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## Imperialism and Soviet Russia

Extract from the speech delivered by comrade Trotzky at the 6th. All Russian Metal Workers Congress on June 6. 1923.

Two questions are at the present time occupying the foreground of international politics: the Ruhr and the English ultimatum to Soviet Russia. I shall speak here of the latter point, as it touches us directly.

What was the reason of the ultimatum, and what explains our compliant attitude with respect to this ultimatum?

It must be plainly and clearly stated: England—here we are of course speaking of ruling bourgeois England—has simply been true to her old traditional policy in issuing this ultimatum. Her present action against us may, in a certain sense, be regarded as the continuation of her old struggle against Russia.

What are the fundamental lines upon which English politics have always been conducted? It must not be forgotten that the English bourgeoisie is more experienced than any other. The essence of English politics has invariably consisted in setting other countries against one another, of standing aside and letting other people fetch the chestnuts out of the fire.

We all know the policy which was pursued by the English during the intervention and the blockade. Russia's losses in the imperialist war amounted to 3,080,000, whilst England only lost 455,000, that is, scarcely the sixth part. In order that Lord Curzon might be in a position to hand us a ten days ultimatum, over 3 million Russian workers and peasants had to bleed for the honor of English imperialism. Some day we shall present this account to the English bourgeoisie. Then England inaugurated the period of intervention and blockade. England herself did not go to war, but she sent expeditionary troops to Archangel and Murmansk. With what object? In order to mobilize Russian workers and peasants for the White Guards, and to force them to fight against the red workers and peasants. Throughout the whole period of the occupation, England did not lose more than 10 to 15 men, but on the other hand, condemned hundreds and thousands to a wretched fate.

England demands from us compensation on account of two English subjects. We are surprised at the modesty of Lord Curzon's demands; he does not require compensation for the 15 or 30 English who died in northern Russia.

We have not yet forgotten the name of that English officer who had our 26 comrades murdered in Baku. Some day we shall also demand from the English bourgeoisie that it pays pensions to the relatives of these 26 comrades.

Now—after the period of armed invention—there came a change, a commercial agreement with us. What was the cause of this change of front? Lloyd George hoped to reduce the number of unemployed by these means, and at the same time to bring Russia under the yoke, if not by force, then at least by money. But we have developed our forces in an entirely different direction to that desired by the English bourgeoisie. Besides this, the situation has improved in England since then, and we never played a very great rôle in the foreign relations of Great Britain.

Again we are in the midst of a dark period, full of the dangers of similar complications, or even more serious ones, than those involved in the English ultimatum. Apart from the improvement of the economic situation in England, and to some extent in the other countries of Europe (here I do not speak of America, where the pulse of capital is beating mightily), the essential character of capitalist economics is mainly expressed in the Ruhr occupation, which is nothing less than a devastation and a potential war. There is no normal capitalist life in Europe. Even such a small incident as the upheaval in Bulgaria shows that the whole of bourgeois society, at least in Europe, is still suffering from intermittent fever. The latest telegrams report that the Bulgarian revolution has been directly supported by English and Italian agents. Today we receive news of an upheaval in Persia. England, who demanded that we recall our re-



representative from Persia, has now overthrown the Persian national government, which beyond doubt was supported by the overwhelming majority of the population, and has replaced it by her own agents. The story of the Ruhr is not at an end yet. Fresh conflicts are arising from it every day in the form of shootings and arrests. In France the royalists, converting themselves into Fascisti, have begun the attack on state power.

At the same time we may observe very serious symptoms of a new orientation in the bourgeoisie, especially in France, but also to a certain extent in England. In France, the delusions of victory spread abroad by the national bloc are beginning to disappear, not only among the workers, but also among the peasants, and the bourgeoisie is taking sides with the left bloc of radicals, radical socialists, and Mensheviks. The next elections, in about 11 or 12 months, will probably bring victory to the left bloc, and this will lead to some form of understanding with Soviet Russia. This does not mean that the left has any friendly feelings towards us, but during its rule, the powerlessness of the bourgeoisie, its impotence to fight against Soviet Russia, will become evident.

And in England, the Conservatives are not elected for all time. The Labor Party, that is, the English Mensheviks and liberals, the independents, all of which taken together may be designated as the English Kerenskydom, will take the place of the Conservatives.

In the meanwhile, the conservative wing of the English bourgeoisie is anxious to utilize every possibility for a Fascist war against Soviet Russia. What was the task set Lord Curzon when he sent us the ultimatum? He hoped that we would act in such a manner that it could be interpreted as an offence against the government of Great Britain, and as a violation of the public opinion of all English Philistines, and petty bourgeoisie—amongst them the Philistines and petty bourgeoisie of the Labor Party.

We had to first make the Philistines realize the actual question being dealt with; and as their skulls are made of a material requiring a considerable period for its penetration, the ten days term was inadequate. The task set us was to say: You, Lord Curzon, defend the dignity of the English nation, we defend it even more; if you are magnanimous, we are more magnanimous still, more desirous of peace; if you do not want war, we want it three times less! That was the import of our reply.

The first formal result of our policy has been that, to all appearances, there will be no rupture of relations. But we have no guarantee for the permanency of the situation thus created. It is not merely a question of a rupture of relations with Great Britain. Our neighbours are Poland and Roumania, and despite all Lord Curzon's assurances as to his peaceful intentions, still our "friends" on our west frontier have signified their intention of giving us military difficulties, and of making use of the one or two years during which the national blocs are likely to be in power.

The caution shown by us had excellent results. It destroyed the bourgeois plans for the time being. We have gained a breathing space preparatory for the next acute period. We have by no means won complete peace, the more so as in Europe the uncertain situation continues, and the gigantic revolutionary process strides forward in the East. This is the reason why England is rendered so uneasy by the resolution passed at our 12th Party Congress on the national question. We continue to develop and perfect our national policy, and are determined to carry it out in every respect and above all within the Soviet federation, which will exercise the very greatest effect on the oriental peoples. We shall carry out this policy in particular in the sphere of our army organization.

The process of emancipation among the oppressed peoples is not being consummated so rapidly as we, comrades, could wish. Therefore we must exert every endeavor to prevent our army from being weakened during the next feverish period, but rather to ensure its being strengthened. Although, at the present time, we are devoting our main attention and our best forces, to the economic reconstitution of the country, at the same time, we have taken the first steps towards reconstituting our army on the militia principle. Only one fifth of our infantry divisions will remain as professional soldiers. The rest will remain in the factories or on the land, and will only be called up occasionally for drill or training. The further development of our air fleet is necessary for our army. We shall reply to every blow dealt us, even to every pin-prick, by the extension of our air fleet. When we were presented with an ultimatum, we equipped an aeroplane squadron and christened it "Ultimatum". This squadron we have already. Then came the upheaval in Bulgaria, and we shall equip another air squadron and call it, if comrade Chicheria permits: "Red Bulgaria". If we convert all the attacks of the

bourgeoisie into aeroplanes, we shall be able to put an end to these attacks.

But if our work for the development of the air fleet, and of our war technics generally, is to be made really possible and fruitful, it is necessary above all to develop our industry and the foundation of our industry—the metal industry. We are terribly short of metal. Instead of relating to you all that I have on international politics in reply to the question as to why Lord Curzon sent us his ultimatum, I might simply have replied, that whilst in America there is about 20 pud of steel per head, and in Russia we had about 1 pud 32 lbs per head before the war, we now have only 14 pounds per inhabitant. I think that every worker in our country, above all every metal worker, must impress these figures on his mind. There is no better propaganda, no better method of instruction than this. We have very little metal, and the new culture and new technics are the technics of metal.

The trade unions have rendered it possible for the worker to expend almost the same sum as before the war on the reproduction of his vital energy, his nerves, and muscles. But in our industries we are carrying on extensive economies. This must not continue. The most important task now set us, which decides our fate for a long period, is the rational and scientific organization of industry. The concentration and proper organization of production is as difficult a task today as was the struggle for state power in October.

By means of enormous exertions, we are building up a new form of life, step by step, on the basis of what we have already won. We must be able to reply to every question concerning the life of the worker, to every trifle. The worker will demand from us, especially from the trade unions, that we be capable of answering all questions of vital concern to him. The form of life still existing today is the old, petty-bourgeois form. The working class will feel the need of devoting earnest thought to its daily life. And the press must reflect every trifle of this daily life.

The foundation of the scientific organization of industry is metal. Our culture is a wood culture. Wood is a wonderful material, but only when it is in the right place. The further we advance, the more metal we require. The coming epoch is the epoch of iron, of concrete, and of glass. There is too little iron flowing in the veins of our economic organism, and the outstanding feature of the impending period of our economic struggle will be the fight for metal. More metal for our economics! And more metal in the character of the people! Three cheers for metal!

## POLITICS

### The Slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government

By E. Varga.

The new slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government is the most important result of the session of the Enlarged Executive of the C.I. The necessity of broadening the basis of our movement follows from the nature of the international situation. The bourgeoisie has learned much from the continued existence of the Russian Soviet Government. It will not repeat the errors which it made when the Russian Soviet Government arose, and when the Hungarian Soviet Republic came into being. It will not be "taken by surprise" again; it will not again ridicule the proletariat's will to power and capacity for political leadership, as childish and impossible. We must reckon with the fact that the bourgeoisie will offer the most determined and bitter resistance to every fresh attempt at seizure of power.

The industrial and agricultural proletariat alone is, under these circumstances, not powerful enough to defeat the bourgeoisie, particularly in view of the fact that certain sections of the proletariat are pressed into the service of the bourgeoisie by the social democrats. The revolutionary proletariat must find allies in the camp of the non-proletarians.

Of the various non-proletarian classes who are potential allies, the most important is the working peasant class. It is important for the reason that the working peasant is no exploiter. Although the small and middle peasants possess property, they do not employ it as capital, and do not exploit any workers with it. Their means of production serve as the natural basis for the application of their own labor power, not as a means of exploiting the labor of others.

Here we have at once indicated to us those strata of the peasants upon whom we may count as allies, our allies can only be those who are not exploiters, that is, those who do not regularly employ others to work for them.

On the other hand, the peasant class is well adapted to be our ally, since it is likewise the victim of capitalist exploitation. This exploitation is practised not directly, as in the case of the proletariat, but indirectly. Trustified finance capital artificially raises the price of industrial products, artificially lowers the price of agricultural products, and in this way indirectly exploits the peasants; moreover, it pockets, in the form of loan capital, of a monopoly of the means of transport, and of usurious commercial transactions, a considerable part of the income earned by the working peasants. Proletariat and peasantry are thus confronted by a common enemy; this circumstance affords a real basis for a class alliance.

The question now arises: how can the tactic of co-operation with the working peasantry be reconciled with the dictatorship of the proletariat? We must here insist that the peculiarities of the peasants' mode of production, the fact that the peasants' of necessity live scattered over wide areas, and that they consume a great part of their products in their own homes, involve a much looser connection of this class with the economic system as a whole, than is the case with the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Their mode of production renders the peasants incapable of large-scale organization such as is necessary to rule a country. This explains the fact that, during the whole course of history, the peasantry has never, in any country, been the ruling class for long. During the present historical epoch the peasantry must be led either by the bourgeoisie or by the proletariat. The question for the peasants is: Are they to be led, but not exploited, by the workers—as in Soviet Russia, or are they to be led and exploited by the capitalists—as in the capitalist countries? If we put the question thus clearly to the peasants, if we are capable of showing them plainly the daily conflict of interests between working peasants and agrarian capitalists, then there can be no doubt that it will be possible for us to win broad masses of working peasants for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and, after the victory over it, for the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government", the practical significance of which is a "government of the workers and working peasants", will be a lever for the progress of the Communist revolutionary movement.

### England and the Ruhr

By M. Philips Price.

The settlement of the Anglo-Russian crisis of last May, was brought about by two factors in England—firstly by the opposition, which the government did not dare to ignore, of the organized Labor movement and secondly by the victory in the British cabinet of the group round Mr. Baldwin. As regards the first, Mr. Baldwin has openly admitted that the number of resolutions pouring in to him from the local Labor Parties and Trades Councils, I.L.P.'s and other Socialist branches, to say nothing of those of the Communist Party, was so great that he was unable to deal with them and that therefore he was compelled to hand them over to Mr. Henderson to answer them. There is no doubt that the ruling classes in England saw that, if the policy of Lord Curzon was allowed to succeed, a very dangerous internal situation would arise. The government of England, being now a government of the banking aristocracy, of the holders of Consols ("rentes") and of passive capital, a peaceful policy abroad is necessary, in order to maintain the pound sterling. Lord Curzon's policy, which represented the views of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and of the heads of the big "services", Army and Navy, aimed at a breach with Russia at all costs, even if it implied the prospects of warlike disturbances in the East. This policy has for the moment been discredited. Mr. Bonar Laws' policy of "tranquility" still holds the field.

But it is questionable how long the policy of the British government can remain really tranquil. A flood of light has been thrown on the real situation between England and France by the revelations about the new air-fleet programs. It has been an open secret for some time that the British opposition to France's Ruhr policy has been dictated to no inconsiderable extent by the fact that the French air fleet is some ten times stronger than the British. The question before the Baldwin government was—did the continent of Europe matter for the British bourgeoisie sufficiently to make expenditure on new armaments with all their dangers of new wars necessary? For it was obvious that only if the British air fleet was approximately near the strength of the French fleet could the Baldwin government begin to talk to M. Poincaré in terms other than platonic protests.

Now among the industrial chiefs in England, there have for some time past been two tendencies. One of them, largely represented by the finishing industries in the North of England,

the cotton trade and engineering trade, and the banks connected with them, feel that their best markets are on the continent and that there can be no hope for any large trade revival, as far as their industries are concerned, unless the purchasing power of Germany is revived. They point out that many of the British manufacturers are of the type, intended for a white population in a high state of civilization and that therefore it is useless to expect that the relatively small and slowly increasing white population of the British colonies can replace the loss of the Central European markets. A recent report of the Federation of British Industries expresses these views in no uncertain voice. On the other hand there is another tendency, which the British government has to take into consideration and which is represented in the government by the First Lord of the Admiralty Mr. Amery, which would abandon Europe altogether and concentrate solely on the British colonies and dominions. The appointment of Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister seems to suggest that not only has the Curzon clique with its anti-Russian policy been abandoned, but that also the industrial group in England, which is not prepared to abandon the continental markets altogether, will be allowed to have a voice in the policy of the government.

But what does this policy imply? It implies a more active opposition to the French in the Ruhr. And the first symptom of this was seen in the decision of the Baldwin government to raise the air fleet to 60 squadrons, whereby the British air fleet would be brought to about half the French fleet. That was to be a beginning.

But here the British government is faced with an internal contradiction. It must either abandon its policy of "tranquility" or else face the loss of its influence on the continent. And it is not only the trading and finished industry elements of the British bourgeoisie who want to counteract the French policy in the Ruhr, but also some sections of the big banking aristocracy. The international money lending interests in Wall Street and the City of London, the Rothschilds, Greufels, Kleinwerts, Morgans and the banking group, of which Mr. McKenna is the head and which is shortly to be represented in the Baldwin cabinet by McKenna himself, as Finance Minister; all these want to prevent at all costs the creation of a Stinnes-de Wendel heavy industry trust, the amalgamation of German coal and coke industries in the Ruhr with the French iron and smelting plants in Lorraine. They are opposed not so much to an amalgamation, as such, but to an amalgamation without their participation, because that would definitely exclude them from industrial, financial or political influence on the continent. Like hawks round a dying horse, they foresee that one day the German bourgeoisie will be faced with the necessity of stabilizing the mark and they wish to obtain their share of the guarantees for the floating of an international loan. Stinnes shall not be allowed to be the only creditor of the bankrupt German Reich, nor shall he be allowed to have the sole control of the German railways.

And so the Baldwin government is on the horns of a dilemma, which, however, is typical of the anarchy within the capitalist system. For successful stabilization of the German mark and for the floating of an international reparations loan, peace and tranquility is necessary. And yet the necessary conditions cannot be obtained without preventing Stinnes from selling out the German Reich to the Comité des Forges. And in order to stop this a new British air fleet must be built, a new race for armaments must begin with France, the policy of tranquility, which is the necessary condition of stabilization and of an international loan must be abandoned. The vicious circle is complete.

And how will the British Labor Party deal with this situation, if, as seems increasingly likely, it comes into power in the not very distant future? Here it is necessary to discriminate between the heterogeneous elements, of which the Labour Party is composed. The present clique of labor intellectuals, who have captured the party machine and are running it in conjunction with the old school of trade union secretary can be trusted to follow in the "honourable traditions" of British diplomacy, if they get into power. The extraordinary affection of these people for the bankrupt League of Nations show that they either cannot or will not understand, that they are being made tools of by the international banking interests, who hope to get their profits out of the stabilization of the European exchanges. This conscious or unconscious partnership with the powers behind the British government has now been carried into another field. The Labor Party, at its conference last week in London, rejected a resolution, brought in by the I.L.P., demanding that Labor members in parliament vote against all army and navy credits as a matter of principle. In his speech for the rejection Arthur Henderson said, according to the Daily Herald: "They had heard a good deal about the attitude of France. If France continues in her attitude, they could not afford to ignore the possibilities of defence."



Just as the old school of British labor leader led the Labor Party into coalition with the bourgeoisie in the war against Prussian militarism, so the seeds are being sown of a situation, in which the same leaders will lead the Labor Party in a war against Poincaré's militarism. The traditional policy of the British capitalist class to secure its domination by supporting the weakest power on the continent against the strongest will be carried on by the present labor leaders. On the other hand, there is a slow but very perceptible growth of an opposition movement within the Labor Party and not by any means confined to the members of the British Communist Party, who have by dint of hard work in the trade unions, succeeded in getting themselves elected as Labor Party delegates. The I.L.P., which with all its sentimental pacifism and confused, un-Marxian phraseology, has a healthy proletarian instinct and is sound at heart, is likely to play no unimportant role in fighting the opportunist policy of the right wing leaders of the Labor Party. The attitude of some of these members of the Labor Party opposition is best seen by that passage in the speech of one of the Scotch I.L.P. delegates to the Labor Party conference, George Buchanan, who said: "armed forces are becoming a method of clubbing the workers in industrial strikes. If they wished to be logical, they must say that all these kinds of armaments were wrong and vote accordingly in the House of Commons."

## The Ruhr Crime and the Franco-German Proletariat

By Emil Höllein (Berlin).

Like every "victorious" people, the French have had to pay for their military victory in the last great war by thousand-fold suffering. Criminal arrogance among the military reactionists, rank growth of crassest nationalism, ruthless suppression policy at home and abroad, and the constantly increasing pressure of capital on the exploited masses — these are the outward and visible signs of the policy pursued by victorious France.

And to all this must be added, as a factor further enhancing and maintaining reaction, the inexorable determination of French capitalism and imperialism to acquire hegemony over Europe and the world. The rapacious treaty of Versailles, which the other allies were blinded by their guilty consciences into agreeing to, to the advantage of their French competitors, is the weapon with which France is trying to realize her boundless plans of power and world domination. A straight line leads from the signing of the Versailles treaty to the invasion of the Ruhr by French and Belgian troops: this line is the unqualified determination of French imperialism to secure the basis of economic power indispensable for the execution of its plans for hegemony, that is, to secure the control of the ore and coal of West Germany, Belgium, East and North France.

And it must be said here that the German bourgeoisie, by its lying and bombastic nationalism, by its notorious avoidance of taxation and unwillingness to pay, by its systematic ruination of the German mark and undermining of German state power, and by its simultaneous economic and political oppression of the broad working masses, has greatly contributed to smoothing the path of French imperialism, and has continually aided France's systematic policy of violence and robbery. The occupation of the Ruhr is to a large extent the work of the German captains of industry and finance themselves; having lost their war, they have only been willing to bear the material consequences in so far as they could wring the costs from the misery of the toiling masses.

Yet the reciprocal effects of the policy pursued by the imperialist rulers, in France and Germany alike, have plainly demonstrated the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to reconstruct the world economy shattered by the world war. Four years and a half have passed since the conclusion of peace, and still a bitter struggle is raging among the imperialist powers; the forms assumed by the conflict may have varied, but in reality it has never abated, and every moment it involves the danger of fresh struggles and new wars. The alliance of the victorious states has long since fallen to pieces. America still maintains her well calculated position, far from the imperialist quarrels in Europe. Italy and England are openly showing their irreconcilable antagonism to the plans of French finance and heavy capital for hegemony. In France itself, as even a reactionary deputy of the chamber, Ybarnegaray, admits in so many words, "great dissatisfaction and great confusion" prevail, a state of affairs largely caused and maintained by the imperialist foreign policy pursued by Poincaré, and by the resultant policy of reactionary violence at home. Poincaré's famous policy of pledges has not succeeded in bringing coal or coke, or the the promised great

reparation payments, to France. Instead of this, the result has been a nightmare burden on France's economic life: chronic shortage of coal and coke, increased coal imports from England at ruinous prices, resultant sharper pressure on the rate of exchange of the franc, general rise in prices, increasing dearness in every direction, disturbance of production and unrest among the masses of workers and consumers.

In the face of these facts, it is no wonder that dissatisfaction is growing, and becoming more and more evident, all over the country; that faith is proportionally decreasing in Poincaré's magic incantation of: "Germany must and will pay for everything!"; that the rebellion of the petty bourgeoisie against Poincaré's policy of violence, at home and abroad, is spreading widely; and that Poincaré himself is obliged to cling convulsively and obstinately, but with ever diminishing success, to his Ruhr policy, as the sole means by which he can retain his glorious ministerial position.

It is true that for several years the French imperialist reparations policy was the sheet anchor of the Bloc National which arose out of the jingo elections of November 16, 1919. All parties—bourgeois and socialist alike—with the exception of the communists, have hitherto accepted without question the nationalist phrases concerning reparations. And even today the columns of that press which advocates a Left Bloc for the forthcoming elections, do not venture to express any determined opposition to Poincaré's criminal Ruhr policy, or to counter Poincaré's program of annexation and devastation by serious proposals for a capitalist peace. Half measures and weakness, if not actual cowardice, are the most conspicuous characteristics of the left bloc coming into being, a bloc whose idea is to do good electoral business by means of a fictitious struggle against the open reaction at home, but to be very careful to avoid all conflicts with Poincaré's foreign policy, so that in the end everything may go on as before.

And Poincaré makes full use of this weakness of his left bourgeois adversaries. For him the Ruhr question is not merely one of state politics, but, at the same time and above all, a vital personal question. He, as one of the chief instigators of the great imperialist crime of 1914—18, can only escape condemnation by attempting to maintain, under all circumstances, the lie paragraphed in the Versailles treaty—the lie attributing the whole responsibility for the war to German imperialism. And he can only do this if he can succeed, by means of successes abroad, nationalist agitation, and deeds of violence, in further stultifying the conscience of the people, still much prejudiced against everything German. Hence his constant endeavours to launch armed attacks upon Germany. Hence also his open compact with the blackest reaction, and even with monarchist counter-revolution; and hence his blind rage against the sole enemy which seriously endangers his policy of imperialist robbery—the French and international communists, and the red revolutionary trade unions.

The Essen Conference, held on the 6th and 7th of January of this year, laid down the general lines of the common struggle to be undertaken by the Franco-German and West European proletariats against Poincaré's Ruhr adventure, with its disastrous economic and political results, and its dangers of imperialist war; it indicated the work to be done by national, regional and local committees of action against imperialism and war; on the other hand, it furnished the pretext for an attempt to have French communism and revolutionary syndicalism outlawed, and for a regime of bloody terror in France. All participants in the Essen Conference, and all members of the National Committee of Action, were arrested, and were to be physically and morally done to death by means of innumerable forged documents, and with the aid of corrupt judges. This attempt at intimidation proved a failure. French communism and the Red trade unions continued their fight against Poincaré and his criminal policy with undiminished vigor and increased success. On March 17, the same day upon which a big international conference met in Frankfurt, an impressive international protest demonstration took place in Paris, where I and other foreign comrades were able to confirm the unqualified class solidarity of the Franco-German working class in the struggle against national capitalism and imperialism in France and Germany, and where we were received with acclamation by the Paris proletariat. My arrest was the vengeance taken for this, and at the same time Poincaré's acknowledgement of the newly proclaimed determination of the French proletariat to fight. It afforded the possibility of denouncing me, the real live "Boche", to the purblind petty bourgeoisie as the instigator behind French communism, and of producing me as a living piece of evidence in the impending communist trial.

But the discovery of the official falsification of documents, and the growing dissatisfaction with Poincaré's Ruhr outrage, combined to render the condemnation of the alleged conspirators

very doubtful. In order to assure this condemnation, Poincaré and his marionette Ministers resolved to bring the "communist conspiracy" against the internal and external security of the French bourgeois republic, to trial before the senate, acting in its capacity of state court of justice. A governmental decree of May 7 ordered that 34 communists and red trade unionists be brought before the state court of justice on May 24. But, on May 8, the whole of those accused of conspiracy, with the exception of the youthful comrade Péri and myself, were suddenly released from an imprisonment on remand which had already lasted four months. On May 24 the state court of justice flatly refused to accede to Poincaré's demand for terrorist class justice against the communists, and Poincaré performed his well-known comedy of climbing down. On the following day Péri and I were also released on the orders of the Attorney-General Lescouvé. While Péri regained complete liberty on leaving the hospital, Poincaré ordered the Minister for Internal Affairs, Maunoury, to keep me under arrest as an "administrative" prisoner, so that he might have at least one defenceless object upon which to wreak vengeance for the rebuff given him by the Senate. In flagrant violation of all law and justice, I was degraded to a hostage, and it was not until June 8, that I was set at liberty and escorted to the German frontier, after even the judge of the court of inquiry, Jouselin, to whom the records of the conspiracy were referred, had dismissed the action brought against all those accused of conspiracy, with the exception of those indicted of anti-militarist propaganda.

Although Poincaré ordered the Attorney-General to enter an appeal against this decision of the court of inquiry, the present communist trial is none the less dead, dead as a door-nail. But Poincaré would not be the obstinate and unscrupulous reactionary and despot that he is, if he did not now attempt to attain his object, the annihilation of the enemies of his imperialist foreign policy by White Terror, in another way. The attempt made simply to set aside the Senate for the future, since it is not obedient to his wishes, and to substitute for it a spineless special court ready to do his bidding; the open favor accorded the deeds of violence committed by the royalist blackmailers and Fascists; and the latest debates on the foreign policy of the Government, have all clearly demonstrated that Poincaré and his National Bloc are determined to continue their policy of robbery abroad and their regime of White Terror at home. Their prospects can only be improved by a success in the Ruhr. And in order to attain this object, they are prepared to perpetrate any shameful deed at home or abroad.

This criminal determination of Poincaré, and the sinister and no less criminal machinations of the Cuno government, which is preparing to capitulate to French imperialism, and is doing its utmost to provoke the German proletariat by a ruthless, enervating, and crushing campaign of starvation, in order to be better able to deal it a bloody defeat, and, having destroyed its will-power and its soul, harness it to the chariot of the international trusts—are these not shrill signals of warning to the German and French proletariats? The suppression and subjection of the German working class signifies at the same time suppression and subjection, mass misery and mass death, for the French working class. This common threat to their lives necessitates that the German and French workers fight shoulder to shoulder in self-defence against the common enemy, national capitalism and imperialism in both countries.

The Essen and Frankfurt Conferences point the way to the class-conscious proletariat of France and Germany. The present hour, with its threats of new conflicts and war dangers, demands increased vigilance and a steeling of the will to self-preservation in the working class. The danger is grave and immediate. But the German and French proletariats will prove themselves capable of meeting the danger by a tenacious struggle for social revolution.

## Settling Accounts with the Left Bloc in the French Chamber

On the occasion of the great political debate which took place on June 17, in the French Chamber of Deputies, comrade Renaud Jean, in a detailed speech set forth the fundamental communist standpoint with regard to the left bloc now in course of formation, and with reference to the electoral alliance between the reform socialists and the bourgeois radicals.

In the course of his speech comrade Renaud Jean declared: "Gentlemen, I am careful not to over-estimate the significance of this debate. I am well aware that the fate of the French proletariat will not be decided here. Under the capitalist system, the political corporations are entirely ruled by the economic and

financial powers who alone possess real authority. I am also aware that, despite the present hostile speeches between the various bourgeois parties, these parties will all be perfectly united again as soon as the capitalist system is threatened, as was the case in 1919 and 1920." The speaker then referred to the conditions under which the present French Parliament came into existence in 1919: One of the big factors in the election struggle of 1919, was the union of economic interests. This great employers' union, which carried on propaganda at this time with the aid of enormous sums of money, and financed the election campaign of the bourgeois party, had a program comprising, amongst other things, the return of state monopolies to private industry, the dissolution of the officials' trade unions, the complete decontrol of economics, and the abolition of the 8 hour day. After the elections of 1919, this union of economic interests published a small pamphlet, from which comrade Renaud Jean read a few characteristic passages. The pamphlet pointed out that out of the deputies elected, 379 unreservedly supported the program of the employers' union, 27 were in favor of the program, but with reservations, 81 were opposed to it, while 89 were doubtful. To the obvious embarrassment of the deputies, the communist speaker read aloud the list of the men who sold themselves to capital in November 1919. He followed this by pointing out that the 379 absolute supporters of the employers' program include almost all the men of the national bloc, as well as 26 radicals, that is, one third of the present radical fraction of the chamber. And if we count those deputies who expressed their agreement under certain reservations with the employers' program, then we find one half of the radical fraction giving it support. And it is with these radical opponents of the 8 hour day that the social democrats are now forming the left bloc. Renaud Jean observed, "I think I have sufficiently proved that in 1919 the right and left wings of the bourgeoisie were agreed. It is therefore the more remarkable that they are now fighting one another like apparently irreconcilable enemies. There is every reason for believing that this enmity is not to be taken too seriously. Some months after the electoral victory of the combined bourgeois parties, the country was convulsed by a frightful social conflict. In order to protect their threatened rights, the railwaymen proclaimed a general strike in May 1920. The majority of the other unions joined in. There were 1 million workers on strike in the country, and the big capitalists became alarmed. The strike was discussed in the chamber on May 27, 1920. The governmental majority agreed to a motion proposed by Dumesnil, who was in favor of sharp measures being adopted against the strikers, and expressed his confidence that the government would restore order. The same motion expressed special appreciation of the scabs who placed themselves at the disposal of the employers for the suppression of the strike. On the same day all party differences were dropped for the sake of defending the threatened interests of capital. The radicals joined their votes to those of the national bloc. M. Herriot (the well known radical great gun and champion of the left bloc) joined forces with M. Daudet (the monarchist and Fascist chieftain). Here M. Herriot interjected: "The republic has to be defended against both, the left and right. We are opposed to any violence and against any dictatorship. M. Renaud Jean, go on with your denunciation." Renaud Jean replied: "Is it an insult to remind you of how you once cast your votes?"

The speaker was interrupted by a radical interjection: "You are the enemies of the republic, just as much as the monarchists." Renaud Jean: "That is so; we are the enemies of the bourgeois republic! And what was the attitude adopted by the radicals to the question of foreign politics? I shall merely adduce two examples here: the calling up of the army class 1919 in May 1921; and the occupation of the Ruhr area in 1923. In the chamber debate on May 26, a motion was accepted in favor of the reparation policy which demanded 132 milliard gold marks from Germany. The motion further approved of the calling up of the army class 1919, in order that military pressure might be exercised on Germany: Three fourths of the radical deputies of the chamber voted for this motion."

Interjection by Herriot. "At that time France stood opposed to Germany! We are republicans and Frenchmen."

Renaud Jean now referred to the Ruhr adventure. On January 11, 452 deputies voted in the chamber in favor of Poincaré's Ruhr policy. At that time, one half of the radical fraction voted for the government, and the other half abstained from voting. In the senate it was even better. Here the radicals voted that Poincaré's speech be publicly placarded. And what was the last demonstration of the bourgeois fraction of the left bloc with regard to the Ruhr question? After the radicals had expressed their moral condemnation of the Ruhr occupation, they granted every credit required for the Ruhr adventure.



Interjection by Daudet: "Very good!"

M. Duménil (Radical) called out: "There you have your reward, M. Renaud Jean: You have the applause of the monarchists!"

Renaud Jean: "I have never concluded civil peace with M. Daudet."

Herriot to Daudet: "Our position is perfectly clear, we are neither on your side nor on theirs." (the Communists.)

Renaud Jean: "M. Herriot, in 1920 you voted with Daudet, against the workers. Invariably, when it has been necessary, you have concluded civil peace with Daudet. We communists know that here it is merely a question of two different fractions of the bourgeoisie, of two different fractions which are ready to join hands at any moment against the proletariat, as soon as the interests of the bourgeoisie are threatened. In conclusion I should like to address a few words to our neighbours of the socialist party.

Interjections from the socialists: "Speak to Daudet."

Renaud Jean: "I am addressing the socialist party, which, precisely like the communist party, declares that it stands for revolution and class war." (stormy interruptions from the socialists.)

Renaud Jean: "Is it so disagreeable to you to be called a party of revolution and class warfare? You are about to commit the worst of all errors. You want to conclude an alliance with that left bourgeoisie whose past I have just described. This may perhaps bring you some electoral successes, but these successes will be only temporary, for the present world situation does not permit of half-hearted measures. You are unfortunate in abandoning revolution in favor of reform, precisely at the moment when every reform is proving futile. We communists remain faithful to our principles; faithful to the class war and faithful to the revolution, we shall oppose the firm bloc of the workers and peasants to the left bloc now being formed. We are fully aware that our task is difficult, we shall suffer reverses, shall undergo severe trials, but we have confidence in the proletariat. Despite all uncertainties and changes, it will find its way to emancipation through the revolution.

## The Reactionary Government in Poland

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

While in Hungary, in Italy, and now in Bulgaria, the Fascists have only been able to seize power by means of violent upheavals, in Poland the can boast of having founded their power on a legal, parliamentary basis. The November elections of last year sealed the fate of Polish "democracy". They annihilated the Centre groups of intellectuals supporting Pilsudski, and made the Left dependent on the parties of the national minorities, who took their places in the new Sejm as the great power.

But from the very first day it was perfectly clear that the Government of the Left and of the large landowning Centre, the Sikorski Government, would not long be able to depend on the national minorities for support. For this our "democrats" are themselves too nationalist, and above all too anti-Semitic, and the moral Terror exercised by the Right, which declared Sikorski's Government a "Jewish Government" frightened the Left completely out of its senses. Thus the Sikorski Government, in order to keep up appearances before the electors, was "obliged" to persecute the nationalist and Ukrainian separatists, with the result that, on May 26, it was overthrown in the Sejm, with the aid of the national minorities.

Timid democracy is now followed by no less timid reaction. The Witos Government, in which the Fascist elements predominate, is not much stronger from a parliamentary standpoint than the fallen Sikorski Government. It has to combine the interests of the large landowners with those of the peasantry, and it must not serve the interests of capital so well as to offend the "National Labor Party". The consequence of this contradictory position is that, on the one hand, the junker elements of the Christian National Party do not participate directly in the Government led by the wily peasant Witos, but merely support it with reservations, while, on the other hand, one section of the Witos party has split off under the leadership of Dombski, and the National Labor Party is backing the Government very half-heartedly, as its leaders have to fight a powerful opposition in their own ranks, an opposition intensely hostile to any co-operation with the reaction. Thus the Witos Government has a very precarious foothold from a parliamentary point of view.

For the moment, the Right Government is therefore proceeding even more cautiously than the Left. The crafty Witos

carefully avoided any definite program in his policy speech, and was as sparing of democratic promises as his "democratic" predecessor. At the same time he was much less anti-Semitic than General Sikorski.

The nationalist members of the Cabinet have, up to the present, also taken care, not to declare their attitude too openly. And the famous Dmowski, the strong man of national democracy, who has hitherto deliberately abstained from all political activity in subordinate positions, in order to be able to make his ministerial debut as prime minister, or at least as minister for foreign affairs, delivered such an exceedingly tame speech in Posen, where he was reminding the public of his existence, that even the Jewish press applauded his statesmanship.

Witos' endeavors to retain the support of Pilsudski have also been very characteristic. Every attempt was made to prevent his resignation from the position of chief of the General Staff. But Pilsudski, like Dmowski, is much too ambitious to play second fiddle to anybody and he refused to act in the service of a Cabinet of his enemies. Witos, however, succeeded in inducing him to permit at least one of his faithful followers, General Szepiycyk, to remain in the cabinet as Minister of War. Witos does not want to burn all his bridges.

It is clear that the ruling classes will not be prevented, by any amount of diplomacy, from utilizing their government in their own class interests. In Poland there are still far too many reminders of the revolutionary period, and these must be done away with by some means or other. A beginning has been made with the law protecting tenants. The Sejm is debating a new law providing that rents be raised, within a number of years, to pre-war level. These rents were exorbitant before the war, especially in Russian Poland, and swallowed up, on an average, one third of the income of the tenant. What will this signify today, when wages are far below pre-war level? Another gain achieved by the reaction is the law which limits the number of non-Polish students in the colleges. The amnesty law, which for the first time expressly excludes the communists from remission of sentences, also bears distinct traces of reactionary rule. Fascism unfolds its program but gradually; nevertheless, it is approaching its goal. And it need show the less diffidence in view of the fact that democracy, including the social patriots, is showing itself to be possessed of the usual amount of cowardice.

When Pilsudski declined to stand for President, he committed political suicide. His resignation from the position of Chief of Staff and his withdrawal from the army merely sealed his fate. The dauntless knight of "democracy" capitulated before reaction without the least show of resistance. He has fallen to rise no more.

To be sure, even the reactionaries are not showing much courage. The Fascist bomb outrages in Cracow, Warsaw, and Lodz, which preceded the constitution of the Witos Cabinet, bore witness to equal brutality and cowardice in their instigators. But, in the course of time, these assassins, finding that they go scot free, will gain more courage. There is nothing so encouraging as not being punished. Should Fascism ever feel that its adversaries are laying down their arms, then it will extend its attacks even to the corpse of parliamentarism. The Polish Mussolinis, who have hitherto imitated their Italian exemplars on paper only, will proceed to actual deeds. And if the Polish working class then begins the fight against Fascism, the social patriotic leaders will be conspicuous by their absence.

## Under Kemalist Rule

By Eric Verney (Constantinople).

The monotonous political life of Constantinople was recently brightened by an event sufficiently thrilling and melodramatic to momentarily distract the attention of the bored populace.

This was nothing less than a Communist plot. About fourteen communists were arrested, while half-a-dozen more managed to evade apprehension. Those arrested included Dr. Shefik Husni, leader of a small group of intellectual Marxists who had founded a journal *Aidinlik* ("Clarté") and also one or two of the leaders of the "Union Internationale de Travail"—Greeks, Armenians, etc. The evidence in the hands of the police comprised various Communist tracts and leaflets printed for the 1st May demonstrations, and exhorting the workers to down tools as a protest against Capitalism. Also, the very existence of the Communist Party (which had been formed recently by the amalgamation of different scattered revolutionary groups) was in itself declared to be an act constituting a menace to the security of the country. The local gutter-press naturally

## The Situation in Bulgaria and the Communist Party

(Leading article of the central organ "Rabotnitscheski Vestnik" of June 11, 1923.)

We have received the following article and appended appeal—somewhat belated—from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria with a request for publication. These, together with the article which appeared in No. 44 (26) of the *Imprecorr.*, will enable readers to form an idea of recent happenings in Bulgaria and the attitude adopted by the Bulgarian Party. We also publish in this issue the Manifesto unanimously adopted at the concluding session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International which gives the pronouncement of the Comintern on the Bulgarian question. Ed.

The parties of the bloc, including the national party and the social patriots, have issued a common appeal, in which they call upon the Bulgarian people to support the new government. The fact that representatives—if not the chief leaders—of all bourgeois parties are participating in the new government, is a fresh proof that this government is a great bourgeois coalition, comprising all of the bourgeois parties, from the people's party and the national liberals to the social patriots.

The bourgeois press is endeavoring to screen this fact behind the veil of a "general national cabinet". But in vain! Why do the bourgeois parties not openly state the truth to the people? Why are they afraid to admit that they—the old bourgeois parties—have seized power? Because they are convinced that the toiling masses in town and country neither regard the old bourgeois parties with any enthusiasm, nor will they support these parties. This is why these parties chose a military *coup* for forcing their seizure of power.

The new government is headed by a few individuals who do not openly belong to the bourgeois parties. But this does not alter the real character of this government, which, by the way, is but a temporary one, preparatory to a definite bourgeois coalition.

The armed struggle between the followers of the fallen government and those of the new government is not yet at an end. The Communist Party, and the hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants united beneath its flag, are not taking part in this conflict. We do not know how this struggle may develop; but up to the present moment the broad masses of the people have not been drawn into it. It is a struggle for power between the bourgeoisies of the city and of the village, that is, between two wings of the capitalist class.

In whose name is this armed struggle being carried on? The fallen agrarian government disclosed its real program by its policy of plunder and suppression applied to the toiling masses in town and village. The last months of its rule were marked by the wildest acts of violence against the Communist Party, and against the hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants fighting under its banner. The general policy pursued by the agrarian government is summed up in the 2½ milliard levy of indirect taxation which it imposed under the new state budget.

The program of the new government—its written program—is still unknown to us. But we know the actual program of the parties backing up this government; the parties which ruled for forty years, which plunged the nation into disastrous wars, which supported for four years the reactionary policy pursued by the agrarian government against the Communist Party, against the working class, and against the working peasantry.

The new government says that it will respect the rights and liberties established by the constitution—this is its present declaration. The working people demand that this declaration be accompanied by deeds.

The new government, in its declaration, declares that a "civil police will be organized". And in actual fact a "civil police" of the bourgeoisie is being formed of people belonging to the old bourgeois parties, and the new government is distributing weapons among them. This fact throws a bright light on the situation. It proves that the workers, the toilers in town and country, must be on their guard, that they must unite and be prepared, in order to protect their vital interests and their political liberties against every attack.

The Communist Party, while exposing the actual aims of the city and rural bourgeoisie, and in pointing out that these aims have nothing in common with those of the toiling masses in town and country, at the same time calls upon the workers

howled the usual clap-trap about subsidies from Moscow, the perpetual bugbear of the Levantine speculators. When the process opened before the Court Martial, it was already evident that the case for the prosecution was very weak. The accused were charged "under Article 12 of the Law on treason to the Country, for having wished to propagate the subversive ideas of Communism throughout the land, and modify the form of Government . . ." A counter-process against the prosecution for illegal arrest and detention, has already been lodged by the ex-prisoners who were all released after three days sitting of the Court. The jury naturally declared that it was incompetent to pronounce a decision—the process being based solely on accusation of political activity; and so, with the release of the arrested communists, the plot bubble exploded.

It might be remarked that the whole affair is so insignificant and farcical that it does not justify being written about, but it is necessary to illustrate how the Kemalists are prepared, when the opportunity arrives, to nip in the bud any revolutionary movement that may spring up.

In view of the very small number of industrial workers in Turkey, the bad organization of the Unions, the meagre infusion of socialist ideas, and the inherent nationalist and religious prejudices, the workers' movement is still only in its embryo form. It is for this reason that the Constantinople authorities realized, on second thoughts, that the local communists were negligible and impotent, and that it would be better to release them, than to attract the attention of the workers by keeping them in prison. As soon as there are any signs of a compact and efficient revolutionary movement coming into being, there is no doubt that it will be immediately suppressed. The Communist Party at Angora was at least considered dangerous, and therefore the Kemalists did not hesitate to throw all its members (including deputies) into gaol. At least one result of the Constantinople "plot" was the official suppression of the International Builders' and Woodworkers' Unions, as being "illegal organizations".

Although the Allied Police had previously suppressed the revolutionary syndicalist movement among the Greek workers, including the paper *Neos Anthropos*, organ of the "Union Internationale de Travail"—which adhered to the R.I.L.U.—there had been no methodical suppression of the communist movement until the taking over of the administration by the Kemalists last Autumn. This coincided with the carrying out of the instructions from the IVth. Comintern Congress, aiming at the merging of all revolutionary elements in Constantinople and Anatolia into a united Communist Party.

Before there is any chance of successful propaganda of communist ideas among the workers in Turkey, it is necessary that strong unions be built up. With the development of industry after the signing of peace, and the full enjoyment of national independence, more and more petty street-traders, shopkeepers, market-gardeners, peasants etc., will be forced on to the labor market, and there will then be greater opportunities for Union organization than at present, when workers of one nationality are pitted against others on the competitive wage market. Increased national fanaticism following the Kemalist victories, naturally hinders communist propaganda, and it is thus difficult at the present juncture to count on the proletarian solidarity between Turkish, Greek, and Armenian workers. The few trade unions that do exist are mostly led by reformist "Socialists" of the most reactionary and chauvinist type, but in spite of this the fighting capacity of the Turkish workers has several times been disclosed by spontaneous strike movements (tobacco workers, tramway employées, etc.).

The dumping of surplus stocks prior to the Allied evacuation and the increasing tendency of Constantinople Trade to become that of a transit and transshipment centre, had even caused a slump in the few scattered industries that at present exist in Turkey—leather, cement, etc.—and therefore wages have again dropped in spite of the high prices resulting from the fluctuation of foreign exchange values. How far the abolition of the Capitulations will remedy this state of affairs remains to be seen, but there is no doubt that the Turkish workers are worse off now than they were even under the reign of Abdul-Hamid.

Meanwhile the American concessionaires are employing cheap Russian labor (White emigrants) on their Anatolian enterprises, and Kemal's revolutionary Beys and Pashas are flirting at Lausanne with the meretricious denizens of Standard Oil and Shell, at the expense of the blood and sweat of the Mosul toilers. When the Kemalists needed Bolshevik help against Lloyd George and his Basil Zaharoff, they posed as super-Communists. Now that they are caught in the toils of capitalist chicanery, they are disclosing their capacity for exploitation by "mutual understanding". Naturally, Marxists appreciate the value of revolutionary nationalist movements, but only up to a certain point.



and toilers in city and village to unite, and to fight independently for the preservation of their interests and for the realization of the slogans issued by the Communist Party. The Communist Party calls upon the small-holding and non-proprietary peasants of the Peasants' League to break with the village bourgeoisie, to cease to support the large landowners and village mayors, and to give no support to the capitalists, bankers, and usurers of the cities, or to their parties. The agrarian government, by its policy and by its deeds, has shown itself to be the defender of the interests of the exploiters and oppressors, and the enemy of the toiling population of the villages. The toiling peasantry which have followed this government must now oppose the policy and actions of their leaders, and grasp the brotherly hand of the Communist Party, which unites the working people in town and country for the common struggle against the bourgeoisies of city and village.

In the midst of this fight between two wings of the bourgeoisie, each striving to draw the masses of the people into the struggle for its own purposes, we call upon the working people in town and country to form the united front of the workers, and to fight for the slogans of the Communist Party:

Annulment of the peace treaty of Neuilly, of the reparations and national debts. People's tribunal for those guilty of the war. Abolition of the taxation pressing upon the workers and small-holding masses. Abolition of obligatory work. Payment of the whole taxation by the city and village bourgeoisies. Taxation of income, of capital, and of property, by progressive taxes; progressive taxation of large bequests.—Confiscation by the state of a part of the capital invested in industry, in commerce, and in the banks, this capital to be placed under the control of the labor organizations.—Limitation of the exploitation by commercial, speculative, and usurious capital, this to be done by placing cheap credits at the disposal of small-holding farmers and craftsmen by the state, by the development and support of the workers' and peasants' co-operatives, consumers' credit, and productive co-operatives, and co-operatives for the export of agricultural products, and the introduction of a state monopoly of foreign trade. Letting of land to landless and smallholding peasants.—Compulsory seizure of the first necessities of life in the possession of the big capitalists, landowners, trades-people, and banks, by the state, and their distribution by the municipalities at reasonable fixed prices, under the control of the organizations of the workers and small holders.—Solution of the housing problem among the working masses of the cities by the compulsory seizure of the superfluous dwelling rooms possessed by the big house owners; reduction and fixing of house rents; provision of healthy conditions in working districts, erection of cheap and healthy dwelling houses.—Increase of workers wages, and of the civil servants employed by the state, municipalities, and rural districts, in correspondence with the rise in prices.—Labor legislation, labor inspection, control of production by the shop stewards and trade unions.—Extermination of monarchism, expansion and security of the political rights of the working people; women's suffrage; full right of combination; freedom of speech, press, and meeting.—Disarmament of the bourgeoisie, and of its Fascist and other bands; arming of the workers and small farmers for the defence of the people against internal coups d'état and external invasions.—Peace with Turkey, peace and alliance with Soviet Russia.—National independence for the suppressed peoples in Macedonia, Thrace, Dobruzha, and all other Balkan states; creation of a federal republic of the Balkans.

The Communist Party raises these demands, and fights for their realization. These demands can be partly realized today, but solely by means of pressure by the united fighting workers and working peasantry; these demands will be completely fulfilled solely through the establishment of the workers' and peasants' government.

#### Appeal to the Workers and Toilers in Town and Country

The armed struggle between the new power and the followers of the agrarian republic overthrown by the military putsch of June 9, is now approaching its end.

The toiling masses fighting under the flag of the Bulgarian Communist Party side with neither one party nor the other in this armed struggle. They have preserved their complete independence, and continue to follow the path which they had pursued before the change of government.

The government of the Peasants' League, which maintained its power by means of the bayonets of the police and gendarmerie, and which exercised a cruel and boundless tyranny

against the masses, could deserve nothing at the hands of the working people but profoundest contempt during this duel with those overthrowing the government.

The agrarian government dug the pit it fell into by its policy of violence and hostility to the people, and smoothed the way for the success of the military coup of the city bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie and the old bourgeois-parties, as well as their tools, the social patriots, are not, however, content to merely put an end to the regime of the agrarian government and to establish a new power. They demand more:

They are filled with the most cruel class hate against the working people. They regard the present moment of armed action as the most favorable for the gratification of their hate.

At the same time they are trying to utilize the change which has taken place for the purpose of strangling the emancipation movement of the toiling masses and its political leader—the Communist Party—to crush this movement, in order that they may thus secure for themselves the unhindered exploitation, plundering, and subjection of these masses for a long time to come.

Workers in town and country!

The extremely reactionary "law against robbers", passed by the agrarian government, will be used for having hundreds and thousands of peasants and workers arrested—on the pretext that they have offered armed opposition to the new power, though their sole crime consists in the fact that during the days when the situation was still quite unclear, in the moment of the collision, their endeavor has been to save themselves and their relations from the flames of a conflict between two opposing powers. Armed representatives of the bourgeois parties utilize the weapons in their hands for terrorising and attacking their political opponents, the hated Communist champions, for arresting and even murdering them. Besides the official armed forces of the government, "volunteer troops" are also being organized, which conduct open pogroms and political murders against the Communist Party. The labor clubs are closed, the labor meetings prohibited; the rights and liberties vitally necessary to the working people are being attacked. The whole bourgeois press—from the national liberal and the people's party to the social patriots—teems with raging incitements to a bloody settlement with the Communist Party, with the party which united more than two hundred thousand working voters from town and country around its program, during the most frightful period of terror under the agrarian government, at the last elections to parliament, and which has proved that it is the most powerful party of the people in our country.

Why these cruelties, persecutions, and attacks?

Is it not perfectly plain that all this is being done, not because the toiling masses have opposed the new power with weapons in their hands, but because the bourgeoisie (from the national liberals to the social patriots)—utilizing the wretched situation—is anxious to create pretexts for bleeding the working people and for justifying the attacks being prepared on the Communist Party? Is it not perfectly plain that the bourgeoisie and its parties are striving to substitute the dictatorship hitherto exercised by the village bourgeoisie of the Peasants' League by an even sharper bourgeois dictatorship and that the bourgeois parties—despite the loud and solemn declarations made by the new government—is striving for the renewed suppression of the rights and liberties of the people, and for the establishment of a regime of force and reaction for this purpose?

Workers, in the cities and the villages! The bourgeoisie is mobilizing! It is making use of the state apparatus, and of its armed power, for robbing you of your political rights and liberties, for perpetuating the exploitation and enslavement of the masses of the people.

The bourgeoisie and its parties, which are talking, as they always do, of lawfulness, but continue to trample the rights and liberties of the people underfoot, and who are endeavoring at this moment to fasten chains upon the toiling masses, and to crush the Communist Party, by illegal means, Fascist organizations, armed attacks and pogroms—this bourgeoisie and its parties is opposed by one party only; today the Communist Party is the sole party representing the political rights and liberties of the people.

Be vigilant at your posts! Gather more closely together beneath the ensign of the Communist Party, for your self-defence against the diabolical intentions of the bourgeoisie, of their White Guard and Fascist organizations!

The whole country re-echoes with the mighty protests uttered by the people against the deeds of violence, against the arrests and murder of the faithful sons of the working people,

against the tyranny of the military power, and of the bourgeois dictatorship raising its head in the country!

The armed troops of the bourgeoisie must be disarmed! The arrested innocent workers and peasants must be liberated: The "Law against robbers" must not be applied! The safety of the lives of the toiling masses must be secured! The right of combination, the freedom of speech, of meeting, must be completely restored! The provocation of the working people and their political party must cease, the insolent provokers must be curbed!

And if the new power, despite its solemn declarations, should not be able or willing to fulfil all this, then be ready boldly and determinedly, to defend your lawful rights and liberties, by the means of the political struggle! Never forget that there is no right so supreme as the right to a free life, worthy of the human race, for the working people!

Long live the Bulgarian working people!

Long live the Communist Party of Bulgaria!

Sofia, June 15, 1923.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

## E. C. C. I.

### Manifesto of Enlarged Executive of the Communist International on the Events in Bulgaria

The following Manifesto was unanimously adopted at the concluding session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International on June 23rd. last.

Forward to the battle against the Government of the white coup d'état in Bulgaria. Up with the government of Workers' and Peasants'!

To the Bulgarian workers and peasants. To the international working class!

Comrades! Brothers and sisters! In Bulgaria a small clique of bankrupt bureaucrats, unemployed officers and profiteers have seized the Government by means of a military coup d'état. The very same people who drove the Bulgarian people into the world-war, who have 200,000 lives upon their consciences, who have been thrice kicked out of office by the Bulgarian people in democratic elections, this very clique has dared to seize power. It introduces a reign of the most atrocious terrorism against the great majority of the population, against the workers and peasants. The prisons of Bulgaria are being filled with workers and peasants, the villages are abandoned to the mercy of reactionary adventurers under the guise of so-called punitive expeditions. They shoot the leaders of the peasantry, but they have not the courage to confess their responsibility for their deeds. Tomorrow they will begin the assassination of the leaders of the working class.

The white coup d'état of the Bulgarian bureaucrats, generals and profiteers was perpetrated with the aid of the Social Democratic Party, which is part of the Second International. This Party, which shares the guilt for the crime of the Bulgarian war-government, is a Party upon which all workers have turned their backs, so that it has shrunk to nothing, and serves only as a fig-leaf to the counter-revolutionary coup d'état. By this it has proved itself worthy of Noske, Turati, and their like, who paved the way for the white coup d'état in Germany and Italy respectively.

The coup d'état was consummated with the aid of the scum of the European counter-revolution, with the aid of Wrangel officers and with the support of Horthy's hangmen and the Roumanian bayars. Capitalist Europe, which has so hypocritically attempted to arouse the so-called civilized world against the Red Terror, makes haste to recognize these murderers and incendiary adventurers. The British Government, the Government of the English junkers and manufacturers, supports them, in the hope that Bulgaria will become a bulwark against Soviet Russia. The Italian Government supports them because it considers the military adventurers of Sofia, as a possible aid in a campaign against Jugo-Slavia. The capitalist world has approved of the white coup d'état in Bulgaria. The Fascist bands of all countries see in it the proof that the desire alone is sufficient to enable one to put his foot upon the neck of the people of the working class. We, the Communist International, the union of all the militant workers of East and West, call the Bulgarian workers and peasants, and the international working class to the battle against the Bulgarian usurpers of power.

Peasants of Bulgaria! To you the victory of the white clique is a lesson which you ought to assimilate, if you wish to throw

off the yoke that is being imposed on you. The peasant Government of Stambuliski was overthrown because it failed to form an alliance with the workers of the cities. The interests of the great majority of the Bulgarian peasants, who are poor, go hand in hand with the interests of the workers and artisans of the cities. Stambuliski persecuted the working class. He lost the only support which he might have gained in the cities, against the clique of bureaucrats and officers who had been exploiting and enslaving the Bulgarian people during four decades, and will now continue to do so, since Stambuliski has paid for his policy with his life. But the Bulgarian peasants continue to live. They will be compelled to fight, if they do not wish to be further treated like cattle. We call upon them to unite with the workers of the cities and to start the fight under the slogan of the establishment of a government of the workers of the cities and villages.

Workers of Bulgaria! The Stambuliski Government, in the interests of the bourgeoisie and usurers of the villages, persecuted the labor movement and sacrificed the interests of the workers of the towns as well as those of the poorer peasants. But whereas the Stambuliski Government persecuted the workers, the Zankov Government will go further than that, for it seeks to destroy them. Those who held the mistaken belief that the struggle of the now victorious white clique against Stambuliski was a struggle between two bourgeois cliques to which the working class could afford to be neutral, can now see the best proof of their error by the bloody persecution of the labour organizations. The usurpers of the State are now the enemy, who must be defeated. Join hands for the fight against the white coup d'état, not only with the wide masses of the peasantry, but also with the leaders of the Peasant party who have survived. Point out to them the consequences of the cleavage between the workers and the peasants, and call them to the united fight for a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

Peasants of Macedonia! Revolutionaries of Macedonia! You have allowed the Bulgarian counter-revolution to use you for the coup d'état, although your interests as shown by your past, are most closely interwoven with the interests of the working people, with the interests of the revolution in the Balkans and throughout the world. The Stambuliski Government delivered Macedonia to the Serbian bourgeoisie in order to gain their support. It persecuted you in a bloody fashion. But do not believe for a moment that the counter-revolutionary movement will be able to liberate the Macedonian people. It will fight against the Bulgarian peasants and workers, against your own brothers, but not for the liberation of the Macedonian peasants. In order to entrench itself in power it will a thousand times betray Macedonia and oppress you, because it cannot tolerate any revolutionary peasant movement in Macedonia. Only a Workers' and Peasants' Government in Bulgaria will arouse the sympathies of peasants and workers in Roumania.

Jugo-Slavia and Greece. Only such a Government will blaze the path for the establishment of a Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Governments, which alone can bring about your deliverance, so that Macedonia should not become again the arena of sanguinary battles, in which your huts are burned to the ground, your fields devastated and trampled under foot. Peasants and revolutionists of Macedonia! None of you, however great your anger against the Bulgarian Peasants Party and its leaders, must lend the slightest support to the Government of White Terror in Bulgaria. Moreover, for the sake of your own national freedom, you must join hands with the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants in the common struggle.

Workers and Peasants of Jugo-Slavia, Roumania and Greece! Show your utmost resentment to those in the Balkans who are supporting the Zankov Government, show your hatred to the envoys of that Government, surround the Bulgarian white guards with the wall of your resistance, hasten to the aid of the Bulgarian workers and peasants at every opportunity, to the aid of the valiant industrious people of Bulgaria now starting the fight against the white government. Workers of Austria and Germany! The victory of the fascist bands in Bulgaria will give encouragement and hope to the fascist adventurers in your own countries. Be on your guard, be watchful, do not allow yourselves to be misled or lulled to sleep. Fight with your utmost determination against any aid being rendered to the Bulgarian white guards, and draw the necessary conclusions from the conduct of the Bulgarian reaction and from the errors committed by the Bulgarian peasants and workers. Exert all your efforts to bring about an alliance of the poor peasants and the workers against the hirelings of capital and of the military cliques. Dare to venture upon even a difficult fight when danger is nigh, if you do not wish to pay with your lives for your hesitation.

Workers of all countries! We call on you to watch with utmost attention the development of events in Bulgaria.



on you to bring to the notice of the wide masses all the misdeeds perpetrated by the victorious fascist clique in Bulgaria against the working people of Bulgaria, with the aid of the capitalist Governments of all countries, and to mobilize the masses against the murderous Government of Sofia. The message from Sofia speaks to you just as eloquently as did the message from Rome. The working class of all countries is in danger! Know this, and prepare for the defence!

*Down with the Fascist bands, the hirelings of capital!*

*Down with the militarist usurpers and ururers of Sofia!*

*Long live the Bulgarian Workers' and Peasants' Government!*

*Long live the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Governments!*

*Long live the solidarity of the international working class in the struggle against the fascist menace!*

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### International Review of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement

By A. Lozovsky.

The period of weariness and even of bewilderment, in the European labor movement, has now come to an end. In the most important countries, and in the most important branches of industry, a new wave of revolution is rising. The growth of a fresh fighting spirit among the masses is best revealed by the formation of a left wing within the Amsterdam International.

In this situation the 3rd session of the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. is of special significance.

The task set the session consists in solving a number of practical questions arising out of the growth of the revolutionary movement in every country. The struggle against war danger and Fascism is among the first and most urgent task imposed on the R.I.L.U. Growing reaction cannot be conquered by agitation and propaganda alone; this work requires a comprehensive organizational activity for the gathering together and concentration of the masses, for the formation of organization centres at the most important strategic fighting points. The committees of action, control committees, dock bureaus, etc. called into existence by the Frankfurt conference and the International Conference of the Transport Workers, must be further developed.

The further struggle for the united front logically follows from the whole situation of the working class. Organizational forms must be created, the organs for the united front. As the struggle for the united front forms the preparation for the new unified trade union movement, the struggle against the split in the trade unions and against the expulsions must be carried on with even greater energy and activity than heretofore. In the interests of work among the masses, the functions of the international propaganda committees representing the various branches of production, and their relations to the secretariats affiliated to the Amsterdam International, must be more clearly defined.

A large number of organizational questions await solution. The revolutionary trade union movement is, in most countries, still being run on the old reformist principles. The re-organization of the trade unions is the present practical task of the international trade union movement. Besides this, highly important problems of our strike strategy have to be dealt with. The question of national conflicts within the trade union movement must be solved. We must decide on our future relations to the Amsterdam International, and to that Lilliputian edition, the anarcho-syndicalist international. The Central Council will discuss the question of combatting the penetration of Fascists into the trade unions. The revolutionary trade unions must further devote their attention to the question of emigration among the workers, to the working conditions obtaining in the countries coming in question for the emigrants and to all the practical complications entailed. In addition to all this, there is also on the agenda, the discussion of the work being done by the followers of the R.I.L.U. in England and in Czechoslovakia.

The commissions will have to deal with the questions of the harbour bureaus, of the working conditions among seamen, of work among women and youth, of the trade union press and

literature, of the system of information and connections, of the activity of the followers of the R.I.L.U. in America, of the work in Spain, of the work in the Near and Far East, etc. The activity of the various centres of the R.I.L.U. (Central European Bureau, Latin Bureau, etc.) will be submitted to special examination.

All this practical work will be further supplemented by a special report on the organizational form of trade union opposition.

When one considers the number of questions to be solved by the Central Council it appears evident that the Red International of Labor Unions has already developed from that organ for agitation and propaganda which it represented during the first months of its existence, into an international organization which the logic of the struggle confronts with ever new tasks. The decay of the Amsterdam International enhances the relative importance of the R.I.L.U., and thus the impending class conflicts will impose greater responsibility on it.

During this period of growing influence of the R.I.L.U., a pitiable impression is made by the attempts of muddled-headed anarcho-syndicalists to form an independent international. This International is completely independent of everybody and everything, especially of sound common sense. We may cite one fact as an example of the vague dreams cherished by the anarcho-syndicalists:

"The Anarchist Federation of France" made a declaration in the French Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, on the occasion of the Russo-English conflict. This declaration proposed that no support be lent to any of the states participating in the conflict. It demanded that no organization be admitted to participation in the Committee of Action, which "accepts the standpoint of co-operation of the classes, and recognizes national defence. From this we see that the anarchists wish to persuade the revolutionary workers of France to remain passive during the struggle between the Russian revolution and English militarism. The desire felt by the French communists and revolutionary syndicalists to join hands with Soviet Russia, is called co-operation of classes by these confused thinkers; and they even manage to confound the struggle for existence on the part of the Russian revolution with the so-called national defence of the imperialist states. When the French Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism rejected this counter-revolutionary viewpoint, the anarchists withdrew from this fighting organization with demonstrations of protest. This example proves to us that there are counter-revolutionary elements among the anarchist leaders, with whom no common action is possible. Fortunately, there is a growing inclination to form a united front with the communists observable among workers belonging to anarchist, and especially to anarcho-syndicalist, organizations.

The growth of the revolutionary trade union movement is partly the result of objective facts, partly the result of the conscious activity of the Comintern, the R.I.L.U., and the organizations affiliated to them. The power of the R.I.L.U. lies in the fact that it always works hand in hand with the Comintern. A real fighting community has come about between these two international organizations, in spite of all the confused phraseology spread abroad by the anarchists. This fighting community can only become more closely knit and stronger during the forth-coming struggles. Reformism is dying, and communism is marching with firm steps to take its place!

### The Revolutionary Leather Workers on the Dissolution of the Czech Shoe- makers' Union

(R.I.L.U.) The Central Committee of the All Russian Union of Leather Workers issues a protest against the notorious coup carried out by the "democratic" government of the Czechoslovakian republic against the Red Shoe-Makers' Union. The Central Committee regards the social democratic leaders as responsible, and expresses the hope that those workers who still retain their blind faith in these leaders will have their eyes opened by these events, and will recognize in whose interests their leaders are working. The Russian leather workers call upon their revolutionary colleagues in Czechoslovakia to carry on their struggle as energetically as ever, despite the dissolution of their union.

The International Action and Propaganda Committee of the revolutionary leather workers raises a similar protest, and calls upon the revolutionary workers of all countries to join in this protest.

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

### The R.I.L.U. and the Plebiscite Question in the N.A.S., Holland

After receiving the report on the result of the plebiscite in the N.A.S. (Dutch Labor Federation), in which the followers of the R.I.L.U. gained the majority, the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. sends fraternal greetings, on behalf of the revolutionary unions of all countries, to the proletariat of Holland, which has chosen the right line of action.

In consideration of the fact that a great part of the members of the N.A.S. did not take part in the voting on the question: "Berlin or Moscow", and that a large minority expressed itself in favor of affiliation with Berlin, and is thus prepared to split the organization, we declare that:

For the R.I.L.U. the unity of the organization is of greater importance than formal affiliation. The Executive Bureau therefore proposes to its followers in Holland that they postpone their organizational affiliation to the R.I.L.U. until more unified work is possible within the N.A.S. It recommends that the followers of the R.I.L.U., in place of the struggle within the organization over the question: "Berlin or Moscow?", devote all their energies to winning over the masses, to the strengthening of the influence of their organization, and to the revolutionizing of the members of the reformist unions.

Moscow, June 5, 1923.

The Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Women in the Russian CP.

By E. Smitten (Moscow).

According to the Party census taken this year, the total number of members in the Russian CP. amounted at the beginning of 1922 to 402,030 members and 112,774 candidates. In this communist army of more than half a million, the women form but a small group of 39,434 members and 9,500 candidates. The women members and candidates in the republics of the Far East and Yakutsk are not counted among these, as no census was taken here in 1922; the number of women members and candidates is estimated at 13,500.

This is a comparatively very small number for a country with a female population of 70 millions, and a constitution which places no limitation whatever on the political rights of women. But the generally low level of education, the lack of schools, the cramping power of the family and the household, still continue to hold women back from participation in public life. However, even 40,000 women represent, in a revolutionary proletarian party, a very considerable force, when we consider the very short period which the Party has had for winning over these thousands of women.

At the present time, we possess no exact data on the social position of the women within the whole party; in 70 governments of Central Russia the women members of the Russian CP. are drawn from the following social classes: Out of 18,945 members of the Party, 7,217 are wage workers; the main occupation of 8,060 members enables them to be classified under the employees' group; 867 come under the peasantry; and 2,801 extremely youthful members of the Party, who have not yet adopted any profession, still belong to the mass of students attending various educational establishments.

With respect to education; 77% of the total women members of the Party have received elementary education or home instruction only; there are some among them who are totally illiterate.

The group of women communists in the Russian CP. is mainly composed of women from the cities. The cities form that reservoir from which the Party organizations obtain their main supplies. The villages, with their individualist economics, supply a much smaller number of communists, male and female alike. But while in the cities, the number of men communists is one and a half times as large as in the villages, the number of women communists in the towns is three times as large as in the villages. In the towns the women find themselves in the midst of urgent and useful social work, demanding a fairly high degree of general development. Besides this, it is highly probable that the ten thousand or more women registered as communists in the village nuclei, do not belong to the country originally.

With regard to the distribution of women communists over the various districts, the absolute and proportional number of women differ greatly in the various districts.

In 12 governments and autonomous districts of industrial areas in Central Russia there are 14,727 (members and candidates counted together) female members = 12.4% out of 118,62. In the 28 governments etc. of the agricultural districts of Central Russia 9161 = 7.7% of the 119,672 members are female. In the border districts the picture is different. The SSR, Ukraine does not differ much, having a proportion of 5605 = 7.6% of female members out of a total of 73,804 in 12 governments; but in Siberia there are (in 7 governments) only 3060 women = 5.6% among 56,564 members; in Caucasia (7 governments) 1648 = 3.7% women among 44,841 members; and in Turkestan (6 govern.) there are only 616 = 2.8% of women among 29,053 members.

These figures show that the communist women belonging to the Party organizations are divided by their numbers into two groups. The first group is formed by the organization of the 40 governments of Central Russia. Here almost 60% of the female members of the Party are concentrated. And here the percentage of women to the total number of members is the greatest. The further we are away from the centres and the nearer the frontiers, the smaller the percentage of women among the communists. The number of women communists in Caucasia and Turkestan is especially small. The national composition of the Party and its separate organizations is still unknown to us, but it is certain that the small number of women won for the Party in these two districts is due to the national habits and customs.

There are eight female members to every hundred male in the Party, and 9 female candidates to every hundred candidates—that is, among the candidates the percentage of women is somewhat greater than among the members. In the towns, this difference between the comparative number of candidates and members is even more striking. In the cities there are 10 women to every hundred men members of the Russian CP. and 14 female candidates to every hundred male. However, small these numbers may appear, they at least offer the prospect that the percentage of women members in the Russian CP. will increase in the immediate future.

### The International Solidarity of the Australian Working Women

In March of this year there took place in Melbourne (Australia), a Women's Congress of the Australian Labor Party which was attended by delegates from all the states. The working women's organization of Queensland, which is distinguished by its special activity, brought several resolutions before this congress, all of which are permeated with the spirit of international solidarity. These working women, who are not communists, constitute a living witness to the fact that the idea of the international proletarian United Front is making headway.

Among the resolutions submitted were the following:

1. This Congress offers heartfelt congratulations to the Russian Women Workers on the attainment of social and economic equality and on the fact that children and their education are receiving the most important consideration of the working-class State, instead of forming the ground for retrenchment and economy, as in all capitalist States. The Women represented in this Congress realize that only when the workers themselves control the country and its industries, will they and their children occupy the place in society which is theirs by right.

2. This Congress offers its deepest sympathies to the German Working Women suffering from the most horrible effects of allied militarism and would remind them that international working class solidarity is the only means of escape from the present state of misery.

3. This Congress sends fraternal greetings to the Japanese working women, and begs them to remember that international working class solidarity provides the only escape from the present evil system of society, which frequently forces unwilling slaves to shed their blood for the master class on false pretences.

4. This Congress offers its heartfelt sympathy to the working Women of South Africa, who suffered so keenly during the recent conflicts with the master class, and would beg to remind them in their suffering, that their dear ones will not have died in vain if we all continue loyal to the working class principles for which they faced the gun and gallows.

5. This Congress offers its heartfelt sympathy to the Italian Working Women suffering from the frenzied onslaughts of an enraged master class, and would beg to remind them that international working class solidarity affords the only hope of escape.



6. This Congress, realizing it is a crime to bring children into the world to suffer from poverty, and all its accompanying evils, declares its belief in the wisdom and necessity of equipping every woman with the knowledge of how to control conception, thereby avoiding the burden of intemperate child-bearing, and the consequent lack of opportunity for mental culture so necessary to the enjoyment of a full and complete life.

7. Queensland Women propose that the Congress select a committee to investigate the law with regard to women and children, with a view to taking action for its revision.

8. That a committee of five be appointed to discuss and report to the Congress on the Problem of attracting and interesting young women in the study of social question.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Working Youth! Attention!

On the 2nd. September 1923

the 9th. international Youth Conference will take place.

Every year the International youth Conference calls upon the young workers and peasants to take part in a demonstration. In this demonstration the young proletariat of all countries shows its will to break free from its wretched fate as a beast of burden for the capitalists and as cannon fodder for their wars. It declares ruthless war against its tormentors, against the factory owners and big capitalists, the employers and landowners. To all the enemies of working youth it reveals the strength which the working youth possesses when it marches forward in revolutionary determination and unity.

The International Youth Conference has become a powerful weapon, one which the Communist Youth International has placed in the hands of the youthful workers, and has taught them how to use against their enemies. The number of fighters taking part in the Youth Conference has increased from year to year. It is our task to make their number this year greater than ever.

Against the attacks of the Fascist bands, against war danger, against the abolition of the eight hour day, of economic rights, of unemployment benefit.

All these dangers have already been earnestly combatted by the organizations affiliated to the CYI, which have thus rendered help to the youthful workers.

The social democratic youth organizations have refused to take part in any struggle suggested by the CYI, and at their Hamburg conference they shunned all thought of mobilizing the working youth for an economic and political struggle, a struggle for its rights.

The CYI therefore calls upon all youthful workers to gather together beneath its flag, and appeals to them regardless of what their political tendency may be, or whether they be organized or not, to:

Take part in the world fighting conference of the Working Youth, in the 9th International Youth Conference!

Rally up from every town and from every village, and join the army of the fighting Communist Youth International.

Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

Moscow, June 20, 1923.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Soviet and the Peasant

The Decree on the Unified Agricultural Tax.

By Ivon Jones (Moscow).

I.

Every day the Moscow newspapers give reports of the prospects for the next harvest, which appear to be increasingly favorable as the summer progresses.

This year's harvest is being produced under altogether new conditions. A new spirit pervades the village. New relations are created between the city and the country, between the town proletariat and the peasantry.

It was Lenin himself who, at the beginning of the year, first pointed out how the link between the proletariat and the peasant could be strengthened. He proposed that every branch of the party in the towns should take over responsibility for the cultural needs of a village or volost. This idea has since been taken up on a very wide scale, and not only Party branches, but

factories have also "adopted" villages, supplying not only books, newspapers, and propaganda material, but repairing the ploughs and harrows of the village. "Smeichka" (Lenin's word for "Link" or bond with the peasantry), has become a general slogan. And now, when workers are everywhere going off to the country for their annual holidays, they go armed by their Branch secretary with propaganda material and information about the New Unified Agricultural Tax.

Trotsky not long ago referred to the difficult situation of the peasant owing to the low price of bread compared with the prices of industrial products. He said that the ideological "Smeichka" must have an economic basis. This economic basis has been enormously strengthened by the recent decree on the unification of all the taxes on the peasantry into one annual agricultural tax.

Up to the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party the peasants, in addition to the tax in kind, were levied a series of other taxes for local and central needs. The peasants complained that harvest came only once a year, but the tax collector called in and out of season. And this caused them considerable inconvenience and no little irritation.

The Party Congress adopted the principle of the One Unified Tax; and the Government Decree has since been issued. The peasant will pay a tax once a year only from his harvest. All other payments which the volost or the village may require for local needs rank only as "collections". All taxes on the peasantry, except the Unified Agricultural Tax, are declared illegal. Percentages will be retained by the Provincial Soviets for Schools, hospitals, bridges and roads.

The new tax has ceased to be essentially a Tax in Kind. The right is given to every peasant to pay in money according to the official prices fixed for wheat and rye units. But the tax is nevertheless fixed in units of wheat and rye, according to the prevailing crop in the locality. Certain areas will be marked out where the tax will be payable only in cash; that is, in industrial provinces where the peasant can quickly realise on his harvest. Other provinces will pay partly in cash and partly in kind. Thus the transition is begun of a general cash payment of taxes. Meanwhile the payment in kind is still necessary for the convenience of many peasants, and also in order to supply the needs of the Red Army and the Children's Homes, thus saving the Government from having to compete in the market for prime necessities.

The Tax in Kind imposed a certain amount of compulsion on the peasant to produce the specific products required by the Government. The new decree removes the last vestiges of compulsion. The peasant is given full freedom to choose the crop which appears to him the most lucrative.

#### "Ability to Pay"

In the Decree on the Unified Tax the principle of "ability to pay" is given ideal form. No less than 396 categories of taxpayers have been fixed according to their ability to pay. This looks very complicated. But the principle is so simple that every peasant can see from the table to what category he belongs.

First of all, the decree starts off with the number of "eaters" in a family. That is, the tax is less as the number of "eaters" per dessyatin is more. Thus we have nine grades of taxability, starting with farms of a quarter of a dessyatin per "eater" up to farms with three dessyatins and over per "eater".

Then we have four vertical divisions. Poor peasants without working animals or horned cattle must obviously pay less. Thus, column one shows taxpayers without horned cattle, column two, those with one cow, and so on. Thus we have a table with 36 (9x4) categories of taxpayers.

But suppose the harvest is poor. Or suppose that it is a very good one. Obviously you cannot take so many puds of wheat off a dessyatin of bad harvest and good harvest alike. So we are given eleven grades of crops, starting from crops up to 25 puds per dessyatin, up to crops of over 101 puds per dessyatin.

And so the above little table of 36 categories is repeated eleven times, making 396 arguments against the tyranny of formal democracy.

For example, one sees at a glance that a family without cattle, with half a dessyatin of land per eater, and less than 35 puds of crop per dessyatin, pays no tax at all. And a similar family with a quarter of a dessyatin of land per eater is exempted from tax right up to a crop of 45 puds per dessyatin; and even when it has a crop of 50 puds per dessyatin it only starts paying at the rate of ten pounds of rye per dessyatin; whereas its neighbour with a similar crop having more than four cows and more than three dessyatins per eater, pays a tax of 13 puds, 25 pounds per dessyatin.

Looking down the columns we see that the highest amount paid by the poorest category is five puds per dessyatin. That

occurs when it has a crop of more than 100 puds per dessyatin. With a crop like this the highest category pays a tax of 25 puds, 10 pounds per dessyatin, — about a quarter of the crop.

Of course, it must not be forgotten that this includes not only tax, but actually rent of land, which belongs to the people as a whole. In fact, here we have the Single Tax for the first time applied, not as a panacea for all the ills of society, but as the partial measure that it really is.

#### The Third Covenant.

Kamenev has called this new Unified Tax the Third Great Covenant of the proletariat with the peasantry. The first was the October Covenant socialising the land. Then came the 1921 covenant inaugurating the New Economic Policy with the Tax in Kind; and now the Unified Agricultural Tax, abolishing the last vestiges of expropriatory measures towards the peasants.

To those whose minds are still dominated by utopian conceptions of Socialism, these three covenants represent stages through which the tide of revolution has rolled backward. To the petty bourgeois Socialist, whose class is pressed down by the money lender, money is naturally the root of all evil. And the transition of Soviet economy from simple barter and transactions in kind seem to him and to the uninitiated bourgeois to be steps backward from Socialism.

But the first period of the New Economic Policy has taught the Communist that the money system, when controlled by a Proletarian State, is one of the most useful devices known to social science. Without it no adequate system of accounting and control can be thought of. And if money, with all its concomitants of banking, taxation, etc., becomes under a capitalist government the agent of capitalist accumulation, leading to vast combines controlling the lives of millions for private profit; so, under a proletarian regime, this same money, hitherto so much maligned, through Soviet industry, Soviet banks and Soviet taxes, becomes the agent of Socialist accumulation, leading all surplus wealth into the service of the proletariat.

The writer met a comrade the other day who belonged to an agricultural commune. He was one of a deputation to the Commissary of Lands, and was in a cheerful mood. This deputation bore documents from the Provincial Soviet showing that the Commune had stuck together through the supreme test of the Great Famine. The Commissary of Land had on the strength of this given a cheque on the State Bank for a loan to the commune, — secured on the movable property — to construct an irrigation system which would increase the prosperity of the commune five-fold. This is one of the many ways in which Soviet finance is helping the growth of Socialist production.

#### Is the Land Really Socialised?

The question that most often arises in the mind of the Communist abroad is: How far is the principle of the Socialisation of the Land a real one; or how far has this principle been made merely nominal by the inveterate private property instincts of the peasants?

Answers to this question crowd upon the mind as one reads the handbook on the Land Code, recently issued by the Land Department in the form of simple questions and answers for the peasants.

The Henry George theory of the Single Tax, which sought to prove that free land was the only remedy for social inequality, has been concretely disproved in Russia. The Russian peasantry has free land. But free land has not abolished classes within the peasantry, and a state of friction exists between the various strata of poor, middle and "kulak" peasants. The vital difference between them is not in the area of land they occupy, but in the movable capital, implements, horses and cattle which they own. The "horseless" peasantry is a term often used for the big mass of poorer peasants standing solidly behind the Soviets. Recently there was a congress of these propertyless peasants in the Ukraine organised by the Party.

While the Soviet Government has to allow the conditions causing this economic struggle (free trade and exchange, even the right of the "kulaks" to hire labour, etc.), in order to develop production, at the same time it takes part in this struggle on the side of the poorer peasants by mobilizing them into political activity, urging them on by propaganda and stimulative legislation to stand up, organise, co-operate, unite against the same "kulak" class which the Soviet must perforce allow to exist by the very character of the money system.

And what is the grand weapon at the command of the poorer peasantry in this struggle? The Social ownership of land. And the struggle leads directly towards the social use of land as its inevitable solution. The hope of the poorer peasants is in communal production. And for this the whole machinery of the Government, its finances, banks, co-operatives, organisers, are at

their disposal, as soon as they can muster up sufficient spirit of organisation and co-operation to break with their old individualistic form of production and march forward. The Kulak class is strongest in the Ukraine. A report in the "Pravda" in March mentioned the enormous growth of collective farming in that area, and placed the number of Agricultural collectives at no less than four thousand.

#### Only the Proletariat can free the Land.

But free land is a mere day-dream without the Dictatorship of the proletariat. In a government of Bankers or even in a government of peasants, "free land" can only mean freedom to sell to the highest bidder or mortgage up to the biggest moneylender.

Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire" describes how the peasantry of France had been wholly mortgaged up to Paris finance, and therefore did what Paris finance bade them to, namely to vote the third Napoleon into power.

Encompassed by capitalist states, it is clear that the peasant can only remain a free peasant by leaning upon the proletariat, by supporting a regime which denies the very principle of peasant economy and all private property economy for its basis. The Land Code lays it down clearly for peasants and "nepmen" alike to understand that no one can sell, give, mortgage, or bequeath land, and that all such acts are not only void but punishable.

Neither can any peasant having right to land as a member of a village community waive such right in any ones favour for any valuable consideration whatsoever.

The new bourgeoisie would like to get its roots into the land as the one grand immovable security. In every transaction between him and the peasant involving the need for credit, the nepman is brought up against the Social Ownership of land. No People's Court would recognize a bond on the land. Rather it would punish the bondholder. And there is a mass of young peasants and poor peasants too interested in their common right to the land to allow such a deal to go through unchallenged. Thus the New Economic Policy has strengthened the principle of the Social Ownership of land.

But the peasants need for credit must be met. And the Proletarian Government is itself stepping into the place of the moneylender by the formation of Peasant Credit Banks with capital running into millions of gold roubles, in which the State institutions are the largest shareholders, drawing in also a certain amount of shares from the savings of the peasants and the "nepmen", who in this and other ways are made to feed the State Bank of the Soviet with their surpluses.

According to the Land Code, the land of a "dvor" or farm belongs to every member of the family and not to the head of the family only. All ages and sexes have their share of the land, although they only enter into full rights of disposing of it at the age of eighteen. The name of the manager must be registered with the Village Soviet. It is not an immutable rule that the father of the family shall be the manager of the farm. If the other members of the family have reason to complain that the farm is suffering from chronic mismanagement, another member of the family of either sex, may be appointed.

Three years disuse of land means forfeiture of all right to it. A wife marrying into a family thereby acquires her right to a share of the land, (relinquishing her portion in her old home if any). There is no distinction of sex in any provision of the code. In fact there is an explicit provision against any sex distinction in the apportioning out of land.

It can be imagined what a powerful lever all this must be against the old patriarchal tradition of the peasant, even though it may remain as yet more or less unobserved. The Proletarian State, which enforces the principle of the Social Ownership of land, standing on the side of the youth, and furnishing financial credit so sorely needed by the peasant, will sooner or later impose its whole morality upon the life of the Russian peasantry. "the ruling ideas of any age" said Marx, "are only the ideas of the ruling class". And the Soviet rouble, although the emblem, "workers of the world unite", owing to the exigencies of trade agreements, no longer appears upon it, must inevitably be a powerful factor in spreading the Soviet ideal. The great ferment of change among the peasantry has undoubtedly begun.

#### In the Moscow Silk-Factory

By I. Strasser.

Before the War, the Moscow Silk-Factory employed 5,000 hands, now only 1,000 are working there, 700 women and 300 men. The machinery is intact, but raw materials are lacking. It is expected, however, soon to increase the number of workers by



45 %, because, in consequence of the concentration of the industry in the biggest and best equipped mills, there will be more raw-material available in the near future.

It is just at the interval for lunch, as we enter, under the guidance of a kindly member of the Committee, and are first conducted into the cottage of the former director, now the Infants' Home and Kindergarten. The Kindergarten children, 60 in number ranging from the age of 4 to 8 years, are just being served with the famous Russian beet-soup. They are not herded in one place, but distributed in parties of fifteen in comfortable and spacious rooms. With their bright red pinafores and their bobbed hair they give the impression of being well-fed and healthy.

The pretty drawings and fanciful silhouettes on the walls, the models in the glass-cases, the multitude of flower-pots before the windows, and above all the free and easy, yet orderly conduct of these little folk, show that this Kindergarten in "Red Moscow" can compete, as to taste and method, with any of these unfortunately few first-class institutes of this kind in Western Europe. Children are kept here for 4 years, the older ones are taught reading and writing. In the afternoon they are put to sleep in comfortable little camp-beds, and in the evening after the factory is closed the mothers will come to take them home. The upper storey is the domain of the smaller babies, up to the age of three, of which there are 53 at present. Up to now, according to the reports of the female director, every child could be admitted, if the mothers so wished.

Everything here is as clean as clean can be, and all hygienic measures are being strictly observed, from the neat, white-enamelled beds to the lavatories for the babies who can toddle about. We are shown into the Infants' Nursery, where several mothers are just nursing their children, as they are each given half an hour's interval three times a day for the purpose of feeding them. One of these mothers, following us out, with a happy smile assures us that the little mites are most wonderfully taken care of here.

Two thirds of the workers live in the houses attached to the factory, each family occupying one room. There are two very large dormitories for unmarried women, and two for the single men. The women's halls with the big beds covered with fancy coverlets and eiderdowns, the many small tables and trunks, look very gay but perfectly tidy. "There is not much spare room at the disposal of each person, though much more than there was formerly", we are told by our guide. "At the time when this factory was a private concern", he says, "these big halls looked as cheerless as any barrack, while now every woman may arrange her corner according to her own tastes and inclinations". He is right in so far, that they have succeeded in making these communal quarters much more comfortable, yet one has to think how much happier each of these women, some of whom are already of an advanced age, would feel, if she had a home of her own, were it ever so small, to live in all by herself and undisturbed by others. The housing-question is a bitter fact, and one not to be neglected, produced by the sins of capitalism, and which, even where the proletariat has conquered power, and used it to expropriate the owners of villas and mansions, can only be ameliorated step by step.

In the lower part of the house are the laundry and the kitchen. There are some female cooks preparing the food which the workers bring with them. Adjoining these rooms is the Theatre-Hall. A fine, large room with a real stage. The library, gymnasium with complete apparatus, and some "drawing-rooms" where the men and women may spend their leisure hours are in the "villa" of the former proprietor. The library is as yet a rather poor one. There certainly is a lot of Marxist literature, but beside it a heap of French novels, which of course, are of no use whatever to the workers. Of all the workers in the factory, only 70, we are told, are illiterate and 50 of these are already enrolled for the reading and writing lessons.

Meanwhile the lunch-hour is over, and we are shown the silk-weaving work-shops. In the first room, where the silk is being prepared, we find many young girls of from 14-18 years among the workers. They only work 4 hours a day. In the morning they attend a vocational school for 4 hours. Most of them are organized in the Communist Youth groups. Among the women there are only 60 Communists. This is considered to be due to the fact that most of them are of an advanced age already. From the spooling-room we proceed to the weaving-room, where the shuttles are flying hither and thither. But, alas, many of the machines are idle. And yet, what a place this would be, to stay in all day, with all the machinery whirling and humming. "Formerly", we are told by the foreman of this department, and before the machinery was worked by electric power, "the din was very, much worse". The amount of silk produced in the factory is 400 bales,

each containing 60 archines, per day. Proudly, as if all this were his own work, the old foreman of the last department shows us the wonderfully fine woven fabrics, the delicate, transparent veils, the heavy damasks, the shimmering raw-silks.

Now a last survey of the drying department. A whole room is out of use here. There are no dye-stuffs to be had. There is only a small import from Germany and the goods imported are said to be of inferior quality mostly. The work in this department seems to be the most difficult and the most unhealthy. It is only men that are working here, and they are allowed a longer holiday than the rest, while they also receive 2 pints of milk every day.

A remarkable fact is that the piece-work system has not been adopted for this factory. The production, however, is reported rising from month to month, and the productivity of each worker is just as high as before the War.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### Steps towards the United Front in Austria

By Johannes Werthim (Vienna).

The Austrian workers were much amazed to hear of Otto Bauer's utterance in Hamburg, that "We in Central Europe are forced to oppose the brutal force of the Fascist organizations by the self-defence organizations of the proletariat. Here an appeal to democracy is useless, we must oppose force by force". Has not Bauer been the most eloquent champion of democracy; did not he and his confederates suppress every revolutionary movement in the working class in the revolutionary days and in the years following? Did he not "persuade" the workers, only a few days before the Hamburg conference, only to employ democratic methods? While Otto Bauer was discussing the spread of Fascism in Central Europe, a social democratic railwayman, an active worker in the revolutionary opposition bloc, was shot down by a Fascist murderer. The Austrian working people accepted the sympathy expressed by the Hamburg congress, in the hope that these words of condolence signified a simultaneous declaration of war on the bourgeoisie. And Seitz actually did hasten from Hamburg, and ventured to declare, over the corpse of Comrade Still, the second victim of Fascism within so short a time, that: "Austria is not a country of Fascism. We repeat what we have always maintained: we will realize socialism by democratic means." Representatives of the "opposition bloc of the railwaymen" and of the communist party were not allowed to be present. The working masses, who, the day before had accompanied their martyr on his last journey in military procession, were disappointed to read that comrade Still had merely been struck down by the erring bullet of some criminal.

The working masses believed that they would be summoned to battle against Fascism in Austria. But the social democrats begged the bourgeoisie not to take the indignation of the working class too seriously.

The bourgeoisie set to work with more seriousness and set purpose to develop the plan by which Austria's economics are to be placed on a sound basis. By transforming the once completely proletarian army into a pillar of the prelate government it is intended to render it possible to force further reductions in wages, the abolition of the wages index, the lengthening of the working day, and the continued subjection of 200,000 starving unemployed. Although, at the moment, the front fighters and hooked cross societies are not appearing on the scene with their independent armed demonstrations, and though they may not now announce their field days in advance, still they are having their troops marched out in closed formations, as for instance in Salzburg on the pretext of celebrating a "Re-Union Festival" where the remnants of the monarchist regiments defiled before the decorated generals, and the social democrats issued the watchword: Comrades, close your windows, and do not stand still during the procession! The ecclesiastical celebrations, such as the Corpus Christi processions, offered special occasions for demonstrations by the Austrian White Guards and Fascisti, and even members of the regular forces put in an appearance at these affairs. These last were in part led or bribed into taking part—in impoverished Austria a glass of beer and a few sausages are often sufficient for this—or they were forced into it by threats of military punishment, or even discharge from the army. Thus the alleged non-political "army federation" has succeeded, within a comparatively short

## FASCISM

### "Fascist Democracy"

The new project for Electoral Reform in Italy.

By Ravelli (Turin).

Before the war, the parliamentary elections in Italy were conducted on the old electoral system, with small electoral districts, each district sending its deputy, and the local cliques generally contriving to distort the expression of the popular will. At the elections held in 1919 a new law was in force, based on the proportional representation system, with lists of candidates for the separate parties, and large electoral districts, each sending a number of deputies. The new general suffrage law was to be a reward to the masses of the people for their sufferings and sacrifices during the war. At this election in 1919, carried on with the slogan: "Down with war", the socialists gained 156 seats.

Italy's new rulers, the Fascisti, were however not satisfied with this suffrage. Fascism needs a new suffrage, one permitting it to receive the largest number of votes and yet keep up the appearance of strict legality; enabling it at the same time to keep the so-called anti-national parties entirely out of the parliament, and to limit the old so-called democratic parties to a very small number of seats. The new electoral reform bill, which has been drafted and agreed to by Mussolini and the ministerial council, is on these lines. The new electoral system is also based on proportional representation, but, at the same time, is so arranged, that the will of the people cannot find expression. The majority party (and the Fascisti present their list from the very beginning as the majority list) is allotted three quarters of the total seats in any case. The remainder of the seats are divided among the minority parties: Popolari, democrats, radicals, republicans, socialists, and communists. In this manner all opposition is split up beforehand, à la Stambulinsky, and condemned to parliamentary impotence. The law further prescribes that in every large electoral district every list of party candidates must be signed by 1,500 electors. The signature of the elector must be accompanied by exact statements of his name, occupation, and residence. If we assume that Italy is divided into 20 large electoral districts, and that 2 proletarian parties take part in the election, 60,000 signatures of socialists and communists would have to be found. It must be remembered how many communists and socialists are in prison or in exile, and how difficult it would be to find 40 public notaries willing to certify the election lists of the proletarian parties. Above all, under the present reign of White Terror, no leaders of a proletarian party can demand from their followers that they stand for their political convictions by the public statement of their names, occupations and residence, thus exposing themselves to Fascist vengeance. The Fascist press makes no attempt to conceal its malicious satisfaction at this fact, and admits the main object of the new suffrage system to be a blow at the anti-national parties. But the Fascisti are mistaken if they think that they can silence the voice of the proletariat in this manner. The parliament without opposition, such as will probably be brought together by the new electoral system, will be a body without a soul, and will represent in actual practice a mere reflection of the supreme Fascist council, an instrument in the hands of capitalism for the suppression of the proletariat. And if the Fascisti think that the proletarian movement is dead, they are again mistaken. Beneath the ashes of reaction, the flame of revolution will break forth more brightly than ever, when the given moment comes!

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Communist Party of Roumania

By Al Badulescu (Bucarest).

The flames of the Russian October revolution have thrown their gleams upon the path trodden by the working people of Roumania. But the difficulties have been enormous, the resistance of the social democratic leaders almost invincible. It was not until May 11, 1921, that the congress of the socialist party resolved on affiliation with the Communist international, and on the alteration of the name of the party into "socialist communist party", after the "pure" social democrats had left the ranks of the party. The "centrists" decided to remain in the party. On the second day of the congress the bourgeoisie found itself compelled to take over the rôle which it had entrusted to the social democrats for more than two years. Prison and

time, in gaining such a powerful foothold in the army that it was last delegate conference it was able unanimously to nominate Vaugoin, the Christian Socialist war minister, formerly most hated by the soldiery, as honorary member, and could choose the most prominent members of the government to give the welcoming speeches. These, especially the federal chancellor Seipel, delivered outspoken Fascist addresses, and stated that the results of the revolution in the army have now been almost entirely overcome. The government will not fail to continue this line of procedure. The army will once more soon fall into accord with the traditions of the old army. On this the representative of the troops made the following declaration: "The army league has gained the confidence of the non-Marxian parties; we shall defend our native country against the enemy at home". Hand in hand with this we have the disciplinizing of the social democrats and communists, who are punished, or even dismissed from the army, for reading the *Arbeiter Zeitung* or the *Roten Fahne* even outside of the barracks, or for wearing the Soviet star even on their civilian clothes.

Never has reaction worked with such rapidity as now. And the more haste shown by the government and bourgeoisie, the slower and less efficient does the resistance of social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy become. To be sure, a pseudo-struggle is being carried on in parliament for the maintenance of the wages index and the eight hour day, but in actual fact, the wishes of the bourgeoisie are being fulfilled by the conclusion of quarterly collective agreements among the metal workers, the provisions of which are determinative for the regulation of wages in other branches of industry. The working masses are indignant. Still they cling to the firmly established rock of social democracy, and wait for their leaders to call upon them to defend themselves. The multitudes of the starving Austrian proletariat know that they, the social democrats and communists, will fight successfully when united in one front. In hundreds of meetings held by the workers in every trade, especially among the building, metal, and transport workers, is to be heard, the call for the united front. Innumerable resolutions have been passed by thousands of workers, demanding the convocation of a national shop stewards congress.

The manifestos issued by the Berlin conference of the Russian and Amsterdam transport workers organizations, which were not accorded one word of reference in the Austrian social democratic and trade union press, just as in the same way the attitude adopted by Fimmen has been completely concealed from the masses (and Fimmen is personally known to every worker in Austria through the great meetings held by him there of late years)—these manifestos have called forth the greatest joy and complete agreement among the workers, now that the communists and revolutionary trade union bloc has succeeded in making them known. The united will to fight is becoming more and more apparent. In this situation the Communist Party approached the social democratic party, the trade union commission, and the unions of the metal workers, railwaymen, commerce and transport workers, with the proposal that a joint body be set up on Austrian soil—as had been done in Berlin on international lines—for combating Fascism and War Danger. The Austrian social democrats declined. They wrote as follows: "In common with the trade union commission, and with the unions of the metal workers, railwaymen, commercial and transport workers, we beg to observe that the social democrat party of Austria is able, in accordance with its program and organization, to fulfil every political task which it is called upon to fulfil against War Danger and Fascism. We declare quite plainly that we see in this summons to the formation of a common committee of action against Fascism and War Danger nothing more or less than another attempt at the already sufficiently well-known communist swindle of the united front. We know that the Committees against Fascism and War Danger are merely the new signboards beneath which the business of united front tactics is to be carried on at present on international lines".

It is still possible for the social democratic party of Austria to mislead a number of their confidence men, and to induce them to believe that the communists only intend a deceptive manoeuvre. But after Seipel's scourge has fallen heavily on the backs of the working class, that scourge which social democracy has helped to make, then the united front of the workers will become a reality; whether the social democratic party leadership will it or not. The Austrian working masses will then no longer permit themselves to be led astray by Otto Bauer's eloquence in Hamburg, nor soothed by Seitz's smooth phrases in Vienna; the first shot fired by the army against striking workers or unemployed will make the united front of the fighting proletariat in Austria an actual fact.



machine guns began to play their part. The bourgeoisie arrested all those participants in the congress who had voted without reservation for affiliation with the Comintern. It held up the political movement in the whole country, in this manner preventing the advance of the Roumanian proletariat, and thus influencing its actual attitude towards the Comintern.

The struggle of the Roumanian workers for their revolutionary organization has been a painful and arduous one. Betrayed at the first moment of its existence, the proletarian movement in Roumania had to suffer suppression and persecution during the peasants revolution in the year 1907, and the tragedy of the war of 1916. Within less than one year, war and disease reduced the population of Roumania by more than 800,000. Among these there were many of our leaders: Marinescu (secretary of the Party), who fell in the trenches; Dr. Ottoi-Caliu (member of the CC), who died of spotted fever; Max Vexler (Party theoretician), who was shot on the orders of the Bratianu government; and many others.

The Party, thus deprived of its best forces, was not only unable to ward off the constant hail of blows dealt by the Roumanian bourgeoisie, but was not even able to repair with sufficient rapidity the damage done by these blows. The struggle was rendered even more difficult by the partially illegal communist propaganda, carried on at a time when it was not yet necessary (1919-1920), as this provided the government with the opportunity for carrying on repressions. This activity at the wrong time had the effect that we lost other excellent comrades, as for instance, Al. Constantinescu, who succeeded, after being condemned to decades of penal servitude, in escaping from prison and taking refuge in Soviet Russia. The great error of this activity did not become apparent until later on, after the general strike of October 1920, when all possibility of public activity was at an end and there was an almost total lack of suitable forces for carrying on illegal activity.

But it was found possible to overcome even these difficulties. After the prisons were filled with thousands of workers, the bourgeoisie suddenly found a new adversary in the youthful workers, who determined to advance along the same path marked with the sufferings of whole generations. At the conference held at Ploesti on October 3. and 4., there came into existence the Communist Party, the Party of the working class; many comrades had meanwhile been released from the prisons, the shameful proceedings instituted against them having completely collapsed.

At that time the "centrists" were no longer in the Party. Beneath the sheltering wings of the government, and with the aid of the police apparatus, they considered themselves in a position to draw over to their side the workers devoted to the ideal of proletarian emancipation. But from the very beginning they had to admit that they were but voices crying in the wilderness and they succeeded in gaining no following among the workers whatever. Today our "centrists", as is the case almost everywhere else, are united to the social democrats, and, full of self-delusions, took part in the wedding tour to Hamburg!

The Communist Party is going ahead! Today it is more powerful than ever, although the activity permitted it is scarcely more than semi-legal—and even then extremely limited—and although it is severely persecuted by the lawlessness and hate of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of Roumania is prohibited from any public activity. It is not even allowed to hold meetings among its members. The communist press and literature are only free in certain parts of the country. But despite all this, its influence is spreading further and deeper into the working masses; the workers organized in the trade unions listen eagerly to the slogans issued by the Party, and the enthusiasm and faith in the Communist International, as the sole leader of the world revolution, is growing from day to day.

The Communist Party of Roumania is not yet firmly consolidated. It is not yet so well established as its sister parties in the West and in the Balkans. The young Communist Party of Roumania has still many tasks to fulfil—in organization, in agitation, and in propaganda—and it will fulfil them to the amazement of all its enemies!

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Does the Polish Socialist Party act as Police-Spy?

By N. Ulan (Warsaw).

In Poland this question has already been decided. All class-conscious workers know the answer, many to their own cost. Over and over again, the independent labor press published documents, which fully prove that members of the P.S.P. work with the tacit consent of the highest party

authorities, in the "Defence" Spy Service. But abroad the P.S.P. has obstinately denied all guilt, speculating, in accordance with its time-worn practice, upon the ignorance of foreign countries concerning Polish affairs.

This time, however, the P.S.P. has had bad luck. The Vilna *Przeгляд Vilenski*, one of the principal organs of the Polish Left Bloc, on June 10. contained a leader with the title: "The Regeneration of the Left." This article examines the causes of the defeat of the Left Bloc in Poland and ascribes this defeat to demoralization. The leader contains the following passage:

"Is it not a phenomenon indicative of deep demoralization, that former revolutionaries and conspirators today do secret police service? Almost every department of the "Defence" was and still is full of sympathizers and even active members of the P.S.P. and "Vyzodenie" (left peasant party—N.U.). It is natural and obvious that many a former enthusiast for liberty has succumbed to an evolution of his convictions and taken a liking to his new position, changing from a hunted and persecuted victim into a zealous servant and defender of the system of oppression. Such people can no longer be counted as "left". We have been in a position to observe a queer mixture of staff shoulder straps and badges (This refers to the leaders of the P.S.P., they are nearly all officers of the "Young" Polish Army, for instance, the P.S.P. deputies Moraczewski (Major), Javorovski (Captain), Liebermann (Lieutenant, who fought as a volunteer in the war against Russia), the fallen deputy Napiorkovski (Lieutenant), etc., etc.—N.U.). We have very often observed the exchange of the military uniform for the military blouse, so that one never knew with whom, at a given moment, one had to deal, with a representative of the authorities or with a provocateur, etc."

So states the *Przeгляд Vilenski*. It is not a Communist or a hostile source of information; as it happens the glad tidings come from the P.S.P.'s own camp, as an expression of *repentance*. Repentance, alas, comes too late. These gentlemen wish to make a virtue of the necessity of stopping the process of demoralization, but the new Government has been beforehand with them in filling every sinecure, and the gentlemen of the "left" find themselves everywhere supplanted, the "Defence" not excepted. Hence this awakened conscience and repentance.

We recommend the Executive of the "united" International, formed recently at Hamburg, and, above all, we recommend Fritz Adler to procure the paper we have cited, to inquire of the P.S.P. concerning the truth of the statements made, and to see that the present enforced retirement of the P.S.P. people from the "Defence" is made permanent.

And should the leaders of the Workers' "Socialist" International be of the opinion, that it does not become a "Socialist" Party to act as *agent provocateur*, should they desire, further, to appoint a commission of inquiry into the case of the P.S.P., then the Red Trade Unions in Poland, the C.P. of Poland, and the Ukrainian Social Democracy in the Polish districts will all be in a position to lay before such a commission very interesting and voluminous material.

The workers of Poland are vitally interested in such an inquiry; it would also be interesting for the international proletariat, which, so it is alleged, is up in arms against the "Communist atrocities" in Russia.

## Special Notice.

As we have severed our connection with the Banking House of Bett-Simon and Co., Berlin, and with all its Agents abroad, we request those of our readers who have hitherto remitted their subscriptions through this channel, no longer to pay in their subscriptions to the various banks whose names were previously given, but to send them to us by cheque *direct* to Berlin. This discontinuance of our former banking connections will, of course, not necessitate any change of arrangements in those countries where a center has been set up for the collection of subscriptions.

*The Management of the International Press-Correspondence.*

## Change of Address

In consequence of having taken over another function, Comrade F. Dahlem is relinquishing his work in connection with the "Inprecorr". All communications, orders, remittances etc., therefore, should from now on, be sent to the following new address:

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