished by being locked out for three days, with loss of salaries during this time.

The dispute is however by no means ended by this. Mere measures of "authority" are absolutely powerless to banish misery and want from the homes of the teachers and of the municipal employees.

The entry of these proletarian strata, who have hitherto held aloof from direct participation in the class war of the working class, into the arena of social struggle indicates a fresh stage on the road to the destruction of political equilibrium among the classes.

## ECONOMICS

### The Russian Rouble and the German Mark

By Sokolnikov (Moscow).

Gold currency has been replaced not only in Russia, but almost all over the European continent, by paper currency indicating every stage of falling rates of exchange. Even the bank-notes issued by the bank of England have maintained an unaltered value of 9 per cent lower than gold, ever since the war, and have shown but slight upward and downward fluctuations. The Dutch paper florin, although Holland remained neutral in

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Proletarian Alliance of France and Germany

Concerning the program of action of the French Communist Party—the immediate work of uniting forces in both countries against the international bourgeoisie and for the Revolution.

By Henri Lauridan (Tourcoing).

In drafting a program of action the delegates of the Left have tried first of all to recall the militant communists to a sense of their immediate responsibilities. This program is a landmark in the history of the French movement. One point in that program should attract the most lively attention and should determine the party to rapid action. It is paragraph 7, which treats of the solidarity of French and German workers.

The tragic history of the workers in both countries is bound together more closely than ever before. There is no misfortune of the German workers which has not its reflection in the moral and material life of the French, there is no neglect of the French proletariat which has not its sad consequences on the other side of the Rhine. The trail of conquest and of blood which follows the imperialism of both countries has been the never-ending Calvary of two peoples made to understand one another, destined to be united. The Calvary continues today, terrible for the German workers, dangerous for their brothers in France.

It is the Treaty of Versailles, that criminal and anti-proletarian consecration of the infamous war, which saw the failure of the workers' Internationals, the treason of the Socialist and Syndicalist chiefs, the auctioning off of the workers by the trade union bureaucracy, which they had themselves created with their struggles and their miseries.

The problem of reparations presses upon the German worker more heavily every day. Picture a proletarian tied to a notched wheel, which tears his flesh shred by shred every time the capitalists of both countries get together and plan their route, while pretending to devour one another in the bourgeois press, and you have a rough idea of what the German proletariat suffers and undergoes. The French worker knows nothing of this situation, except through oratorical or journalistic formulas such as "Germany will pay" or "Germany must pay", the one originated by Klotz, the other by Jouhaux. So they are blinded by these formulas while the allied bourgeoisie of both countries profit by the situation without scruple or shame.

It is the military occupation which delivers the civilian population bound hand and foot to the caprice and exploitation of commercial merchants and industrial magnates. Tomorrow will come the occupation of the Ruhr and the enslaving of the miners in the Ruhr valley.

In short, it is the pitiless death of children, the degradation of women, the enslaving of men, it is the same class, the workers, which pays for the horrors of capitalism in every country.

The French worker passes on, indifferent. Not that he is antagonistic, nor that he retains any hatred whatever, from the war. The war? . . . Those fifty-two months of mud, of cowardice, of crime? He retains nothing from the war, that worker, except a wish that it may never come again; but he has not yet acquired the feeling of international solidarity, or the idea of his class responsibility.

Yet that worker possesses an innate generosity and an instinct of revolt which could soon rouse the French proletariat to a sense of its political mission and duty. But how arouse it? Fix his attention at an important moment and guide his desire to act when the time is opportune.

The material is in the worker's reach and it is up to the revolutionaries of both countries to realize this and to profit by it. Then the union of militant Germans and French would no longer be a fantastic program but an article of faith for each and a supremely important reality.

This alliance should unite the most unknown corners of Germany and the most secluded corners of France. The least of the Communist Federations and the departmental unions of the United Syndicalists, the finest revolutionary provincial organs and of Paris, should respond to the voice of the German workers. A special commission of communists and syndicalists should spread their propaganda by word and by mouth, through the ranks of the French proletariat.

This propaganda will disregard the stupid boundaries of frontiers. It will slip into Germany where the French militants will meet their German comrades, where the journals will reproduce articles by French revolutionaries.

the war, has also lost value by about the same proportion as the English bank-note. The French rate of exchange is much more unfavorable: the paper franc sinks in value from year to year, and the attempts made by the French government to improve France's financial condition at the expense of German reparations only lead to the further depreciation of the French banknotes, following on the catastrophic and feverish depreciation of German paper money. The depreciation of paper currency is accompanied by important economic and political consequences all over Europe. In France the small peasantry, which had kept its savings in paper money, has lost more than half of these savings. In Germany and in England the depreciation lays the heaviest burdens on workers and intellectuals. In all these countries the uncertainty of monetary values involves rapidly rising prices, rapacious greed for profits, and complete uncertainty of what the next day may bring; in short, it involves the complete disintegration of all economic relations, and this is also expressed politically in the continual governmental crises. This financial breakdown is naturally only the result of the acute political and economic crisis into which Europe has been plunged by the war.

But the depreciating paper money of Europe was able to console itself for a time with the fact that its Eastern neighbour, the Russian paper rouble, was falling more rapidly still. Conscious of their advantageous position, the countries trafficking in paper currency declined to recognize the Russian paper money as a member of their family; they refused it all acknowledgement whatever as monetary value, precisely as the European governments have refused to "recognize" the Soviet government as a government. Now the situation is beginning to change: the rate at which the German mark depreciates has not only exceeded that of the paper money of the Austria strand led by the Versailles dictators, but is now even more rapid than that of Soviet Russia's paper currency, which is now beginning to take firm ground after long years of war, blockade, and famine. If we compare the price of the dollar (that is, of the only money in the world possessing full value) in marks at the German exchange, and in rubles at the free Moscow exchange, since January 1922, we observe the following:

In January the dollar had a value of 192 marks in Berlin, 435 roubles in Moscow (bank-notes of the year 1922). In July the dollar cost 493 marks in Berlin, in Russia 411 roubles, so that the mark had depreciated by two and a half times, the rouble by nine and a half times; during the first half year of 1922 the rouble thus depreciated four times as rapidly as the mark. The second half year however, shows quite another picture. At the end of the first week in December, 8390 marks were paid in Berlin for a dollar. (At the end of November the rate of exchange even exceeded 9000.) In Moscow (at the free exchange) the dollar cost 2750 roubles at the end of the first week in December. The mark, calculated at its rate of exchange to the dollar, had thus depreciated by 17 times its value between July and December, the rouble 6.7 times only. The mark is thus depreciating 2½ times as fast as the rouble.

This more rapid depreciation of the mark, of course corresponds to the issue of paper money, which has increased proportionately more in Germany than in Russia. If we take the rate of bank-notes issued in January 1922 at 100, the following comparison of issues is obtained:

	Russia	Germany
January . . . . .	100	100
February . . . . .	145	222
March . . . . .	261	633
April . . . . .	370	583
May . . . . .	681	650
June . . . . .	848	1011
July . . . . .	1224	1283
August . . . . .	1755	3244
September . . . . .	1726	3778
October . . . . .	2413	8500

In actual figures the German issue was not great during the first few months, but the supplementary issue in May was 12 milliards, in June 18, in July 23, in August 59, in September 68, and in October 153 milliards (that is, about one half of the total amount of paper money in circulation up till October).

Naturally, it is a source of but little pleasure to Soviet Russia that the German monetary standards are worse off than its own. But as the conditions of valuta represent a peculiarly concentrated expression of the general political and economic situation of a country, the fact that Soviet Russia is now able (and very willing) to give the first place to capitalist Germany with regard to rapid depreciation of rate of exchange is a sign that Eastern Europe is beginning to show greater economic and political stability than Central Europe. The country of the greatest revolution of the world can confidently assert that it is not going to take part in the paper-money bankruptcy, and can recommend to its enemies to heal themselves of the paper-money "disease".



And so the militants will become acquainted. They will learn to know and to respect one another, to fight together as the brothers in arms that they are. They will say in Germany "The cause of the French workers is ours", and in France, "What concerns the German workers, concerns us as well". Thus the proletariat of both countries will follow the same idea, concentrate their efforts in the same way, and prepare themselves for the same hour and the same goal.

## FASCISM

### The Fascist Danger in South Germany

By H. Tittel.

In South Germany, above all in Bavaria, and more recently to an increased extent in Wurtemberg, the efforts being made by the National Socialist Labor Party are most conspicuous. The latest events in Wurtemberg, the bloody occurrences at meetings in Stuttgart and Geislingen, and the shooting affairs at Gœppingen, show how immediate is the danger of a rising Fascist movement. For some weeks the followers of the hooked cross (an anti-semitic organization) have been holding a systematic campaign of meetings in Wurtemberg. They are striving to gain ground all over the country. The national socialists carry on their propaganda with a flood of placards and leaflets. These facts show that the movement is supported by groups possessing capital.

The meeting campaign of the hooked cross followers is a systematic offensive on the part of reaction. Reaction has learnt many lessons from its defeats. It is aware that it can only be victorious when its endeavours meet with the sympathy of the broad indifferent masses. Its so-called program shows that it understands excellently how to adapt itself to the mentality of the indifferent, and to the vacillating petty bourgeois strata of the population. The national socialist movement is anti-Semitic, it is a national Greater Germany movement. It has unfortunately found a willing ear among the disappointed masses with its demagogic catchwords against Jewish capitalists, against usury and profiteering. Although the movement is militarily organized and highly centralized, it denies having a party character. This attitude is adopted for the purpose of gaining possession of all those masses of workers who went over to the socialist parties at the time of the November revolution, and have there been disappointed with them as well as with the trades unions, by the passivity of the bureaucracy.

The adherents of the national socialists are recruited for the most part from the middle classes. Tradespeople, students, teachers, and discharged soldiers, are the most active members. But workmen join as well. Although it has been demonstrably proved that the movement is financed by the great agrarians and great industrial capitalists, still it would be wrong to assume that the organization is kept going merely by generous monetary support. On the contrary, the movement is based on a very strong idealistic (although reactionary) view. Money alone would not suffice to build up a party possessing the strength of the national socialist labor party.

This party possesses a military organization. It has, in a certain sense, active and passive members. The active members are organized in troops based on military formations. Each troop has its particular number. These troops are composed of ordinary soldiers, corporals, sergeants, lieutenants, and majors. Rank is marked on a red sleeve band decorated with hooked crosses, and with stars corresponding to the military rank. There are reasons to believe that these troops maintain close relations with the military formations of the regiments. The members of the troops are bound by oath to support each other to the death.

The spirit permeating these troops is best illustrated by the bloody events in Gœppingen. Here the Munich troop (number 247) was threatened by a crowd of workmen. The major thereupon gave the command: "Weapons out, load!" The threatening attitude of the crowd caused the troop to hesitate. Upon this the major shouted: "Will you not keep your oath?" This appeal to conscience called forth the reply: "We keep our oath!" The shooting then began. The troops are armed with rubber cudgels, revolvers, and army pistols. The arms are carried legally. The Munich troop which caused the blood-bath in Gœppingen was properly provided with licences permitting arms to be carried, and after it had been separated from the crowd by superior numbers of police, it was allowed to retain the weapons, and was conducted out of Gœppingen with the free escort of the police, and placed in a special carriage attached to an express train.

The following is characteristic for the convening of hooked-cross meetings:

All the armed members of the National Socialist Labor Party, from all over the country, are ordered to appear at every meeting, so that even in places where they have no followers whatever the meeting is always comparatively large.

The occurrences in Wurtemberg show that the government of this province — the social democrat Wilhelm Keil is a member of this government — is working hand in hand with the Bavarian reactionary government. Even after the Rathenau murder no prohibition was issued in Wurtemberg against reactionary formations. It is true that NSLP meetings have now been prohibited. The national socialists will however continue to hold meetings, and the passivity of the government will enable them to do so under some other name.

The leading tactics of the national socialists are, above all, to render themselves popular among the vacillating strata of the middle class, and among the indifferent masses. We must not close our eyes to the fact that their determined attitude will gain for them a number of followers rendering them extremely dangerous to the working people.

The workers of Wurtemberg have hitherto adopted an almost indifferent attitude with regard to the national socialist movement. The proposals made by the communists in the trade unions towards organizing proletarian self defence received no attention from the great masses. But the bloody events in Stuttgart, Gœppingen, and Geislingen (in Geislingen a social democratic editor was severely wounded) have been the means of opening many eyes to the necessity of these proposals.

## APPEALS

### The E. C. C. I. and the R. L. L. U. to the Workers of the World

Just recently two international proletarian congresses, held in Moscow, finished their work: one, the Congress of the Communist International, and the other, the Congress of the Red Revolutionary Trade Unions. More than sixty Communist Parties from all parts of the world and representatives of the Revolutionary Trade Unions from both hemispheres drew up a plan of immediate operations against the increasingly arrogant aggression of capital.

Workingmen and women: You have felt the weight of the capitalist attack. There is hardly a country where the employers' organizations are not, with all their might, oppressing the working class. The bourgeoisie is striving to restore its collapsing industry undermined by the criminal, imperialist war. It is striving to meet its monstrous war debts, to reestablish its shattered financial system, to preserve its huge profits and protect itself against any outburst of discontent on the part of the proletariat. It seeks to do all this at the expense of the labor, of the health and welfare of the working class. With ruthless cynicism the capitalist class lengthens the working day, cuts wages, imposes ever-increasing taxation, suppresses the resistance of the workers by lock-outs, and endeavours to establish a state of war for the workers by mobilizing its armed gangs of Fascists.

Instead of doing away with the huge expenditures upon armies and fleets, on the maintenance of armed gangs, of hordes of police, instead of adopting a policy of peace and thus releasing enormous sums of money for ameliorating the condition of a tortured and ruined population of unemployed invalids of war and peace, hungry children and proletarian mothers, the bourgeoisie is feverishly building new instruments of destruction, and the menace of war once again hovers over the world. Simultaneously the bourgeoisie is sucking the last drop of blood of the proletariat and is snatching the last crust of bread from the children of the workers.

While in Soviet Russia, ruined by imperialism, life is becoming easier, in capitalist countries it is becoming more difficult and painful. In spite of the frequent proposals of the Proletarian Republic to disarm, the capitalist states in all countries are fostering militarism. The position will become hopeless unless the working class mobilizes all its forces.

Both the congresses mentioned above therefore call upon you, Comrades, to form a United Front against capital!

Form a United Front against those who lock you out; form a United Front to secure an eight-hour day; to prevent the capitalists from taking your last farthing from you; to prevent them throwing you out on the street, and to prevent them from imposing heavier burdens of taxation upon you.

Unless you form this United Front you will be beaten in sections. For that reason our Congresses resolved to strive in the first instance to bring about the unity of the industrial movement at all costs. The bourgeoisie, however, has very useful assistants — the Social Democrats and the Labor Leaders. Just at the moment when it is necessary to unite all the forces of labor, these gentlemen, who have sold the proletariat to Stinnes, unite in the Hague with the bourgeois pacifists and expel the Communists from the Trade Unions. This is an infernal conspiracy against the working class. Could the bourgeoisie themselves think of any better method than to disorganize the forces of the workers just at the moment when the capitalists are hurling a savage attack against them?

Comrades! We call upon you all, irrespective of Party; we call upon all honest workers and all suffering working women to rally to the defense of the unity of the Trade Unions. Do not permit the agents of capital to disrupt the unity of the working class. Protect this unity with your firm proletarian hands.

The Reformist Socialist Parties and the labor leaders are acting on the direct instructions of the bourgeoisie, which is endeavouring to beat the working class in sections. At the same time, however, they are endeavouring to deceive the working class by cunning manoeuvres.

In Germany, the Social-Democrats are playing at being in the "Opposition" while the head of the Party, Ebert, is the President of a Stinnes Republic. In Italy the Reformists are pretending to oppose the Fascists when, as a matter of fact they are supporting them. In England the leaders of the Labor Party defend the British Government which is crushing Ireland with blood and iron. As a matter of fact all the Reformists desire to restore civil peace at the expense of the working class. For that purpose they must split the Trade Unions. That is why they must split the Labor Movement.

Our Congresses have united the revolutionary Trade Unions much more strongly than they ever were before. Our Congresses have instructed their executive bodies at every opportunity to appeal even to the Amsterdam organizations, even to the Social-Democrats, to take up the joint struggle against aggressive capital. But in this we must have the assistance of the masses of the workers.

Bring pressure to bear upon your leaders! Compel them to form a United Front, and if they continue to resist, form this United Front without them, and remove all obstacles in the path of the United Struggle.

The experience of the struggles of the Working Class has shown that the capitalist governments refuse to touch even a part of capitalist profits. They refuse to introduce a single reform or make a single important concession to the Working Class. Therefore we say:

**You Must Unite to Secure a Workers' Government!**

You must fight for a government of Labor organizations. Put your faithful representatives at the Helm of State. Drive out the henchmen of the capitalists, the bankers, the stock-exchange brokers, and trust magnates.

*The Labor Youth is with us.* At the last Congress of the Young Communist League, recently held in Moscow, our watchword of combat against attacking capitalism was supported with burning enthusiasm in the name of millions of young workers.

*The poor peasants and agricultural laborers should march with us.* The IV. Congress of the Communist International has imposed the obligation upon all Communist Parties to unite and organize the rural reserves of the Revolution, who in their struggle against the landlords cannot but come into conflict with the existing capitalist government.

*The oppressed colonial peoples are coming to our side.* including the young proletariat of Japan and China. Only the Communist International and the Red Labor Union International support the movement in the colonies against the money bags of London, Paris and New York.

Our motto is:

**Unity with the Labor Youth; Unity with the Rural Poor; Unity with the Oppressed Peoples in the Colonies. All Forces against the Monster of Capitalism.**

Our Congresses also discussed the question of fighting the most shameful thing of our day, — the Versailles Treaty — and other so-called peace treaties. Against these treaties, which are supported by Vandervelde, one of its authors, against these treaties, which the Stinnes Social-Democrats dare not attack, we have decided to conduct a ruthless war.

Comrades! Rise against these hellish treaties!

They bear the seeds of new wars. Already new fleets, new guns, and new aeroplanes are being built. We must get ready to resist new impending destructive wars.

At the Hague we, in the name of the Comintern, proposed that a United Front be formed against war, but our proposal was rejected. The leaders of the Second International passed a resolution about a general strike, but this is a base deception, for they have not repudiated the principle of national defense, i. e., the defense of the bourgeois state. Through the mouth of Huysmans they declared that in the event of a new war they would do again what they did in 1914. They formed a bloc with the bourgeoisie, and refused to form a bloc with the revolutionary wing of the Labor movement.

Comrades! Proletarians! Which path will you take? For which bloc will you fight? Will it be for unity with the bourgeoisie, which is attacking you, which is crushing you and taking your last from you?

Say No!

Say you will fight for the *Unity of the Working Class!*

Down with the capitalist offensive!

Long live the Unity of the Working Class!

Long live Unity with the rural poor and the oppressed colonial peoples!

Long Live a Workers' Government!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Zinoviev. Smeral. Carr. Katayama. Neurath.  
L. Sjogland. Stürmer. Souvarin. Gennari. Schefflo. Andrea.  
Zetkin. Gramsci. Pruchniak. Safarov. Hörnle. Schüller.  
Kuusinen. Bukharin. Schatzkin. Kolarov. Radek.  
Mac Manus. Gardén.

The Executive Bureau of the R. L. L. U.

Lozovsky. Watkins. Dimitrov. Georg. Tomski. Pruchniak.  
Gardén. Kalinin. Andersen. Kunitaro-Ando. Haiss. Joss.  
Nin. Monmousseau. Heckert. Foster. Tresso.

### The 10th All Russian Soviet Congress to all Peoples of the World

The 10th All Russian Soviet Congress, the supreme legislative organ of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, once more solemnly reiterates, in the name of millions of proletarians and peasants, its will to peace and to peaceful work.

The workers and peasants of the RSFSR, again raise a warning voice against the renewed threats of war, the orgy of armaments among the capitalist governments, the disgrace of the Versailles treaty, and the colonial machinations of the bourgeois states.

Workers of the world! All of you who long for peaceful work, join your forces to those of Soviet Russia for the attainment of our goal of peace, of salvation for humanity from annihilating war.

The soviet power, rising out of a revolution, began its activity in the year 1917 with an appeal for the conclusion of a just and universal peace. Since that time it has continued to emphasize this fundamental principle of its foreign policy. In the year 1919 it applied to the United States with proposals for peace. In February 1919, when troops of the "great powers" occupied our revolutionary land, it proposed to take up peace negotiations with all the "allies". It made repeated overtures of peace to Poland and Roumania. At Genoa Soviet Russia and her allies proposed general disarmament. When this proposal was declined, the proletarian government attempted to carry out the policy of disarmament at least within the limited sphere of the states lying nearest Soviet Russia, with the hope of later extending this sphere. But even this hope was blasted by the refusal of Russia's neighbours to agree to an actual limitation of their armies.

Despite all this, Soviet Russia trod the path of disarmament alone, and within a short time reduced her army from 5 millions to 800,000, and is continuing to disarm by a further reduction to 600,000 men. She has thus proved her will to peace by actual deeds. Not by words, not by resolutions, not by promises, but by deeds.

To-day, when the peoples are languishing under the consequences of the imperialist war, when the greatest economy in all materials is of the utmost necessity, the policy of the bourgeois governments is doubly criminal, for they plunge the peoples into ever increasing misery instead of aiding them to peace and peaceful work.

The 10th Soviet Congress solemnly confirms the peace policy hitherto pursued by Soviet Russia, and appeals to all to support this policy. All peoples must demand peace from their governments. The workers of the whole world must unite to defend themselves against the danger of threatened war. Peace at all costs must be ensured for humanity, tortured and tormented, exploited and starved.

Chairman of the 10th Soviet Congress: M. Kalinin.  
Secretary of the 10th Soviet Congress: A. E. Enukidze.



## IN MEMORIAM

### To the Memory of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht

By Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

The fourth anniversary approaches of the day on which Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, together with a large number of the German proletariat, testified their loyalty to Communism with their lives. Although four years have gone by, the event remains in our memory as fresh as the first horror at the news of the murder of our leaders through the police of Scheidemann and Noske.

It our hearts still bleed, if we continue to miss our murdered leaders more keenly than ever, it is because we admire Rosa and Karl, not simply as revolutionary martyrs, but also as great revolutionary tacticians. Memorial days and traditions are not matters of indifference to us Communists who wish to abolish Capitalism and replace it with Communism. For we know that the bourgeoisie is determined to check us by the most brutal means, that we will only succeed by employing the strongest measures of violence; therefore we recall with pride every attempt at revolutionary rebellion, and honor those of our revolutionary champions whom the bourgeoisie spattered with blood. At the present juncture, when the most important duty of the communists is to unite the masses and to prepare them for the struggle, we have a special reason to consider how Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht succeeded in enlisting the masses for the Revolution, even at a time of the greatest apathy and of sterile reformism.

The indignant outcry against the treachery of Social Democracy on August 4, 1914, the courageous struggle against national slaughter and persecution, despite martial law and in spite of trenches and prisons, the unselfish devotion to the first revolutionary struggles of the working class after November 1918, all these were only the consequence of a generation of stubborn, unremitting toil in the service of revolutionary enlightenment under the most difficult conditions. Rosa Luxemburg relentlessly hunted down Opportunism and Reformism to its very roots. Energetic practical opposition, and thorough theoretical annihilation of reformism supplemented and served each other. No one saw more clearly than Rosa Luxemburg, the threatening danger of an imperialist war, she pointed out these dangers and, at the same time scathingly attacked the Social Democratic Party for its failure to take measures to avoid these dangers. In order that the masses should better understand her warning, she combined her propaganda with an attack upon Imperialism, to which the masses were themselves in opposition. In particular she turned her attack upon militarism which, by its mistreatment of the soldiers, aroused against itself the most apathetic proletarian. It was in this propaganda that she found herself fighting side by side with Karl Liebknecht, who, in his active work in the Youth Movement, fought this same enemy of youth. Liebknecht pointed out, at the same time, the close connection between militarism, armaments and heavy industry, and by the revelation of the Krupp scandal, achieved remarkable success in arousing the great mass of the people to an understanding of the close connection between these phenomena.

How little Comrade Luxemburg confined herself to a purely negative resistance to reformism is shown by the way in which she connected the fight against the Social Democratic-Bourgeois coalition policy (ministerialism) in France, with an exposure of the inner hollowness of the policy of mere demonstration and

obstructionism of the Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag. No one before had demonstrated so forcefully and convincingly the necessity of preparing for the revolutionary barricade-struggle through a really revolutionary conquest of the masses. She proved in a masterly fashion, that an apparently purely parliamentary question of the three-class suffrage in Prussia, (a suffrage which conferred votes according to taxation) could be used as a revolutionary propaganda vehicle. What the Social-Democratic bureaucrats would have treated as a mere farce, she tried to turn into a serious beginning of the mass struggle. What was degraded by the bureaucrats of the trade unions and the party to an empty threat of a general strike, she attempted to use as a live weapon of class strike for concrete ends which the masses understood. Even when the flood of revolution surged high, she did not allow herself to be carried along, but, in spite of her glowing heart, warned the *Spartacus Bund*, at its initial conference in December 1918, against all illusions, and declared herself emphatically in favor of a revolutionary application of trade union and parliamentary work. She had as little to do with the fanatics gathered about Otto Rühle, as with the spineless slaves of the bourgeoisie from Heine to Scheidemann. Above all she hated those who were neither warm nor cold, such as the learned Austro-Marxists gathered about Kautsky, who, in that decisive period, threw themselves into the camp of the Scheidemann Social Democracy and hence of the bourgeoisie.

The work of Karl Liebknecht was no less fruitful. Of a similar temperament but of less theoretical clearness, he hesitated or exaggerated here and there. His keen perception of the real state of consciousness of power on the part of the proletariat balanced his zeal for the Revolution. No one understood as well as he, both during and after the Revolution, how to talk to the masses and to sweep them along with him. Despite the sharpness and pointedness of his criticism in the *Spartacus* letters, it was he who held together the roughly organized opposition elements. Only shortly before his death he struggled vigorously to keep solid the alliance of the revolutionary workers and the Independent Socialists. He was, even more than Rosa Luxemburg, during the war and after that November day of 1918, the genial spokesman of all revolutionary minded workers.

To the Social Democrats, tactics come before principle. In the case of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, as with every true revolutionary, sober knowledge and tactical shrewdness were in the service of principles and their development.

For Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, like Leo Jogiches and Eugen Levine, had learned directly and indirectly from the revolutionary activities of Russia. Thus they made use of this precious knowledge which only the Russian Bolsheviks had had opportunity to acquire. But through the Communist International, this knowledge continues to bear fruit amongst the revolutionary workers of the entire world. The decisions of the third and fourth congresses of the C.I. concerning revolutionary strategy, contain fundamentally the very lessons which Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht taught and acted upon. To continue in the spirit of the martyrs of the German Revolution today, we must prepare for the final struggle of the revolution with all means which lie equally far from disintegrating reforms and mere word-propaganda.