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40% or 60% — That is the Question

By Paul Frölich (Berlin).

"The situation is best characterized by Stinnes' utterance in the State Economic Council: "We cannot form a concern with Loucheur in which Loucheur would have 60 per cent and Stinnes 40 per cent." (*Rhenish Westphalian Periodical*, January 20, 1923.)

In Germany the nationalists are shrieking themselves hoarse: The Fatherland is in danger! Forward to the national united front!

In France there is the same uproar: For the only just and sacred cause! To goad with the communists!

It is true that the Ruhr occupation means the strangulation of the masses of the German people. And the arrest of the communists in France demonstrates the dangers threatening the French people through Poincaré's imperialist policy: the abolition of civil liberties to the end that the French proletariat may be the better exploited.

It is also true: the German government has presented the great industrial magnates with gifts of milliards, and has failed to fulfil the Versailles treaty.

But is it a question of preserving unstained morality and eternal justice, of saving the peoples? No! It is a question of business. As in 1914! As always!

Almost simultaneously with the sending of troops into the Ruhr area, there came an invitation from Paris to Essen. The Comité des Forges (the organization of the French iron works), invited the Stinnes concern to a conference regarding closer relations between German and French heavy industries. Mr Stinnes refused to accept this invitation so long as there were French troops in the Ruhr. The organ of heavy industry *Rhenish Westphalian*, gave the authentic explanation of Stinnes' attitude in the quotation given above: The Essen-Briey, Westphalian coke and Lorraine ore Trust, will come to nothing, if Loucheur is to receive 60 per cent of the booty and Stinnes only 40 per cent.

Halves first, colleague, and then let us embrace!—thus cries Stinnes, and thus the voice of justice. Halves, and then the prices may rise, then Europe may feel our power. And the Fatherland can go to the Devil!

60 per cent! Loucheur bellows back. Show your claws, Poincaré!

And in fact, this is the sole point in question. This is the real essence of the political struggles between Germany and France preceding and following 1918.

The conquest of Belgium and Northern France was the aim of the Rhenish Westphalian industrial magnates during the war, as may be seen from the pronouncements with which they flooded the government and the commanders of the army. For the attainment of this end they drove millions of human beings to the shambles. The sole aim and object was the control of French ore. When the defeat of Germany buried these extravagant hopes, it became the aim to come to an understanding with French heavy industry—an understanding to be paid for, if needs must, with the abandonment of the Ruhr area. If the business had failed under German supremacy, then it must be attempted under French. Stinnes' provocative attitude at Spa in July 1920 aimed at irritating French imperialism into occupying the Ruhr district.

The French heavy industrial barons, Schneider, Wendel, Loucheur, and company, thought they had ensured for themselves complete domination of the steel market by the conquest of Alsace Lorraine, and the separation of the Saar district from Germany. But it turned out that the domination could not be complete without Westphalian coke. Hence the renewed inclination for negotiations. These were taken up. The Stinnes-Lubersac agreement cleared the way, and, at the same time, assured gigantic extra profits. A preliminary agreement was reached between Stinnes and Jules Bernhard, for the formation of a trust to embrace on the one side the Stinnes undertakings Deutsch-Luxemburg, Gelsenkirchen, Etbe-Union, and on the French side the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Comité des Forges, and the firm of Girois and Loucheur.

But then arose the question of the respective shares in the future booty. And with this arose the conflict.

And now on both sides the call of: national united front! Here the workers are goaded forward to a general strike. There the communists are thrown into prison for high treason and anti-national agitation. Everything for the 60 per cent!

Again the Stinnes men utilize the favorable moment, as during the world war. At that time they enriched themselves by unscrupulous usury against the fatherland, they left the army in the lurch by non-delivery of supplies when they got higher prices abroad, and to-day their watchword is the same: enrich yourselves! The first act after the occupation of the Ruhr area, was to raise coal prices to a height which neither the wages nor the cost of materials justified. The second act was to grab at the state railways. The third was to demand that the government

place credits at the disposal of heavy industry. The result of this last step is not yet known. But Cuno's government is absolutely obedient! The fourth act: Stinnes ensures for himself the business in English coal. And the natural result of all this: The price of labor power sinks and sinks: God's blessing on us, the profits rise.

And the Exchange! It is dancing the cancan for the fatherland is in danger. It speculates *à la baisse* in marks; 22,000 marks are already being paid for the dollar *); *à la hausse* in industrial papers. The mining shares of the Ruhr district mount higher than all others. Between January 12 and 22 the shares of Deutsch-Luxemburg (Stinnes) rose from 25,900 to 55,000; Gelsenkirchen Mining Joint Stock Co. (Thyssen) from 26,100 to 61,500; Harpener Mine (Haniel) from 59,600 to 132,000; Phönix (Wolff) from 26,500 to 51,000; Rhine steel from 21,250 to 50,000; Bochum cast steel (Stinnes) from 23,600 to 53,000. The dance is so wild that even the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is dizzy, and even this Stinnes crocodile is beginning to preach morality. But the Exchange does not care. Business first, then the fatherland.

How can the *Temps* assume such an air of morality and justice, and proclaim with calm self-confidence: "France's cause is just. She defends the interests of all." Just! Because she is pulling at the rope which hangs around the neck of the starving German people. Just! For she is pulling for Loucheur's 60 % per cent!

But the German working class? There was perhaps a moment's uncertainty, the intoxicating fumes of nationalism dulled an eye here and there. But now the shop stewards of the Stinnes and Thyssen mines have decided to recall the representatives who were going to stand up for that martyr for the fatherland, Thyssen jr. And they have further decided to convene a shop stewards' congress for Rhenish Westphalia, to resolve on a general strike. Strike against the lie of the national united front. On the basis of class war!

POLITICS

The Chemical War and the Franco-German Ammonia Agreement

By G. Fink.

When one speaks of the economic grounds of the reparations policy of French industrial capital and of the Ruhr occupation, one thinks mostly of iron and coal, round which centres the fight between the French and German heavy industries. But there are also certain groups of French capitalists which display a great interest in the dye industry of the Rhineland. The entrance of French troops into the Elberfeld territory, with its important dyeworks, is certainly in line with the schemes of French capital.

Before the war, Germany possessed a world monopoly in dyestuffs. During the war, both England and America attempted to establish a dye industry. But the processes of production were the secrets of the aniline firms of Germany, and the American and English attempts had to contend against the greatest difficulties. The English industry, such as the British Dyestuffs Corporation, has not yet succeeded in overcoming these difficulties, even with the generous support of the government. Even today, Germany produces 160,000 tons of dyestuffs, as against a production of 50,000 tons in all other chemical industries.

The Ruhr occupation then, aims not only at a French and German mining combine, but also at the appropriation of the greatest chemical production apparatus in the world. Apart from the great economic importance of the chemical industry and the dyestuffs production, they have acquired an enormous military importance. One still remembers the use of poison gasses by both sides during the war, and the constant discovery of new gasses as soon as the enemy had found an effective remedy against the last. Just as the American dye industry continues to be extended and England controls her dye works in the interests of her armaments, so the plans of the French militarists consist in seizing the West-German industrial district, in order to obtain for France the necessary means for the production of poison gas and the manufacture of explosives.

In the light of these plans of the French financiers and militarists, the agreement between the French Government and

the *Baden Aniline and Soda Company* over the concession of production secrets for *synthetic ammonia*, and which was recently ratified by the French Chamber, becomes especially significant. French heavy industry in possession of the German dye works in West-Germany can maintain production. French militarists cannot undertake the preparation of poison gas unless the German dyestuff capitalists furnish them with information as to the process of production. Two days before the ratification of the agreement by the French Chamber, and on the same day that the official of the important dye-stuff company of *Luscus and Bruning* were in Hoechst on-Main, the details of the French agreement with the *Baden Aniline and Soda* factory were already known.

According to this agreement, the *Baden Aniline and Soda Factory*, independent of all rights conceded by the Treaty of Versailles, offers France her voluntary help in establishing the production of synthetic ammonia. The company pledges itself to communicate all details of manufacture and production, the employment and control of which is necessary for obtaining the best results. All patents and licences concerning production are to be transferred to the French Government, which will also have the right, to install engineers and other technical experts at will. The French engineers to be granted free access to all parts of the *Baden Aniline and Soda* Factory. The Company shall not attempt any competition against the French Government either in France or in the French colonies, and protectorates. In return, the French Government pays to the *Baden Aniline and Soda* Company 5 million francs (about 1 milliard of German marks) and assigns it a share of profits varying between 2 and 4 per cent.

This agreement of the *Baden Aniline and Soda* Factory, which is one of the biggest and most important of the aniline firms, and in which, only a few weeks ago, there took place the great strike of the aniline slaves (in *Ludwigshafen*), makes possible the success of the French militarist plans. While the capitalists of Germany are striving to arouse the workers against their "sworn enemy", and while in France the *Comité des Forges* is attempting to stir up war fever against Germany, German and French capital comes to an understanding . . . and German aniline capitalists convey the secrets of the production of war chemicals to the French Government.

This ably illustrates the real meaning of the national united front in Germany as well as in France. As the *Krupp* Firm used to deliver cannon and other war materials to "enemy" states, as *Schneider-Creusot* and the German-American capitalists, in spite of nationalistic gestures, were the best purveyors of war materials to the Entente, so the *Baden Aniline Factory*, which, during the war produced *Gold Cross Gas*, from the newest inventions of *Professor Habel* and the holder of the Nobel prize, *Nerast*, is today turning over its patents and licences to the French Government. The *Baden Aniline and Soda* Factory and the entire aniline production, is closely allied with the West-German heavy industry, as for instance, with the Lorraine industry.

And so the first agreement, the first business deal between the German and French capitalists, still pursuing their war for profits, has been concluded. Both this agreement and the plans of the French militarists and the French General Staff constitute a terrible menace to the working class of Germany and France. The revolutionary proletariat of both countries must combine under the leadership of the Communist parties of France and Germany for the common fight against this danger.

The Lausanne Conference

By M. N. Roy.

The Near East problem still remains unsolved. The rivalry between France and England renders the solution impossible. At the eleventh hour, when everybody hoped for a final agreement, the Lausanne Conference broke down and the diplomats assembled there had nothing else to do but to return home. The mysterious Poincaré Note, to which is attributed the responsibility for this breakdown, indicated that over and above the international rivalry there is a very serious conflict of interests within the organism of French Imperialism, a conflict which aggravates the already complicated problem which imperialism is called upon to solve under pain of death. This internal conflict of French Capitalism affected the Lausanne Conference from another angle. It seriously told upon the attitude of the Turkish Delegation all along. On their side, the Angora Delegation, caught in the mazes of this conflict as well as of the rivalry between the two groups of Imperialists, greatly

*) Towards the end of January, the dollar reached 50,000.

weakened the position conquered by the might of the Turkish people, and thus failed to impose its terms upon Allied Imperialism which was otherwise in a tight hole. Most of what had been won so heroically on the battle fields of Asia Minor was gradually surrendered in the comfortable saloons of Lausanne. The liberation of the Turkish people still remains an unrealized goal, and a bitter struggle has to be carried on before the direct and indirect domination of Imperialism is finally overthrown.

A triangular fight was waged at Lausanne; it was between the English and the French on the one hand; between the Turks and all the imperialist powers, including the "spectator" America, on the other. The Turkish Delegation had very little to say when the real decisions were taken affecting the fate of the Turkish people. These decisions were taken by the Entente Powers and finally placed before the Turks either to accept them, or to reject them at the risk of forfeiting the "support" of a certain group of French Capitalists, on whose questionable friendship the Angora Government staked its all. If there was difficulty and delay in determining the terms which would be conceded to Turkey, it was not so much due to the resistance of Ismet Pasha as to the need for settling the conflict of interests among the Allied Powers themselves. It is true that the Angora Delegation congratulated itself upon its own cleverness, in deriving benefit from this conflict, but in fact, it was the Angora Government that proved all along to be the most helpless victim of this imperialist rivalry. Every time the Anglo-French conflict became sharp, the Turkish Delegation was encouraged by the crafty French diplomats to stiffen up its attitude, so as to threaten the British with a rupture in the Near East. The whole show at Lausanne was run, not to sign a peace-treaty with the Sovereign State of Turkey, at it was ostensibly declared to be, but to strike a bargain between French and British Imperialism over their respective shares in the exploitation of the Near East. Turkey, which is supposed to be the principal factor in the struggle, was used only as a pawn in the game. Nothing better was to be expected of the imperialist robbers; but what is tragic was that the Angora Government, at least the faction dominating it at present deliberately assumed this unenviable rôle after having conquered an otherwise almost invincible position.

Why did the Angora Government start on a road which led to such a tragic end? The answer is simple. It is to be looked for in the social character of bourgeois nationalism, and not quite bourgeois rationalism in the strictest sense of the term, at that. In the course of its evolution the Turkish national struggle arrived at a point where it had to choose between two ways: one of revolution leading to final victory, and the other of compromise, meant to preserve the social *status quo*. The social affiliation of the elements leading the struggle naturally made them prefer the latter way, and thus handed them over to the mercy of French finance under the pretext of a "friendly alliance".

The growing antagonism between different groups of Imperialism is undoubtedly an opportunity for the subject peoples to free themselves; and to take advantage of this antagonism is indeed a very powerful tactic. But it requires a thoroughly revolutionary outlook and purpose to pursue these tactics without getting caught in the treacherous snares of Imperialism. The Angora rulers chose this method of fighting the enemy; but lacking the required revolutionary outlook they succumbed to imperialist intrigues. For the time being they have compromised the cause of Turkish Independence. They have played out their role. History will give them proper credit. But the final liberation of the Turkish people demands more revolutionary leadership.

That day, when, with the victorious National Army standing at the gates of Constantinople, it preferred the deceitful hand of French finance extended through its crafty envoy Franklin Bouillon, to the unconditional aid of Revolutionary Russia, the Angora Government started a career whose logical conclusion is the disgraceful defeat at Lausanne. It is a defeat not for the cause of Turkish independence, which is an historic necessity and thus will be attained eventually; it is a defeat for a certain brand of Nationalism and the compromising tactics followed by it. The present Angora leaders would much rather hand over the Turkish workers and peasants to the exploitation of French finance, than permit the Turkish people to surge forward in the channel of revolution, aided by Soviet Russia. Fear of revolution drove the Angora rulers into the embrace of French capital which either alone or in conjunction with the British will reduce Turkish Independence to a fiction. French finance will employ the Turkish ruling class at least as its slave-driver in Angora, whereas a joint struggle with Soviet Russia might lure the Turkish peasantry dangerously far on the road of freedom,—this was the considera-

tion that tied the hands of the Turkish generals at Mudania, and those of the Turkish diplomats at Lausanne.

The sudden breakdown of the Lausanne conference appears to have disturbed the agreement reached between France and England over the Near East. It is thought that Turkish intransigence is responsible for this rupture. Nothing of the kind. Turkey has as much to do with the rupture as she had to do with the agreement. Lausanne blew up because of the combustibility of Mosul oil was immensely increased by the addition of Ruhr coal. The group of capitalists, which stood behind the Agreement of San Remo, were represented by Lord Curzon from the English side, and M. Barrère from the French. Therefore, so long as the Mosul oil fields constituted the principal bone of contention at Lausanne, France and England could go hand in hand in the process of ramming one bitter pill after another down the throat of the helpless Ismet Pasha. But M. Loucheur does not see eye to eye with M. Franklin Bouillon. The Ruhr occupation opened up another aspect of Anglo-French conflict. Under the tremendous pressure of Ruhr coal deposits, the delicate oil veins burst, and the spirit of Poincaré appeared on the scene to sabotage the Lausanne Conference on the very eve of its successful conclusion.

Mr. Lloyd George, representing the commercial and industrial interests of Britain, stoutly opposed France's wild dream of Twentieth Century Napoleonism which rendered all hopes of reconstructing Europe impossible. After a feverish search in all directions, French capital whose ambition was thus thwarted by Lloyd George, turned towards the Near East, and by concluding the Angora Agreement, stole a march upon England. When the agreement was made, no serious opposition against it was raised in France. But the necessities in Europe soon convinced France that she could not very well afford to step on the toes of England. The result was the growing criticism of the agreement and the united front put up against the Turks in Lausanne.

The overthrow of Lloyd George brought into power the pro-French party in England. The interests represented by Bonar Law thought it wise to connive at France's adventure in Europe, in order to disturb her menacing orientation towards America. In return for a free hand in Europe, France agreed to abandon her protégé in the Near East to the mercy of England. Hence we found the French Delegation at Lausanne faithfully supporting all the methods of Curzon for bullying the Turks. This policy of consolidating the undermined Anglo-French Entente went so far, that it became positively dangerous for the financial interests, represented by Franklin Bouillon, having a big stake in the Ottoman Debt. A few days before the final draft treaty was presented to the Turkish Delegation in the form of the Curzon Ultimatum, the alarm was sounded by the bitterest political opponent of M. Poincaré. In *L'Echo National* of Jan. 23, André Tardieu wrote: "I quite understand that we have given in so much at Lausanne in order to have a free hand in Essen." On the authority of M. Barrère, he terrified the French bondholders in these terms: "The final text of the treaty will astonishingly abandon French interests in the Near East. In the matter of the Ottoman Debt, the French bondholders have been scandalously deserted." Thus was started the financial wire-pulling which broke up the Lausanne Conference.

Big finance, with a firm hold on Turkey through the Ottoman Debt, revolted against the policy which meant the betrayal of its interest in favor of the industrial magnates of Lorraine. Caught between these two fires, M. Poincaré had to tax all his diplomatic genius. Such was the genesis of the mysterious note, which was caught at by the Turks just as a drowning man catches at straw, and which created such consternation at Lausanne. The mystery which enveloped the interchange of notes during the days preceding the final break up of the Conference, is not yet cleared. But enough of it is already known to draw the main lines of conclusion.

In order not to alienate the support of the interests behind the Franklin Bouillon Agreement, Poincaré made a gesture to show that Lausanne would not be permitted to end in a complete victory for England. This was interpreted by the Turkish Delegation to mean that, in spite of Barrère's and even M. Bompard's (the spokesmen of the Franklin Bouillon group) adhesion to the Curzon methods, French "support" was still there. Poincaré intended to kill two birds with one stone, and it seems that he has succeeded, at least for the time being. On the other hand, France can still claim to be the "disinterested friend of Turkey" and, on the other, England is threatened with a new war in the Near East if she will not leave France alone in the Ruhr.

So, the Lausanne Conference has ended precisely where it started. This is specially true in so far as the Turks are concerned. They came to Lausanne elated with the hope of playing

one imperialist against another, but they only played the part of a pawn. They are returning without signing the Treaty, not that they are convinced that the National Independence of the Turkish people cannot be won except through a revolutionary struggle, but again hoping to consolidate their diplomatic position while England and France are engaged in a new dispute. But the latter will prove as hopeless as the former. The internal conflict of Imperialism can never be over. It will grow sharper in proportion as the process of capitalist decay goes on. But in so far as the colonial peoples are concerned, Imperialism will still put up a united front. To have learnt this lesson from the experience at Lausanne would be of the greatest benefit for the Angora Government. The sincerity of the refusal to sign the treaty will be tested by the latter's attitude towards Soviet Russia, whose unconditional help the Turkish rulers have so far rejected, if not in words still in deeds. The sinister design to perpetuate imperialist domination in Turkey can only be frustrated by a resolute struggle along revolutionary lines.

ECONOMICS

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter of 1922

By E. Varga.

What is the position of the American farmer?

The value of this year's crops amounts to 7½ milliard dollars. To this must be added the profits of cattle raising, or a quarter of a milliard. Roughly estimated: an income of 7½ milliard dollars. From this sum must be deducted the workers' wages. These amounted to in 1916 ¼ milliard, and for 1922 may be estimated at one milliard. Outlay for machinery, tools, tractors, and artificial manures may be estimated at 1¼ milliards. There thus remains a total income of 5.5 milliard dollars for 6,500,000 farmers, that is, an average yearly income of \$ 850 per farmer, counting, of course, wife and children.

In 1917 the wage level was about the same as at the present time, and at that time the average annual earnings of the

Railwaymen	= \$ 1072
Building trade	= 973
Craftsmen	= 945
Factory workers	= 1022
Miners	= 1025

The farmer earns less than the worker. And his earnings are further reduced by the depreciation of the soil. There is no extensive tract of country where a considerable number of the farms — probably the majority — do not deteriorate. More fertility is drawn out of the land than is returned to it.

Besides this, the interest on the capital invested, about \$10,000 per farm, is to be deducted at 5 per cent, \$500 yearly, from the income of the farmer. The farmer's family is thus left with a wage income of \$ 350.

The rise in price of arable land has been pointed out. But this is entirely incorrect. A great part of the land is going down in price, or, where the price is maintained, the land cannot be sold. The whole family of the farmer earns less annually than the man alone would earn in the city! This is the chronic evil of the farmers, and has been in every age.

But the farmers of America will not tolerate this. An extensive emigration into the cities is on. The development of the railway and the motor car has so far absorbed the young generation of farmers.

This process will lead to a world-wide famine. The virgin districts have already been conquered, and the consumers multiply mightily. If the disparity between the monopoly prices of industrial goods and the fluctuating prices of farming products, which to-day, are even 25 % lower than in pre-war times, is not removed, the farmers face complete ruin. Measures must be adopted for fixing the prices on farming products.

We have elaborated upon this study, because it treats of a question which will decide Europe's fate in the next few years. In our opinion the question of whether the United States will adopt a pro-European or an anti-European policy depends on the American farmers. The farmers of the United States—where there is no more virgin land, as in Canada, Argentina, or Siberia—must receive better prices for their products. This will only be possible if the buying capacity of Europe is enhanced. This implies the reconstruction of Central Europe, above all of Germany. Along these lines the interests of the farmers and of

the American bourgeoisie coincide. Germany, as an industrial colony of America, supplies cheap labor for the capitalist, cheap industrial articles for the farmers, and at the same time a better market for farming products. The sufferers would be the American-workers, who would have dear food and lower wages.

The attitude adopted by the farmers will be of great importance in the bitter struggle between capital and labor in the United States. The capitalists seek to incite the farmers against the workers with the argument that the workers earn more than the farmers, and that the high wages are the cause of the high prices of industrial articles. They propose that the farmers form an alliance against the workers! The cheap labor of Germany is one point against the workers in this fight.

The conflict between the pro-European and anti-European tendencies in American politics continued during the last quarter of 1922. But though the struggle is not yet at an end, it seems as if the pro-European policy gains in strength, despite the acceptance of the high protective duties. The demand of the Chamber of commerce, that the United States send representatives to the Reparations Commission; the demand that the Senate should agree to a settlement of the English debt on some other basis than that of payment of 4½ % interest and principal; America's offer to send a commission to ascertain Germany's paying capacity; all this proves that the American bourgeoisie is preparing to interfere decisively, on the side of England, in European affairs, and to incorporate Germany in its imperialist world system. America is only waiting until France has suffered economic shipwreck in the attempt to subjugate Germany by force.

II. Special section.

Germany.

Germany's economic position during the last quarter of 1922 can be characterized by the following main points:

1. Despite the breathing space afforded in the reparations payments by the agreements with Belgium, the fall of the mark continues. All suggestions and attempts towards stabilization of the currency have been in vain.

2. The "favorable" state of the market running parallel with the depreciation of the mark came to an end during the last quarter of 1922. By December there were already 2 % of unemployed in the trade unions, a percentage almost as high as the average pre-war unemployment.

3. During the 3 months which this report covers, the prices continued to rise, and to rise more rapidly than the mark depreciated. Even in the short periods in which the mark remained stable, the prices continued to rise, and in many cases the wholesale prices were much higher than those of the world markets.

4. The lack of credit and capital in Germany, already noticeable in the third quarter of 1922, was alleviated, during the period of this report, by some credits from the Reichsbank. Thus the increased requirements of the capitalists were added to the increase of circulating mediums required by the state. When several milliards of marks were taken from the Reichsbank by the capitalists, this signified a tremendous raid on the general public — despite the increase of the bank rate to 10 % — for these credits are repaid with marks worth half as much as before. The profits thus obtained by the capitalists are naturally at the expense of the great mass of consumers.

5. The disparity between higher prices and higher wages became more acute than ever during the past three months, and led to a growing impoverishment of the working masses.

The depreciation of the mark and the attempts at stabilization.

During the period of this report, the depreciation of the mark has become catastrophic. Within 3 months, the mark, compared with the dollar, has fallen to about a quarter of its value. The Berlin quotations for a dollar were:

4. Oct. 2,100 M., 3. Nov. 6,000 M., 8. Nov. over 9,000 M., 16. Dec. 6,400 M., 4. Jan. 1923 8,000 M., 10. Jan. 1923 over 10,000 M.*)

As this continuous depreciation of the mark now lasting over 1½ years, and assuming ever acuter dimensions, ruins Germany's economics with proportionate rapidity, it is natural that fresh plans for the stabilization of the mark are continually being made. It is not our task to occupy ourselves with all these suggestions and plans. We shall only make mention of those having political significance. Of these there are three:

1. The opinion of the Socialization Commission.
2. The plan of the Social Democrats and the trade unions.
3. The amards of the foreign experts called by the government.

*) At the end of January 1923, the dollar was quoted on the Berlin Bourse at 50,000 M.

The Socialization Commission confirmed in principle its standpoint of last spring, according to which a final stabilization of the mark is only possible if the reparations demands are cut down to Germany's paying capacity and the finances of the Reich consolidated. The Socialization Commission deviated from its original standpoint only in its opinion that immediate steps are necessary to prevent foreign securities being hoarded as safe investments, and that the required securities should be secured for actual economic purposes. "The sole means available at the present time for this purpose, is the utilization of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank. These reserves are dead at the moment. It is imperative to render them effective, and to induce the Reichsbank to fulfil its fundamental duty as prescribed by the Reichsbank's statutes, which is, to regulate the circulation of gold in the whole Reich. The utilization of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank can be carried out without necessarily spending the gold itself. It would suffice if reserves of securities were obtained by banking negotiations, to an extent enabling the Reichsbank to obtain a powerful influence on the regulation of the rate of exchange of securities. A stabilization of this character would be the first step towards rendering effective the political economic, and financial-political measures which are intended to balance the budget, and by which alone the effect of any relief action can be made permanent."

(Quoted from *Berliner Tageblatt*, 18. 10. 22.)

This train of thought met with the support of Adolf Braun, Hilferding, Kautsky, Lederer, Umbreit, etc., and it was intended to issue gold treasury bonds in the middle of November.

The opinion of the Socialization Commission was most emphatically represented to the public by the financial expert of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany, Hilferding. In his speech to the Berlin functionaries of the party, on October 16, he made the following calculation:

"If we assume that the deficit . . . (of the foreign trade balance) amounts to half a milliard gold marks, we then require 125 million gold marks quarterly. The sum of 250-300 gold millions is required to cover our import requirements. Now, we have a gold milliard in the Reichsbank.

Why is this gold milliard not utilized?

We are told that it is being kept in reserve against a famine. But does the economy of Germany not lose more through the continued depreciation of the mark than through the utilization of 200-300 gold millions for the relief of the mark?"

He actually succeeded in convincing his party, and in getting a resolution passed which provides for an action in aid of the mark, to be effected with the help of the gold reserve of the Reichsbank and by the floating of an inner loan based on permanent values.

Precisely the same train of thought recurs in the memorandum submitted by the trade unions to the chancellor at the end of October. But here the utilization of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank is no longer categorically demanded.

The memorial is signed by the German Trade Union Federation and the trade union organization affiliated with it.

The reason why the petition of the trade union commission no longer demands that the mark be supported by the use of the Reichsbank's gold reserve, is that Hilferding's plan had been definitely rejected by all sensible political economists. The severest criticism was expressed by the president of the Reichsbank board of directors, Havenstein, on October 23:

"Until these premises . . . (moratorium, bearable solution of the reparations problem, increase of output, reduced expenditures, balance of the budget, improvement of trade balance, etc. . .) have become actual fact, the utilization of the gold reserves of the Reichsbank would be absolutely futile . . . As long as such a state of affairs obtains, the use of the gold reserve would simply effect a brief temporary improvement, followed by a more rapid fall than heretofore, and bought at the price of a permanent loss of the gold reserve or of a part of it.

During the summer of this year the Reichsbank acceded to the urgent request of the government, and intervened in the security market with permanent values (a round sum of 230 million gold marks). This did not by any means stop the depreciation of the mark, but merely slowed down its speed for a few weeks." (*Vorwärts*, Jan. 11.)

That such a plan could be thought out and accepted by German social democracy demonstrates the complete decay of theoretical understanding in Hilferding personally and in his party in general. It is obvious that the depreciation of the mark is not the cause of Germany's bad economic condition, but

that the reverse is the case: the economic decay has caused the collapse of the mark. The increasing impoverishment of Germany is reflected in the mark. This impoverishment of Germany is not occasioned by the reparations payments alone, but is caused by the consequences of the world war on German economics, by the "peace" treaty, and by the chaotic condition of the capitalist economics of the world. A central bank can regulate the rate of exchange by buying and selling securities, without losing its gold reserve, but on one condition only: the economic balance of the country must be active, that is, there must be more produced than consumed. The activity of the economic balance is automatically followed by the equilibration of the payment balance in relation to foreign countries. It is only under such circumstances that it is possible to regulate the rate of exchange by a bank policy. (The Austro-Hungarian Bank kept the Austrian crown constantly at par, before the war, with a very small fraction of its gold reserve.) But as the economic balance of Germany, especially when the reparations payments are calculated, is passive to a very high degree, the idea of stopping the depreciation of the mark by the aid of a trifling amount of gold is simply-ridiculous. This is sufficiently proved by the experience of the Reichsbank last summer, when such an attempt was made. At the present time conditions are much less favorable for such an attempt. The fact that the depreciation of the mark is such that the gold value of all the notes in circulation does not amount to a whole gold milliard, does not make the slightest difference. It seems at first glance as if the whole circulation could be put on a gold basis at once by utilizing the Reichsbank's reserves. But when judgment is pronounced on such a question, the sphere of circulation should never be taken statistically into consideration, but only the sphere of production. And there is no doubt whatever that if the attempt were made to utilize the Gold reserves of the Reichsbank, the gold would vanish in no time, without effecting any permanent stabilization of the mark. That the United Social Democratic Party of Germany could officially lay claim to such a plan is a proof that it has not only completely forgotten the class war theory, but even Marx's economic theories.

The foreign experts gave two different awards. The first is signed by Brand, Cassel, Jenks, and Keynes. Its essential contents are as follows:

The stabilization of the mark is necessary, but under the present circumstances impossible. The first premise is that "Germany be freed for a time from the payments demanded by the Versailles treaty." Without this, every attempt at stabilizing the mark is bound to fail, and will only waste Germany's last reserves . . . The most essential point is that payments should not be resumed until they can be made from a real surplus, and not from fresh inflation. We are of the opinion that the present postponement should be for at least two years. The moratorium should include payments in cash and in kind alike.

In this opinion it is pointed out that the success of a stabilization plan does not depend on an inner loan, but on the state of production and of the state economics in Germany, and on the most rapid possible final settlement of the reparations problem. We shall not go into the details of the reparations plan to be executed after the above premises have been fulfilled.

The second award, signed by Vissering, Dubois, and Kamenko, considers—so far as can be seen from the extremely scanty extract which has been published—a stabilization action to be possible, if the banks in countries with higher rates of exchange would participate. It proposes the founding of a foreign syndicate, with a capital of at least 500 million gold marks. A further 500 million gold marks are to be furnished by the Reichsbank for the same purpose.

A comparison of the two opinions shows that while the first of these, rightly from the point of view of political economy, lays the most stress on placing Germany's economic structure on a sound basis, the second one regards the problem from the financial technical standpoint.

In accordance with the latter expert opinion, the German government addressed, on the 4. December, a communication to the Reparations Commission, asking that the amount of reparations to be paid by Germany be finally settled, in accordance with Germany's paying capacity, within the shortest possible time, and proposing that an international syndicate be formed, granting Germany a gold credit of 500 million gold marks.

Up to now all these plans have led to no definite result, with the sole exception, perhaps, that both the English and the French reparations plans recognize the necessity of stabilizing the mark.

In the meanwhile the German mark is making catastrophic downward plunges.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A Year of the Trade Union Educational League

By Charles Krumbin.

Although the Trade Union Educational League was organized in November, 1920, it is really only a year old, because previous to the launching of *The Labor Herald* in March, 1922, it consisted of little more than a few scattered groups throughout the country. But in the past year it has taken on a truly wonderful growth. Not for many years past, if ever, in this country has there been an organization operating upon the industrial field which has created such a stir in the labor movement and made so much genuine progress.

When the League began its operations a twelve-month ago, the situation was anything but promising. On the one hand there was the reactionary bureaucracy heading the trade unions, unprogressive and tyrannical, and having behind it a demoralized, discouraged, and defeated labor movement. And on the other hand there were the militants, confused and befogged by dual unionism, inexperienced in the trade union movement, and overwhelmed with contempt for the old mass unions.

Attacking the Problem.

But despite this double difficulty of a reactionary leadership to contend against, and a very inexperienced body of militants to draw upon for support, the Trade Union Educational League has nevertheless made most substantial progress in the twelve months of its activity. It has become a real force in the labor movement, and one which even the most powerfully situated reactionaries have to reckon with.

In its operations directly upon the mass organizations the League has real results to show. It has popularized various planks of its program among groups of workers hitherto untouched by radical propaganda. Its agitation for the formation of a Labor Party has struck home in many organizations and is bound to bear fruit in the near future. Likewise its advocacy of the Red International of Labor Unions. But the one brilliant success of the League's work was in connection with its work for industrial unionism. It has gone to the masses of organized workers with its message of solidarity and got an overwhelming response, a response which has not only shocked and frightened the reactionaries but heartened the rebels more than anything else that has happened in the United States for decades. How the innumerable local unions, central labor councils, state federations, and international organizations have been won over to declare for industrial unionism through amalgamation, in spite of the bitter opposition of the reactionaries in their ranks, is an old story now to all who follow the course of the labor movement. It is not too much to say that in the short period it has been in the field, the League has already got the majority of the organized masses to accept in principle, at least, the highly important proposition of industrial unionism. With this accomplished, the definite re-organization of the craft unions on an industrial basis will inevitably and unflinchingly follow.

But far more important than the effective work done among the broad masses were the educational results secured among the militants themselves. The one thing that is needed to set the American labor movement on its feet and to make a real fighting body of it is a clear-seeing, self-confident, and well-organized body of militants. Substantial headway has been made by the League in creating such an organization. By their experience of the past twelve months the militants are learning that the workers making up the trade unions are eager and willing to accept a militant program, once it is put up to them in a way that they can understand. And the way they are recovering from the infantile sickness of dual unionism constitutes one of the most remarkable phenomena in the whole history of the labor movement. The change that has taken place in this respect due to the League, is nothing short of an intellectual revolution.

The Opposition Defeated.

As few organizations in the labor movement have achieved so much success in so short a time as the Trade Union Educational League, likewise few have had such heavy opposition

to contend with. Hardly was the announcement of the organization of the League made than a general rallying of the reactionary forces took place to withstand the onslaught of the threatening newcomer. Fulminations flared forth on all sides in an attempt to discredit the League in the eyes of the rank and file by painting it red and denouncing it as a Russian conspiracy against the labor movement. No less a person than Mr. Compers himself took the lead in this virulent campaign of attack, and when he broke a few lances fruitlessly, he called upon his faithful lackeys, Matthew Woll, Chester Wright, etc.

But the opposition, reckless though it was, did not break up the advance of the League. This is primarily because of the soundness of the latter's policies. When its militants went to the masses with propaganda of industrial unionism through amalgamation, for example, they received such wide-spread support that the old guard were unable to fight back successfully. A case in point was the National Railroad Amalgamation Conference. Despite the fact that that historic gathering was condemned in bitterest terms by Stone, Johnston, and many other high officials of the railroad trade unions, it was a glowing success. For once the rank and file, acting in intelligent opposition, took the bit between their teeth and made a determined move for progress. Grable, in the Detroit convention of his organization, tried to step in front of the amalgamation movement and to bring it to a halt, but what happened to him is now a classic in labor history. The League has demonstrated beyond all doubt, that it is possible to organize progressive movements among the mass unions in spite of the most determined opposition of a reactionary bureaucracy. This in itself is an achievement of the first magnitude.

The Tasks Before Us.

Although the League has already made its influence felt in the labor movement it is only an infant in size and experience. There is still a world to do to give it the necessary volume and power to achieve the great task before it. This work is of a manifold nature. First we must see to it that all militant workers throughout the length and breadth of the country, become members of the trade unions and plunge deeply into the activities of these organizations. We must organize local general groups in every city and town in the United States and Canada. These in turn must be subdivided into industrial sections, which shall work ceaselessly to educate the members of their respective organizations locally. Then there must be National Committees set up to co-ordinate the work of the local industrial groups throughout the entire labor movement. Especially is this latter task very essential, because without national organization the work of the local groups is fruitless.

Besides building the structure of the League, we must also see to it that it has a powerful weapon wherewith to reach the minds of the masses. The *Labor Herald* must be developed. Its present circulation must be quadrupled in the coming year. This can readily be accomplished if all the individuals and groups in the League will do just a little towards developing its circle of readers. When *The Labor Herald* reaches a circulation of 50,000, and this should be in a year's time if the militants realize their opportunity, it will have power and influence that will astound both reactionaries and revolutionaries.

The Year to Come.

The Trade Union Educational League looks forward with confidence to the oncoming year. The experience of the past twelve months shows it that its methods and policies are fundamentally correct and that the workers of America are ready for its message of solidarity and liberty. The old Compers bureaucracy is bankrupt. It has absolutely nothing constructive to offer the workers. Industrial evolution proceeds with ever increasing speed, but the Compers crowd, learning and forgetting nothing, cling desperately to their outworn and futile policies. The Trade Union Educational League, despite its youth, has a practical monopoly upon the advocacy of progressive policies in the mass organizations of the workers. It is the only organization, radical or otherwise, in the field today which has any message of real instruction and inspiration for the masses. Its policies of industrial unionism through amalgamation, organization of a Labor Party, affiliation of the trade unions to the Red International of Labor Unions, the Workers' Republic, etc., correspond to the needs and aspirations of the American working class. The Trade Union Educational League is the key to the industrial situation in this country and Canada.

E. C. C. I.

War against Italian Fascism!

To the workers and peasants of all countries!

After two years of looting, arson, and murder, against the working class, the Fascisti have seized the state power in Italy. The parliamentary regime has been set aside; the freedom of the press, even that of the semi-liberal bourgeois press, has been destroyed; the whole legislative, executive, and judicial power has been vested in a small clique with Mussolini at its head, calling itself the "Great Council", and supported by a Pretorian guard of one hundred thousand men.

Civil rights no longer exist for the workers and peasants, while the Fascisti are immune from all penalties. All rights of the working class, of citizenship and political freedom, have been done away with. The right to hold meetings, to form societies, to enter into international relations, all have been abolished. The goods and chattels of the workers are given over to destruction and plunder. The dwellings of the proletariat are devastated, the buildings of their cooperative societies, trade unions, and political organizations, are burnt down or occupied by armed forces. The best elements of the working class are beaten, arrested, and killed, the women violated, old people and children murdered, but no one is punished. To all this is added, the frightful verdicts pronounced against workers who have dared to defend themselves. The Fascisti, on the other hand, are allowed to commit the most atrocious crimes, the cruelest acts of violence. Their sole law is their own judgment. The Terror knows no limits.

This is the arbitrary and murderous regime now prevailing in Italy.

Comrades, fellow-workers! The present situation in Italy shows you what may happen to-morrow in your own country, if you do not prevent Fascism from spreading, and fail to exterminate it where it has already found a foothold.

The special conditions obtaining in Italy impart special power to Fascism there. But the original causes and resultant phenomena of Fascism are not peculiar to Italy; they are common to all countries. The world crisis of capitalism bears the germ which threatens the spread of Fascism all over the world.

In every country there is a disappointed petty bourgeoisie, suffering from the effects of the war, and hoping, even in vain, that Fascism will order and improve its uncertain conditions of existence. And in every country there is a large agrarian and industrial bourgeoisie lending Fascism direct support, and furthering its ends with the aid of the state apparatus. It is precisely on this basis that Fascism has developed and conquered in Italy.

In order to re-establish the capitalist economy destroyed by the imperialist war, the international bourgeoisie not only reduces the standard of living of the working class to the utmost limit of misery and starvation, but it attempts to crush out of the working class all consciousness and will to arise out of its misery. It attempts to do this through Fascism, a phenomenon closely related to the anti-proletarian offensive of capital, and constituting its final phase. Violence and murder, starvation and want, these are the means used by Fascism to terrorize the working masses, to destroy their class organizations, and to reduce them to complete slavery.

Fascism does not fight merely against this or that political tendency in the working class, but against the class as a whole, for the bourgeoisie sees the sole possibility of a capitalist reconstruction only in intensified exploitation and absolute political subjugation of all workers.

Fascism also permits the nationalist mania of the bourgeoisie to have full scope. Fascism increases armaments, supports imperialist adventures and provokes political conflicts everywhere. Imperialist war is one of the most important items in the Fascist program, and its rule must thus necessarily lead to renewed massacres of human beings, to be carried out by Fascism with the same brutality as the present Fascist social war.

Fascism is endeavoring to spread itself over a number of countries, with the object of solving the world crisis at the expense of the working class. Fascist phenomena are already observable in Hungary, Germany, Poland, etc. The European governments fraternize with Fascism. This shows the danger to be serious and urgent; immediate action of the international proletariat is necessary.

Comrades, workers, and peasants! In order to exterminate this pest, and to emancipate the Italian proletariat from the bloody Fascist oppression, an immediate action of defence and solidarity is imperative. Your own ruling classes and your

governments share the responsibility for the crimes of Fascism. Without their approval the dictatorship of the Fascist bands would not have been able to develop and to seize power. You must attract all sincere elements to your side, and form a solid moral blockade against Fascist Italy. You must show your bourgeoisie and your governments the power of your will, and exert every endeavor to isolate the Fascist state. Until the Italian working class is emancipated from the despotism, the attavism, and the crimes of the executioners appointed by the bourgeoisie, the workers of all countries must regard themselves as mobilized, and directly and indirectly, carry on ruthless war against the leaders responsible for the Fascist terror.

Great demonstrations must be staged in the towns and villages of all countries, and all workers and peasants must be summoned to take part. The foreign supporters of the Fascist state must be made to feel all the contempt and hate of the working masses for the executioners of their brothers. Every deed committed by the Fascist state, every official step taken, must be answered with demonstrations of abhorrence from the masses. The emigrants from Italy, the Italian refugees abroad, must be concentrated in fighting groups by all organizations; they will certainly head the fight against the cruel tyranny raging in the country which they have had to leave in order to escape starvation and the daggers of the Black Shirts.

The Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions have resolved to give their undivided political, moral, and material support to this action of the world proletariat against Fascism. For this object an *International Fighting Fund* against Fascism has already been formed, and the necessary organs created for leading the struggle. But the main work has yet to be done, and the means to victory provided by the political, trade union and cooperative organizations, in short, by the whole world proletariat. The proletariat of each country must develop the means best adapted to defence against any attempt at Fascism in its own land, and must find the most suitable forms of organization and combat.

Workers of France, Germany, England, America, and other countries! In fighting against Italian Fascism, you are fighting for your own liberty, and are showing the ruling classes that you will never permit the rule of despotism and murder now raging in Italy to spread to other countries. Exert all your strength to crush the vanguard of International Fascism—Italian Fascism!

Long live the heroic Italian working class!

Long live the solidarity of the workers of all countries against the Fascist murderers!

Moscow, January 18, 1923.

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

Circular addressed by the Comintern to its affiliated Sections

Dear Comrades!

The joint appeal of the Comintern and the Profintern on the fight against Fascism is being sent you by to-day's post.

The fundamental questions are dealt with in the appeal. Here we shall only emphasize the necessity of practical organizational work in the struggle against Fascism. (Demonstrations, mass meetings, systematic press campaigns, etc.) The labor organizations in Italy's neighbour states have a special responsibility. Thanks to their proximity, these labor organizations can do much for the struggle against Fascism, and for their Italian comrades.

In addition to this, it is imperative that every possible material aid be lent to the Italian workers in their fight against their oppressors. The Comintern and the Profintern have decided to create an international fighting fund against Fascism. Every organization affiliated to the Comintern is called upon to devote a lump sum to this purpose, and to organize continuous collections of money for this fund. The money will be given to those organizations which are carrying on revolutionary work against Fascism.

The Committee of Action of the Comintern and Profintern will issue further instructions as to how and to whom the money collected is to be delivered.

With communist greetings,

Secretariat of the
Executive Committee of the Communist International,
O. W. Kuusinen.

Moscow, January 18, 1923.

Statutes for the collection and administration of the International Fighting Fund against Fascism

1. In accordance with resolutions passed at a joint session of the executives of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, an international fighting fund against Fascism is formed.

2. The object of the fighting fund is to raise the means for energetically fighting Fascism, and to lend pecuniary support to all proletarian organizations and revolutionary groups engaged in direct combat with Fascism. At present, only the Italian labor organizations are involved in the active fight against Fascism.

3. Money for the fighting fund is to be raised:

a) by grants from the central treasuries of the various organizations.

b) by the collection of money, among the proletariat of all countries, through subscription lists.

4. All proletarian organizations, in all countries, are to be appealed to, to take part in the collection.

5. A committee is to be formed in every country to organize the collection of money, on which every labor organization of whatever political tendency participating in the collection shall have at least one representative.

6. Only these national committees have the right to issue collection forms, which must be numbered and provided with a stamp. All monies and subscription forms must be delivered up to the national committee in each country. The receipt of the money collected on the collection lists is to be publicly acknowledged in the labor press of the country in question.

7. The headquarters of the international fighting fund are in Berlin. The Executive Committee consists of one representative each from the various political and trade union internationals taking part in the collection. The central committee appoints two general treasurers and the auditors, and assumes the duty of administering the fund and of publishing periodical accounts of the monies received.

8. The national committees have to pay over all their monies to the central committee.

9. The central committee decides on the expenditure and distribution of the monies.

The R.I.L.U. has already opened the fund with a contribution of 10,000 gold roubles (about 5,000 dollars).

Declaration of the Communist International regarding the alleged "Section of the Comintern" in Memel

A so-called "United German-Lithuanian Socialist Labor Party for the Memel district, III. International" has made its appearance in Memel, and has instigated an uprising for the purpose of affiliating the Memel district to Lithuania.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International proclaims to the general public, and especially to the workers of the Memel district in Lithuania, that there exists no such organization of the Third International in the Memel district. It is solely a despicable provocation on the part of the Lithuanian nationalists, who do not venture to come forward in their own names, but hope to serve their purpose better by acting under the cloak of the Third International, whose followers are persecuted in Lithuania with greater severity than in Tsarist times, and who are tortured in the prisons.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
O. W. Kuusinen (Secretary).

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Moscow Demonstrations against the Occupation of the Ruhr

By F. Rubincz.

Moscow, January 18., 1923.

During three days, January 15-17, the Moscow proletariat expressed its solidarity with the proletariat of Germany and the whole world. January 15., the Liebknecht-Luxemburg memorial day, is in any event a day of profound significance for the

Russian workers; in addition to this, news came of the occupation of the Ruhr basin, which at once aroused the Russian workers.

Immediately after the news arrived that French troops had marched into the Ruhr area, meetings were held in all factories and workshops of Moscow. When work was over on January 15., huge contingents of workers streamed from every quarter of the city, and gathered before the building of the executive committee of the C.I., in the Mokhovaya. The gathering began at about 4 o'clock, and lasted until late in the night. The same was repeated on January 16., and on the following day.

These masses of Russian workers presented a most impressive spectacle; after a full day's work, with the grime and dirt of their work still on their hands, without having rest or refreshment they marched through the streets, in many cases coming long distances from their places of work, for the purpose of demonstrating their protest against the danger threatening the proletariat of Western Europe.

It was an example of practical proletarian solidarity, and readiness to follow up words with deeds. It was no long-prepared demonstration: within 24 hours, in many places within 12 hours, all preparations for the demonstration were made. The masses came into the street almost spontaneously. And not communists alone, but thousands upon thousands of non-partisans took direct part in the action. With their proletarian instinct they felt that the working class is being threatened more seriously than ever; they understood that the occupation of the Ruhr district signifies the danger of a new imperialist war, and they took immediate action. They acted in dead earnest.

A small incident is characteristic of the feeling prevailing among the demonstrators. The *Pravda* reports that, in front of the Moscow Soviet in the Soviet Square, a workman suddenly knelt down before one of his comrades and cried: "Forgive me, Aliosha, in 1914 I struck you because you spoke against the war. Now, when I stand before the Soviet and think of that time, I see how right you were!"

The processions of demonstrators assembled before the Moscow Soviet, before the building of the Executive of the C.I., and before the Hotel "Lux", where the delegates of the Comintern are residing. This demonstration proved how close are the ties binding the Russian workers to the fighting proletariat of the whole world, and proclaimed that the Soviet of the workers' and peasants' delegates alone is capable of finding a way out of the blind alley which the capitalist world has got into.

The columns of workers, with their red flags and torches, defiled through the streets for many hours in the chill winter air, some accompanied by bands of music. The foreign delegates spoke from the balcony of the Executive of the C.I., comrade Hörnle from the German CP., comrade Hula from the Czechish CP., and comrades from England, France, etc. The effective speech of comrade Serrati from the United CP. of Italy was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm. But it was not only the foreign comrades who spoke; special mention must be made of the speech delivered, by a manager from the electric works *Amo*. He, and the representative of the Russian working masses through him, said: May the working class of Germany, and the whole world, know that we are ready to come to their aid!

A huge number of resolutions has been received by the Executive of the C.I.; these have been passed in the various factories and institutions. We may cite a few extracts from these resolutions. Thus in a resolution passed by a group of factories in the Rogoschsko Simonov district, in memory of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, we find the words: "We are consoled by the thought that during these four years a real leader has grown up for the German proletariat—the mighty Communist Party of Germany, capable of combat, steeled by fighting, strengthened by the struggles it has gone through". In the resolution passed by the factories *Sulfit*, *Ero*, *Perun*, etc., we read: "We promise that at difficult moments we shall lend our aid, to the utmost of our power, for the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie." The resolution of the *Gosaviosavod* addresses the Comintern as the army staff of the revolutionary movement of the world, and appeals to it to mobilize the world proletariat, and to take all measures to prevent a fresh imperialist war. In this, as in all resolutions, we find the same promise: We shall come to your aid, workers of Western Europe.

These demonstrations are not only a proof of the strong feeling of international solidarity among the Russian workers; they further prove that the Russian workers have by no means become indifferent and apathetic, as is asserted by their enemies; on the contrary, they are now ready—after so many struggles and privations—to enter the lists immediately it is a question of triumph or defeat for the revolution.

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